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Global Englishes in Classrooms: Narrative Insights from Non-Inner Circle Teachers

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Abstract

With the spread of English as a global language, research in Global Englishes (GE) has gained prominence in recent decades. GE has called for greater acceptance of diverse English varieties to reflect more accurately the usage of English in today's world. However, in Japan, English Language Teaching (ELT) continues to privilege traditional native norms from Inner Circle countries, with the persistence of native-speakerism affecting students' level of self-confidence and teacher hiring practices. This paper aims to give these teachers from non-Inner Circle countries, i.e., Outer and Expanding Circles, including the author, as representatives of the plurality of Englishes, a voice in sharing perspectives about GE. It explores their self-reported familiarity with GE concepts, their views about the advantages and disadvantages of implementing GE in classrooms, the challenges faced in doing so, and the changes they hope to see. This paper uses interviews and a questionnaire to gather responses from 13 in-service university teachers in Japan from non-Inner Circle backgrounds. The findings of this paper highlight that most non-Inner Circle teachers recognized the importance of GE and had made efforts to implement GE in classrooms, despite the challenges faced. The results emphasize the need to understand the learners' profile – their motivation levels and their proficiency levels, but ultimately, it was the teachers' pedagogical beliefs in GE, which determined whether teachers implemented GE, in spite of the challenges. While non-Inner Circle teachers showed their commitment to advancing GE concepts, there were limitations to what they could do by their own effort. This paper analyzes their proposed recommendations and urges education administrators to move beyond entrenched native-speakerism ideologies and towards embracing a GE-oriented teaching approach.

英語がグローバル言語として広がる中、近年、Global Englishes（GE）の研究が注目を集めつつある。GE は、現代の英語の使用状況をより正確に反映するために、多様な英語の形態を受け入れることの重要性を提唱してい

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る。しかし、日本においては、English Language Teaching（ELT）は依然として Inner Circle 諸国の伝統的な母語話者規範を優先しており、このような根強いネイティブスピーカー主義が、学生の自信や教員採用の実践に影響を与えている。本稿は、Outer Circle 諸国および Expanding Circle 諸国出身の教員（筆者を含む）に焦点を当て、英語の多様性を代表する立場から、GE に関する視点を共有することを目的としている。具体的には、GE という概念に対する調査対象者自身の理解度、教室で GE を導入することの利点と欠点に関する見解、それを実行する際に直面する課題、および今後求められる変化について検討する。本研究では、ナラティブ調査とアンケート調査を通じて、日本の大学で勤務する Outer Circle および Expanding Circle 出身の現職教員 13 名からの回答を収集した。結果として、ほとんどの非 Inner Circle 出身教員が GE の重要性を認識し、教室で GE を導入する努力をしていることが明らかになった。調査結果は、一面では学習者のプロファイル、つまり動機付けのレベルや能力レベルをまず理解する必要性を強調するものである。しかし、最終的には、依然として多くの課題がありつつも、GE に関する各教員の教育観が、GE 導入に向けてさらなる努力を行うかどうかを決定づける要因であることを示すものであった。非 Inner Circle 教員が GE 概念の推進に対してコミットメントしている一方で、彼らが個人の努力のみでできることには限界がある。本稿は、彼らが提案する改善策を分析し、英語教育を管轄する担当者たちに対して、根強いネイティブスピーカー主義のイデオロギーを超えて、GE 志向の教育アプローチを受け入れることを促すものである。

Background

Introduction to Global Englishes in ELT

The English language is indisputably the world's *lingua franca* that has become integral in wide-ranging fields such as international trade and travel. With the globalization of English, it can no longer be considered the sole property of native speakers (Fang, 2018). Speakers of English are nowadays more likely to encounter non-native speakers than native speakers, and this has given rise to research in the field of Global Englishes in recent decades (Rose, Sahan & Zhou, 2022). In this paper, I refer to Galloway and Rose's (2019) definition of Global Englishes (GE) as an inclusive paradigm, covering World Englishes (WE), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as an International Language (EIL). To give a brief explanation about the three concepts: WE focuses on the spread of English and features of linguistic varieties based on Kachru's Three Circle model and argues for the legitimacy of post-colonial or Outer Circle varieties of English; while ELF is defined as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice

and often the only option" (see Seidlhofer, 2011, p.7). ELF legitimizes all users of English for international and intercultural communication and does not discriminate between Englishes in the Outer and Expanding Circle (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). According to Jenkins (2006), ELF is "an attempt to extend to Expanding Circle members the rights that have always been enjoyed in the Inner Circle and to an increasing extent in the Outer" (p.38). On the other hand, EIL is juxtaposed as the North American counterpart to ELF, and in some contexts used as a catch-all term for the use of English as a native/second/foreign/additional language (Rose & Galloway, 2019). In Japan, early pioneers of EIL in the 1970s-80s included Kunihiro (see Hino, 2009), who proposed *kokusai-eigo* ("International English" with "*eigo no datsu-eibeika*" (de-Anglo-Americanization of English), whereby English was a means to express Japanese values instead of Anglo-American values. Despite differences in the major school of thoughts, all of them are interested in non-native speakers' use of English, often questioning the privileged position of native speakers and emphasize the use of English as a global phenomenon.

GE's challenge to the hegemony of Native-speakerism

GE further situates itself within the "multilingual turn," a shift associated with applied linguistics and Second Language Acquisition (SLA), which criticizes monolingual nativespeakerism and embraces the competencies of bi/multilingual learners. Multilingualism and Translanguaging have become legitimized as multilingual practices that respect learners' hybrid languages and entire linguistic repertoire (Galloway & Rose, 2019). This epistemic break from native-speakerism culminates in Galloway and Rose's Global Englishes Language Teaching (GELT) framework, which emancipates learners from viewing success in English as the ability to achieve native-like competence. Davies (2023) concurs, stating that GE has the "added benefit of raising students' motivation by realizing that they do not necessarily have to strive for native-speaker proficiency, but feel pride in themselves as non-native speakers with their own language norms" (p.273). Therefore, GE encourages L2 students to be proud of their own language norms and to seek to "appropriate English in order to create new meanings and identities rather than simply modeling the Inner Circle varieties" (Kubota, 1998, as cited in Yamada, 2015, p.30).

Despite GE's efforts to liberate learners from traditional native norms, it has been held back by the pervasiveness of native-speakerism. Native-speakerism perpetuates "the belief that native-speaker teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the

English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2006, p.385). Native-speakerism is so deeply ingrained in many ELT contexts that any deviation from native norms is viewed as "errors" of language use (Fang, 2018). In Japan, Konakahara and Tsuchiya (2020) observed that Japanese society perceived "real" English as either American English or British English, to an extent that even if other varieties of English in the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles were known, they were uncritically judged as "incorrect" and "accented" (Konakahara & Tsuchiya, 2020, p.9). Standard English or "native speaker" English is limited to English spoken by those from the Inner Circle countries based on Kachru's – Three-Circle – model. Kachru classifies English speakers into the Inner Circle comprising countries such as the UK and the USA, where English is their primary language; the Outer Circle comprising former British colonies countries in Asia and Africa, where English is spoken as a second language, and the Expanding Circle, where English is learnt as a "foreign" language with no official status (Galloway, 2013, p.787). Despite the oversimplification of Kachru's – Three-Circle – model, the pervasiveness of his model and native-speakerism can be seen from how native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) from the Inner Circle are often regarded as the arbiters of the English language.[1]This also explains why depictions of Japanese interactions with Inner Circle English-speaking countries are the most frequent in Japanese ministry approved EFL textbooks (Yamada, 2015).

Consequences of Native-speakerism

The pervasiveness of native-speakerism in ELT has drawbacks and implications for both learners and practitioners alike. Japanese students often measure themselves against how well they can speak English in terms of their acquisition of "native-like or near- "native" proficiency" (Yano, 2020, p.314). Sounding "native" is often used as a yardstick for success in English, when students should be confident of their Japanese-accented but grammatically correct English. For practitioners, when recruitment favors native English speakers from the Inner Circle, this disadvantages professionally those who do not belong to the same category. Ng (2018) argues that "a native speakerist ideology usually accompanies prejudice and stereotyping and implicitly devalues non-native foreign language teachers" (p.4). It could also

[1] Many scholars have criticized Kachru's model for oversimplification and have raised issues with it. Critics say that the model does not consider how speakers identify themselves with and use English. The model also implies that the situation is uniform in all countries within the Circle, when linguistic diversity, depending on one's socio-economic class, exists within a country (Jenkins, 2014). While Kachru had later clarified that none of the Circles were better than the other, Kachru's paradigm supported an antiquated view of English that the Inner Circle was the property of specific groups and that English was a language associated with the "Anglo-American and Christian sphere of influence" (Modiano, 1999, p.24). According to Modiano (1999), English was not owned by native speakers but rather "in the global village, English is public domain."

lead to "self-marginalization," when non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) internalize that NESTs are better and "endow them privilege" that they teach more "authentic English" in the context of ELT in China (Widodo, Fang & Elyas, 2020, p.312). As Konakahara and Tsuchiya (2020) exclaimed, an uncritical adherence to native-speakerism not only fosters political inequalities among English education professionals, but also "promotes lack of confidence in English as well as unconscious linguistic discrimination among Japanese people" (p.9). However, monolingual standard English spoken by native speakers in itself is a myth. It does not account for variances even among Inner Circle countries and the conflation of the convenient fiction of [monolingual] "standard" English with English in its entirety is dangerous, because by doing so, it ignores reality which is multilingual (Ishikawa & Jenkins, 2019, as cited in Ishikawa, 2020, p.105).

Aims

In light of GE's challenge to native-speakerism, this paper seeks to gain insights from narratives of university teachers in Japan from non-Inner Circle backgrounds, as major stakeholders of ELT, on their attitudes towards GE and challenges in incorporating GE into classrooms. As GE concepts support and valorize non-Inner Circle teachers' multi-lingual and multicultural identities, this has led me to question if non-Inner Circle teachers are more predisposed towards embracing and implementing GE. I seek to understand this using the following questions:

- How familiar are teachers with the concept of GE?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages for teachers in incorporating GE into the classrooms?
- What challenges do teachers face?
- What changes do teachers hope to see in the future?

Many scholars such as Kabel (2009) and Rubdy (2009) have attested to the historical privilege in TESOL of Western scholars' voices over NNESTs (Hayes, 2013). However, through narrative inquiry, shared experiences from these non-Inner Circle teachers can be explored in detail, foregrounding the voices of those who are traditionally seen as the objects

of the research process, and as beneficiaries of Western expertise, materials and methods" (Rudby, 2009 as cited in Hayes, 2013, p.63). This paper aims to give these teachers from the Outer and Expanding Circles, including the author, as representatives of the plurality of Englishes, a voice in sharing perspectives about GE, given their multicultural identity, knowledge of other languages and cultures, which is a resource to provide a non-monolingual, non-monocultural approach to ELT.

Researcher positionality

In conducting my research, I acknowledge my own researcher positionality and engage in reflexivity to highlight my own preconceptions. Many of the teachers selected for the interview and questionnaire are similar to me in terms of our non-Inner Circle, educational background (studying in English-medium schools) and for some, in terms of job status (part-time). Most of them are my colleagues and friends with whom I have developed a certain level of mutual trust and shared history, and I was able to interview them candidly as peers, without hierarchical differences. Some of the participants were also introduced by other ELT teachers that I had a personal relationship with. My unique positionality gives me privileged access to their insights and removes a potential source of bias, compared to interviews conducted by interviewers who may be their seniors or superiors, whereby the participants may feel a sense of obligation to accept the interview. As Nunan (1992) states, one source of bias is the asymmetrical relationship between the participants, when the interviewer has more power than the interviewee. Also, when conducting my narrative research, I tried to adhere to De Costa et al.'s (2021) argument that, "as narrative researchers, we need to become acutely sensitive about our interactions and relations with our participants as well as the decisions we make to (re)present their stories (or research findings)" (as cited in Barkhuizen & Consoli, 2021, p.4). Through narrative inquiry, I as the narrative researcher, "being in the midst" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) am cognizant that I am very much part of the research action. Therefore, there is a certain level of subjectivity and influence on the quality of data collected and analyzed.

Sampling and Methods

Setting and participants

This research was conducted primarily among in-service non-Inner Circle teachers teaching in universities based in the Southwestern part of Japan. Among the 13 participants, three were from Outer Circle countries, and 10 came from Expanding Circle countries (Asia,

South America and Europe). All of them were bi/multi-lingual. On the number of teaching years in Japanese universities, 38.5% taught for less than five years, 23% taught for five to10 years and 38.5% taught for more than 10 years. In terms of their educational background, six of them received their degrees (from Bachelors to PhDs) from Inner Circle countries, seven in Japan and six indicated "Others" (Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Countries). Nine of them were part-timers, two were full-time contract instructors and two were full-time (tenured) instructors.

Data Collection and data analysis

The data collected for this paper were gathered using interviews and a survey. The interviews with three teachers were conducted face-to-face and lasted approximately an hour. The interviews were semi-structured, which gave me the flexibility to ask prepared questions, and I improvised to include unscripted questions depending on their responses. As interviews provide insights into participants' experiences, perceptions and motivations at a depth not possible with questionnaires, using such a method offers an opportunity to understand their lived world from their perspectives while enabling teachers to give fuller and richer responses (Richards, 2009, as cited in Ruane, 2021). The teachers provided their narratives, which is defined, according to Toolan as "recounting of things spatiotemporally distant: here' the present teller, seemingly close to the addressee (reader or listener), and there at a distance is the tale and its topic" (Toolan, 2001, p.1 as cited in in Barkhuizen, 2013, p.3). Barkhuizen cites Bell (2002), saying that "research with aims of learning about the content of the experiences of their reflections of these is typically referred to as narrative inquiry." (Barkhuizen, 2013, p.8) With narratives, the teachers provided their experiences (the story), which were distant (in place and time). When the teachers shared their narratives, they were as Ochs and Capps (2001) say, participating in a "sense-making activity" (as cited in Barkhuizen, 2013, p.4). These narratives were not reflections of the 'objective' truth per se but rather socially constructed representations of their lived experiences (Hayes, 2013). All of us (including the author) were engaged in subjectivity and reflexivity in this process of narrative collection.

The interviews were audio-recorded and the data was analyzed using thematic analysis. First, I transcribed the interviews by playing the audio recordings from my phone and using the in-built speech-to-text dictation tool in Microsoft 365 to generate a preliminary transcription. For the parts of the transcript that were unclear, I relistened and manually transcribed them. Second, I read the transcriptions and went through a coding process of using verbatim extracts to create initial codes. I highlighted keywords in different colors on the

transcription document. Third, I identified key themes, typed them in a different color and checked if they matched the codes. Fourth, I organized the narratives thematically and removed codes and themes that did not fit. While retelling their stories, I tried to make sure that I captured the participants' voices as far as possible in the narratives. As De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2020) mentioned, "the analysts' very act of interpreting interview stories involves some kind of 'rewriting' or of 're-owning' (as cited in De Costa, 2021, p. 6). Finally, I sent the teachers the written narratives to minimize any form of misinterpretation or misunderstanding on my part. This was part of the 'member-checking' or 'respondent validation' process, which helped to ensure that I had not unconsciously distorted the participants' story in the course of retelling them for research purposes. The three participants gave their approval to the narratives that I wrote, with no further request for alterations, stating that I had accurately captured what they had said.

Google Form Questionnaire

An online Google Forms questionnaire was used to collect non-Inner Circle teachers' attitudes towards GE, and their perceived benefits and challenges. Before the participants responded, they were informed about the aims of the research and they had to give their consent in order to proceed with answering the questions. In accordance with research ethics guidelines, the participants' identities were kept confidential. In this paper, their names have been anonymized and labeled as Teacher 1 to 13. As some questions in the questionnaire were beyond the scope of this paper, only parts of the results have been reflected. The quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire was analyzed using Google Form's inbuilt Google sheets functions.

Analysis

Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate the results of the non-Inner Circle participants' self-evaluation of their familiarity levels and importance attached to GE concepts. Based on a five-point Likert scale, 77% of the teachers surveyed said they were familiar (3) to most familiar (5) about GE concepts and 84.7% rated it was important (3) to most important (5) to incorporate GE into the classroom.

Figure 1

Responses to the question, "How familiar are you with the concept of GE?" (%) (N=13)

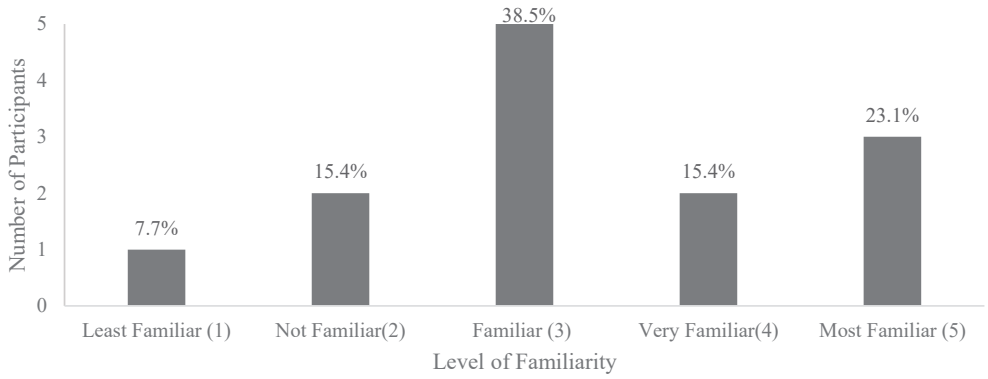
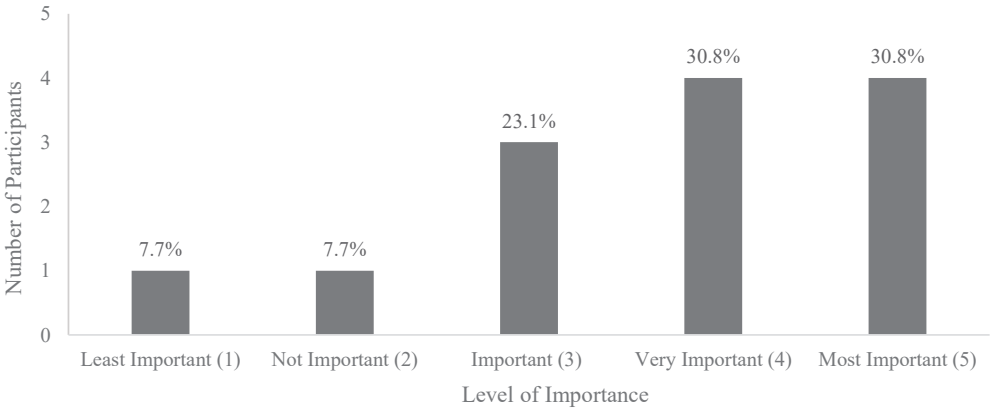


Figure 2

Responses to the question, "How do you personally perceive the importance of incorporating GE into classrooms?" (%) (N=13)



The participants' positive attitude towards GE can also be gathered from their responses about the advantages of implementing GE, see Table 1.

Table 1

Open-Ended Comments Regarding the Advantages of Implementing GE

Challenge the ownership of English	• "Let students understand that there is not just one type of English." • "Students can see that English belongs to no one." • "Making students realise that English is not solely spoken by native speakers in the US, the UK and the Commonwealth etc., but also by a vast

	array of other people just like them, people for whom English is not their mother tongue and yet who proved able to achieve a high level of proficiency in this language. That could serve as a good example to follow for Japanese students." • "Unfortunately, most students have been taught to hyper focus on inner circle varieties of English. But, in reality, they are more likely to use English with people from non-inner circle countries. So, World Englishes is importantly for addressing this gap."
Prepare students for a globalized future	• "It will raise awareness of the importance of studying English." • "Engagement, cultural density." • "They're exposed to a wide variety of English which is essential if they want to work successfully in an increasingly globalized business environment." • "I believe it is necessary to be able to see the world through English and to understand the characteristics of language." • "It will widen students' perspectives towards other countries and cultures and also enhance their communication skills."
Build students' confidence	• "Above all, I kind of hope that it could help boost their self-confidence in their own English skills in the long run - something that most of my students seriously seem to be lacking." • "Better self-esteem and ownership of English, awareness of and respect for various varieties of English leading to more positive interactions with various speakers of English, accent awareness leading to better communication and ability to solve listening section in some tests that incorporate listening section with speakers from non-inner Circle countries" • "W.E. can help them build a stronger self-esteem as non-inner circle users of English." • "Hoping that students are more willing to give it a go/practice in class without worrying too much about the native speaker norms (phonological, grammatical, and lexical accuracy)" • "It might lower a hurdle for students to use English regardless how accurate their actual English is as they are part of GE speakers already"

In response to the research question about disadvantages of implementing GE, some teachers struggled to think of any. Teachers who gave responses named two main disadvantages, see Table 2.

Table 2

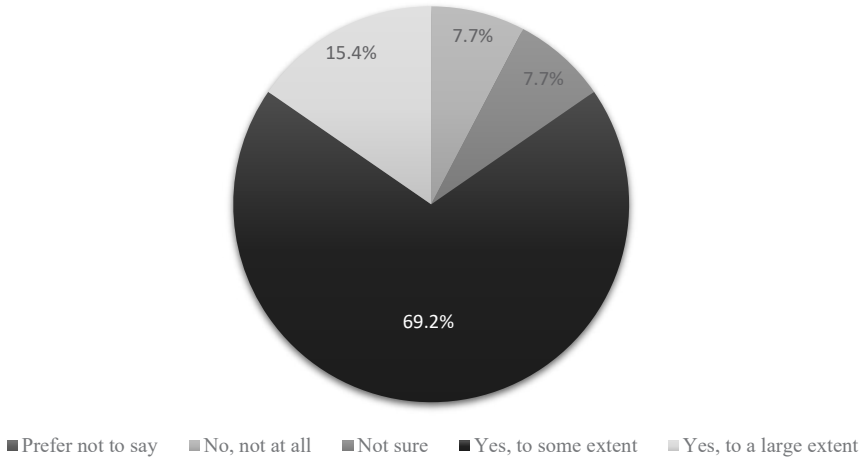
Open-Ended Comments Regarding Disadvantages of Implementing GE

Lead to students' confusion	• "Students will be confused with different Englishes." • "Some students might initially struggle with the variation between the different varieties of English and worry about 'which one is the correct one'." • "Probably it might be difficult for students to learn appropriate pronunciations / accents of various types of English spoken in the world." • "Confusion about the different versions possible when referring to English spoken in different countries."
Take a lot of time	• "It often takes too much time just to cover a variety of English, and it can confuse the students, especially when teaching lower-level students".

Despite the participants' positive regard for GE, when asked if GE concepts had influenced their teaching, the reality was that the majority, 69.2% of the participants had incorporated GE to only some extent. Figure 3 illustrates that 15.4% said "Yes, to a large extent," 15.4% stating "no, not at all," and 7.7% stating "not sure".

Figure 3

Responses to the question, "Has the concept of GE influenced your teaching practices?" (%) (N=13)



The participants mentioned four key challenges of introducing GE. First, in terms of classroom priorities, GE was "beneficial but not most important goal at the moment" (Teacher

2). Other goals included preparing students for high-stakes examinations like TOEIC to acquire a proficiency for future work, spending time teaching students the fundamentals of English and dealing with the lack of motivation among students.

Second, teachers reported that introducing GE to students depended on the level of students they taught and their level of motivation. For low-level students, teachers were concerned that students would become confused with the exposure to linguistic varieties of English. In addition, students' lack of motivation to learn English made teachers have second thoughts on whether they were ready to be introduced to GE concepts. Teacher 4 shared:

> "Students in my class [were] not so interested in English and [were] struggling to understand basic English grammar [so] I [didn't] even think [of incorporating] the concept of Global Englishes into my classroom."

Similarly, Teacher 13 lamented, she had "to motivate [students] to study English in general to begin with." Teacher 5 also echoed the same sentiments that she had "cases where students [were] simply motivated to get credits rather than to learn English."

Third, there was a lack of GE focus in textbooks, which meant that teachers had to spend more time preparing classroom materials. Teacher 11 found that her existing textbooks had "close to zero representatives from non-inner circle countries." As Teacher 12 shared, "I was asked to use certain textbooks to do my lessons but I still find the time [and] the opportunities to teach my students things that are not in these books. It just demands some careful preparation on my part." Introducing low-level students to the linguistic varieties of English was more time-consuming compared to teaching immediate to advanced classes due to the lack of beginner-friendly GE materials. With some teachers teaching primarily students in lower proficiency levels (A2~), they shared that it is "sometimes difficult to find global Englishes materials that are accessible for my students" (Teacher 1). Teacher 6 echoed the same sentiment saying that "when looking for listening materials, it [could] be difficult to find beginner-friendly materials in non-inner Circle accents." The onus was on the teacher to find level-appropriate GE materials to supplement textbooks used by students.

Fourth, there were limitations on how realistically teachers could recreate an authentic globalized ELT environment for students to interact with in a classroom setting. Teacher 7 shared that for her Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL) course, it was difficult to get varied representations from the participants due to time differences between Japan and countries in Africa/Europe:

> "I have taught COIL courses at my university for 8 years now, and overall, it has been successful. It is mainly because their points of view toward other countries have

> widen[ed] as well as their communication skills have improved dramatically. I have found no challenges but the fact that due to time differences it is not easy to find participants from African / European countries who are available to join interactive activities using English with my Japanese students."

Next, the participants proposed changes in four areas, see Table 3. First, they deemed it important to incorporate a GE focus into ELT curriculum by having more global representation in audio, video and visual content (e.g., graphics and illustrations). Second, they suggested hiring more diverse teachers with professional backgrounds. This aligns with the GELT framework that argues for hiring practices to be irrespective of native status and recognizes the value of hiring qualified teachers with different L1s (Rose & Galloway, 2019). Third, they recommended having more diverse exchange destinations to widen student's horizons.

Table 3

Recommended Changes to Implement GE

Incorporate a GE focus in ELT curriculum	• "I think it is important to implement these changes from the curriculum level. I think that a good number of research papers are published every year about finding ways to motivate and encourage Japanese students, so a focus on global Englishes could help Japanese students by de-emphasizing unrealistic goals of "native" pronunciation and proficiency and focusing more on different ways and settings to communicate in English." • "More incorporation of varieties in accents in listening materials, names, nationalities, and cultural representation. Also, more people of color (POC) representation in the photos and illustrations." • "I'd love to see a textbook that's focused on English from around the globe." • "Let's start with more representations - in terms of pictures or audio in the textbook."
Hire diverse teachers with high proficiency	• "More teachers from different language backgrounds with a high proficiency in English in the classroom."
Increase the range of exchange program destinations and opportunities	• "I would like to see students broaden their view towards various countries because most of my students tend to choose European or North American countries as their destinations when it comes to talking about where to study English or traveling abroad." • "Less requirements for large scale language assessment test preparation, more exchange opportunities."

Teachers' Narratives

This section reports on the narratives of three participants who were interviewed.

Teacher 1's Narrative

Teacher 1 is from an Expanding Circle country, where she had learned English as a second language. She had pursued her master's and PhD degrees in Expanding Circle countries. At the time when she participated in this interview, she had been working as a part-time university instructor for more than four years. When asked about her views towards GE, she was positively inclined towards it and this was manifested in her efforts to include content from diverse Englishes into her classroom. She expressed that if students were exposed to different types of Englishes, students would feel less pressure and feel that they could communicate in English as long as they made an effort to speak. In addition, through GE, when students become more aware of diverse cultures, they could learn to accept and respect differences:

> "I think that exposure to a wider variety of cultures is always important, especially for a country such as Japan with one very dominant culture. It is always beneficial for people to consider other points of view and become more empathetic. Being more aware of other cultures would help with this."

Furthermore, she noted the pragmatic side of exposing students to diverse Englishes to prepare them for the real world. She said:

> "On the academic side, incorporating a wider variety of accents and expressions would be more useful for Japanese students. I think they are more likely to use English with other non-native speakers than with only a few kinds of 'native' speakers. Therefore, learning focused on only one variety of English would hinder the students in the future."

On the challenges faced in introducing GE into the classroom, she said that it depended on the students and their corresponding level of English and interest in the language. She observed that when students did not care about English, they were as likely not to care about the teacher's accent and where she was from. On the contrary, if students liked English, they were more interested to learn from her, as an international teacher.

When asked on how she leveraged her culture and multilingual background in her teaching, she expressed challenges in doing so, as many students were not familiar with her background, and did not realize that her country was a non-English speaking one. It was also not easy to bring in materials from her own culture, as her culture was not an English one. Also, she sometimes struggled to share with her class based on some negative experiences. When she had previously shared pictures about her hometown in her self-introduction, some students expressed relief that they were not born in the same country. Also, when she candidly shared about her family, it had led to unwanted intruding questions from the students.

The challenges of her identity as a non-Inner Circle teacher, however, came mainly from native-speakers and administrators. Many native-speakers had expressed disbelief that she could have mastered English, without having lived in a country in the Inner Circle. Also, when it came to job opportunities, despite the fact that she graduated in a PhD related to English teaching, she had been denied a chance of an interview at a university position in Japan, because the administrators did not consider her country to be an English-speaking one.

Regarding the prospects of GE, she was both optimistic and realistic about its changes. She noted that universities were more welcoming, especially with national universities that had policies set in place to hire diverse teachers. On the other hand, she was concerned that it could possibly lead to a dichotomy of English classes - GE and Native Englishes, and whereby native speakers would be sent to teach GE classes instead of native English classes.

Teacher 3's Narrative

Teacher 3 is from an Outer Circle country. He graduated with a master's degree from an Inner Circle university and has been teaching for nine years at Japanese universities. He expressed that the benefits of GE were that:

> "Students will be exposed to speakers of English from different places other than what is considered native, therefore, they should be exposed to varied usage… and can see that English belongs to no one." (Teacher 3)

Being a teacher from a non-Inner Circle country, he said that his presence itself generated curiosity from students who were curious about where he was from. When asked whether his accent influenced students' attitudes toward him, he noted that low-level students could not really distinguish his accent from an American one. However, high-level Chinese

students could make the distinction and they were appreciative of the "rhythmic" way that he spoke, showing interest in it.

On the disadvantages of exposing students to diverse Englishes, he said it could lead to the use of pidgin English in class. He also believed that people perceived that GE exposed students to a "diluted form of English".

Similar to Teacher 1, he expressed that the challenges of his identity as a non-Inner Circle teacher came not from students but from schools and general perception towards Outer Circle speakers in Japan. He recalled how a Japanese teacher at a high school, where he had previously taught, corrected his pronunciation of a word, when he was not doing it the "American way," and because of that, the Japanese teacher had even gone so far as to question his ability to teach English. He recognized there was an element of racial bias involved - a white person would be less likely to be questioned on his/her pronunciation compared to a non-white person. In the eyes of other Inner Circle people whom he met, they did not see him as an English speaker, just because he originated from an Outer Circle country. Nevertheless, he was optimistic about universities taking up GE's espousal of hiring diverse teachers as seen in the university policies. Changes in hiring practices implemented by universities, he said, were significant and real, compared to the superficial diverse hiring at some Eikaiwa schools (English language schools), where diverse hiring was limited to the employment of white people from metropolitan countries.

Teacher 13

Teacher 13 is from an Expanding Circle country, and she graduated with a master's degree from a university in an Inner Circle country. She has lived in Japan for most of her life apart from her time spent overseas for her studies in an Inner Circle country. She has a native proficiency in Japanese and has been teaching English at Japanese universities for 10 years. On her views towards GE, she felt that English was still English regardless of the label and that students first and foremost wanted to master what they considered was "mainstream" English and that when they were able to do so, they would "forget that there's a borderline and speak whatever way" that helped boost their confidence.

While the internet exposed students to different types of English, she said students were usually not of the level to differentiate what was Global English or not. In the Japanese setting, Japanese students usually did not have enough non-native speakers for them to communicate

in English with. English was English and Japanese students were already impressed if someone they spoke to, could speak in English. When asked on how teachers could introduce GE concepts into the classrooms, she felt that they should do so "from the get-go." By virtue of being non-native, she felt she was already putting GE into practice.

She was frank about the realistic difficulties in implementing GE concepts into the classroom. Students might become confused if they were introduced to different Englishes. She acknowledged that GE concepts had not influenced her teaching and quipped that teachers did not consciously think of how they could bring this concept into the classroom. Teachers were used to their way of teaching and prioritized helping students achieve their primary English learning goals. More importantly, if universities were sincere about embracing this concept, they would take a top-down approach, and this would trickle down to teachers who would act accordingly. She gave the example of how a university had recently decided to change its entire curriculum to include e-learning, and when it took a top-down approach, changes were implemented.

