TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ENGLISH LANGAUGE

EDUCATION IN INDIA

by

KIRAN RAMAMURTHY

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School – New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Education

Written under the direction of

Mary Curran

And approved by

_____

_____

_____

_____

New Brunswick, New Jersey

January 2015

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Teacher Professional Development for English Language Education in India

By KIRAN RAMAMURTHY

Dissertation Director:

Mary Curran

The ability to speak English can have a significant impact on the life of a student in India (Canagarajah, 2007; Hosali, 2005; Krishnaswami & Burde, 1998). While the demand for English continues to be high throughout the nation, access to a high quality English language education is affected by many factors and can be difficult to find (Saghal, 1991; Sridhar, 1991; Sharma, 2005).

The Indian government has attempted to improve the quality of language education over the past ten years by encouraging teachers to implement best practices for language acquisition. One program which prepares in-service teachers (ISTs) in understanding and implementing those best practices is the Academy for the Teaching of English (ATE). The goal of this project was to provide a qualitative case study of the ATE in order to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the teacher professional development program in question while determining what the language education community can learn from the study's findings.

The project was a qualitative case study of the teacher professional development program at the Academy for the Teaching of English. I performed one-on-one interviews with 9 professors/ administrators, and interviewed 21 in-service teachers (ISTs) in focus groups. I observed over 40 hours of classroom instruction at the ATE, analyzed relevant documents, and also observed the ISTs giving their sample lessons at the end of the program.

The data showed that the ISTs were indeed focusing on how to implement the best practices recommended into their classrooms. However, the data revealed the numerous obstacles the ISTs face in trying to implement those best practices when they returned home. Recommendations are made regarding improving the program at the ATE and finally, the paper highlights what is significant about the findings to readers interested in English language education around the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this dissertation has been a wonderful experience. This is the largest and most ambitious project I've ever worked on and the journey towards its completion has taken me to the other side of the world and back again. There are a lot of people who deserve thanks for their help along the way.

I must begin by acknowledging the participants in this study. The professors and in-service teachers I met in India were so open, honest, and inspiring. The obstacles they face are incredibly intimidating yet they accept those challenges with a sense of joy and optimism. I was proud to work amongst them and grateful that they were willing to share their experiences and wisdom with me.

All of the achievements in my life are accomplished with the support of my parents. They have always been the ultimate role models for me and have shown me what hard work, discipline, and passion look like. I thank them for their support throughout this long process. I also want to acknowledge my two brothers who have always served as sounding boards, advisors, and confidantes throughout my academic, professional, and personal life.

My darling wife, Nicole Amina. It has been wonderful sharing this experience with you—whether it was with the daily phone calls between Bangalore and Jersey while I was collecting data or in the hours listening to me rehearse presentations or work through ideas for the paper—thanks for being so supportive of this project over these last few years.

I want to express my thanks to my professors at the GSE and particularly the professors who agreed to serve on my dissertation committee. Studying in this program has been challenging and illuminating. I've enjoyed working with such a diverse staff of

4

hard working professionals who have taken the time to help me mold my ideas and fine tune my writing. I'd also like to thank the other students in the GSE who I've had the pleasure of crossing paths with.

Lastly, I want to thank my advisor Dr. Mary Curran. We have worked together for so many years now. My doctoral experience has been defined by our conversations and it has been a great privilege to receive so much of your care, attention, and guidance. I can't thank you enough for all of your efforts on my behalf.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

professional development program in this case study which can be useful to

English language education programs around the world?

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE: PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

When it comes to the teaching of English in India, the stakes are high. Academically, English serves as a gatekeeper. Access to higher education and prestigious fields of study often require knowledge of the language (Hosali, 2005; Mahanahan, 1990; Saghal, 1991). However, while the demand is high, access to quality English language instruction is out of reach for many (Canagarajah, 2007; Krishnaswamy & Burde, 1998; Ramanathan, 2005). At the same time, India, and Bangalore in particular, has been extremely successful in producing fluent, new English speakers in every successive generation. In a city like Bangalore, English is part of everyday life for many (Sharma, 2005; Sridhar, 1991). Given the import of English in India and around the world, the purpose of this study is to provide recommendations that can improve English teacher professional development and determine what kinds of approaches are producing success.

Despite its controversial place in Indian life, English has been embraced by many (D'Souza, 2001; Mahanajan, 1990). Indians are constantly finding new and unique ways to integrate English into their lives and society. Like so many non-native varieties of English around the world, Indian English is carving out a place for itself amongst world languages and dialects (D'Souza, 2001; Kachru, 1982; Sharma, 2005).

However, access to an English medium education is limited (Ramanathan, 2005; Vishwanathan, 2008). The widespread usage of English is mainly seen in the urban centers and in particular domains (Sridhar, 1989). While it is the language of prestige,

social class and geography are still likely to play a definitive role in determining whether or not a student will be able to access an English education (Kachru, 1982, Saghal, 1991).

Even for those students who are studying in English medium schools, the quality of that education is likely to be impacted by a number of factors, which at times can create insurmountable obstacles for students hoping to achieve academic success (Canagarajah, 2007; Cheliah, 2001; Ramanathan, 2005). One problem that researchers have pointed to is in regards to the methodologies used by English language teachers in India. Authors like Ramanathan provide examples of discrepancies in the teaching of English when controlling for the socioeconomic status of students. Namely, the schools are using divergent tools (textbooks), divergent pedagogical practices, and place students on divergent tracks. She found that students from higher social classes are more likely to learn the language in context, be asked to take risks, and use language in meaningful ways. She found that the methodologies used amongst lower income students were less likely to encourage student speech and risk taking, and often relied on rote memorization and call/response activities. At a time where attention in India is very focused on education—as it is beginning to become a world economic power and many movements are underway to lift people out of poverty—much of the national conversation has been devoted to improving the way Indian students are taught (Solanki, 2011).

These realities and the desires to improve the situation point to a need for increased study and focus on how students are being taught and to how teachers are being prepared to teach them. The training of teachers in India must be effective if an increased number of students are to gain access to quality English language instruction. In recent years, the Indian national government has undertaken an effort to make large-scale

changes in the nature of public education in India. In 2005, the national government published a National Curriculum Framework (NCF) to change the traditional teacher-centered classroom to a more student-centered approach. Many in-service and training programs have been developed to help teachers implement these new approaches to the classroom. The present study aims to shed light on the strengths and weaknesses of one of the major teacher professional development programs available to teachers in South India. The hope is that this study can make important recommendations that can impact English language education programs in international contexts. What is the current state of teacher professional development in India and how is it being received? The case study will be viewed through the lens of the best practices emanating from the fields of adult education and teacher professional development to help evaluate the training program in question. Additionally, many Indian students are indeed becoming fluent English speakers. What can we learn from the Indian educational system that can be of use in other parts of the world?

Research Questions:

This proposal describes a case study, focusing on one English teacher education program in India. The study aims to answer the following questions:

1) What guidelines are teacher professional development programs in India using as they prepare in-service teachers?

2) How are those recommendations being internalized and employed by these in-service teachers?

3)   What difficulties are the teachers predicting in trying to implement the best practices they come across in this teacher professional development program? What obstacles are professors at the ATE predicting for graduates of the program?

4)   What gaps may exist in the professional development of English teachers as seen by the professors and in-service teachers? What recommendations can be made to improve the teacher professional development program?

5)   What can be learned from the teacher professional development program in this case study that can be useful to English language teacher education programs around the world?

In the following chapters, I will provide an overview of the scholarship supporting this study, the case study methodology used, the findings and my conclusions regarding this study's contribution to the field.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will begin with a discussion of the history of English in India, describing how the language gained in importance over many years, eventually becoming the language of power in the country.   The literature review will then shift to focus on the range and depth of English in India, describing where and why English is likely to be used. This will be followed with a description of the problems of English language education in India. Finally, the literature review will focus on how the best practices recommended by second language acquisition and professional development researchers can be of use in the teaching of English in India with certain caveats.

The History of English in India

The East India Company was originally chartered by the British government in 1600. It began as a commercial enterprise aimed at gathering raw materials from Asia and establishing trading partners on the subcontinent. The British traders struggled to compete with both Dutch and French interests in India but eventually were able to monopolize the market by attaining naval dominance.   When the company began, they provided gifts to Mughal rulers like Jahangir to gain influence and trading rights but by the middle of the eighteenth century, the company employed military power to impose and protect its position within the country. By the end of the eighteenth century, the East India Co. gained control over the majority of India, outside of a few provinces in the north with which they had made agreements. The company remained in control until the time of the Seapoy Mutiny in 1857, when the British government took over the administration of India. Colonialism finally ended in 1947, following the Gandhian independence movement, producing an independent nation-state, which in many ways,

had never existed before (Mahanajan, 1990).   Needless to say, along with British colonization, English use was established as well.

Just as the ambitions of the East India Company grew over time, English education developed slowly. As described by Mahanajan (1990), when the relationship between the countries first began, Hindus taught Sanskrit in schools called Pathshalas and Muslims were educated in Persian or Urdu by Mulvis.   As the British were trying to gain a foothold in India, education in English was hardly a priority. However, when a commercial monopoly in the country was gained, the desire to educate Indians in English grew. In the middle 18th century, Warren Hastings developed the first Madrassah, or Islamic school, in Calcutta. He argued that qualified clerks and assistants would be required by the East India Co. to support the work of the colonial government, and set up a curriculum focused on logic, rhetoric, grammar, law, natural philosophy, astronomy, geometry, and math. While the creation of new colleges was slow going, English medium universities began to spring up in Benares, Bombay, and Poona. Missionaries began having a larger influence in the country around the end of the eighteenth century, teaching students in English to provide the nation with Christian priests. By the nineteenth century, even the non-missionary universities began to focus on the moral condition of the Indian. Leaders like Charles Grant made the argument that Indians could be opened up to the treasures of the West through learning English, science, and literature, and thus could break free from the moral decay he saw permeating the country (Mahanajan, 1990).

While it is normally assumed that the British were interested solely in providing an English education, British educationists were split throughout this time as to how to

approach pedagogy in India. Pennycook (1998) examines the English language and its

dissemination throughout India and China. He argues that the approach to education split

into two camps, the Orientalists and the Anglicists. Orientalists were looking to maintain

the "glorious past" of the Indian classical tradition. The Orientalist believed that

instruction should be in vernacular languages, as it would better allow local citizens to

imbibe the teachings of Western thought and morality. The Anglicists felt that Western

thought could only be taught through English, as the language itself was more capable as

a vehicle and reflection of the nuanced thought required. Pennycook acknowledges that

the education of English in India was not a monolithic enterprise, but argues that both

approaches had the same goal; to 'civilize' Indians by introducing them to the Western

tradition.

The Anglicists eventually won the debate. Lord Macaulay's (1835) influential

Minute convinced many within the East India Co. that English was the only medium that

mattered. He wrote:

> The empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature
> and our laws. The question before us is simply whether, when it is in our power
> to teach this language,-English-we shall teach languages in which, by universal
> confession, there are no books on any subjects which deserve to be compared to
> our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems
> which, by universal confession, where ever they differ from those of Europe,
> differ for the worse: where we patronize sound philosophy and true history, we
> shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace
> any English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an
> English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns
> thirty thousand years long, and geography made up to seas of treacle and seas of
> butter. (Macaulay, 1835)

Macaulay dismisses the entirety of Eastern literature, philosophy, and poetry. He believes

that the literary traditions of India become analogous to children's stories, full of magical

insanity and absurdity. According to him, Indians are trapped by their own languages.

Vernacular languages and traditions create the mental deficiencies that find their

realizations in the literatures of Sanskrit, Persian, and Urdu.   He continues:

> It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same. (Macaulay, 1835)

Macaulay's assertions point to an important component of English education in India. In

the earliest days, teaching English was not just about providing opportunities for Indians

to get involved in administration. It was also about elevating Indians from their mental

poverty, improving their minds and moral condition. When the Anglicist/Orientalist

debate was still under discussion, funding for education and book publishing was split

between English, Sanskrit, and Persian mediums. Following *Macaulay's Minute*, funding

was provided strictly for English medium schools.

From Macaulay's perspective, language education could be seen as an instrument

of violence. The student is viewed as stained, a product of his or her inferior vernacular

tongue. The English teacher must remove the stain.   When the student speaks, he or she

soils English with the native language. Eventually, after years of study in the usage of

British English, they become acceptable, with a new identity and tongue. The process of

learning becomes an exercise in self-loathing. For years, the student struggles, hating his

or her every utterance, embarrassed by the sounds of their own mouth. The celebrated

French writer Frantz Fanon describes this phenomenon in *Black Skin, White Masks*

(1967). He speaks of his experiences in France, as an immigrant from the French colony

Martinique. He talks about the self-hatred he endured, as he struggled with proper

French diction. He talks about the comforts of silence, and the revulsion of the French

natives who heard him speak. He writes, "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (Fanon, 1967, pg. 17-18). For Fanon, to assume a culture denotes a change in one's identity. There is a fusion of race and language, and as the title of his book implies, the education in a new language symbolizes the donning of a foreign culture and tradition. However, while Fanon is critical of this process, Macaulay appears to promote it. He wants Indians to be grounded in not only the English language, but in the philosophies, moral sentiments, temperaments, and arts of the West. Annamalai (2004) writes, "The medium and content of education became an instrument for the control of minds and the assimilation of behavior. Thus, the question of medium of instruction became an integral part of the principle and purpose of governing" (pg. 181). The language itself becomes the vehicle for moral and intellectual refinement, opening up subtleties and nuances that could never exist in Indian languages.

Pennycook (1998) similarly focuses on the relationship between language and power. He argues that the colonial relationship was viewed as a series of dichotomies: the differences between nations were analogized to the differences between the adult and the child, the male and the female, the clean and the dirty, the industrious and the lazy, the city and the "howling wilderness" (pg. 28). Pennycook argues that English and the local languages were enactments of these dichotomies as well, which is evident in Macaulay's depiction of the classics of Indian thought. The local dialects were not simply inconvenient for social mobility. They were base, degraded, childlike forms of communication that had to be discouraged if the Indian were ever to improve. English

education in India carries this historical baggage with it. Teaching English was not about language acquisition alone. It was also about becoming British. Powell (2002) writes, "[v]ernacular education had long been synonymous in British minds with lower-level schooling…In general then, English came to dominate the higher domains" (pg. 228). In order to evolve to higher level domains and to do so, according to the British, they would need English. The English medium school became the vehicle through which these new identities could be formed. Cohn (1996) writes, "with the growth of public education and its rituals, it fostered official beliefs in how things are and how they ought to be. The schools became the crucial civilizing institutions and sought to produce moral and productive citizens" (pg. 3).

Despite the perspectives of the British officials in power at the time, English medium education was immensely popular within India, particularly amongst the higher Indian classes and castes. Mahanajan writes:

> By this time, demand for the study of English had increased tremendously. English books were being sold by thousands. There was practically no demand for Sanskrit and Arabic books. In order to satisfy the popular demand, English classes were attached to the Calcutta Madrassah and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The same was done in the Agra College which was established in 1811. (p. 501)

Indians flocked to English medium schools and demanded more access. In some ways, the British officials couldn't build the schools fast enough. Yet, there were setbacks in the creation of schools as well. Schools were often times slow in coming, despite the most ambitious of plans. The British, consumed by wars in other parts of the globe, held back on the building of new universities and schools. At other times, there was resistance to the schools from local Hindus and Muslims, who saw the schools as attempts to convert them to Christianity. Particularly after the passing of the Charter Act of 1813,

which denied funding to Sanskrit and Persian medium schools and publications, many of the local citizens reacted strongly, providing petitions with over 8,000 signatures. The East India Co., led by Lord Bentinck, a staunch supporter of Macaulay, assured the protesters that the education was to be secular and thus quieted the local Indians. However, the end of public funding for Indian language medium schools was indeed in place. On the private side, missionary schools were also being built alongside the government colleges. These too, were immensely popular, but had a slightly different approach. While the government schools embraced a somewhat secular approach to English education, the convent schools which openly provided Christian education in English were also in high demand where available (Mahanajan, 1990).

Religious conversion rates were high, particularly amongst the less powerful classes, where Christianity provided an opportunity to escape the horrors of the Indian caste system. Conversion rates were also high in states like Kerala, where literacy rates are still considerably higher than in the rest of the nation. However, there was much concern amongst British English educators in the colonial era that students were taking in English but not the accompanying moral instruction. Pennycook writes:

> What I think is interesting here is the emerging concern, described in terms as strong as an 'evil tendency'—that the lure of English will lead students to get a short term education in the language without the necessary cultural and ideological load supplied by the education. (p. 91)

Indians seemed interested in learning English, but in many instances, on their own terms. Rather than an integrative approach to language education, many Indians saw their studies in utilitarian terms, using instrumental approaches to second language acquisition (Sridhar, 1989). Powell (2002) writes, "Anglicism in India led to a small English-reading middle class sitting above those with the rudiments of a vernacular education" (pg. 271).

But they weren't interested in becoming British. Instead, they used the language as a tool

to get ahead in society. Annamalai (2004) writes, "In reality, the upper-caste Indians

pursuing English education detached moral improvement from its theological overtone

even during the colonial period, and were interested in acquiring the knowledge useful

for material wellbeing" (pg. 181). The wealthier classes of Indians, who were very

interested in English did seek to shape their education, and increase its usefulness to

them, rather than idly sitting back and allowing the colonial powers to dictate what they

were to learn. Borjian (2013) also discusses the relationship between state powers and

local recipients in the educational interaction. She writes, "Due to the high economic

value associated with English, many parents push for English or English-medium schools

merely to establish a better future for their children….[T]here is a strong correlation

between English and economic prosperity at an individual level, so economic motives

could serve as a major impetus for students and parents to push for English education"

(pgs. 32). Demand for English education may be high amongst parents and students.

However, they are not helpless recipients who must accept that education on the terms

offered by state powers. Borjian goes on to write,

> Subnational forces have their own motives and interests for educational transfers,
> quite apart from those of their politicians. However, it is important to consider
> the multiplicity of agencies among subnational forces when examining the
> borrowing process of ELT practices. As eloquently stated by Steiner-Khamsi and
> Stolpe (2006), neither are all actors in favor of educational import, nor are they all
> ready to execute the orders given from above or by their politicians" (pg. 32).

Borjian's book looks at educational transfer, or the borrowing of English language

teaching (ELT) practices and pedagogies between different cultures. However, her ideas

are applicable here as well—namely, where a state power attempts to use educational

policies to implement its own agenda. In that interaction, the host people are not helpless recipients and can determine what they will embrace and what they will ignore. Mahanajan talks about this phenomenon in describing a British decree to change how University Senates were comprised. The Act in question sought to limit the number of local Indians allowed into these University Senates. He writes:

> The public opinion in India was very critical of the Act as the number of seats in the Senate thrown open to elections was very small and the restriction of numbers was supposed to create a majority for Europeans. The new regulations for affiliation of colleges were regarded as a means to hamper Indian private effort in the field of education. The main result of the passing of the Act was to Europeanize the Senates and Syndicates of the universities and to turn them into some of the "most completely Governmental Universities of the world". The Indian opposition was based on the growing conviction that Lord Curzon was bent upon restricting the opportunities for higher education open to young Indians. (p. 506)

Indians clamored for English language schools and wanted a say in how the schools were organized and run. It was clear that if parents wanted their children to get ahead in colonial India, it would be done through the medium of English. While the demand for English was high, Indians wanted a say in how that education would be implemented.

However Mahanajan also describes how the demand for English had a devastating impact on many of the traditional Indian languages. Sanskrit, which was once a language of scholarship, quickly became a language used by priests alone. Persian too became somewhat superfluous in many regions as English became preeminent in academic circles.

As the Gandhian independence movement gained steam in the 40's, calls for English's removal grew louder. Though he used English in many of his writings, Gandhi saw English as a limiting factor in India, and he believed that time and energy needed to be spent on developing India's own languages. Ramanathan (2005) looks at the

relationship between English and vernacular languages in India. She discusses Gandhi's

reasoning, and says:

> Gandhi's call for freedom and national unity was indivisibly tied to his views on
> language: he consistently maintained that a new, liberated India could only fully
> emerge if it fully and completely enhanced the vernaculars and gave up being
> enslaved by all things British, including, of course, the crucial instrument of
> colonization, namely the English language. (p. 23)

Gandhi's sentiments were shared by many, and inspired the Remove English Lobby

(REL), which continues to be supported by many to this day. The REL is an

organization interested in propagating the increased use of local vernaculars in official

business of the state and in education. For Gandhi and others, the English language itself

was one of the most powerful tools of colonialism. As mentioned in the discussion on

Macaulay, English was seen as an ideological weapon which could further entrench

British power structures, and manipulate the identities of Indians. The return to and the

development of the vernaculars was seen as an essential step towards ideological

independence.

The state had a difficult time dealing with language and education in the years

that followed independence. In many ways, India had never been a nation-state that

comprised so many languages and cultures before, and finding a strategy for language

instruction was bound to marginalize one group or another. The Indian government opted

for the tri-language formula, which focused on teaching students in three languages:

English, Hindi, and the local language that dominated the state. The local mother tongue

would be the main medium of instruction; English and Hindi would take a subordinate

role and be taught as individual subjects (Mahanajan, 1990, Ramanathan, 2005).

Providing a plan that could deal with the complexity of language in India was frustrating enough for the government but implementing it proved even more so. Hindi is a language with which one can travel in many parts of India, particularly in the north. However, South India, and particularly Chennai, the largest metropole in the region, reserved great hostility for Hindi and refused to publicly endorse the teaching of Hindi. Some attempts to bring Hindi into mainstream education where actually met with violence (Saghal, 1991). Many of the social elite already spoke English in both the north and the south. English, under British rule, was already the medium of business, law, and the universities, allowing it to conveniently remain as the language of power in India. Making the Indian vernaculars more relevant to higher education in India proved difficult for many reasons. University administrators did not want to give up English as a medium because it allowed them to avoid making a choice between rival local languages, and also allowed them to draw from a national base. The vernacular languages had incomplete vocabularies with regard to the scientific registers, and English provided students with an opportunity to travel abroad. With English being maintained as the medium of instruction in the universities, the private secondary schools followed suit. Attempts were made to expand the numbers of vernacular textbooks and to extend the vocabularies of scientific registers in those languages, but books sales were disappointingly low, and middle class parents were still willing to go into debt in order to get their children into more prestigious English medium schools. Sridhar (1989) writes, "Their attraction is so great that even a lower middle class family thinks nothing of spending a precious part of its income on the high fees charged by such schools rather than patronizing the free government schools" (p. 33).

Despite the efforts of many to remove English as the language of power in India, it remained in place, becoming an impenetrable glass ceiling to so many Indians with little to no access to English (Sridhar, 1989, Saghal, 1991). Even today, English plays a controversial and precarious sociopolitical role in the life of Indian languages. In a personal interview conducted in preparation for the dissertation study, Dr. Vanamala Vishwanathan, a professor of English at Bangalore University and an English language teacher educator said "English is the new caste system" (personal communication, August 21, 2008). During the interview, she spoke about the class divides that had developed over the sixty years of Indian independence. Wealthier students attend private English medium schools that have accountability to parents. Students from the lower socioeconomic stratas attend public, government controlled, vernacular medium schools which may not be able to provide basic facilities (e.g. textbooks, bathrooms, qualified teachers).

Many argue that English's prestigious position in the ocean of Indian languages serves to disempower Indian vernaculars. Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998) argue that English is erasing the traditions of the rural majority, whose languages might lack a script, limiting their ability to speak at all in the public square. They write:

> Thus, English–education and print-capitalism created a new urban-class of Indians thereby culling out the rural masses, their oral traditions, and the Indian languages and their literature from the mainstream. It serves as a powerful tool which turns the vast majority into illiterates—into a 'silent majority' which is marginalized while the English-educated minority from the urban areas is centralized. (p. 67)

For Krishnaswami and Burde, the traditions of the colonial relationship, in regards to language, are continuing to play themselves out in modern Indian life. Minority languages have become powerless, while a small population of English speakers

dominate the public dialogue in a language that is foreign and unknown to the majority. Authors like Phillipson (2003) have called this kind of relationship between languages *linguicism*. He defines linguicism as "the structural and cultural inequalities that ensure the continued allocation of more material resources to English than to other languages and benefit those who are proficient in English" (pg. 47).

Because this relationship between English and the local languages has existed for so long, it appears natural, solidifying into a regular part of Indian life. English, during the colonial era, was touted as the "marvelous tongue" of science, business, higher education, and technology. English was seen as a world language on the march, allowing its speakers to penetrate further into the world at large, borrow from those cultures they come into contact with, and improve themselves over time (Pennycook, 1998). For Krishnaswami and Burde, this vision of English continues to split languages into "the west and the rest" (pg. 56). They argue that English is seen as the carrier of wisdom, the window to the world, and representative of the transfer of technology. English's prestigous position creates a kind of first world within the third world. They write:

> From what one can see in the Indian subcontinent, the victims who say that they are victimized are a part of the culture of western way of life. That section of the population, the English educated urban elite, have become the colonizers though they were the colonized under the British rulers. Even today, the departments of English continue to be the 'colonies' of British literature, and elsewhere the colony of the multinationals and pop-culture is fast expanding. (p. 57)

The authors argue that the non-English speaking rural majority has simply had one colonizer replaced with an indigenous one. The English speaking elite, supported by ex-patriot non-resident Indians (NRIs), live in a different India, separated from the limitations and obstacles faced by the non-English speaking majority. In the excerpt above, the authors see English as a tool used by the educated urban elite, to consolidate

their power, and separate themselves from the re-colonized masses. English has become a force not just in academics, but in advertising, pop-culture, humor, and corporate culture (D'Souza, 2001). In modern India, English is an important social marker, which says something about the speaker. As stated earlier, Sridhar (1989) argues that, "English is associated with upward socio-economic mobility, national mobility, authority, modernization, and Westernization" (pg. 8).   Just as a cultural marker, it is easy to see why the demand for English is so high.   English is "authority."   As argued by Dr. Vishwanathan, English even allows the speaker to enter into a new caste.   Its usage empowers the speaker and allows them to separate themselves from their disempowered, non-literate, English-less counterpart.

However, it must also be noted that other theorists present more positive views on English's place in Indian life. While some see English as a foreign intruder that recolonizes vernacular language, others see English as a particularly Indian language. D'Souza (2001) points to examples of Indians using English and making it their own. He cites the work of Santanu Borah, a creative writer in India who says:

> I am speaking a living language and writing one too. I don't hate Bob Marley's English anymore than Paul McCartney's. Paul's got rain and snow in his way of speaking and Bob's got sun and sand in his speech. I have the monsoon, the mystic, religions, castes, poverty, the Queen… the list is long in mine. (as cited in D'Souza, p. 154)

For Borah, English is a language through which self expression is possible. He argues that his English is indeed Indian and reflects the reality of Indians. It isn't a foreign tongue through which no real expression is possible as argued by Das Gupta, but possesses India and its history within it. D'Souza writes, "To view English as a module is to see it as independent and self-contained, but English in India is neither, as it interacts

both with the other local languages and with world Englishes to give a syntheses that is

unique and Indian" (pg. 148). D'Souza points to examples of innovation in English

usage in India and to the way teen talk stretches out the language to suit local needs. He

points to examples of code mixing and English phrases like "time waste" which have

replaced local terms in languages like Kannada. These types of debates, concerning the

"Indian-ness" of English continue to be explored in the nation's urban centers.

Thus, while English place in India is indeed controversial, as it always has been, it

is not going anywhere soon. If anything, in this era of globalization, it is only becoming

more powerful and influential in Indian life. And as it does, Indians will continue to use

the language in many aspects of daily life, and make it their own, as will be shown in the

next section.

Describing the English used in India

English has many users in India. These users differ in many ways: in their

experience with English, their formal education, their L1 influence, their proximity to

cities, their need for English, where, when, and why they use it, their identification with

the language, their age, gender, and region, and their style of speech. The goal of this

section is to look at a wide range of Englishes, from individual instances of English usage

in vernacular contexts, to pidginized forms, to fluent versions of English. In order to do

so, a number of studies on Indian English will be examined within the context of Braj

Kachru's (1965) "cline of bilingualism". Gargesh (2009) refers to Kachru's cline in his

definition:

> It has been mentioned that B. Kachru suggests a *cline of bilingualism*, a scale of
> different degrees of competence in English in India with three measuring points:

(1) the zero point, i.e. at the bottom point in the cline (e.g. Babu English, Butler English); (2) the Central point, which indicates adequate competence in English in one or more registers (e.g. English used by civil servants and teachers); and (3) the Ambilingual point, for those users who have native-like competence in English. (p. 97)

Kachru's cline refers to the range of fluencies and necessities a language exhibits within a given language community. Kachru writes:

The sociolinguistic context might show a cline (a graded series) both in terms of proficiency in English and its functional uses. The English using community must be seen in this new framework, in which a linguistic activity is under analysis within a specific sociocultural context. The institutionalized varieties of non-native English may be arranged along a dialectal continuum. This continuum is not necessarily developmental but may be functional. All subvarieties within a variety (for example, basilects, mesolects, and acrolects) have functional values and may stand as clues to code diversity as well as to code development. (p. 57)

The majority of Indians do not speak English (Sridhar, 1989). However, that does not mean that they don't use English at all. In many instances, English gets absorbed into local vernaculars (D'Souza, 2001) in the same way that so many French terms (e.g. garage) have become part of the Standard American English vocabulary. This would represent English usage on one end of the cline—namely, non-English speaking vernacular speakers borrow individual terms from English and include it their language's lexicon. At the other end of the spectrum would be L1 speakers of English in India, who are essentially native speakers targeting their speech on local or foreign norms. Within these two end points are millions who use English at various levels of proficiency and to meet a variety of needs, and even to forge new identities.

At the lower end of the cline, where experience with English is minimal, there are still significant usages of English. D'Souza (2001) points to examples of speakers who

are not formally educated in English but still use its terms naturally without pause or

translation. He cites examples of village English borrowing, even where English is

nearly absent as a viable linguistic choice, as well as examples of punctuation borrowing

(e.g. commas, full stops, parentheses) in a variety of local vernaculars. Because of the

financial opportunities available in English, many non-English speakers attempt to use

the language with whatever vocabulary and level of fluency they posses, creating

pidginized forms of English (Sridhar, 1989; Kachru, 1982).

