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Citation for published version (APA):

Published in:
- [Intercultural Education, Immigration, Conflict Management and Pedagogy for Democracy]

Citing this paper
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Between Paradigms:
A case study of a language school in Greece

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May 2010
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Abstract - Περίληψη

This case study, focussing on a language school in Greece, examines the way English Language Teaching (ELT) practices are shaped under the influence of the global spread of English, which is conceptualised as both a contributing factor and a result of broader globalising forces. Empirical findings are presented and implications are discussed pertaining to the target language varieties, preferred teaching methods and ends of ELT instruction.

The first of these questions is ‘what language should we teach?’, or perhaps more precisely, ‘which language variety will prove most useful to our learners in a globalised world?’ The traditional answer to this question is that non-native speakers generally have reduced communicative needs: for example,
they may need English to communicate with tourists or conduct business transactions. These needs, it is thought, can be catered for by a ‘single monochrome standard’ of the language, which is defined with reference to educated native-speaker use. It follows then that the varieties generally used by non-native speakers constitute imperfect approximations of this standard, which are called ‘interlanguages’ or ‘fossilised varieties’ depending on whether one is still learning or not.

In more recent years, however, two developments associated with globalisation appear to have rendered the canonical status of native-speaker varieties less tenable. As borders between linguistic communities become more and more permeable and large numbers of migrants now live in Anglophone communities, it is no longer unproblematic to think of ‘pure’ linguistic communities on which to base standards. Secondly, English is currently used as a medium for communication among Non-Native Speakers (e.g. Greeks and Swedes), as well as for communication between Native and Non-Native Speakers (e.g. Americans and Greeks). In these communicative contexts, many aspects of the ‘standard’ language might appear parochial, if not downright counterproductive.

While some scholars have predicted that the pressing demands for global intelligibility may lead to further standardization, others have pointed out that local varieties (World Englishes) are starting to gain legitimacy, especially in communication between non-native speakers. Examples of World Englishes include Indian English, South African English and even an emerging ‘Euro-
English’. It has been argued that, when set against this context, the reductive assumptions underpinning the standard language ideology constitute ‘deficit linguistics’. A more egalitarian linguistic model has been put forward, which treats ‘interlanguages’ and ‘fossilized varieties’ as manifestations of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and which endorses variation rather than penalising it. It should be noted, however, that attitudes towards ELF seem to have been rather sceptical to date and the question of whether it should be raised to target language status remains hotly contested.

Moving from linguistics to pedagogy, the second question that seems to warrant attention is ‘how should we teach English?’, or – from a slightly different angle – ‘are the methods promoted in a globalised profession appropriate for learners in a localised setting?’ The concern about methodological ‘correctness’ is hardly novel: in the past 50 years or so, the ELT world has witnessed several ‘methodological revolutions’ which impelled practice from traditional grammar-focused instruction, through audiolingualism, to communicative teaching, to name only the most salient trends. Currently, the approach that seems to hold the most favour in teacher training courses and internationally marketed learning materials is a ‘soft’ version of the communicative approach, which can be described as a blend of communicative tasks and language-focused activities.

Set against this prevailing view, there is the mounting realisation that teaching practice has never been, and perhaps should not be, constrained by top-down perceptions of methodological orthodoxy. This realisation is manifested in two forms: Firstly, teaching practice is increasingly informed by a pragmatic eclecticism, as teachers and materials writers tend to flexibly ‘mix and match’ learning activities derived from different methodological traditions. Secondly,

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there is growing awareness in the literature that pedagogical norms which were developed in the Anglophone West should not be uncritically applied to different socio-cultural settings and that language teaching pedagogy should be more sensitive to local educational traditions. As ELT is moving slowly towards a 'post-method condition', the need for language teachers to decide which teaching methods are most appropriate for their own specific context becomes more relevant and pressing.

The final question that we will consider in this paper, and perhaps the most vexed of the three, is 'why should we teach English?', or rather 'what purposes does learning English serve in a globalised world?' From a traditionalist perspective, this may seem like an odd question to pose: after all, language teaching has been viewed as a politically neutral and empowering enterprise. Such a perspective, however, averts attention from the 'considerable socio-cultural loss' associated with the global spread of English and the concomitant decline of local languages. It has been posited that the hegemonic status of English perpetuates unequal distributions of power between nations, and that 'a dangerous liaison' exists between ELT and cultural imperialism. The realisation that it is 'no longer credible' to deny the political implications of ELT pedagogy, has led to a growing demand in the literature for a more empowering language policy, which will complement, rather than compete with, the local language ecologies and interests.