Nevertheless, she expressed teachers still had the liberty to evoke changes at the individual level. In the Japan university setting, students would generally "take in" whatever the teachers brought to the table. As a university instructor, she felt that she had the freedom to choose most of her textbooks, decide on her own curriculum and control the classroom. That said, when teaching Reading and Writing (R&W) classes as well as TOEIC classes, these were the classes that did not allow much active communication and opportunities to expose students to various Englishes. In her intercultural classes, she said she had more flexibility in including more diversity as she could draw examples from different countries and listen to English spoken by different nationalities.

During our conversation, on the challenges of being a non-Inner Circle teacher, she candidly expressed that as English was not her L1, she often became self-conscious when speaking to native speakers, worrying about her accuracy and how others perceived her. On the other hand, she felt that her native ability to speak Japanese made her students more comfortable with her as they were able to communicate with her. She heard from students that they were disappointed that native speaker teachers wanted the students to understand them, but they themselves did not spend enough effort to understand the students in their language.

Discussion

This paper found that most of the non-Inner Circle participants were familiar with GE concepts and that the latter had influenced their teaching practice to some extent. This aligns with previous studies, where participants recognized the theoretical benefits (over the drawbacks of) a GE-oriented approach in ELT (Rose & Galloway, 2019; Sung, 2015; Chang, 2014). However, on Teacher 3's remark that some people believed GE exposed students to "a diluted form of English", this aligned with controversial views of scholars who exclaimed that ELF (a subset of GE) "lacks any standards" and "by default exhibits errors" by deviating from Inner Circle Englishes. (Jenkins, 2009, p. 203) There were also critics who did not consider Expanding Circle Englishes as legitimate varieties equivalent to those from the Outer and Inner Circle varieties (Jenkins, 2009). The fact that none of the non-Inner Circle participants personally adhered to this negative regard towards GE, combined with their comments highlighting more advantages than disadvantages, it demonstrates that the participants were generally more positively inclined towards GE.

Even though most participants recognized the benefits and importance of GE, in practice, they could only implement GE in class to some extent. The challenges highlighted in the survey results align with Rose and Galloway's (2019) research, where barriers included the scarcity of time and materials, an attachment to standard English, and students' concern about navigating the complexities linguistic varieties. Sung's (2015) argument supports the survey findings that it is important to understand learners' needs and perspectives first before adopting a GE-approach in classrooms. In classes with lowly-motivated students, teachers had to deal first with their lack of motivation in learning English. Implementing GE was akin to putting the cart before the horse. Fan-ko, a Chinese teacher-in-training noted that there was a feeling that some students "don't care" about learning English in general, let alone GE (Rose & Galloway, 2019 p.187). Although it is not within the scope of this paper to analyze the causes for students' lack of motivation and interest in English, previous research had shed light on how GE could foster greater self-acceptance and encourage a readjustment of goals (see Davies, 2023). Future pedagogical research could analyze whether implementing GE has a positive correlation with students' motivation in English learning.

Second, while some teachers feared overwhelming students with authentic materials, those who believed in GE principles introduced them to low-level students, despite the additional scaffolding and preparation of materials required. For example, GE-practitioner Sung (2015) suggested when choosing audio materials with different accents, teachers should

find ones that focused on L1 and L2 accents that students were more likely to encounter, and ones that could sustain the students' interests, as motivation is a key factor for learning. Additionally, Chang (2014) argued that "less proficient English learners or those in primary and secondary schools should be explicitly introduced to the features and development of different varieties of English alongside the teaching of practical reading, writing, listening and speaking skills" (p. 27). This corresponds to the survey results where participants expressed hope to see more GE-related content and greater representation in ELT curricula "from the get-go" (Teacher 13) and "a clear explanation of the concept of WE in the introductory unit in all English textbooks" (Teacher 6). The differing views about introducing GE to low-level proficiency students highlight discrepancies in teachers' pedagogical attitudes and beliefs. It also reveals that in spite of the challenges faced in implementing GE, if convinced of the merits of GE, teachers were willing to go the extra mile.

Third, the results highlighted two disparate approaches in adopting a GE-oriented approach —teachers could either embrace "internationalization" or "localization" efforts. When Teacher 7 shared how the recreation of an authentic global setting by pairing Japanese students with those in foreign countries was challenging due to time differences, a probable solution could be to expand the number of international representatives from as many diverse countries within the same time zone as possible. However, rather than attempting to recreate a global environment for students, it might be easier to work with an increasingly diverse Japan. Study in Japan, a website affiliated with the Japanese Ministry of Education recorded that 279,274 international students were studying in Japan, as of May 2023, which was a 20.8% increase from the previous year (Study in Japan, 2023). As Japanese universities embark on goals to internationalize and increase their intake of international students, teachers could facilitate student interactions with diverse groups of foreigners or teachers already residing in Japan.

A localized approach also extends to the development of ELT textbook materials. Teachers proposed incorporating more global English varieties and representation in terms of audio/video/visual content in ELT textbooks. However, another approach was to think local. Chen et.al, argued that "[b]y incorporating and contextualizing local culture content into textbooks, teachers could counter the negative influence of native-speakerism, empower themselves, and better address students' needs" (as cited in Davies, 2023, p.950). Yamada (2015) who reviewed EFL textbooks in Japan, noted that Japan's cultural content was "most commonly included" but there had been "insufficient attention" on Japan's internal diversity, not just on overseas newcomers, but on long-time residents such as the *burakumin* (or former

social outcasts) and *zainichi* Koreans (or Korean Japanese) (p.79). Teachers with a GE-oriented approach could draw examples from global situations, and challenge students to reflect on Japan's own internal diversity.