A pidginized language is a simplified version of a language that is used to meet

temporary needs between speakers where a common language does not exist.   Pidgins

are characterized by subject-verb-object word orders in sentences, uncomplicated

structures, reductions of consonant structures or eliminations, basic vowels, a lack of

tones, usage of separate words to indicate tense, and reduplication (Wardhaugh, 1986).

Wardhaugh goes on to argue that pidgins develop as a product of disparate power

relationships between rival languages in a community. He writes, "We may argue that a

pidgin arises from the simplification of a language when that language comes to

dominate groups of speakers separated from each other by language differences" (p. 62).

In multilingual India, pidginized forms can become quite complex, and may serve a wide

variety of functions, as they become a lingua franca for communities of speakers.

Pidgins have a long history in India, dating back to the colonial era and have been

termed Babu English, Bazaar English, Boxwallah English, and Butler English (Hosali,

2005). The terms Babu, Boxwallah, and Butler are used to describe subordinates. Thus,

even the terms used to describe them denote a demeaned status. Hosali (2005) looks at

the phenomenon of Butler English, providing a number of samples, one of which read,

"…but there is think there is no grammar. It is Butler English I thought. …You want to

how –what I'm telling, they want to know. What they're telling we want to know. That's

all. No problem about its spelling or grammar – we don't bother about…" (p. 37).

These varieties are learned through informal contact, and because of the code mixing

which often ensues[1], are largely unintelligible outside of a specific community (Sridhar,

1989). However, even the use of Butler English can open up all kinds of employment

opportunities in India, allowing users to significantly improve their socioeconomic status

(Jayaram, personal communication, 2008). In fact, Hosali argues that Butler English is

treated unfairly in the "cline of bilingualism", often seen as wanting. She writes:

> Pidgins/creoles – poor relations in the world's language families, and like
> Cinderella relegated to the scullery and the kitchen – have long been dismissed as
> hotch-potch languages. Butler English will always be measured against the
> contemporary version of the native speaker model to which standard Indian
> English is closest, namely British Standard English; and found to be different (if
> the researcher is sympathetic); deviant (if the researcher insists on using a rigid
> normative yardstick); or deficient (if a non-objective viewpoint is adopted). And
> if tomorrow it becomes extinct, it will not be because of any intrinsic linguistic

[1] Just as evident in many bilingual settings, examples of code mixing (CM) with English is evident all over India. There are many examples of where the multiple languages of India influence one another, where conversational code switching can occur midsentence. The research on code mixing is vast, and researchers have found that it occurs in accordance with certain rules. A linguistic community determines acceptable and unacceptable mixes. Often times, the structure and form of the host language must be maintained (Sridhar, 1978) while involving the rule systems of both languages in the production of a single sentence. Code mixing serves a number of purposes. Sridhar writes, "[m]ixed codes serve various sociolinguistic and stylistic functions, including addressee specification, interjection, emphasis, reiteration, quotation, message qualification, neutralization of identity, role identification, authentication, or technicalization among others" (9).

inadequacy but because it could not compete against the overwhelming pressures of standard English. (p. 38)

Butler English is a linguistic system that allows for mutual intelligibility amongst speakers who may lack a common language. It covers a wide spectrum on the cline, and can become complex depending on the amount of input received, its quality, and the experience of the users. As speakers of Butler English gain experience with English some characteristics will be lost, while others will fossilize and become characteristic of an emerging dialect.

Devani Sharma (2005) looked at a Non-Native Variety of English (NNVE), Indian English (IE) in proficient and non-proficient immigrant speakers in San Francisco. San Francisco is home to a large North Indian Punjabi community in the east bay as well as a South Indian community around the silicon valley in the south bay. Sharma looked at grammatical features exhibited by 12 IE speakers (past marking, subject-verb agreement, definite articles, non-specific definite articles, specific definite articles, and copula usage) as well as phonetic features (aspiration, retroflexion, rhoticity) in trying to determine which features were most likely to be erased with increased exposure to Standard American English, and which features would remain as embedded within the description of IE. Namely, which characteristics could be deemed as mistakes, or remnants of their Indian English, which would be erased through increased language acquisition and which markers would stabilize into features of a developing dialect.

Her results showed that some of the grammatical features of Indian English were erased by increased exposure to more standard forms (no past marking, no copula, agreement mismatch) and other features (no definite article, no indefinite article/non-specific, no indefinite article/non specific) remained as stabilized features even in speakers with plenty of exposure to Standard American English, and who functioned as effective bilinguals. Interestingly, the length of time spent in the U.S. was not the most dominant influence on the speech of English users. As there are significant immigrant enclaves in San Francisco, there is the opportunity for L2 avoidance. Instead, proficiency seemed to be tied to how often the users spoke in English and in what environments (at home, with friends, at work).

More interestingly, Sharma's study shows that a speaker's attitude towards English and its various forms (the range of IEs vs. SAE) has a significant effect on speech production. Many speakers used IE by choice as opposed to seeing their speech as improper renditions of SAE. She writes:

> If an Indian speaker is beginning to identify her own speech with a legitimate Indian English speech community, rather than as an unsuccessful approximation of native speech, then she may be predicted to respond to the dialect contact situation increasingly more like a native speaker than a foreign language learner. (p. 207)

Sharma considers how contact with another dialect can be a catalyst for raising the level of consciousness of regional variants. Thus, contact with SAE can make IE speakers more conscious of IE as a distinct linguistic option, and choose it as a closer approximation of their own identity. Sharma even points to ideas garnered from

qualitative interviews, where speakers saw significant problems with SAE grammar and its "correctness", while also asserting that IE is more grammatically correct than SAE.

Amongst more native-like speakers of English, accent was seen as what separated IE from SAE and not grammar. In regards to phonetic variations, attitudes towards Americanization played a large role in determining the likelihood of observing IE phonetic markers in the speech of participants. There was no observable relationship between proficiency and phonetic description; however, those who showed positive attitudes towards Americanization were more likely to use SAE phonetics, while those showing pride in IE or hoding negative attitudes towards Americanization showed more IE characteristics in their speech. She writes:

> This selective dialectal conservatism is reflected in the present findings: syntax appears to be a potentially more important domain of norm-maintenance in order to cultivate the status of a proficient and legitimate speaker, while phonology is a seen in less prescriptive terms and may be recruited more readily for the construction of a local Indian identity. (p. 217)

Sharma shows great variation in the productions of IE speakers, from those who are in the beginning phases of English acquisition and with few speaking opportunities to those who are functional bilinguals using English in a variety of public and private domains. However, Sharma does argue that more proficient speakers may assert a specific Indian identity in how they choose to use English. She points to examples of self-correction and consciousness of dialect. She presents examples of code-switching between IE and SAE in conversation. In this way, IE markers are not simply mistakes, or evidence of late

stage SLA but are elements of a distinctly and purposefully determined "voice", being asserted by speakers.

When looking at Sharma's study within the context of Kachru's "cline of bilingualism" there is some evidence that the cline not only refers to a range (the extension of English into various cultural, social, educational and commercial contexts) and depth (which social, gender, ethnic demographics are using English), but also to some grammatical components, as certain features are more or less likely to exhibit themselves as one moves about the spectrum. Amongst fluent speakers, Sharma shows how performance is likely to correspond to the attitudes of speakers regarding foreign standards of speech.

In India, what are English speakers' target goals in acquisition? Do learners see an indigenized IE as their target or are they trying to perform to a foreign standard (or local standard in Sharma's study), like SAE or British Received Pronunciation (RP). The work of researchers has pointed to a variety of target goals on the part of English users in India. Historically, the target of acquisition in India has always been British English, particularly represented by the BBC variety of English (Kachru, 1982, Saghal, 1991). Even in today's India, advertisements can be seen around the cities advertising elocution lessons in British pronunciation, viewed by many in India to be the preeminent form of English (Cowie, 2007). As stated earlier, the term Butler English goes back to the colonial era, and thus "Indian-ized" Englishes have historically been stigmatized. For this reason, as language learners have attempted to take on the prestigious voice of RP,

they have used British models as their desired target in acquisition. Even recently, this

has been found to be true, particularly amongst older users of English. Khan (1991)

tabulated the responses of 20 bilingual informants from Hindi dominated New Delhi,

and found that older users were more likely to prefer British English.   He writes, "the

older generation grew up in a different political environment. Many of them were

educated in private English schools, during the aftermath of the British Raj, and they still

consciously try to retain some features of British English" (p. 295).   For many years,

NNVEs were not seen as educated dialects, and were instead viewed as incorrect or

flawed versions of prestigious dialects like RP or SAE (Kachru 1982). Until recently, as

support for SAE and IE have grown, RP was the usual target goal for English speakers,

and still is for many Indian English Language Users (ELUs).

In the second half of the twentieth century, as The United States of America

became a political, cultural, and economic force around the world, the influence of SAE

as a desired dialect grew (Krishnaswami & Burde, 1998). Through cultural exports like

hip-hop, rock n' roll, and Hollywood, and through the international ties created by Indian

migration and multinational businesses, SAE became a more important dialect in

determining target goals of fluency for Indian users. Many multinational businesses have

specifically attempted to teach their employees SAE, as seen in Cowie (2007). In *The*

accents of outsourcing: The Meaning of Neutral in the Indian Call Center Industry,

Cowie examines attempts to manipulate the accents of Indian English users in the

multinational call center industry. Specifically, she looks at a company called

Excellence, which provided accent training and certified employees to be ready to work.

The majority of the trainees were young and effectively bilingual. Trainees were broken

up into batches of 20 and rotated between classes on customer care, American culture,

attitude, phonetics, and remedial English. The English teachers, predominantly females

over 30 with experience in teaching English, were given the goal of producing employees

with a region-less or neutral accent. Throughout the essay, Cowie is concerned with the

lack of definition given to "neutral." Even amongst the teaching staff and students, there

is little understanding of what is meant by a neutral accent amongst some, and different

perceptions of what it might mean amongst others. Essentially, there is some study of

SAE phonetic features, but more interest is directed toward removing mother tongue

influences (MTI). MTIs are essentially IE characteristics. Again, Cowie notes that there

is an interest in removing MTIs without much description of what MTIs are. Essentially,

the goal of Excellence is to remove the stigma of the Indian accent in conversations with

North Americans, who hold negative views of outsourcing. While the goal of the

program was to Americanize the speech of English users, there was little regard for

American English by many of the teachers and some of the students. One of the notions

Cowie ran into a number of times is that IE is quite similar to RP, and thus Indians'

attempts to use SAE phonetics sounded fake or put on (p. 323). The students considered

themselves as fluent speakers of English and saw the remedial training in English as

unnecessary, while many of the teachers were frustrated that they saw minimal progress in terms of accent neutralization from their students. One of Cowie's final conclusions corresponds with what Sharma found in her study of Indian immigrants in California—namely that the likelihood of trainees using SAE characteristics had to do with their personal attitudes towards SAE and IE. Thus, while SAE is indeed becoming more influential as a target for ELLs in India, Cowie and several other published accounts (Saghal, 1991; Khan, 1991; Sharma, 2005) show Indians' aversion to SAE in relation to RP or IE.

The third target dialect for ELLs in India has been called by Cowie and others as educated IE. Educated IE is a dialect commonly heard by broadcasters on All India Radio (AIR) and on other pan-Indian news broadcasts (Saghal, 1991, p. 305). Years of research has been conducted on defining the characteristics of formal IE and some of those results, as presented by Wiltshire & Harnsberger (2006) are as follows:

- Retroflex stops
- Unsystematic aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops
- Dental stops instead of interdental fricatives
- Lack of a post vocalic [\]
- [r] uses flap or trill
- Use of [u] for [w]
- Vowels have monophthongs for the mid close vowels
- Suprasegmentals and intonation seen as different

Finding acceptance for IE as an independent dialect of its own has been a long struggle.

As stated earlier, NNVEs were often discredited as fossilized error systems, simply

requiring remediation. As a dialect, RP has been sociolinguistically formidable, and the

desire to systematize its characteristics into "codes for 'proper' linguistic behavior"

(Kachru, 1982) has existed for centuries and continues to in some quarters. Thus, even

the users of IE saw their usage as a deformed dialect. However, writers like Kachru and

other theorists interested in NNVEs sought to change the notion of them as

interlanguages, but instead to see non-native varieties as transplanted systems. Wiltshire

& Harnsberger (2006) explain the difference succinctly:

> A transplanted system differs from an interlanguage system, in which some native
> system of that language has not been fully acquired. A transplanted system, by
> contrast, is stable and self-replicating; the learners are exposed to the nativized
> variety of the second language system, which they master, rather than
> incompletely acquiring a foreign target language system. (p. 91)

When NNVEs are seen as transplanted systems, Indian ELUs have the ability to be

considered fully fluent. Kachru (1982) calls it an opportunity for "political emancipation

and national pride" (p. 53). IE users are empowered to identify with the dialect, and

many recent studies show that increasingly, they are.

As previously noted in this paper, Sharma (2005) and Cowie (2007) argued that

many IE speakers showed a particular pride in their dialect, and had a preference for it

even amongst more traditional norms. These bilingual speakers were more likely to

exhibit IE tokens in their speech. Saghal (1991) interviewed 45 English bilinguals and

found that 74% of the respondents preferred a form of IE, with 24% showing a

preference for BBC English, and only 2% interested in SAE. She writes, "[t]his suggests

that English is part of the cultural identity of India, which is further emphasized by the

fact that most of the informants preferred a 'local' variety of English, rather than an

adherence to native- speaker norms" (p. 306).   In fact, Cowie argues that there is even a

pressure amongst IE users to adhere to its norms. She pointed to a case study she

performed on an employee named Vishal, who used SAE features when speaking to IE

users, even outside of work. She argues that he admitted feelings of marginalization

when using a dialect more akin to foreign norms. Cowie also pointed to examples of

employees using SAE features when speaking to Americans on the phone, but quickly

switching into IE in conversations with their fellow employees.   From this perspective,

IE is a dialect that denotes a kind of solidarity amongst its users, and represents a unique

linguistic identity.

The field of IE as an area of research is garnering more attention. Researchers are

looking for specific characteristics of the dialect which bind large groups of Indian

speakers, while others are interested in analyzing how specific L1s around South Asia

influence English usage in unique ways regionally. Wiltshire & Harnsberger's (2006)

The influence of Gujurati and Tamil L1s on IE looks at disparate L1s and the way they

express themselves in L2 English education. Working with 10 proficient IE speakers in

Hyderabad (5 Tamil/ 5 Gujurati), the researchers had informants read a list of 95 words,

99 isolated sentences, a short passage, and a series of 29 short dialogues. The

performances were analyzed to find similarities and differences in the IE tokens evident.

The researchers found that certain characteristics (high vs. rising pitch accent, level of

rhoticity, length of voiceless stops) were produced differently by the disparate L1s.

Other characteristics (multiple pitch accents, retroflection, lack of glides) were performed

similarly in IE, even by speakers with different L1s, despite not being widely prevalent in

SAE or RP. Sridhar (1991) found that similarities also existed amongst IE speakers with

different L1s in regards to request strategy. Using 164 students and 1100 responses,

Sridhar found that even IE speakers with distinct L1s and levels of experience were more

likely to use indirect requests than SAE or RP speakers. Sridhar goes on to argue that

differences in request strategy may have their source in conventions of request in Indian

languages (given that respectful endings don't exist in English) (p. 317). Thus, certain

characteristics of IE could be considered pan-Indian while others seem regionalized, and

as unique products of disparate L1s.

Other theorists are interested in the sociolinguistic features of IE which make it

unique to other World Englishes. Khan (1991) looked at final consonant simplification in

20 adult bilingual Arabic speakers. By subdividing his study by age and gender, he came

up with some interesting results. As stated earlier, older respondents showed more RP

characteristics, while younger users were more likely to exhibit IE markers. For Khan,

this is a product of the linguistic conflicts that exist between foreign varieties of English

and regional and non-standard varieties of the language. Interestingly, women showed

higher deletion rates than men, which is a reversal of what would be expected in most

Western nations. Khan writes:

> The life of most women (especially Muslim women) in India is quite different
> from that of women living in England and America. Most of them have limited
> opportunities for participating in social and public life. They often feel tied to the
> religious and cultural traditions of their society. These social and cultural barriers
> are reflected in women's linguistic behavior. (p. 292)

Thus, while women who speak SAE and RP in those cultures are less likely to use

non-standard features than men, in IE, such predictions may not hold weight.

Demographic difference appears to have significant implications on the characteristics of

IE, and thus warrants further study as the field grows.

Some researchers have focused on tying IE to other World Englishes (WEs),

looking for similarities amongst different NNVEs. Kachru (1982) has broken up the

English speaking world into categories based on their relationships to the language:

native varieties (as spoken in England, America, and New Zealand), contact varieties (in

countries were English was institutionalized through colonialism like South Asia,

Jamaica, and Kenya) and performance varieties (where English is studied as a foreign

language in countries like Japan, Germany, or China).   Are there similarities between

distinct contact varieties? Do all native varieties possess characteristics which separate

them from contact or performance varieties? These types of questions are posed by Sand

(2004) in her essay *Shared morpho-syntactic features in contact varieties of English:*

article use. In recent years, multiple corpora have been developed which include

examples of English from NNVEs, making such a study possible. Sand looked at

corpora of English from Singapore, India, Kenya, East Africa, Jamaica, Ireland, Great Britain, New Zealand, and Germany. She also looked at these Englishes in a number of different environments (conversation, public dialogues, monologues, student essays, informational writing, newspaper texts and fiction).   Her study focused on definite and indefinite article usage.   In terms of environment, Sand found that substrates (L1s) only had an impact on casual conversation, as opposed to the more formal types of communication she studied. Interestingly, Sand did find that the contact varieties shared one particular feature. She writes, "The most important finding is the fact that all contact varieties irrespective of their substrate share a tendency to use definite articles in certain contexts where they are not required in BrE or SAE. These are also not found in learner processes" (p. 298).   Sand argues that similar studies could be performed on other features of many contact Englishes, (zero articles, use of *one* instead of *a/an*, *this* instead of *the*) to further develop the field.

Despite its controversial place in Indian life, English has been embraced by many. Indians are constantly finding new and unique ways to integrate English into their lives and society. As shown, English has a wide range and depth.   On the lower end of the "cline," English has contributed words, phrases, and concepts to other languages in India. On the higher end of the cline, English has become a lingua franca in certain cities, and has even become an L1 in particular families and communities. Like so many non-native varieties of English around the world, Indian English is carving out a place for itself amongst world languages and dialects. Much of the research in this field has been

focused on defining Indian English not by what it lacks, but by what it is. As shown in the research, Indians are coming around to legitimizing their own varieties of English in ways that previous generations have not.   Thus, Indian English will continue in its evolution as it changes, merges with other languages, spreads through education, and finds utterance amongst the people.

This concept, of an Indianized English, has important implications for language educators in India. It changes the model for them. They are no longer teaching a foreign language based on a foreign model of fluency. Instead, they are teaching what is more akin to another local Indian language that lives and breathes in their own country.   That is a very different target goal for anyone interested in teaching English in India.   The first research question in this dissertation looks at the guidelines being employed by teacher professional development programs. How are these changing attitudes towards the different dialects of English impacting the teaching of English in India? While attitudes are certainly changing amongst the users of English, are those changes being reflected in teacher professional development, and how? These are some of the questions that this dissertation will hope to answer in regard to the character of the English being taught.

However, the type of English taught (foreign model vs. local model) can be considered less important than whether it is taught at all.   The next section of the paper looks at the availability of quality English language instruction in India, and the lack thereof.

English Education in India

In India, the ability to speak English is an important determining factor in predicting the success of a student (Ramanathan, 2005). When parents are charting the

course of their children's education, there are some important and definitive choices that need to be made. Namely, will they send their child to an English medium (EM) school or a vernacular medium school?   While English is increasingly becoming an L1 in some urban families (D'Souza, 2001), by and large, English is absent from the family domain (Sridhar 1989, Saghal 1991). By choosing an English medium school, which is often times the more expensive choice as free public education is often offered only in the local VM, parents try to provide their children with an early educational advantage, if they can. Most colleges and almost all of the prestigious secondary institutions in India are EM; thus, starting students in an EM environment can get students fluent in the language at a young age and provide children with the social status that comes with being fluent in English (D'Souza, 2001). However, sending children to an EM school can also create difficulties for parents, even if it is indeed possible financially. It sets up an immediate disconnect between the parents and their children's education when parents are not English speakers and may create literacy deficiencies in the child's L1 or family language (Saghal, 1991).

Sending a child to a VM school may be the only option in many places, as EM education is likely to be available mainly in cities and not in rural areas (Saghal, 1991). An advantage of VM education is that it can avoid the "fish out of water" experience that so many children face when placed into an EM setting, while English is absent from their home life. VM education can still also produce bilingual success, as English is likely to be an individual subject taught to students, even if it not the medium of every subject. However, if students have aspirations to go to a more competitive college or study a more prestigious subject, a VM school may not be able to prepare students for the steps ahead

of them (Ramanathan, 2005). So, for those parents who have the opportunity to choose, the choice as to an EM/VM education is indeed a profound one.

However, for those families with financial and geographical access to EM schools, one implication of that choice that parents may not be aware of is *how* their children will be taught English in these various settings. Ramanathan's book focuses on just *how* differently children are taught English in different types of schools, which significantly impacts success rates in acquisition. Similar ideas are espoused by Vaish (2008) who looks at English education amongst the urban disadvantaged of New Delhi. The goal of this section will be to discuss some of the language education problems evident in education in India, and their implications on language teacher professional development. Finally, recommendations for English teacher education will be discussed.

India's Educational Difficulties: Implementing Effective Language Learning

Ramanathan in *The English-Vernacular Divide: Postcolonial Language Politics and Practice* (2005) argues that the rhetoric around English as the "marvelous tongue" creates a huge gulf in Indian education between English Medium (EM) and Vernacular Medium (VM) students, valuing some and crippling others. She writes:

> Particular institutional and statewide socio-educational practices—such as tracking students on the basis of their fluency in English, or setting up language-related gate-keeping criteria that make the 'prestigious' disciplines inaccessible to the low income VM students—drawn as they are from free-floating pro Vernacular-anti-English sentiments, serve the function of grooves that can be seen to partially stratify both student and teacher behavior. Needles to say, such stratification seriously 'de-voices' VM students. (p. 25)

The author focuses her work on the complications faced by VM schools and VM students trying to enter into EM curriculums later in life. She argues that the prestigious subjects in India (e.g. science, math, engineering, technology) are almost always taught in

English, informing the practices and expectations of VM teachers and students. VM

students are stigmatized, and VM and EM teachers may even carry differing expectations

as to where their students may go academically (Ramanathan, 2005). When VM students

attempt to break into the prestigious subjects and schools, they often times must work in

English during examinations, even when their curriculum is taught in regional

vernaculars. In light of India's tri-language formula, which seeks to push English, Hindi,

and local languages in education, the serious imbalance in power between languages

becomes evident, despite the hopes of policy makers.

Ramanathan provides examples of discrepancies in the teaching of English in

Ahmedabad, a major city in Gujarat, a state in northwestern India. She looks at three

schools in Ahmendabad: an English Medium (EM) business college composed of

middle/uppermiddle class students with almost only EM experience, a middle class EM

Jesuit college recently opened to VM students, and a lower income VM college for

female students. Ramanathan interviewed over 80 students in the three colleges and 21

faculty members. She combines over 100 hours of classroom observations with an

analysis of relevant artifacts (syllabi, exams, student responses, textbooks, etc.) from all

of the schools involved. In her study, Ramanathan looks at three elements of divergence

in the education of students. Namely, the students are using divergent tools (textbooks),

they are subject to divergent pedagogical practices, and they are on divergent tracks.

In regard to textbook differences between EM/VM students in English classes,

Ramanathan points to the metadiscourse evident in textbooks. In EM classes, directions

to tasks are written in English while the VM texts present directions in vernacular

mediums. For Ramanathan, this discrepancy points to an important difference in the

expectations the texts have of their respective students. The expectations of VM students

are already minimized. Similarly, there are interpretive expectations in EM texts which

are absent in VM English classes. EM student texts ask their users to provide opinions

and write compositions. They ask students to develop a sense of voice and to gain the

tools necessary for self-learning. The VM texts dedicated to English education present

none of these learning opportunities, and even lack mention of authorship in the texts

read, removing any sense of context for the readers. For Ramanathan, these differences

in texts are important markers. She writes:

> Textbook representations of English literacy, then, are but surface manifestations
> that tell of deeply embedded differences between the 'educated' and the not,
> 'successful' and the not, 'sophisticated' and the not, 'westernized' and the not, but
> they, like most things in the educational realm, need to be first recognized as
> 'legitimatized' grooves that demand probing. Colonial legacy and postcolonial
> practice: English falls central in this divide. (p. 61)

Particularly in a country like India, where the textbook holds a privileged position, seen

as the repository of knowledge and the conduit to success on high stakes examinations,

such divergences in form are of increased importance. There are far more opportunities

for independent thought and interpretation in EM texts as opposed to VM texts for the

teaching of English, providing important advantages to EM students down the road in

higher education.

Chelliah (2001) revealed similar textual problems. Chelliah looks at seven

different components of texts available to students of English in India (organization,

quality and extent of grammatical explanation, reliability of error lists, pedagogical goals

of authors, ability to supplement English instruction, variety of English, and fluency of

authors). She found that the Indian published texts, often used by lower income VM

students because they are not as expensive as the foreign texts which are more likely to

utilize modern SLA techniques, are problematic for a number of reasons. She found that these texts had little interactional focus and were likely to rely on memorization exercises. Chelliah found that the texts were likely to teach to the test and had little reliability in error lists. The texts were likely to be seen as a primary teacher, looking at classroom instruction as irrelevant, even when there were important fluency problems in the texts themselves. She found an overgeneralization of rules, with no context provided regarding cultural appropriateness, and little focus on how local L1s might inform SLA. The texts were unlikely to look at real life corpora for language, but instead, they offered random examples with little to no grammatical explanation. As stated by Ramanathan, when fluency in English amongst language teachers can sometimes be a problem in schools for poor children, the textbook holds an even more important place in the education of students. These kinds of divergences in textbooks can be crippling for students interested in learning English.

From another perspective, the textbooks used in the teaching of English are often seen to be culturally alien to many students. Vaish (2008) argues that many English language education textbooks lack any reference to local customs or norms. Even when references are indeed made to local contexts, they seldom include the beliefs of low-caste communities. Thus, there is an increased separation between the texts in question and perspectives of the students who are trying to learn from them.

In regard to pedagogical practice, Ramanathan points to some important differences in her observations of EM/VM classrooms devoted to English education. She found that VM classrooms were likely to employ "katha" style lessons, which depend on call and response, representative of temple chanting, a tradition that many students are

familiar with. While many of the teachers found this to be a valuable tool in VM schools, Ramanathan points to the research of Bloome (as cited in Ramanathan, 2005), who argues that this may be an example of procedural display—this may not be evidence of learning, but that students are conforming to the rules of the classroom. Here students might be rehearsing what a classroom is supposed to sound like as opposed to finding real opportunities to speak using the target language. She found that VM classrooms that repeated sing-songy overdramatized pronunciations, were more likely to overuse vernacular languages, and emphasized quick, correct answers. Similar findings were expressed by Vaish (2008), where choral recitations and simultaneous translation were seen as the main pedagogical strategies in a low income public school. However, Vaish differs from Ramanathan in how she views this kind of choral recitation. She writes:

> From the perspective of ELT in countries where English is spoken as a first language this will look like mindless chanting without comprehension. However, this is a culturally situated pedagogy that is ecologically harmonious with the contexts of biliteracy that the children bring to the classroom…In Amarjeet's classroom we see a pedagogic practice that is rooted in a 5000-year-old tradition of memorization and 'learning'. (p. 62)

Here, Vaish's argument seems somewhat problematic. Later in her book, she does argue that the education in English provided by the school is out of sorts with what the older high school students need out of the language. The older students feel like they require an oral communicative competence that they lack. The choral recitations and simultaneous translations described in her book don't provide students with the opportunity to use the target language in meaningful ways, despite their adherence to tradition or other strengths. In her observations, Ramanathan found that EM classrooms devoted to English education celebrated group work and active participation, focused on grammar in business contexts, and encouraged students to take risks. Students in the

classroom Vaish describes lack these opportunities to speak and use language on their own.

Ramanathan also discusses teachers' divergent expectations of their students. The VM students at the female college were not necessarily encouraged by their teachers. VM teachers saw their students as more interested in marriage than in furthering their education. Thus, as opposed to providing their students with building blocks that could be developed later, education was seen as a final effort that might be concluded appropriately by teachers. Ramanathan points to the minimized expectations of many of the parents themselves, who also focused on marriage instead of education in VM schools. On the other hand, the competition in the EM schools was quite high. Students were expected to go into graduate studies by their teachers. Parents supported education for female students as well as for male students. Students were expected to use English both inside and outside of the classroom, making the language a regular part of their life.

There are significant cultural divides between the students in the two types of institutions described in Ramanathan's study. There are socioeconomic, gendered, and cultural divides that separate these students. Thus, the differentiated results in acquisition evident between the groups is emblematic of many possible factors. However, as shown by Ramanathan, Vaish, and Chelliah, there are also textual and pedagogical divides that exacerbate the gulf that already exists. Socioeconomic differences, gender, and culture can be formidable obstacles to begin with. The pedagogy and texts used by the different institutions seem to feed into that educational divide as well. The gap between students in these divergent institutions is widened by the educational process. Annamalai (2004) writes:

The challenge before policy makers is to ensure that enhancing opportunities for learning English through the educational system does not end up expanding the existing gaps in English proficiency. In other words, the challenge is to prevent the goal of equal access to economic opportunities through English, from producing unequal educational outcomes in regards to English (pg. 204).

As stated previously, when English education fails, students can lose a great deal in regard to opportunity. Success in universities and in the work place may depend on success in English (Annamalai, 2004). Thus, the schools charged with reducing these linguistic gaps must not be the culprits in reproducing and solidifying these gaps.

Recommendations

Ramanathan does make a number of recommendations to teachers of English in India. For the researcher, it is essential that teachers attempt to bridge the chasms evident in VM/EM schools. She writes:

Given the ever-important role that English plays in the surge toward globalization, it is particularly important that those of us in the English language teaching profession be mindful of how the very profession in which we are engaged perpetuates unequal power relations between entire groups of people and what we can do as teachers in small and not so small ways to mitigate divisions. (p. 87)

As stated earlier, English has serious symbolic power in India, and it is important for teachers of both VM and EM students to understand how those power dynamics play out in their classrooms. Teachers are likely to simply reproduce the same language stratifications that they observe in the country at large. Ramanathan calls this an assumptions nexus, which she argues sends crippling messages to their VM students. She writes:

By validating the role of English as much as it does at the tertiary realm and beyond, the general socio-educational apparatus is also simultaneously sending out implicit messages about the generally low regard it has for the Vernaculars both within the apparatus as a medium of instruction and in the larger social world to which the apparatus is inextricably tied. (p. 35)

Students already receive messages from their environment which minimize their VM education, limiting their aspirations and opportunities. If VM schools simply reinscribe those ideas, they do serious damage to their students. Ramanathan argues that schools need to find important ways to validate VM students and their knowledge base while simultaneously providing support to them during English education. She speaks of using community service and social work as a means of building student confidence and connections to the school, allowing them to gain courage to be used in other venues. She references the work of Canagarajah (1999), and talks about allowing for backchat (VM speech allowed in English classrooms, which may satirize or problematize what they see in EM classes) and incorporating some vernacular into English, which may add value to the home language and allow students to relax a bit. Most importantly, Ramanathan points to positive examples of EM schools providing extra support and tutoring to VM students, placing them on the front burner instead of allowing their collegiate dropout rates to continue to rise.

Ramanathan makes some important points in regard to the way English devalues local vernaculars and those educated in VM schools. She correctly points to the need for teachers of English to incorporate and empower VM students by tapping into their own cultures and L1s. She also talks about the poor pedagogical technique employed in many VM schools, where grammar translation methods and "katha" style call and response are most likely to be the depended on. She juxtaposes those scenes with the kind of collaborative group work and grammar in context evident in the EM schools.

The fourth and the fifth research questions in this dissertation look at gaps in current English teacher professional development and recommendations for similar

programs around the world. Ramanathan does pose some important questions that need answering in regard to English language education. In teacher professional development, how much awareness is there of the hierarchal relationship between languages in India? In what ways are teachers asked to be cognizant of the differences in students coming from EM/VM environments?

However, while she does bemoan the poor quality of English education available to lower income students, Ramanathan does not often speak of improving pedagogy in VM schools, which would do a great deal towards improving their chances of success in college and beyond. That is an issue of teacher preparation, where a change of pedagogy, and incorporating some of the findings of SLA research could be of help. As will be shown in the next section, around the world, changing pedagogy based on increased exposure to SLA theory in teacher training has proven to be successful.

Language Education Programs Can and Should

Influence Practice Amongst Teachers

Can a language education program provide prospective teachers with the tools necessary for success in the teaching of language? Does the breadth of research on second language acquisition (SLA) justify the recommendation of methodologies that can and should inform the teaching of language? The VM students that Ramanathan discusses are facing far more problems than just ineffective pedagogy. Some of those issues go beyond the scope of this study; however, pedagogy is one of the issues that can be addressed. The researchers identified in this section argue that using SLA theory and research-based teacher education is essential and can have a significant impact on improving language acquisition in students.

Skinner (2010) points to the need for more English as an Additional Language (EAL) theory in the training of teachers in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is continuing to diversify, and Skinner argues that the educational infrastructure in many public schools is not equipped or trained to handle immigrant students who speak a first language other than English. She interviewed 15 teachers from five schools at three different levels of experience. Her findings revealed that many of the teachers had little EAL theory in their training and those that did, regretted the fact that they did not have more. Skinner recommends compulsory training in EAL-based pedagogies and strategies and the reading of some of the major theorists in the field of SLA (she names: Schumann, Krashen, Giles & Smith, Cummins, and Gardner). She also calls for intercultural awareness training combined with student teaching opportunities in environments with larger immigrant communities. Essentially, Skinner's assertion is that language teachers need more exposure to SLA theory and pedagogy in their education, which would positively impact instruction.

The actual usage of research-based education has shown positive results. Nolan (2001) performed action research over eight months in a Central American Institute attempting to show how language education informed by SLA can significantly improve acquisition. The case study used interviews, observations, document reviews, and repeated assessments in an intensive program. The general tenants of the program valued constant and active oral engagement over explanation, and consistent scaffolded instruction. While the actual measurements of success in the study were somewhat ambiguous, Nolan does strongly advocate actively putting theory into practice in the teaching of English abroad.

Using a different model in his analysis, Corbett (2010) argues that using theory to inform his teaching actually saved his career. As opposed to Nolan's study, which focuses on an educational institution as the unit of analysis for his defense of theory-based language education, Corbett uses his own experiences, and comes to a similar conclusion. He argues that he had previously been a practitioner or a simple dispenser of knowledge. However, his studies eventually exposed him to ideas on the culture of language. He began to focus on how languages functioned within communities, which he says turned him into a "culturally sensitive social researcher" (p. 86), and a more effective teacher who could produce results.

A study by Gatbonton (2008) shows that high quality teacher preparation has shown that it can foster the same range of pedagogical knowledge in novice language teachers as what is evident in the work of experienced teachers. Gatbonton observed four novice and four experienced teachers to see what kinds of pedagogical strategies they employed in their work teaching language. The novice teachers were chosen because they were seen as exceptional candidates, graduating in the top percentiles of their programs. After statistically coding for observed practices, they interviewed the participants to see what kind of research based strategies were informing their decisions. They found that the novice teachers, even with almost no actual experience, were able to attain "the larger categories of pedagogical knowledge that can underlie active teaching behaviors, in addition to knowledge about passive teaching activities such as observing and taking note of what students do early on in the learning process" (p. 178). While Gatbonton does acknowledge that the experienced teachers did seem to have a more detailed knowledge of certain pedagogies, she does argue that high quality teacher

education can significantly improve educational practices and accelerate "the speed with which teachers can acquire the knowledge and skills needed for active teaching rather than having to wait for long term accumulations of this knowledge and skills through experience" (p. 178).

Similar ideas are espoused in the work of Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, Bransford, Berline, Cochran-Smith, McDonald, & Zeichner (2005). Namely, quality teacher preparation can produce highly effective classroom instruction. The authors write:

> Many studies describing teacher development in terms of what beginning teachers 'can' and 'cannot' do were conducted at a time when most teacher education programs were fairly weak interventions. Thus they may underestimate the potential of new teachers to practice in more sophisticated ways, particularly if those new teachers are prepared in programs that can leverage their development productively. Some recent studies designed to examine the kinds of teacher education that support teacher learning suggest that, under the right circumstances, with particular kinds of learning experiences, new teachers can develop a more expert practice even as beginning practitioners. (p. 381)

The kinds of teacher preparation practices which lead to effective classroom teaching will be described in the next section of the literature review. However, this excerpt does support the notion that language education programs can and should influence instruction.

In more recent years, as public education in America is coming under increased scrutiny, standards-based teacher preparation and professional development is becoming increasingly influential. Groups like the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) and the Council for the Accreditation of Education Preparation (CAEP) publish the expectations of effective teacher preparation and offer a listing of the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that all teachers need to be considered qualified

candidates. Similarly, individual states have put together recommendations for effective instruction which teachers are expected to follow. These kinds of research-based guidelines have helped to streamline language instruction and inform teacher preparation and professional development in ways that fall in line with what research has determined as best practices in language education.   As shown above, many researchers have discussed the importance of incorporating research-based pedagogy and best practices into daily instruction.

The standards published by groups like NCATE, CAEP, and state level organizations provide a framework for what that kind of instruction should look like in the United States context. For instance, the CAEP has recently published its guidelines for what knowledge, skills, and dispositions a qualified teacher candidate should possess (Council for the Accreditation of Education Preparation, 2013) . A qualified teacher should be able to understand how learners develop, create conducive environments for their growth, and appreciate individual differences in learners while allowing each to reach their full potential. An effective candidate should possess mastery of their subject area content while also being able to apply that content in innovative ways.   In regard to instructional practice, a qualified teacher should have a variety of instructional strategies at their disposal, which they exemplify through their plans and can effectively assess through multiple measures.   Lastly, a qualified teacher demonstrates professionalism through their ability to collaborate with other educational professionals, parents, and students, while continually growing as a professional.   As education reforms continue to impact public schools in America, these kinds of research-based best-practices have become the standards by with educators are being judged. As shown in this section of the

paper, incorporating these kinds of research-based best-practices into instruction can improve language education in many international contexts.

Effective Teacher Professional Development

While effective teacher preparation and professional development can have a significant impact on instruction as shown above, it is important to determine what a successful teacher preparation program looks like. Teacher preparation can be difficult as teachers can often times be resistant to ideas they come across in both pre-service and professional development programs. The article mentioned previously by Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, Bransford, Berline, Cochran-Smith, McDonald, & Zeichner (2005), focuses on pre-service teachers and the difficulty of impacting their views on effective teaching. They write:

> Prospective teachers come to the classroom with preconceptions about how the world, and teaching works. These preconceptions, developed in their 'apprenticeship of observation,' condition what they learn. If their initial understanding is not engaged, they may fail to grasp the new concepts and information, or they may learn them for the purposes of a test but revert to their preconceptions outside of the classroom. (p. 366)

When new information challenges what teacher candidates believe, it is likely to be disregarded. Thus, changing traditional classroom practices is an uphill battle. The authors argue that prospective teachers' initial understandings need to be "engaged." Similar ideas are espoused by Belzer (2004) in her work on adult education. Belzer shows how the experience adult learners bring with them acts as a window screen that can sometimes be problematic and make new learning difficult if it doesn't already correspond to what the learners believe. She writes, "The implication of this research is that to keep the window screens from becoming shutters, which obviously creates obstacles to learning, they need to be made explicit. Instead of looking through the

window screens, learners need encouragement to look with a conscious and critical eye at the screens themselves" (p. 56). Making adult learners aware of their predilections can help them to avoid the obstacles to learning that their prior experiences may create. Thus, teacher preparation and professional development for adults needs to take into account these realities about prior experience and its impact on learning.

The field of andragogy is one that focuses on high quality adult education. Knowles, Holton, and Swanson (1998) define six necessary components of effective adult education. Adult education must respond to an adult's need to know. Secondly, andragogy recommends that adult education tap into the experiences of the learners. The learners' experiences should create the backdrop for learning activities. The third component concerns the self-concept of the learners. Adults should be involved in the planning and evaluation of their studies. The fourth element of effective adult education is that it must respond to a readiness to learn. Adults are most likely to respond to instruction that corresponds to their work and daily lives. A fifth component of effective adult education is that it be oriented towards solving problems as opposed to being content oriented. Lastly, effective education for adults should respond to learners' motivations. Adults are more likely to respond to internal motivators over external ones.

Not all teacher preparation and professional development is effective, and many other researchers have also tried to determine the characteristics of effective teacher professional development for veteran in-service teachers. The work of Garet, Porter, Desimone, Briman, & Yoon (2001) looks at characteristics of successful teacher professional development using a sample of over 1000 teachers. Their work focused on many significant factors in determining success in teacher professional development, four

of which will be explored in this literature review. Namely, professional development should promote active learning, foster coherence, be of a certain duration, and involve collective participation.

Good professional development should promote active learning (Garet *et al*, 2001). Too often, teachers sit passively during professional development as they are talked to by an outside expert on a particular topic. Darling-Hammond (1996) writes on this topic as well and says, "Teacher education reformers are beginning to recognize that teachers, like their students, learn by doing. As teacher educators, beginning teachers, and experienced teachers work together on real problems of practice in learner-centered settings" (6). If teachers are to use and integrate ideas they come across in professional development, they need opportunities to experiment and physically work with the new approaches and not simply hear about them. Garet (*et al,* 2001) provides examples of the types of activities that active teacher professional development should include: observing and being observed, planning for classroom implementation, reviewing student work, and presenting/leading/writing. In the same way that learner-centered education is often times encouraged in the classroom with students, the same kinds of activities are shown to work in teacher professional development (Duran, Brunvand, Ellsworth, & Sendag, 2012). Bransford, Brown, & Cocking (2000) write, "Environments that are learner-centered attempt to build on the strengths, interests, and needs of the learners. Many efforts to facilitate teacher learning fall short in this regard: they often consist of required lectures and workshops and are not tailored to the teachers' needs" (p. 193). Activities that promote active learning provide teachers with the opportunity to understand what the new practice or approach is, and what it looks like in action.

Teachers can practice implementing the ideas in scenarios that match what they do in their classrooms and receive and provide feedback on their initial attempts at implementation. Similarly, researchers from the field of andragogy argued that good professional development needs to tie into the self-concept of learners, providing them opportunities to plan and evaluate their own training.

A second necessary component of successful teacher professional development recommended by Garet (*et al*, 2001) is that it foster coherence. The authors write:

> Professional development for teachers is frequently criticized on the ground that the activities are disconnected from one another—in other words, individual activities do not form part of a coherent program of teacher learning and development. A professional development activity is more likely to be effective in improving teachers' knowledge and skills if it forms a coherent part of a wider set of opportunities for teacher learning and development (p. 927).

Professional development for teachers often appears random, haphazard, and disconnected from other training opportunities they encounter. It might also appear to be separated from their particular local context and reality and thus appear irrelevant. Professional development needs to feel meaningful and connected for teachers if it is to be successful. Other researchers agree. Cochran-Smith (2003) speaks on the importance of an inquiry stance in the professional development of teachers. She writes, "inquiry as stance offers an intellectual as well as practical perspective on the education of teacher educators— a way of learning from and about the practice of teacher education by engaging in systematic inquiry on that practice within a community of colleagues over time" (p. 28). By creating a local dialogue over a particular teaching practice, teachers can make that approach "practical," or essentially, relevant to their local reality. Teachers need to find ways to fit new models and ideas into the local realities of their environment, and the inquiry model allows them to make these new approaches coherent. If

professional development is not coherent, it is not likely to be incorporated into teachers'

repertoires.   Bransford (*et al*, 2000) agrees, but also extends the conversation to include

the need for professional development to create coherence between pedagogical

knowledge and content area knowledge. The authors write:

> Effective learning environments are knowledge-centered as well as
> learner-centered. Ideally, opportunities for teacher learning include a focus on
> pedagogical content knowledge, but many fall short of this ideal….In addition,
> workshops for teachers often focus more on generic pedagogy than on the need to
> integrate pedagogy with the content of various disciplines. (p. 194)

When pedagogical information is presented in isolation and apart from discipline specific

information, it appears inconsistent. These ideas also correspond to the arguments made

by researchers interested in andragogy. Knowles, Holton, and Swanson (1998) argued

that good adult education should have immediate relevance to the work and daily lives of

learners.

A third important component of professional development is that it be of a

lengthier duration. Garet (*et al*, 2001) writes, "[a]lmost all of the recent literature on

teacher learning and professional development calls for professional development that is

sustained over time" (p. 921).   Much teacher professional development is short in nature,

where a topic is described and never seen again. Nishimura (2014) writes, "Generally

[professional development] is a onetime in-service where participants listen to *cutting*

edge information. This method for professional development relies on the participants to

take their new knowledge and implement the information individually. Professional

development in the form of a onetime event may not sustain and penetrate into the

system" (p. 21). Seldom do teachers get an opportunity to wrestle with a teaching

practice many times over a long period of time. Increasing the length of professional

development allows teachers to understand, experiment with, and master ideas and thus makes it more likely that they will actually incorporate particular practices into their classrooms. Nishimura also cites research pointing to the importance of follow-up in professional development. The kind of professional development which touches on an issue and then moves on is unlikely to be incorporated by teachers. Follow-up which involves observations, peer support, and ongoing feedback is more likely to be implemented by teachers.

Lastly, good teacher professional development requires collective participation. Garet (*et al,* 2001) writes, "[p]rofessional development may help contribute to a shared professional culture, in which teachers in a school or teachers who teach the same grade or subject develop a common understanding of instructional goals, methods, problems, and solutions" (p. 922). Professional development is more likely to have a lasting impact amongst teachers and take learning beyond a short presentation or in-service through collective participation. By developing collective participation on the part of teachers, a community is created where ideas can bounce around, and trials and errors can occur in order to create better understandings of a given practice. Another researcher on this topic, Wood (2007) writes:

> Together, they shouldered responsibility to systematically inquire into present practices, consult outside expertise, reflect on what they had learned from experience, and engage in searching conversations with one another. In the process, they were building effective pedagogical knowledge that the children they served needed so badly. This is the kind of story we need to see much more of in the nation's schools. (p. 284)

Wood recommends the creation of professional learning communities, where teachers are empowered to reflect on their practice, research ideas, incorporate what they learn into what they have seen, and work with colleagues on developing an understanding of new

practices. Little (2012) also speaks in support of professional learning communities. She writes:

> The image of professional community has its origins in research on teachers' workplace relationships and their relationship to school improvement. In one early example of such research, Little (1982) found that schools with 'norms of collegiality and experimentation' were more likely to adapt successfully to a major change and to record higher levels of student achievement than schools where teachers worked in isolation and where norms of privacy and noninterference prevailed. In the highly collegial and improvement-orientated schools, teachers talked frequently with each other about their teaching and how to improve it. (p. 15)

As opposed to professional development where teachers passively receive information and are asked to integrate it into their classroom, the professional learning community uses the experience and resources available to teachers as a tool for integrating new ideas to improve practice

Incorporating SLA Research and Theory into the Classroom

Research on SLA has produced some important findings regarding techniques that can be incorporated into classrooms to benefit students.   Simply getting away from teacher-centered classrooms could do a great deal. As education is becoming a central part of the national dialogue in India, there is a desire to get away from the rote memorization that is so prevalent in Indian schools. An editorial writer Solanki (2011) wrote,

> With India progressing every second our education system still lies in ruins. Vomiting out and reciprocating the taught knowledge on paper is what carries the gravity. We are seldom given any chance to put forward our views on a given topic. It's all about those grouchy professors with their humdrum teaching methods that leads most of the class population shift on the backbenches. (p.1)

There are so many research-backed techniques that could help the kinds of students described in Ramanathan's text. Using a sociocultural approach to inform instruction,

students work together to co-construct knowledge amongst themselves to meet a common goal (Swain, 2001). This encourages and stimulates student production of speech, perhaps the most important of SLA skills. In many ways, speaking is the culmination of a students' learning. Language learners must organize what they know about vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, to compose original utterances alongside another speaker in real time. Speaking requires the synthesis of skills and higher order thinking (Bygate, 2001), which is not evident in the kind of "katha" style, call and response lessons discussed by Ramanathan. In many ways, this sociocultural approach to language education defines the theoretical framework for this dissertation. Namely, Vygotskian (1978) notions of learning focus on the interaction between learners and more capable speakers. It is within these interactions that real learning and language acquisition take place.

Sociocultural Theory (SCT) is a school of thought that borrows heavily from the foundational work of Lev Vygotsky (1978) and the studies he performed in the early parts of the twentieth century. Sociocultural theory has become influential in many fields of study interested in cognitive development, particularly in the domain of education. In recent years, researchers in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have increasingly relied on SCT and Vygotskian thought in developing their ideas on how second languages (L2s) are learned and how SCT can help to inform effective instruction (Morton & Jack, 2005; Stewart & File, 2007; Wardhaugh, 1986; Watanabe & Swain, 2007; Willis & Willis, 2001).

Vygotsky was interested in the cognitive development of children, focusing on the process by which mental functioning emerges. These functions develop as children are acculturated into the world around them. Introduced to higher mental operations

(activities ranging from attention, to memory, to conceptualization, to language use) primarily by their parents, children internalize these varied skills which surround them, making meaning of these skills and subsequently using them as tools allowing them to further develop. When learners are initially introduced to something new, they are controlled by their environment. But as the teachers/parents in their environment continue to provide assistance and model the use of these cultural functions and tools, the individual begins to take control of these artifacts, internalizing the patterns first observed socially. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theorists have been greatly influenced by Sociocultural Theory (SCT), the school of thought inspired by the work of Vygotsky.

One of the most basic tenants of Vygotskian thought regards the social origin of learning. Namely, learning and higher level faculties do not unfold innately or in a vacuum but are developed through the internalization of what is observed in the social environment of the child/student. Researchers like Wantanabe & Swain (2007) looked at collaborative dialogue, a pedagogical technique inspired by this Vygotskian concept. The authors define collaborative dialogue as "dialogue in which speakers are engaged in problem-solving and knowledge-building" (p. 122). Essentially, the output produced by learners of a new language can be the source of new learning when partnerships are set up in the classroom. Peer-to-peer groupings provide the social opportunities for second language learners (L2) to create new understandings about the target language in question, a very Vygotskian notion.

However, these approaches require a change in thinking by educators. As Ramanathan stated, EM students are encouraged to take risks and use language actively

while VM students are not. Students must have real life, task-based opportunities to use language (Willis & Willis, 2001).

Changing the environment of classrooms to empower students and encourage interaction is important, but teachers must also avoid some of the traditional pitfalls in language classrooms that were evident in Ramanathan and Chelliah's observations of English education. They argued that teachers often focused too much on pronunciation and grammatical rules out of context, and that pronunciation should only be considered a significant factor when it interferes with comprehensibility. Pronunciation feedback can have negative effects on language learners. The insistence on correct pronunciation and the subsequent overcorrection can intimidate students into silence, raising their affective filter, and diminishing results (Engwall & Balter, 2007). In regard to grammar instruction, much of the work observed by Ramanathan and Chelliah was simply "empty learning", where students learned explicit rules without understanding their functions or contexts. McCarthy (2001) argues that teachers should, "evaluate their students' communicative needs so that the teaching of grammar proceeds on the basis of relevant discourse contexts and the texts that belong to them" (p. 54).

Teachers should be wary of the ways that L1 languages influence L2 learning (Wiltshire & Harnsberger 2006), while also meeting the local cultural needs of students as opposed to meeting foreign norms of fluency (Sharma, 2005), which Chelliah pointed to as a problem in English textbooks in India. Canagarajah (2007) takes this notion a step further, arguing that teachers need to provide students with the skills to negotiate meaning in situations where one or both speakers are not fluent in the target language. Since English is often a lingua franca, students need to be prepared to use it as an interlanguage,

where non-native speakers (NNSs) are likely to use L1 code switches, simplification

strategies, or even create random innovations in communicating ideas. Canagarajah

writes:

> Rather than focusing on a single language or dialect as the target of learning,
> teachers have to develop in students a readiness to engage with a repertoire of
> codes in transnational contact situations. Although enabling students to join a
> new speech community was the objective of traditional pedagogy, we now have to
> train students to shuttle between communities by negotiating the relevant codes.
> To this end, we have to focus more on communicative strategies, rather than on
> forms of communication (p. 936).

Students need to actively engage in their education, and learn to incorporate these

language skills into their lives. Teachers must take their focus away from developing a

fluent, native-speaker final product in students, but instead teach language learners how

to communicate effectively for the unique needs of their community, even if their

utterances don't meet traditional models for fluency.

In another sense, Canagarajah is talking about the importance of using effective

pedagogical techniques and best practices and making them work within local cultures.

This is an important reminder that must be taken into account when teaching in any

context. Canagarajah writes extensively on this topic. In another essay, he writes about

the importance of understanding that a one-size-fits-all application of foreign models of

education may not necessarily take root in every situation. Canagarajah (2005) writes,

> Local knowledge can motivate conversations between different localities:
> answering questions that transcend one's own borders. It is possible to talk about
> common subjects and explore related questions while having a starting point that
> is specific to one's locality. It is when we acknowledge the localness of each of
> our own knowledge that we have the proper humility to engage productively with
> other knowledge traditions. (p. 20)

Here, Canagarajah speaks about the importance of not overplaying the best practices

endorsed by SLA theorists. While valuable, acknowledgement of local traditions and

learning styles will be essential for any teacher of English in an Indian context. This idea

is reminiscent of the earlier debate situated between Ramanathan and Vaish over the

value of "katha style" choral chanting in language education. While choral recitation

may not reflect what would come out of a Western language education textbook, it is a

tradition that requires acknowledgment, as it is likely to be encountered in the Indian

context. It must also be remembered that certain best practices endorsed by Western

scholarship may not be implementable locally. Block (2004) argues that current trends in

research on SLA around the world, does indeed problematize the implementation of

foreign methodologies in local contexts. He writes:

> As recently as 20 years ago, there was seldom any suggestion in ELT circles that it might be problematic to package and transfer around the world particular approaches to language teaching (in the shape of, for example, communicative methodologies, materials, and textbooks)…In recent years, there is an altogether more nuanced approach to language teaching methods and their transferability around the world (p. 76).

While some ideas may be transferable, others might require adaptation to local customs

and norms. Thus, while SLA research may have a great deal to offer teachers of English

in India, sensitivity in its implementation based on local cultures is essential.

In another sense, best practices endorsed by SLA theorists may be difficult to

implement in some contexts for other reasons as well. Pan and Block (2011) looked at

the beliefs of English language learners in China and found that while the desire to learn

the language was indeed high and teachers and students agreed that a communicative

language teaching (CLT) approach would indeed be the best way to acquire English, CLT

methods were mostly absent. They write:

> The perceived importance of English, and above all the importance of being able to communicate in English, does not seem to have affected how it is taught and when asked about classroom teaching and learning of English, participants reveal

> a complex state of affairs. Although English competence is believed to be useful, the deeply rooted examination culture leads to an exam-based syllabus, which clashes with the CLT approach which teachers are supposed to implement. In short, there is a 'put exams first' mentality which reigns supreme. (p. 401)

The teachers and students might feel that a CLT approach would best suit the needs of students trying to become fluent in English, but the examination culture of China makes such approaches difficult to implement. The researchers argue that students are more interested in being certified as competent speakers than they are in actually being communicative speakers. Thus, pressured to perform on high stakes exams, best teaching practices are ignored and replaced by efficient and focused test preparation. Here, we see an example of how research-based practices may not work in every context, or may require adaptation. Local cultures and needs may make the implementation of best practices difficult.

There is an ocean of research on best practices and SLA, and the concepts offered here only reflect a drop of what strategies are available to teachers of English. But improving pedagogy for VM students can go a long way towards opening up opportunities in higher education for those who have traditionally struggled. Much of the research in this section has looked at challenges in the teaching of English in India, whether they be pedagogical or based on relationships of power between EM/VM education, and its implications on teachers and students. The stakes are high when teaching English in India. The success or failure of a classroom can have profound repercussions on the lives of students. Nobody is saying that simply infusing western best practices based on SLA theory and research into teacher professional development will be a one-size-fits-all panacea for all that is ailing in the education of Ramanathan's VM students. There are also issues of class, gender, socioeconomics, and resource

allocation that must be dealt with. And there is the need to localize best practices to suit the needs of students. However, there is also clearly the need for teachers to be aware of and use best practices, adjusted for the needs of the local context, which can be helped through effective professional development.

Conclusion

The teaching of English in India has a long and complicated history. The problem of providing high quality English language education to all interested learners in India is indeed well documented. Finding qualified and fluent English teachers is a problem in many contexts. Resources available to families and communities in many places are limited and English language education tends to be expensive. And thus, as noted, many studies rightly focus on the differing quality of language education being provided to different learners. However, there is little focus on the teachers in this process. If language education is to be effective and improve, then one of the factors that requires analysis is in regards to the pedagogies being employed by teacher educators and whether or not they reflect the kinds of best practices recommended by research on language education. What are teacher professional development programs in India currently recommending to teachers? How are those recommendations being internalized and employed by new teachers? What difficulties are the teachers finding in trying to implement those best practices when they become teachers?

These are the kinds of questions this dissertation seeks to answer. As stated, teachers alone cannot solve the problem of providing quality English language instruction to all who seek it. However, analyzing teacher professional development can provide some important insights into what is currently happening in the language education

scene. What strategies are being employed and why? The data produced from a case study such as this one can provide important recommendations that can inform teacher preparation and professional development in India.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This research project is a qualitative case study focused on a major language education program in an urban center of India. The study was conducted to answer the following questions:

Research Questions:

1)   What guidelines are teacher professional development programs in India using as they prepare in-service professional teachers?

2)   How are those recommendations being internalized and employed by these in-service teachers?

3)   What difficulties are the teachers predicting in trying to implement the best practices they come across in this teacher professional development program? What obstacles are professors predicting for graduates of the program?

4)   What gaps may exist in the professional development of English teachers as seen by the professors and in-service teachers? What recommendations can be made to improve the teacher professional development program?

5)   What can be learned from the teacher professional development program in this case study that can be useful to English language teacher education programs around the world?

The case study approach provides the opportunity to analyze an individual program in an in-depth manner (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). Through observations and conducting interviews with the professors and administrators teaching in the program, and the current in-service teachers in the program, it became possible to knit together a rich portrait of the teacher professional development program, aiming to capture the inside vantage point of the numerous perspectives of the major players involved. To create this portrait, I also examine course syllabi, internet resources and pubic information available about the program, and the text books used in the training of teachers.

The case study approach allows for a comprehensive analysis of a single program and offers some unique advantages. The case study allows the researcher to immerse him or herself in the culture of the program. Understanding any institution comprised of many people and factors requires the kind of detailed, in-depth analysis that the case study approach provides. When collecting data, I was able to meet personally with the professors and students in order to construct a close reading and analysis of the school.

This particular approach to a case study allowed for the triangulation of data, an important component of qualitative research (Merriam, 1998). Stake (1995) writes, "It is true that we deal with many complex phenomena and issues for which no consensus can be found as to what really exists—yet we have ethical obligations to minimize misrepresentation and misunderstanding" (p. 108). Stake goes on to describe the need for the triangulation of data, which looks at a phenomenon from many different angles to gain a clearer and vision of what is actually occurring. In my study, interviews with the various kinds of participants allowed me to understand the program from numerous perspectives. Interviewing the professors and administrators of the program allowed me to understand what the general goals of the program are and how the institution aimed to meet those targets. It also helped me to understand the broader context which impacts how the administrators design and implement their program. Analysis of the textbooks and course syllabi provided evidence of how the instructors are implementing their vision of language education. Observations of the courses, school culture, and teacher sample lessons allowed me to better understand the approach to language education being fostered by the school. Finally, interviews with the in-service teachers allowed me to ascertain how the stated goals of the program are being internalized and understood.

Yin (2009) argues that the case study approach is relevant when a researcher is asking questions that pertain to how or why a current phenomenon is behaving in a certain manner. He writes, "As a research method, the case study approach is used to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomenon. In brief, the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events" (p. 4). Thus, when a researcher is interested in the how and the why of certain phenomenon, and is focusing on contemporary events without requiring control of the behavioral events in question, the case study approach is appropriate.

In a pilot study performed during the spring of 2010, I was able to investigate a major Mid-Atlantic university language education MA program. The study provided an opportunity to gauge the program's strengths and weaknesses, and consider how effectively the program was meeting its goals based on interviews with the professors and designers of the program. The pilot also aimed to get a sense of what gaps existed in the program as described by the graduates in the program who had begun their work as professional ESL teachers. The research questions for the pilot were as follows:

- What ideas about teaching are graduates implementing in their work as language teachers?

- Which of the graduate program's goals do the new teachers see as useful and what gaps have they seen in their training?

- What obstacles have graduates faced in trying to implement the teaching strategies endorsed by their training?

- What insights might this case study provide for teacher preparation in language education?

Interviews with all 3 of the professors on the faculty of the program were performed. Interestingly, the pilot was done at a time just before the program was to be redesigned, and thus the professors in question were also able to speak about where they hoped to see the teacher preparation program go in the future. The pilot also included interviews with 3 recent graduates of the program who had been teaching ESL professionally for less than 3 years. The graduates spoke about aspects of their training that they felt was most useful, and some of the ways in which they felt unprepared.

The findings showed that there was a good deal of agreement between the professors and graduates in regards to many of the MA program's strengths and weaknesses. The program had many strengths, as described by the interviewees. Graduates felt that they were strongly encouraged to show empathy in their work and to see themselves as teacher/researchers. The professors felt that they needed their graduates to see themselves as strong advocates for their students and programs as ESL is often an afterthought in many educational institutions and the graduates agreed that they were prepared to do that kind of advocacy work. The professors were proud of the fact that the students engaged in graduate level thinking and were encouraged to use second language acquisition (SLA) research and theory to inform their work. The students agreed that they did indeed base their practices on SLA research and theory in their work as teachers.

The graduates did say that they ran into some obstacles in terms of their ability to use their preparation in their work. The various institutions they worked in had curricula

of their own that they wanted their teachers to implement using their own practices. At times, those pedagogical strategies were at odds with what the graduates were encouraged to do by their teacher preparation program. Also, there were limits to the resources available at some of their programs, making the implementation of certain strategies difficult. In regard to gaps in the program, both the teachers and graduates felt that the preparation of teachers needed to focus more on the literacy needs of future students. The new teachers also felt unprepared to provide their students with the content area knowledge they would need and to help their students pass the high-stakes standardized assessments that they would encounter.

The recommendations emanating from the study pointed to the need for a separate ESL teacher preparation track in the language education program that would require closer communication between the professors and closer relationships with the local schools where prospective teachers gain student teaching experience. The recommendations also pointed to the need for increased preparation in the literacy and content area domains.

The pilot study was helpful in preparation for this dissertation, as the methodology used was similar. However, this dissertation expanded on the pilot study in several ways. First, the pilot was conducted in a U.S context, and the dissertation study takes place in Bangalore, India. The pilot study begins with an in-depth analysis of the program itself. The data collection in the dissertation is more ambitious, including interviews with the professors and in-service teachers, but also adding a study of course syllabi, public documents, and descriptions of the program, and the text books used in the preparation of teachers. As opposed to only using the comments garnered from

interviews, this kind of analysis allowed a first-hand view into how the program operates in real practice. Secondly, the dissertation includes observations of the in-service teachers in the sample lessons they performed. As opposed to only having interviews with the new teachers, the observations allowed me to see their teaching in person, providing for a more nuanced understanding of how they may be implementing their training in their work as professional English teachers.

Each of the research questions was answered through an analysis of the following types of data:

Research Questions:

1) What guidelines are teacher professional development programs in India using as they prepare in-service professional teachers?

   a. Interviews with the current in-service teachers (ISTs) enrolled in the program in focus groups

   b. Interviews with the professors of the program

   c. National/State data as available online

   d. Textbook and curriculum analysis

2) How are those recommendations being internalized and employed by these in-service teachers?

   a. Interviews with the professors of the program

   b. Interviews with the in-service teachers currently enrolled in the program in focus groups

   c. Observations of in-service teachers in sample lessons

3) What difficulties are the teachers predicting in trying to implement the best

practices they come across in this teacher professional development program?

What obstacles are professors predicting for graduates of the program?

    a. Interviews with current ISTs in the program in focus groups

    b. Interviews with professors of the program

    c. Observations of the sample lessons

4) What gaps may exist in the professional development of English teachers as seen
by the professors and in-service teachers? What recommendations can be made to
improve the professional development program?
    a. Observations of the new teachers in sample lessons
    b. Interviews with the professors of the program
    c. Interviews with the current in-service teachers in the program in focus
       groups
    d. Document analysis of syllabi/text/public info

4) What can be learned from the teacher professional development program in this

case study that can be useful to English language teacher education programs

around the world?

    b. Observations of the in-service teachers in sample lessons

    c. Interviews with the professors of the program

    d. Interviews with the current in-service teachers in the program in focus

       groups

    e. Document analysis of syllabi/text/public info

The Site

The site of the study is the Academy for the Teaching of English (ATE), South India, located in Southwest Bangalore, Karnatika. The name of the institution has been changed in this dissertation to protect the confidentiality of the participants in question. The campus is located on the outskirts of the city, sharing a campus with one of the city's large universities. On the institution's website, a brief description of the institute is provided. It reads as follows:

> The Academy for the Teaching of English South India, Bengaluru, was founded in June 1963 with the broad objective of improving standards of English language teaching in the five southern States of India viz. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Puducherry. During its five decades the Institute has been in the cause of English Language education and thus has carved a niche for itself in the fields of Teacher Training, materials production, action research and trainer training. Besides short term and long term teacher development and trainer development programmes, the Institute also offers Post Graduate Diploma in English Language Teaching and Diploma in Communication through distance mode.

The website goes on to describe their objectives, which read:

- To improve the standards of teaching of English in primary and secondary schools in the four states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu

- To train teachers

- To undertake and facilitate conferences, seminars, etc.,

- To prepare suitable textbooks, guidance and other materials for teachers at various levels

- To afford help to the four states in drawing up the syllabus in English

- To undertake research studies in ELT

- To conduct regular and need based courses in English language

As English language education is a major industry in India, there are many different types of institutions which provide teacher professional development. As this is a case study that proposes to focus on one particular teacher professional development site, the goal was to find a site that had either significant impact in terms of its number of graduates or is significant with regard to prestige as a leader in the field. The ATE fulfilled both requirements. They train over 1000 teachers a year and are respected as a prestigious institution in the field of ELT and teacher training.

There are several reasons why the ATE was an excellent site to study for a research project such as this one. The ATE is recognized as a leader in language education. In many ways, the institution is the priority site for educational organizations and state governments when it comes to curriculum development and design for English language teaching in South India. It has a long history in the region and is solely dedicated to the improvement of language instruction. It is seen as a leader in the field and thus carries a prestigious reputation in matters of language instruction.

Focusing on this site is helpful for a number of reasons. For one, this dissertation focuses on elements of Indian teacher professional development that can be helpful to language education programs in India and internationally. India, as previously stated, produces successful new fluent speakers of English in every generation. As such, findings from this study may point to the implementation of best practices that may be of interest to language teacher educators; at the same time, weaknesses of the program could be used to suggest possible changes for future practice as well. As this site is considered prestigious and graduates large numbers of in-service teachers each year, it is a strong place to begin for this work of teacher professional development analysis.

However, there are also some limitations to generalizability in the study of such a site. While the Academy does indeed reach a high number of teachers, that number is dwarfed by the number of government school teachers that they do not reach. While there are many teachers who attend the program who are well aware of the ATE and its reputation, there are more who have never heard of it until they got there. The ATE is one of many different teacher professional development programs, and while it is one that is respected and far reaching, it also has its limitations and cannot speak to more than what it is.

The ATE provides two main programs—one that is a full year-long course in teacher professional development for pre-service teachers and another in-service program that runs for 30 days. The focus of this particular study was on the 30-day program, which was observed during the months of July and August 2013. By and large, the 30-day program enrolls a large group of teachers (between 20-60) from a particular region and hosts them on ATE's campus for in-service professional development for the month. The teachers all come from one of five South Indian states: Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnatika, Kerela, and Punducherry. Usually, two states are represented at a time and stay together as a group. During my time at the ATE, I was able to observe the last two weeks with a Kerela group comprised of 19 teachers. I was also present for the month-long stay of the Tamil Nadu group which had about 60 teachers and the Andhra Pradesh group, which had about 45 teachers. Most of my time was spent observing and interviewing the Andhra Pradesh group.

The room and board are all on the campus and provided free of charge for the teachers. Funding for the ATE comes from the state governments supporting the training

program.   Male teachers stay in the main building, about eight to a room. Female

teachers have separate quarters in the next building where the canteen is located. The

teachers eat all of their meals on campus. Classes begin at 10:00 and end at 5:00. The

campus is equipped with a language lab, computer lab, auditorium, and many classrooms.

The computers in the language lab are fairly modern. The computers in the computer lab

are slow and older. The classrooms are all equipped with projectors that connect to the

professors' laptops for power point presentations. The building itself is relatively old and

the living quarters are simple. The ATE campus is tucked away in the corner of the larger

campus and the access road to get to the ATE would surely challenge the shocks on any

vehicle. There is some gorgeous vegetation surrounding the main building and some well

gardened walking paths in front of the ATE. In regard to the living situation, most of the

teachers are reasonably satisfied with the living quarters afforded them. The biggest

complaint is about the food. The administrators told me that the food budget is always

stretched thin.   There is also an extremely well stocked library with books on many

subtopics in the field of English language education. There are literary resources, and

books on grammar, phonetics, writing, reading, educational theory, psychology, and

teacher training. The library collection is indeed impressive. While it is mostly Western,

there are a few gems that focus specifically on the teaching of English in India. They

keep the collection fairly up to date with books on a variety of topics in language

education. They also have many different workbooks which teachers can use as

resources with their students in the classrooms. Once a month, they also hold a bookfair

where teachers can purchase resources for their professional use from local booksellers

who have collections pertaining to English language education. Most of these resources are grammar books, dictionaries, TESOL test prep resources and other similar works.

As stated, classes begin at 10. The day usually begins in the upstairs classroom with two in-service teachers providing an oral presentation to the group that summarizes the previous day's activities and discussion. The in-service teachers (ISTs) rotate and all of them are expected to make this sort of presentation at some point. The classes last an hour. During the course of the day, the ISTs take 4 classes. There is a 15-minute tea break at 11, and a one-hour lunch break at 1. Between 11 and 1 o'clock, the Andhra Pradesh group would break up into 4 groups. Each group would rotate between four stations: the language lab, the computer lab, classroom grammar practice, and the library. The day would begin with a class, and following lunch there would be three classroom sessions to close the day.

The language lab is a relatively modern station where each computer is equipped with a pair of headphones and a microphone. The computers all have an English language-learning program installed where the teachers work individually through prescribed lessons. The lessons focus mainly on pronunciation and listening comprehension. ISTs work through assignments that quiz them on their knowledge of the phonetic alphabet, their ability to determine differences in similar sounds, their hearing for phrasal stresses, and their ability to find rhythms in sentences. The teachers often request increased access to the language lab and thus, the professors often keep it open after classes end for interested parties.

The computer lab has much older machines that function slowly. In the computer lab rotation, students learn the basics of Microsoft Word, Xcel, Powerpoint, and simple

Internet searches. Many of the ISTs have very limited experience with computers, and they are taught the very basics of computer usage and eventually produce documents with the various Microsoft programs.

In the library, ISTs are introduced to search strategies and must look for resources as they write one of their assignments, an article presentation. One of the projects ISTs must complete is an article presentation.   ISTs must search for an article from a professional journal on the topic of English language education and present it to their class. It is a long-term project and ISTs are encouraged to use the library resources as much as possible. The final small group rotation works on grammar lessons. In the classrooms, ISTs work on grammar exercises on handouts provided.

One of the classes ISTs take is called Teacher Development 1. In this class, students focus on learning strategies that the ATE recommends they should be using in their classrooms. Like many of the classes at the ATE, the focus in on student-centered learning and they discuss developing relationships, building interest and motivation in students, encouraging student speech and output, and why such strategies are so essential. The class also focuses on the need for continuous professional development and resources that ISTs can use once the program is completed. ISTs are shown how to perform self-evaluations and make improvements in their instruction. The class also introduces ISTs to some of the basics and vocabulary of Second Language Acquisition theory. Students are introduced briefly to cognitive, meta-cognitive, and sociocultural theories of learning.

The ATE also has a class entitled Teacher Development 2. This class mainly focuses on reflective teaching and action research. ISTs are taken step-by-step through

the process of reflective teaching. Teachers are encouraged to have lessons organized around a certain model (intro/anticipatory set, presentation, practice, production, assignment/evaluation) and to reflect after their lessons to ascertain whether they achieved their goals or not. Teachers are also encouraged to seek evaluations from other teachers in their department to determine a lesson's strengths or weaknesses. In regard to action research, ISTs are asked to develop a problem statement and a plan of action as to how to deal with that particular classroom problem. ISTs are directed on how they should write up those observations and determine the effectiveness of their intervention. Lastly, the focus is on how to present those results to colleagues or publications.

A third class offered at the ATE is Reading. In this class ISTs are encouraged to make reading a more interactive process where students are directed to visual images and walked through pre-reading activities to support student comprehension.   The course discusses the importance of experiential and constructivist approaches in the teaching of reading where teachers tap into the background knowledge of students and provide student-centered activities to foster reading comprehension.   The course also describes the importance of scaffolded instruction where the teacher leads students through difficult readings to reduce the anxiety that often accompanies English language instruction in India.

The ATE offers a class on writing instruction. In this class, ISTs are introduced to the different types of writing (personal, academic, creative) and some of the rules surrounding each. Teachers are again encouraged to provide their students with collaborative opportunities in the planning and writing processes.   Teachers are also asked to provide writing instruction in relation to other textual activities, not in isolation.

ISTs are given diary activities to sum up their experiences in the class. There are also reviews of standard writing conventions and organizational tips that will help students in their writing. Some elements of self-evaluation in the teaching process are also reviewed in this class.

Another course offered at the ATE is on Listening and Speaking. In this course, ISTs learn the International Phonetic Alphabet. Teachers are introduced to each of the vowel and consonant sounds, dipthongs, and glides and are shown examples of each in English. In the course, pronunciation goals are determined by Standard Indian English, which is defined as a regionless accent, lacking in mother tongue influences. Essentially, listeners should not be able to determine what part of India a speaker is from. ISTs are also asked to understand how pauses, stops, intonations, and stresses affect English language speaking.

The next course offered at the ATE is called Language Work. The class is essentially a grammar course. While the second half of the classes are devoted to learning some of the actual rules of English language grammar, the first half of the classes are devoted to how teachers should approach grammar. Rule instruction is to be seen as secondary to fluency and comfortability in second language usage. Teachers are encouraged to continually educate themselves on their knowledge of grammatical rules but not to teach grammar in rigid step-by-step ways isolated from actual usage by their students. The class recommends that teachers use a descriptive approach to grammar as opposed to a prescriptive approach that holds foreign standards above local English language norms. It is argued that grammar should serve language usage as opposed to lead it. ISTs are also encouraged to ensure that they use all of the tools available to them

to make input comprehensible to their students.   Outside of grammar instruction, the conversations in Language Work also focused on the need to get students active and talking, and the need to get away from some of the textual and time constraints evident in most South Indian classrooms. The class instructor focuses on the need to fine-tune text book usage to the environment of the class and the need to bring collaborative activities into grammar instruction.   ISTs are also directed towards useful resources available to use after their ATE experience ends.

The Approaches and Methods class mainly provides ISTs with examples of what student-centered instruction looks like. This class combines many of the skills described in the reading and writing courses to exemplify effective classroom instruction. ISTs are shown strategies on how to tap into student background knowledge, incorporate group work, make reading interactive, and use music and poetry in the support of instruction. ISTs are asked to foster better relationships with their students, understand the multiple learning styles, evaluate their own work as teachers, and get away from the rote memorization methods employed by many teachers. The class also focuses on cultural differences in the classroom and the need to support female students in Indian classrooms.

A final class in the thirty-day program is called Trends in Language Education. The class exemplifies student-centered learning and shows teachers examples of games and activities they can incorporate which use many of the reading/speaking/listening/writing skills they have developed in other classes. It also focuses on the theory and practice relationship and the need to fine-tune research based approaches to language instruction with local realities on the ground. However, the

course also focuses on the need to break traditions and overcome local obstacles to incorporating the strategies proposed by the ATE. Finally, ISTs are encouraged to share these ideas with colleagues when they return to their respective schools.

Each class usually meets 2-3 times per week. All of the ISTs from each region meet together and the professors move between the groups. The classes are active and usually exemplify the techniques endorsed by the ATE. Participants are encouraged to participate and they do readily. The atmosphere in the classes is lively and energetic. By and large, male and female students group themselves apart.

In regard to evaluations of the ISTs, there is a written final examination that requires two longer papers. ISTs are also asked to design a sample lesson, each on the different skills they've studied during the month. There are also smaller assessments like the article presentation described previously, an oral proficiency exam, language lab activities, computer lab activities, and in-class activities. Grades are posted on the ATE website and the certificates received at the end of the course can be helpful if graduates of the program are interested in becoming local trainers themselves. At the end of the month, there is a graduation ceremony where various participants recount their experiences, discuss what they've learned, and talk about how they'll incorporate the ideas in the future.

The Participants

Participants were of two types: professors/administrators, and in-service teachers currently enrolled in the program. All participants names have been changed to preserve their confidentiality. As I began the study, I approached the head administrator Dr. Vishwanathan directly via email. I informed him of the study, its objectives, duration,

and my requirements, and also let him know that all information garnered for the study

would be kept confidential. Upon receipt of the permission letter from the head of the

academy, I sought IRB approval. After landing in India, Dr. Vishwanathan introduced

me to all of the professors there, and informed them of my study. I set up appointments

with each of them to ask their permission to observe their classes during my two-month

stay and to interview them personally. They agreed and signed the informed consent

form. The professors were incredibly open and positive in their response to the study.

All of them were ready to provide any support necessary and made time in their

schedules for hour-long, in-depth interviews. In regards to the courses covered by the

professors/administrators, it is as follows:

Table 1

Professors/Administrators at the ATE

Name	Class taught at the ATE	Date of Interview
Ganesh Ram	Reading	July 4, 2013
Salman Badri	Language Work/ Grammar	July 4, 2013
Uma Rizla	Listening and Speaking	July 5, 2013
Purnima Giridar	Approaches and Methods	August 7, 2013
Dr. Nagaraj	Teacher Development 2	July 5, 2013
Harish Balamuruli	Teacher Development 1	July 9, 2013
Rahul Nataram	Writing	August 7, 2013
Dr. Vishwanathan	Administrator /Trends in Language Education	August 7, 2013
Dr. Raja Ram	Head Administrator	July 10, 2013

Most of the professors there are between the ages of 25 and 45 and have taught at

the ATE for less than ten years. In regard to their educational backgrounds, all of them

have at least an MA in English Language Teaching (ELT) Just under half of them have

their MA degrees from EFLU, the English and Foreign Languages University in

Hyderbad. EFLU is a prestigious university that specializes in the preparation of English

language teachers and professors interested in language teacher preparation. The professors at the ATE come from all over India and almost all of them have previous experience teaching English at many different levels. As a staff, they are bright, passionate, and energetic. They believe in the mission of the ATE and enjoy their work. Dr. Vishwanathan has been at the ATE for over 30 years. The head administrator, Dr. Raja Ram has just recently taken the position and was previously a state level administrator of public schools.

The in-service teachers (ISTs) in the program were approached and invited to be participants in the study. At first, I introduced myself to the Kerela, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh teachers in the classrooms in a large-group setting. I explained who I was and the details of what I was hoping to accomplish during the summer. A few of the teachers agreed to participate during those large-group presentations. However, my hope was to interview the teachers near the end of their experience in the program so that they would be qualified to discuss the merits and limitations of the program. Thus, throughout the summer, I developed relationships with the ISTs before and after classes. Near the end of the thirty days, I reminded them of my project and asked for participants. Many offered their time to be interviewed. Over time, I also approached teachers in some of the common areas like the library to ask if they would be interested in sharing their ideas. Overall, I interviewed twenty one teachers.

It turned out that a focus group approach worked out best, as will be discussed later. The focus groups were comprised of between 2-4 teachers. Once in the small groups, I explained the goals of my project again and introduced them to my research questions. I walked them through the informed consent document and explained the

confidentiality agreement. The teachers signed and allowed me to tape record the

interviews while I took hand written notes as we spoke. As stated, the ISTs' names have

been changed in this dissertation to protect their identities. The name changes are also

reflective of the cultural background of the teachers in question. For example, many of

the Kerela teachers come from Christian families and thus have westernized names. The

pseudonyms which appear here reflect the cultural background to which the teachers

belong. The group membership was as follows:

Table 2

IST Focus Group 1 (July 11, 2013)

Name	State	Years of experience in English language teaching
Sanjay Jeremia	Kerela	7
Milan P.T.	Kerela	11
Shyamala Hernandez	Kerela	15
Srikanth JP	Kerela	9

Table 3

IST Focus Group 2 (July 12, 2013)

Name	State	Years of experience in English language teaching
Ahmad Jameel	Kerela	7
R. Bharati	Kerela	15
Amshu Ricardo	Kerela	9
Amani Indru F.	Kerela	29

Table 4

IST Group 3 (July 26, 2013)

Name	State	Years of experience in English language teaching
Chitra Prasana	Andhra Pradesh	8
Ella Srirama	Andhra Pradesh	8
Rahul Chandana	Andhra Pradesh	11
Chetan Ahmad	Andhra Pradesh	5

Table 5

IST Group 4 (July 29, 2013)

Name	State	Years of experience in English language teaching

| Sriram Charanam | Andhra Pradesh | 18 |
| K Chandra | Andhra Pradesh | 15 |

Table 6

IST Group 5 (July 31, 2013)

Name	State	Years of experience in English language teaching
Samantha Gerard	Tamil Nadu	21
Goutham Krishnamurthy	Tamil Nadu	24
Ahmad Prasana	Andhra Pradesh	10
Malini	Tamil Nadu	6

Table 7

IST Group 6 (August 1, 2013)

Name	State	Years of experience in English language teaching
Srihari	Andhra Pradesh	13
Muhammed Saeed	Andhra Pradesh	14
Kalen Rao	Andhra Pradesh	6

The teachers' backgrounds were extremely diverse in so many ways. Some came from very small or remote villages. Some came from very large cities. There were teachers who told me that they were the only real speakers of English in their entire village. Others said that English was an everyday part of their local culture. Some of the teachers were incredibly fluent and masters of the English language. Many of the other teachers struggled to even speak even a few sentences in English. Some teachers were clearly excited about the material being presented to them at the ATE and may have even requested to come for the training. Others blatantly said they were there because they had to be. Some of them came from very poor schools, where resources and materials were extremely limited. Others came from wealthy districts, where parents were highly educated and very interested in their children's English language education. Some of their administrators at their schools were knowledgeable about the ATE and supported their inclusion in the program. Some of their administrators had no idea what the ATE was, and might be intolerant of new ideas.

However, I must add that one thing that most surprised me as a researcher was the commitment of all of these teachers. Most of them came from great distances and the accommodations were by no means luxurious. They lived sometimes 8-10 in a room in bunk beds and as mentioned, the food was unanimously unpopular. As most of the teachers had been out of school and teaching for a while almost every one of them was married with young children of their own. As an American teacher, I had never even heard of such a long in-service teacher professional development program that required

traveling and lodging many miles from home. By participating in this program, their commitment to the training was awe-inspiring.

Researcher's Role

At first, in almost every way in this study, I was an outsider. I had no prior relationship with the teacher professional development program in question, so institutionally, all of the relationships I built were from scratch, with the exception of Dr. Vishwanathan, whom I only had contacted via email. The professors of the program were reached through personal introductions by Dr. Vishwanathan and the ISTs through my own presentations given in the classes.

In another sense, my identity as an American doctoral candidate looking to study Indian English language teacher education methods might have been problematic. Edward Said's landmark text *Orientalism* (1978) spoke of the centuries-long tradition of Western scholars speaking for and interpreting the East. The hermeneutics of these Western scholars consistently misinterpreted their subjects, recreating images of the East in problematic ways. In my own personal conversations with researchers from the U.S. who have performed studies in India, there is often a mistrust of Western researchers who want to study Indian institutions.   The researchers have said that the institutions may feel that outsiders are only interested in being condescending to them and portraying their faults. I worked to avoid using a Western lens in my construction of meaning and analysis of the data; however, I was aware that many of the strategies being employed at the ATE are indeed Western in nature. In conversations, we tried to focus on how those ideas play out in an Indian context and which ideas are difficult to implement there and why. Also, after gaining an understanding of how the teaching context for language

educators might be different or unique (i.e. the limited English proficiency of rural teachers, the intense poverty of the families teachers are serving), I tried to be understanding and non-judgmental of their realities and circumstances.   In another sense, it didn't take long for me to become inspired by many of the things happening there, and to appreciate the talents and abilities of many of the professors and ISTs. While the ATE is far from perfect, there are some wonderful things happening there, and I hope that my feelings regarding their successes came across in our conversations and are shared in this dissertation.

Linguistically, I was an outsider as well. The only language I shared with the participants was English, and while many of the participants in question were indeed fluent in English, it is usually not an L1 for most Indians, as shown in the literature review earlier. Indeed, English is often viewed as a professional but impersonal tongue, and thus the use of English in the interviews and interactions might have further excluded me as an outsider. The particular style of English that I speak was also problematic at times. The American accent was difficult to understand for many participants. To assuage this problem, I'd speak slowly and loudly and reiterate my ideas in multiple ways.

There was also a socioeconomic divide between the ISTs and I. Many public school teachers don't get paid very much in India especially if they are coming from rural communities. Thus, for example, the computer that I typed away on during classroom observations served as a symbolic difference between us. A laptop computer, while somewhat commonplace in the U.S. would be completely out of reach for most of the teachers there, some of whom had never really worked on a computer at all. I could

afford to travel to India and to observe these classes during my summer vacation from work. During our personal conversations between classes, many of them were interested in how American teachers get paid. When they broke out their calculators to determine how much American teachers get paid in rupees, they were indeed shocked by how well public school teachers in New Jersey do by comparison.

At the same time in some ways, I was an insider. I too am an English teacher. I've taught English for 10 years in the U.S. and thus am a member of that fraternity of language educators, even if in a different environment. I'm also a student of language education practices and can speak the scholarly language of second language acquisition that the professors at the university use regularly. I'm also Indian American. My parents' ancestors came from this region of India and I can speak a bit of Kannada, the local language of the city. While it wasn't all that helpful in my research, it did allow me to develop pretty good relationships with the security and janitorial staff at the ATE. My Kannada improved that summer. Thus, I used these tools to help create relationships that felt open, cordial, and collegial in my work there. In the IRB forms that the participants filled out, they were made aware of the confidentiality guarantee that covers all of the interview and observation data. But more importantly, in my initial encounter with them, it was imperative that I explain my own personal goals in the project in a way that set the participants at ease. Through doing so, I felt I was able to bridge the divide of being an outsider in some ways. Research like the study performed by Merriam, Johnson-Baily, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, & Muhamad (2001) examines the fluid nature of insider/outsider relationships between participants and researchers and argue that an outsider status is certainly not unbridgeable.

In some ways though, my outsider status was useful. When the participants first met me, I was a kind of celebrity. Many of the rural teachers had never met an American and wanted to get to know me. I was also about twice the size of most of the people there, so some of them found me to be physically shocking. In the first few days, I took a lot of photographs with people. I even signed a few autographs. I received many handshakes and even a few hugs. The ISTs and even some of the professors wanted to hear about teaching and academic life in India. Many of the ISTs wanted experience hearing the American accent and were eager to join in the focus groups. Conversations with the professors felt collegial and many of them asked me about my perceptions of the ATE. Thus, I did feel welcomed there and the participants seemed willing to bridge any gaps between them and myself.

Data Collection

As per university guidelines and IRB requirements, all data has been securely protected and the confidentiality of those producing the data has been maintained at all times. As stated, data was of many varieties: interviews, document analysis, observations, and field notes from the institution in question.

Data Collection-Interviews

Interviews were conducted with two kinds of participants: university administrators/professors, and in-service teachers (ISTs) currently enrolled in the program. All interviews were open-ended nature in general, allowing for the participants to control the direction of the conversation at times, and enabling me to follow certain trends in the interviews as they developed. However, there were predetermined questions which were used and served as a skeletal structure for the interviews. These questions

are available in Appendix B. Interview data informed all of the research questions in this study.

The interviews with the administrators/professors were one-on-one. The interviews were usually between 60 and 90 minutes in duration and were audio recorded. I took hand written notes in outline format during the interviews that helped me produce follow up questions and clarifications when required. In regards to the IST interviews, the focus group was more productive. In the first sense, there were too many participants to be able to interview them individually. Secondly, many of the participants spoke very little English. Despite the fact that they are all professional English teachers, many of them might have struggled to respond to an hour long, one-on-one interview, particularly with an interviewer with an American accent. However, in focus groups, even the teachers with a limited speaking proficiency were able to provide invaluable insights into the topics in question. Having more proficient speakers in the focus group allowed them time to get their bearings on the topics being discussed and to piggy back on ideas that they could relate to. They had developed friendships with one another throughout the month, and the grouping of the focus groups usually was formed by those who had spent a good deal of time together during the month, adding to the comfort level of the teachers with limited speaking proficiencies. Lastly, some of the focus groups began as small groups, and passerbys interested in the conversation simply sat down and joined the discussion. All teachers were informed of the study, and had signed consent forms before providing data to the study. I took handwritten notes in outline format during the interview.

Data Collection-Teacher Observations

Data was collected from the teacher observations in order to respond to all of the research questions for this project. Towards the end of the program, ISTs are asked to present a sample lesson on some of the skills discussed over the course of the month (speaking, listening, writing, reading, grammar, vocabulary, etc). One of the professors at the ATE is present, as well as about 8-12 other ISTs for the observations. The presentations are usually about half an hour in duration and are followed by a feedback session where the professor and ISTs discuss the pros/cons of the presentation. The professor uses a rubric to assess these presentations.

Data Collection-Document Analysis

Document analysis was an important part of the data collection process and helped me mine data to respond to many of the research questions in this dissertation. The types of documents were of a diverse variety: internet resources, pamphlets, university advertisements and announcements, textbooks, national and state curriculum documents, IST presentation rubrics, examination papers, final exam scores, and course syllabi. The public descriptions of the university program were helpful in understanding the overall goals of the teacher professional development program. Often times, such ads/descriptions include mission statements and large scale descriptions of the program's aims. The syllabi and the textbook analysis were helpful to understand how those program goals were being met. Closely combing through the textbooks and syllabi provided insights into the philosophies about how languages are learned which are informing instruction at the ATE. Combining these data points with the information gleaned from the interviews provided a more detailed picture of how language educators are being prepared.

Data Collection-ATE Course Observations

Coupled with the interviews with professors and ISTs in the program, observing

ATE courses provided insights into how the professors transmit ideas to the in-service

teachers. It was helpful in understanding the culture and way of life at the university.

Data from these observations helped to bring the document analysis to life and provided a

clearer appreciation for what life inside of the program is like. I observed over 40 hours

of course work at the ATE. I was usually seated in the front left desk with my laptop and

took outlined notes of the observed classes. Outside of a few moments when I was asked

a specific question or to partake in an activity, I remained silent and typed notes of what

happened in the classrooms. My notes were a chronological synopsis of what happened

in the class. If there were particular moments of interest, I would make my own notes in

the margins, or type direct quotations of what occurred.

Data Collection-Graduation Ceremonies

At the end of the thirty-day program, the ISTs have a formal graduation ceremony

where they receive diplomas. During the ceremony, ten to twelve ISTs are asked to speak

to describe their experiences and discuss the pros/cons of the program. By and large,

they are complimentary of everything and put a positive spin on their time there. For

many of them, it is an emotional experience as they make many close friendships during

the month and most of them leave for their homes the very evening of the graduation

ceremony. Many of the professors and administrators also speak. In regards to the

administrator/professor speeches, listeners hear delineations of the goals of the program

and their feelings on where the ISTs should be taking their training in the future.

I also included my reflections upon this event in my field notes.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began before the interviews were performed. Miles and Huberman (1994) defend the use of pre-structured cases as an effective way to create shells by which incoming data can be analyzed. These predetermined coding shells help create well-rounded interviews. While all of the interviews were recorded on a digital recorder, in order to make sure that all of the necessary bases were touched upon, handwritten notes were taken during the interview to be organized into quadrants based on their topic (proposed goals of the program, strengths of the program, weaknesses of the program, real world implementation/obstacles to implementation). As the interviews were performed, the pre-structured shells were edited slightly to correspond to the kinds of data acquired.

Following the interviews, the recorded data was quickly organized into outlines, which served as examples of what Miles and Huberman (1994) call contact data sheets. They define contact data sheets as summary forms which hit on the major themes, issues, and questions which come up during an interview. The outlines were particularly useful tools. They allowed the data to be seen from a bird's eye view. Interviews were quickly scanned to find relevant themes. In the pilot study previously described, the outlines allowed me to follow changes in the direction of the conversation and begin the process of organization immediately upon transcribing the data into a written format. Whenever the topic changed, I could quickly change my numbering/lettering patterns to divide and subdivide topics as they were changing. However, the outlines are also detailed with direct quotations at significant moments when the specific language of the participant deems further study. Significant time intervals are also noted so as to allow for quick and

efficient access to the precise moment in the recording. These markers allow for multiple visits to a particular moment in the interview in order to find rich and nuanced understandings through micro-analysis at a later date.

The outlines were then broken up into large blocks based on the variety of topics discussed. Patton (2002) discusses the need to take several passes through the data to eventually come up with a meaningful coding scheme. Patton advises that researchers look for recurring regularities, and to sort those regularities into categories. Within those categories however, there exists a diversity of ideas. Thus, the large overall view must narrow further in its focus to create more specific subdivisions amidst the large blocks. Of course, the primary large blocks are simply the research questions themselves. Upon looking at the data, I asked which of the five major research questions this data corresponded to? Similar methods of inquiry are recommended by Coffey and Atkinson (1996), in the sense that coding should develop from the general to the specific, where individual elements of the data are analyzed from different perspectives to glean further meaning. These large blocks were analyzed individually but also alongside all of the others to look for relevant themes which could be threaded throughout. When the data is coded into these large blocks, they need further subdivision. As similarities and differences in the responses of the participants are recorded, themes will develop. For instance, in the previously mentioned pilot study, the interviews with the recent graduates garnered a good deal of information which corresponded to the second research question (What obstacles have the new teachers found in trying to implement the ideas professed at the Graduate School of Education?). After filtering that data towards that large block, I began to see that most of the discussion inside of the block dealt with methodological

discrepancies between their training and the new institutions, or resource allocations at their place of work. The themes that developed allowed me to create smaller blocks which provided increasingly specific findings.

After organizing the data into large blocks and subsequently smaller blocks, the interviews were micro-analyzed.   Corbin and Strauss (2008) stress that researchers need to really dig into the language that is being used by participants. Through rigorous examination, the language of the participants could reveal biases, predilections, and attitudes about topics which may not be readily observable. Analyzing the data with regards to the emotional temperament of participants may provide the researcher with important insights as to the feelings of the interviewee. Strauss and Corbin ask that beginning researchers learn to listen to their data, and to question that information and their assumptions constantly in order to avoid being stuck on one view.   Coffee and Atkinson (1996) talk about looking for narrative structures in the dialogue of participants which often go overlooked by many researchers. The rich understandings that storytelling provides can offer new perspectives for researchers on how to interpret and present their data. Similarly, the metaphors used by participants in their descriptions can yield important ideas on how they view a given issue. When data is only viewed in large blocks, many of these nuances are lost.   Here in lies one of the many values of audio recordings for data. The ability to revisit the interviews aided microanalysis. The use of direct quotations and the close reading of those excerpts provided for nuanced and subtle understandings that might not be available upon a casual glance.

When the data is analyzed to produce findings, Booth, Colomb, and Williams (2000) recommend reorienting the product to the original intent of the project. Many

researchers and students get lost in the data analysis, following threads that appear even when they may not respond to the original research questions. They argue that writers should not only tie their analysis/findings back to the research questions at the end of their work, but periodically throughout the process of discovery. In addition, the theoretical perspectives taken in this study were also helpful tools for analysis of the data. For example, a sociocultural approach to language acquisition, which is built on the idea of the co-construction of language knowledge through meaningful language use with expert others, served as a useful lens to examine the data. As the ATE is very interested in sociocultural approaches to language, using those theoretical ideas as a backdrop for the conversations with professors and ISTs was helpful. In addition, the history of Indian English, its relationship to vernacular languages, and the accompanying colonization or issues of equity previously discussed served as an additional useful lens through which to conduct analysis. In many ways, the EM/VM divide described previously played out in many of the interviews and helped to inform my questioning during interviews.

Establishing Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that trustworthiness in a study can be established through familiarity and triangulation. As stated previously in the research design, triangulation was an important part of this study. Interviews were conducted with all of the major players in the teacher professional development program: the administrators/ professors, and the in-service teachers (ISTs). Aside from that, various methods of data collection occured. Interviews were supported with observations of classroom lectures. The data analysis included text and document analysis. This kind of multifaceted and triangulated approach helped to ensure the trustworthiness of the data being collected.

Secondly, familiarity was essential to the success of this project. Because it is a case

study, a close and focused description of the institution was required. The goal was to try

to become as much as possible, a part of the life of the school, through developing

personal relationships with the participants and observing the everyday occurrences at the

campus. This provided the material necessary to put together a strong description of the

school and thus increased the sense of familiarity with the program.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) also speak of the importance of peer debriefing. These

kinds of member checks with colleagues also in the process of writing a major project

helped to ensure that data collection is fair and on the right track. As data was mined and

analyzed, periodic conversations with my advisor and other graduate students helped to

avoid unnecessary pitfalls and biases when organizing data.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The findings will be described in this chapter within the context of the first three research questions of this project. Namely, what guidelines are being used at the ATE to inform the curriculum being presented to the in-service teachers? Secondly, how are those recommendations being internalized and employed by the in-service teachers? And lastly, what obstacles might the in-service teachers encounter when trying to implement the recommended practices endorsed by the ATE following the thirty-day professional development program? Data garnered from the interviews, focus groups, observations, and program artifacts will inform these findings.

Research Question One: What guidelines are teacher professional development programs in India using as they prepare in-service professional teachers?

At the ATE, there are a number of different guidelines which direct instruction for in-service teachers. The first is the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) written in 2005. The NCF is a document which carries a great deal of weight in India and it prescribes particular strategies and approaches to classroom practice for each of the major disciplines as well as guiding ideas on classroom management and assessment. The second of the factors which guide instruction at the ATE are the various State Curriculum Frameworks (SCFs) which are created by the five different states who send teachers to the SCF. While the NCF is supposed to be followed throughout the nation, it does provide some leeway to the individual states of India to interpret and streamline those ideas in their own way. The third factor which determines instruction at the ATE is the state published textbooks. Each state develops text books and provides them free of charge to all students in their state. These text books are an extension of the ideas and

strategies extolled in the respective SCFs of the state. A fourth factor is the needs and requests of the in-service teachers (ISTs) who attend the 30 program. The professors try to elicit as much feedback as possible from the ISTs as to what they feel they need in regards to training. Lastly, in the development of the curriculum at the ATE, the professors use some of the syllabi and traditions of the ATE while also leaning on their own training in how languages are learned to develop their courses. All of these factors contribute to the development of curriculum and materials at the ATE and will be discussed in more detail in this section of the findings.

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF)

The NCF (2005) aims to change the direction of Indian education. The full text of the NCF is available at:

http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/pdf/framework/english/nf2005.pdf. It is an ambitious document produced by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) which attempts to introduce many best practices from educational theory into instruction in India. In many ways the NCF is a document that is a response to some of the problems that existed in Indian education. In the introduction the authors write:

> The fact that learning has become a source of burden and stress on children and their parents is an evidence of a deep distortion in educational aims and quality. To correct this distortion, the present NCF proposes five guiding principles for curriculum development: (i) connecting knowledge to life outside the school; (ii) ensuring that learning shifts away from rote methods; (iii) enriching the curriculum so that it goes beyond textbooks; (iv) making examinations more flexible and integrating them with classroom life; and (v) nurturing an overriding identity informed by caring concerns within the democratic polity of the country (pg. 7).

Hence, the implication of the excerpt is that in too many Indian classrooms, knowledge was disconnected from the lives of students, over-reliant on rote learning, or limited to the text book. Exams were inflexible and the classroom did not represent the many identities of the students. One of the primary goals of the NCF is to help foster student-centered learning. Student-centered learning in this context, can be defined as practices which encourage students to wrestle with and create knowledge through interaction with each other, teachers, and texts. The authors write:

> Children's voices and experiences do not find expression in the classroom. Often the only voice heard is that of the teacher. When children speak, they are usually only answering the teacher's questions or repeating the teacher's words. They rarely do things, nor do they have opportunities to take initiative. The curriculum must enable children to find their voices, nurture their curiosity—to do things, to ask questions and to pursue investigations, sharing and integrating their experiences with school knowledge—rather than their ability to reproduce textual knowledge. Reorienting the curriculum to this end must be among our highest priorities, informing the preparation of teachers, the annual plans of schools, the design of textbooks, learning materials and teaching plans, and evaluation and examination patterns. (p.13)

In many public schools in India, students do not speak very much. Often times, as seen in the literature review, student speech in the classroom is rehearsed, prescribed, and severely limited. Students have very little opportunity to interact with each other, the teacher, or the text in creative, individual, or meaningful ways. The NCF decries this approach to education and seeks to empower the student. A student-centered approach aims to use the personal histories, interests, and backgrounds of students to help foster their own investigations and explorations in the pursuit of knowledge. These excerpts from the NCF appear in the introduction to the document, and are thus meant to inform the methodologies used in all of the disciplines of education (e.g. math, science, language, etc).

In regards to language education in particular, the NCF supports many of the traditional Western models of language acquisition theory. The authors write:

> Approaches and methods need not be exclusive but may be mutually supportive within a broad cognitive philosophy (incorporating Vygotskian, Chomskyan, and Piagetian principles). If we wish to launch any sound programme for language teaching in schools, it is important to recognize the inbuilt linguistic potential of children as well as to remember that languages get socio-culturally constructed and change in our day-to-day interactions/ (p. 40)

The authors don't go much further in their analysis of these various models and approaches to language education. However, their insistence on providing students opportunities to speak to one another and more advanced experts does exemplify many of the Vygotskian and sociocultural ideas espoused in the literature review to this project. In regards to English language teaching in particular, the authors of the NCF also acknowledge the need to avoid much of the Vernacular Medium (VM) disempowerment that occurs in too many English classes. They write:

> English does not stand alone. The aim of English teaching is the creation of multilinguals who can enrich all our languages; this has been an abiding national vision. English needs to find its place along with other Indian languages in different states, where children's other languages strengthen English teaching and learning; and in "English-medium" schools, where other Indian languages need to be valorised to reduce the perceived hegemony of English. (p. 40)

Unlike the Ramanathan (2005) text described in the literature review, there are no specific strategies on how to go about valorizing the VMs but this important acknowledgement is made which asks English teachers in India to think about and consider how the very nature of English language teaching is fraught with hierarchies between languages.

But once again, the authors of the NCF return to the concept of student-centered education, a concept heavily influenced by Vygotsky and sociocultural approaches to

second language learning, in their recommendations about how English should be taught.

They write:

> The conventionally trained language teacher associates the training of speech with correctness rather than with the expressive and participatory functions of language. This is why talking in class has a negative value in our system, and a great deal of the teacher's energy goes into keeping children quiet, or getting them to pronounce correctly. If teachers see the child's talk as a resource rather than as a nuisance, the vicious cycle of resistance and control would have a chance to be turned into a cycle of expression and response. There is a vast body of knowledge available on how talk can be used as a resource, and pre- and in-service teacher education programmes must introduce teachers to this. (p. 40)

Here the authors discuss the importance of developing student fluency as opposed to structural or grammatical knowledge. The NCF is asking teachers to change their approach to teaching and to buck some of the traditions in Indian education. As evident in the literature review, and as will be seen later in the findings, there is an entrenched view in many Indian schools that student speech is to be discouraged and controlled. This is for many reasons, as will be shown, but here is a concerted and focused effort by the authors of the NCF to change this tradition. The goal, they argue, is to provide students with opportunities to generate their own original speech and to use that output as input for further study. It is interesting that the authors use the term *nuisance* in their description of how teachers see student speech. It implies that a real sea change is required in how teachers approach their classrooms.

All of the professors at the ATE said that the NCF was an important document that helped them to direct their curriculum choices. Ganesh Ram said that the NCF was an important document that helped set basic standards in India. Particularly in some of the rural parts of India, the benchmarks set by the NCF help to set the standards and expectations of students. As there is also so much diversity in India, it also aimed to

create a sense of brotherhood and nationalism that helped avoid some of the regionalism, politicization, and disparities that existed in different parts of the country when a single mandated curriculum wasn't present (personal communication, July 4, 2013).

However, the main point of agreement amongst the teachers at the ATE was that NCF demanded that teachers use a student-centered approach to instruction. Ganesh Ram talked about the need to get away from mechanical rote learning, which is so dominant in many parts of India. Harish Balamuruli talked about the NCF's recommendation to get away from banking methods of transferring knowledge and instead to look at creating student opportunities to construct knowledge (personal communication, July 9, 2013). Similarly, Uma Rizla talked about how the NCF encourages teachers to allow students to discover knowledge on their own and to get students away from being passive in the classroom (personal communication, July 5, 2013).

As a side note, the NCF is also reflective of what can be described as an educational transfer by national forces, a concept described by Borjian (2013) who was referred to earlier in the literature review. She writes, "[P]oliticians and top governmental officials are the ones who trigger policy transfer. In the context of comparative education, 'policy borrowing' refers to a process by which education models, ideas, norms or standards are taken from one context and transplanted into another by politicians" (pg. 24). The NCF is a document that attempts to change the course of government school education in India using many western tenants and best practices on language instruction in a foreign context. This kind of cultural grafting brings up complications that will be described later in the findings to research question

number three.   The ATE also represents another kind of educational transfer that Borjian

refers to as International ELT professional networks. She writes, "The TESOL and

applied linguistics professional associations and networks are the other types of INGOs

which have been active participants in spreading ELT practices globally through

conferences, curriculum projects, publications etc." (p. 37). The ATE is connected to and

influenced by these kinds of networks. Many of the professors there work on the very

curriculum projects which define the direction of government schools in India. Their

publications and conference contributions represent an important component of the

dialogue surrounding teacher professional development for language education in India.

Thus, the NCF and its interpretation and dissemination by the ATE represent this concept

of educational transfer described by Borjian in multiple ways.

State Curriculum Frameworks (SCFs)

Each state was tasked with developing its own curriculum and the five states

which send teachers to the ATE (Kerela, Karnatika, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and

Punducheri) all developed their own between 2007 and 2011. While the NCF is meant to

be adhered to in all states, the document is allowed to be interpreted at a more local level

by each state, and thus each state was allowed to develop its own textbooks to reflect its

own SCF. In a position paper on the curriculum in the state of Karnatika written prior to

the SCF revision (2010), the authors write:

> The last DEd curriculum revision took place in 2002. The publications three years
> later of NCF 2005 and NCFTE 2009 have indeed influenced our perspectives of
> language learning, language teacher education. Constructivist pedagogy has
> altered the traditional teacher centered practices. The basic focus now is to make
> any learning experiential. It is in this light that we need to understand the present
> system, identify the areas that need to be seriously reconsidered and recommend
> changes. (pg. 5)

Thus, there is indeed the goal of streamlining the individual state curriculums with the

NCF in order to meet the requirements of instruction and methodology implementation

recommended by the NCF.

However, each state does differ slightly in their approach to implementing the

NCF and the ATE must respond accordingly. At the ATE each of the professors is

assigned to become a specialist on one of the SCFs and inform his or her colleagues on

how to fine-tune their courses to correspond with the various state level expectations.

Also, from time to time, state level curriculum writers visit the ATE to make sure the

training being received there does indeed reflect the recommendations made by the SCF.

The ATE professors themselves acknowledged the importance of streamlining their

curriculum with the SCFs from the various states. However, these changes in content

seem to be somewhat cosmetic and simply reflect the different vocabulary used in various

states. Ganesh Ram, the professor in charge of the reading course and the Tamil Nadu

SCF said:

> If we look at it from an objective view, asking questions like what is language
> learning and how is it to be done and what are the principals behind language
> learning? If we take these basic things into consideration, I don't think there
> should be any difference in the classroom processes of a Kerela class, or a
> Karnatika class, or a Tamil Nadu class. [The ISTs at the ATE] go by technical
> jargon and they know a few terms. So for instance, in Tamil Nadu they use terms
> like Activity Based Learning (ABL) whereas terms like experiential learning,
> discourse oriented pedagogy, or constructivist approach are used in places like
> Kerela. Only later, after 10-12 days do they understand that these are the words to
> express certain things but the process that the teacher needs to get through is
> basically the same. (personal communication, July 4, 2013)

Many of the professors at the ATE discussed the importance of knowing the terminology

and vocabulary of the various states as they might run into resistance from ISTs if their

terms did not match up with the concepts used in the states. However, some of the

professors did say that they don't change their courses all that much when a new group

comes through every thirty days. Essentially, the professors felt that the spirit of the

NCF was represented in each of the state level curriculums. Uma Rizla, professor of the

listening and speaking course said:

> As far as the syllabus and the main content is concerned, I don't think that there is much deviation between states here because ultimately it all boils down to the same path here. It's child centered, the way you make the child think and speak on his own, write on his own, and you give a lot of encouragement to the child's creativity. (personal communication, July 5, 2013)

All of the professors know the language of the various SCFs but the actual ideas

represented in those particular documents don't vary enough to necessitate significant

departures from course content presented to ISTs from different states.

Textbooks

Each state publishes its own textbook that reflects the goals of their SCF. The

ATE studies these texts and tries to provide model lessons within the context of those

textual activities that the ISTs are quite familiar with. One of the ATE professors, Ganesh

Ram said, "The text books are culture specific. The texts that are given in Tamil Nadu

are entirely different from the texts in Kerela, where a little bit of their cultural aspects

and other things are there" (personal communication, July 4, 2013). The content of

textbooks differ quite a bit and reflect the local culture of the respective states. The

textbooks are well known to the teachers and thus provide a comfortable backdrop to

display the kinds of methodologies that the ATE is endorsing. For instance, in the class

of Purnima Giridar, the professor used a poem from the grade seven Andhra Pradesh

textbook which was familiar to most of the teachers there. In the class, she modeled a

discussion that maximized student interaction and demanded consistent feedback from

the group. That feedback became the subject of further study. Examples such as this one, where professors modeled pedagogical techniques within the context of the textbooks used by the ISTs, were evident throughout the thirty-day period. The professors at the ATE are all well versed in the textbooks used in the five different states and use those texts to exemplify their recommended methodologies.

The textbook revisions which have gone on recently in the southern states of India are interesting in light of the previous discussion in the literature review on textbooks and language education. Ramanathan (2005) and Cheliah (2001) both talked about the problems with textbooks in schools serving the underprivileged in India. They argued that there were numerous mistakes and that the textbooks used in private schools were more likely to encourage risk taking and use theory backed strategies in the teaching of English. It seems as if the quality of the textbooks used in government schools is indeed improving.   Professors at the ATE itself were involved in the creation of the Karnatika state textbook. However, while the textbooks provide activities which encourage student-centered learning and interaction, as will be described in the subsequent findings, they are still not impacting the classroom practices of teachers.

Feedback from the Teachers

Having met so many in-service teachers (ISTs) over the many thirty-day programs at the ATE, the professors there have a strong sense of what it is that the ISTs need and want.   There are many opportunities for the ISTs to voice their opinions and provide feedback on the training they are receiving. During many of the observed classes, students were asked to list the types of activities they wanted to see in their training. During the classes, ISTs were asked to talk about the types of problems they were

experiencing in their classrooms and the professors would try to address those problems through the course work. At the end of the program, ISTs are asked to provide feedback on their experience, and describe the strengths and weaknesses of what they went through. At the graduation ceremony, the ISTs who are chosen to speak evaluate their time at the ATE. The professors use all of this data to make changes to their curriculum and fine tune it to the teachers' needs.   This reflects one of the best practices described in the literature review on effective teacher preparation. Garet (et al, 2001) and Wood (2007) described the need for collective participation on the part of teachers in the development of their own professional development. As opposed to passively receiving information, teachers also need to actively engage in their own professional development.

The professors do attempt to hear from the ISTs in less formal settings as well. A few of the professors live on campus and thus spend time outside of the program with some of the ISTs. As many of the ISTs have never been to Bangalore or Karnatika state, the professors have helped the ISTs organize bus tours of the city and surrounding tourist sites. Hence, there are some personal relationships developed between the ISTs and the professors at the ATE. Also, as stated by Salman Badri (one of the professors at the ATE) while there are certainly hegemonies that exist with regard to the professors and the ISTs, the professors are not directly the bosses of the trainees and thus there can be some openness between them (personal communication, July 4, 2013). These relationships provide the professors with some insights as to what the teachers who attend the thirty day program need and want in their professional development.

One of the professors, Ganesh Ram, said that the curriculum choices of the professors were split between what the states wanted and what the ISTs were asking for.

He said 80% of the curriculum was dictated by the various SCFs and 20% of the

curriculum was a response to what teachers were asking for (personal communication,

July 4, 2013). Other professors like Salman Badri said that he kept parts of his syllabus

open so that he could use those sessions to respond to request on the part of the ISTs.

> The syllabus is generic in nature and we keep it that way. On the first day we ask
> them what is it that they need more of? The problem is that each faculty gets to
> meet each batch of trainees for no more that 8-10 hours. Can you teach the entire
> English grammar in 8-10 hours? Impossible. Also you have to talk about the
> approaches and methods, something about prescriptive/descriptive methods, and
> technically how grammar is defined. That is why we keep this syllabus open. We
> say this is what we can do for you, so what is it that is more important for you?
> We let them have a choice. So based on their expectations the majority, we
> always try to pitch in on their requests. (personal communication, July 4, 2013)

Mr. Badri did say that his area of study did provide more opportunities than some of the

other subjects covered at the ATE in providing opportunities to cater to IST requests but

all of the professors did mention their desire to respond to the requests of ISTs. He also

acknowledged that they could not completely cater to IST requests because he needed to

keep the trainees' best interests in mind. For some batches, he said there would be

nothing but grammar training if it were up to them. However, he does feel that some

training is required in *how* to teach grammar and what kind of methodologies should be

used in grammar instruction. Thus, he feels that he does use IST requests in developing

his curriculum but those requests are only one of many factors he uses in planning the

syllabus.

Leaning on your Training

To teach at the ATE, professors are required to have an M Phil in English

language studies or a specialized one-year degree from the English and Foreign Language

University in Hyderabad, a prestigious institution involved in English language teacher

training.   When asked whether the ATE dictates to teachers what they should be teaching in any way, professor Salman Badri said that the administrators there did not. The expectation is that the professors will use their expertise in English Language Training (ELT) to help guide their syllabus production. Badri said, "ELT is ELT. The principals [of ELT] are the same everywhere so we're already qualified to do this work. So there is no training in the subject matter" (personal communication, July 4, 2013).   Thus, there is an assumption that the best practices recommended by the scholarship on ELT is fairly standardized and that graduates from a well-known program should be well-versed in those methodologies.

There is also a lot of freedom for the professors in terms of how they incorporate their personal training into their curriculum writing. Professor Purnima Giridar said:

> As I started getting deeper in the field of English language learning, I realized that the theories made your practice better. If you realize how languages are learned, the psychology of learners, and some of the things happening in the West, as I attended many of these seminars, I was enlightened by many of the things that I heard. The theory was something I had in interest in, and wanted to adapt to classroom processes. (personal communication, August 7, 2013)

Many of the professors did say that discussing ELT theory directly was difficult in their courses because their trainees were not equipped to have that level of discussion based on their own linguistic skills or knowledge. However, many of the professors like Ms. Giridar as cited in the above excerpt, did talk about their desire to incorporate as much of their own personal training and belief about how languages are learned into their curriculum as possible.

ATE Traditions

Most of the professors at the ATE are relatively new to their positions. While a few have been there for longer than 10 years, the majority of the professors there are

younger and have been at the ATE for less than 5 years. Particularly in the initial

development of their syllabi, the professors said that they carried on the traditions of the

ATE through using elements of the curriculum developed by previous professors.

Professor Rahul Nataram said, "There is a rich legacy here. This institute is over 50

years old now, so we had a set syllabus and curriculum that was given to us so we had to

study and transact a lot of those things" (personal communication, August 7, 2013). In

the interviews, many of the professors talked about their early days at the ATE and how

they used the previous professors' syllabi to help acclimate themselves to the work there.

However, there was no pressure to use those curriculums and the professors felt like they

had the freedom to edit or adapt those previous curriculums as they saw fit. Professor

Salman Badri said, "When I joined, the syllabus was there but it was very general in

nature. It's generic and we keep it that way because on the first day we ask them what

they want more of" (personal communication, July 4, 2013).   While the professors said

that previous syllabi developed by the professors who came before them were helpful in

guiding some of their thinking on how they wanted to run their classes, they all also

mentioned having made significant revisions based on the number of factors described in

the other sections of this chapter.

In conclusion, the professors try their best to keep the curriculum fluid and open.

They don't want to impose a one-size-fits-all approach that they simply repeat every

thirty days. While many of the Power Points presentations and learning materials do

indeed stay the same from batch to batch, there is an attempt to fine tune their instruction

based on the requests of the ISTs, even when the professors feel that it may not be the

best use of time. The professors understand that the ISTs at the ATE make a great

sacrifice to spend a month on the campus and thus try to provide the ISTs with some level of autonomy in regards to the direction of their study. The professors also appreciate the fact that the ISTs are under no compunction to actually use many of the approaches endorsed by the ATE. Thus, they must tap into the interests of the ISTs in order to make them *want* to use the recommended methodologies.

Research Question Two: How are those recommendations being internalized and employed by these in-service teachers?

The ATE appears to be successful in many ways in their ability to have in-service teachers (ISTs) buy into the ideas they are recommending.   In this section, 7 main issues will be discussed where the ISTs who were interviewed agreed with the ideas proposed at the ATE. The first issue that many of the teachers agreed on is that some measure of student-centered learning is required in language education. There was also agreement over the need to focus on fluency over grammar. All too often, grammatical teaching is isolated and comes at the expense of fluency. ISTs agreed that there is indeed a need to get away from traditional Indian teaching, and that constant professional development would be necessary during their careers. The teachers agreed that they need to consistently work on their own English language competence and cannot be completely beholden to text-book or curricular requirements. Lastly, many of the ISTs left the ATE with a strong sense of confidence in their ability to implement recommended methodologies as well as in their own English language competence. All of these issues will be described in greater detail in this chapter.

Need for Student-Centered Learning

One of the main tenants of the training provided at the ATE is that students need to take a more active role in the classroom in English language education. Almost all of the professors discussed the need to engage students actively and have them speak as often as possible. The traditional Indian classroom was viewed as a problem, where students sit silently and the teacher does all of the talking. For example, when interviewed, professor Harish Balamurli said:

> They can reduce the teacher talk time to 20 percent. What I personally practice in my classroom as you see is that students should get 32 minutes and the teacher 8 minutes. And these 8 minutes should not go in one go. It should be for giving instructions only. Teaching doesn't mean just explaining for the whole 40 minutes time. When teacher does everything, the children have nothing to do. And as a result their language doesn't improve. (personal communication, July 9, 2013)

Quite often, professors at the ATE remind the ISTs that one needs to speak in order to learn language. The approach that Mr. Balamuruli is talking about, however, marks a very significant departure from what can be viewed as "traditional" Indian teaching. Mr. Balamuruli said that some of the teachers who are successful at implementing ATE pedagogy make the transition slowly, incorporating more student speech slowly over time.

In the focus group interviews with the ISTs, there was a good deal of agreement with the notion that students need be more actively invited to speak in class, and that language classrooms need to be more student-centered in general. In one of the more eloquently stated ideas on the subject, Mr. Sriram Charanam, one of the ISTs said:

> So after ATE we're going to focus on usage of language. We're not going to be the teacher with a stick in our hand and all of the students silently listening. We'll no longer follow the traditional method. It will be a revolutionary sea change in the classroom. You know there is an old proverb "silence is golden". Sometimes it is written on the wall in the classroom. But we are going to change that to "sound is gold". We want our students to talk more and more and more so that we

can give them that kind of experience to use more words. We're going to give them a kind of autonomy, what they haven't had before and we're going to minimize our autonomy in the classroom. (IST Focus Group 4, July 29, 2013)

Of all of the ISTs interviewed, Mr. Charanam was one of the most well versed in many of the philosophies discussed at the ATE as a product of his previous training, and one of the more fluent in his knowledge of the English language, and thus his comments do not reflect the experiences or ideas of many of the other ISTs as will be shown later. However, his ideas do demonstrate the message that teachers receive at the ATE and that the ATE can have a pretty profound impact on the ISTs who attend their program. He even goes so far as to satirize the traditional teacher with the "stick in [their] hand," and argues that one of the main tenants of the traditional classroom needs to be reversed entirely. He appears confident in both the philosophies recommended by the ATE and in his ability to implement them.

Other teachers talked about the need to make changes that increase student speech in language classrooms. In Kerela Focus Group 1, one of the ISTs Shyamala Hernandez said, "They like speaking. They need some exposure and they like getting the attention from other students" (July 11. 2013). Ms. Hernandez spoke about the desire of students to participate which often gets ignored. Thus, she argued that it wouldn't be difficult to make some of the changes recommended by the ATE. When asked about which ideas from the ATE would be most easy to implement, many of the ISTs talked about the activity-based lessons, the language games and the group work. Chetan Prasad, one of the ISTs from Group 3 said, "Now we have an idea of where and when we should use these activities. Before our time here, we didn't know how and where we could use these activities in the process of teaching language. Now we came to know." (IST Focus

Group 3, July 26, 2013). Again, the teachers are expressing confidence in their understanding of how and why they should use pedagogies that bring their students to the forefront, and provide them with opportunities to speak. The teachers in his group agreed with his assertions and felt that they could indeed implement some aspects of student-centered learning into their classrooms.

Here it becomes evident that many teachers are indeed buying into the notion of SCL and its benefits. As described in the literature review, peer-to-peer learning is an important component of language learning. The kinds of language education recommended by Wantanabe & Swain (2007) and inspired by Vygotskian notions of learning are being accepted by many of the ISTs at the ATE as effective approaches in the classroom.

Grammar vs. Fluency

In professor Salman Badri's class on grammar, one of the main arguments made is that in-service teachers (ISTs) must change the way that they treat grammar in their classrooms. Essentially, he argues, grammar or rule instruction holds far too privileged a place in the traditional language education classroom. He argues that grammar represents the rules and the regulations or the skeleton of a language. During the July 9th class he said, "Grammar serves language and not the other way around. We focus so much on grammar that we neglect teaching language" (personal communication, July 4, 2013). He went on to say that fluency amongst students needs to be the primary concern of language teachers. Fluency, he said, can be defined as the ability of a student to speak orally and comfortably express ideas in a target language. The problem Badri argued, is that teachers often cripple student speech with an overemphasis on rules which makes every

attempted utterance by students a mistake according to the rules of grammar. Badri argues that the utterance, even if imperfect, is more important than the underlying rules which may have been broken. Teachers need to support the child's efforts at fluency first, and then focus on rules and grammar only in support of lessons which foster fluency. Too often, grammar is taught in a vacuum, separate and apart from the teaching of language.

He argued that ISTs should take a descriptive approach to grammar instruction as well, instead of the prescriptive approach which is usually evident in language instruction in public schools in India. Later in his July 9th class he said, "If language is superior and grammar is supposed to serve then usage is more important than prescribed grammar." Thus, the local cultural norms of educated speakers should supersede the rules of foreign standards.

In interviews, many of the ISTs agreed with the approach recommended by Mr. Badri and the rest of the ATE. They thought about their own past instruction and agreed that it was too influenced by direct grammar instruction separated from efforts to build fluency. Mr. Sriram Charanam said:

> In teaching grammar, we followed a traditional way of teaching grammar in our classrooms so far and from here onwards after this training program we're not going to deal with grammar topics directly—explicitly. We're going to do it implicitly in an indirect way. We'll go on teaching from usage to rules. We're not going to go on teaching rules. First we'll teach them the usage of the topic and we make them familiar with the usage, then we'll teach them any necessary rules. Because the ultimate goal of learning language is not knowing it but using it. So after this ATE program we're going to focus on the usage of language, not giving the knowledge of language. Many of the students have the knowledge of language, but 90% of the students are unable to use the language. So then there is no question of learning language. So after the ATE we'll focus on the usage of language. (IST Focus Group 4, July 29, 2013)

Mr. Charanam strongly supports the grammar approach prescribed by the ATE. He acknowledges that grammar instruction has played too large a role in his own classroom and in Indian language education in general. Charanam went on to describe his confidence in his ability to implement the ATE's recommended approaches to grammar instruction. This reflects some of the ideas expressed in the literature review, where scholars like McCarthy (2001) and Engwall & Balter (2007) described the need to refocus some of the misplaced priorities often evident in language education. Both theorists argued in favor of fluency over grammar, an approach also endorsed at the ATE.

Getting Away from the Mother Tongue

Particularly in the village districts, most teachers use a great deal of mother tongue in English language classrooms. One of the main issues brought up by the ATE is that teachers need to use more English in the classroom. The reasons for so much L1 (mother tongue) usage in the classroom are many. According to some of the teachers, L1 usage is necessary because the language level of the students is so low. Milan P.T. said, "If I ask a question in English, finally I have to answer. In the rural areas, maybe one or two students can use much English" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). However, others felt that the reason teachers use so much L1 in the classroom is because their own English language competence is too low for much else. Professor Harish Balamuruli said that the culture of many schools demand L1 in English language classrooms and that many teachers are unwilling or unable to do much about it (personal communication, July 9, 2013). Professor Salman Badri talked about the low level of English language competence amongst teachers of English due to the certification requirements that produce teachers who are not capable of using very much English in the classroom

(personal communication, July 4, 2013). Srikanth JP, one of the Kerela teachers agreed that English language competence was a problem and went so far as to say, "We feel that we cannot express our ideas and speak with our students. We the teachers of Kerela may have 20 years of experience but at the same time we cannot express our ideas. That's why the rural students do not get anything from the teacher" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). Later in the interview he went on to state, "We in Kerela are ashamed of how we speak." Other teachers spoke about the insecurities they have in their own English language competence that inhibits their usage more than it should. This difficulty in delivering lessons in the target language was exemplified in many of the sample lessons performed by the ISTs. Towards the end of the thirty-day program, teachers were asked to deliver a lessons which displayed their understanding of a given language skill (e.g. listening, speaking, writing, reading, etc). The teachers delivered the lessons in small classrooms to a group of about seven or eight other ISTs and one of the professors. The professors scored the sample lessons using predetermined rubrics. While many of the teachers were successful, what I was taken by as a researcher, was just how many of the teachers struggled to deliver a fifteen-minute class totally in the target language. Many resorted to their respective L1s when they lacked the ability to speak in the target language and many had to take long pauses to collect their thoughts in English.

The ATE is aware of the limited proficiency that many of the ISTs come with and try to encourage the ISTs to simply use what they have. One particularly eloquent and emphatic discussion on this particular topic was observed in the classroom of professor Ganesh Ram. Mr. Ram told an anecdotal story of his sister, a high school English teacher who has limited English language skills. For years, she spoke to her class mostly in

Kannada, the L1 of many of her students in rural Karnatika state. She did so because she was embarrassed by her own English and she assumed that her students, who seemed to understand almost no English at all, could not handle more English than what she provided them with. The professor observed her class and talked to her about his concerns regarding the lack of English usage in an English language classroom. She agreed to make a change. The change produced great success for Mr. Ram's sister. During the classroom observation at the ATE on July 11th Mr. Ganesh Ram said, "Whatever English she has she uses. I'm proud of her because even though she lacks proficiency, she uses what she has. The students will benefit." She fought through her insecurities and used what English she had, eventually producing greater confidence in her own abilities to speak and use English. She saw positive results in her students after being exposed to more English. The ATE acknowledges the fact that many of the ISTs who attend their program have very limited English proficiency and face some of the obstacles described in Mr. Ram's story. While they encourage teachers to increase their English language proficiency, as will be discussed later, they also understand that language acquisition is a long term goal. Instead they want teachers to use whatever level of proficiency they have now.

When English is used there is great emphasis on making it comprehensible. In Mr. Salman Badri's class, the ISTs watched the famous video from Stephen Krashen where the researcher speaks in German twice—once with no gestures (incomprehensible) and once with gestures (comprehensible). In Mr. Ganesh Ram's class, he talks about the need to include visuals and non-verbal cues to support comprehensibility. Thus, ATE recommends that teachers "use what they have," but they do so in comprehensible ways.

Many of the teachers interviewed towards the end of the program described their desire to increase the amount of English they use in their classrooms. They acknowledged the fact that they use more L1 than they should and that a change was necessary. Shyamala Hernandez, one of the Kerela teachers said, "They need some exposure. I won't use mother tongue. Even if they don't understand I'll use some simpler expressions. Then only they will be able to speak in English. Time will give them the opportunity to speak in English, though they'll have a lot of mistakes. Gradually I'll make them speak English at the end of the year" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). Interestingly, Ms. Hernandez was in a focus group where there was a good deal of disagreement on this particular topic. Two other Kerela teachers, Mr. Sanjay Jeremiah and Mr. Milan P.T. both disagreed with the previous assertion made by Ms. Hernandez, saying that using too much English in the classroom would have blowback and bring about frustration from parents. Mr. Jeremiah said, "The thing is that if we do such things the parents will come with complaint. If we teach in English the students will not understand anything. The parents will come to the class complaining that the teacher is not teaching well" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). To which Ms. Hernandez responded, "We have to convince them, otherwise they won't speak English. They will wait for the mother tongue" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). Other teachers supported this notion regarding the need to create an atmosphere of English. Chitra Prasana of Andhra Pradesh said, "I want to create an atmosphere and an environment of my own. Previously I thought we don't have the atmosphere of English in our schools. But after the ATE I want to create that atmosphere of English in my classroom" (IST Focus Group 3, July 26, 2013).

Outside of the classroom, the teachers also acknowledged the importance of making efforts to improve their English language competence through increased usage. They acknowledged the need to seek out English language newspapers, film, and conversation where available. They understood that their "bookish" knowledge of English would not be enough. Chetan Ahmad said, "I engaged in conversation here and I got the confidence that I can speak fluent English. Though we have abundant knowledge of books and vocabulary, without usage, it is not useful" (IST Focus Group 3, July 26, 2013). He went on to talk about how he and the other English teacher at his school would only engage in conversation in Telegu out of fear of making mistakes. However, the ATE changed his perspective. Ahmad said, "By coming to the ATE we have learned that making that mistake is a step towards learning something. When we communicate the same thing the next time we can curb those things. Day by day, my bank of vocabulary is increasing" (IST Focus Group 3, July 26, 2013).

Need for Professional Development

The ATE is constantly stressing the importance of professional development throughout the thirty-day program. Whether it be in English language competence, grammatical knowledge, technology integration, or other methodological techniques, all of the ATE professors tell the ISTs that a thirty-day program is not enough time to master anything. The ATE has an excellent professional library for English language teachers. As stated previously, in-service teachers (ISTs) are asked to provide a write-up on a journal article of their choice. Here, the ATE attempts to introduce ISTs into the world of academic research for future reference. The ATE also introduces the ISTs to some of the websites which may be of professional interest to teachers later in their career. There is

also an attempt to create an email network amongst the ISTs for future communications

amongst one another.

The need to constantly update oneself as a teacher was not lost on many of the

ISTs. While many of the teachers had limited access to technology in their classrooms,

they appreciated how quickly the world is changing and that they need to update

themselves in ways they might not have considered previously. Mr. Sriram Charanam, a

teacher from Andhra Pradesh said:

> An English language teacher must be like a loaded gun in the classroom. If the
> gun is loaded he can do anything. If it is not loaded, if he wants to do something
> he cannot do. Unless we update ourselves we cannot compete with anyone in the
> society. And I too believe in Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest. If we
> don't equip ourselves with all these latest technologies or latest methods of
> teaching language, we'll be nowhere. So our survival depends on how best we
> can adapt all of these things. (IST Focus Group 4, July 29, 2013)

Many of the teachers spoke about their desire to continue their study of English

language teaching in the future and were trying to create lasting relationships with

professors that they could tap into later. Some of the ISTs had taken subscriptions

to journals or purchased periodicals on language education through book sales

offered at the ATE. In the focus groups, the need to develop professionally was a

consistent theme in the discussions. Nolan (2001) and Corbett (2010) also

described the professional advantages they gained and observed through

continued study on best practices in language education in the literature review.

Similarly, the ATE was effective in getting many ISTs to understand the

importance of continuing their professional development.

Need to Get Away From Textbook/Curriculum Requirements

One of the problems with language education in India surrounds the issue of

pacing. Many of the professors at the ATE talked about the need to simplify the textbook

and use the textbook as a tool to meet the needs of students at their level, not as a

one-size-fits-all taskmaster who sets the tone and pace of everything in the classroom.

Textbooks are provided free of charge to all public school students and are written and

developed by each individual state to reflect that state's respective State Curriculum

Framework (SCF). The textbooks encourage task-based student-centered learning in

many cases. However, the problem according to the ATE is not with the textbooks

themselves but in how they are used. Harish Balamuruli, a professor at the ATE said:

> The textbook is only a model. Most of Indian teachers as I said do not have that
> language common denominator. They don't know what to do or how to do. So
> the textbook is a model for them. But just for example, Tamil Nadu and
> Karnatika are huge states. The situation in each classroom is not the same
> throughout the state. But the textbook is the same. This textbook should be
> utilized as a tool. It is a means and not an end. But again, the teacher thinks this
> is the only thing that I have to finish to cover the syllabus. Not only in primary or
> secondary school but also in college level they are worried about covering the
> syllabus. They are not worried about the learning of the language but only in
> covering the syllabus. (personal communication, July 9, 2013)

Many of the in-service teachers (ISTs) interviewed for this project talked about the

pressure to complete required syllabi. They talked about the how the only real

expectation placed on them by their administrators is to complete the entire syllabus

every year. However, Mr. Balamurli talked about the problem with that goal. He talked

about how the English language background of the students in an elite urban Bangalore

school would not be nearly the same as the L2 experience of students in an underfunded

rural school. From that perspective, the pacing and level of instruction could not possibly

be the same in those two environments. Balamuruli said:

> We need to keep the learners in mind and their level of competence. The activity in the text may be too difficult for them. I'll have to revise some activities. I'll be simplifying that activity. It's not that this is the activity and I must complete it. I may not finish a single lesson but if I can improve learners' language then my syllabus is complete. Our purpose is defeated when we don't understand that. Most of the teachers don't understand the difference between learning language and completing the syllabus. (personal communication, July 9, 2013)

The students ISTs are teaching are at many different levels in their knowledge of English. According to some of the ISTs interviewed, there are some students that are in the tenth grade and are still learning the alphabet or are at very basic levels of spoken proficiency. Thus, the textbooks and curricular requirements may be completely out of touch with the local realities ISTs are facing. Balamuruli argued that fluency is more important than curriculum necessities.

While most of the teachers interviewed acknowledged the pressure placed on them by administrators to complete the curriculum, many of the ISTs agreed that the ATE was indeed correct in their focus on fluency over completing the textbook activities. One of the Kerela teachers, Mr. Ahmad Jameel said:

> If I am getting a long text I will just impart the message and give the language in my own way. The minimum level they need for the exam they will get. When we get pressure from the headmaster or parents we have to convince them. The teacher's autonomy is there. The NCF provides for the teacher's autonomy. (IST Focus Group 2, July 12, 2013)

There was acknowledgement of the fact that the curricular needs set by administrators came at the expense of the students' fluency. Many of the teachers did agree that some of the textbook activities or readings were too difficult for their students and they needed to scaffold instruction or provide additional reading support as required in the simplification of the text. Many of the ISTs said that they could easily make these kinds of changes in

their classroom and as the quote from Mr. Jameel says, push back against external pressure if required.

Confidence

The most common point of agreement amongst the ISTs was that they were leaving the ATE with a great deal of confidence and were really motivated to "do something".   Mr. Ahmad Jameel said, "We have to inspire before we expire. We have to motivate our children as these teachers at the ATE inspired us" (IST Focus Group 2, July 12, 2013).   Mr. Sriram Charanam echoed these ideas. He said, "The ATE spirited all of the trainees here a lot and in the same spirit we are going back to our classrooms. We wish to do the same. We want to make our students proficient and comfortable in all of the language skills" (IST Focus Group 4, July 29, 2013) There was great optimism amongst many of the ISTs as the thirty-day program came to an end. Mr. Chetan Ahmad said, "We are confident. No doubt at all. We may not be able to implement all of these things 100 percent there but we will work hard to implement as many activities, as many methods there in our schools. The ultimate goal is to increase the level of the students" (IST Focus Group 3, July 26, 2013). To which Ms. Chitra Prasana seconded, "ATE has inspired me a lot. It has given me an environment of good English. We are rejuvenated" (IST Focus Group 3, July 26, 2013).

As stated previously, many of the ISTs are determined to increase student speech in the classroom, to focus on fluency over grammar, to get away from using so much mother tongue usage, and to seek out conversation for themselves in English. They are motivated to continuously develop professionally, and to get past the obsession with completing the textbook and instead gauge their success by the actual acquisition in their

students. For many of them, they are armed with new abilities with technology and many email addresses of English teachers from all over their state, to create an English speaking network amongst their new friends. They are motivated to get back to their classrooms and test out their new approaches to benefit their students.

Many of the ISTs leave the experience awed. For thirty days, they observed inspired professionals model activities that they could use in their classrooms immediately. They were able to ask questions, challenge professors, and meditate on how to incorporate the new ideas for an entire month. I too left inspired. While student-centered education is far more prevalent in most American classrooms, I still left thinking about the ways in which I could cede more authority to my own students and incorporate more of the best practices I observed during the teacher professional development program.

Research Question Three: What difficulties are the teachers predicting in trying to implement the best practices they come across in this teacher professional development program? What obstacles are professors at the ATE predicting for graduates of the program?

Many of the in-service teachers (ISTs) at the ATE voiced concerns about their ability to implement the best practices endorsed in the professional deveopment program. One of the obstacles they described was that it might be difficult to use much student-centered learning where class sizes are extremely large. They were also worried about discipline problems that might arise if there was too much student autonomy. As stated previously, there is a great deal of pressure from students, parents, and administrators in regards to how to teach and ISTs were worried about how ATE

endorsed methodologies might be perceived. Some argued that student-centered learning

went against what they saw as "Indian culture." Others discussed their concerns with the

amount of time these kinds of methodologies might take up, thus limiting their ability to

complete required curriculums in their school. ISTs spoke about the inability of students

to follow lessons where too much of the target language was used. They argued that

there was no culture of English in their communities.   They also felt that there was a

lack of technology available in their schools. ISTs and professors talked about exam

culture, and how it goes against many of the ideas proposed by the ATE. The ISTs also

talked about the difficulty of spreading ATE endorsed methods to other teachers. Lastly,

professors talked about the lack of seriousness amongst some of the ISTs, which would

make any change impossible.

Class Sizes

Many of the ISTs felt that their class sizes back home might prohibit their ability

to implement student-centered learning in their classrooms. Many of the teachers work in

schools that are overpopulated and understaffed and thus some of them may teach sixty

or even seventy students in a single class. While many of these teachers did agree that

student-centered learning is the optimal approach when conditions were reasonable, they

questioned their ability to implement the methodologies endorsed by the ATE in the

massive classes that they sometimes teach. In IST focus group 6, Kalen Roa of Andra

Pradesh said:

> In large classes, group work is somewhat difficult. It disturbs other classes. In
> the little amount of time we cannot concentrate on every group—every student. If
> the class is 60 students we have to make 7 or 8 groups, each group will have 7 to
> 8 members. So monitoring and scaffolding becomes difficult. If the class
> strength is 25-30, this system is very good. We can concentrate on everything,
> every student. But if we take our schools every section is 50-60. Maybe 67. It's

highly impossible to use all of these techniques—group work or making every child speak. If we give chance to every child to speak, it takes 60 minutes. So where is the chance to make them learn. (IST Focus Group 6, August 1, 2013)

Many teachers voiced concerns about disturbing other classes. Group work in a class of sixty students is loud—very loud. In some of these classes, ISTs talked about classrooms that are separated by thin walls or possibly even sheets. Extreme volume from an individual class would not be welcomed and would reflect badly on the teacher. Many teachers also talked about their own limitations in monitoring their students when groups are so large. In the quotation above, Mr. Roa did acknowledge the value of the methodologies endorsed by the ATE. In a smaller classroom, he seemed confident in the approaches recommended by the ATE but he also felt that giving every student a real opportunity to speak every day was not realistic.

Many of the ISTs and professors used the term "indiscipline." There was a concern that student-centered classrooms would be difficult to control, particularly for teachers working with very large class sizes. The professors at the ATE acknowledged that to many, the group work required for student-centered learning might be perceived as a problem. Rahul Nataram said, "For example, there may be noise in the classroom. These teachers might try some activity or group discussion and it might create some noise in the classroom.   Then the headmaster comes and says there is no discipline in the school. So everybody should understand this philosophy in the school, not just one or two teachers. Especially the head teacher should know" (personal communication, August 7, 2013) Here, there is a difference between discipline and the appearance of discipline.   To the passing administrator, a noisy classroom represents a lack of classroom management on the part of the teacher. However, to a professor at the ATE, a

noisy classroom is a necessary part of effective language learning. However, too many

teachers are going back to schools that don't attach much value to loud student

involvement, and simply see it as a poor reflection on the teachers' ability to maintain

discipline in their rooms.

In many ways, the conversation here reflects some of the problems described by

Ramanathan (2005) in the literature review. Ramanathan talked about divergent

pedagogies and practices in schools that served rich/poor students. In the private schools

that served predominantly well-to-do students, teachers asked students to take risks, use

the target language and speak consistently. In the schools that served poor students, there

were limited opportunities to speak and any student speech was strictly regimented and

constrained. Here, many of the ISTs are saying that they would indeed use

student-centered methodologies if they were teaching in smaller classrooms, however the

massive class sizes in government schools prohibits them from implementing sound

practices in language education. Thus the methodological divide that Ramanathan

describes is playing out in the classrooms of the ISTs.

Pressure from Administrators, Teachers, Parents and Students

As stated previously, the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) is very focused

on student-centered education and the pedagogical techniques like group work that

support that approach. However, even administrators who are charged with

implementing the NCF may have little direct knowledge about what those methodologies

look like in action. Salman Badri, one of the professors at the ATE acknowledged this

problem. He said:

> The teachers have some limitations. For instance, in these government schools, if
> you have a spoken English language activity, the other classes and even the

principal may see that as a problem. The principal might say, 'Why is there so much noise. Do an activity, but no noise'. He wouldn't know what an activity means in an English classroom and how it's supposed to be. He'll say 'do an activity but don't talk'. (personal communication, July 4, 2013).

The administrators in the local school who send these ISTs out for training may have little understanding of what the ATE is recommending to the teachers. Thus, local administrators may prove to be an insurmountable obstacle to teachers who agree with and try to implement the methodologies endorsed by the ATE. As stated in the previous section by Rahul Nataram, these individual graduates of the ATE cannot be the only ones in their schools who are familiar with these methodologies.

Similarly, parents and students who may have little understanding or appreciation for the benefits of student-centered learning may complain and argue in favor of the more traditional teacher-centered approach that they are familiar with. One of the Kerela teachers, Sanjay Jeremiah said, "[i]f we do such things the parents will come with complaints. If I teach in English, children will not understand anything. The parents will come to the class and say that the teacher is not teaching well" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). This kind of concern was voiced by some other ISTs as well. While they may agree that getting away from the mother tongue is an important aspect of second language learning, doing so might be more difficult than expected when complaints arise from students and parents.

In the literature review, Ramanathan (2005) talked about the "katha" style, call and response chanting that occurred in many English language classrooms. She said that this kind of repetitive approach was reminiscent of what happened in many Hindu temples and reflected a style that many students would be familiar with. In such settings, student speech is prescribed, predictable and regularized. Students are not really using

language but simply repeating sounds. However, the kind of methodologies that the ATE is recommending requires teachers to change some of the traditional educational models in India. When parents, students, and administrators see classrooms that don't look like the ones that they are accustomed to, they might push back and pressure the graduates of the ATE back into the more traditional, teacher-centered approaches they recognize.

This is also reminiscent of the research described in the literature review on teacher beliefs. Previously, Belzer (2004) described how the experiences teachers bring with them color their view of new learning. In this case parents and administrators may have clearly defined views on what a successful classroom looks like based on the experiences they have had in their own education.

Indian Culture

In traditional Indian culture, the teacher or guru holds a very privileged and powerful place. The student is not supposed to question the teacher. In fact there is an old Kannada saying that goes "Guru Devo Bhava," which loosely translates to "the guru is god, let it be."   Particularly in communities where families may be very poor and uneducated, teachers hold an even more privileged position. Sanjay Jeremiah, a Kerela teacher said, "Whatever we teach is accepted like the god's prophecy to them. They are ignorant people so whatever we say they will accept" (IST Focus Group 1, July 11, 2013). From the perspective of this particular teacher, many of the students are not ready or willing to participate in the ways that the ATE describes. Students may prefer to stay silent in the classroom and may not speak up even if encouraged to.

Mr. Harish Balamuruli, one of the professors at the ATE, also agreed that some cultural norms in India might make it difficult to get students to become more active participants in classrooms. He said:

> There are some cultural problems in regards to decision making and critical thinking abilities. We Indians do not take our own decisions. The parents make the decisions. Even the girl, even for marriage, she will take whatever decision the parents make. That is handed down from generation to generation. Whether it is education, marriage, or anything else, parents are there to take decisions, we don't take decisions. As a result what happens, even in the classroom when you ask me to take a decision I may not be able to do that. Critical people are considered bad people in our society. You are not supposed to ask questions when senior people say something. So if we have that in our blood, as a result we won't ask any questions. We won't make any critical comments of a classroom. You go to any classroom and ask the students, they will say 'good teacher, good teacher' they will not say anything bad about the teacher because the teacher is guru. So that is a cultural problem. (personal communication, July 11, 2013)

Here, it becomes clear that subscribing to the methodologies of the ATE and the philosophy of the NCF is about a lot more than just teaching English. It is about shifting some powerfully entrenched cultural paradigms.

This disconnect is reminiscent of the problems described by Canagrarajah (2005) and Block (2004) in the literature review. They both talked about the difficulty of having a one-size-fits-all approach to implementing best practices endorsed by Second Language Acquisition theorists.   They both discussed the need to acknowledge the realities evident in local cultures and to customize the implementation of methodologies as needed. In the interview, Mr. Balamurali did go on to say that the student-centered approach could help to impact some of the cultural obstacles to critical thinking and problem solving. Many of the ISTs also said that a slow and step by step implementation of ATE endorsed methodologies could positively impact students.

Textbook/Curriculum Concerns

Perhaps the most commonly voiced concern amongst the ISTs regarded their need

to complete the curriculum and complete the state provided textbooks. An Andrah

Pradesh IST, K Chandra said, "If a teacher has no constraints and complete freedom they

can implement these ideas no problem. But we have to complete the syllabus for

quarterly examinations. We have to complete some more syllabus for bi-annual

examinations. We have to complete more syllabus for annual examinations. If we fail to

complete the syllabus within the time frame, definitely this will be reported to the

villages. We have to be accountable to the syllabus" (IST Focus Group 4, July 29, 2013).

Different teachers had different levels of freedom in their home schools and different

levels of pressure to complete their required syllabus. The syllabus is sizable and

completing the textbook in villages where English is largely absent is a difficult task.

However, most of the teachers talked about how their administrators and colleagues judge

their work based on their ability to complete their required syllabus every year. The

teachers at the ATE often times did agree that focusing on spoken skills or bringing

student-centered learning to the forefront would be better for the students in regards to

language acquisition. However, they also felt that the approaches endorsed by the ATE

are time consuming and could make it difficult to complete the syllabus. In the same

focus group, Mr. Sriram Charanam spoke on the extra time required to implement ATE

endorsed methodologies. He said:

> We should take this syllabus and these methodologies hand in hand. So instead of
> concentrating more on the content of the text, it's better for a few moments to
> create some activities using the same text. We can make use of the language in
> the classroom and create a kind of conversation in the classroom using the
> prescribed text. We can use the text as a means to implement all these things.
> Creating new a thing is tough and time consuming. But only thing is if I finish

the syllabus in 3 classes, if I go on doing like this—coming away a bit out the text—I might finish the syllabus in 5 or 6 classes. (IST Focus Group 4, July 29, 2013)

Mr. Charanam brings up a few good points here. One, the text must be used as the vehicle for any new methodological implementation. This idea is not lost on the professors at the ATE as many of the lessons they model are based on poems and stories in their state mandated textbooks. Secondly, ATE endorsed methodologies will require time. Time for the teachers to rewrite previously delivered lessons to include more speaking opportunities and time to actually implement those lessons within the syllabus. The text can provide the context for best practices implementation. However, the speed at which they are traditionally used makes the inclusion of student-centered methodologies difficult.

The professors at the ATE are aware of the time constraints on the ISTs. One of the professors at the ATE, Mr. Salman Badri spoke on the difficulty the ISTs will face in finding the time to rewrite their lessons. He said, "Even for teachers who want to do quality work in the schools, they are constantly engaged and their time is wasted in other less meaningful activities. For instance, record entries or correcting learner's notebooks which is a meaningless practice that's carried out in many schools. Then there is counselling parents and so many nonsense jobs like election duties" (personal communication, July 4, 2013). Essentially, the administrators at these schools need to provide teachers with the freedom and opportunity to implement these best practices. Many of the teachers, however, doubted that they would get those opportunities when they returned to the classrooms.

As included in the literature review to this project, Cheliah (2001) discussed the many problems textbooks present when comparing the books used in different classes separated by socioeconomic levels. The professors and ISTs here are not necessarily arguing that the textbooks themselves are problematic. The textbooks being used in South Indian government schools are informed by the respective State Curriculum Frameworks (SCFs) in their states and thus are attempting to make student-centered education central to classroom instruction. In fact, the Karnatika state textbook had two professors from the ATE on the committee when it was written. Here the text may actually be a help as opposed to the hindrance that Cheliah described. However, the problem may not be in the text, but in how it is being used. Teachers don't have the time required to use it in a way that might instill the best practices they come across. Similarly, they don't have the training or practice in how to implement the lessons in the textbooks in the way that they were designed.   While the government school textbooks seemed to have improved, now the problem appears to be in how they are being used in the classroom.   In essence, the ISTs need to see the textbook as a tool and not as a prescription.

No Technology in Schools Back Home

One of the pushes at the ATE is to provide ISTs with an introduction into technology.   In the computer class, teachers learn the basics of Microsoft Word, Powerpoint, Exel, and the basics of internet searching as described previously.   Some of the teachers need to learn the most basic skills: how to turn the computer on and how a mouse works. Other teachers are very sophisticated and savvy in their use of technology. Some teachers are coming from schools that lack desks and electricity, let alone a

computer lab. Some of the teachers work in districts where fully equipped labs are available for student usage and are quite busy with study activity.

Some teachers who had access to computer labs did say that they had opportunities to introduce technology into their classrooms but had not due to their own lack of knowledge. However, after their work at the ATE they wanted to incorporate more technology into their student's work. Interestingly, even some of the teachers who worked in severely impoverished schools noted that the landscape around them was changing quickly and that while technology was unavailable currently, it might be brought to their schools in a matter of time. Thus, these teachers appreciated the introduction to technology provided by the ATE.

However, even if teachers had some access to computer labs at their school, they might just be accessible periodically. At the ATE, professors use Power Point presentations for every lesson in classrooms equipped with overhead projectors. Thus there is a disconnect between the lessons modeled at the ATE and the realities in the classrooms of the ISTs. When it came to their ability to incorporate technology into their classrooms, the ISTs were fairly negative in their outlook.

Exam Culture

One of the issues brought up by teachers and professors was that the exam culture in India focused on the wrong priorities. While the ATE would typically accentuate spoken and listening skills to promote fluency, many of the exams focus instead on reading and writing skills, which are easier to grade but less likely to create speakers of English.   One of the professors, Ms. Uma Rizla said:

> Ultimately, teachers are often times the paper setters so they teach the students accordingly. Education isn't just teacher centered but examination centered.

> Finally even the parents are more concerned about the marks on the mark sheet. Whether the child has learned how to speak or write well—it is not that much of a concern as long as the school has been able to produce good results for the child. So marks play a very important role here. As soon as a child gets high marks they are labeled as a very good student. But if the same child is made to compete with another child with less marks who may be more fluent or communicative, here that child fails. So what is happening in our education system here is that we're just training the child for maybe rote memory and just reading and writing. But once they come out in the mainstream here they may falter when they are supposed to communicate. They are not able to even stand and speak for a few minutes on a subject. (personal communication, July 5, 2013)

Fluency is the primary goal of the methodologies endorsed by the ATE. As stated in the National Curriculum Framework, the hope is to produce strong speakers of English. However the exams that students and teachers are judged on have no spoken language component. There is no effort to evaluate students on their listening comprehension. Thus, speaking and listening skills are essentially ignored in many classrooms since they are not represented on exams. This reflects one of the issues described in the literature review as well. Pan & Block (2011) argued that students in China were more interested in being certified as competent speakers than they were in actually being communicative speakers. Thus, pressured to perform on high stakes exams, best teaching practices were ignored and replaced by efficient and focused test preparation.

Another professor at the ATE, Mr. Salman Badri spoke specifically to the environment faced by government school teachers in more rural areas in regards to examination culture. He said:

> In government schools parents just want marks. If at all there are parents that have some awareness they will just go look at the grade cards to see if the child has passed or failed. If you are talking about a government school child, you are probably talking about a mother and a father without much education living with basic amenities. Which probably means that your understanding of education is pass or fail. So if your son or daughter has passed, then great. The teacher is great, the school is great and they give a lot of respect to you. (personal communication, July 4, 2013)

While teaching to the test is an issue in education in many parts of the world, it seems to be even more of an issue in poor government schools according to Mr. Badri where parents aren't equipped to evaluate the schools by any other metric. As described in the literature review, theorists like D'Souza (2001) talk about parents who send their children to English medium schools even if they do not speak any English themselves. Here, Mr. Badri argues that the parents of many of these children place minimal expectations on the schools and do not consider fluency in English to be a primary goal. Thus, the goals of the ATE and the goals of the communities these ISTs are serving appear to be out of step.

In the end, the ATE is asking teachers to make some pretty significant changes in their classrooms. Many of these ISTs have years, if not decades of experience, and to ask these teachers to dramatically rethink how they approach instruction can be an uphill battle. Often times, these teachers spoke about the disconnect between the ideal environment and the real world complexities which problematized the approaches being endorsed by the ATE. As stated, there are so many obstacles to using a student-centered approach in Indian government-school education, and those obstacles become insurmountable pretty quickly if the ISTs are not willing or able to challenge them.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Research Question Four: What gaps may exist in the professional development of English teachers as seen by the professors and in-service teachers? What recommendations can be made to improve the teacher professional development program?

Given the findings garnered through reviewing artifacts from the program, focus group sessions, classroom observations, and interviewing the professors and in-service teachers (ISTs) invited to study at the Academy for the Teaching of English (ATE), a number of ideas came up which could fill gaps or fix inefficiencies described by the participants. Many of the professors talked about the need to create better pathways of communication between each other so as to avoid overlaps in the curriculum or contradictory viewpoints or approaches. This kind of increased communication between professors was also discussed as an opportunity to better integrate the skills taught at the ATE and provide ISTs with a view of how all of the different skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing) could all be incorporated into individual lessons as opposed to being presented in such a compartmentalized fashion. As stated, many of the methodologies recommended by the ATE might run into obstacles upon implementation. How should ISTs deal with those obstacles? Many of the ISTs talked about student-centered learning and the problems such an approach might run into in large classes. What can a teacher do to keep control of a class while incorporating ATE endorsed methodologies? Many of the professors talked about the need to do follow-up observations of graduates to see what their experiences have been like in the classroom after leaving the training program. And lastly, since many of the arguments made in the ATE professional development program

do not seem to be convincing some ISTs, what might be done to have teachers buy in more to new ideas?

Need for Better Communication Amongst Professors

One of the issues discussed by the professors at the ATE is that communication between them is lacking creating overlaps and missed opportunities in some instances and divergent philosophies in others. While there are regular meetings between the professors to discuss administrative issues and changes in state mandates, there is little direct knowledge of what is happening in other classes. Mr. Rahul Nataram said, "We hear from participants sometimes that there is a contradiction between lecturers. We need to talk to each other more and analyze our own classrooms and learn from each other. We don't really sit together and discuss our own classrooms. Maybe it's time to do that for our own professional development" (personal communication, August 7, 2013). Mr. Nataram talked about how each of the professors is considered an expert in his or her field, and thus making changes or debating approaches might be difficult internally within the ATE. One of the professors, Mr. Salman Badri said, "In terms of knowledge of the other classes, we have the syllabus, that's it. But in that syllabus, what the faculty stressed more, is difficult to know. We should share but that doesn't happen. I don't know why" (personal communication, July 4, 2013). For Mr. Badri, this lack of communication leads to a missed opportunity for ISTs to learn how to integrate skills. He argued that many of the classes are unnecessarily compartmentalized, whereas ISTs need to know how to integrate speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills into a single hour, within the context of a textbook based lesson. He said:

> The focus is more on what I teach as an individual rather than the holistic
> understanding that goes to the trainer. That is one thing in my view that we were

never able to work on as a team at the ATE.   So I teach grammar so I'll read up on grammar tell them all that I can about grammar within the time frame available. But from the learner's perspective, he's got to go back to his classroom, take his text book and teach his lessons. So okay, he's got to know about grammar, about listening, and about a particular method. How is he going to incorporate all of these things, all of this understanding, and how is it going to be reflected in a particular lesson? (personal communication, July 4, 2013)

As opposed to teaching individual skills in separate classes, where the IST needs to figure out how to synthesize the different skills, Mr. Badri is arguing in favor of an approach which shows ISTs how to incorporate all of the skills into the text book they are using every day.   He feels that the professors need to model these approaches together in unison to show how a single lesson can incorporate all of the language skills simultaneously and consistently as opposed to a piecemeal approach. Such an integration can only occur through better lines of dialogue and communication between professors. Mr. Badri's ideas are supported by the arguments made by Garet (*et al*, 2001) in the literature review. Namely, good professional development needs to foster coherence. Professional development for teachers often appears random, haphazard, and disconnected from other professional development opportunities they encounter.   If professional development is more coherent and streamlined, it is more likely to be implemented effectively.   The ISTs should be shown how to integrate all of the communicative processes effectively.

In other instances, divergent philosophies were expressed between professors which might have important implications for ISTs. On the topic of accent and target language goals, divergent ideas were evident. Professor Purnima Giridar said:

When I first came here I was teaching phonetics. But in so far as the Indian context is concerned, I think the kind of accent we have is enough for our survival here. So I wasn't really sure if what I was teaching was helpful or not. As far as the teacher was concerned, they were getting a few more signs of the language,

> which was enough for the teacher as such. But I was not sure how much it was
> helping the teacher back in the class. (personal communication, August 7, 2013)

Here, Ms. Giridar talks about the target language goals that should inform the teaching of

phonetics and speaking in classrooms. To her, the Indian English vernacular is enough as

opposed to foreign norms which often define pronunciation goals. In the literature

review, this was a major source of contention between different groups in the English

speaking community. Some researchers (Cowie, 2007; Dasgupta, 1992) defined the

target goals of learners in foreign terms while others (Hosali, 2005; Sharma, 2005)

looked at more local and basic forms as acceptable and perhaps even preferable. It is also

interesting that Ms. Giridar used the term "survival" in her description of the target. In a

sense, she is asking what is language learning for? As Sridhar (1989) showed the English

language learn is mostly used in the academic and professional spheres, and thus English

is an instrumental language of utility to many. Hence, its usefulness for so many

speakers is localized and should thus follow local customs. Some of the ISTs agreed with

Ms. Giridar. Mr. Ahmad Jameel of Kerela argued that target languages have become

more localized. He laughed as he said, "Colonization is like a boomerang. They

colonized India but now the language is ours. Maybe we are mishandling it. But they

mishandled the country, and we are mishandling the language" (IST Focus Group 2, July

12, 2013) For Mr. Jameel, target languages are local.

Opposing ideas were expressed by the phonetics teacher, Ms. Uma Rizla in her

description of the target dialect. She said:

> We can just accept the problems as they are. We can say okay, people from this
> state or that speak like this. But here, we are trying to minimize these problems
> and we try to work on them. So there is a shift in the thought process. Instead of
> just accepting the problems as friends or colleagues as earlier, we are trying to
> minimize those errors so that they can join the mainstream. Of course we cannot

speak like native speakers, but at least we can reach for a standard Indian English where there is a neutral accent. Nobody should be able to tell what part of India you are from when you speak. (personal communication, July 5, 2013)

She went on to say later that she also focuses on British and American pronunciations and phonetics in the training of ISTs. Here a very different view is expressed. As opposed to local and state norms of Indian English, where English speakers from Kerela, Karnatika, Andhra Pradesh, or the North might pronounce words very differently, the goal here is a region-less English. It is interesting that Ms. Rizla uses the term "mainstream" as well. It implies that mother tongue influences and localized Englishes are "problems" as she describes.

When comparing the views of Ms. Rizla and Ms. Giridar, a fairly important discrepancy is revealed. What should the target dialect for teachers be? Should it be a local/state version of English? Should it be a regionless, nationalized IE? Or should American and British standards inform the teaching of phonetics? This is one example of an important question that the ATE must grapple with in its work with ISTs. Of course, as seen in the literature review, these questions are not easily answered. The Cowie (2007) article showed how business interests and call centers placed a high value on regionless IE. On the opposite side, Hosali (2005) argued in the defense of Butler Englishes and pidgins which developed around India as "survival" languages. However, a clearer and unified voice on the part of the ATE in regards to these kinds of difficult choices would be helpful for the ISTs enrolled in the training program. This kind of unified voice might come about through improved communication and integration amongst the professors there.

At the same time, a lack of communication between professors at training programs may not be all that uncommon. As described earlier in this paper, in the pilot study to this project I performed at a major Mid-Atlantic university's language education program, similar problems were described. Many organizations in all kinds of fields might also argue that miscommunications between different branches lead to inefficiencies. Professors talked about a lack of communication between them leading to overlaps, missed opportunities in regards to integration, and divergent philosophies being expressed. But perhaps, as stated by Mr. Nataram and Mr. Badri, such problems may be ameliorated through better communication between professors at the ATE. Better coherence in the program could be achieved through more explicit communication between the professors.

How to be a Change Agent

As stated in the findings for research question # 3, many of the in-service teachers don't feel that they have complete autonomy over their own classrooms. Thus, for them to simply go back to their schools and integrate ATE recommended methodologies into their classrooms will not be easy. Oftentimes, the very administrators who sent them to the training program will be obstacles to implementation when the ISTs return to their classrooms. Some of the teachers felt strongly that they would have to aggressively deal with obstacles upon their return, but were willing to do so. One of the ISTs, Mr. Goutham Krishnamurthy of Tamil Nadu said, "The system and the plan here are often times good, but cannot be implemented due to the rigidity of the administration. But one of the things that we've learned here is that I am the king of my class" (IST Focus Group 5, July 31, 2013) As seen in some of the comments described in this project previously,

there are many teachers who are aware that they will run into obstacles upon their return to their schools but are willing to take on those challenges because they have bought into the philosophies recommended by the ATE.

However, this is certainly not the case amongst many of the teachers. Many of them will be under pressure to abandon their attempts to change methodologies in the classroom. During the course work at the ATE, there is little discussion of how to deal with these obstacles to implementation. Thus, it can only be assumed that many of the teachers who might actually agree with the ATE's perspective will give up on making any significant changes to how they teach English and to making their classrooms more student-centered.

Essentially, teachers need to not only change their own classroom but also be an effective resource person. Namely, they should be able to advocate for the student-centered approach, explain why it is an effective way to teach language, and defend its strengths. When this is accomplished, the benefits can be profound. One of the professors, Mr. Rahul Nataram spoke on the benefits of becoming an effective resource person. He said, "I've seen some old teachers who have been trained at the ATE many years back and they have become state level resource persons, and they say that they owe the credit to the ATE. They may be less in number but there are teachers who really innovate and they grow in the process and they get recognition. If they implement they'll be recognized by the public and the parents" (personal communication, August 7, 2013). However, much of this is also attributed to the individual creativity and drive of these ISTs. There is not much the ATE does in terms of teaching ISTs how to become

advocates for their ideas upon returning to their classrooms. Professor Purnima Giridar said:

> When they go back as a resource person they need to have an idea on how to transact these ideas, not just pulling out random threads from their training. The problem is that many don't have a systematic plan on how to go about things and then they find that others are not receptive to them.   They need to have some theory to support their ideas. That is what a resource person should have and what is missed out by some of the teachers who go back. They just do some activities but don't really know why they are doing it. You need to have a valid reason why. (personal communication, August 7, 2013)

Many of the teachers may have to answer some hard questions when they get back and need to be versed in how to handle those questions. As stated by Professor Giridar, the ATE needs to prepare teachers on how to defend the methodologies they seek to employ with explanations as to *why* they are worthwhile.   As stated previously, these ISTs may not just be changing their approach to teaching English but might also be changing some local cultural norms about what a classroom is supposed to look like. However, there is very little discussion of second language acquisition research and theory at the ATE. In my observations, I only saw a cursory introduction to SLA theory in one of the classes. In fact, in an interview with the senior administrator Dr. Vishwanathan, there was a specific desire to avoid emphasizing theory because it felt disconnected from the classroom when compared to focuses on specific and implementable methodologies (personal communication, August 7, 2013).   However, according to Professor Giridar, knowledge of theory is required for ISTs in order for them to defend the tenants of SCL when they return to their schools. The ATE needs to acknowledge the difficulties that teachers face in advocating for SCL when they return to their schools, and try and prepare teachers in how to handle them.

How to Incorporate SCL

As stated by Professor Salman Badri, most of the in-service teachers (ISTs) who are teaching in government schools in many parts of the country have never actually seen what good student-centered learning (SCL) looks like. He said:

> In India, the problem is at every level, not just at the teacher training level. If you say that the NCF has been out for 8 years already and still you go to classrooms and there are no child centered classrooms, then yes that is a reality. The main reason from the grassroots level is that even after attending various training programs, the teacher is still unable to understand what a child centered classroom is. The problem is with the basic education system. They come from a school system where skill based learning or higher order thinking skills like application skills, inferential skills, logical thinking skills, deducting, were never addressed in their school or college. You're talking about that kind of teacher. (personal communication, July 4, 2013)

The National Curriculum Framework of 2005 attempted to change the course of Indian education by making it more student-centered in its approach. Many training programs have been developed which focus on defining, exemplifying, and describing the benefits of SCL as stated by the ISTs during our conversations. And while the teachers seem to know much of the vocabulary of SCL (terms such as facilitator), they have not really seen successful examples and do not know how to implement it. As described previously, one of the great strengths of the ATE is that they provide good modeling of student-centered approaches which provide ISTs with real examples to model their own work after.

However, the student-centered approach also brings up some classroom complications that ISTs may not be prepared for. As stated in the findings, many of the ISTs were concerned about the lack of discipline which might occur as a product of SCL. They also talked about the difficulty of using SCL techniques in classes with up to 60-70 students where the volume could get out of control.   In a teacher centered classroom, where the teacher does almost all of the talking and students only respond in prescribed

ways, many aspects of classroom discipline are easier to deal with. If students are expected to silently observe, the volume is easier to keep under control.

Teachers need to know *how* to incorporate SCL effectively. But as stated by the professor Salman Badri, if they've never seen effective student-centered learning, how will they develop those skills which make SCL more efficient? In group work, how does one ensure that each student is actively engaged? How is that evaluated? How does one get control of a class once students are broken up into groups and set on a task? How does one deal with loud or difficult students in a student-centered environment? How does a teacher encourage a silent class to speak? SCL may be the recommended approach by the NCF and the ATE but it requires that teachers be effective facilitators and have the skill sets needed for effective implementation. Not all teachers may have those skill sets, particularly if they've never seen quality SCL before, even in their own schooling. While the ATE may model SCL in the training program, the professors are working with adult ISTs, not children. The children themselves might struggle with SCL as they have also never really seen it in action and may not yet have developed the skill sets required for success in such an environment (e.g. speaking up, leadership in a group, higher order thinking skills). In the literature review, Ramanathan (2005) talked about the obstacles faced by students transitioning to a student-centered classroom. The author described some of the difficulties faced by vernacular medium (VM) students when they made the jump to college and were paired with English medium (EM) students. She said that many of the VM students were coming from teacher centered government classrooms with minimal English usage and were asked to compete with well-heeled EM students who were already versed in SCL skills from the private schools they attended.

Ramanathan talked about the need to help VM students build the necessary skill sets required for success in classroom that required them to speak up and contribute in ways they had not before.

In regard to the issue of *how* ISTs can incorporate SCL in difficult environments effectively, one of the professors Mr. Rahul Nataram talked about setting up a model school where ISTs could visit and observe expert teachers use ATE endorsed methodologies with real students (personal communication, August 7, 2013). If the teachers are concerned about large class sizes, then he argued that the ATE should show them how to incorporate SCL in a large classroom. If the ISTs are concerned about the resources available in their schools or the nature of the classrooms themselves (e.g. classrooms separated by cloth dividers instead of walls) then he argued that the ISTs should be shown how to use SCL in such an environment. If "seeing is believing" then it appears as if many of the ISTs need to see SCL function efficiently in a real environment, not an ideal one. This kind of community outreach could also be useful in connecting the professors to the kinds of environments that the ISTs work in, giving them a clearer glimpse into the lives of the ISTs and allowing them to see their theories in action in order to fine tune the ATE's program to the needs of the teachers.

Need for Follow-up

Once ISTs leave the ATE, there is little to no communication or follow-up between the parties. Essentially, the ISTs are left to themselves to use or ignore their training with little feedback as to how their implementation is going. Professor Rahul Nataram spoke on this problem. He said:

> In my conversations with teachers, the problem is that there are no follow-up activities. We train them for 30 days and basically there is no follow-up, either

from us or their local administrators. There isn't a strong monitoring mechanism. We've trained thousands of teachers but we really don't know what they're doing now. Are they teaching the same old way, or are they changed, are they bringing innovations into the classroom? Nobody knows. Officially, we should be visiting schools and observing classrooms. Now there is no accountability. And if they run into problems, there is no one there to help them. (personal communication, August 7, 2013)

As stated previously, often times the very administrators who sent the teachers to the ATE know little about student-centered learning and are not willing or qualified to evaluate their implementation of ATE recommended methodologies. Mr. Nataram went on to speak about the importance of a mentoring system. When the ISTs leave the ATE, they may have performed one or two sample lessons in front of a group of teachers, not actual students. And as stated in the previous section, implementing SCL can be complicated particularly because it is so new to many of the teachers. Thus, there is a definite need for support when teachers return to their classroom and try out these new approaches. Teachers do exchange email addresses and can contact the professors themselves with questions or concerns but those contacts may be limited in many cases. Some kind of mentoring infrastructure would be of use to graduates of the ATE.

These concerns were voiced by the ISTs as well. While many of them agreed that SCL was an approach that would be worthwhile to implement, they were concerned about their ability to do so. Having a support structure that teachers could turn to with answers to their questions would make them feel as if they were not on such an island. However currently, no such system is in place. As stated by Mr. Nataram, there is also no compunction for teachers to use these methodologies. The follow-up would also demand that teachers use some of the skills that they've acquired and demonstrate their ability to implement those skills effectively. The importance of follow-up was highlighted in the

literature review by Nishimura (2014). She argued that professional development which included observations, peer support, and ongoing feedback was more likely to be implemented by teachers.

The follow-up would also be helpful to the professors themselves in the revision and refinement of their curriculum. Professor Purnima Giridar spoke on the need for the professors at the ATE to go out and see their own theories tested in classrooms (personal communication, August 7, 2013). Increased exposure to the realities of the ISTs would give the professors the kind of background necessary better meet the needs of the teachers but also to understand how these methodologies need to be attuned to the environments of teachers who attend the program. Canagarajah (2005) and Block (2004) spoke about the need to fine tune best practices endorsed by second language acquisition theorists to the local needs of teachers. They both spoke about how language acquisition theories are often developed by western theorists and imposed on other parts of the world despite the fact that the methods may not be easily transferable. A one size fits all approach to methodology implementation won't work. When the professors go out and observe the ISTs, they can provide support, get accountability, but also expose themselves to the realities of the teachers in order to test out their own theories and how they work in the environments of the ISTs.

Some Important Ideas Not Getting Through

While so many ideas are embraced by the ISTs who graduate from the ATE as shown in the findings, many are not. Some of the really important ideas about student-centered learning are quickly dismissed by ISTs as impossibilities in their classrooms. Sometimes these are methods essential to successful SCL, like having

students speak up in the target language more often, or using group work to have students

solve problems. Professor Rahul Nataram spoke about the importance of a model school

where an expert teacher shows how SCL can succeed in an environment similar to the

ones that the ISTs work in. Even video taped lessons of SCL in large group settings

could serve the function of proving that such approaches can work in the types of

classrooms that the ISTs will go back to. And as stated by Professor Salman Badri

previously, the different skills that the ATE focuses on (reading, writing, speaking,

listening, etc.) need to all be simultaneously integrated into individual text based lessons

so that the time constraints that ISTs are so concerned about don't seem so daunting.

Another idea proposed by Mr. Nataram regarded the need to get administrators on

board. In our interview, he spoke about the ISTs and their unwillingness to do anything

that was not mandated by their supervisors. He said:

> Why should they expect the department to monitor their activities. They're not
> ready to change some teachers because it's not coming from the top. Continuous
> curriculum evaluation (CCE), they will do, successfully or unsuccessfully,
> because it is coming from the top. But portfolio assessment they won't do
> because it is not coming from the top. This is to do with our culture, I don't know.
> Our director needs to tell us to do something otherwise we won't do it. Those that
> have the power need to use their power and make teachers do things otherwise the
> teachers won't do. Teachers should change this. Change should come from the
> classroom. Once teachers get some training and get some expertise they should
> try it and use it. There should be an inner desire to grow and develop. (personal
> communication, August 7, 2013)

While Mr. Nataram is not directly advocating for the training of administrators, indirectly

he is. SCL is not just for language classrooms. Active participation on the part of

students is valuable in math, science, history, or any other subject. In fact, the National

Curriculum Framework of 2005 in India is not simply focused on language education. It

provides guidance on all of the subjects and advocates for the inclusion of SCL in all

subjects. Thus training the administrators at government schools as to the benefits and necessity for SCL in education could have a more wide reaching impact on local schools. ISTs who feel no compunction to implement classroom changes that are not directly mandated might do so if pushed by their boss.

However, another interesting issue that Mr. Nataram brings up is that teachers shouldn't be forced to make these kinds of changes. He says, "there should be an inner desire to grow and develop" (personal communication, August 7, 2013). In the literature review, Corbett (2010) argued that using theory to inform his teaching actually saved his career. He described the ways in which his own professional development and research improved his instruction and the environments in his classrooms. The ATE needs to sell ideas like this one—namely, good instruction improves your classroom and thus your professional life. When students are active, productive, and enjoying lessons the life of the teacher may be improved. When students are forced into silence, confused, and passive teaching is far more difficult.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Research Question Five: What can be learned from the teacher professional development program in this case study which can be useful to English language education programs around the world?

As an American born and American trained researcher, this case study was eye-opening for me on many different levels. I knew going into the project of how important English language knowledge could be in determining the educational outcomes for students and of the complicated and nuanced place English holds in Indian life. However, in regards to the training of teachers, and government school teachers in particular, the experience of observing the thirty-day professional development program at the Academy for the Teaching of English (ATE) was indeed enlightening.

Each of the following ideas will be discussed in greater detail in this section, but one of the things that became clear upon speaking with the teachers and professors at the ATE was that methodological change is about a lot more than just changing a particular practice. It sometimes requires cultural change and an arsenal of teaching strategies that may or may not be a part of teachers' repertoires. Secondly, the teachers in this case study were far more likely to buy into strategies that they physically saw working or experimented with, and were quick to discard ideas that were not backed up with successful demonstrations. Another conclusion I drew regarded the need to understand and appreciate local norms in determining what pedagogies to encourage and the need to fine-tune those ideas to local realities. Next, some of the norms that a foreigner might expect of a public classroom (e.g. L2 language competence of the teacher, desire of students to learn an essential language, classroom structure and

resources, etc.) may or may not be available and thus need to be accounted for by any teacher preparation or professional development program. Lastly, the project made obvious how complicated it can be to implement national or statewide curriculum changes.

Methodological Change is about a lot More than Just the Methodology

As discussed, student-centered learning (SCL) is a very foreign concept to many of the teachers who come through the Academy for the Teaching of English (ATE). Professor Salman Badri spoke about how most teachers have never really seen effective SCL in their entire educational lives, which would have been completely teacher centric. Thus, even explaining what SCL is can be complicated and convincing teachers that they can and should incorporate such strategies in their classroom can be even more daunting. As described previously in the literature review, Belzer (2004) describes the need to overcome adult learners' predilections towards what they've previously experienced in their education. Making explicit how teachers' previous educational experiences impact their current view of teaching can help ISTs accept new ideas and approaches.

As stated by Professor Harish Balamuruli, students who speak out and make their voices heard are considered bad. For SCL to work these kinds of cultural norms need to be challenged. In another part of our interview, Mr. Badri spoke about how the educational obsession with grammar over fluency intimidated students into silence, stunting their linguistic growth. These kinds of priorities need to change for effective language acquisition. Often times, changing methodologies requires a change in the attitudes and expectations of teachers. So many of the teachers spoke about the need to use the students' L1 almost exclusively in the classroom. Thus teachers translate

everything back into the mother tongue. This requires that teachers reset their expectations of what students are capable of handling. As stated by many of the teachers, administrators and parents may not be very interested in the philosophies at the ATE. Thus teachers need to become self-advocates and resource people who can stand up to the outside pressure they face. ISTs need to be prepared to go back to their schools and address the tensions between covering the curriculum and pacing effectively for local needs in an exam-driven culture. They must also be trained in how to bring their own administrators on board with the change in approach.

Running a student-centered classroom also requires that teachers be fluent in classroom management techniques that they might lack experience with. Teachers will require help in how to make SCL work in their classroom and consistent support down the road. Thus, while the best practices endorsed by language acquisition theorists may be accepted by in-service teachers (ISTs), even that acceptance requires a great deal more in the way of support before the concepts can be implemented. Similar ideas were espoused by Garet (*et al*, 2001) in the literature review. They argued that teacher professional development needs to part of a coherent set of teacher learning and development activities so as to not appear disconnected or piecemeal. Anyone interested in teacher preparation or professional development around the world needs to be cognizant of the educational backgrounds of the ISTs they are working with and what kinds of additional support might be required in the implementation of new pedagogies.

Show, Don't Tell

Show, don't tell. A mantra for many creative writers, but it also appeared to be an important component of determining whether or not ISTs would be willing to

implement ATE endorsed methodologies. Many of the ISTs said that this was the best

training program that they had ever attended. One teacher went so far as to say that after

the thirty-day program, he felt like a baby coming out of the womb. The main reason so

many of the ISTs were so positive about their experience was that the ATE demonstrated

what good student-centered education looked like.

   While the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) of 2005 has been around

for almost a decade, advocating for the use of student-centered learning (SCL) in all

Indian classrooms, little has changed in the way of government schools. As stated, the

teachers seem to know all of the buzz words associated with SCL but little in the way of

how a student-centered classroom should actually look. In our interviews, the teachers

all said that they had been to innumerable in-services on SCL but only after the thirty-day

program at the ATE, did they really comprehend what it was and how they could use it.

As stated by many of the ISTs, that is because the professors modeled it for them and

demanded that they perform sample lessons themselves. As stated by Mr. Chetan Prasad,

"Now we have an idea of where and when we should use these activities.   Before our

time here, we didn't know how and where we could use these activities in the process of

teaching language. Now we came to know" (IST Focus Group 3, July 26, 2013) This

quotation speaks to the main strength of the ATE. Namely, it succeeds in getting ISTs to

understand what SCL is, how it works, and why they should implement it in their

classrooms. The litany of training sessions that they had received since the creation of

the NCF could not succeed in creating the understanding of SCL but the ATE did so

through consistent demonstration and by providing teachers with opportunities to practice

themselves.

However, the same mantra—show, don't tell—also applies to the ideas that many ISTs discarded. When it came to incorporating all of the skill sets (reading, writing, listening, speaking) into a single lesson, the teachers were apprehensive because they had not seen an effective example. As stated by Professor Salman Badri, the ATE needs to present teachers with holistic lessons that incorporate all of the skills, as opposed to the piecemeal approach where every professor is discussing a skill set in isolation. Also, the teachers were very skeptical about the idea of using SCL with very large class sizes made up of all children. While these methodologies may work in a classroom full of 40 or so teachers, a room of 60 or so students is a completely different story. Thus, it is incumbent on the ATE to *show* the ISTs that SCL can work in such an environment, as opposed to just *telling* the teachers that it can work. The kind of model-school visitation described by Professor Nataram could provide the kind of example required to demonstrate SCL in a real classroom. This sort of an approach can also help to better connect the professors to the communities that they ISTs are serving as described by Professor Giridar. The ATE should present examples of successful SCL implementation in large classrooms and spaces that are not conducive to SCL which resemble the classrooms of the ISTs. Darling-Hammond (1996) spoke to this issue in the literature review. Teachers also need to be actively engaged in their own professional development and cannot passively be *told* what about what is expected of them in the classroom. While the ATE does a great job of providing hands-on experience in many ways, there are ideas and concepts they do not demonstrate.

One Size Does Not Fit All

As stated by Canagarajah (2005) and Block (2004) the best practices endorsed by second language acquisition theorists need to be fine-tuned to the local needs of teachers. They both spoke about how language acquisition theories are often developed by western theorists and imposed on other parts of the world despite the fact that the methods may not be easily transferable. A one-size-fits-all approach to methodology implementation won't work.

At certain points during my interviews, the idea that Indian cultural norms could be an obstacle to implementing SCL came up. For instance, as stated, students who voice their opinions and challenge traditional classroom dynamics are considered bad. There is also a long tradition of teacher-centered education in India which ATE graduates might upset by changing their approach in the classroom. If SCL and other ATE endorsed pedagogies are to work, then teachers need to be trained in how to deal with the blowback they might receive from other teachers, students, and administrators.

In regards to impacting teacher practice, Professor Rahul Nataram talked about the mentality of Indian workers, who only are willing to make changes deemed necessary by their superiors. He talked about portfolio assessments, which the ATE spends a great deal of time on but is not mandated by any of the states who send ISTs to the teacher professional development program. Nataram argued that the top-down model is far more likely to work because of the way Indian culture works, than an approach that asks teachers to make changes on their own. By this logic, including administrators in the ranks of the trainees would be very valuable.

Professor Purnima Giridar also spoke about the need for the ATE and the professors there to reach out to the communities that the program services. Often times, she felt that the professors were disconnected from the realities that teachers were facing. In the literature review, Garet (*et al*, 2001) argued that effective teacher professional development needs to foster coherence, and be adjusted to local teacher norms. It might be one thing for the professors to hear about the classrooms of the ISTs but another thing to see them. Thus, the kind of outreach that Giridar speaks of would allow the ATE to test out the usefulness of the pedagogical approaches they endorse, and fine tune them to work in the environments that the ISTs work in.

Don't Assume

Perhaps the most shocking thing about observing the program at the Academy for the Teaching of English (ATE) is hearing the range of target language competence of the in-service teachers (ISTs). Some of the ISTs are completely fluent and speak beautifully. Most are fairly competent and can get the majority of their ideas across without a great deal of effort or inaccuracies. However, many of the teachers there struggle to even speak a little bit. By and large, most of these teachers avoided participation in my project, primarily because they would be asked to speak in English for the entire interview. In classes, they are quiet and volunteer seldomly. It is difficult to ascertain often times what they are taking from the courses and how much of the discussion they comprehend. During the sample lessons, some of these teachers found it very difficult to use the target language for the duration of their lesson and would slip into Telugu or Tamil based on need.

It was also unsettling to hear about some of the conditions in their classrooms. When teachers would talk about their attendance rates and how low they would get during a harvest season, it became difficult to imagine how the best practices endorsed by research and theory would help very much. Their classrooms lack in so many basic amenities (e.g. bathrooms, stationary, desks, walls, etc.). And many of the teachers talked about students in the tenth grade who still are learning the English alphabet and may lack basic literacy in their L1. These government school ISTs are dealing with the realities of teaching in the middle of severe third world poverty, oftentimes with the teachers' own limited linguistic competence in the target language.

However, this points to another of the strengths of the ATE. They don't just throw up their hands and surrender. As stated by Professor Ganesh Ram, ISTs need to use what they have. They can't hide behind a lack of linguistic competence in the target language. They can't just use students L1 because they themselves lack the ability to use the L2. Students need to hear the target language. If they're never introduced to it, they can't learn it. And using the various reading strategies he describes in his course (e.g. gesture, pictures, intonation, reading checks) some level of comprehensibility can be reached. For anybody interested in the teaching of English internationally, the kinds of obstacles described here may very well be a reality that needs to be wrestled with. Simply rehearsing the best practices playbook won't work or be taken seriously by ISTs who know what can and can't work. However, being cognizant of the real, and not assuming the ideal can be of great help to a teacher professional development program, as it is in so many instances at the ATE.

Garet (*et al*, 2001) and Nishimura (2014) described the need for professional development to be of a certain duration. Increasing the length of teacher professional development increases its effectiveness. However, in this instance, it also increases the teachers' exposure to fluent spoken English. While no one is going to become completely fluent in just one month, the experience at the ATE does give them the confidence to continue their language education on their own. Creating the kind of long term professional learning communities described by Wood (2007) would go even further towards helping ISTs develop their own fluency in English.   While the duration of the ATE's program is long, it is a one-shot training with little follow up.   To make the professional development more effective, an infrastructure needs to be set up between the ISTs and the ATE to provide long term support.

Difficulty of Implementing National/State Level Curriculum Changes

The creation of the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) of 2005 and the subsequent State Curriculum Frameworks (SCFs) created all over India, evidenced the need for change in Indian education. Government schools were too steeped in the traditions of the past, too dependent on rote memorization and teacher centric approaches. Students lacked competence in target languages, in problem solving and in critical thinking skills. The state and national frameworks describe the ideal classroom and justify why education needs to be more student-centered. However, as this particular project illustrates, getting that information down to the grass roots level is not as easy as simply putting together a list of benchmarks.

As stated by Professor Rahul Nataram, there is little to no mentoring in the home schools of these teachers. Even the administrators may not understand what

student-centered learning (SCL) is supposed to look like, and there is almost no

accountability in terms of how well ISTs are implementing SCL. Despite the creation of

the NCF, SCL implementation does not seem to be a priority in government schools at all

to teachers who lack a basic understanding of what it is, to parents/students who want to

continue on with the status quo that they understand and are comfortable with, and to

administrators who are more interested in test scores which encourage traditional

teaching methods over louder approaches which generate spoken English.

However, things seem to be changing slowly, and teacher professional

development programs like the one at the ATE are indeed helping. Professor Salman

Badri said:

> A lot of unlearning needs to happen. But now of course, training is increasing.
> Now the textbooks have changed, so now things are changing slowly. And I think
> the ATE is one of the better training programs in my knowledge. Maybe I
> shouldn't be saying that as a part of this institute, but the participants themselves
> say that. We don't insist on unnecessary formality. Teachers have freedom. Even
> when we give them approaches and methods, we tell them there is no best
> method, there is no 'the' method, this is just for your information, for your
> understanding, for you to apply. We always emphasize on the teacher's role. We
> take things more seriously than the programs run by their own state. Though we
> are trainers, whatever we have to make them understand about ELT, we try and try
> to incorporate those practices in our classes. Most of our classes are
> lecture/discussions or activities. There is a great deal of participation. (personal
> communication, July 4, 2013)

As shown in the interviews with the ISTs, the program at the ATE does indeed make

inroads into creating an understanding of SCL and inspiring many teachers to use it in

their classroom. According to Mr. Badri, much of this is because of the "show, don't tell"

attitude amongst the professors where they model good practice for the ISTs.

The other point that Mr. Badri makes is that things are changing slowly.

There are training sessions happening and the textbook changes amongst the states do

encourage SCL. The ATE keeps producing small batches of graduates every month who go back to their home states and tell others of their experiences. In the literature review, Wood (2007) described the importance of developing professional learning communities which take the training of teachers beyond the actual learning sessions and allow ISTs to reflect on how and why they might incorporate a given approach. While there are indeed inefficiencies and obstacles to success, most of the ISTs agree that the program at the ATE is the best they've attended and produced an understanding of SCL that they lacked previously despite the best efforts of the state governments to push them in that direction. Large scale change might come more quickly and efficiently if there were some mechanisms in place to empower teachers to work out their ideas amongst themselves.

Implications for Practice

The findings in this project provide important ideas for anyone interested in English education in India. But the findings also present information for language educators and teacher professional development programs anywhere. While the ATE and ISTs enrolled in the program are dealing with some specific problems that may not exist in all environments, most of the issues these parties are working through are the same ones that teacher professional development programs are struggling with everywhere. And when comparing the professional development program at the ATE to the best practices for professional development described in the literature review, there are a number of ways in which the ATE provides exemplary training. The training is long (Garet, *et al*,2001; Nishimura, 2014). A thirty-day in-service professional development program is about as long an investment of time as you could ask for from ISTs with families of their own. The program is interactive (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Duran, *et al*,

2012; Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 1998). ISTs are shown, as opposed to told, how

student-centered learning should look and given opportunities to replicate those

educational pedagogies themselves. The ATE fosters coherence between many different

skill sets (Bransford, *et al, 2000;* Cochrane-Smith, 2003). While this could be done in a

more holistic way as described by Professor Badri and could include some other useful

topics (e.g. classroom management with regard to SCL) the ATE does present ISTs with

examples of how to incorporate many different kinds of pedagogies and approaches into

their classrooms.   However, there are issues that the ATE continues to struggle with

which anyone interested in teacher professional development around the world needs to

consider. Implementing the best practices endorsed by many language education

researchers may run into cultural specific barriers (e.g. context of classrooms, traditional

roles of teachers and students, expectations of local parents/administrators, etc). The

ATE also is limited in regard to its reach, and thus long-term opportunities need to be set

up that can support ISTs in their study of pedagogical and content knowledge.

This study also provides insights into the background of Indian students for

teachers here in the United States. There are numerous cultural factors that might impact

the strengths and weaknesses of English Language Learners from India in American

classrooms. As seen, Indian students may be new to many aspects of education that their

American counterparts would have had exposure to. Student-centered learning requires

that students have the skills and ability to make their voices heard in the classroom. An

Indian student may have studied English in a context where his or her teacher was highly

proficient and used cutting-edge pedagogy, or a student may have studied with a teacher

who is working on developing his or her own English and pedagogical skills. A study

such as this one can provide American teachers with insights into the complex

educational backgrounds of their Indian students and where they might require additional

support.

This study also can provide information on the background of Indian

teachers. Its findings help educators around the world understand the context of teaching

English in one particular program, and this will help other who work with the many

Indian teachers who are taking positions in so many universities, colleges, and schools

around the world. As shown, Indian teachers may lack experience with student-centered

classrooms and thus struggle to implement its tenants. A study like this one can be

relevant to many different types of readers.

Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

While this project does provide an in-depth look at a particular institution

and the experience of the various parties while they are involved in the program, it stops

there. What do the ISTs actually do when they return home to their schools? That is the

main question that this study leaves unanswered and the question that the professors at

the ATE really struggle with. Many of my interviews with the professors included their

conjectures as to what is probably happening based on their personal correspondences

with graduates of the ATE, but they also expressed some frustration at their lack of follow

up with the ISTs after they left the ATE. The ISTs themselves spoke to what they

expected to do when they returned home. However, it would be unlikely that they said

that they planned on ignoring their professional development in an exit interview. Thus,

observations and evaluations of the graduates of the ATE in action would shed a

significant light on the program's overall effectiveness in preparing teachers to use

student-centered approaches in the classroom. Increased time in India would have provided opportunities to see the teachers return to their classroom and evaluate their implementation of ATE endorsed methodologies.

Also, previously I described my role as a researcher. Having limited knowledge of Tamil/Telegu/Kannada, my conversations with the ISTs were only in English. Thus, particularly amongst the ISTs who struggled with English, I could not hear all of the voices present at the program. Being able to include the ideas of the teachers who struggled with spoken English the most would indeed have been valuable to a study like this one.

Most of the ISTs said that the ATE provided the best training they had ever experienced. Similarly, the professors expressed confidence that the program was of a higher quality than what was usually available to government school teachers. However, those assertions need to be tested. What does the usual kind of training look like and how does the ATE compare? For an organization like the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in India, testing the effectiveness of various professional development programs against one another would be a useful way to determine the most efficient way to allocate resources in advancing its goals.

A Final Note

The ATE is an inspiring place. As an observer, it was stirring to see the professors in action, exemplifying the methods that they so passionately recommended. It was eye opening to hear the stories of the ISTs and to listen to the kind of difficulties their students had to overcome in their education. However, there were so many ISTs who did not allow the difficult circumstances they faced to cripple their spirit, but instead

they used those challenges as a motivator to achieve success amongst their students. As they were ending their time at the thirty-day program, you could sense the fire in so many of the ISTs, who couldn't wait to get back to their classrooms, re-energized and ready to tackle the obstacles in their classrooms—the professors preparing for another batch of teachers to work with the next month. I too couldn't wait to get back to my own classroom.

Replicating what happens at the ATE would be no easy task. It would require a staff of real experts, capable of explaining and exemplifying the tenants of SCL and respond to challenges from teachers. And perhaps the ATE simply cannot reach enough teachers and there might more efficient ways to reach the mass of English teachers in South India's government schools. But while the ATE may have some problems, it does work on many levels. It does make teachers understand what SCL is, why it is important, what it looks like, and how to incorporate it. And for those interested in teacher professional development for in-service English teachers around the world, the ATE is a useful place to observe, study, and appreciate.

REFERENCES

Annamalai, E. (2004). *Managing Multilingualism in India: Political and Linguistic Manifestations.* University of Michigan: Sage Publications.

Atkinson, Paul and Hammersly, Martyn. (2007). *Ethnography: Principals in Practice.* New York: Routledge.

Belzer, A. (2004). "It's not like normal school": the role of prior learning contexts in adult learning. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *55*(1), 41-59.

Block, David. (2004). Globalization and language teaching. *ELT Journal.* Vol. 58, pg. 75-77.

Borjian, Maryam. (2013). *English in Post-Revolutionary Iran: From Indigenization to Internationalization.* Tonowanda NY: Multilingual Matters.

Bygate, Martin. (2001). Speaking. In Ronald Carter and David Nunan (Eds.) *The Cambridge Guide to Teaching English to Speakers of other Languages.* pgs. 21-28. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Canagarajah, Suresh. (2007). Lingua Franca English, Multilingual Communities, and Language Acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal.* Vol. 91, pp. 922-940.

Canagarajah, Suresh. (2005). *Reclaiming the Local in Language Policy and Practice.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Canagarajah, Suresh. (1999). *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chelliah, Shobhana. (2001). Constructs of Indian English in language 'guidebooks'. *World Englishes.* Vol. 20, No. 2, pgs. 161-177.

Cheng, May, Cheng, Annie, and Tang, Syvia. (2010). Closing the Gap Between Theory and Practice in Education: Implications for teacher education programs in Hong Kong. Journal of Education and Teaching. vol. 36, no. 1, 91-104.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2003). Learning and unlearning: the education of teacher educators. *Teaching & Teacher Education*, *19*(1), 5. doi:10.1016/S0742-051X(02)00091-4

Cohn, Bernard. (1996). *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Corbett, M. (2010). Backing the right horse: Teacher education, sociocultural analysis and literacy in rural education. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26, 82–86.

Council for the Accreditation of Education Prepartion. (2013). *CAEP Accreditation Standards.* (1ˢᵗ ed.) Washington D.C.

Cowie, Claire. (2007) The Accents of Outsourcing: The meaning of neutral in the Indian call center industry. *World Englishes*. Vol. 26. no. 3. 316-330.

Darling-Hammond, Linda. (1996). The Quiet Revolution: Rethinking Teacher Development. *Educational Leadership*. *53*(6), 4-10.

Dasgupta, Probal. (1992). *The otherness of English: India's auntie tongue syndrome*. New Delhi. Sage Publications.

D'Souza, Jean. (2001). Contextualizing range and depth in Indian English. *World Englishes*. Vol. 20, No. 2, pp 145-159.

Duran, M., Brunvand, S., Ellsworth, J., Sendag, S. (2012). Impact of Research-Based Professional Development: Investigation of Inservice Teacher Learning and Practice in Wiki Integration. *Journal of Research on Technology in Education*. 44(4), 313-334.

Engwall, Olov & Balter, Olle. (2007). Pronunciation Feedback from Real and Virtual Language Teachers. *Computer Assisted Langauge Learning*. Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 235-262.

Garet, M. S., Porter, A. C., Desimone, L., Birman, B. F., & Yoon, K. (2001). What Makes Professional Development Effective? Results from a National Sample of Teachers. *American Educational Research Journal*, *38*(4), 915-45.

Gatbonton, E. (2008). Looking beyond teachers' classroom behaviour: Novice and experienced ESL teachers' pedagogical knowledge. *Language Teaching Research* 12,2, 161–182.

Hammerness, K., Darling-Hammond, L., Bransford, J., Berliner, D., Cochran-Smith, M., McDonald, M., & Zeichner, K. (2005). How teachers learn and develop. *Preparing teachers for a changing world: What teachers should learn and be able to do, 1*.

Hosali, Priya. (2005). Butler English. *English Today*. Vol. 81. pp. 32-38.

Kachru, Braj. (1982). Models for Non-Native Varieties. In B. Kachru (Eds.) *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. pgs. 48-70 : University of Illinois Press.

Khan, Farhat. *Final consonant cluster simplification in a variety of Indian English*. In Cheshire (eds.) *English around the world*. 1991. pgs. 289-298.

Krishnaswamy, N. & Burde, Archana (1998). The Politics of Indians' English: Linguistic Colonialism and the Expanding English Empire. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Little, J. W. (2012). Professional community and professional development in the learning-centered school. *Teacher learning that matters: International perspectives*, 22-46.

Macaulay, Thomas. (1835). *Minute on Indian Education*. University of Singapore. Retrieved on August 17, 2008. http://www.geocities.com/bororissa/mac.html

Mahajan, V.D. *Modern Indian History: From 1707 to the Present Day*. *British Rule in India and After*. S. Chand and Co. LTD. New Delhli 1990.

McCarthy, Michael. (2001). Discourse. In Ronald Carter and David Nunan (Eds.) *The Cambridge Guide to Teaching English to Speakers of other Languages*. pgs. 21-28. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. Revised and Expanded from" Case Study Research in Education."*. Jossey-Bass Publishers, 350 Sansome St, San Francisco, CA 94104.

Merriam, Sharan, Johnson-Baily, Juanita, Lee Ming-Yeh, Kee Youngwha, Ntseane, Gabo, & Muhamad, Mazanah. (2001). Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. Vol. 20, Iss. 5.

Morton, Hazel & Jack, Mervyn. (2005). Scenario-Based Spoken Interaction with Virtual Agents. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*. Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 171-191.

National Curriculum Framework (NCF). (2005). Retrieved August 25, 2014, from http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/pdf/framework/english/nf2005.pdf

NCATE Unit Standards. (2008). Retrieved January 9, 2013, from http://www.ncate.org/Standards/NCATEUnitStandards/UnitStandardsinEffect2008/tabid/476/Default.aspx

Nishimura, T. (2014). Effective Professional Development of Teachers: A guide to actualizing inclusive schooling. *International Journal of Whole Schooling.* 10 (1), 19-42.

Nolan, R. (2010). The Power of Theory in the Administration of Esl Programs. *Adult Basic Education*, 11(1), 3-14.

Official Website of Office of The Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. Web. 04 Nov. 2010. <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/>.

Pan, Li & Block, David. (2011). English as a "global language" in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System*, Volume 39, Issue 3, pp 391–402.

Pennycook, Alastair. (1998). *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. London: Routledge.

Phillipson, Robert. (2003). *Linguistic Imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pickering, Lucy and Wiltshire, Carolyn. (2000). *Pitch Accent in Indian English teaching Discourse.* World Englishes. Vol 19, No. 2, pg. 173.

Position Paper on the Teaching of Engish in D Ed Course (2010). Retrieved August 26, 2013, from http://www.dsert.kar.nic.in/circulars/position/EnglishPPF.pdf

Powell, Richard. (2002). Language Planning and the British Empire: Comparing Pakistan, Malaysia, and Kenya. *Current Issues in Language Planning,* 3 (3): 205-276.

Ramanathan, Vaidehi. (2005). *The English-Vernacular Divede: Poscolonial Language Politics and Practice.* Multilingual Matters LTD. Clevedon.

Rosell-Aguilar, Fernando. (2005). Task Design for Audiographic Conferencing: Promoting beginner oral interaction in distance language learning. *Computer Assisted Language Learning.* Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 417-442.

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. and Kaikkonen, P. (2009). The Difficulty of Change: The Impact of Personal School Experience and Teacher Education on the Work of Beginning Language Teachers'. *The Scandanavian Journal of Educational Research*, 53: 3, 295-309.

Saghal, Anju. (1991). *Patterns of language use in bilingual setting in India*. In *English around the world* in Cheshire (eds.) pgs. 299-306.

Sand, Andrea. (2004). Shared morpho-syntactic features in contact varieties of English: article use. *World Englishes*. Vol. 23, No. 2, pgs 281-298.

Sharma, Devani. Dialect Stabilization and Speaker Awareness in NNVEs. Journal of Sociolinguistics 9 2005. 194-224.

Solanki, Dishi. (2011). Indian Education System: Rote learning vs. analysis. *Youth Ki Awaaz. http://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2011/04/indian-education-system-analysis/*

South Asian History. (2003). *South Asian History Project.* Retrieved August 19, 2008. http://india_resource.tripod.com/topics.html

Sridhar, Kamal K. (1989). *English in Indian Bilingualism*. New Dehli: Manohar Publications.

Sridhar, Kamal. (1991). *Speech acts in an indigenised variety: sociocultural values and language variation*. In Cheshire (eds.) English Around the World. Pgs. 309-318.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage.

Stewart, Iain A. D., File Portia. (2007). Let's Chat: A conversational dialogue system for second language practice. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, Vol 20, No. 2, pp. 97-116.

Swain, M. (2001). Integrating Language and Content Teaching through Collaborative Tasks. *Canadian Modern Language Review*. 58: 1. 44-64.

Vaish, Vinti. (2008). *Biliteracy and Globalization: English Language Education in India.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1986). *Thought and language.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press (original work published in 1934).

Watanabe, Yuko & Swain, Merrill. (2007). Effects of proficiency differences and patterns of pair interaction on second language learning: collaborative dialogue between adult learners. *Language Teaching Research*. Vol. 11, pg. 121-142.

Wardhaugh, Ronald. (1986). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Willis, Dave & Willis, Jane. (2001). Task Based Language Learning. In Ronald Carter and David Nunan (Eds.) *The Cambridge Guide to Teaching English to Speakers of other Languages*. pgs. 21-28. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wiltshire, Caroline and Harnsberger, James. (2006). The influence of Gujurati and Tamil L1s on IE: a preliminary study. *World Englishes*. Vol. 25, No. 1, 91-104.

Wood, D. R. (2007). Professional Learning Communities: Teachers, Knowledge, and Knowing. *Theory Into Practice*, *46*(4), 281-290.

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Kiran Ramamurthy, who is a doctoral student in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University. The purpose of this research is to determine how your teacher preparation program is impacting teachers in the field.

Approximately 20 subjects between the ages of 18 and 70 years old will participate in the study, and each individual's participation will last approximately 2 months.

Participation in this study will involve the following:
- Responding to interview questions which discuss your ideas on and the teacher preparation program. Being observed in the classroom setting.

This research is confidential.

Confidential means that the research records will include some information about you, This information includes your name, email address, place of work, and responses to the questionnaire and interview questions. In addition, this information will be stored in such a manner that some linkage between your identity and the response in the research exists. Please note that we will keep this information confidential by limiting individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location.

The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated or pseodonyms will be used. All study data will be kept for one year.

There are no foreseeable risks to participation in this study.

The benefits of taking part in this study may be that the findings will help improve language teacher education. However, you may receive no direct benefit from taking part in this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, and you may withdraw at any time during the study procedures without any penalty to you. In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable. The results of the study can be provided to participants upon request.

If you have any questions about the study or study procedures, you may contact me at:

Kiran Ramamurthy
732 306 8034
kiranramamurthy@yahoo.com
102 N. Hill Dr.
Westampton NJ 08060

You can also contact my advisor, Dr. Mary Curran at her email address: mary.curran@gse.rutgers.edu, or by phone at 732-932-7496, ext 8101.
If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 732-932-0150 ext. 2104
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Sign below if you agree to participate in this research study:

Subject (Print) _____

Subject Signature _____ Date _____

Principal Investigator Signature _____ Date _____

AUDIO/VIDEOTAPE ADDENDUM TO CONSENT FORM

You have already agreed to participate in a research study entitled: Implementing Sociocultural Theory in Language Education conducted by Kiran Ramamurthy. We are asking for your permission to allow us to use audiotape recordings of the interview as part of that research study. You do not have to agree to be recorded in order to participate in the main part of the study.

The recording(s) will be used for analysis by the primary investigator.

The recording(s) will include your name and responses to the interview questions

The recording(s) will be stored privately on the investigators personal computer and labeled with the subjects name. The recordings will be destroyed upon completion of the study procedures

Your signature on this form grants the investigator named above permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that/those stated in the consent form without your written permission.
Subject (Print) _____

Subject Signature _____ Date _____

Principal Investigator Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX B

Research Questions

1)   What guidelines are teacher professional development programs in India using as they prepare in-service professional teachers?

2)   How are those recommendations being internalized and employed by these in-service teachers?

3)   What difficulties are the teachers predicting in trying to implement the best practices they come across in this teacher professional development program?

4)   What gaps may exist in the professional development of English teachers as seen by the professors, in-service teachers, and graduates?

5)   What can be learned from the teacher professional development program in this case study that can be useful to English language teacher education programs around the world?

(Interview Questions)

How did you feel about your language education program?
- What do you think was the goal of the language education program as set out by its creators? How were they trying to train you? What seemed important to them?
- Do you feel that the goals of the language ed. program were useful to you in your work as a teacher?
- What do you feel might have been missing from your language ed. program?
- What do you think you program did particularly well?

How would you define your philosophy on how languages are learned?
- How does your philosophy on how languages are learned inform your practice?
- What kinds of lessons do you feel are most important? What types of methodologies do you incorporate that you feel are most essential to the learning of language?
- What kinds of problems do you see in your students' ability to learn language?
- What theories did you come across at the university about how languages are learned?
- Which of those theories did you find most useful?
- Did any of those theories seem less useful?

- Was it difficult for you to take theories about language learning and incorporate them into your work professionally?
- Do you feel that the university focused effectively on helping teachers to utilize theory in their daily lesson plans?
- What was one of the "big ideas" you took with you about language education from your experiences at the university?
- What did you learn at the university that you've used in your teaching professionally?
- Can you describe examples of lessons you designed that used knowledge you gained in your teacher education program?
- Have you found it difficult to incorporate your studies at the university to help you design lesson plans? Why or why not?
- Does the goals of your school and the goals of uiversity seem to be in sync? Do they seem to have the same priorities?

Sample questions for professors
- How would you define the goals of the Language Education program?
- How were these goals determined?
- What factors influenced these goals?
- What strengths/limitations do you see in the teacher training program?
- What philosophical traditions inform the program in terms of how languages are learned?
- What problems may exist between the theory and practice in the Language Ed. program?
- Have you heard any concerns voiced amongst your students about their ability to implement theory on second language acquisition in their teaching?
- What strategies have been implemented to overcome the theory/practice divide?
- Where do you see the language education program headed?
- What do you hope your students take with them as they head into professional teaching?
- What ideas do you think students take with them into their work?

APPENDIX C

Observation Filter
Behaviorism

- Rehearsal/ mimicry
- habit formation (in TL)
- phonetic rehearsal
- Call/response
  - o Individual responses
  - o Group responses

Cognitive-Computational

- stage learning (natural order)
- explicit rule instruction
- negotiation of meaning (output)
- Corrective feedback (Lyster and Ranta, 1997)
  - o Explicit correction
  - o Recasts
  - o Clarification requests
  - o Elicitation
  - o Repetition
- "attention" to form

SCT

- examples of scaffolding
  - o limiting assistance
- paired work
  - o more capable w/ less capable
  - o equal pairs
  - o task based
  - o metalinguistic conversation
  - o language rich episodes
- language play
- using student experiences
  - o focus on environmental factors affecting learners
  - o focus on identity of learners
  - o focus on dialect
  - o Why are you learning language?
- acculturation strategies
  - o how to gain access to conversations
  - o repair strategies
  - o verbal/non-verbal