To summarise the above, it would appear that ELT is in a transition between two different informing paradigms (Figure 1). The dominant paradigm

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derives its linguistic and pedagogical legitimacy from norms developed in the Anglophone West, and is associated with linguistic hegemony. On the other hand, the emerging paradigm espouses linguistic and pedagogical norms which are bounded by local circumstance, and positions itself critically towards the political implications of ELT. The interaction between these paradigms seems to generate tension at the points where they interface, namely the questions of which language variety (what) to teach, through which methods (how) and to what end (why).

Figure 1: Competing ELT paradigms

Research questions & methods
The three questions outlined above are not only theoretically significant: each question represents a fundamental dilemma against which policy makers, teachers and learners need to critically position themselves through a reflective interrogation of their current practice and aims. The present study exemplifies an attempt to conduct such a problematization, by focussing on a typical language school in Greece (host institute) and examining:

1. Which language varieties are taught at the host institute?
2. What are the prevailing methodological preferences at the host institute?
3. What purposes are served by the ELT practices at the host institute?

In order to answer the research questions an instrumental case study was designed and implemented between November 2008 and April 2009 at a private school which offers ELT courses in a large provincial town in Greece. In addition to generating rich findings from a limited set of informants, case

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studies facilitate the detailed study of social phenomena in their natural setting without sacrificing sensitivity to their complexity and contextual interdependence. As the insights generated by case studies are difficult to generalise, this research aimed at a ‘thick description’ of the host institution and at theory building, but no attempt was made to project findings to other settings.

Figure 2: Overview of the case study

From a methodological standpoint, the case study (Figure 2), was divided into a data generation and a data analysis phase. Initially, qualitative data were collected from the teaching staff and learners, using eight semi-structured interviews and 118 self-completed questionnaires respectively. Additional quantitative data were collected by analysing a random sample of 190 pages from the courseware in use in order to achieve methodological complementarity. Following that, the information proffered by the teachers and learners were analysed using inductive methods informed by grounded theory, whereas content analysis was performed on the quantitative data.

The synthesis of findings generated through these methods resulted in the generation of ‘thick’ description parts of which are presented in the following section.

**Discussion of findings**

The synthesis of qualitative and quantitative data revealed that the staff and learner attitudes and the teaching practices in the host institution did not appear to align themselves well with either of the two paradigms alluded to earlier.

Thus, attitudes and practices pertaining to the target language variety seemed to be strongly influenced by the standard language ideology. For example, several teachers reported that the ‘interference’ of the Greek language constituted a major challenge in their teaching, and that the elimination of persistent errors in areas such as pronunciation was a priority in their teaching. This finding is reminiscent of older research that suggested that Greek teachers tend to overestimate error gravity compared to native speakers.33 When asked about their attitudes towards ELF, most teachers expressed strong reservations, which appear consistent with the views expressed by ELT practitioners in the public sector in Greece34 and internationally.35 Similarly, most learners acknowledged the importance of accuracy (‘writing proper English’) as opposed to intelligibility, although interestingly several learners reported a negative attitude towards Received Pronunciation (‘the Queen’s English’), which was said to be ‘phony’, ‘unclear because [speakers] don’t say all the letters’ and ‘unnatural’. Additional empirical evidence which corroborates these findings was provided by the fact that all the audio materials reviewed appear to have been recorded by Native-Speaker voice actors, even in cases of courses produced by Greek publishing companies.36 All the above seem to indicate that, on the question of which language variety to teach, the host institution was closely aligned to the dominant paradigm.

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Attitudes towards teaching methodology and pedagogical practices were rather more ambivalent. This is well reflected in the data from the interviews with the teaching staff. In most cases, the teachers nominally espoused a communicative or Task-Based approach and stressed their familiarity with current methodology as proof of their professional efficacy. However, they tended to hedge their responses with reservations concerning the feasibility of implementing such practices, because ‘the children are unaccustomed to them’ or because they ‘would never finish the coursebook’. Some teachers also reported having experimented with Task-Based pedagogy, but being unsatisfied by the students’ response. From the perspective of learners, it appears that the explicit presentation and practice of grammatical structures were viewed as necessary, albeit highly unpleasant, components of learning a foreign language. In this aspect, the learners’ views are at odds with mainstream ELT methodology.\(^{37}\) The majority of the learning materials used were produced specifically for the Greek market, which could also be indicative of dissatisfaction with methodological orthodoxy. The main distinguishing feature of these materials was the salience of the grammatical strand of the syllabus around which the courses appeared to be structured, and the prominence of lengthy grammatical presentations. It has been suggested that such idiosyncratic features in published materials constitute “an interesting example of the local determining the global, the periphery fighting back against the centre”,\(^{38}\) and, coupled with the staff and learner attitudes reported above, may indicate an affinity towards the eclecticism that typifies the emerging paradigm.