Fourth, the findings highlighted a related and equally important issue: the professional challenges faced by non-Inner Circle teachers. Non-Inner Circle teachers often faced the burden of having to prove their ability to teach based on biases against their country of origin. Teacher 1 said that she had been rejected for a job "because they said they couldn't tell if I could actually speak English. So, even though I had already graduated from my PhD at the time, they said that was not enough because I wasn't from an English-speaking country." Although the ownership of English has been challenged with globalization, native-speakerism was still prevalent with implications for recruitment, where the professional legitimacy of non-Inner Circle teachers could be called into question (Ng, 2018). Rose and Galloway proposed hiring practices to be native status-blind, but the onus still falls on non-Inner Circle teachers to demonstrate their professional knowledge and competence to clear misconceptions and biases that could be held by students, parents, peers and administrators alike. Teacher 3 was questioned by his Japanese co-worker on his ability to teach because he used the word "aeroplane," using British English, instead of the American one, "airplane." She had even gone to the extent of saying "show me the dictionary… I cannot find the word here."

Teacher 13 also alluded to "L2 language anxiety," when she said, "when I talk to native-speaking teachers, I actually care about how I speak more." As an Expanding Circle teacher, she was also concerned about how her level of English accuracy could be perceived:

> "My biggest concern is [that others might harbor the view that] if you teach a language that is not your first language…how accurate [can] your level [of proficiency be]?" (Teacher 13)

However, I would say that this is not a unique issue for non-Inner Circle teachers or in particular, Expanding Circle teachers. Highly proficient speakers and native speakers also experience some level of self-consciousness, depending on the social context and to whom one is talking to (for example to someone of higher authority). The professional challenges faced by non-Inner Circle teachers are not explored in depth in this paper, and even though the question was only posed to participants in the interview setting, they provide insights to the overall challenges faced by non-Inner Circle teachers.

In addition, teachers felt that they were already putting GE into practice by virtue of being a non-Inner Circle teacher. Hiring more non-Inner Circle teachers in itself manifested the global usage of English. There was little concern about the students' unfamiliarity with

non-native accents as low-level students were usually unable to tell the difference on whether their teacher's accents were "standard" or "non-standard". Derwing, Fraser, Kang and Thomson (2014) defined an accent "as the phonological characteristics of speech," which was characterized by its comprehensibility (how easy or difficult it is for people to understand an accent different from one's own) and intelligibility (how much a listener understands of the intended message) to its listeners (p.65). Teacher 6, a teacher from the Outer Circle shared that "different accents and difficulty in understanding might not be congruent to one another." Although he had an accent that students were not familiar with, at the end of the semester, his students shared that his lessons were easy to understand. As long as instruction was clear (comprehensible) and the material was understandable (intelligible), having a "non-native" accent did not hinder the teaching effectiveness of a non-Inner Circle teacher. This aligns with Kachru's (1992) observation that different accents "need not increase problems of understanding across cultures, if users of English develop some familiarity with them" (p.88). Non-Inner Circle Teachers demonstrated GE in practice, as it showed the global usage of English to students and challenged native norms about the ownership of English.

Limitations and Future directions

Finally, the limitations of this study should be acknowledged. The scale of the research and the number of participants surveyed and interviewed were small. Most of the participants were primarily teaching at universities in the Southwestern part of Japan. Future studies should aim to survey a larger pool of participants and to collect responses from participants across Japan to be more representative. For the data collection in this paper, oral interviews and a survey were conducted, but written narratives in the form of teachers' journals could have also been used to capture teachers' self-reflections before and after incorporating GE in classrooms. Data was collected at a single point in time, which was limiting as it did not capture changes in viewpoints over time. Despite its limitations, it would be worthwhile for curriculum and policy planners to consider the recommendations for greater representation and diversity espoused by GE. Most non-Inner Circle participants in this paper had made self-initiated efforts to promote GE, but support from curriculum and policy planners could encourage a wider and more comprehensive implementation of GE in classrooms.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper examined non-Inner Circle teachers' views towards GE, the advantages, disadvantages, challenges faced in implementing GE and their expectations for the future. Despite its limitations, the findings of this paper provide valuable insights from in-service non-Inner Circle teachers. This paper showed that most non-Inner Circle teachers teaching English at Japanese universities were familiar and positively inclined towards GE, with many of them recognizing the benefits of a GE-inclusive education. Most of them had already put GE into practice and for teachers whose views were aligned with GE's ideology, rather than waiting for a top-down policy decision, they had taken efforts to reorient classes away from strict native norms and showed how English was globally used. While it was important to identify the students' profile (their motivation and proficiency level) to determine whether or not to implement GE, the findings showed that ultimately the decision to implement GE often depended on the teachers' pedagogical beliefs and attitudes. Non-Inner Circle teachers who were in support of GE, were nevertheless constrained by competing priorities, lack of time, materials and administrative support. Thus, it is crucial that for significant changes to occur, changes and additional support needs to take place at the administrative policy level. The above-mentioned recommendations concerning curriculum, hiring, and exchange programs offers a useful guide for language education policy planners, as they navigate how to prepare learners for a globalized world. To fully embrace a post-native-speakerist world, it is imperative for all major stakeholders — learners, teachers and administrators to share the same goals to make changes firmly take root.

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