With regard to our final question, i.e. the ends of ELT instruction, two major themes were identified: accreditation and cultural awareness. For the majority of learners, obtaining a language certificate constituted the overriding reason to attend ELT courses. The teachers also unanimously acknowledged the importance of certification, although most seemed to distance themselves by presenting it as a ‘market demand’ or ‘something the parents want’. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a large number of activities in the learning materials were exam-oriented, even in classes which did not explicitly provide exam preparation. A strong preference was noted in the teachers’ responses and the learning materials towards examinations provided by UK and US accreditation boards, such as Cambridge ESOL and the English Language Institute (University of Michigan), whereas local accreditation boards were viewed with considerable scepticism by the teachers. A second goal of instruction was cultural awareness:


many teachers felt that in addition to exam preparation it was important to expose learners as much as possible to British culture (but not that of other Anglophone countries). Similarly, the learning materials seemed to draw extensively on cultural images from Anglophone countries particularly from the Western world, a fact consistent with existing literature. Without prejudice to the intrinsic benefits of such exposure for some learners, its appropriateness for the local context and its usefulness for international communication are open to debate, whereas its role as a vehicle of cultural imperialism is suspect. The Anglocentric preferences that underpin both the accreditation and cultural awareness goals are typical of the dominant paradigm.

**Figure 3: Influences shaping ELT in the host institution**

To summarize, views in the host institution seemed to be informed by the dominant paradigm, although they were not perfectly aligned to it. As can be seen in Figure 3, the dominant paradigm appeared to impact on views about language and the purposes of instruction, but views regarding methodology appeared to be shaped by local influences. The high salience of explicit grammar teaching, the reluctance of some teachers to use communicative methods and the reported student resistance methods might be the result of an entrenched tradition in Greek pedagogy that favours language awareness and linguistic accuracy.

**Implications**

In the preceding paragraphs, we examined three questions that are pertinent to ELT theory and practice. To these, I would now like to add a fourth: 'What does it all mean?' or 'why are these considerations important for those among us who teach English in a globalised environment?'

Although the findings of a case study in a single school cannot be generalised to other settings, I believe that there are two significant insights to

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be drawn from them. In the informing literature, there is a vibrant discourse suggesting that ELT is shaped under the deterministic power exerted by institutions in the Anglophone West, in this case universities and accreditation boards in the US and UK. What this study has shown, however tentatively, is that these globalising influences are neither monolithic nor absolute. In the methodological choices of the host institution, we witnessed how local circumstance can counteract global influences. This would seem to suggest that any theory of the way ELT operates in a global setting will need to take into account the potential for local variation and diversity.

Optimism in this finding is tempered, however, by the realisation that practice in the host institution seems to be informed by strongly conservative impulses in Greek pedagogy, even in the cases where it deviates from the dictates of the dominant paradigm. So, while acknowledging the importance of methodological diversity as an indication of local variation, we are compelled to question the appropriateness of some methodological choices we observed. In this respect, the position taken in this paper distances itself from mainstream critical pedagogy, which tends to appraise ELT phenomena solely on the basis of their political implications. A theoretical perspective that couples political implications with educational considerations seems more helpful in informing practice.

Pending further empirical investigation of these findings, it seems imperative that ELT practitioners and policy makers are sensitized to the tensions that shape their professional world, with a view to developing critical awareness of their practice. It is hoped that such awareness can usefully inform the design of ELT courses and teacher development programmes which are linguistically, pedagogically and politically appropriate.


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Σύντομο βιογραφικό σημείωμα
Ο κ. Αχιλλέας Κωστούλας είναι απόφοιτος του Τμήματος Αγγλικής Γλώσσας και Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών και κάτοχος Μεταπτυχιακού Διπλώματος Ειδίκευσης στη Διδακτική της Αγγλικής του Πανεπιστημίου του Μάντσεστερ, όπου και εκπονεί διδακτορικές σπουδές. Έχει εργασθεί στην ιδιωτική και δημόσια εκπαίδευση ως καθηγητής Αγγλικών, και ως επιστημονικός συνεργάτης στο Εργαστήριο Νεοελληνικής Φιλοσοφίας του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων.