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**English-language training in France under the  
Hollande government  
Policy, precarity, pressure – and the third-person ‘s’**

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## Abstract

My research findings urge a reassessment of the organization of publicly funded English-language training in France. English, as lingua franca of a globalizing workplace, functions as a gatekeeper to employment opportunities. Quality subsidized training for adults is, thus, essential to limit linguistic inequality. My research was prompted by the Hollande government's 2015 training reform, with its surprising initial omission of English from subsidy. English, before the reform, was the most demanded subject for training with millions of euros of public funds invested in training, which was largely outsourced to lightly regulated language schools in a competitive marketplace with significant trainer employment precarity. My research – viewed through the Bourdieusian lenses of habitus, field, linguistic capital and linguistic market – employed discourse analysis to analyze government policy texts and questionnaire, interview and focus-group data from trainers and adult learners at “Langues-sans-Frontières,” a non-profit language school. Drawing also on the EU-funded “Languages and employability” report and quantitative data from TESOL France, my findings revealed the government treading a delicate path. France is founded on the centrality of French as a key element of citizenship. However, the government tacitly admitted that English was a key to employability. This complex conception of English was mirrored in the linguistic habituses of adult learners. However, the individual nature of trainees' dispositions lends itself to Lahire's reconception of habitus as developing throughout life. This finding implies a sensitive role for trainers in that individual trainee beliefs need to be respected, but gentle challenge through dialogue with other learners can open new learning pathways. However, the reform only allowed for 24 hours training per year. My data, however, indicated that years – rather than hours - were required for adults to reach workplace proficiency. English training needs to take account of the time commitment required for trainees to achieve an operational level, which comes at a financial cost. A network of training institutes, modelled on “Langues-sans-Frontières,” may provide the answer. With funding from local

and national sources, the organization provided subsidized training, yet offered its trainers good remuneration and conditions. These measures will help French adults as long as English continues to be the workplace lingua franca. However, both English as a lingua franca and French research indicates that the future is multilingual. Developing a multilingual habitus, thus, will be the challenge for French governments.

## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to

**Margery Nuttall and Kathleen Iris Harper**

with love and gratitude always

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## Glossary of abbreviations and terms used in this thesis

BULATS		Business Language Testing Service – one of the first exams to be approved for CPF funding, organized by Cambridge English.
CDA		Critical discourse analysis – a form of textual analysis that is designed to reveal how power is imbricated in language.
CGT		Confédération générale du travail – one of the most powerful French trade unions.
CHEPDA		My abbreviation for the “Critical Higher Education Policy Discourse Analysis Framework” – an approach to the analysis of policy texts developed by Hyatt (2013).
CHEPDA-WPR		The “hybrid” policy analysis framework which fuses Hyatt’s CHEPDA and Bacchi’s WPR that is used in this thesis.
<i>collège</i>		Middle school for pupils from 11 to 15 – considered the heart of the French education system as it lays the foundations for further study.
<i>concours</i>		Competitive exams used throughout the civil service and for entry into <i>grandes écoles</i> – it is not enough to simply pass. A restricted number of candidates are taken each year; in teaching this is usually only about one-third of those who enter.
COPANEF	<i>Comité interprofessionnel pour l’emploi et la formation</i>	See “social partners”
CPD		Continuing professional development; learning or specific training throughout one’s career
CPF	<i>Compte personnel de formation</i>	Personal Training Account – an online account which is topped up by 24 hours of free training “vouchers” for each French employee in the private sector every year.
DCL	<i>Diplôme de compétence en langue</i>	Created by the <i>Education nationale</i> , it is a task-based language examination for adults.
DGLF	<i>Délégation générale à la langue française</i>	The guardians of the <i>Loi Toubon</i> .
DIF	<i>Droit individuel à la formation</i>	The system in place from 2004 to 2015 whereby adults could access free vocational training.
EFL		English as a Foreign Language
ELF		English as a Lingua Franca
ESPE	<i>Ecole supérieure du Professorat et de l’éducation</i>	The teacher training institutes created by the Hollande government.

ETS Global		The “non-profit” organization that administers the TOEIC test.
EYL		English for Young Learners
Fifth Republic		The political regime in place in France since 1958, which coincides with the last major change to the constitution of the Republic.
<i>Grande école</i>		Elite private university
IUFM	<i>Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres</i>	Teacher training schools, which were replaced by ESPEs under Hollande.
LEMP	<i>Langues et employabilité</i>	A report commissioned by the Hollande government in 2015 which demonstrates the importance of English and other languages to the employability of the French workforce.
<i>Loi Delors</i>		This 1971 law essentially created the market for vocational training in France.
<i>Loi Fioroso</i>		Named after Hollande’s first minister in charge of universities and research, this 2013 law allowed for the teaching of English in universities where justified.
<i>Loi Toubon</i>		This 1994 law, which specifies the use of French in the workplace and educational settings is widely flouted and is often referred to as the “All good” law (a rough translation of Toubon or <i>tout bon</i> ).
L1		Native language
L2		Second language
LV	<i>Langue vivante</i>	Modern foreign or heritage language
NEST		Native-English-speaking teacher/trainer
N-NEST		Non-native-English-speaking teacher/trainer
NS		“Native speaker”
OECD		Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, the organization that administers the PISA evaluation.
OPCA	<i>Organisme paritaire collecteur agréé</i>	“Approved fund-collecting agency.” These 20 organizations were given expanded powers under the training reform law to “steer” the policy – deciding which courses to approve, and setting and enforcing criteria for training providers.
PISA		Programme for International Student Assessment – the OECD programme that tests 15-year-olds of the OECD countries on a range of skills every 3 years.
<i>Quinquennat</i>		A five-year French presidential term
SLA		Research into second language acquisition
Social partners	<i>partenaires sociaux</i>	Representatives of unions and management who are included on all policy negotiations sitting under the COPANEF umbrella.

TESOL France		Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages – the French affiliate of American and British EFL teachers’ organizations. It is entirely run by volunteers.
Third Republic		Modern France is considered to date from the Third Republic (1870-1940).
TOEIC		Test of English for International Communication, along with BULATS, one of the first tests to be approved under the training reform in 2015. It is run by ETS Global.
Training Plan	<i>Plan de formation</i>	When a company uses its own funds for employee training.
WPR		“What’s the Problem Represented to be?” Bacchi’s 6-step approach to policy analysis (2009).

No one acquires a language without thereby acquiring a *relation to language* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000/1977, p. 116).

*When I think of English, I think of the Beatles, Monty Python, Woody Allen, you know, and Rob Brydon, and different things that you are close to – having a cup of tea with scones with clotted cream, you know, that kind of thing. You have to be close to the culture; you need friends, you know. ... It's something very warm; it's to communicate with the others, to find a way that you are close to, I think it helps a lot ... just being a consumer, you know, you can achieve it, but I think that's not enough. There is something to do with the heart, I think. Heart, guts, love.*

(“Elouan,” French teacher of English, interview June 2016)

*International means speaking English and write English.*

(Questionnaire respondent from the multinational “Pak-King”)

*I think that the weight of English in our daily lives is too heavy. And the cultural differences of each country are lessened by the weight of English. And the more I learn English, the more I understand that the way of speaking of some French people comes from the English.*

(“Ophélie,” adult English learner, interview March 2016)

# Chapter 1 : Introduction: “The weight of English”

## 1.1 Rationale, aims and contributions

A key promise of the centre-left government of François Hollande, elected in 2012, was to reverse the trend of rising unemployment (Elysée, 2013). One of the levers chosen to achieve this aim was his government’s enactment of the most comprehensive reform of vocational training since 1971. In the 40-odd years since that last reform, the French workplace had become increasingly globalized and English – “the language that defines globalization” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 48) - had grown to be the most demanded skill for adult training. In the light of this high demand for English-language training, English (along with other languages), curiously, was initially omitted from the lists of courses available for public funding under the new reform. English was added later in the spring of 2015. But new rules which cast French employees as actors in their own lifelong learning journey, specifications that all training paid for from the public purse should lead to a recognised certificate, and the threat of the imposition of strict quality regulations for training providers led to turmoil in the previously lightly regulated English-training field in 2015. Through this thesis, I examine how English as a workplace skill in modern-day France was represented in Hollande’s training reform and the impact of this representation on adult learners and their trainers as the policy evolved from 2015 to the end of the Hollande government’s term in 2017. Specifically, the thesis aims, through drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data, to furnish answers to the research question:

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” (Newton and Kusmierczyk, 2011, p. 88) learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

The stakes are high. In a study of English use in the French workplace, Deneire discovered high levels of stress, with managers reporting feeling “anxious, humiliated, incompetent and tongue-tied” following the introduction of English as their corporate language (2008, p. 189). Deneire also depicts an “English divide” in the French private sector workplace, which he posits contributes towards:

a widening gap between the educated and the less educated, the computer-literate and the computer-illiterate, between the young and the old, and between lower and upper socioeconomic groups. In short, it creates linguistic inequality (2008, p. 190).

But, even before potential employees start work, English can be used as a gatekeeper or filter during the job application process (Le Lièvre, 2008). This observation is confirmed by the EU and government-backed “Languages and employability” report, which states categorically that, in the French private-sector workplace, “English skills operate as selection criteria” (Benoît et al, 2015, p. 16, my translation). Candidates better able to communicate in English have a greater possibility of being hired – sometimes whether or not the candidate will have to use English in their new job (Le Lièvre, 2008) - lending credence to Cook’s assertion that “A second language affects people’s careers and possible futures, their lives and their very identities. ... Helping people acquire second languages more effectively is an important task for the twenty-first century” (2008, p. 1).

However, English is “a language unlike all others” (Le Lièvre, 2008, p. 5); its complex and contradictory status in France has attracted attention from researchers such as Bakke (2004) and D’Eye (2005) interested in exploring French attitudes to English. Clapson and Hyatt (2007), Hélot and Young (2008), and Starkey Perret (2012), on the other hand, investigate the interrelationship between French government policy and English-teaching practice in school and higher education contexts. Yet another group of researchers: Deneire (2008), Wozniak (2010), Saulière (2014a), and Leistiko (2015) have trained their sights on the use of English in the globalizing French

workplace. French attitudes towards English, the effect of government policy on English learning, and the use of English in the French workplace are all important threads that run through my research, and I draw on the insights of the above researchers throughout this thesis.

The work of Deneire (2008) and Saulière (2014a) is particularly relevant to my research as, with 13 years' experience in this teaching domain, I share their premise that English in the French workplace can be a factor that exacerbates inequality and increases workplace tension. However, Deneire and Saulière do not investigate in depth how English is being taught for the French workplace, who is teaching English for the French workplace, and what is being taught – areas which are, in my view, key elements in creating more linguistic equality in the workplace, relating as they do to the quality of training on offer.

The quality of English training available to French adults is particularly significant in light of the Hollande government's focus on reducing unemployment, as the "Languages and Employability" report indicated that language skills, as well as being a factor in "macroeconomic competitiveness," are also "a key element in individual employability" (Benoît et al, 2015, p. 7, my translation). Central, thus, to the research detailed in this thesis is an investigation into the English-language training field in France.

English training is the principal earner in a €370-million per annum "very competitive" language-training sector, whose efficacy, however, is "sometimes debatable" (Benoît et al, 2015, p. 7 and p. 8, my translation). Linked, thus, to my investigation of the English-training field, is an analysis of the government's approach to English in the workplace as expressed through Hollande's training reform. I believe a distinctive feature of my research is that English is predominantly viewed as an element of an economic policy, rather than as a factor in a language policy. Deneire (2008); Leistiko (2015) and Saulière (2014a, 2014b), for instance, connect their research with French

language policy – in particular, the *Loi Toubon* (Toubon law), which protects French language usage in the workplace.

In the light of my focus on the economic role of English, I take a Bourdieusian approach in considering English skills a form of “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu, 2016/1991) in the French workplace that can be exchanged particularly for economic capital (a salary), but also for social capital (an enhanced professional network, for instance). **Chapter 3** explores my use of Bourdieusian concepts to frame this research, and my aim to contribute to the field of Bourdieusian-inspired language studies. I, therefore, pick up Grenfell’s gauntlet – he is surprised - given the centrality of language to Bourdieu’s oeuvre - that Bourdieu’s work has been “generally overlooked” (2012, p. 1) by language researchers.

The third dimension of my research, after the government’s training reform and the English-training field, is French workers. How do they perceive the increasing pressure to use English in the workplace? Wozniak’s (2010) and Leistikio’s (2015) research indicates generally positive attitudes, but other research points to an increase in stress and a decrease in effectiveness on the job (Deneire, 2008; Saulière 2014a). As Leistikio points out, interaction in English in the French workplace takes place in “highly specific communicative situations” (2015, p. 115) with tremendously varied interlocutors in myriads of different workplaces from mountain slopes (Wozniak, 2010) to company boardrooms (Saulière, 2014a). In the light of the variety of workplace locales where English is utilized, Leistikio (2015) pleads for research that focuses more on individual use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the workplace. My research responds to this plea, as I interview eight French adults who used English in work contexts as varied as the *mairie* (city hall) to the Middle-Eastern desert. While interested in trainee attitudes and motivations, I also wanted to examine how French training policy affected trainee ability to access English training and trainee ideas on how English could be taught for French workplaces.



In addition to contributing to existing research in France, as I highlight above, this thesis will also add its voice to the growing global debate (for example, Blommaert, 2010; Bunce, Phillipson, Rapatahana and Tupas, 2016; Kostoulas, 2010; Park & Wee, 2012; Pennycook, 2010) about the position of English and its teaching and learning in a world where its complicity with globalization (Graddol, 2006) and its role in mediating inequality (Block, 2015) is coming under increasing scrutiny. Globalization has also underscored the tensions between English as system (a reified object) and English as practice (something that people do) through foregrounding the dichotomy between the traditional native speaker “owners” of English and the larger number of “non-native” users of the language (Wright & Zheng, 2018). Kostoulas (2010, pp. 1-4) believes researchers and teachers need to address three key questions about English as the lingua franca of a globalizing world:

- What language should we teach?
- How should we teach English?
- Why should we teach English?

In **Chapter 2**, I explain how these global-level questions are interwoven with my questions about the French research context. In this way, I signal my intention that my research findings contribute to what Blommaert categorizes as “the hottest possible” of issues being debated in sociolinguistics – “English in the world” (2010, p. 182).

**Sections 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4** go on to introduce the three key elements of the thesis: Hollande’s training reform policy, the English-language training field in France, and adult English learners. There is a fourth element to be problematized, and that is “English” itself. Thus, **Section 1.5** highlights the issues to be taken into account when coming to terms with its complexities. **Section 1.6** deconstructs my overarching research question and examines the four sub-questions that I pose. **Section 1.7** discusses the methodology and methods employed to generate the data for this study and the research structure and scope. **Section 1.8** outlines the structure of the whole thesis. **Section 1.9** summarizes the chapter.

## 1.2 Policy

“Law no. 2014-288 of 5 March 2014 related to vocational training, employment and social democracy” came into effect on 5 January 2015. Considering that the reform would affect the lives of the unemployed and every private-sector employee in France - around 23 million people (Bihl, 2016), the new law was ushered in discreetly, with no ministerial speeches or publicity campaigns. It would thus take several months for the general public to understand their rights under the new law, but for the many thousands involved in the teaching of English to adults for professional purposes the impact of the law was immediate and brutal. English – the most demanded subject for adult training under the previous training policy – was not included on the lists of training programmes eligible for public funding.

This was a surprising development, which attracted much media comment (*Le Parisien*, 2015; Masson, 2015), as demand for English training in French companies had been growing since the 1980s (Le Lièvre, 2008). At the time that the reform began to take effect in the spring of 2015, the nightly news report on the national TV channel highlighted a survey indicating that 56% of French managers viewed their English skills as a “brake on their career” (*Un cadre français sur deux – “One French manager out of two” - 2015*).

Up to the time of the new reform, in addition to individuals making their own arrangements, English training could be accessed in two different ways: a trainee could ask permission from their organization to access public funds under a scheme called the Individual Right to Training (*Droit Individuel de Formation* or *DIF*), or the company would agree to fund the employee’s training directly through their *Plan de Formation* (Training Plan).

In addition to English not initially being included on the lists of training programmes accessible from public funds, the new law simultaneously reduced imperatives, established under earlier laws, that companies had to set

aside a certain percentage of their earnings for their Training Plan. Without the pressure to invest a fixed amount in their employee training, the likely outcome was that businesses would fund less English training for their employees. English-language training organizations and their trainers were thus faced with the prospect of their publicly funded income stream drying up completely, and their income from company-funded training being significantly reduced.

Indeed, the entry of the new law marked a paradigm shift in French post-compulsory education. The law brought to the fore twenty quango-type organizations – *Organismes Paritaires Collecteurs Agréés* or *OPCAs* (Approved Fund-collecting Agencies) - whose remit would be expanded from merely collecting and redistributing training funds under the previous law to establishing and overseeing rigorous quality standards for language schools and those who worked for them.

The centrepiece of the law was the creation of an internet-based Personal Training Account (*Compte Personnel de Formation* or *CPF*) for all private-sector employees in France, thus putting the responsibility for training squarely into the hands of employees, not their companies as was previously the case. Emphasizing the necessity of lifelong learning, each account would be credited with 24 hours every year (up to a maximum of 120 hours). At the same time, the law stipulated that only training that led to a recognised certificate would be approved for public funding. In the case of English, two certificates were initially approved: ETS Global's Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) and Cambridge's BULATS (Business Language Testing Service). Before the reform, trainers usually had *carte blanche* to decide upon a syllabus for trainees. The necessity to prepare trainees for a formal examination at the end of their training would entail a very different experience.

Clearly Law no. 2014-288 marked a pivotal moment in workplace and English-language training in France in its aim to persuade previously passive trainees into becoming actors in their own lifelong learning process, while at the same time tightening evaluation and regulatory measures of the institutes responsible for training. In this respect, the Hollande government could be seen to be moving in line with neoliberal approaches taken towards adult education in other western or westernised polities. Bacchi, for instance, points to policy-making in some contexts constructing “entrepreneurial subjects who invest in themselves and their futures” (2009, p. 204).

However, in the curious initial omission of the highly demanded skill of the English language, the government seemed, at least temporarily, to have been resisting the hegemony of English in the workplace. Indeed, an editorial in *Le Parisien* (2015) suggested the “hand of ideology” was at play in the delay in adding English to the lists of publicly funded training courses. Flaitz, an early commentator on French attitudes towards English as a lingua franca, for instance, observed very different reactions to the increasing importance of English in France between those in government and the general public:

On one side stands the intelligentsia represented by academics, journalists, and governmental officials, people for whom the French language is an important source of identity and livelihood. On the other side is the average French citizen torn between the rhetoric of the intelligentsia and his/her own perception of the role of English as a world language (1988, p. 101).

Although the minister of employment explained that the omission of English was merely due to pressure of work (Masson, 2015), it could also point to resistance on the part of certain elements of the government. Indeed, there remains a strong body of resistance among those Flaitz designates the “intelligentsia” to the role of English in France (for example, Bourges, 2014; Hagège, 2012). In any event, as Rizvi and Lingard point out: “policy can be expressed in silences, either deliberate or unplanned” (2010, p. 4).

In **Chapter 5**, employing a Critical Discourse Analysis framework, which combines the concepts of Hyatt (2013) and Bacchi (2009), I examine the issues around English and globalization as they are represented in the Hollande training reform by placing the policy in its sociohistoric context and by problematizing its underpinning assumptions. This effort was an essential first step in determining the attitude of the French government towards English in the workplace. If the government was ambivalent about the position of English, as the initial delay in adding English to subsidized courses seems to suggest, then this carries important implications for ensuring, what Deneire (2008, p. 190) refers to as, “linguistic equality” in the workplace, as trainees, who needed to enhance their English skills, would be deprived of public funding. There would also be serious ramifications for the English-training sector, with hundreds of language schools and many thousands of English trainers dependent on English being considered a subsidizable workplace skill to make a living.

### **1.3 Precarity**

Indeed, Hollande’s training reform policy cast into relief an area of English-language teaching (ELT) that has received little critical attention - that is the teaching of English for professional purposes to adult learners who are often outside the more traditional classroom setting. As Firth points out:

From established educational and applied linguistic perspectives, the natural, pre-eminent “home” of L2 learning is the L2 classroom ... And yet, given the quotidian nature of L2 use in innumerable social settings, not least in our age of globalization ... and considering that one of the main goals of L2 classroom activities is to prepare learners to use their L2 outside the classroom environment, it is striking how few studies have been undertaken on L2 use and/or learning outside the classroom (2009, p. 129).

In 2015, the task of teaching adults for the workplace in France was undertaken by an army of at least 8,000 teachers (Wickham, 2015a), and probably many times this number. Exact statistics are difficult to ascertain owing to the ephemeral nature of the profession, a theme that will be explored in some

depth in this thesis. These teachers – or as they are increasingly designated “trainers” (*formateurs*) to differentiate them from schoolteachers – are usually “English native speakers” who primarily work for language schools (Wickham, 2015a).

Language schools form part of the highly fragmented vocational training landscape in France, which comprised at the time between 55,000 (Elysée, 2013) to 63,000 (Fédération de la Formation Professionnelle, 2012) organizations. English classes are typically small, often one-on-one (one trainer, one trainee), and are held in offices and factories, in trainees’ homes and language schools - and even on commuter trains (Beardsley, 2014). Telephone and Skype courses are also popular (Alonso, n.d.).

Seventy-six percent of requests for publicly funded adult language training in 2012 were for English (Boulate, 2013, p. 2) with most commentators (Nielsen, Bergholt and Pedersen, 2012, for example) surmising that the demand for post-compulsory-education training in English is so high because employees leave compulsory education with levels of English too low to function in a globalized workplace where English has become, as Kankaanranta and Louihala-Salimen put it, “simply work” (2010, p. 204).

However, research by the organization TESOL France and associates of 800 English trainers (Wickham, 2015a) threw into question the efficacy of those charged with training French adults. The survey revealed that the English-training profession in France was under strain, with “deteriorating job security and conditions” (Wickham, 2015a, p. 9). Indeed, the term “English-training profession” was something of a misnomer, as the survey found that a third of English trainers who participated in the research had no language teaching qualifications. Forty-five percent of respondents had three different employers, with a further 16% working for six different employers; almost 40% of respondents had three different kinds of work status or contract, leading to a “bureaucratic nightmare” (Wickham, 2015a, p. 9). Almost 60% had had no

continuing professional development in the previous two years. One respondent was worried about being in a situation of “precarity and uncertainty” (Wickham, 2015a, p. 10). Indeed, almost a third of the trainers surveyed earned less than the minimum wage, in addition to often having reduced access to social security benefits and pensions (Wickham, 2015a).

Hollande’s training reform worsened the precarity and uncertainty for English trainers and, in the early months of 2015, several language schools closed and trainers were laid off (Wickham, 2016). Since the financial crisis of 2008, language schools in France had been operating on ever slimmer margins and by 2014 margins were typically only 1.4% of earnings (Wickham, 2016), so they could not sustain even a short stint of uncertainty. By the end of February, English appeared on the lists of approved training courses, with the (then) Minister of Employment, François Rebsamen, apologising for the delay, which he stated was simply due to “manpower shortages” and the “complexity” of the new law (Masson, 2015). However, the announcement came too late for companies or individuals to organize their training for the first half of 2015, so many training opportunities were lost.

The question of how English for adults is taught, however, became increasingly pressing with the enactment of the new training reform, which sought to recast 23 million private sector workers into actors in charge of organizing their own lifelong learning. In **Chapter 6**, therefore, I investigate English-language training in France and the effects of Hollande’s reform on the field and its trainers through interview data generated from five English trainers at a language school (“Langues-sans-Frontières,” LSF) in the west of France. Their insights go to the heart of my overarching question, which asks: “Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace?”

## 1.4 Pressure

Despite the belief that English is an important workplace skill, an oft-remarked feature of the French linguistic landscape is the apparent difficulty that many French people have with communicating in English, often referring to themselves as “*nul en anglais*” (hopeless in English) (Fleurot, 2013). This perception is borne out in test results of all age groups with the Education First organization reporting that French adults were the worst in English in Europe in its “English Proficiency Index” of 2015 (Education First, 2015). With a self-selecting sample of participants completing internet-based tests, the EPI could be criticised for its methodology being non-representative of a wider population. However, it is one of the few tests of its kind of adult learners and is widely cited, thus further cementing the idea that the French are *nul en anglais*.

Commentators usually relate the origins of the *nul en anglais* or linguistic insecurity phenomenon to the experiences of language learning at school. Indeed, the French national education system and the parallel private (Catholic) system are noted for the high levels of stress they engender among pupils. Dobbins and Martens cite PISA research that points to “a high level of fear and low self-confidence among pupils” (2012, p. 30), while Starkey Perret (2012) and Gumbel (2010) describe the culture of humiliation that reigns in some classrooms. Senik posits that the education system’s negative impact on self esteem continues to cloud the adulthood of many French adults (cited in Campbell, 2013).

Additionally, Bourdieu and Passeron, writing in the 1970s, established that the French education system was a powerful mechanism in the reproduction of elites (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000/1977), and the situation shows little sign of improvement in the second decade of the 21st century (Peugny, 2013). It is thus not improbable that children from more privileged backgrounds would have parents who, understanding the importance of English for their



children's future career choices, could augment learning at school with help with homework, private tutors, *séjours linguistiques* (immersion holidays) in English-speaking countries and overseas holidays to English-speaking countries. Indeed, Block claims that it is "generally the upper and middle classes of countries around the world who are the successful learners of English" (2012, p. 202). Peugny thus argues that vocational and continuing adult training plays an important role in remedying those inequalities that stem from primary socialization which are subsequently reinforced through the national education system (2013). This argument implies that although many French adults leave compulsory education with low levels of confidence in English, access to high quality language training later can help them catch up with more fortunate peers.

**Chapter 7** analyzes questionnaire, interview and focus-group data from 14 adult English learners who attended my courses in the language school "Langues-sans-Frontières" (LSF) in early 2016. The data makes clear that the obligation to use English in the French workplace was a constant pressure in the lives of these learners. As "Ophélie" put it, "the weight of English in our daily lives is too heavy" (Ophélie, Exchange 296). With trainee data supplementing trainer and policy analysis data, my research question of how adults could be best equipped to use English in their workplaces, in light of the training reform, is tackled from three different, yet interconnected, perspectives. This triangulation of data has ensured, I believe, a robust analysis. I deal further with issues of data validity, reliability and trustworthiness in **Chapter 4**.

In Chapter 4, I also explain that interviews were conducted with both trainers and trainees at LSF (who were all given pseudonyms) and transcripts were produced from those interviews. I draw on this transcript data throughout the thesis and reference it by using the convention of the interviewee's pseudonym followed by an "Exchange Number," as in Ophélie's case above. The Exchange

Number refers - rather than to a line number in the transcript - to a complete utterance uninterrupted by the interviewer.

## 1.5 And the third-person 's'

**Chapter 2**, in asking “What is English? And why should we care?” (Machan, 2013), explores the “weight of English” in the world from a variety of perspectives: from the poetic (Machan, 2013) to the postmodern (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2010). This problematization seemed a necessary preliminary to the project, as it was not possible to approach my research question (... how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized ...?) without an appreciation of the complexity of the signifier “English.”

The concept of the “signifier” is associated with de Saussure, the forerunner of modern linguistic study. One of the surprising outcomes of my investigations was the durability of the Saussurean dichotomy between language as system (*langue*) and language as practice (*parole*) and the tensions between the modernist linking of a particular language system (eg, Parisian French) to a nation (eg, France) versus, what could be considered, “postmodern” conceptions of language as a multilingual practice in a “super-diverse” (Blommaert, 2010) globalized world where traditional boundaries between languages and nations are blurred. These tensions were at the centre of my research and were crystallized in a tiny piece of language that carries no semantic weight – the (missing) third-person singular ‘s’ (eg, “he live in Paris”).

Attitudes towards the presence or absence of the ‘s’ among my research participants represented deep beliefs about what “English” is, and it is with this synechdochic sense that the ‘s’ is foregrounded in the thesis title.

## 1.6 Research questions

My research question

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” (Newton and Kusmierczyk, 2011, p. 88) learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

brings together a number of interconnected concepts, which may benefit from being unpacked:

- **“rapidly evolving training policy”** – this refers to the Hollande government’s training reform, which took effect in January 2015. However, the reform continued to evolve until the end of Hollande’s term in May 2017 and beyond into the Macron era. However, in the autumn of 2018, Hollande’s reform was superseded by Macron’s own “big bang” to vocational training (*L’Express*, 2018).
- **“the teaching of English to French adults”** refers to English training in or for the workplace, usually conducted by the employees or contractors of language schools.
- **“be organized”** – this is a key element of the question as it refers to both the organization of English teaching at macro level related to the structure of the English-training field in France, and the micro level in terms of what is actually taught to adults.
- **“empower and equip to thrive”** – the idea here is that trainees could be empowered to “just say no” to English training, but in any event they should be equipped with the skills needed to be comfortable in English – these may include extralinguistic skills such as negotiating meaning or cultural awareness.
- **“globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital”** – the Hollande government’s own research (Benoît et al, 2015) indicates that English is “unavoidable” in the French workplace and is used to weed out candidates at job interview. The term “linguistic capital” indicates that my research will draw on Bourdieusian concepts.

Four more narrowly focused research questions address the overarching research question. RQ<sub>3</sub>, however, comprises three elements: the first element, “How should English be taught ...?,” allows for an investigation of language teaching methodology, such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT); the

second element, “by whom?,” problematizes the “native-speaking” versus “non-native-speaking” teacher dichotomy; the third element, “or what?,” allows for the possibility that technology might play a role in the teaching of adults.

**RQ1** *What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ2** *Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ3** *How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?*

**RQ4** *How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?*

## **1.7 Methodology, structure and scope**

### **1.7.1 Methodology**

The research detailed in this thesis follows a Bourdieusian-inspired structure with his concept of field - “a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions ... For instance, the artistic field, or the religious field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 97) - as the prime element of organization. Thus, the policy-making machinery of the Hollande government was conceived of as a “field of power” which influenced both the English-language training field and other workplace fields (eg, banking, sales, local government).

Policy research was conducted through examination of government policy texts and their analysis through Critical Discourse Analysis methodology (Bacchi, 2009; Hyatt, 2013).

The second phase of the research was centred on a language school, Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF) and comprised:

- semi-structured interviews with five teachers
- questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and a focus group - 14 adult English learners participated in one or more element of this part of the research

Discourse Analysis methodology (Gee, 2014) was drawn on to analyze interview and focus-group data.

In addition to these primarily qualitative methods, I also draw on two predominantly quantitative studies that were relevant to my research:

- The French teaching association TESOL France's 2014 on-line questionnaire, which generated data from 800 English trainers (published in Wickham, 2015a and Wright, 2016)
- The "Languages and Employability" (LEMP) report of 2015, backed by the Hollande government and funded by the European Union (Benoit et al, 2015) with data collected from 801 private-sector enterprises, analysis of job advertisements and interviews with 14 respondents

These studies, national and quantitative in nature, complement the local and qualitative data that I generate from my LSF studies of teachers and learners. Data emerging at one point can be triangulated or compared and contrasted with data from other areas. For instance, my LSF teacher interviewee "Raine" indicated that she taught for at least six different organizations concurrently. Although this seemed like a heavy workload, which would necessitate complex scheduling arrangements, TESOL France data confirmed that most English trainers in France worked for multiple employers, with 16% working for six employers (Wickham, 2015a).

The five research elements:

- Policy analysis of Hollande’s training reform
- Trainer interview data
- Trainee questionnaire, interview and focus-group data
- TESOL France data
- LEMP

are linked in a Bourdieusian-inspired field analysis structure:

## 1.7.2 Research structure

*Table 1A: Research structure*

Area of research	Research Element	How researched	How analyzed	Answers Research Question(s)	Detailed in Chapter
“The field of power” – Hollande’s policy making apparatus	1	Government policy texts	Critical Discourse Analysis (Hyatt, 2013; Bacchi 2009)	RQ1 – RQ4	5
The English-language training field	2	TESOL France quantitative study	Thematic analysis of published articles about the research	RQ1 – RQ4	6
	3	LSF trainer interviews	Discourse Analysis (Gee, 2014)	RQ1 – RQ4	
The French workplace field and English use	4	LEMP Report	Thematic analysis of the report findings	RQ1 – RQ4	7
	5	LSF questionnaires, interviews and focus group with adult learners	Thematic and Discourse Analysis	RQ1 – RQ4	

### 1.7.3 Scope

TESOL France indicate that the complicated working conditions for English trainers in France that they report on are part of a wider European problem (Wright, 2016). Indeed, ideally, my study could have been interestingly located within a wider European framework, but this was beyond the scope of this project, as considerable time and energy was taken up in understanding the complexity of the French context. Other researchers, perhaps, could pick up this gauntlet.

Another area where I had to limit my investigations was in the area of the funding of the teaching of foreign languages other than English for the French workplace. The training reform measures were imposed equally on all languages; however, I chose to focus on English as the most requested language for the workplace. In the light, however, of changes in globalization and a renewed interest in multilingualism, research in the area of other languages in the workplace will be an important direction for future researchers.

## 1.8 Thesis structure

**Table 1B: Thesis structure**

Chapter	Title	Content
1	<b>Introduction: “The weight of English”</b>	Introduces the research through the key research themes of policy (the Hollande training reform), precarity (English trainers), pressure (adult English learners) and the third-person ‘s’ (English as a lingua franca)
2	<b>Situating the study: de Saussure to Seidlhofer</b>	Explores the key issues around English in the world and places the research in relation to French studies about English use in the workplace; research gaps or lacunae are highlighted
3	<b>Repatriating Bourdieu: Conceptual and research frame</b>	Sets out the rationale for drawing on Bourdieusian concepts
4	<b>A tale of two studies: Research design, methodology, methods and ethical considerations</b>	The thinking that underpins the study; details of the pilot and the final study; Discourse Analysis methodology and methods; details of the five research elements and research participants; assuring the trustworthiness of the data
5	<b>The “field of power”: Analysis of the Hollande government’s training reform policy</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis of policy texts
6	<b>The English-language training field in France and its trainers</b>	Analysis of TESOL France quantitative study and discourse analysis of interviews with five trainers
7	<b>The English linguistic market and the French workplace: Adult English learners’ experience and perceptions</b>	Analysis of “Languages and Employability” research into the French workplace and questionnaire, interview and focus group research with adult learners
8	<b>Conclusion: “Tom-ay-to? Tom-ah-to?” Let’s call the whole thing off!</b>	Findings; contributions to the literatures; limitations; answers to the four research questions and the overarching research question



## 1.9 Summary of Chapter 1

This chapter lays out the background to and warrant for research into how English could be taught to adult learners in France in a rapidly changing socio-political context. This is an important area of investigation. Millions of euros are invested in adult language training in France every year, and millions of French workers, often working in French organizations, are called upon to use English every day at work. Many do not have the level of language skill and confidence required to communicate efficiently and effectively in the complex modern workplace (Deneire, 2008; Saulière, 2015a). The language-training needs of the workforce, however, are entrusted, for the most part, to a heterogeneous group of trainers, many without language-training qualifications, who work for historically lightly regulated language schools, elements in the fiercely competitive language-training industry (Wickham, 2015a; Wright, 2016).

The Hollande government's stated objective was to reduce the country's unemployment level, and its own data (Benoît et al, 2015) revealed that language skills were a key factor in both national competitiveness and individual employability. The enigma, then, at the heart of this investigation is the ambiguity towards English (and other languages) in Hollande's reform of vocational training, which, in fact, made it more difficult for French workers to access language training. Was the Hollande government provoking a debate about the hegemony of English in the French workplace? In the light of the Republic's conflicted attitude towards other languages (Ager, 1999), this possibility is explored in this thesis, as is the extent to which the demand for English in the workplace is based on a "real" need for French organizations or whether organizations and workers are trapped in a discursive globalization-and-English web where an alternative to using English in the workplace cannot be countenanced.

The thesis then begins with the debates that swirl around the role of English as the world's current lingua franca in a globalizing world and explores the significance of these issues for the French context. English is viewed as a form of linguistic capital, a term that is associated with Bourdieu, and Bourdieusian concepts are employed as a conceptual frame for this research. The themes this thesis addresses: language, inequality and globalization were central to Bourdieu's work, which was itself provoked by the paradoxes at the heart of a Republic, where inequality still reigns, despite its key value of "equality" (OECD, 2015). The overriding aim for this thesis, then, is to assess to what extent English is another factor of inequality in France and to offer – from the evidence gathered in this research – suggestions for language trainers, language schools, learners and policymakers how to minimize this possibility.

## Chapter 2 : Situating the study : de Saussure to Seidlhofer

### 2.1 “What is English? And why should we care?”

In Chapter 1, I sketched the factors at play in the teaching of English to adults for the workplace in France at the time of the Hollande government’s reform to adult training. The situation was complex and contradictory. Despite the high demand for English - deemed by the government’s own research as essential at all levels in the private-sector workplace - the reform only provided for 24 hours of subsidized training per year (plus unused hours from the previous training policy), which included preparation for compulsory end-of-course examinations. High stakes for trainees, but few hours available for teaching, implied trainers had to make decisions about which language features to prioritize and how these could be taught. Central, thus, to my overarching research question

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” (Newton and Kusmierczyk, 2011, p. 88) learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

was how adults could be taught for a globalizing French workplace, where English was performing a gatekeeping role (Benoit et al, 2015). In line with the particular teaching and learning situation under investigation, the question is complex with several interwoven strands or underlying research questions. In fact, my overarching research question was knitted from four more narrowly focused research questions (RQs):

**RQ1** *What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ2** *Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ3** *How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?*

**RQ<sub>4</sub>** *How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?*

The first three research questions owe a debt to Kostoulas (2010, pp. 1-4, highlighted in Méraud, 2014c, p. 5), who argues that “in an increasingly globalized setting” (2010, p. 1), English-language teaching needs to rethink its key tenets, which necessitates addressing three key questions. In **Table 2A** below, I indicate the link between Kostoulas’s questions and my research questions:

**Table 2A: The stimulus for the research questions**

<b>Kostoulas’s questions</b> (2010, pp. 1-4)		<b>Research questions</b>	
1	What language should we teach?/Which language variety will prove most useful to our learners in a globalised world?	2	Which variety of English (eg, British, American, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?
2	How should we teach English?/Are the methods promoted in a globalised profession appropriate for learners in a localised setting?	3	How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?
3	Why should we teach English?/What purposes does learning English serve in a globalised world?	1	What are the sociopolitical implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?

Although my fourth research question (“How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?”) applies specifically to the French context, in appropriating Kostoulas’s questions, I signal that my research is connected with - and should contribute to - wider debates in the English-teaching world. I did not, however, set out in a deliberate hunt for “research gaps.” In fact, I prefer the more nuanced Latinate term “lacuna” to the blunt “gap,” which has always struck me as a reproach

towards the supposed lapses of other researchers. I prefer to see my research as part of a collaborative endeavour that builds on what has gone before and signals new directions for subsequent research.

The task, therefore, of this chapter is to place my research in relation to key debates, literature and research in the following interconnected areas:

- English and globalization
- English as the world lingua franca, and the implications for teaching and learning
- English in France

While all sections are interrelated and form the backdrop to my research, the final section comes closest to that of a “traditional” literature review, as I map the nascent research field of the teaching of English for professional purposes in France. Beneath, however, my research questions, as Machan (2013), whose book title I have borrowed for the title of this section, observes lie the deeper questions of “What is English? And why should we care?”

This chapter, thus, continues with **Sections 2.2** and **2.3** seeking to provide answers to Machan’s questions. **Section 2.4** questions the English-and-globalization juggernaut in the light of a possible contraction of globalizing forces. **Section 2.5** examines the implications of the discussion in the preceding chapters on RQ1. **Section 2.6** examines the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research field and its pertinence to whether a simplified English should be taught to adults for professional purposes. **Section 2.7** charts the shift of the ELF research field towards multilingualism. **Section 2.8** summarizes the discussion of ELF and asks how ELF could inform RQ2 and RQ3. **Section 2.9** examines studies of the complex relationship between the French Republic, the English language, and the English learner. **Section 2.10** summarizes the discussion of English in France and considers its relevance for this thesis. The chapter concludes with **Section 2.11**.

## 2.2 What is English?

Up until this point, I have been referring to “English” in the way that it is perhaps most commonly understood as a reified, bounded entity, a code for communicating, differentiated through its syntax, morphology, grammar, phonology and lexis from, say, French or Chinese. Far from being a neutral communication code, however, English has been conceived of as a plucky character in a 1000-year adventure story of worldwide expansion (Bragg, 2003, p. ix) or alternatively as a monstrous creation - a “lingua frankensteinia” (Phillipson, 2009a), and even a “rampaging monster” that devours other languages and cultures in its wake (Bunce et al, 2016, Introduction, para. 2). Machan, on the other hand, prefers gentler metaphors in considering English a river or “undulating linguistic record, accumulated from billions of speakers from across the globe” (2013, p. 22). Pennycook, however, questions “the very notion of English, or any language, as a discrete entity” (2010, English as metrolingual practice, para. 1). As “Luc,” a learner whom I interviewed for this research, observed, “Everyone has a completely different perception of English, I think” (Luc, Exchange 234, my translation).

### 2.2.1 The tug between system and practice

Wright and Zheng, in reviewing how language has been conceptualized through the ages, point to the dichotomous view that English (and all languages) can be perceived as system (an object) or as practice (something people do) (2018). To illustrate the former perspective, “Rosalie,” one of my teacher interviewees, emphasized that she urged her trainees to “aim for perfection” to show “respect of the language.” Rosalie was expressing the belief that English is a system or a reified object that exists separately from its users in an ideal form (Rosalie, Exchange 192-194). However, there is an alternative viewpoint (Blommaert, 2010; Park & Wee, 2012; Pennycook 2010, for instance) that considers language “as something that people do within the

given constraints of social life, rather than a pre-given, fixed entity that is then deployed into communicative activity” (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 32).

Historically, languages had to be learned through contact with their native speakers, but the evolution of written language allowed languages to be studied from a distance (Wright & Zheng, 2018). “Dead” languages, such as Latin, could be learned through grammar, vocabulary and translation, and this method went on to influence the learning of living languages (Wright & Zheng, 2018). Wright and Zheng (2018) note that the view of language as system proved particularly popular with the evolving European states, and planning for a standard national language became the centre of nation building.

This process began early in historically multilingual France, where even in the 21st-century more than 70 languages are registered as “Languages of France” (Costa & Lambert, 2009, p. 1). The first legislation on the use of the variety of French that was used in the affluent Paris area and in the Loire Valley – the *langue d’oil* - (Bourges, 2014, p. 12) as the official language of the courts and for the administration of justice was encoded in Articles 110 and 111 of the Edicts of Villers-Cotterêts signed by François the First in 1539 (Ager, 1999, p. 21). With the aim of establishing a dictionary of the French language, the Academie française was founded a century later in 1635 by Cardinal de Richelieu (Bourges, 2014, p. 15). During this process of what Bourdieu refers to as creating the “legitimate language” (2016/1991, pp. 43-50) France’s indigenous languages were marginalized and labelled *patois* – a derogatory term that came to mean “corrupted and coarse speech” (Bourdieu, 2016/1991, p. 47 citing Furtière’s Dictionary 1690).

After the Revolution of 1789, it became more imperative to insist on one official language, ostensibly in order that citizens of the new Republic could fully participate in civic life. In 1794 Abbé Gregoire, a member of the constitutional council, published a report “*Sur la nécessité et les moyens*

*d'anéantir les Patois et d'universaliser l'Usage de la langue française*" (the necessity and the means to wipe out the "patois" and to universalize the use of the French language) (cited in Saulière, 2014a, p. 139). The Ferry laws of 1881 and 82, which made education compulsory, also banned the use of indigenous languages at school. (Saulière, 2014a, p.139).

In this thesis, I will argue that the above discussion of France, the Republic, the French language and the education system are much more than mere background information. Indeed, no exploration of language use in France (such as this thesis attempts) can proceed without an understanding of the primacy of the French language in the creation of the Republic and the role of the education system in reinforcing this relationship.

Wright and Zheng (2018) argue that the congruence between people, territory and language – such as happened in France - was reinforced by the birth in the early twentieth-century of Saussurean structuralist linguistics. De Saussure minimized the importance of spoken language or *parole* in preference to the language system or *langue*: "As soon as we give language first place among the facts of speech, we introduce a natural order into a mass that lends itself to no other classification" (de Saussure, 1966/1915, p. 9). As linguistics progressed through the twentieth-century, Chomsky's "ideal native speaker" supplanted Saussure's *langue* or ideal language (Wright & Zheng, 2018). However, Chomsky's concept also privileged language as system rather than as practice. As Bourdieu put it : "Chomskyan 'competence' is simply another name for Saussure's *langue*" (2016/1991, p. 44). Park and Wee, who borrow Bourdieu's concept of language as a form of capital, are perhaps the most virulent critics of the concept of English as system:

Only when a language is imagined to have an essential form can it be measured for its value in exchange; only when there is such form can any act of using it be evaluated for how well it adheres to its "correct" usage; only when such evaluation is possible can certain speakers be legitimized as having greater symbolic capital by virtue of their "perfect" mastery of the language; and only when the language is



conceived as capital can it rise up to the status of a global language (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 104).

Despite Park and Wee's urging to consider English as practice, Wright and Zheng assert that for language learners:

- there are clearly defined nation states with their own national languages
- every national language exists as a system separate from other national language systems
- individual learners can acquire these national languages, and if there is no overriding personal reason to learn a language, the language(s) to be learned will be chosen based on practical concerns and the prestige of their native speakers (2018, p. 507).

With the postmodern challenge to “grand narratives” such as structuralism, and emphasis on multiple voices and the local (Alvesson, 2002, p. 47), commentators such as Blommaert and Pennycook have problematized the language-as-system model as a modernist invention and “standard language as a nationalist ideology” (Wright & Zheng, 2018, p. 509).

### **2.2.2 “Dislodged, destabilized, disinvented” : the “postmodern imperative to rethink language”**

Pennycook and Blommaert advocate that English be considered a practice rather than a fixed rule-bound structure. They, in fact, demand a rethink of the concept of language itself. Blommaert holds that languages have been “dislodged and destabilized” (2010, p. 2) by globalization, whereas Pennycook goes further in suggesting that languages need to be “disinvented” (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005, p. 138).

Pennycook takes issue with the dominant discourse that English “has spread all over the globe to become the predominant international language” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 2). In drawing parallels with hip-hop, which is also widely assumed to have spread around the world from 1970s New York, Pennycook asserts that “language practices and language localities construct each other”

(2010, Understanding language as practice, para. 6). Pennycook argues that the worldwide influence of English and hip-hop is a “dynamic and diverse process ... involving a constant struggle between identification, rejection and engagement with local cultural forms” (2010, “English and hip-hop,” para. 7). Interestingly, the struggle between “identification, rejection and engagement” came up often in my research interviews with trainees. For instance, my research participants “Ophélie” and “Roxanne” used disturbing metaphors when referring to English: “weight,” “crushing,” “smothering” (Ophélie); “being absorbed” or “being sucked up” (Roxanne), but conversely they expressed determination to achieve the highest level they could in English. Indeed, a key vein running through my research with adult learners (Chapter 7) was the struggle, as Bourdieu and Passeron put it, to “acquire a relationship” with English (2000/1977, p. 116).

Pennycook usefully problematizes taken-for-granted ideas about language and language spread, but he admits (2010) that his approach does not account for power and inequality. Blommaert, however, while agreeing with Pennycook that there is a “postmodern imperative to rethink language” (Pennycook, 2010, Book overview, para. 4) offers a stronger critique of the way that discourses of power are embedded in language.

Blommaert’s main preoccupation is the increasing mobility of the modern world, and the subsequent “dislocation of language and language events” from a fixed position “in time and space” (2010, p. 20). For Blommaert, “Articulate, multilingual individuals could become inarticulate and ‘language-less’ by moving from a space in which their linguistic resources were valued and recognized into one in which they didn’t count as valuable and understandable” (2007, p. 2). Blommaert, however, does not account for a common phenomenon in France where a linguistic space in which one is comfortable or “at home” is suddenly transformed. Deneire’s research, for instance, captures the testimony of a 50-year-old manager whose company made an abrupt transition to using English as its working language:

I know my job perfectly well, but I cannot express myself. It's as if I were gagged. The words, I need to decipher them ... It makes me mad ... the anxiety and the humiliation that many workers and employees endure because of the dictatorship of one language over another (2008, p. 189).

Indeed, Blommaert's observations, like Pennycook's, are based on "super-diverse" urbanised spaces, where people from different backgrounds interact in a vast array of languages, and bits and pieces of languages. The research for this thesis is, however, set in market towns in the west of France - far from super-diverse Melbourne or Antwerp, the locales that stimulated Pennycook's and Blommaert's conceptualizing. Nonetheless, the impact of globalization and the concomitant language issues that are raised are equally significant, as I will argue throughout this thesis.

Blommaert's concept of language "repertoires" does, however, hold promise in a language-teaching situation where time is limited, such as in teaching adults for the workplace. Blommaert defines repertoires as "the complexes of resources people actually possess and deploy" (2010, p. 102). He notes:

Shifting our focus from "languages" (primarily an ideological and institutional construct) to resources (the actual and observable ways of using language) has important implications for notions such as "competence" ... The question of what it is to "know" a language, to "speak it well" or to "be fluent" in it will have to be reformulated, and some existing tools for measuring the answers to such questions (as in language testing schemes) will have to be critically revisited. (2010, p. 102).

In analysing his own repertoire, Blommaert, as a mobile and privileged person, counts 38 different languages, all at different levels (2011, p. 22). Repertoires also apply within individual languages: Blommaert notes that, although he lectures and writes in English, he is much less articulate when shopping in a UK supermarket (2010).

The concept of linguistic repertoires would seem to offer motivational potential in that it could be made clear to learners that the goal of achieving

“mastery of the language” or fluency in all aspects is not a reasonable goal as, in reality, most English users are stronger in certain domains of language use than others. Indeed, Charles and Marschan-Piekkari discovered that in-company English learners became demotivated with English courses that gave the impression that “the whole of the language” was lurking in the wings waiting to be learned (2002, p. 21).

Training needs analyses could be oriented towards determining which trainee repertoires need strengthening. For instance, throughout my research both trainers (namely “Raine”) and trainees (“Idyrss,” for example) commented that there was often a level of comfort with the technical language needed for a particular workplace, but that the challenge was “social English” (an enormous and vague concept, which would have to be unpacked). Question 15 of my trainee questionnaire (Appendix C5) attempts to capture a sense of participants’ repertoires by asking their comfort level in various activities in English.

In concluding Section 2.2 “What is English?” I have highlighted recent views of language that contest the modernist and structuralist perception of language as system that is connected with a particular nation state. Ideas that language is practice - what people do with the linguistic repertoires they can muster - holds profound implications as to how English is taught - particularly in my context of adults learning for the workplace. “Rémi,” for example, an employee of the multinational where I conducted a pilot study, suggested in his interview that an English trainer could “shadow” the trainee during a typical day at work, to be there as the telephone was answered, as emails were opened, and to observe interactions during meetings. In this way, the trainer could observe actual communication in progress, which could form the base for discussion and analysis of not just language, but language being used in context. Rémi’s ideas would appear to offer a more effective solution to training adults in the workplace than isolating the trainer and trainee in a

training room, where the focus necessarily has to be on English as a “thing” rather than English as a practice.

## 2.3 And why should we care? The “heart of globalisation”

As Machan (2013) points out, “What is English?” is only half the question. The second, perhaps more important part, is, “And why should we care?” Park and Wee believe we should most certainly care because the role of English, they believe, is a “major issue” in the globalized world (2012, p. 7). Crystal’s statistics reveal how English is imbricated in a vast range of domains worldwide:

mother tongue speakers have now reached around 400 million; a further 600 million use English as a second language; and a further 600 million use it fluently as a foreign language ... More radical estimates ... have suggested that the overall total (speakers) is these days around 2,000 million. ... English is used as an official or semi-official language in over 60 countries, and has a prominent place in a further 20. ... It is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music and advertising. Over two-thirds of the world’s scientists write in English. ... In any one year, up to 1,000 million foreign students are learning English, in various parts of the world. (Crystal, 2010, p. 370).

To these statistics can be added information from FutureLearn, which reported that the British Council’s MOOC “Understanding IELTS: Techniques for English Language tests” had become the world’s biggest free online course with 400,000 registrations from 153 countries (FutureLearn, 2015 by email). And, as I write, the *Times Educational Supplement* reports a “fifty-fold increase” in the courses in European universities being taught in English (Bothwell, 2017).

English skills are believed to provide “a key to the global economy” and are considered “critical for continued progress upstream in the education system or access to better-paying jobs” (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 10) or, as Sutherland puts

it, “If anyone anywhere wants to get ahead nowadays, an ability to speak English is obligatory. We take it for granted ...” (2002, cited in Seargeant, 2012b, p. 10). Graddol is unambiguous about the complicity of English with globalization and its impact on individuals and societies:

English has at last become of age as a global language. It is a phenomenon which lies at the heart of globalisation: English is redefining national and individual identities worldwide; shifting political fault lines; creating new global patterns of wealth and social exclusion; and suggesting new notions of human rights and responsibilities of citizenship (2006, p. 12).

As I point out in Méraud (2014b) it is difficult to find any disagreement with Graddol’s claim. In fact, Blommaert goes even further in his assertion that, “The topic of English, its spread and its many modified varieties, worldwide, defines the sociolinguistics of globalization in its current form.” (2010, p. 182). While for many in the world, as Hewings and Tagg point out, English is the language of “opportunity, economic prosperity, mobility and freedom” (2012, p. 2) for others it can be “a symbol or tool of repression, disadvantage and cultural supremacy” (2012, p. 2). Park and Wee are less nuanced, asserting that “English, in its dominant conception, is a language of inequality, supporting and renewing relations of power” including “the class divisions that are reproduced as unequal access to English restricts the prospects of the poor in the educational and job market.” (2012, pp. 3-4). One of the key aims, thus, of this thesis is to determine how the negative aspects of English and globalization can be ameliorated through the provision of accessible, quality language education for those who need to use English professionally.

Although there is a consensus (Pennycook, 2010; Seargeant, 2012a; Canagarajah, 2007; Seidlhofer 2011) that English and globalization are an interconnected phenomenon, the concept of “globalization” is, nevertheless, contested (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p. 22). Seargeant (2012a), Pennycook (2010) and Blommaert (2010) agree that globalization in its latest phase - boosted by the technological advances since the 1990s- entails a shift in consciousness regarding concepts of time, space, mobility and flows (of

people, capital, information). Fairclough (2006) agrees that globalization is a “real” phenomenon, but emphasizes that it is also a discourse. He points out that globalization discourses “contribute to creating and shaping actual processes of globalization” (2006, Introduction, “Language,” para. 5). To view Fairclough’s connection between the discourse of globalization and actual processes of globalization in terms of my professional context, an example would be someone who had absorbed the discourse that you cannot succeed in the modern workplace without English skills. This belief could lead to the person taking English lessons, becoming more confident in the language and then forging, for instance, a new business relationship with a Chinese supplier.

“Discourse,” however, is a freighted and, indeed, a “highly fashionable” concept (Alvesson, 2002, p. 68) with perhaps as many definitions as those who attempt to define it. I will grapple with definitions of the term several times in this thesis, as “critical discourse analysis” and “discourse analysis” are my preferred methods of data analysis, but there are as yet no universal agreed-upon definitions or analytical processes, so these will need to be carefully delineated. Ball’s definition of discourse, however, is thought-provoking and is highly relevant to the French situation as the construct of “the Republic” – central, I argue, to understanding France and language attitudes – exemplifies Ball’s idea of discourse:

Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed. Words are ordered and combined in particular ways and other combinations are displaced or excluded. ... We do not speak a discourse, it speaks us (1993, p. 14).

## 2.4 The last lingua franca?

The latest phase of globalization, according to Elliott, began with the fall of the Berlin Wall. He comments, “From that moment in 1989, the trends evident in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s accelerated: the free movement of capital, people and goods; trickle-down economics; a much diminished role for nation states; and a belief that market forces, now unleashed were unstoppable” (2016). Although he does not specify, he is actually describing a form of neoliberalism, which Rizvi and Lingard consider “the dominant view of globalization” (2010, p. 31). They define neoliberalism as “a preference for the minimalist state, concerned to promote the instrumental values of competition, economic efficiency and choice, to deregulate and privatize state functions” (2010, p. 31). Indeed, Hollande’s training policy contains neoliberal elements. For the first time in France, for instance, individuals were put in charge of organizing their language training without necessarily having to consult with their employers as previously. And verification of successful completion of training was handed to international organizations such as ETS Global, who administer the TOEIC examination – one of the first examinations to be approved under the policy.

This thesis, however, was written between 2015 and 2018, a particularly turbulent period for democracy and governance in the “Anglosphere,” which saw the “Brexit” vote in the UK and the Trump presidency in the USA. Both events have been interpreted as a popular reaction against globalization (Lee, 2016; Sharma, 2016). Writing in 2010, however, Coupland was already noticing “visible political resistance to fast capitalist globalization” (p. 1) and as far back as 2006, Graddol warned that:

the future of English has become more closely tied to the future of globalisation itself. ... It is already possible to see another story unfolding, within the present century, in which present forms of globalisation give way to greater regionalism and more complex patterns of linguistic, economic and cultural power (p. 13).



Ostler (2010), in fact, predicts that English will be the last lingua franca. He defines “lingua franca” as “language of convenience” (2010, p. xv), and comments that “When (English) ceases to be convenient – however widespread it has been – it will be dropped, without ceremony, and with little emotion” (2010, p. xv). The world, he posits, “will shrug and go on transacting its business in whatever language or combination of languages next seems useful” (2010, p. xv).

As the current lingua franca of the globalized world, English is clearly vulnerable when globalizing tendencies contract. English trainers need to be aware that changes could be afoot and work on developing “linguaging” (Seidlhofer, 2011) strategies, or skills that can be transferred to the learning of other languages, with their trainees. For instance, I have worked with two trainees who, after having reached a level where they felt comfortable in English, changed tack and went back to work on another language in their repertoire that was less developed than English, but was useful in their workplaces. One instance is documented in this thesis (my discussion of “Betty” in Chapter 7). These trainees may have been prescient.

## **2.5 Summary of debates around English and globalization and implications for RQ1: “What are the sociopolitical implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?”**

Globalization has renewed the “what is language” debate, with the Saussurean view of language as system still holding sway among learners and governments, despite theorists pointing to alternate conceptions of language as something people do, often employing multilingual repertoires to achieve communication goals. The essentialist view of language has allowed English to become a powerful linguistic capital that can be exchanged for economic capital on the job market. France is a key example of a state that historically defined itself through its national language, and by denying the multilingualism on its territory. However, France must face the phenomenon

of English and globalization, which, as Deneire's (2008) research illustrates, is not something “out there,” but is something that is happening within French organizations and, in some cases, resulting in considerable stress, as not everyone has had equal access to quality English training, thus existing social differences are deepened. To add to this complex picture, there are signs that anti-globalization feeling is increasing and – as Graddol (2006) warns – the future of English as a lingua franca is tied to globalization. In terms of this research, the sociopolitical implications of teaching English to French adults are considerable in light of the inequalities that can be exacerbated by the use of English in the globalized workplace. Clearly, access to high-quality, subsidized English education and training is required in the interim, and, in view of globalizing changes, similar measures should be in place to allow for the learning of other languages. As a priority then, this research interrogates the Hollande government’s training reform (detailed in Chapter 5) to comprehend better why English (and other languages) were initially not deemed suitable for public subsidy.

**Section 2.6** examines the implications of English as the world’s lingua franca for research questions 2 and 3:

***RQ2:** Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

***RQ3:** How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what?).*

## **2.6 English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)**

Notwithstanding Ostler’s predictions of the forthcoming demise of English as the world’s preferred lingua franca (2010), and Pennycook’s assertions that languages are a modernist, nationalist construct (2010), English, in 2018, as Mikanowski (2018) reminds us, “is everywhere, and everywhere, English dominates.” The phenomenon means that much communication in English takes place between “non-native” English speakers (Seidlhofer, 2011), and an

English as a lingua franca (ELF) research movement evolved in the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to investigate the implications of this phenomenon.

ELF then refers to “any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 7), and also to the research movement. ELF, the phenomenon as defined by Seidlhofer, is relevant to this research project, as those French adults who needed English for the workplace would usually be using English to speak to those of a different first language (or L1). This was the case for one of my learner interviewees, “Idryss,” who was learning English to speak with Italian equipment manufacturers. ELF, the research movement, is also relevant to this project as – at least in the early days of its evolution – ELF research focused on which features of English had the most impact on international intelligibility. Jenkins’s *The Phonology of English as an International Language* (2000), for instance, offers useful pointers as to which phonological features were critical to international communication. The book was well received (Ferguson, 2009, p. 120) and has been tested empirically (Zoghbor, 2010). At the outset, I believed that ELF research could offer useful pointers to which features of English to teach to adults in a professional context, where time was very restricted. This belief is reflected in my second research question:

***RQ2:** Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

The research question, thus, required an exploration of the ELF research field to determine if, in fact, such a thing as “a simplified lingua-franca English” actually existed. The exploration proved more complex than I imagined at the outset, as ELF research, in the brief space of 15 years, had evolved considerably. Nevertheless, ELF research insights into how English is actually used in globalized contexts are invaluable, as is its problematization of the “native speaker” as the rightful owner of English.

My examination of the ELF literature is also related to the penultimate (bolded) element of my third research question, which is designed to examine whether there is a preference for “native speaker” teachers in France as in other international contexts (Llurda, 2018):

**RQ3:** *How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and **by whom** (or what)?*

### 2.6.1 ELF : Origins and challenges

ELF emerged from the classroom reflections of Jenkins, now considered, with Seidlhofer, to be one of the founders of the ELF movement. As a teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in London in the 1980s, Jenkins observed:

I was teaching students from all around the world. I would be teaching them things like the difference between the present perfect and the simple past, that they should learn which nouns are uncountable so you mustn't say advices and informations. I was teaching them to go th and the. Don't do t and d or s and z. ... And after I'd been doing this for a while, I noticed that once I wasn't teaching them at the moment, they stopped doing all these things. And they were talking to each other without any of these things, and it was all going very smoothly. And they were having very good conversations but not doing the things I had taught them. There were sometimes slight breakdowns, but they very quickly resolved them. And I was fascinated, I thought, what's going on here? Is there any point in me teaching them all this stuff when they're not using it anyway and actually, they're going to have international careers. They're going to be using their English with people who are mostly, if not all, going to be non-native English speakers (Jenkins, 2014).

Jenkins's reflections led to the publication of *The phonology of English as an international language* (2000) in which she set out a lingua franca core (LFC) of the essential features of English phonology deemed important for international intelligibility. The LFC includes most consonant sounds (except the dental fricatives) and emphasizes the importance of nuclear or tonic stress. From the outset, it appeared that the priority for the nascent field of ELF was to facilitate spoken exchange between English speakers with different first languages.

With this aim in mind, Seidlhofer's "Charter for ELF Pedagogy" summarized the advice of the ELF research field to English teachers:

- Most users of English are not "native speakers;" nevertheless, they can communicate effectively in English
- Language that has been "only partially and imperfectly learnt" can be used to communicate
- Language educators can either continue teaching to "native speaker" standards or teach a language that better reflects actual usage
- The first option leads to failure and relegation of vast numbers of people "to the limbo of interlanguage"
- Abandon teaching English to native-speaker standards and develop "a capability for effective use" based on "whatever linguistic resources" that are available
- The focus changes from learning a language to "learning *to language*"
- Learning to language "involves the use of strategies for making sense, negotiating meaning, co-constructing understanding, and so on"
- Learners' own languages may also come into play during languaging to facilitate communication

...

(summarized from Seidlhofer, 2011, pp. 197-198)

Of particular interest, in light of Blommaert's concept of language repertoires, is Seidlhofer's distinction between "learning a language" and "learning *to language*," which presumably means that the learner or user is able to employ whatever linguistic resources they have in their repertoires, as well as paralinguistic resources, to facilitate communication. There is a rather prescriptive tone to the Charter, however, which begs the question: "Are learners really happy to learn a truncated version of English?" Timmis (2002) asked the question and discovered that his learners actually aspired to "native speaker" levels, but eventually settled for less. Timmis advises teachers that "While it is clearly inappropriate to foist native-speaker norms on students who neither want nor need them, it is scarcely more appropriate to offer students a target which manifestly does not meet their expectations" (2002, p. 249).

To complement Jenkins's work on the phonology of ELF, Seidlhofer focused, through the establishment of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of

English (VOICE), on the examination of the lexico-grammar of ELF (VOICE, n.d.). Analysis of the VOICE corpus has allowed the following lexico-grammatical features of ELF usage to be identified:

- “Dropping” the third person present tense ‘s’ eg, “he take” instead of “he takes”
- “Confusing” the relative pronouns “who” and “which”
- “Leaving out” words like “a” and “the” where they are obligatory in native speaker English, and putting them in where they do not occur in native speaker English
- “Failing to use correct forms” in tag questions, e.g. isn't it? or no? instead of shouldn't they?
- Inserting prepositions where they are not needed, as in “We have to study about...”
- “Overusing” certain verbs which are very general in meaning, such as do, have, make, put, take
- “Replacing” infinitive constructions with that-clauses, as in “I want that we go swimming” instead of “...to go swimming”
- “Overdoing” explicitness, e.g. saying “black colour” rather than just “black” (elanguages, University of Southampton, 2018)

Instead, however, of the above being a listing of the lexico-grammatical features of ELF, another interpretation could be that these features are those frequently observed in intermediate learners and would be noted as simple “errors” if they appeared in a student debate, presentation, essay or email.

Despite ELF usage diverging from “native speaker” Englishes, Seidlhofer emphasized that

Misunderstandings are not frequent in ELF interactions; when they do occur, they tend to be resolved either by topic change or, less often, by overt negotiation using communication strategies such as rephrasing and repetition. ... As long as a certain threshold of understanding is obtained, interlocutors seem to adopt what Firth (1996) has termed the ‘let-it-pass principle’, which gives the impression of ELF talk being overtly consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive, and thus fairly robust. (2004, p. 218).

Park and Wee, however, question ELF’s “instrumental” focus: “as long as the speakers understand each other, little else is assumed to matter” (2012, p. 47)

and the generally “rather optimistic picture of ELF interactions” (2012, p. 48). Seidlhofer’s assertions are supported, however, by researchers such as Firth in a study of L2 telephone interactions (2009, pp. 137-150) and by Cogo and Dewey (2012, p. 136). Kankaaranta and Louhiala-Salminen’s “BELF” (Business English as a Lingua Franca) research similarly reveals that “misunderstandings were extremely rare” as a “shared business context helped when words were lacking” (2010, p. 207).

There are, however, findings to the contrary. Charles and Marschan-Piekkari, for instance, studied communication in English across the subsidiaries of a Finnish multinational. Sixty-five percent of those interviewed expressed difficulty understanding the English of colleagues from another part of the world (2002, pp. 17-19). Similarly, Ehrenreich’s research in a German multinational registered a wide range of emotions - including “bitter frustration” - regarding the use of English as the organization’s lingua franca (2010, p. 140). Deneire, as I document in Section 2.9.1, goes further in pointing to death and disability as the result of an uncritical use of English in the French workplace (2008).

With the development of the LFC and the VOICE corpus, the early years of ELF research could, therefore, be characterised by efforts to codify ELF as an emerging variety of English: ELF as a system – albeit an alternative system to English as a native language - rather than as a practice.

Early ELF researchers were influenced by Kachru’s “Three-Circle World Englishes Model” (Jenkins, 2015, p. 54). Kachru denoted the five “native speaker” countries (the US, the UK, New Zealand, Australia and Canada) as the “Inner Circle.” The “Outer Circle” countries are those that English reached through colonisation and where English has the status of an official language and include India, Singapore and the Philippines. The “Expanding Circle” countries are the EFL countries such as France or China. Although his model is not without criticism (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 65; Pennycook, 2010, p. 246)

Kachru, whose death was announced during the writing of this thesis, leaves behind an important legacy with the insistence that rather than being a “single, monolithic entity” (Seargeant, 2012a, Chapter 1, “Strengths and limitations,” para. 1), “English” can be conceived of as existing in the form of several world Englishes or varieties.

The first phase of ELF research, which I have outlined above (categorized by Jenkins (2015) as “ELF 1”), did not clarify what Seidlhofer herself admitted was the central problem of ELF – how it could be taught. She admitted that the “central pedagogic problem, still as relevant and as unresolved now as ever, (is) deciding what formal or functional features of the language as a whole are to be focused on as appropriate for learning.” (2011, p. 176).

Although ELF has drawn attention to the apparent change of “ownership” of English in the world (from “native” to “non-native” speakers) and how this may affect language learning and teaching, ELF, nevertheless, raises significant issues.

## **2.6.2 Is ELF just poor English?**

Grenfell considers ELF to be an “interlanguage” (2012, p. 221). Indeed, it is possible to hypothesize that ELF is the spoken language of those users whose language has fossilized at an operational level, or as it described in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2018), the “threshold” or B1 level. 2015 data from ETS Global (the organization that sets the widely used TOEIC test) supports this idea. Out of more than five million test-takers in 46 countries, the mean result was 605 (out of a possible maximum of 998): a score that is closer to the B1 (550 points) level than the B2 (785 points) level (ETS TOEIC, 2015, p. 5) and ETS TOEIC, 2012). More than a third of test-takers were in full-time employment with a similar number indicating that they “sometimes” had difficulty



communicating in English despite almost half using English daily. Blommaert and Backus (2011, p. 29) caution that language-measuring instruments such as the TOEIC are “a form of science fiction”; however, the ETS statistics lend some credence to the idea that a vast number of people around the world who have to use English professionally may not have achieved the level that the European Union describes as “Vantage” (Upper Intermediate). Research by Aarhus University, however, indicates that a level of at least B2 is required for successful communication in the workplace (Nielsen, Bergholt and Pedersen, 2012). Saulière agrees (2014a).

Indeed, Mufwene is struck that “the proportion of confident speakers (of English in the world) is way below the expected yield, considering all the energy, time, and money invested in teaching and learning English” (2010, pp. 45-46). This point goes to the heart of my study. Language training in France before the Hollande reform was a €370 million per annum business (in terms of turnover to language schools, Benoît et al, 2015, p. 7), but the return on investment of these funds falls far short of what would be expected, as significant numbers of French adults, like their counterparts around the world, remain around a B1 level (Nielsen, Bergholt and Pedersen, 2012).

### **2.6.3 Is ELF just poor motivation?**

Could the reason why so many ELF users around the world remain at a lower intermediate level be related to motivational issues? As Ushioda and Dörnyei explain, Gardner and Lambert’s research in the 1950s pointed to “integrative” motivation as being a key factor in successful second language acquisition (2009, p. 2). That is that learners need to have an interest and identification with the speakers and cultures of their target language. However, Ushioda and Dörnyei question “whether we can apply the concept of integrative orientation when there is no specific target reference group of speakers” as is the case with English in the world today (2009, p. 2).

These questions led Dörnyei to hypothesize an “L2 motivational self system” which aims to link motivation to an individual learner’s “personal ‘core’” (2009, p. 9) rather than to identification with a group of target-language users. The central motivating elements in this schema are the “ideal L2 self” (a learner’s vision of themselves as a successful user of their target language) and the “ought-to L2 self” (the negative consequences if the learner does not reach their language-learning objectives). The “L2 learning experience” (for instance, the impact of the teacher and learning environment) also plays a motivational role (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29).

Lamb points out, however, that an L2 motivational self system, in addition to taking into consideration the impact of the educational context of the learner, also needs to take into account the influence of family and wider social, national and global influences. Lamb believes that the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, capital and field, which address the symbiotic relationship between society and individual agency, could form a valuable adjunct to L2 motivational self theory (2009, p. 231). A French learner’s habitus, which may have been formed by the strong association between the French language and French citizenship, could work against a learner’s vision of themselves as a successful English user and global citizen, for instance.

In subsequent chapters, I explore whether Bourdieu’s concept of “linguistic habitus” (deep-seated dispositions towards language acquired through primary and secondary socialization) could explain why higher levels of ease in English are so elusive.

#### **2.6.4 Is ELF just poor pedagogy?**

It is also possible to argue that a reason that a great number of those using English as a lingua franca are camped on the crowded B<sub>1</sub> plateau is because of how English is taught. I have mentioned already in Chapter 1 the negative light in which most French adults view how they were taught English at

school, and this is a recurring theme throughout the thesis. However, it is clear from the size of the “English-training industry” (Benoît et al, 2015, for instance) that a significant proportion of French adults receive what could be considered “remedial” English training after their years of compulsory education. But how effective is this training?

TESOL France et al’s research, for instance, which I introduced in Chapter 1, indicates that one-third of trainers polled in 2014 had no language-teaching qualifications. However, an equally significant finding was that two-thirds of trainers polled by TESOL France did have language-teaching qualifications, most frequently the Cambridge (CELTA) or Trinity College London (CertTESOL) certificates in teaching English to adults (54% of those polled) (Wickham, 2015a; Wright, 2016).

These qualifications are accepted as a “gold standard” internationally for those wishing to enter the ELT profession, and thereby to be “qualified” to teach English (Dewey & Patsko, 2018). The awards, often taking just one month to complete, privilege learning to organize classroom activities rather than language analysis or consideration of the implications of English as a lingua franca (Dewey & Patsko, 2018). The epistemological base for these certifications is the highly influential Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach (Harmer, 2007, p. 71), whose principles include:

- language is learned through communicative use
- classroom activities should involve authentic communication
- fluency is important
- communication involves integrating the different language skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening)
- language learning involves trial and error (from Richards and Rodgers, 2001, p. 172)

Bax argues, however, that CLT with its one-size-fits-all approach “has always neglected one key aspect of language teaching – namely the context in which it takes place” (2003, p. 278). However, Bax is unable to imagine an English-teaching context that is outside the typical language classroom. He comments

that, “a key part of good teaching is understanding and being able to analyse and reflect on the culture, the classroom, the pupils’ needs” (Bax, 2003, p. 281). Indeed, although the syllabus for the Cambridge CELTA qualification does address cultural differences, it is still based on the assumption that English teachers will be teaching adults in a classroom (Cambridge English, 2017). Much adult English teaching in France, however, takes place outside the classroom situation – from speeding commuter trains to dusty corners of factories. The question, then, is how valid are the CELTA and the CertTESOL qualifications to furnish the skills necessary to train, often individual, adults in a wide variety of non-classroom settings? To illustrate the complexity of English-training in France, as part of my questionnaire, I asked trainers to comment on a case study closely based on a recent training scenario that I had experienced:

*You have been offered a 20-hour contract to teach the duo of René-Pierre (level A1-) and Anne-Laure (level A2+). They work for a small French subsidiary of a company that makes the small erasers that fit at the top of wooden pencils. Anne-Laure is a bubbly 27-year-old accountant, who is enthusiastic about learning English for her personal travel plans and her job. René-Pierre is a quiet 56-year-old warehouse manager, who is nervous about having to use English at work. He has not travelled outside of France apart from a school trip to Portsmouth when he was 12. ... The company wants the pair to do an internationally recognised exam in English after their 20-hour training, as well as having enough English to participate in an upcoming company-wide meeting to discuss moving manufacturing processes towards “Just-in-Time” production. The company is aiming for English to be the working language across the group by 2018. René-Pierre and Anne-Laure will have 10 two-hour lessons together every week ... It is likely that this format will be repeated for the next two years. Describe how you would go about developing a syllabus and teaching René-Pierre and Anne-Laure.*

Apart from concerns about which language features to prioritize, other significant issues that a trainer would have to take into account would include:

- trainees of different levels, different motivations, different backgrounds and different functions in the company
- the corporate culture and technical background of the company
- understanding of the implications of “Just-in-time” production
- training for an examination

Trainers in France, like those in the TESOL France survey, could have several different, but equally complex, training scenarios like this *every day*. Unlike classroom teaching, the trainer “in the field” is at the frontline of ELF use and can appreciate the context where their trainees have to operate in English. A trainee’s livelihood and self-esteem could be at stake. For instance, 56-year-old “René-Pierre” (above), who would be near to the French retirement age, if unable to demonstrate progress in English could be vulnerable to being marginalized, and having to wait out the remainder of his career on the sidelines. Indeed, this supposition is borne out in Deneire’s research, which suggests an “English divide” in the French workplace (2008).

Cambridge English suggest that 200 “guided learning hours” are needed to progress from one rung to the next highest rung of the six-level CEFR language ability reference system. “Anne-Laure” (above), (level A2) should, therefore, with 20 hours of training per year, in around *ten years* arrive at the B1 level (Cambridge English, n.d.). Brown and Larson-Hall confirm that “many hundreds of hours of input and practice are needed to learn to speak and comprehend (not to mention to read and write!) a second language” (2012, p. 17).

Preparing adults for workplace English use is an important and useful role, but even “qualified” trainers receive little or no guidance in this area (Dewey & Patsko, 2018). Moreover, the commodification and selling of English in hourly increments would appear to militate against learners progressing beyond (or even reaching) the B1 plateau. I believe that overcoming these impasses to learning and teaching English for the workplace are important areas of research affecting, as they do, the lives of potentially millions of people in France alone. However, it appears that the ELF movement is moving away from investigations into ELF pedagogy.

## **2.7 Taking the “E” out of ELF**

Jenkins posits that, in a phase of development she terms “ELF2” (around 2008), ELF theorizing began to drift away from the idea of ELF codification towards a focus on “ELF’s variability” (Jenkins, 2015, p. 55). Noting the “increasingly diverse multilingual nature of ELF communication,” Jenkins posits that the movement has now entered a third stage or “ELF 3” which foregrounds multilingualism. (2015, p. 63). She posits that for ELF users, “English is only one language among others present or latent in any interaction. Its multilingual nature therefore needs to be given greater theoretical prominence than hitherto” (2015, p. 61).

In its short life, ELF theorizing has thus moved from conceiving of ELF as a “thing,” or possible variety of English, to ELF as something that people do in the presence of other languages. In so doing, however, ELF theorists are moving further away from the pressing pedagogical issue of how to help adults prepare to use their English in the international workplace.

## **2.8 Summary of debates around ELF and implications for RQ2 (“Which variety of English should be taught ... ?) and RQ3 (“How should English be taught ... ?)**

After some initial steps (the establishment of a Lingua Franca Core phonology and the VOICE corpus, for instance) towards conceptualizing ELF as a new variety of English like Kachru’s World Englishes, there proved too much variety in ELF exchanges to codify it. This was a disappointing finding in view of my research, as I was interested in exploring the possibility of teaching a simplified international English to those who needed English for professional purposes – or to have, at least, some sort of hierarchy of which features of English would be most essential for international professional communication. The features of ELF that have been identified (such as the omission of the third-person ‘s’) are likely simply the features of “standard English” that learners, from different first languages, share in common – especially as most

of those using English professionally in the world have only attained a lower intermediate level of ability. However, in its own movement away from conceptualizing ELF as system to ELF as practice, there is perhaps a lesson for me. For like the teachers Wright and Zheng refer to who are “aware that learners needed a pedagogy that addressed practices as well as systems” in my search for an ELF system, I was “still wedded to the idea of stability” (2018, p. 511). As Wright and Zheng suggest (2018, p. 515), the system/practice debate is still in its infancy – in other words, there is a classic research gap (or lacuna). My research with non-native and native English-speaking teachers, and a group of adult learners who needed English for very different workplaces may prove to be a valuable contribution to this conversation.

## **2.9 English and France: “A complicated story”**

Although published material (in peer-reviewed journals or books) is scant, research on the use of English in France among adults is a field that is attracting attention. For those researching English in France in the thirty years since Flaitz published the oft-cited *The ideology of English: French perceptions of English as a world language* (1998) to Leistiko’s recent dissertation “Attitudes to English in the French workplace” (2015), a recurring theme is the attitudes or perceptions of French university students and other adult learners towards English as world lingua franca. Bakke’s Master’s comes to the point in asking “Do the French like English? A study of French attitudes to English” (2004). D’Eye in a 2005 EdD thesis investigates “students’ perceptions of the English language and Anglo-American culture in France” and attempts to tease out the nuances between attitudes and perceptions and their impact on learning. All of these studies emphasize the importance of the French language in defining French citizenship and the ambivalent or negative official attitudes that have prevailed towards English – themes that Ager explored in his study *Identity, insecurity and image : France and language* (1999). These researchers are, thus, drawn to how the specific language ideology of France informs university-age or adult learner attitudes.

Clapson and Hyatt are also interested in ideology and are one of the few research teams who investigate the impact of policy on language attitudes, albeit with regard to university teachers of English. They note that a “characteristic of the French context is the ambiguous status of, and ambivalence to, English itself” (2007, p. 626) and underscore the “crucial importance” of “the symbolic and political space occupied by the French language in France” (p. 627).

Most researchers (Saulière, 2014b; Nielsen, Bergholt and Pedersen, 2012, for example) are struck by the “complicated relationship” with English that characterizes both the government and research subjects. Le Lièvre, in a doctoral thesis, which examines both student and workplace attitudes towards English, perhaps explains this best:

The English language, in France, is a complex, diverse and contradictory web ... English is ever-present in the scientific and technical fields and as language of business and trade. It plays a growing role as a vernacular language in the media industry, which has bestowed a status comparable to a second language upon it. ... English in France can occupy diverse statuses and functions even for the same person. English can be a foreign language for some people; it can be something which resembles a second language for others, lingua franca or communication language ... for a young adult, there is often more exposure to English outside school than in school. (2008, pp. 212-3) (my translation).

This thesis – while acknowledging its debt to these researchers – aspires to a broader, yet deeper, approach to adult English learning through viewing the issue of adult language learning and teaching from the intertwined perspectives of government policy, adult learners and their trainers through a Bourdieusian approach hinged on his concepts of habitus, field and capital.

Habitus is a potentially fruitful concept that – rather than examining attitudes and perceptions – attempts to unearth the underlying dispositions which “incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (Thompson, 2016/1991, p. 12).



These dispositions are inculcated during primary and secondary socialization and are believed to be relatively durable over time.

### 2.9.1 Not all good

The work of Saulière (2014a, 2014b) and Deneire (2009) is particularly relevant to this thesis as both explore English use in the French workplace. Both express reservations about a workplace where English is increasingly expected of those of all levels in the corporate hierarchy. As Saulière notes, “English is penetrating more and more deeply into organizations and is touching more and more people of all functions and at all levels of the hierarchy” (2014a, p.163, my translation). Saulière’s PhD research is based on 17 case studies in nine private companies, whereas Deneire’s mixed methods research highlights what he describes as an “English divide” in the French private-sector workplace (2008).

Deneire pulls no punches in introducing his research – he frames English as the chief culprit in the deaths of four hospital patients and the serious disability caused to a further 20. He refers to the 2007 findings of an investigation into over-radiation of patients in a hospital where key software had no French translation (2008). He suggests that this incident is probably just one “of the many dysfunctions that occur in the workplace every day all over the world” because of an “unreasoned” and “unreasonable” use of English (2008, p. 181). This is a serious accusation, which really merits further investigation and evidence. His outrage could also be related to the fact that in France, encoded in law, is the right to use French in the workplace. The *Loi Toubon* (144) 94-665 of 4 August 1994 states: “Language of the Republic by virtue of the Constitution, the French language is a fundamental element of the personality and heritage of France. It is the language of teaching, work, exchange and public services” (cited in Saulière, 2014b, p. 224). Nevertheless, as Saulière (2014b, p. 225) points out, enforced by a group of only 20 people (the *Délégation générale à la langue française*, DGLF) the law is widely flouted

by companies and often mocked with its nickname the “All good law” (based on the English translation of Toubon or *tout bon*).

The flouting of the *Loi Toubon* allows for situations in companies where workers’ confidence and contribution can be seriously eroded, as Deneire documents:

Many older managers put considerable effort into the learning of English, but have the impression that their English will never be good enough to “compete” with their younger colleagues and with “native speakers” of English. This leads to considerable levels of linguistic insecurity. As a result, they often prefer to remain silent, which often leads to frustration and resistance, and to a waste of unique experience and expertise for the company (2008, p. 189).

Deneire’s observations of the stresses engendered by linguistic insecurity and lack of confidence in using English in the workplace go to the heart of my overarching research question:

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” (Newton and Kusmierczyk, 2011, p. 88) learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

Rather than there being pressure on all employees to achieve high levels of English ability, Deneire suggests a differentiated approach to English in the workplace, which would allow those employees with irregular contact with a wide range of non-native speakers to deploy whatever language resources they have at their disposal. Although he does not mention Blommaert’s repertoires, I think this is what is meant here. The group of employees he describes as “laptop managers,” who would deal with both native and non-native interlocutors, would be expected to have higher levels of competence in English. His final group would be language experts ready to provide “templates, translation or terminology” to the other groups (2008, pp. 190-191).

Saulière documents similar issues with English in the French workplace as Deneire, concluding that, what he calls, the “Anglicization” of the French workplace is “unrelenting and unavoidable” as it is “deeply anchored in the behaviour of employees and in the economic logic of company management” (2014a, p. 373, my translation). He advocates for a workplace that values the multilingualism of its workforce.

## **2.10 Summary of the research field of English in the French workplace and its implications for RQ4: “How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?”**

Most of those who have researched in this field are interested in the attitudes of French adults towards English as a lingua franca as an explanation of the levels of linguistic insecurity that are usually observed. The specific policy that has received the most attention is the *Loi Toubon* and its perceived inefficacy in protecting the rights of French workers to work in French. All researchers are cognizant of the primacy of the French language and its reinforcement as a marker of French citizenship by the highly centralized education system. My research acknowledges its debt to those who are working in this new field, but attempts a broader (through examining training policy and how English is taught, as well as the perceptions of adult learners for the workplace) and deeper (through the use of Bourdieusian thinking tools such as habitus and linguistic habitus to penetrate beneath attitudes and perceptions to the dispositions that engender attitudes and perceptions).

## **2.11 Summary of Chapter 2**

This chapter placed this research in relation to three key areas: globalization and English, English as a lingua franca, and English in the French workplace. Areas where the research will contribute to existing knowledge will be in minimizing the inequality associated with the global rise of English; contributing to the ELF field in terms of English being a practice rather than a “thing” and adding breadth and depth to research on the use of English in the French workplace. From all three areas there is a shift towards considering multilingualism as being more important in the future and a sense that globalization is shifting gear.

## Chapter 3 : Repatriating Bourdieu : Conceptual and research frame

### 3.1 Habitus plus

**Chapter 1** introduced the Hollande government's 2015 training reform, which had the specific aim of curbing the blight of unemployment. Curiously, English – the most demanded subject for workplace training, and a key factor in an individual's employability (Benoît et al, 2015) – was initially omitted from the government's lists of subsidized courses. The omission caused disruption in the English-training field and much training was lost. These upheavals put a stop to “business as usual” in the English-teaching world in France and opened up a reflective space whereby the organization of English training for the globalizing workplace could be problematized. These reflections led to my multi-faceted overarching research question:

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” (Newton and Kusmierczyk, 2011, p. 88) learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

A first step, as I explain in **Chapter 2**, was to ask Machan's (2013) question: “What is English? And why should we care?” in order to situate my study in light of growing debates (Kostoulas, 2010) about the complicity of English with globalization and the possibility that new inequalities could be created for those without access to what has become a valuable linguistic capital (Graddol, 2006).

Linguistic capital is a term that is associated with the work of Bourdieu and this chapter explores why I chose Bourdieusian concepts to frame this research. In fact, as a French thinker whose 40-year contribution to modern sociology was focused on the centrality of language to identity, and who was increasingly critical of the neoliberal aspects of globalization in France,

Bourdieu has much to offer this investigation of French adults learning English for a globalizing workplace.

Since his death in 2002, Bourdieu's interlocking conceptual tools habitus, capital and field have continued to enrich research, particularly in education and the social sciences. Recent Sheffield doctorates, for instance, explore the habitus of nursing (Hayes, 2012) and undergraduate habituses (LePlay, 2013). Most of Bourdieu's work and research focused on the French context (Murphy & Costa, 2016) and, although his concepts have proved their adaptability internationally, they have a particular relevance and resonance in France, as I will highlight in this chapter. I have thus entitled the chapter "Repatriating Bourdieu" to signal that I am bringing his concepts back from other countries and contexts to bear on issues emerging from the specificities of France.

In drawing on Bourdieu in this research, however, I am aware that there are concerns about the number of studies that reference Bourdieusian concepts without connecting them explicitly to the research conducted. Reay, for instance, decries the "habitual use of habitus in educational research" (2004, p. 432). This research does, I believe, avoid this trap as not only is the research architecture based on Bourdieusian concepts, but Bourdieu's insights in the areas of language, globalization, researcher reflexivity, the conduct of research, and the reproduction of elites are also drawn on.

**Section 3.2** goes on to explore Bourdieu's approach to language. **Section 3.3** examines Bourdieu's late life transition from academic to anti-globalization activist, which connects with **Section 3.4** which explores the lessons that can be learned from Bourdieu's *The weight of the world* (1999) about research design and ethics. **Sections 3.5** and **3.6** examine two of Bourdieu's most significant contributions to the sociological field: the idea of researcher reflexivity and the reproduction of elites. **Section 3.7** presents the "thinking tools": habitus, capital and field, with **Section 3.8** and **3.9** considering the related concepts of linguistic market and linguistic habitus. **Section 3.10**

explains how I designed my research around Bourdieusian concepts. **Section 3.11** explores criticism of Bourdieu and **Section 3.12** summarizes the chapter.

## 3.2 Bourdieu and language

Language was always central to Bourdieu's sociology, but, as Grenfell points out, "somewhat curiously" Bourdieu's ideas have been "relatively underused by language specialists" (2012, p. 1 and p. 3) owing perhaps to the fragmented specializations of the fields of linguistics. From his early studies in Algeria and the Béarn region of France, where he grew up, to his critiques of Saussure, Chomsky, Labov and other 20<sup>th</sup>-century linguists, Bourdieu believed that words were never neutral but are exchanged in "dynamic social spaces where issues of power are always at stake" (Grenfell, 2012, p. 2). A Bourdieusian approach to studying language issues points to a "third way" of envisaging language which goes beyond my discussion in Chapter 2 of language as system or language as practice. A Bourdieusian approach, which posits a linguistic habitus, accounts for the early experiences of an individual immersed in the language(s) of their family or caregivers, their later exposure to language(s) at school, as well as the (implicit or explicit) values ascribed to different language forms by the society(ies) where the child grows up - values, which, in turn, are influenced increasingly by globalized discourses. The approach thus allows an interrogation of the relationship between early language experiences and the later acquisition of subsequent languages, and may shed light on French adults' linguistic insecurity. I evaluate the concept of linguistic habitus in Chapter 7, where I probe the dispositions towards learning English of eight adult learners.

There is some evidence that Bourdieu shared his fellow citizens' linguistic insecurity. Pierre Carles's film *La sociologie est un sport de combat (Sociology is a martial art)* (2001), for instance, opens with Bourdieu, participating by video link in English in an academic conference in the United States chaired

by Edward Said. The film pauses at one point, and Bourdieu turns to the cameraperson admitting:

It's terrifying to have such stage fright. My mouth is all dry. Luckily I had a glass of water. It's incredible. (Putting head in hands) It's hard. It's really terrible to be so nervous. That's linguistic insecurity for you. It would have been different in French. But that's life. (Translation from film subtitles).

Bourdieu's admission that giving a lecture in one's second language is hugely challenging - even for someone who was introduced as "a major world figure in sociology" - underscores the high level of self-confidence and skill that is required to use English in one's professional field. It also begs the question as to why Bourdieu felt obligated to give his talk in English. Said, the chair of the session, spoke French and Bourdieu could have been interpreted. I find it disturbing that even Bourdieu was subjugated by the perceived pressure to use English.

Bourdieu linked the hegemony of English specifically to American political and economic hegemony in a 1998 debate at the *Ecole normale supérieure* (Bourdieu and De Swaan, 1998, my translation). The debate also offered the opportunity for Bourdieu to offer a summary of his ideas about language:

When we speak of languages ... it's always also something else. Language is not only an instrument of communication. ... An instrument of communication can always become an instrument of power or of domination. But language is also ... an instrument to construct a social reality. Symbolic systems are not simply instruments to express reality but they contribute to the construction of the real. When it's about the social world, we can say that words make things, that there is a performative effect of language: to say that something is, is to contribute to making the things conform to what has been said. ... Political vocabulary, in particular, is not only descriptive but constructive and prescriptive, and it exercises political power. If we admit that language is not only an instrument of communication but that it also fulfils such functions as domination and construction of the real, then the discussion about the choice of language (in the European Union) becomes very difficult.

There is much of interest in Bourdieu's contribution to this debate. For instance, in the almost 20 years since, American political and economic



hegemony is in question in an increasingly multi-polar world. If Bourdieu is correct about the link between American hegemony and the hegemony of English, the status of English as a world language may begin to waver, a possibility that Graddol (2006) warns about (cited in Chapter 2).

### 3.3 Bourdieu and globalization

Indeed, globalization, in its neoliberal guise, was a preoccupation of Bourdieu in the latter part of his career, with Frangie (2009, p. 215) going so far as to consider Bourdieu “the champion of the struggle against neo-liberal globalization.” Bourdieu’s anti-globalization stance is highlighted in the film *La sociologie est un sport de combat* (*Sociology is a martial art* (Carles, 2001)).

Frangie marks the transition of Bourdieu from the academic field to overt political involvement with the publication (in France) in 1993 of *La misère du monde*, published as *The weight of the world* in 1999 in English. Comprising interviews with a swathe of French society from factory workers and farmers to teenage immigrants and judges, Bourdieu and his team of 23 sociologists set out to chronicle the zeitgeist of a society in economic and social transition as globalizing forces collided with norms of living and working that had been established since World War II or before. Fournier (2012b, p. 49, my translation) categorises the world Bourdieu et al depict as a “neoliberal world without pity.”

Indeed, the naissance of many of the trends in the French workplace of today, such as increasing precarity can be traced to Bourdieu’s team’s observations in *The weight of the world*. Since Bourdieu et al’s study the French workplace has continued to evolve in the direction that Bourdieu et al outlined. Deneire, for instance, points out that:

Manual work, including highly qualified work, has become extremely “cheap” on the job market as most such jobs are being exported to Third World countries. Conversely, technological and communicative skills have been gaining ground in the market. However, only certain

forms of knowledge and of communication skills are in a position to constitute symbolic and linguistic capital ... In today's business world, that ...is increasingly English. (2008, p. 182).

### **3.4 Bourdieu on the conduct of research**

As well as establishing a socio-cultural background for the research in this thesis, *The weight of the world* offers an object lesson in research methodology. The text offers a rare opportunity to examine extensive interview data in juxtaposition with the researcher's analysis of this data. Indeed, in highlighting the delicate balance required of the qualitative researcher whose "intrusion is as difficult as it is necessary" and which "must proclaim itself openly and yet strive to go unnoticed" (Bourdieu et al, 1999, p. 1), Bourdieu underscores the ethical dilemmas that researchers who use interview methodology must confront in "making *private* worlds *public*" (1999, p. 1) in pointing out that although everyone they spoke to "agreed to let us use their statements as we saw fit ... no contract carries as many unspoken conditions as one based on trust" (1999, p. 1).

While *The weight of the world* with its interview *mises-en-scène* certainly influenced this research (see for instance my analysis of the at-home interview with Ophélie in Chapter 7, Section 5.3), I think the ubiquity of the interview form, both in everyday life and as the de facto gold standard of qualitative research, trivializes what - Bourdieu rightly points out, and I discovered, as I document in Chapters 6 and 7 - is a difficult procedure always involving issues of power.

### **3.5 Researcher reflexivity**

Bourdieuian reflexivity goes beyond researcher self-awareness or what Maton dismisses as "autobiographical reflection" - "a (typically brief and disconnected) biography so that the audience 'knows where you're coming from'" (2003, p. 54). Indeed, Bourdieu is scathing of researchers who having "apparently exhausted the charms of fieldwork, have turned to talking about

themselves rather than the object of research” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 72). He explains that “What must be objectivised is not (only) the individual who does the research ... but the position she occupies in academic space and the biases implicated in the view she takes by virtue of being “off-sides” or “out of the game” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, pp. 71-72).

But what if the researcher is, in fact, a player in the “game” she is researching, as is the case of researchers like me who are researching their own professional contexts? Bourdieu, perhaps, would have looked favourably on the professional doctorate in that it allows researchers usually located in a field outside the academic field to view and conceptualize their field, and their position in the field, through the different vantage point offered by the academic field. However, a researcher having a foot in both the academic field and a workplace field can pose challenges, as I document below in my pilot study experience.

### **3.6 The reproduction of elites**

Since the publication in English in 1977 of Bourdieu and Passeron’s *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (published in 1970 in France as *La reproduction*), “reproduction,” Wacquant points out, (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 4), has been one of Bourdieu’s most influential concepts in international educational research. *Reproduction* pointed to the French school system as being an “invisible selection mechanism” (Dortier, 2012, p. 4, my translation) where “the Republic, in the name of equality for all, had re-established insidiously ... a new class barrier – that of culture.” Bourdieu and Passeron held that children from modest social backgrounds were at a disadvantage the moment they set foot in school, as there was a mismatch between their working class habitus (the way they spoke, their idea of “good” taste, idea of “culture,” communication style) and the middle class habitus of the education system. Bourdieu and Passeron insisted that:

The success of all school education ... depends fundamentally on the education accomplished in the earliest years of life, even and especially when the educational system denies this primacy in its ideology and practice by making the school career a history with no pre-history: (2000/1997, p. 43)

Bourdieu and Passeron's findings were dismaying for the Republic emerged from the unifying efforts of the national education system during the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century, rather than (as would seem more probable) the education system being set up after the establishment of the Republic (Hyatt & Méraud, 2015). Bourdieu critiqued the education system at a time when expectations were high that it was finally bringing about Republican equality.

Indeed, it cannot be overstated how central the education system is to French identity. Gumbel, for instance, in highlighting this centrality, comments: "The French often mock the Americans and their 'American dream' ... But France also has its own 'French dream'. It is called school. ... In every country that I have been to education has been a preoccupation ... but it is only in France that it is a real obsession." (2010, pp. 11-13, my translation). However, Gumbel reports a culture of humiliation in the classroom; an observation also made by Starkey Perret of her time as a language assistant in a junior school:

What I observed wasn't a language lesson, but an interrogation in which incorrect responses were punished with comments that, in my view, were intended to belittle the pupils (2012, p. 4) (my translation).

Indeed, historically, the education system was renowned for its severity (Méraud, 2014a), particularly with regard to its systematic marginalization of France's many indigenous languages in the belief that the French language alone defined a French citizen. Bourdieu and Passeron emphasize the importance of the linguistic capital of "good" French from the earliest years at school (2000/1977, p. 73) and throughout the school experience where "style is always taken into account" (2000/1977, p. 73), and they express a recurrent theme in Bourdieusian thought: that language is not simply an instrument of communication:

no one acquires a language without thereby acquiring a *relation to language*. In cultural matters the manner of acquiring perpetuates itself in what is acquired, in the form of a certain manner of using the acquirement, the mode of acquisition itself expressing the objective relations between the social characteristics of the acquirer and the social quality of what is acquired.” (2000/1997, p. 116)

The education system as a mechanism that reproduces inequality remains a subject of concern to this day in France. The radio phone-in show, “*Le téléphone sonne*” (“The telephone is ringing”) on the public radio station France Inter had for its subject on the evening of June 14, 2016 “The reproduction of the elites” (*La reproduction des élites*, 2016). Drawing an enthusiastic public response, the consensus of the debate was that the French education system remained extremely elitist. The sociologist on the panel, Camille Peugny, referred to research that confirmed Bourdieu’s comments in *Reproduction*. The latest PISA report, covering the year 2015, concurs in stating that in France “the relation between performance at school and socio-economic background is one of the most marked among the countries that participated in the study” (OECD, 2015, p. 2, my translation).

The idea that the French education system is a mechanism that reinforces social class differences rather than erasing them has significant implications for this research project. Block, for instance, states that, globally, it is the less well-off who are losing out on access to what has become the world’s lingua franca (2012). Better-off families have the economic, social and cultural capital to ensure that their children get the support they need to develop their skills in English. It is, thus, probable that those seeking English training as adults do so because English was not considered a priority as they were growing up for economic, social or cultural reasons. Their main exposure to English then would be through school. If the experience was a negative one – as almost 70% (9/13) of those completing my questionnaire for adult learners indicated – this could colour future encounters with the language.

In addition, the insistence on French as the defining feature of a French citizen, coupled with evidence that English is taught in the same way as French and to the same standards (Bakke, 2004, p. 108) could account for deep-seated, conflicted attitudes towards English, and linguistic insecurity.

Bakke, for instance, comments

If the French believe that they have to speak a second language with the same purity, clarity and rationality that they have been taught to do in their first language, it is not surprising that they are often found reluctant to speak other languages, for instance English. (2004, p. 108).

This research then explores whether Bourdieu's idea of a linguistic habitus – dispositions towards language set down during primary and secondary socialization – has an impact on how the adult trainees I surveyed approached learning English.

### **3.7 The thinking tools: habitus, capital, field**

Bourdieu appropriated the concept of habitus from Aristotelian philosophy to conceptualise how class and family mores were unconsciously internalised by individuals to constitute a physical, moral and aesthetic lens through which they viewed and interacted with the world. The concept of habitus was developed over the course of Bourdieu's career, but the "canonical" definition (Dortier, 2012) is from 1980's *Le sens pratique (The practical sense)*:

a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu 1990: 53 cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 104)

Maton (2014, pp. 51-52) explains that habitus "captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we make choices to act in certain ways and not others. ... At the same time, the social landscapes through which we pass (our contextual fields) are themselves evolving according to their own logic (to which we contribute)." In

other words habitus exists in a symbiotic relationship with a social setting or “field.”

Field, is considered by Dortier (2012, my translation) as “a small piece of the social world that functions autonomously, according to its own laws.” Fields function like “force fields” where individuals engage in a struggle to increase their capital. This can be economic capital or symbolic capital (non-financial capital). Symbolic capital includes cultural capital (education, diplomas, language or linguistic capital) and social capital (social networks).

### **3.8 The linguistic market**

Related to the concept of field is that of the linguistic market. Bourdieu viewed language as a “special kind of *field*” which could “traverse many social *fields* at the same time” (Grenfell, 2012, p. 51), for instance, the fields of education or the arts. Each field has its own languages, which have a value in relation to the dominant language – or “legitimate language” - of the field.

The concept of the linguistic market is particularly pertinent in relation to my research as the trainees I interviewed worked in very varied fields, which ranged from higher education and the civil service to information technology and engineering. The fact that these trainees were learning English with classmates from different fields (the majority of whom needed English for professional purposes) lends credence to the idea that there is an English linguistic market that traverses many fields of employment in France.

### **3.9 Linguistic habitus**

Underlying my research into how to prepare adult English learners for the globalizing workplace is an assessment of the explanatory capacity of the lightly researched concept of linguistic habitus. The clearest definition appears in Bourdieu’s *Language and Symbolic Power*:

a sub-set of the dispositions which comprise the habitus: it is that sub-set of dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts (the family, the peer group, the school etc.). These dispositions govern both the subsequent linguistic practices of an agent and the anticipation of the value that linguistic products will receive in other fields or markets – in the labour market, for example, or in the institutions of secondary or tertiary education. The linguistic habitus is also inscribed in the body and forms a dimension of the bodily hexis. A particular accent, for instance, is the product of a certain way of moving the tongue, the lips, etc. ... (Thompson, 2016/1991, p. 17).

The concept of a linguistic habitus has the potential to offer a more “holistic” approach to the study of language learning in adults than heretoforth as it insists on the interplay between social structure and individual agency. As Park and Wee point out feelings such as “anxiety, confidence, embarrassment, uneasiness, condescension ... in relation to other speakers, different social situations, and uses of language” although they may seem to be individual characteristics, may actually emerge from “the social conditions that gave rise to the habitus” (2012, p. 35).

The concept of the linguistic habitus could also provide a means of answering Bax’s plea to make English-language teaching more context-dependent than the dominant approach of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), which he claims has a “one-size-fits-all” approach to language teaching. Bax insists that CLT, as the dominant ELT methodology, be “demoted” (2003, p. 278) to make way for what he calls the “Context Approach.” He describes the Context Approach as an understanding of individual students, “as well as the coursebook, local conditions, the classroom culture, school culture, national culture, and so on” (2003, p. 285). Bax assumes that by giving these factors “their full importance” the teacher would then be able to identify a suitable approach and language focus. The approach would be “eclectic” but take place within the “framework of generating communication” – in other words, CLT “will not be forgotten” but will not be “allowed to overrule context.” He argues that learning context is the “key factor in successful language learning” (2003, p. 286), but he does not offer any guidance as to how to conduct a “context



analysis.” It would seem that the linguistic habitus offers a promising way forward here as it is the locus for deeply embedded beliefs about languages and language learning issuing from society at large, an adult learner’s social background, schooling and later experiences in the workplace and in wider society.

### **3.10 Constructing a Bourdieusian “research object”**

The process of “constructing a research object” commences with the researcher defamiliarizing the object they wish to research, or viewing it from “an unexpected angle” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 221). In my case, this process was aided by viewing English – rather than “the language of Shakespeare” as it is often referred to in France (Fleuret, 2013; Saulière, 2015) - as linguistic capital.

After defamiliarization follows a three-stage “field analysis” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, pp. 104-5):

- analyzing the field to be researched (English-language training) vis-à-vis the “field of power.” “Ultimately, (the field of power) is political power and government” (Grenfell, 2014, Chapter 13, Field analysis, para. 3). In my case, this was the policy-making structures of the Hollande government.
- mapping the relations between the players in the field (training organizations, employers, teachers’ associations, and trainers) in terms of their economic, social and cultural capital
- analyzing the habitus of the agents in the field (the trainers) – not on an individual level but the “relationships or correspondences between individuals” (Grenfell, 2014, Chapter 13, Field analysis, para. 5).

Demanded throughout the process is researcher reflexivity or that the researcher themselves is “objectivised” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 71). As I mention in Section 3.5 above, Bourdieu seems to view the researcher as an academic who is outside the field they are examining, whereas I am very much implicated in the field of English-language training, even to the extent that I am a participant in one of the questionnaires I analyze, as I discuss in Chapter 4. In some respects then, the danger for someone who is researching

from a professional doctorate position is “over-reflexivity.” Somewhat contrarily then, I use the Bourdieusian field structure itself as a defamiliarizing device, which enables me to view my profession through a series of different lenses.

After the learning process of my “Pak-King” pilot study (detailed in Chapter 4, Section 3), I decided I wanted to work with five datasets:

- Hollande government policy texts
- Trainer questionnaire and interview data
- Trainee questionnaire and interview data
- TESOL France data (Wickham, 2015; Wright 2016)
- The “Languages and Employability” report data (Benoit et al, 2015)

and my challenge was how these five elements could be related through a Bourdieusian field structure. By extending Bourdieu’s model to encompass the concepts of linguistic market and linguistic habitus, I came up with a structure that harmonizes with Bourdieu’s three-part field structure, yet was adapted to my own context and datasets:

**Table 3A: How Bourdieu’s field analysis research model was adapted to my final research project**

<b>Research element</b>	<b>Area of research</b>	<b>Datasets analyzed</b>	<b>Bourdieuian-inspired questions to ask of the data</b>
1	The “field of power” – Hollande government policy-making apparatus	Government policy texts	How does the field of power influence the English-language training field?
2	The English-language training field in France	TESOL France questionnaire data from 800 English trainers	Who are the key players in the field? Which forms of capital are prized?
3	English trainers’ perspectives on English-language training	Interviews with five trainers at the language school Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF)	Can a trainer habitus be discerned? What are the implications for how English is taught?
4	English use in the French workplace	Survey data from 801 French organizations reported in the “Languages and Employability” Report	Is there a linguistic market that crosses the French workplace? Which languages are prized?
5	Adult English learners perspectives on English-language training for the workplace	Questionnaire, interview and focus-group data from 14 adult learners at LSF	Can a learner linguistic habitus be discerned? If so, what insights does this offer towards how English is taught?

### **3.11 “Too evocative, too abstract”? Critiquing Bourdieu**

Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and linguistic habitus have provided me with a means of examining French adults’ conception of languages and language learning in a country where the first exposure to English is through the highly unified educational system (still a system to produce elites), where the French

language is promoted as a key pillar of what it means to be French. His concept of field has offered me a standpoint to view the position of English-language teaching in relation to both the “field of power” (government forces) and the different workplace fields of those who are taught by the English-training field. Bourdieu attracts criticism, however. Lahire, for instance, wonders whether Bourdieu is not “too evocative, too abstract?” (2002, pp. 596-7).

Those writing in English have focused on concerns about the determinism implied by the concept of habitus (Reay, 2004, p. 432, for instance). In France, criticisms have been broader and deeper with Bourdieu being accused by Verdès-Leroux of “sociological terrorism” for his “manipulation of the intellectual field” (Fournier, 2012, p. 71, my translation) and for implying the existence of a heartless competition between agents in fields, where “friendship, love and compassion” are occluded (Corcuff, 2012, pp. 64-65, my translation).

Lahire, however, instead of merely critiquing Bourdieu, builds on his concept of habitus to propose a model, perhaps more in line with a 21<sup>st</sup> century world, where family structures are fluid and it is possible to hypothesize that individuals are exposed to multiple socializing influences (nursery school, work, sports clubs, volunteering, popular music, the internet, social and traditional media and so forth) (Corcuff, 2012, pp. 65-66). These ideas are set forth in *The plural actor, 2011* (*L'acteur pluriel, 2001*), where Lahire posits that “Each individual is in some form the ‘depository’ of dispositions to think, feel and act that are the product of his or her multiple socializing experiences, more or less lasting and intense, in various collectives” (2011, p. xv). Trizzulla, Garcia-Bardidia and Rémy (2016, p. 87 & 91) also point to Lahire’s adaptation of the concept of the Bourdieusian field to that of “context”:

**[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1984)**  
**dispositions + competencies + contexts = practices (Lahire, 2005)**

In Lahire's formulation, contexts are where dispositions are both constructed and activated; for Bourdieu the habitus is developed primarily through primary and secondary socialization. Lahire's work has implications for adult language learning. If, for instance, an adult had no interest in or aptitude for English, but had a rewarding experience in the learning context this could have a significant impact on her workplace practice in English. In this research, I focus in particular on three adult learners ("Ophélie," "Daniella," "Luc") from whom data was generated through questionnaires, interviews and a focus group. I find evidence that supports Lahire's revision of habitus, as I discuss in Chapter 7.

### **3.12 Summary of Chapter 3**

This chapter has examined my rationale for drawing on Bourdieusian concepts for this research. Firstly, as a researcher whose work was centred on issues of inequality, language, and (latterly) globalization in the context of Republican France, there is a clear overlap with my concerns and context. Additionally, his arsenal of thinking tools: habitus, capital, field, linguistic market, linguistic habitus offers fruitful possibilities for innovative data analysis, especially as these tools may not have been applied very often to adult language learning contexts (Grenfell, 2012). Finally, Bourdieu proposes a research structure – which I have adapted to my context – that encourages a focus on the interrelationship between datasets, thus facilitating data triangulation, which in turn leads to more robust data analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lahire's reconception of habitus, however, poses a challenge to Bourdieu.

## **Chapter 4 : A tale of two studies: Research design, methodology, methods, and ethical considerations**

### **4.1 Genesis**

Before going on to discuss the evolution of the final research project and its underlying methodology, I will briefly summarize the three preceding chapters in which the rationale for and the background to the research were laid out.

**Chapter 1** introduced the paradox that acted as the “spark” which ignited my project: with English being a highly demanded skill for the workplace in France, and gatekeeper to employment opportunities, why, in the early days of the Hollande government’s training reform, was it absent from the courses eligible for public subsidy? This omission could be interpreted as yet another chapter in the complex relationship between the French government and the English language, as I explored in **Chapter 2**, and resistance to globalization and the perceived hegemony of English.

Indeed, in **Chapter 2**, I highlighted the interrelationship of English with globalization, which has led to questions about which variety of English should be taught, how English should be taught and the implications for those who do not have access to this valuable linguistic capital.

Considering language skills as a form of capital is a Bourdieusian concept and, in **Chapter 3**, I examined how the Bourdieusian “thinking tools” of habitus, capital and field could offer insights into the complex attitudes towards English (and other languages) at both the level of the French government and of adult learners. The thinking tools are part of Bourdieu’s holistic theory of practice, and I decided, taking heed of Reay’s warning (2004), that rather than “cherry picking” Bourdieusian concepts to use here and there, I would structure the entire research project along Bourdieusian lines.

However, my Bourdieusian-inspired research design took many months to coalesce. As detailed in Méraud (2014c), I planned a case study centred on a multinational company (“Agritek”), where I had been teaching English for two years as a subcontracted trainer to a language school. The research questions, which I continued to use for the final study, were based on those raised by Kostoulas (2010), (detailed in Chapter 2, Section 1), and I planned to interview trainers, trainees, company and language school management. Interview data would then have been analyzed drawing on constructivist grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2014).

Two events, however, conspired to blow this original plan off course. The first was my deployment by the language school to another multinational (“Pak-King”) in early 2015, a move which coincided with the shockwave throughout the English-training field caused by the Hollande training reform coming into law on 5 January. I was puzzled by the seeming disparity between the demand that I was seeing in industry for English-language training, and the training reform act where English was (initially) omitted from the lists of skills deemed worthy of being subsidized from public funds. I decided, thus, to sculpt a two-element research structure comprising analysis of the training policy, alongside a case study of the trainees and trainers that I was working with in Pak-King. My three research questions, conceived originally to research Agritek, blossomed into an overarching question that took into account both the training policy and my perception of English as linguistic capital, as well as issues relating to trainers and trainees:

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

**Section 4.2** goes on to examine the methodological underpinnings of the research. **Section 4.3** traces the trajectory of the Pak-King study, and how what was learned from that (unsuccessful?) pilot fed into my final study at Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF), explored in **Section 4.4**. **Section 4.5** explains

how all the elements of the research came together in a Bourdieusian-inspired structure. **Section 4.6** explores my use of Discourse Analysis methodology to analyze my data. **Section 4.7** examines the methods used to generate data, with **Section 4.8** asking how to assess the “trustworthiness” of the data generated. **Section 4.9** summarizes.

## **4.2 The methodological underpinnings of the research**

Following Sikes (2004, p. 16), I use the term “methodology” to mean “the theory of getting knowledge,” the “philosophical, thinking work” about a research project that stems from a researcher’s ontological (the nature of “reality”) and epistemological (what counts as “knowledge”) beliefs.

### **4.2.1 Ontology (what is “reality”?)**

A clue, perhaps, to my ontological stance could be through deconstructing my overarching research question:

Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to empower and equip learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English is an important linguistic capital

I consider that there is a world separate from the subjectivity of teachers and learners, where government laws affect lives. However, key words such as “policy,” “French,” “English,” “globalizing,” “workplace,” while relating to phenomena that have a tangible existence, exist also as discourses and in the subjective constructions of individuals. “Backdrop,” a metaphor for the socio-economic context, has a theatrical sense, something unreal, a mere representation. My preference for the metaphor of “linguistic capital” instead of, for instance, “economic resource,” in addition to signalling a Bourdieusian influence, also problematizes the concept of language as a neutral communication tool. Emerging from this analysis is a leaning towards a belief that many elements of “reality” are socially or discursively constructed.



Indeed, I had planned to employ constructivist grounded theory to analyze interview data from my first planned study at the multinational Agritek.

#### **4.2.2 Epistemology (what counts as “knowledge”?)**

Based on an ontology that leans towards “reality” being an individual construct, knowledge thus can be generated by accessing the ideas and opinions of participants through methods such as questionnaires and interviews, which, indeed, I used for my pilot study and final study (below). But data generated through interview, for example, is transformed from “three-dimensional” communication with a human being, where gesture, intonation, pausing, context all have an impact on the communication to the “two-dimensional” page of transcribed text (sometimes also being translated from one language to another), where the sense of the original oral text can be overturned by simple punctuation choices. From the interview questions asked, to the elements of the transcript that are deemed to be of interest, the researcher shapes the knowledge that is created.

There is no way to circumvent this fundamental research dilemma that interview and questionnaire data has to be interpreted and can only partially represent a participant’s subjectivity. In any event, data generated from human encounters depends on the premise that language mirrors or represents reality, but postmodern critics in particular have problematized language as a system to merely transport data or meaning (Alvesson, 2002).

I will return to epistemological issues again in my discussions below about my use of Discourse Analysis and in the penultimate section of the chapter about issues of trustworthiness in research.

### 4.3 The pilot: Pak-King case study

In the spring of 2015, with two colleagues (“Chiara” and “Charlotte”), I was teaching in the French subsidiary of a multinational company (“Pak-King”) to which I was contracted through a language school (“Top Langues”). Much research on the use of English in the workplace in France and elsewhere has been conducted in multinationals (Deneire, 2008; Ehrenreich, 2010; Leistiko, 2015; Saulière, 2014a, for instance). Pak-King epitomized the issues raised in the literature about English in the French workplace - such as Deneire’s (2008) “English divide” between top management and a workforce faced with having to acquire English skills often in mid- or late career. It is also noted (Saulière, 2014a; Smith, 2012) that getting access to a multinational is not easy. I believed (erroneously, as it turned out) that the battle was half won, as I was actually working in the multinational that I wished to study.

The Top Langues trainers were contracted to design and team-teach an English programme for a group of eight trainees as the company transitioned to a World Class Manufacturing (WCM) site: a complex process that would lead to highly prized international certification. Concurrently, the subsidiary was being connected to other plants in the company network through Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) software. Both WCM and ERP involve profound changes to a company’s culture and structures – not least the need for employees of all levels to use English.

The project epitomized for me both the complicity of English and globalization, but also the complexity of globalization itself. Far from English being imposed by hegemonic American interests, Pak-King was a Northern European company; WCM is a Japanese initiative; and the ERP system chosen was from the German company SAP. The project also resonated with Deneire’s respondents’ observations that “English never comes alone” (2008, p. 188). When a French company adopts English as its working language, Deneire points out, this often coincides with management changes

such as the installation of an ERP system. For some employees, as I observed in Pak-King, these changes generated high levels of stress.

Top Langues gave their approval for research to take place (Appendix B1) in the form of questionnaires on paper (Appendix B4), to be distributed at the same time as the language school's end-of-course evaluations. It was understood that the questionnaires could lead to interviews for those trainees who agreed. Upon receiving ethical approval from the University of Sheffield (Appendix A1), I sent questionnaires to my two co-trainers Chiara and Charlotte (Appendix B5), which also included an invitation to be interviewed.

However, the trainee feedback session where I was to explain my research and hand out questionnaires was postponed indefinitely owing to changes in the company's management, which led to a rethink of the course structure and timetable. In addition, one of my potential participants was judged to be making insufficient progress and was removed from the course. At the same time, Chiara left the employ of the language school - without responding to my questionnaire.

In hindsight, this was not an ideal time to be conducting research. This was a turbulent period for both the multinational, with its internal restructuring, and the language school, which had to cope with the uncertainty generated by the training reform. I was fortunate, therefore, to eventually receive in the post three completed questionnaires from trainees and one completed e-questionnaire from Charlotte. One trainee, "Rémi," indicated willingness to have a follow-up interview, which took place later in the year.

#### **4.3.1 Lessons learned**

Although this first research endeavour did not generate a meaningful amount of data, useful lessons were learned. Firstly, I realized that my research had involved a clash between the fields of academia and industry; I was

comfortable in either field and saw only the advantages of bringing together theory and empirical research with workplace practice. But the other stakeholders, namely the language school, the multinational, the trainees and the trainers may not have understood or appreciated these sentiments, which is why the research received a lukewarm response. Thomson's advice is apposite:

If you approach a school/hospital/museum/office/mall thinking of it, not just as a site, a material location, but also as a relationship, then you will be mindful of the other party/ies and their wishes, interests, feelings, knowledge, beliefs, needs and their ongoing programme of activities (2015, n.p.).

Simply working in the multinational was not enough: I needed to have built strong relationships with all the stakeholders, and have underscored the benefit of the research to the different parties, as Smith (2012) recommends.

Unlike a teacher in a university or school who could research a "captive audience" of students, my professional life was characterized by working with ever-changing groups or individuals, and I was fearful of having to wait for many months for my next opportunity to arise to research within a multinational. Low in spirit, I interviewed "Rémi" somewhat half-heartedly in October 2015. I felt exposed in his glass-walled office and, in the interest of discretion, did not record the interview. I was, however, humbled to discover that Rémi felt honoured to be part of the research project, and he had researched the University of Sheffield, commenting proudly on its being an "old and famous" university. Bourdieu reminds researchers of the great responsibility owed to those who give their time to be interviewed: "no contract carries as many unspoken conditions as one based on trust" (1999, p. 1). These insights led me to develop my own Ethical Framework (Appendix A2).

I also learned during this first interview of the complementarity of the questionnaire and the face-to-face interview; Rémi had not completed the

section of the questionnaire where he was asked to comment on how his training could have been improved, but in the interview he had specific – and thought-provoking - ideas (as I document in Chapter 2) about teaching English as a practice rather than as a system. On the other hand, with the questionnaire collecting more routine information like age, education and English-learning experience, much time was saved in the interview by my not having to ask these basic factual (or even embarrassing) questions.

Looking back, as I write, on the data generated from Pak-King, I realize that there was much of interest in the three trainee questionnaires I received. Two out of three respondents, for instance, noted their bad memories of English at school, which was also a recurrent theme throughout my final research project:

**Table 4A: Pak-King respondents' memories of school**

Question 6 Please describe your experience of learning English at school.	Respondent 1	<i>My experience of English at school is not a good memory. I didn't understand the interest to learn English, as it was very complicated. I didn't like grammar.</i>
	Respondent 2	<i>Five years at collège and two years at high school. No good grades.</i>

The questionnaire responses also supported Deneire's observations (2008, p. 188) that in multinational companies the imperative for employees of all levels to communicate in English was often related to the introduction of management information systems (such as Enterprise Resource Planning software from companies such as SAP). As Respondent 1 pointed out: "Pak-King is an international group. International means speaking English and write English, the SAP version is in English. So to use SAP, I need to speak English every day." As well as illustrating the seemingly irrefutable logic that English is essential that Saulière (2014a) points up, this comment illustrates the special challenges for an English trainer working on-site: developing

course material that aids trainees of different levels to interface with a system that will fundamentally change the way employees do their jobs.

Despite this challenge, all three respondents chose “trainers” as the “best thing” about their training. Given three points to “spend” on a list of different trainer attributes, the portrait of the respondents’ ideal English trainer that emerged would be a “native” English speaker (selected by all three respondents), with work experience in a multinational company and with qualifications in teaching English to adults (selected by two respondents). Turning to Charlotte’s completed e-questionnaire, I note that her comments on the ideal background for an English trainer match the trainees’ responses, that is, to be a native speaker with teaching qualifications. These responses are in line with the worldwide preference for “native speaker” teachers (Llurda, 2018; Wright & Zheng, 2018). This preference, as the TESOL France research reveals in Chapter 6, has led to a situation in France where sometimes the most important qualification for an English-training position is simply to be a native speaker (Wright, 2016).

This debate relates to RQ3: “How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?” My final research project in LSF problematizes the native speaker/non-native-speaking English teacher dichotomy with a focus on “Elouan,” a teacher at LSF, who was born in Algeria to a French and Breton-speaking family. Elouan’s language repertoires included French, English, Breton, Welsh, Finnish, Arabic, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. Elouan spoke Breton at home and taught both Breton and English. However, the preference in my research, and also internationally (Llurda, 2018), for a “native-speaking” teacher would mean that in spite of his wealth of language-learning and teaching experience, Elouan could be overlooked for teaching positions for not being a “native speaker” of English.

## 4.4 The final study: Langues-sans-Frontières

As 2015 progressed, English was the most requested subject for publicly funded training once again under the CPF system (*Compte personnel de formation* or Personal Training Account) (CPF *Formation*, 2015). In addition to Top Langues, I was working for a non-profit language and cultural centre Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF), which offered courses in English, Spanish, German, Italian and Breton.

Located in the market town of “Ouest-la-Rivière,” “Langues-sans-Frontières” (LSF) was born at the cusp of the information age, at a time when demand for English (in particular) was growing. My research in 2016 coincided with LSF’s 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Emmanuel (the director and English teacher) explained during his interview for this research project that the mayors of six rural towns created the school, thinking it unfair that their populace lived 30km from bigger centres with language-learning facilities. Emmanuel, the first teacher to be hired, was tasked with equipping the centre with the audiolingual equipment that was in vogue. At the same time, a facility to teach computer studies was set up. The centre was able to obtain financing from local authority grants, which helped to keep the price of training for the public at a nominal cost.

Emmanuel also pointed out that the mayors believed that a training centre would attract businesses to the area. So from the outset, LSF had a dual status of *association* (non-profit cultural organisation) and *organisme de formation* (training provider). Emmanuel believed this status might be unique in France. He emphasized that the objectives of the organization were not just teaching languages for communicative purposes, but also raising cultural awareness. However, the complex status of the organization drew attention in 1997, as local authorities did not have the right to run a business. On the brink of closing, LSF was saved by its students agreeing to form a majority on the board of administrators, a situation that prevailed at the time of the interviews.

Apart from its unusual origins and legal status, LSF in 2016 resembled the myriad of other language schools dotted throughout France (at least 800 according to the *Languages and employability* report, Benoit et al, 2015, p. 7) in that it offered training in English, German, Italian, Spanish, and French as a foreign language - and was subject to the requirements imposed on language schools by Hollande's training reform law. It offered one-to-one in-company courses as well as adult classes, afterschool "kids' clubs," and Saturday morning English conversation and singing classes, and, since the training reform, TOEIC examination preparation classes. However, from very early in its evolution, LSF offered training in Breton, one of France's indigenous languages. Most for-profit language schools chose to concentrate on international languages such as Spanish.

At the time of my research, I had been working for the organization for 18 months. I taught two evening classes of lower intermediate adults. A majority of the participants were attending as they wished to improve their English for their workplace. Their occupations included technician, psychologist, musician, veterinary nurse, civil servant, Information Technology engineer, sales manager, banker, solicitor, market research analyst as well as two job seekers, with ages ranging from 21 to 71. All were French citizens, with one participant coming from one of France's former colonies. At this time, LSF had registered the first three students to use their CPF (*Compte personnel de formation* or Personal Training Account) to fund their English training. Although these three students were not in my evening classes, it was agreed that they would be offered an extra 20-hour course that I would teach to prepare them for the compulsory examination demanded by the CPF.

I realised that through my participants in LSF I had the opportunity to explore how English is viewed and used in a wide variety of French workplace contexts, rather than in just one workplace as would have been the case if my Pak-King study had come to fruition. Heeding Thomson's advice (2015) about viewing the research setting as a relationship, I had a comfortable rapport with



my course participants, my teaching colleagues, and with the director of LSF, and did not have to pass through multiple gatekeepers in order to undertake the research.

In January 2016, I gained the permission of LSF's director to conduct research (e-questionnaires and semi-structured interviews) with my three classes (a total of 20 learners) and with three British English-teacher colleagues. My first research experience at Pak-King had dented my confidence and I was reluctant to ask the two French English teachers (Emmanuel and Elouan) to participate – especially as Emmanuel was technically my boss. I believed that the British teachers would be more interested in my research, as they would have known the University of Sheffield. In fact, the opposite proved true: the French English teachers asked if they could participate, but I needed to convince some of the British trainers to become involved. I should have paid more heed to Sikes's counsel: "A good rule is never to think that anything is straightforward and 'obvious,' never to take anything for granted and never to leave any assumptions unquestioned" (2004, p. 15).

Adaptations I made based on my Pak-King experience included changing the trainee questionnaire from a paper questionnaire in French and English – which made it very lengthy - to an e-questionnaire in French (Appendix C5), and to record all interviews (unless participants expressly objected to being recorded). My experience with Rémi at Pak-King, where I had tried to take notes, had resulted in a patchy and selective interview record, which was inadequate for in-depth analysis.

The LSF research project ran from January to June 2016. Seventy percent of trainees participated in at least one element of the research, and the entire English-teaching team were interviewed. Garnering an enthusiastic response from certain participants, the project took on dimensions that I had not anticipated, but which enriched the research immeasurably. Notably, one group of trainees requested a focus group to continue to discuss and debate

the issues that arose during their individual interviews, and the two French teachers proved to be enthusiastic interviewees.

In parallel, I began my analysis of government policy texts relating to the training reform. I, however, became aware that the two research elements - the LSF study and the policy analysis - seemed to be evolving along separate paths. The issue, I believe, was metaphorical. I had conceived of the LSF research at the outset as being a replacement for the Pak-King “case study.”

Case study, defined as

an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a ‘real life’ context (Simons, 2009, Chapter 1, “Definitions,” para. 9).

did not fit the image I had of LSF as a nexus where learners passed through briefly, acquired English skills, and went out into very different workplace worlds. Conceptually, at this stage in the analysis, I was exploring the utility of Bourdieu’s thinking tools of habitus, linguistic habitus and capital. The realization that, in fact, the concept of fields was a more fruitful standpoint to conceptualize all the elements of the research and their inter-relationships, was an important step forward.

## **4.5 Constructing the final (Bourdieuian-inspired) research model**

As I explain in Chapter 3, Section 10, Bourdieu recommended a three-element field analysis research structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, pp. 104-5) based around the field to be studied (in my case, the English-language training field), the relationship of the field with the “field of power” (in my case, the policy-making apparatus of the Hollande government) and an analysis of the habitus of field agents (in my case, the trainers working in the English-language training field). At the time that I was conceptualizing the structure, the TESOL France survey of trainers (Wickham, 2015a) and the government-backed “Language and Employability” report (Benoit et al, 2015) were

published. I wanted to incorporate these elements into my research as they added national and quantitative data to my predominantly local and qualitative data, thus allowing for richer contextualization and more opportunity for data triangulation. I also wanted to explore the concepts of linguistic habitus, with reference to the Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF) trainees and the related concept of linguistic market, which I believe was a feature of the French workplace. I, therefore, “stretched” the original Bourdieusian field analysis structure to encompass my five research elements:

- Government policy texts
- Survey data from TESOL France on the English-language training field
- Interview data from trainers at LSF
- Data from the “Languages and employability” report about the French workplace
- Questionnaire, interview and (later) focus-group data from LSF trainees

My five research elements are combined as depicted in **Table 4B** below:

**Table 4B: Adaptation of Bourdieusian field analysis to 5-element research structure**

Research element	Area of research	Bourdieusian tools/concepts	Researched through	Related research question(s)
1	The “field of power” (Hollande government policy-making apparatus)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field</li> <li>• Capital</li> </ul>	Critical Discourse Analysis of Policy texts	RQ <sub>1</sub> RQ <sub>2</sub> RQ <sub>3</sub> RQ <sub>4</sub>
2	The English-language training field in France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field</li> <li>• Capital</li> </ul>	Survey data from TESOL France	RQ <sub>1</sub> RQ <sub>2</sub> RQ <sub>3</sub> RQ <sub>4</sub>
3	English trainers’ perspectives on English-language training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitus</li> <li>• Capital</li> <li>• Field</li> </ul>	Discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews with 5 LSF trainers	RQ <sub>1</sub> RQ <sub>2</sub> RQ <sub>3</sub> RQ <sub>4</sub>
4	English use in the French workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linguistic market</li> <li>• Linguistic capital</li> </ul>	Survey data from the “Languages and employability” report	RQ <sub>1</sub> RQ <sub>2</sub> RQ <sub>3</sub> RQ <sub>4</sub>
5	Adult English learners’ experience and perspectives on English-language use in and training for the workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linguistic habitus</li> <li>• Linguistic capital</li> <li>• Linguistic market</li> </ul>	Questionnaire, interview and focus-group data from 14 adult learners at LSF. Transcripts of interview and focus group analyzed through Discourse Analysis	RQ <sub>1</sub> RQ <sub>2</sub> RQ <sub>3</sub> RQ <sub>4</sub>

## 4.6 Data analysis methodology

I employed critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Bacchi, 2009; Hyatt, 2013) to analyze data from government policy texts. After briefly working with grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2014), I returned to discourse analysis (DA) to analyze data from LSF trainer and trainee interviews (Gee, 2014). Commentators agree that discourse is about the relationship between language (written or spoken) and the contexts in which it is used (Alvesson, 2002; Cook, 2009; McCarthy, 2010) or “what people do with language in specific social settings” (Alvesson, 2002, p. 68, citing Potter, 1997). Language, however, is not just what people do. Language is also “a ‘machine’ that

generates, and as a result, constitutes the social world” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 9). An example would be the Pak-King respondent (above) who noted, “International means speaking English” - their use of language actually constructs their reality. It would be equally (or more) feasible to say “International means being multilingual.”

Alvesson differentiates DA, “language use in micro settings” and “Big Discourse,” which he associates with Foucault’s ideas of how power is diffused in society (2002, p. 68). However, regarding the Pak-King example above, I am not sure whether this is a valid distinction. The respondent could have absorbed the “Big Discourse” that English is the global business lingua franca and everyone has to speak it. This Big Discourse would then influence their language use in the “micro setting” of my questionnaire.

Clearly, there are issues around defining both discourse and discourse analysis, which are beyond the scope of this chapter. However, I had employed CDA (Hyatt, 2013) to analyze Hollande’s teacher training policy in Méraud (2014a) and later in Hyatt & Méraud (2015), so I was experienced in and comfortable with CDA methodology. I did, however, briefly explore grounded theory coding of data generated from trainer and trainee interviews. However, as some of Charmaz’s critics have noted, I felt that “grounded theory fragmented the respondent’s story” and “blurred (the) difference” between participants (2014, p. 13). I, therefore, decided to adopt the approach that - as discourse analysis was in harmony with my overall constructivist epistemology, and also compatible with a Bourdieusian approach to research (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 73) - that I would conduct my analysis of trainee and trainer interview data by employing Gee’s DA “toolkit” (2014) (summarized in Appendix D4). Gee proposes 28 “tools” or, more precisely, sets of questions to pose to data during discourse analysis. Gee’s tools range from questions about the “details of language structure” to questions related to “meaning in social, cultural, and political terms” (2014, p. 1). I believed, therefore, that Gee’s toolkit could

provide a structured, yet flexible and sensitive, approach to my analysis of trainer and trainee data.

#### **4.6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis of government policy**

To analyze the Hollande government's training reform law, I fused elements of Hyatt's (2013) Critical Higher Education Discourse Analysis Framework (which I abbreviate to CHEPDA) with Bacchi's (2009) "What's the problem represented to be" (WPR) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) frame (Appendices D1 and D2). My "hybrid," CHEPDA-WPR, frame is at **Table 4C** below.

CDA is associated with the work of Fairclough, who defines CDA as research and analysis that "is part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process" (2013, General introduction, "What is CDA," para. 3). He emphasizes that it is "not just general commentary on discourse" but includes "systematic analysis of texts." It is not "just descriptive" but is "normative" and "addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them" (2013, General introduction, "What is CDA," para. 3). The last phrase resonates with the aims of this thesis, which analyzes the role of English in the French workplace as a possible factor of inequality and suggests how this situation could be mitigated.

I drew on the CHEPDA in Méraud (2014a) to analyze the Hollande government's teacher training policy, and found it a powerful tool to analyze a key speech. However, I noted that the framework did not go into the "not said" of policymaking, the silences or lacunae. The WPR, on the other hand, is more focused on problematizing policy premises and on focusing on the "silences" or "gaps" in policy texts – particularly relevant to Hollande's training reform with its initial omission of English. However, the CHEPDA is more insistent on an analysis of the key political structures and actors, and the

“drivers” (stated objectives), “levers” (incentives), and the “steering” of a policy (the use of agencies to ensure that the policy is executed). I believe attention to this aspect of policy to be essential to any analysis of the French context, where there may be no equivalents elsewhere to organizations such as the “OPCAs” (the official fund-collecting agencies who steer the policy) or the “social partners” (representatives from unions and company management who participate with government in workplace policy setting). Finally, I believe the two frameworks are complementary and offer a disciplined and step-by-step approach to analyzing the complexities of French policymaking. All the texts analyzed were originally in French, and below I highlight how I worked to circumvent the pitfalls of translation.

**Table 4C: The CHEPDA-WPR framework**

<b>Contextualizing and deconstructing (from CHEPDA)</b>		<b>Discourse Analysis tools employed</b>
1	Socio-political context, actors and structures	
2	Drivers, levers and steering	
3	Warrant (evidentiary, accountability, political)	Modes of legitimation (authorisation, rationalisation, moral evaluation, mythopoesis)
<b>Problematizing (from WPR)</b>		
4	What's the problem represented to be?	
5	What presuppositions/assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	Binaries, key concepts, people categories
6	What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	

#### **4.6.2 Discourse Analysis of trainer and trainee interview data**

Five English trainers (three British nationals and two French nationals) were interviewed (in English) and the ensuing transcripts were analyzed drawing on Gee's DA "toolkit" (2014) (summarized in Appendix D4). I found the toolkit worked well to unearth participants' conflicts and concerns, and - perhaps - habituses.



For the French English teachers, in particular, the interview produced an almost cathartic effect, leading to long stretches of speech where Gee's "stanza" tool illuminated their concerns about what Hélot and Young describe as France's "monolingual habitus" (2008).

However, the assumption underlying DA is that texts to be analyzed emanate from expert users of a language, which was not necessarily the case in my trainee interviews. Out of nine interviews, two were in French, one was by email (also in French), and of the remaining six, several were with B1 (lower intermediate) English speakers. I had given participants the choice of being interviewed in English or French, and clearly a majority relished the opportunity of the extra English practice afforded by the interview. I found, however, that many elements of Gee's toolkit worked to illuminate basic (in terms of linguistic ability) stretches of discourse. For instance, Gee's "politics building tool" suggests the researcher ask "how words and grammatical devices are being used to build a viewpoint on how social goods are or should be distributed in society" (2014, p. 124). When applied to a stretch of "Roxanne's" discourse (below), it is clear that Roxanne conflated the English language with globalization, and is concerned that as English assumes a more important role in French life, it will usher in increasing globalization and what she feels to be increasing inequality:

151	JM	You think it (English) is a “threat”?
152	Roxanne	Because the culture is not the same as ours, and beyond the language, outside the language, I’m afraid a little to <i>être envahi</i> .
153	JM	To be invaded?
154	Roxanne	Yes, I think it’s possible in the future.
155	JM	OK. That English will become more important in France?
156-158	Roxanne	Because, for example, they have no <i>chômage</i> (unemployment), but I think a lot of people don’t live very well, they have no unemployment but a little hours and not good remuneration. ...
		And, on the other side, a lot of people, some people, have a very, very high remuneration and I think it’s not good for the population.
159	JM	OK. And what effect is the English language – what is the connection between what you just said?
160-166	Roxanne	I think the people work with little remuneration ... and they are not able to live with their family – two days ago, I watched television, French people ... who work in London ... and they take the Eurostar every day, one hour and a half journey and ... a lot of pressure and – I think it’s not good for the population.

The next part of the chapter moves on to the methods employed to research each element in my five-element research structure.

## 4.7 Research methods, ethical and other considerations

### 4.7.1 Research element 1: The “field of power” or policy analysis of Hollande’s training reform

#### 4.7.1 (a) *The texts*

The following texts were analyzed with the CHEPDA-WPR frame:

**Table 4D: Government texts analyzed through CHEPDA-WPR frame**

1.	Transcript of speech of President François Hollande to introduce the training reform (Elysée, 2013)	4 March 2013
2.	“ <i>Une réforme nécessaire</i> ” (A necessary reform) Webpages from Ministry of Labour, Employment, Vocational Training and Labour Relations. (Ministère du travail, 2014)	22 January 2014
3.	Transcript of speech by François Rebsamen, Minister of Employment on the occasion of the creation of the National Council of Employment, Training and Career Guidance ( <i>Conseil National de l’Emploi, de la Formation et de l’Orientation Professionnelles</i> ). (CNEFOP, 2014)	28 Nov. 2014
4.	“ <i>La réforme a un an: interview exclusive de François Rebsamen</i> ” (The reform is one year old: exclusive interview with François Rebsamen). Transcript of interview by Centre Inffo with Minister of Employment, François Rebsamen (Centre Inffo, 2015)	4 March 2015
5.	“ <i>Le CPF rend enfin concret l’impératif de formation tout au long de la vie</i> ” ( <i>The Personal Training Account has formalized at last the necessity for lifelong learning</i> ). Interview by Management de la Formation with Minister of Employment, Myriam El Khomri. (Management de la Formation, 2015)	25 Nov. 2015

Sourcing texts for analysis proved much more difficult than I had imagined, as few speeches, interviews or reports were made about this reform, whose textual existence resides in updates to various chapters and articles of the 3000+-page *Code du travail* (Labour Code). Nevertheless, I was able to locate a few varied and relevant texts (above), including extracts of speeches from the president and his second minister of employment (Rebsamen); a section of the Ministry of Employment’s website, and interviews with Minister Rebsamen and his successor Myriam El Khomri, Hollande’s third and last minister of employment.

#### **4.7.1 (b) Translation**

The original texts are in French and have been translated into English. Where I have effected the translation myself this is indicated by (my translation) after a particular quotation; occasionally I have confirmed my translation choice with a professional translator, and this is noted (verified translation) in the text. As Hyatt and Méraud underscore, a “critical approach to translation is central to assuring the credibility of the analysis of discourses embodied within any Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) informed methodology” (2015, p. 223). Squires (2009, p. 278) holds that the hallmark of effective translation is “conceptual equivalency”: “providing a conceptually accurate translation involves translating the concept conveyed in the sentence, the incorporation of subject matter knowledge, and the integration of ... local contextual knowledge into the translation process” (2009, p. 279). One example of conceptual equivalency would be in the term *partenaires sociaux* (the grouping of union and management representatives who participate in all legislation related to the workplace). A literal translation results in “social partners,” which conveys little to an Anglophone reader; a conceptually equivalent translation gives “union and management representatives.” However, the original French term *partenaires sociaux* indicates that this group works in a collective bargaining sense with the government, which does not come out in the translation “union and management representatives.” I, therefore, stay with the term “social partners,” explain it the first time it is used, and in future uses leave it in inverted commas to convey the flavour of the original term.

#### **4.7.1 (c) Ethical considerations of policy analysis**

All texts analyzed were in the public domain and freely available. I do not, thus, consider that there were any ethical issues related to my analysis.

## **4.7.2 Research element 2: The English-language training field in France**

For this element of the research, I drew on (predominantly) quantitative data generated by the group effort of three Paris-based teachers' associations, TESOL France, The Language Network, and Linguaid Consultancy. I will, however, usually refer to this research as “the TESOL France research,” as this is the largest organization.

### **4.7.2 (a) TESOL France and French teaching associations**

**TESOL France** is a Paris-based, non-profit association, run by volunteers and affiliated with two international organizations: TESOL Inc. (US) and IATEFL (UK). TESOL France's aims are to “stimulate professional development, to disseminate information about research, books and other materials related to English, and to strengthen instruction and research” (TESOL France, 2014). The organization holds an ambitious three-day annual conference, which has featured key figures in the international TESOL arena such as David Crystal and Stephen Krashen. TESOL France has been recognized by IATEFL for its efforts to eliminate “native speaker” bias in any employment advertising that appears on its site (email notification April 14, 2016).

**The Language Network** is a small, non-profit, Paris-based association, also run by volunteers, which offers training and administrative support to its members, who tend to be independent trainers working on their own account.

**The Linguaid Consultancy** is a for-profit Paris-based organization that produces an in-depth guide for language schools entitled *The market for language training at the time of globalization*, as well as putting on seminars and workshops for language school management and trainers.

#### **4.7.2 (b) The TESOL France survey and reports**

An online survey into the conditions of English-language trainers was sent to 8000 English teachers or trainers who were contacts of TESOL France, The Language Network, Linguid or other affiliated teaching organizations. Responses were collected between 12 July and 10 August 2014. 886 responses (a response rate of 12%) were received, but only 800 deemed complete (Wickham, 2015a). Just over 30 questions covered the following areas:

- Teaching qualifications
- Employment
- Income
- Professional development
- Principal concerns

The results and analysis by TESOL France et al of the survey were disseminated in the spring of 2015 in TESOL France's magazine (Wickham, 2015a) and internationally one year later in the (non-peer reviewed) international publication *English Teaching Professional* (Wright, 2016). The articles are structured similarly, with the second article offering more background information to contextualize the survey for readers outside the French situation, and offering updated information about the impact of Hollande's training reform law on the field.

As a participant, I received PowerPoint slides containing raw data (that is questions and the responses consolidated by the program Survey Monkey). My analysis in this chapter is, thus, drawn from three complementary sources: the two articles and the raw questionnaire data. However, I do not just report TESOL France et al's data and analysis, but I engage with the methodology and data and point to connections that were not brought out in the original analyses.

This was a predominantly quantitative survey and the majority of questions were closed or structured in the form of scales. Question 26, for instance, was "What is your average travelling time per day?" structured by options such as

“less than 30 minutes per day; 30 minutes to one hour” and so on.

Occasionally, Likert-type scales were used. Question 11, for instance, was “do you have signed contracts for the work you do?” with the choices “never,” “seldom” and so on. The usual caveats apply to the use of Likert scales (Newby, 2010, pp. 325-326, for instance) in that one respondent’s “sometimes” could be another respondent’s “often,” but this form of question was only applied in around 10% of the survey.

The survey set out to investigate “the precarious nature” of English training in France where “The proportion of those working on base-rate salaries, with relatively low job security, juggling multiple statuses and employers” appeared to be on the increase (Wright, 2016, p. 54). Those sampled were teachers of English who “had settled in France and for whom language teaching was a career” (Wright, 2016, p. 54). From the above, it is apparent that TESOL France makes no pretence of the survey being “impartial” or “objective” in any way. They hypothesize that conditions were difficult for language trainers and set out to gather data to support this contention. This transparency is to be lauded, and it is up to researchers (like me) who are interested in this area to put TESOL France’s data to the test.

#### **4.7.2 (c) *Ethical considerations of my drawing on the TESOL France survey***

Published in TESOL France’s own magazine and an international (not peer-reviewed) journal, the survey was freely available in the public domain, and individual respondents cannot be identified as all responses were anonymized. From these aspects, there are no ethical concerns about my drawing upon this data. More problematic, however, is that as a member of both TESOL France and The Language Network, I participated in this study and it would be impossible to extract my responses from the data generated. To the best of my knowledge, however, any responses that I have quoted directly are not mine. Although a researcher “cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating” (Mason, 2002, Introduction, “Challenges,” point 4), I am very implicated in this research as a member of the

conducting organizations and as a respondent to the survey. Responding to the survey also indicates that I had some sympathy with the objectives, which were to investigate the “precarious nature” of English-teaching to adults. However, the survey was conducted in the summer of 2014, long before I decided to incorporate data into my research about the English-language training field in general. At the time of the survey, my role was predominantly trainer of adults rather than researcher. Ultimately, I believe that the significance of the data outweighs any awkwardness about my having been a participant

### **4.7.3 Research element 3: English trainers’ perspectives on English-language training in France**

#### **4.7.3 (a) Interviews with LSF trainers**

Interviews took place in the spring of 2016. The first three interviews were structured loosely around a script (Appendix C8), which was linked to my research questions. The last two interviews were rather different, as a significant number of questions were related to the different experiences of the two French trainers. For instance, Emmanuel, in addition to being LSF’s first English teacher, was also the director. Polyglot Elouan had many insights into language learning. All trainer participants were given pseudonyms.

**Table 4E: Interview schedule for LSF trainers**

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>	<b>Length of interview</b>
Raine	British	9 February 2016	30 minutes
Rosalie	British	28 April 2016	45 minutes
Ritchie	British	24 May 2016	30 minutes
Emmanuel	French	1 June 2016	60 minutes
Elouan	French	1 June 2016	55 minutes



## Raine

If anyone were to doubt the demand for English in France, they need only to spend a week following Raine on her dizzying circuit. In France since 1989, Raine had taught English to all age-ranges and in contexts from infants' schools to in-company work to *grandes écoles*. Raine was the only teacher to complete my e-questionnaire, where she indicated that, like one-third of respondents in the TESOL France survey, she did not have English-language training qualifications. But she had had “on the job training with 2 ‘methods’ and then 30+ years of experience, trial and error and observation learning.”

The TESOL France survey reported that 16% of survey respondents had six different types of teaching or training work concurrently. Raine would have been among this group, had she participated in the research. At the time of the interview she was teaching:

- English to Master's students in media studies at a public university
- professional English to the administrative personnel in the university and other nearby institutes
- software engineers in a *grande école*
- at a private language school
- a class at LSF
- private individuals

## Rosalie

Rosalie studied French and English at university in the UK. Her first working experience was in a French university in 1977. That experience was followed by teaching English to engineers in Algeria, teaching French in the United States and the UK, and then to China where she again taught English to engineers. Around 1990 she moved to Paris and into a translating post. She moved out of Paris in 1997 to pursue a position as reader at a *grande école* in the west of France, followed by another short-term contract at a technical university. She also began work for a language school at this time. This was followed by a stint teaching English in a transport company, and then teaching in a civil service college and in a *grande école* of management. Rosalie started at LSF in 2000. She commented that at that time she was “buzzing around like

a blue-arsed fly” (Rosalie, Exchange 118), working for five different organizations concurrently because “no one will take you on full time” (Rosalie, Exchange 122). She was relieved that a few years before the interview she was able to reduce her hours as “the money pressure was off a little bit” (Rosalie, Exchange 134). Rosalie had attained the RSA Diploma in TEFL in about 1987 (now known as the DELTA).

### **Ritchie**

Like Raine and Rosalie, Ritchie had been in France for about 30 years. Originally from the world of bookselling, upon having children he changed career and took a TEFL diploma. Ritchie had worked with all ages from primary school through to in-company work. At the time of the interview, he was working in four schools (as a *vacataire* or part-timer); doing classes with adults at LSF and also working on his own account.

### **Emmanuel**

Emmanuel, the first teacher to be employed by LSF, was promoted to director in 2006. An enthusiastic interviewee, he was evidently proud of the organization that he had helped to create a quarter of a century before. He had spent a year at a British university as part of his degree.

### **Elouan**

Elouan taught English and Breton in LSF. Of the same family as Cornish and Welsh, Breton is a Brythonic Celtic language with, Elouan estimated, about 250,000 native-level speakers, predominantly in the west of France. Born in Algeria in the 1950s to a father who spoke French, Gallo (a language that was spoken around St Malo) and some Arabic, Elouan moved to Brittany when he was a toddler. However, on relocating to Paris during his teens, Elouan missed Brittany. Challenged by his father, who teased him that “a real Breton speaks Breton” (Elouan, Exchange 24), Elouan set out to learn Breton at age 17. After his Baccalaureate, Elouan moved back to Brittany, where he launched a Breton

rock-and-roll band and, on starting a family, decided to bring his children up in Breton. Elouan's children received their education in a *Diwan* (Breton-language) school, and his wife also taught in the *Diwan* system. I was intrigued how Elouan could reconcile teaching English - considered by Bunce et al, for instance, as a monster language (2016) responsible for pushing "minority" languages to the brink of extinction - with tiny Breton.

#### **4.7.3 (b) Analyzing trainer interview data**

The interviews, which were all in English, were recorded and transcribed to "intelligent verbatim" standard (Hadley, 2017, p. 81). The trainers were sent a transcript to approve within 21 days of the interview. Two interviewees suggested changes. In one case, these were orthographic; in the other case the change involved the deletion of a statement.

I analyzed the transcripts with the guidance of Gee's discourse analysis tools (2014) (summarized in Appendix D4), but I also draw upon the CDA tools I used in Chapter 4, particularly Bacchi's (2009) concept of "binaries."

#### **4.7.3 (c) Discerning a trainer habitus**

In addition to answering the research questions, there was a Bourdieusian objective to be met from the trainer data: to discern a trainer habitus. However, habitus, as Chirkov points out, "is not directly and obviously given to either an actor or a researcher; researchers cannot discover habitus by interviewing members of a community about them or conducting surveys on them. ... Habitus can only be inferred by a researcher" (2016, p. 157).

Reay agrees and suggests that "habitus operates at an unconscious level unless individuals confront events that cause self-questioning, whereupon habitus begins to operate at the level of consciousness" (2004, pp. 437-438). An interview, which puts the interviewee in a position of having to defend their ideas or actions, could then trigger the interviewee to enter into a mode of

self-questioning, thus allowing the interviewer get a sense of habitus. I believe this to have been the case in certain interviews, as I detail in Chapter 6.

#### **4.7.3 (d) Ethical considerations related to trainer interviews and data**

All trainers were given pseudonyms as was the language school and the market town in which it is situated. In addition, trainers were sent a transcript within 21 days of their interview to approve.

#### **4.7.4 Research element 4: English use in the French workplace**

Much as I draw upon the TESOL France survey to furnish more quantitative data relevant to the field of English-language teaching in France, I employ a similar tactic to gain an insight into language use across many French workplaces via mixed methods research conducted on behalf of the Hollande government; the *Langues et employabilité* (Languages and employability) report of 2015 (Benoît et al, 2015). Similar caveats apply to this research as to the TESOL France research. Namely, the question arises about the “objectivity” of the project. However, much as TESOL France and associates clearly state their misgivings about the English-training field that they investigate, the LEMP research team indicate openly that their objective is to learn which languages are valued in the French workplace in order that teaching in school can be better oriented towards the linguistic demands of employers. The LEMP, funded by the EU, employed mixed methods and was conducted by researchers from three different French educational research bodies. I think, thus, that the research could be said to be valid, reliable and “trustworthy” (see Section 4.8 below). Although this does not prevent me from querying some of the findings (see Chapter 7, Section 3 below, for example).

#### **4.7.4 (a) *The “Languages and employability” report: Background and objectives***

As I will bring out in Chapter 5 (policy analysis), the Hollande government was focused on reducing unemployment through enhancing the skillset of its workforce. The Languages and employability report or LEMP, commissioned by minister of education Vallaud-Belkacem, drew on European research that indicated that knowledge of foreign languages was an important factor for both personal and national competitiveness. The objective of the report was thus to determine which foreign languages were most in demand in the French workplace in order that parents and pupils could make more informed decisions about which languages to study at school.

#### **4.7.4 (b) *“The Languages and employability” report : Methodology and methods***

The report was predominantly quantitative. An on-line questionnaire was sent to organizations associated with the Chambers of Commerce. Eight-hundred-and-one valid questionnaires were received between July and October 2014. The authors do not pretend that this sample is in any way representative of the entire French private-sector workplace, but emphasize the variety of organizations that were included. From the questionnaire data, a semi-structured interview was held with 14 respondents in December 2014. The participants came from sectors including health, arts, finance, industry and agriculture and included both large and small companies. In parallel, a random sample of 801 job advertisements from the two employment centres (Pôle emploi and APEC) from May and June 2014 were analyzed, followed by a further 728 advertisements that specifically demanded language skills of the applicants.

#### **4.7.4 (c) *Ethical issues stemming from use of the Languages and employability report***

The report was accessible from the internet and all respondents and responses were anonymized. Therefore, there were no related ethical issues.

## 4.7.5 Research element 5: Adult English learners perspectives on English-language teaching for the French workplace

### 4.7.5 (a) *The LSF learners: the research structure and objectives*

Data was generated through an on-line questionnaire (in French), semi-structured interviews (in English or French) and a focus group (in English). Of the 20 learners I was teaching in the spring of 2016, 14 (70%) (see details below in **Table 4G**) took part in one or more elements of the research:

**Table 4F: Details of research with LSF trainees**

Research element	Objectives	Number of participants	Comments
On-line questionnaire	Gain insights into RQs, and also learners' habituses/linguistic habituses through data on family background/education/working experiences; information on stances towards key debates on English in France	13	If participants agreed to an interview, they added their email address, otherwise the questionnaire was anonymous
Interviews (semi-scripted)	Explore in more depth insights gleaned from questionnaires	9	6 interviews in English, 3 in French (including one email interview); the first interview served as the pilot
Focus group	Ascertain which issues related to English and globalization/English in France/learning and teaching English are important to French adult learners; explore evidence for group and individual linguistic habitus; observe and record authentic ELF communication	4	

#### 4.7.5 (b) Details of the 14 LSF trainees who participated in this research

**Table 4G: Details of LSF trainee participants**

Pseudonym	Course attended	Age group	Highest educational level	Profession	Questionnaire	Interview	Focus group	Comments
Betty	Monday B1-B2	41-50	Diploma	Assistant to the Mayor	✓	✓ 2.2.2016	✗	
Bryce	Monday B1-B2	41-50	Baccalaureate	Property manager, self-employed	✓	✓ 1.2.2016	✗	Pilot interviewee
<b>Daniella</b>	<b>Tuesday B1-B2</b>	<b>41-50</b>	<b>Master's</b>	<b>Banker/ university instructor</b>	✓	✓ 2.2.2016	✓	
Edouard	Tuesday B1-B2	31-40	Master's	Sales manager	✓	✓ 1.3.2016	✗	Interview in French
Honorine	Tuesday B1-B2	21-30	Diploma	Civil servant local government	✓	✗	✗	
Iann	Monday B1-B2	51-60	Technical diploma	Telecommunications technician	✓	✓ 9.3.2016	✗	Interview by email in French
Idryss	Saturday TOEIC	31-40	Technical diploma	Manufacturing technician	✓	✓ 2.4.2016	✗	
Laura	Tuesday B1-B2	41-50	Not indicated	Laboratory technician	✗	✗	✓	
<b>Luc</b>	<b>Tuesday B1-B2</b>	<b>31-40</b>	<b>Master's</b>	<b>Information Technology analyst</b>	✓	✓ 2.2.2016	✓	<b>Interview in French</b>
Ophélie	Tuesday B1-B2	51-60	Master's	Quantitative methods analyst/ university instructor	✓	✓ 3.3.2016	✓	
Perrine	Saturday TOEIC	51-60	Baccalaureate	Couturière	✓	✗	✗	
Roxanne	Monday B1-B2	51-60	Professional legal qualifications	Notaire (solicitor)	✓	✓ 23.4.2016	✗	
Rozenn	Monday B1-B2	21-30	Baccalaureate	Unemployed	✓	✗	✗	
Valentin	Saturday TOEIC	41-50	Technical diploma	Technician	✓	✗	✗	

The research design progressed from the closed format of the questionnaire (Appendix C5), where participant choices were restricted, to the more open format of the interview (Appendix C7), and then to the participant-led focus group where my role was peripheral. Three participants passed through all three stages of the research (“Luc,” “Ophélie” and “Daniella”) and, with data that can be triangulated from three different sources, these participants are given particular attention in the analysis in Chapter 7.

The focus group was notable for the presence of a “dark horse” or surprise participant - “Laura” had not wished to take part in either the questionnaire or the interview, but she participated actively in the focus group. Transcripts for individual interviews and the focus group were sent to participants for comment and amendment within three weeks of the interviews/focus group. Apart from typographical errors, no changes were suggested.

However, while there is general agreement in the social sciences about the structure and function of questionnaires and interviews, what a “focus group” actually comprises is less clear, leading to Barbour to comment:

Although focus groups have now become a household term, due largely to their pervasive use by marketing research companies and government departments, this has, interestingly, been accompanied by increasing confusion in the arena of academic research (2007, *Introducing focus groups*, “Historical,” Para. 2).

In the next few sections, therefore, I detail how the focus group came about and how I operationalized the concept.

#### **4.7.5 (c) *Background and structure of the focus group***

During a brainstorming session with the LSF Tuesday class in the spring of 2016 to choose themes for upcoming lessons, I was surprised to hear a request for a “focus group” to “help with your research.” The idea originated with Ophélie, a quantitative methods analyst who worked in marketing and taught courses on her subject in a *grande école*. I was concerned that Ophélie had been imposing her own interests on the group. On probing, however, there did seem to be a genuine interest in a group discussion of the research themes. Although I was delighted that the idea for a focus group had arisen from the learners themselves, there were both methodological and ethical challenges to take into consideration.



#### **4.7.5 (d) Methodological and ethical issues of the focus group**

Barbour favours a loose definition of focus groups, which places the emphasis on group interaction as opposed to interaction between group members and the researcher: “Any group discussion may be called a focus group as long as the researcher is actively encouraging of, and attentive to, the group interaction” (2007, *Introducing focus groups*, “Definition,” para. 1, citing Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999, p. 20). She stresses that encouraging group interaction involves the selection of appropriate stimuli, and ensuring that the group has “enough in common with each other to make discussion seem appropriate” yet to be sufficiently varied to allow for debate (2007, *Introducing focus groups*, “Definition,” para. 2).

Interestingly, there were parallels between Barbour’s conception of a focus group and the composition and spirit of my courses at LSF. My groups – comprising adults from different walks of life, but with similar language objectives and levels - chose the themes they wished to discuss; I then chose the stimulus materials to encourage debate, while remaining on hand to help with any difficulties of expression. The main difference, thus, between the focus group and a regular lesson would be that the topic would be my research topic.

Barbour, however, does point to concerns about the language used in focus groups: “Even where (the participants) are also fluent in English, using their mother-tongue can encourage more spontaneous and open discussion” (2007, *Chapter 7, “Cross-cultural,”* 2007, para. 3). I decided, however, that as the focus group was going to displace an English lesson that it should be held in English, if necessary with my help with phrasing difficulties. As the training reform law was only just beginning to take effect, these learners had not had their course fees paid from public funds and, consequently, had had to pay themselves. For most, their weekly lesson was their only opportunity to interact in English outside the more stressful workplace situation and, after

almost six months together at the time of the focus group, they had developed a good rapport.

Nevertheless, it was possible to envisage a scenario where one of the course participants could change their mind about participating in the focus group. I, therefore, prepared alternative lesson materials and ensured the neighbouring classroom was available. In the event that some learners preferred to have a lesson while others agreed to the focus group, I envisaged setting up the two activities and then shuttling between the two classrooms. The focus group would be recorded with a handheld digital recorder backed up by a personal computer, so I would not be required to be continuously present to take notes. One of the features of LSF was that classes were restricted to 10 participants. The Tuesday class was particularly small with only six participants. I was concerned that if there were absences I might only have three or four participants. I was reassured, however, by Barbour that a maximum of eight participants and a minimum of three or four participants is perhaps the optimum for a social sciences focus group, bearing in mind the need to be able to identify individual voices during the process of transcription and allowing enough time for each participant to express themselves (2007).

#### **4.7.5 (e) *Design, objectives and organization of the focus group***

The activities were designed to meet the following objectives:

- to generate more data related to my RQs, in particular RQ<sub>2</sub> (which variety of English should be taught) and RQ<sub>3</sub> (how and by whom should English be taught), which I felt had not been addressed as much as other RQs in my trainee interviews
- to determine which aspects about English in France, at work and in the world were of most concern to these learners
- to assess the impact of the training reform policy on their learning
- to observe the communicative strategies of participants in an ELF situation
- to determine if interactions between the group lent credence to the idea of group or individual linguistic habituses. Callaghan, for instance, points to the efficacy of focus groups in determining a group habitus (2005)

The stimulus for discussion was a series of 16 topics related to my RQs and the themes of my research. However, instead of having the topics on a sheet of paper or projected, each topic was on a separate strip of paper. This technique, used in Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), allows for ease of ordering. Topics that are more interesting to the participants can be physically separated from the other strips and then ordered according to level of interest. My learners, as Bryce in the pilot interview pointed out, (Bryce, Exchange 52 ) enjoyed debating with their colleagues, so I decided to make each statement a debate proposition. So instead of a question, for instance, “What do you think about the position of English as an international language?” I used the more provocative: “There has to be an international language, so why not English?”

**Table 4H: Discussion statements for focus group**

Statements		Research question addressed
1	A teacher of adults at Langues-sans-Frontières must be a native English speaker.	RQ <sub>3</sub>
2	If you want to speak English well, you must be passionate about British and/or American culture and society.	RQ <sub>1, 3</sub>
3	Your English teacher at Langues-sans-Frontières must correct every mistake that you make when you are speaking so that you can improve.	RQ <sub>3</sub>
4	In France, English is not a simple foreign language like German or Spanish. It is used so much and in so many different situations (work, science, media, advertising etc.) that it is the second language of France.	RQ <sub>1</sub>
5	The new CPF law is a good idea. You have 24 hours a year of English training; you can choose how or where you will do the training, and when your training is finished you do a well known international exam in English (TOEIC, BULATS).	RQ <sub>4</sub>
6	Vocabulary and pronunciation are much more important than grammar.	RQ <sub>3</sub>

7	The English language is a threat to French culture and the French language.	RQ <sub>1</sub>
8	Your teacher should teach you a simplified form of English, which is useful for communicating internationally, not “The Queen’s English.”	RQ <sub>2</sub>
9	The more English is used in France (in workplaces, in universities), the more society is becoming unequal.	RQ <sub>1</sub>
10	There has to be an international language, so why not English?	RQ <sub>1</sub>
11	French learners of English of all age groups get poor results in English exams when compared to other Europeans because <i>les Français sont nuls en anglais!</i>	RQ <sub>1, 3</sub>
12	Reading and listening are the keys to improving your English.	RQ <sub>3</sub>
13	I think that my children are having/have had/will have a better English-learning experience at school than I had.	RQ <sub>4</sub>
14	French business is suffering because French managers are not confident when they use English internationally.	RQ <sub>1, 3</sub>
15	It is easier to communicate in English with a “native speaker” (Australian, Canadian, British, American) than with a second (or third) language speaker (Chinese, Russian, Italian etc.)	RQ <sub>2</sub>
16	Government laws about learning and using English have absolutely no effect on my life.	RQ <sub>4</sub>
17	<b>YOUR OWN IDEA!</b>	

Statement 17 offered participants a chance to raise their own topic.

Following Barbour’s insistence on allowing ample time for debriefing (2007), I broke down the session as follows:

- 15 minutes to outline the project and what I hoped to learn from it and for the participants to complete their consent forms, and to explain that the session would be recorded and transcripts would be sent out within 21 days

- 45 minutes to discuss (the above) topics related to my research
- 15-20 minutes to summarise what had been discussed

#### **4.7.5 (f) Ethical considerations of research with LSF trainees**

In addition to the specific ethical issues in regards to the focus group as I note above, all three elements of the research – questionnaires, interviews and focus group - were governed by informed consent and respondents were aware that they could withdraw from the research at any time. All participants were given pseudonyms and the opportunity to read and comment on transcript data.

### **4.8 Valid, reliable and trustworthy?**

Lincoln and Guba's questions go to the heart of any research endeavour:

How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an enquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of? What arguments can be mounted, what criteria invoked, what questions asked that would be persuasive on this issue? (1985, p. 290).

This is a key issue for researchers as, in terms of the data this research generated, I find myself in agreement with Silverman, (2013, p. 143), citing Mason, who posits that:

I do not think qualitative researchers should be satisfied with producing explanations which are idiosyncratic or particular to the limited empirical parameters of their study. ... Qualitative research should (therefore) produce explanations which are *generalizable* in some way, or which have a wider resonance (1996, p. 6).

Lincoln and Guba highlight that the concepts of “validity” and “reliability” have been used in, what they term, the “conventional paradigm,” or positivist-oriented research, to assess research quality (1985, p. 290). Both “validity” and “reliability,” however, are contentious terms with regard to qualitative methods. “Validity” indicates whether interpretations of the data generated are supported by that data (Silverman, 2013). “Reliability,” refers to

“dependability, consistency and replicability” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, 10.8, Reliability, para. 1).

In place of validity and reliability, Lincoln and Guba offer a framework to assess what they term the “trustworthiness” of qualitative research. Below, I apply Lincoln and Guba’s criteria to my own data. Certain terms that are employed, may need glossing:

- “**member-checking**” – ensuring that research participants are aware of how they are represented in the analysis of their data
- “**triangulation**” – where data from more than one source is compared
- “**thick description**” – “providing detail to support and corroborate findings” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, 10.3, Validity in qualitative research, para. 11).

**Table 41: The trustworthiness of my data**

<b>Evaluative criteria</b>	<b>Defined as</b>	<b>Related research practices include</b>	<b>Demonstrated in this research by</b>
<b>Credibility</b>	Confidence in the “truth” of the findings	Prolonged engagement	I had worked with both the teachers and trainees at LSF from periods ranging from three months to 18 months before the research began, and had a comfortable relationship with all participants
		Triangulation	Triangulation of data is a key feature of this research, which allowed for “thick” description of the training field and its challenges. To take one example, my policy analysis revealed that the training reform made Continuing Professional Development (CPD) a requirement for language schools; from the TESOL France survey, CPD, I discovered, was an area that had been neglected, a finding that was corroborated by trainers Rosalie and Raine at LSF, who had simply no time for CPD.

		“Member-checking”	All trainers and trainees were invited to read and amend interview transcript data
<b>Transferability</b>	Showing applicability to other contexts	“Thick” description	See “triangulation” above
<b>Dependability</b>	Showing the findings are consistent and could be repeated	Inquiry audit	Although an “audit trail” for this research can be followed – the Appendices contain correspondence with relevant parties, copies of questionnaires and interview scripts – the research has not been formally audited. However, gaining University Ethical Approval and supervisor oversight can be considered to fulfil the auditing function
<b>Confirmability</b>	A degree of neutrality – the findings are shaped by the respondents rather than researcher bias	Audit trail	See above
		Triangulation	See above
		Reflexivity	As this was a research study that drew extensively on Bourdieusian concepts, reflexivity was certainly demanded. Wacquant suggests there are three elements to Bourdieusian reflexivity: awareness of the researcher’s positionality in respect of their social backgrounds and their position in the academic field; as well as viewing research as “concrete problems to be solved practically” rather than construing the world as a “ <i>spectacle</i> ” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 39). This research, I believe sets out to tackle a concrete problem: how adults could be taught English for the workplace in a fast-changing global and national political context.

Adapted from “*Lincoln and Guba’s evaluative criteria*,” n.d.

Although I believe I have taken sufficient measures to ensure that my research meets Lincoln and Guba’s criteria for trustworthiness; nevertheless, they admit that it is “dubious whether ‘perfect’ criteria” will ever emerge (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 331) and, ultimately, the onus of confirming trustworthiness may well be the responsibility of researchers who follow. As Gee posits, “The quality of

research often resides in how fruitful our mistakes are, that is, in whether they open up paths that others can then make more progress on than we have” (2002, p. 9).

## 4.9 Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter has explored the philosophical, methodological and ethical issues involved in designing a research project along Bourdieusian lines that could provide answers to my overarching research question:

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

The final research project employed, what could be considered, a mixed-method approach based on policy analysis of government texts; questionnaires, interviews and a focus group with teachers and learners at the language school Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF); as well as drawing on two (mostly) quantitative studies from the teachers’ association TESOL France and the government-sponsored “Languages and employability report.” In order to enhance the trustworthiness of the research findings, the research design offered many opportunities for cross-checking of data or for data triangulation. I have also aimed to provide “thick” description, particularly of the trainers’ and trainees’ backgrounds and contexts, while being reflexive about my own positionality in regards to this research.

Discourse analysis was my preferred data-analysis methodology, and I found the frameworks and toolkits offered by Hyatt (2013), Bacchi (2009) and Gee (2014) well suited to my task and in harmony with my underlying epistemology and its Bourdieusian conceptual framing. Bourdieu’s concept of field was the key organizing device for the research, which comprised five elements:



**Table 4J: Summary of research plan**

<b>Research element</b>	<b>Area of research</b>	<b>Researched through</b>
1	The “field of power” (Hollande government policy-making apparatus)	Critical Discourse Analysis of policy texts
2	The English-language training field in France	Survey data from TESOL France
3	English trainers’ perspectives on English-language training	Discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews with 5 LSF trainers
4	English use in the French workplace	Survey data from the “Languages and employability” report
5	Adult English learners’ perspectives on English-language training for the workplace	Questionnaire, interview and focus-group data from 14 adult learners at LSF. Transcripts of interview and focus group analyzed through Discourse Analysis

The next three chapters detail data analysis and findings. **Chapter 5** deals with Research Element 1: the policy analysis of Hollande’s training reform; **Chapter 6** contains the analysis of Research Elements 2 and 3: the English-training field in France and LSF trainer perspectives; **Chapter 7** details the analysis of Research Elements 4 and 5: languages in the French workplace and the perspectives of the LSF trainees.

## Chapter 5 : The “field of power”: Analysis of the Hollande government’s training reform policy

### 5.1 The field of power

This thesis explores the historically lightly regulated field of English-language training in France to posit how English training for working adults could be organized in light of the considerable changes in training policy effected by the Hollande government. As I explained in Chapter 3, my research follows a Bourdieusian-inspired structure, to analyse the relationship between the field being researched (the English-language training field in France) and “the field of power,” which Bourdieu and Wacquant consider to be: “the economic and political resources that enable the state to wield power” (2007/1992, p. 100). For the purposes of this thesis, I, thus, take the field of power to be the Hollande government, particularly the ministries of Education, Higher Education and Employment, and related organizations such as the “social partners” (*partenaires sociaux*: representatives from industry and unions who participate in legislation affecting the workplace) and the OPCAs (*Organismes Paritaires Collecteurs Agréés* or approved fund-collecting agencies, the organizations tasked with steering the policy) in their policy-making capacity.

In order to examine the modalities by which the field of power influences the English-training field, I adopt a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to analyzing the Hollande government’s training reform law, which came into effect in 2015. I use a “hybrid” or dual policy analysis framework in this chapter, fusing the concepts of Hyatt (2013) and Bacchi (2009). The framework (Appendix D3) allows for contextualization (situating a policy sociohistorically), deconstruction (uncovering assumptions and “internal contradictions” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 24) and problematization (interrogating how a phenomenon is represented as a problem (Bacchi, 2009))

of the discourse of the French government's policy-making apparatus, by examining texts related to the policy.

This chapter continues with **Section 5.2**, "What is policy?" This section clarifies how "policy" - a term that Rizvi and Lingard consider "highly contested" (2010, p. 4), - will be employed in this research. **Section 5.3** lays out my policy analysis methodology and the texts to be analysed. **Section 5.4** consists of the policy analysis proper. **Section 5.5** summarizes the chapter.

## 5.2 What is policy?

Ball cautions that policy "is one of those obvious terms we all use, but use differently and often loosely" (2013, Introduction, Policy sociology, para. 6). Policy can be conceptualized as "patterns of decisions in the context of other decisions taken by political actors on behalf of state institutions from positions of authority" (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p.4). Policy is also "the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process" (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2004, pp. 71-72). The link between "policy and politics" is more marked in French as "*la politique*" serves for both concepts. Indeed, policies relating to education, training or the workplace (the interest of this thesis) in France are often synonymous with legislation. Ball points out, however, that even "big-P" or legislated policy does not merely consist of an official text, but is "reproduced and reworked over time through reports, speeches ... and so on" (2013, Introduction, Policy sociology, para. 6).

As an example of the "reworking" of legislated policy that is relevant to this study, Hyatt and Méraud (2015) analyse the speech of Hollande's first minister of education (Vincent Peillon) at the opening ceremony of a network of teacher training institutes (the *Ecoles Supérieures du Professorat et de l'Éducation* or *ESPEs*). The minister considered the *ESPEs* to be the cornerstones of Hollande's educational policy, which was entitled "the Rebuilding of the education system of the Republic." Rather than emphasize

the innovative features of these new training institutes and their future direction, as might be expected in an inauguration speech, Peillon takes every opportunity to revisit the past and the origins of the education system. He underscores that after almost a century of upheaval after the 1789 Revolution, the Republic only began to coalesce with the Third Republic (1870) as a result of the Education Acts of 1881 and 1882, which led to the creation of a black-clad army of teachers (nicknamed the *Hussards noirs* after a military unit) who spread over the land disseminating the French language and the values of the Republic (*liberté, égalité, fraternité*: freedom, equality, brotherhood).

Indeed, Rizvi and Lingard emphasize that although values are central to policy, “policymaking ... involves major trade-offs between values” (2010, p. 72). Hollande’s training reform law, with its intent to “adapt training to economic and social changes” (in other words, globalization) while “provid(ing) solutions to the weaker members of society” (such as basic literacy skills in French) (Ministère du Travail, 2014, p. 1), reveals the complexity of these trade-offs. As Rizvi and Lingard point out, governments have to “manage and rearticulate global pressures balanced against competing national and local pressures and interests” (2010, p. 21).

One of the global pressures that Rizvi and Lingard draw attention to is “the globalization of English,” noting that “English has not only become the most common medium for communication in a global world, but it is also assumed to provide job opportunities, access to higher education and a broader flow of information in business negotiations” (2010, p. 176). The conundrum, thus, increasingly faced by French governments is that in a nation constructed around the primacy of the French language (“French is France,” Ager, 1999, p. 11), citizens of the Republic may need to be equipped with skills in English in order to thrive in a globalizing workplace. As Saulière underscores:

In two decades, English has spread to all strata, all jobs, all levels in the hierarchy of international companies (in France). Previously only useful to the departments in charge of sales and purchasing, it has spread progressively through all the processes of the company to the

point where, certain “French” companies ... officially only speak English at work (2014a, p. 17, my translation).

Indeed, research conducted during 2014-2015 (Benoit et al, 2015) on behalf of the Hollande government – the *Langues et employabilité* (Languages and employability) Report or LEMP - confirms that for 45% of the 801 companies surveyed foreign language skills were used to filter out employment candidates at the interview stage. Statistics from the job centres in May and June 2014 confirm that English was specified in a quarter of all job announcements (Benoit et al, 2015, p. 16); however, a third of companies investigated indicated that it was difficult to find candidates with the requisite level of language skill. Although Saulière’s research observes that French workers were “extraordinarily inhibited” when having to use English or another language at work (2014a, p. 229), the LEMP report concluded that only 16% of the organizations researched had a specific language policy to help their employees reach a higher level of competence, while only a quarter of the companies studied offered language training (Benoit et al, 2015).

With policymakers likely grappling with this “English conundrum,” it is perhaps not surprising that English was only included on the lists of training eligible for public support almost three months after the training reform law took effect. Rizvi and Lingard posit that “silences in policy tell us a lot about power” (2010, p. 61). Was this policy silence or gap indicative of a conflict among policymakers about the position of English in France? This silence at the heart of the training reform regarding English will be explored in this chapter.

However, as most commentators point out (Bacchi, 2009; Ball, 1993; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010) policy is a process. Indeed, English courses (culminating in either the TOEIC or the BULATS examination) were added to the lists of approved training in March 2015. The policy continued to evolve up until the time of writing in 2017, with several other English examinations being approved, including the *Education nationale*’s own “DCL” (Diplôme de

compétence en langue – Diploma in language competence). However, the initial English hiatus led to disruption in the English-training field. For the purposes of this study then, “policy” will refer to the law to reform vocational training enacted by the Hollande government in January 2015 (“Law No. 2014-288 of 5 March 2014 related to vocational training, employment and social democracy”), and to the web of other policies and Acts to which it relates and refers. In fact, the government website underscores the connection between the training reform law and the government’s laws related to compulsory education (grouped under the title “Rebuilding the education system of the Republic”) as well as the *Loi Fioroso* of 2013, which set out to reform the public university sector, and allowed public universities to offer courses in English. As the employment ministry website trumpets:

This (training) reform extends the Rebuilding of the National Education System by Vincent Peillon, and Geneviève Fioroso’s Act on the university. **We are the government of skills and knowledge.** (Ministère du Travail, 2014, p. 3) (my translation; original text bolded).

### 5.3 Analysis

The first three elements of the following policy analysis framework are taken from Hyatt’s CHEPDA (2013) (Appendix D1):

**Table 5A: Elements of the CHEPDA to be used in analysis of policy texts**

Contextualizing and deconstructing	Discourse Analysis tools employed
Socio-political context, actors and structures	
Drivers, levers and steering	
Warrant (evidentiary, accountability, political)	Modes of legitimation (authorisation, rationalisation, moral evaluation, mythopoesis)

### 5.3.1 Socio-political context, actors and structures

Pledging to reverse the trend of high unemployment (Hollande, 2012, p. 37), the centre left government of François Hollande came into power on 15 May 2012. In a key speech in a training institute in Blois in 2013, Hollande laid out his strategy to vanquish unemployment:

There is no more urgent preoccupation; there is no cause more important for national cohesion; there is no imperative stronger for the government than the fight against unemployment. ... We have this obligation – a moral obligation, an economic obligation, a social obligation - to fight against unemployment. ... The objective I have set is to reverse the upward unemployment trend by the end of the year. ... How can we do this? ... in boldly reforming a certain number of mechanisms including vocational training (Elysée, 2013) (my translation).

The promise to reduce unemployment haunted Hollande throughout his presidency as French unemployment remained obstinately high. On 1 December 2016 in a televised speech, citing the unemployment figures as a factor, he announced the unusual move for a president of the Fifth Republic

that he would not seek a second term in office (Dandila, 2016). However, Hollande was true to his word about the bold reform of vocational training.

In his speech, Hollande explained that a large-scale reform was necessary as the vocational training fund - although being extremely well financed at €32 billion - was not achieving the expected results, with most training concentrated on those at higher levels in the corporate hierarchies of large companies rather than the unemployed or for those working in smaller companies. He pledged that from that point onwards, vocational training would be targeted towards the young, the least qualified, those in situations of precarity, older workers and - above all - the system would be oriented towards the unemployed (Elysée, 2013).

Hollande announced the creation of the Personal Training Account (*Compte personnel de formation, CPF*) so that “every employee from now on, no matter their company, their status, their age, their level of qualification will have the right to at least 20 hours per year for training” (Elysée, 2013, my translation). He poses and then answers a key question related to the organization of vocational training: “is it reasonable to have 55,000 training providers?” by commenting that the first thing to be done is to “bring a little order” to those organizations.

In this speech, Hollande makes it clear that his government aimed to reduce the number of training organizations and improve the quality of the training offer. Unfortunately, the speech appears to have “passed beneath the radar” of the English-training field in 2013, so the shock as the changes began to take effect in 2015 was great, leading the president of the trainers’ association The Language Network to baptise 2015 as an *annus horribilis*, a year when “a majority of language training organisations (saw) their turnover fall by 20-25%” (Oldmeadow, 2016).



The composition of the government and its ministers was recalibrated several times during Hollande's *quinquennat* (5-year presidential term). Three prime ministers served under Hollande: Ayrault, Valls and Cazeneuve. As cabinet reshuffles took place under Ayrault and Valls, these changes are indicated on the table as Ayrault 1 (the first government of Ayrault), Valls 2 and so on. It is useful to know the names of the ministers as often the laws they introduce into parliament are eponymous, for example the 2013 *Loi Fioroso*, named after the then minister of universities and research, which allowed public universities to teach courses in English.

**Table 5B: Composition of Hollande's governments**

COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCOIS HOLLANDE MAY 2012 - MAY 2017 (Ministries relevant to this research)				
Date	Government	Ministry		
		National Education	Universities and Research	Labour, Employment, Vocational Training and Labour Relations
15 May 2012	Ayrault 1	Vincent Peillon	Geneviève Fioroso	Michel Sapin
21 June 2012	Ayrault 2	Vincent Peillon	Geneviève Fioroso	Michel Sapin
31 March 2014	Valls 1	Benoît Hamon		François Rebsamen
26 August 2014	Valls 2	Najat Vallaud-Belkacem		François Rebsamen
2 September 2015		Najat Vallaud-Belkacem		Myriam El Khomri (upon resignation of François Rebsamen)
6 December 2016	Cazeneuve	Najat Vallaud-Belkacem		Myriam El Khomri

Adapted from Vikidia, 2018

In addition to the training reform law, which would change the face of English training in France, the Hollande government brought in changes to the compulsory and higher education system, which cemented the position of

English as the de facto second language of France. The next three sub-sections (5.3.1 (a), (b) and (c)) examine Hollande's educational reforms in the light of the significant role the education system plays in forming citizens of the Republic.

### **5.3.1 (a) Hollande's reforms of the *Education nationale***

As I have explored in Chapter 2, the education system, or *Education nationale*, plays a key role in the formation of citizens. Its origins stem from the Third Republic and the Ferry Laws of 1881-82, which set down the fundamentals for a compulsory, secular and free system formed to mould citizens. The concept of citizenship was crystallized around the French language, which meant the "eradication" of France's many indigenous languages such as Breton (Starkey Perret, 2012, pp. 152-3 citing Dubet, 2008, p. 92). Commentators such as Hélot and Young (2008) and Castellotti and Moore, 2002 cited in Starkey Perret, 2012, p. 153) posit that the use of the French language to define French citizenship has led to an education system characterised by a "monolingual habitus," which implies an uncomfortable relationship with English, France's indigenous languages and the myriad other languages spoken in the country in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. To Hollande's credit, however, he pledged to make France a signatory to the European Minority Languages Charter (Hollande, 2012, p. 55), but he was thwarted as the Senat (upper house of parliament) judged that such a measure was contrary to both Article 1 of the Constitution ("France is an indivisible Republic") and Article 2 ("The language of the Republic is French") ("Charte européenne des langues", n.d.).

Nicknamed "the mammoth" for its size and perceived resistance to change, the education system is generally viewed as being immune to reform. Indeed, the latest PISA reports confirm Bourdieu's observations that the system is an efficient mechanism for reproducing elites (OECD, 2015, p. 2). Dobbins and Martens cite earlier PISA research indicating that "a large number of French youths believe that they are not sufficiently supported and encouraged by their

teachers”; lessons are “too monotonous” and “teacher centred”; and there is an “absence of methodological diversity” (2012, p. 30). Also of concern, from the perspective of the role of affect in language-learning (Krashen and Terrell, 1983, for instance), is that PISA points to “a high level of fear and low self-confidence among pupils” (Dobbins and Martens, 2012, p. 30).

Commentators such as Lapostelle and Chevallier believe that the system by which teachers are recruited in France does not enable them to acquire the necessary pedagogic or classroom management skills (2011, pp. 457-8).

Teachers – members of the civil service – are recruited through competitive examinations (*concours*), where they undergo rigorous selection criteria based primarily on their subject knowledge, not on their ability to teach their subject (although, of course, the two are not mutually exclusive). Curiously, for those who plan to teach EFL or EYL (English for young learners), however, the subject knowledge required is not applied linguistics, second language acquisition or communicative language teaching, but the culture and history of the UK or the US. It is perhaps unsurprising that a majority of the participants in Starkey Perret’s research into schoolteachers of English indicated that the *concours* did not prepare them for teaching (2012, p. 454). Although Hollande established a new system of teacher training institutes (the ESPEs), teachers were, at the time of writing – despite having to go through a two-year Master’s programme – still ultimately selected by *concours*, which comprised 10 hours of written exercises and two hours of panel presentations and interviews, stretching over four days (Devenir enseignant, 2016, my translation).

The *concours* requires specific training during the Master’s – time that must be taken out of work experience or time to deepen the trainee English teacher’s professional knowledge of how to teach languages to children and young people. As Graddol warns:

There are many hazards attached to EYL (English for young learners), not least of which is that it requires teachers who are proficient in

English, have wider training in child development, and who are able to motivate young children. Such teachers are in short supply in most countries, but failure at this stage may be difficult to remedy later (2006, p. 89).

### **5.3.1 (b) English earlier**

Despite issues with the training of teachers in France, the trend is to begin teaching English at a younger age. Hollande's reforms made the learning of a modern language compulsory from the *classe préparatoire* (CP), the first year of primary school (ages 6-7). 92% of pupils had previously chosen English as their first foreign language (*Stratégie langues vivantes*, 2016). Hélot and Young are critical, however, of the policy to concentrate on one foreign language in French primary schools commenting:

insisting on the importance of the early learning of one FL (modern foreign language) reinforces the hegemony of the English language and reduces motivation to learn other FLs; indeed the earlier one starts learning a FL the more beneficial it is for that chosen language (2008, p. 248).

Hollande's third minister of education Vallaud-Belkacem's language policy named *Stratégie langues vivantes* (modern languages strategy) was based on the "LEMP" – Languages and Employability report (Benoît et al, 2015) on which languages are in demand by French employers. Vallaud-Belkacem prefaces her policy package with a frank acknowledgement of the importance of languages to employability in a globalizing world, while, however, accepting the predominance of English, she also wished to encourage an interest in a wider range of languages, including France's regional languages, and French itself (*Stratégie langues vivantes*, 2016, p. 2).

There is a marked change from the pragmatism of this last education minister of the Hollande government with that of Peillon, the first minister of education, who looked back to the past glories of the education system of the Third Republic to inspire teacher trainees. Indeed, Hollande's government did receive much criticism for its rightward, pro-business drift over the course of

his *quinquennat* (Christafis, 2016). Hilgers and Mangez remind us that “Within the field of power two fractions compete with one another: an economic fraction and a cultural fraction. ... The field of power is thus structured by the opposition between cultural capital ... and economic capital” (2015, p. 8). Peillon, the first minister of education, with his attachment to the historical and philosophical roots of the education system exemplifies the pull of cultural capital. Vallaud-Belkacem, Hollande’s last minister of education, with her belief that language skills are a key element of personal and national competitiveness in a globalized world represents the pull towards economic capital. In fact, the two ministers exemplify the age-old debate about whether the role of education is primarily to develop citizens or workers.

### **5.3.1 (c) English in university: the Loi Fioroso**

The Hollande government’s acceptance of the globalization-and-English phenomenon extended to its reforms to the university sector. With the stated aims of attracting more foreign students to France and keeping pace with the private *grandes écoles*, where between a quarter and a third of all courses were in English (“*Anglais à l’université*”, 2013), the *Loi Fioroso* (Law no. 2013-660 of 22 July 2013), which allowed universities to teach courses in English (specifically those courses where programmes were shared with a foreign university or courses funded by the European Union), led to much debate. The law was denounced by organizations as diverse as the *Front national* and the *Académie française* (the French language “watchdog” since 1635), among others, as a “very grave threat to the French language” (“*Marine Le Pen dénonce les cours en anglais*”, 2013). The Act was also in contravention of the *Loi Toubon* (Law no. 94-665 of 4 August 1994), which mandated the use of French in contexts including “official government publications, advertisements, public broadcasting, workplaces, commercial contracts and all sorts of government-financed bodies” (Saulière, 2014b, p. 224). The first article of the *Loi Toubon* clearly states that French “is the language of education” (Saulière, 2014b, p. 224).

What emerges from the above analysis is that ministers Vallaud-Belkacem and Fiaroso had accepted that English was a pathway to both personal and national opportunity in a globalizing world - even to the extent that Fiaroso was prepared to flout existing law on the use of English in higher education. The Hollande government explicitly connected its reforms of the *Education nationale* with its reforms to the university and reforms to vocational training, so the issue of English initially being omitted from the lists of subjects available for funding in the training reform is curious indeed.

### **5.3.2 Policy drivers, levers and steering**

If policy “drivers” are the stated objectives of a policy, then policy “levers” are the mechanisms available to government to move toward the achievement of the policy’s objectives. Policy “steering” “refers to the processes whereby national governments have withdrawn from direct control over the administration of public services and have increasingly used a range of different levers to steer policy” (Steer et al, 2007, p. 177). The drivers and levers of the training reform law are depicted as “the seven improvements of the reform” and appear on the ministry of employment’s website (Ministère du travail, 2014) (Appendix E1). A striking change from previous training policy is the focus on individual employees taking charge of their own training decisions, as is laid out in the “first improvement”:

**Table 5C: Training made an individual responsibility**

Driver	Lever
<p>1. To put the individual in charge of their training throughout their career.</p>	<p><i>The development of the internet-based personal training account (CPF) to source and fund approved training, that is which leads to a certificate, throughout the working life of the employee without the need for employer approval. All employees have the right to a free consultation with an Employment Counsellor (Conseil en Evolution Professionnelle – CEP) to help them plan their career. (Ministère du travail, 2014, my translation).</i></p>

In the previous training scheme, employees required the permission of their employer before using their “DIF” (Droit Individuel de Formation or individual training right). Permission was not always forthcoming. It could be foreseen, thus, that individuals freed to take control of their training would likely lead to an even higher demand for English, the most demanded subject under the previous scheme. However the first “Improvement” also states that training must lead to a certificate. At the outset, only two certificates were approved ETS Global’s Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) and Cambridge English’s Business Language Testing Service (BULATS), which may not have been suitable for or interesting to every trainee.

What is clear from the “Seven improvements” (Appendix E1) is that that Hollande’s training reform would be steered by the OPCAs: these 20 non-profit organisations would be in charge of every aspect of vocational training in France from collecting funds from contributing companies to monitoring the quality of the training on offer.

In my interview in June 2016 with “Emmanuel,” director of the language school “Langues-sans-Frontières” (LSF), he expressed his concern at the enhanced role of the OPCAs:

I'm quite worried now because this new policy, with the new law, has reinforced the power of the OPCAs. Up to last year, up to this law, we had to deal with the companies. If the companies had the money and wanted, you know, their employees to get trained, OK, that was yes or no. And the OPCA was just some sort of a bank. ... with the CPF, the employee would go straight to the OPCA, possibly without talking to the boss. So the OPCA has more power. Now they want to create some sort of catalogue of good training institutes. ... So they rule. If they decide that this school is not good enough because not enough procedures and so on, we could be rejected. (Emmanuel, Exchange 128-132).

Striking, I think, in this short sequence, is Emmanuel's use of the word "power" (twice) and the word "rule" when referring to the OPCAs. To Emmanuel, at least, the new relationship between the OPCAs and the training provider was certainly not going to be that of a partnership, but a relationship where the training provider was subservient.

By 1 January 2017, the OPCAs had produced the quality criteria for training provider compliance (Appendix E2). It is difficult to find issue with the criteria, which appear to have been designed to offer reassurance to all stakeholders in the training process. What is astonishing is that this was the first time in France that even these modest quality requirements had been imposed on training providers. From the trainers' point of view, the commitment by the training provider to offer continued professional development was a welcome development as the TESOL France 2014 survey (Wickham, 2015a) revealed that two-thirds of those answering the poll had had no professional development for at least the previous two years.

### 5.3.3 Warrant and modes of legitimation

Warrant is the contextual justification for a policy (Hyatt, 2013, p. 48). Hyatt cites Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) who sub-divide warrant into:

- **evidentiary** - justifying policy decisions based on evidence
- **accountability** - justifying policy decisions on what might happen if the policy is not implemented



- **political** - the ways the policy is justified in terms of the public good or national interest, “usually couched in more general, evocative and positively-evaluated terms such as freedom, social justice, inclusion, social cohesion, or family values” (Hyatt, 2013, p. 49).

Closely connected with warrant are modes of legitimation or the ways that the policy is discursively justified. Hyatt (2013) offers four modes of legitimation:

- **authorization** – justification by reference to tradition
- **rationalization** – justification by reference to what is useful
- **moral evaluation** – justification based on shared values
- **mythopoesis** – legitimation by reference to narratives

By expressing warrant and modes of legitimation as axes on a matrix, and placing the policy texts (see Section 4.3.2) on the matrix (**Table 5D** overleaf), what is revealing is that this policy, through the texts examined, relies primarily on the evidentiary and the political warrant and is legitimated by the discourse of rationalization. There is little reference to tradition or to moral evaluation or to the values of the Republic. Expressed in Bourdieusian terms, the forces of economic capital outweigh those of cultural capital in this field of power.

**Table 5D: How the Hollande government legitimated its policy**

Warrant	Mode of legitimation			
	Authorization (tradition)	Rationalization (usefulness)	Moral Evaluation (shared values)	Mythopoesis (narrative)
<b>Evidentiary</b> (evidence)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hollande speech 4 March 2013</li> <li>• Ministry of labour website 22 January 2014</li> <li>• Interview with Minister Rebsamen 4 March 2015</li> <li>• Interview with Minister El Khomri 25 November 2015</li> </ul>		
<b>Accountability</b> (what might be)				
<b>Political</b> (public good or national interest)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hollande speech 4 March 2013</li> <li>• Ministry of labour website 22 January 2014</li> <li>• Speech of Minister Rebsamen 28 November 2014</li> <li>• Interview with Minister El Khomri 25 November 2015</li> </ul>		

Below I have expanded on the summaries above by providing fuller extracts of the texts which demonstrate that the Hollande government relied primarily on an appeal to the usefulness of the training reform for the public good.

**5.3.3 (a) Extract from Hollande's speech of 4 March 2013 and Ministry of Employment website of 22 January 2014 demonstrating evidentiary warrant and rationalization**

Both extracts below rely on numerical data or statistics to make their point. Hollande's speech is an example of rationalization in practice in his rhetorical technique of asking and then answering his own questions, so the answers appear "natural" and "logical."

**Hollande's speech**

What to say about our vocational training system? First of all it represents €32 billion. It's important. ... It deserves evaluation. ... Job seekers and the unemployed count for 13% of total training expenditure. ... We notice also that it is the employees of big companies who benefit the most – three times more than the employees of very small companies. ... our objective is that vocational training is directed as a priority towards the young, especially the less well qualified or the unqualified, towards those in precarious jobs ... towards those of more than 50 years old. ... Training is good, but good training is better! How can training be better? First of all by putting all the training providers in order. ... 55,000 today. Is it reasonable to have 55,000 training organizations? We must focus on fewer providers and demand better quality (Elysée, 2013, my translation).

**Ministry website**

The rate of access of employees to training has increased considerably, passing from 17.1% in 1974 to 40.6% in 2010, but the proportion of those undertaking training leading to a qualification has remained low: only 11% of the training undertaken (Insée, October 2013) – that is one of the lowest rates in Europe. (Ministère du travail, 2014, my translation).

**5.3.3 (b) Minister Rebsamen's speech of 28 November 2014 and interview of 5 March 2015: political warrant and rationalization**

Rebsamen, in these extracts, shuns statistical support for his contentions, preferring instead to refer to the national good or public interest. Through a Bourdieusian lens, Rebsamen's emphasis on the common good could be seen as another example of the tension between cultural capital and economic capital in the field of power:

France is characterized by the coexistence of mass unemployment and recruitment difficulties. The evidence seems to me to indicate that we still don't know enough in our country about helping employers to identify their needs, and helping jobseekers and employees to come up with realistic career plans in line with their aspirations and giving them training to allow them to achieve their goals ... now that the new training organization is coming together we have to make it work for employees, company bosses, and jobseekers. This reform – and I say this without hesitation – is a reform of society and the most important in this area since 1971 (CNEFOP, 2014, my translation).

(The training reform) is a small revolution, which needs some time, and which is premised on workers becoming more active and autonomous in their approach. ... Training providers, for their part, have to develop their training programmes to take advantage of the new opportunities offered by the reform, which encourages those who offer quality training which leads to a certificate, and which corresponds to the needs of companies, economic sectors and regions. I have observed, moreover, that the representatives of private training organizations have generally welcomed these advances, as they will lead the sector to make the improvements, for a long time considered necessary by many. (Centre Inffo, 2015, my translation).

### **5.3.3 (c) Minister El Khomri interview 25 November 2015: evidentiary and political warrant and rationalization**

El Khomri, who replaced Rebsamen, uses both political and evidentiary warrant to justify the policy as it approached the end of its first year in operation:

In following the employee from their first day of hiring until their retirement, the Personal Training Account (*Compte Personnel de Formation, CPF*) provides, at long last, a concrete means to meet the necessity of lifelong learning and allows everybody to really be an actor in their professional life. It is an essential step towards the transferability of employees' rights. Today we can count more than two million accounts that have been created, and the number of applications financed has reached 130,000. (Management de la formation, 2015, verified translation).

The next elements of policy analysis are taken from Bacchi's WPR framework (2009, Appendix D2):

**Table 5E: Elements of the WPR to be used in analysis of policy texts**

Problematizing	Discourse Analysis tools employed
What's the problem represented to be?	
What presuppositions/assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	Binaries, key concepts, people categories
What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	

### 5.3.4 What's the problem represented to be?

Contextual and cultural aspects of the training reform have been explored above with the guidance of Hyatt's CHEPDA. The analysis of extracts from the president's speech and ministers' discourse reveal that the training reform policy was justified by either political or evidentiary warrant and by appealing to its usefulness rather than to the concept of the Republic and its shared values. Indeed, throughout the ministers' discourse there is an emphasis on the need for individuals to take charge of their lifelong learning. The government specifically connected the training reform with their reforms of the *Education nationale* and the public university system. There is a tacit acceptance of the importance of English for future employability throughout the "Rebuilding the education system" law and the *Loi Fioroso*. The government-commissioned report on languages in the workplace conducted in 2014 also confirms the prevalence of English in the French workplace. However, despite the acceptance of English as a key workplace skill, it was not included on the approved lists of training under the training reform law until

almost three months had elapsed, causing much confusion and uncertainty in the English-training field. I turn now to the second element of the CHEPDA-WPR frame to probe the possible reasons for the late appearance of English.

Bacchi notes that the assumption underlying policy is that there is something that needs to be “fixed,” that there is a “problem” (2009, p. ix). Bacchi’s project, however, is to make the problems *implicit* in policies explicit. She notes that, “Policies give *shape* to ‘problems’” (2009, p. x). In other words, governments are engaged in “problematization,” which she defines as “how something is put forward (or represented) as a ‘problem’” (2009, p. xii).

In the case of the training reform, the explicit problem was that of unemployment, as was expressed in Hollande’s speech of 4 March 2013:

There is no issue more urgent. There is no cause more important for national cohesion; there is no stronger imperative for the government than the battle against unemployment (Elysée, 2013, my translation).

The main “fix” was to improve the access to and the quality of vocational training:

the training system must be modernized because... it is a major weapon in the battle against unemployment (Elysée, 2013, my translation).

Thus the implicit problem or “problem representation” was that of vocational training. French policy makers appeared to be following a wisdom that qualified workers are the key to improving structural unemployment (Economics online, 2017).

### **5.3.5 What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?**

The aim of Bacchi’s second question is to identify “deep-seated cultural premises and values within problem representations” (2009, p. 7), a process that she suggests is akin to Foucauldian archaeology: a mode of thinking that aims to unveil the conditions that permitted a certain discourse to take root.

Bacchi suggests three discourse analysis tools - “binaries,” “key concepts,” and “people categories” - to surface deep-seated cultural premises underlying problem representations.

### 5.3.5 (a) *Binaries*

Binaries, according to Bacchi, imply a hierarchy: one side is privileged, for example “civilised”/“uncivilised.” An analysis of the section of the Ministry of Employment’s website entitled “Marked disparities” in 2014, reveals that a male engineer working for a large company at that time had more opportunity of accessing training than a woman working in a manual role in a small company.

**Table 5F: Unequal access to training**

Access to training	
More privileged	Less privileged
Employees of large companies (more than 1000 workers)	Employees of small companies
Engineers and managers	Manual workers and the unemployed
Men	Women
From Ministry of Employment website, 22 January 2014	

The policy aimed to divert public training funds from the privileged side of the table to the less privileged. The provision of the Personal Training Account (CPF) for all those in the private sector would mean that, whether in employment or not, they would still be able to access publicly funded training. The underlying value that the policy would appear to address here is that of *égalité* (equality). Hollande rarely, however, explicitly draws attention to Republican values during his speech to launch the policy, preferring instead to draw on statistical evidence (or the “evidentiary warrant”) to advance his argument: “the unemployed account for 13% of the total training spend” and “employees of big companies benefit (from training) ... three times more than the employees of small companies” (Elysée, 2013, my translation).

### **5.3.5 (b) Key concepts**

Bacchi argues that “policies are filled with concepts” – “abstract labels that are relatively open-ended,” and which thus are open to competing interpretations (2009, p. 8). Concepts like “unemployment” appear to have “clear-cut and obvious meanings, until we probe more deeply” (2009, p. 8). Indeed, although the definition of unemployment used in France is “those of 15 years or older without a job and who are looking for one;” nevertheless, “the boundaries between employment, unemployment and inactivity are not easy to establish” (Insée, 2016, my translation).

Hollande’s government proclaimed itself “the government of skills and knowledge” (Ministère du Travail, 2014, my translation), and brought in reforms to France’s vocational training system that included decisions on which skills would merit government subsidy; the key concept of “skill,” therefore, definitely merits attention. Indeed, the question of whether English can be considered a skill is a fundamental one in respect of the training reform, as debate or discord around this question could have been an element in explaining the delay in adding English to the list of subsidized workplace skills.

In her exploration of whether learning a second or other language could be considered a skill like playing a musical instrument, Taie underscores that “skill” is a “vague” term (2014, p. 1972). Indeed, Cornford argues that any definition of “skill” must be in relation to “the observation or experiencing of ‘skilled performance’” (1996, p. 8). He offers nine attributes of skill and skilled performance, which I have annotated in respect of their relevance (or otherwise) to learning and using English as an adult:



**Table 5G: Is English a skill?**

	Attributes of skills and skilled performance	Applicability to learning/using English as an adult	
1	Skill is acquired or learned rather than innate or instinctive.	Yes, but	The debate in SLA about acquisition or learning (see Krashen and Terrell, 1983, for instance) has not yet been resolved. Some elements of language learning for adults may be innate
2	Skill involves motivation, purpose and goals	Yes, but	There is agreement on the importance of motivation, especially integrative versus instrumental motivation. Integrative is suggested to be more powerful; however, in a world where English functions as a lingua franca, there is no clear language community for learners to aspire to be part of
3	Schemas (mental plans embodying processes and sequencing) are prerequisite for skilled performance	Yes	Communication beyond the beginner stage involves the development and ability to draw on grammatical and syntactic schemas
4	Skills require specific content and context knowledge and are performed in the presence of specific stimuli	Yes	Language learning involves learning about register, for instance
5	Skills involve problem solving or transfer of previous learning to different contexts	Yes	Using English in the workplace, for instance, involves being able to transfer previous learning to a new workplace
6	Individual differences in skilled performance are evident	Yes	I noticed a tendency among the learners I interviewed to compare themselves (unfavourably) with peers in class and in their workplaces
7	Standards of excellence are integral to judgements about skilled performance	Yes, but	Unfortunately, the standard of excellence for many is that of the “native speaker,” allowing for native speaking teachers to be preferred for adult training. To speak like a native speaker is also a goal that is unlikely to be achieved by adult learners.
8	Skill involves performance which can be replicated or repeated to similar standards by the performer	Yes, but	Language skills do decline if not activated regularly
9	Considerable periods of time are required to achieve high levels of skill (10 years can be considered a minimum to develop expertise)	Yes, but	The training reform policy only offers employees 24 hours a year of English training, although the government’s own “Languages and Employability” study reports one employer commenting:  For employees who are complete beginners (in English) ... we realised that even with one-on-one training, their progression is very, very long. They need hours and hours and years of courses before they are able to follow conversations (Benoît et al, 2015, p. 57, my translation).

From the above analysis, it appears that learning and using English as an adult for professional purposes has much in common with other skills. Indeed, Arnold, Dörnyei and Pugliese put forward skill-learning theory as one of the pillars of their “principled communicative approach,” pointing out that “similar to the training of musicians or athletes – L2 instruction should also include *controlled practice activities* to promote the automatization of L2 skills” (2015, p. 51). Taie, however, wonders about affect. She points to research that reveals that “practice does not always make perfect, and one of the prerequisite conditions for the practice to work is what Krashen (1985) has referred to as the ‘low affective filter’” (2014, p. 1974). In other words, learning or speaking English can be affected by what are perceived to be stressful contexts. In addition, as Le Lièvre (2008, p. 5, my translation) points out “English is a language unlike all others” and its position as world lingua franca also brings in a political dimension to its learning and use, which would not be the case for a skill like welding. See points (2), (7) and (9) above, for instance. I, thus, argue that English, although sharing many elements with workplace skills, is a far more complex phenomenon. I would also suggest that it is not entirely implausible that conflicting views among policy makers about whether or not English was a workplace skill could have led to its initial omission from the lists of acceptable courses for public funding.

Portanelli, for instance, (2016), in examining how languages have been represented in the training reform law, indicates that, in the period after the law came into effect, considerable pressure had to be exerted on the “social partners” by the organization that represents training providers (the DGEFP, *Délégation générale à l’emploi et à la formation*) to have English included on the lists of subjects approved for receiving funding. Portanelli raises pertinent questions about the power of the “social partners” (a group of 20 union and management representatives gathered under the umbrella COPANEF: *Comité interprofessionnel pour l’emploi et la formation*) in deciding which languages are appropriate for French adults to learn. In March 2017, Portanelli reported through the website *CPF Formation* that English was the most demanded

subject for training, but its top ranking was badly received by the CGT union (one of the social partners), who wished to exclude English training from CPF funding.

### **5.3.5 (c) *People Categories***

“Categories,” Bacchi explains, “are concepts that play a central role in how governing takes place.” For instance, people categories like “the unemployed” have a significant impact in how “people come to think about themselves and about others” (2009, p. 9). Hollande’s training reform defines several categories of people in need of training: jobseekers, the young and unqualified, senior workers and workers in precarious jobs (especially women) (Elysée, 2013). However, a feature of the policy texts that I base this analysis on is the oft-repeated reference to “the individual.” The Ministry of Employment website, for instance, in announcing the new reform, emphasizes that “the individual is at the centre of the programme” and “from now on, training will be more related to the needs of the individual and less to the needs of the job” and “personal advancement is the new agenda” (Ministère du travail, 2014, my translation). This is a paradigm shift in French training law, as the previous law involved dialogue between an employee and their company or a jobseeker and the job centre to decide on an individual’s professional training. Minister El Khomri, in an interview in late 2015, continues to emphasize the necessity for individuals to be in charge of their own lifelong training (Management de la formation, 2015). As Bacchi points out, “A current dominant style of problematisation creates individuals as primarily responsible for their lives” (2009, p. 7). Bacchi cites (2009, p. 219) Rose (2000, p. 161):

The new citizen is required to engage in a ceaseless work of training and retraining, skilling and reskilling, enhancement of credentials and preparation for a life of incessant job seeking: life is to become a continuous economic capitalization of the self.

My interview with “Edouard,” a 37-year-old sales manager, illustrates the effort imposed by the imperative for lifelong learning - which in France increasingly includes the perceived necessity to enhance English skills:

I was working, and the family, and the low point was the preparation of my thesis. I had several nights without sleep in order to submit it on time. At the same time, I was doing my English course and sometimes I arrived without having slept the night before. I realised that physically I couldn't do it any more. ... you also have to be there for your partner. I forbade myself from making my family pay indirectly (for my studies) I didn't want to punish them – perhaps one weekend they wanted to go and see their grandmother or someone else in the family. ... I tried to be at their end-of-the-school-term parties, but at the same time I knew that every three months I would have exams and sometimes the end-of-term party was the evening before an exam. And English on top of it all! It isn't always easy! (Edouard, Exchange 90–96, my translation).

With individuals left to make their own training decisions, it is likely that they will turn in greater numbers towards English courses. As Park and Wee point out English “is seen as a language worth pursuing regardless of where a speaker happens to be located or how uncertain her social trajectory happens to be, to the extent that English is often considered a good linguistic “hedge” against social and economic uncertainties.” (2012, p. 165). It is likely that those who were not considered priorities for company training, or who did not want to negotiate with their company for training under the previous DIF plan, may be encouraged to apply for training under the CPF. This could result in a flood of lower-level trainees. Trainers would be faced with the conundrum of having a mere 24 hours to help these trainees achieve some sort of level in English - and to prepare them for an examination.

### **5.3.6 What are the effects of the problem representation on the English-training field?**

The explicit problem that Hollande's training reform set out to address was unemployment. The implicit problem, or problem representation, was to improve vocational training. The reform acknowledged that “knowledge and skills are the new lifeblood of global competition” (Ministère du travail, 2014,

my translation), thus the initial omission of English – the most demanded workplace skill under the previous scheme - caused immense shock both in the English-training field and in media reports (Masson, 2015, for instance) in the spring of 2015. Nevertheless, by the end of 2015, English was once again the most demanded subject for publicly funded training, with TOEIC the most-taken certificate (CPF Formation, 2015). At the end of October 2015, however, 20 language schools were in receivership and most had seen a drop of around 25% in their income (Wickham, 2015b). To determine the effects of this problem representation, Bacchi suggests further questions.

### **What has changed with this representation of the problem?**

Writing two years after the entry of the reform into law, from my own practice, I perceive some positive changes:

- Learners have been liberated from having to seek permission from their employer to take English lessons. Some, however, have negotiated with their employer to have lessons during working hours, which has kept open a dialogue on training.
- The obligation to take an examination at the end of a period of training has given learners a tangible goal. Good results have enhanced motivation. The most popular suite of examinations are from ETS Global, whose TOEIC “Bridge” is well within the capacities of a higher-level beginner. Rather than a focus on passing or failing the examination, learners simply receive a mark out of 190.
- Language schools have gone through a rigorous exercise to verify their quality (Appendix E2). This process has ensured that only the most serious will continue to offer language training. There is a danger, however, of small, local language schools being unable to support the administrative burden required under the new law, and they may be replaced by global or national chains.
- Language schools have had to put the quality charter into effect with its insistence on CPD for language trainers. As a result, “Langues-sans-Frontières” (LSF) held its first trainer development day in June 2017.

However:

- Big companies like “Pak-King,” in my pilot research, have encouraged their employees to use their CPF for English training rather than funding this training from their Training Plan. While this has encouraged those employees who were not aware of the training reform and their rights to undertake training, it also means that companies have avoided paying directly for language training.

#### **What has stayed the same?**

- The demand for English

#### **Who is likely to benefit from the reform?**

- Self-directed learners
- Big international examination companies such as ETS Global
- Big companies who “help” their employees to use their CPF; therefore, reducing the need to pay for employee training

#### **Who is likely to be harmed?**

- Small language schools and independent trainers who are unable to meet the administrative and financial requirements of the law
- English trainers as there is likely to be increased precarity as some language schools will not survive
- Employees of those smaller organizations who may not have the resources to publicize the CPF and help their employees to access it

## **5.4 Summary of Chapter 5**

In order to address my overarching research question

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” learners and their trainers to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English functions as a powerful linguistic capital?*

the research detailed in this chapter has been organized as a frame-within-a-frame device that comprises a CDA-led policy analysis framework set within a Bourdieusian field analysis framework. The French government and its policy-making apparatus is thus conceptualised as the “field of power” and English-language training as a field influenced by the policy discourse emanating from the field of power.

#### **5.4.1 Insights from the CHEPDA-WPR approach to policy analysis**

The analysis undertaken in this chapter through the mechanism of the hybrid or dual policy analysis framework of CHEPDA-WPR, using CDA tools, reveals the Hollande government’s linking of the training reform law with its reforms of compulsory and higher education in its plan to lower unemployment levels. There is tacit acceptance that schoolchildren, university students and workers of all levels should be prepared to use English in a globalized world of employment. The reforms to the national education system create more space for English, although there is also recognition of the importance of other modern languages – including heritage languages such as Breton. University reforms set out to give public university students more access to English, through more courses being taught in English – although this measure appears in contravention of the *Loi Toubon*, which was established to protect the use of the French language in education and the workplace. Indeed, reforms to the workplace have to be through joint consultation with partners from unions and management representatives, who may have different appreciations of the extent to which English should be considered a key workplace skill. This is likely the reason for the initial delay in adding English to the list of workplace training courses accepted for public funding under the training reform law.

Indeed, the CDA analysis in this chapter points to “skill” as being a critical term. If the “cure” for France’s high unemployment rests on enhancing the skills of its workforce, the definition of “skill” becomes a key issue. My

question in Chapter 2: “What is English? And why should we care?” is thus of great significance for the French government and the French workforce.

By giving individual employees control over their own training decisions, encouraging lifelong learning, and delegating the steering of the training reform policy to the OPCAs and examining bodies such as ETS Global and Cambridge English, the Hollande government was in line with neoliberal tendencies in other western countries. However, these measures have, to a certain extent, backfired. French employees were slow to open their CPF accounts, but companies have rapidly seen the opportunity - by helping their employees set up their accounts - to save paying out of their own budgets for language training. Also the insistence on a qualification and the privileging of foreign examination bodies has meant that the French government is redistributing public funds to powerful multinational organizations. In addition, the complexity of the training reform led to the demise of small language schools. It appears that only large, powerful multinational organizations will have the wherewithal to survive.

#### **5.4.2 Insights from Bourdieusian field analysis**

As Rizvi and Lingard point out policymaking “involves major trade-offs between values” (2010, p. 72). Conceptualizing the French government as the “field of power” - rather than a monolithic entity - reveals a site of constant struggle between cultural capital (the common good, Republican values, the French language) and economic capital (supplying skilled workers to industry, globalization, the English language). This struggle was crystallized in the early months of 2015 in the invisibility of English (a highly demanded workplace skill according to the government’s own research) in the listings of subjects available for public funding under a reform that set out to vanquish unemployment by enhancing the skills of its workforce.



**Chapter 6** examines the implications of the training reform on the English-language training field through the perceptions of English trainers in a language school, and by drawing on a quantitative survey of the field by the organization TESOL France.

## **Chapter 6 : The English-language training field in France and its trainers**

### **6.1 Mapping the field**

In Chapter 5, I examined the Hollande government's training reform through Critical Discourse Analysis of policy texts; in Chapter 6, I turn the spotlight on the English-language training field to determine how it was influenced by the training reform. The first part of the chapter examines predominantly quantitative research by TESOL France and partners: it depicts trainers' perceptions of the field in 2014, a few months before the training reform came into effect. In the second section of the chapter, I present an analysis of qualitative research I undertook in 2016, as the training reform was underway. This research was focused on "Langues-sans-Frontières" (LSF), a language school in the west of France, and its team of five English teachers.

The research depicted in Chapter 5 and this chapter is inspired by a Bourdieusian research model, where the government's policy making apparatus is conceptualized as a "field of power," and English-language training is conceived as a Bourdieusian field influenced by (and influencing) the field of power. The aim of a Bourdieusian analysis, in addition to determining to what extent the field of power influences the research field (or vice versa), is to discern a trainer habitus which would indicate trainers' underlying dispositions towards, in this case, English as a lingua franca and how it could be taught to adults for professional purposes.

As in Chapter 5, I harness Discourse Analysis (DA) tools in this chapter to analyze the data generated from teacher interviews. Each of the five interview transcripts was first analyzed individually, drawing on the insights of Gee's DA "toolkit" (2014). Although the spirit of DA is to treat each interview transcript as an entirety, the ensuing analysis would have exceeded the limits of this

chapter. I decided, therefore, to organize my analyses of the transcripts in light of how the participants' responses addressed my four research questions:

***RQ1:** What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?*

***RQ2:** Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

***RQ3:** How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes - and by whom (or what)?*

***RQ4:** How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?*

I continue in **Section 6.2** by clarifying the concept of a Bourdieusian field. **Section 6.3** contains my analysis of TESOL France et al's research into the English-language training field in 2014. **Section 6.4** contains my analysis of my interviews with the teachers of the language school LSF in the spring of 2016. Trainer habitus is addressed in **Section 6.5** and **Section 6.6** concludes the chapter.

## **6.2 What is a Bourdieusian field?**

I have been using the term "English-language training field" somewhat loosely, and my use of the term "field" has been used much as it is employed in general parlance as a synonym for profession. Bourdieu's definition of field, however, (while encompassing the notion of profession), views field as an inseparable component - with habitus and capital - of a conception of the social world "as an ensemble of relatively autonomous spheres of 'play'" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007/1992, p. 17):

each field prescribes its particular values and possesses its own regulative principles. These principles delimit a socially structured space in which agents struggle, depending on the position they occupy in that space, either to change or to preserve its boundaries and form.

For Hilgers and Mangez (2015, p. 6) autonomy is the key feature of Bourdieusian fields allowing for the emergence of “a corps of specialists”:

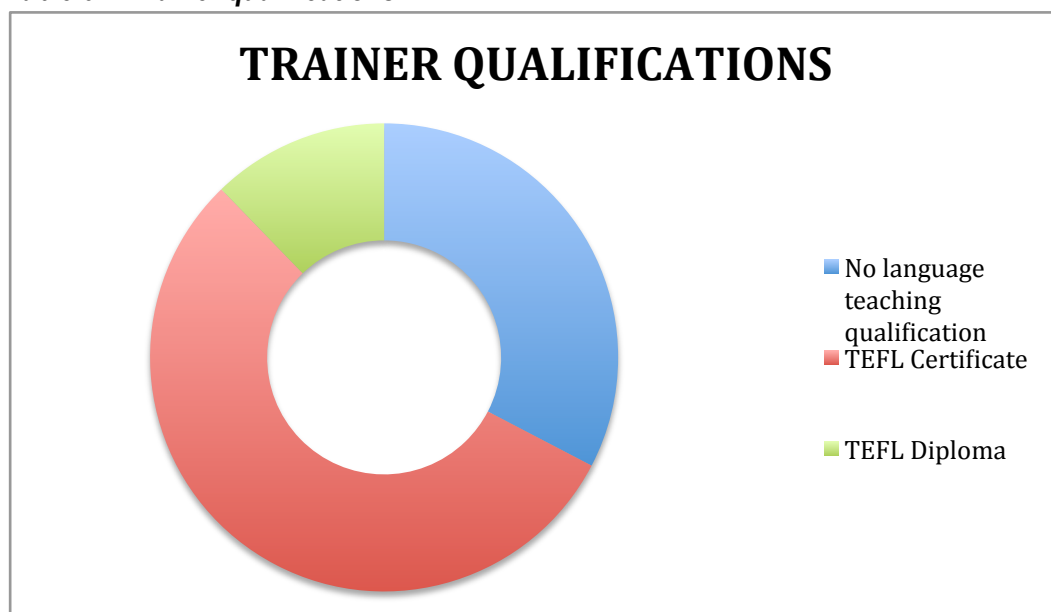
In becoming more autonomous, the functioning of the field also increases the closure effects. The greater its autonomy, the more the field is produced by and produces agents who master and possess an area of specific competence (2015, pp. 6-7).

In the following section, I examine the “English-language training field” through the TESOL France and associates’ 2014 survey of 800 English trainers to determine to what extent English-language training in France can be considered a Bourdieusian field – that is an autonomous sphere of activity with its own values, norms, body of specialists and standard-setting authorities (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). This, I believe, is an important element of the research in the light of RQ3: “How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?”

## 6.3 TESOL France survey findings

### 6.3.1 English-Language Teaching qualifications (722 responses)

*Table 6A: Trainer qualifications*

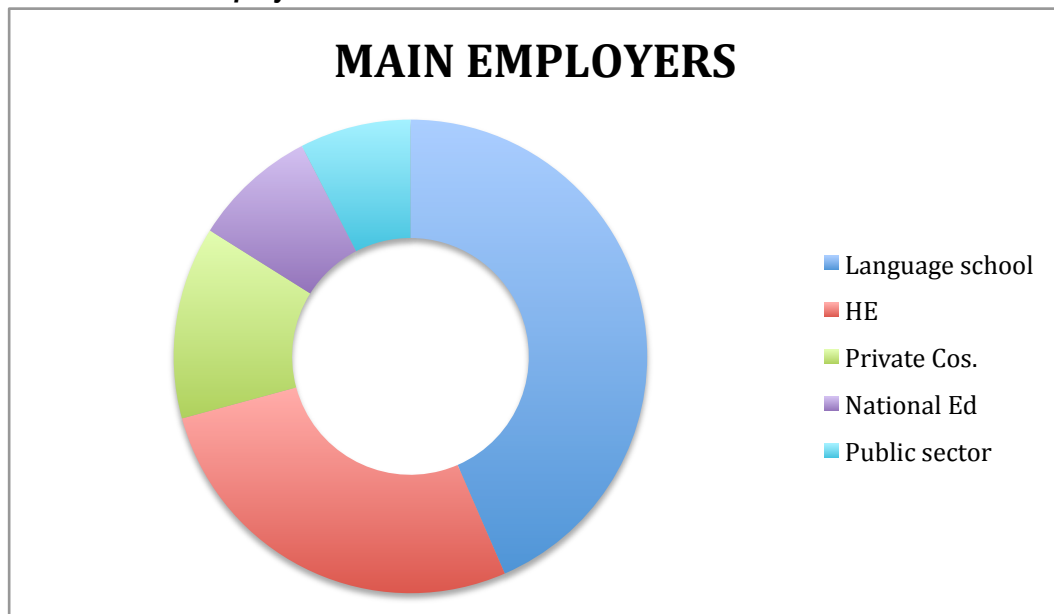


- 32% of respondents had no specific language training qualification
- 54% had a primary qualification, for instance the CELTA
- 12% had a diploma-level qualification

TESOL France chose to emphasize the first figure, commenting: “There are still far too many people entering the market with no suitable qualifications at all and getting work” (Wright, 2016, p. 54). Another approach to the figures is that two-thirds of respondents *did* have ELT qualifications, and to cross-check this data with questions related to income to determine if the cultural capital these diplomas represented was transferable into economic capital. If not, there may be little incentive for the one-third of respondents who did not have qualifications to rectify this situation.

### 6.3.2 Employment (784 responses)

**Table 6B: Main employers**



- 43% of respondents worked mostly for a language school
- 27% for higher education institutions
- 13% for private companies
- 8.4% for Education nationale
- Less than 8% for a public-sector training organization

That a majority of respondents principally worked for language schools was a significant finding in light of the training reform law, which was imposing onerous administrative and quality requirements onto these organizations, which - even before the reform - were barely covering their expenses (Wickham, 2016). Language trainers looked set to face increasing precarity of employment.

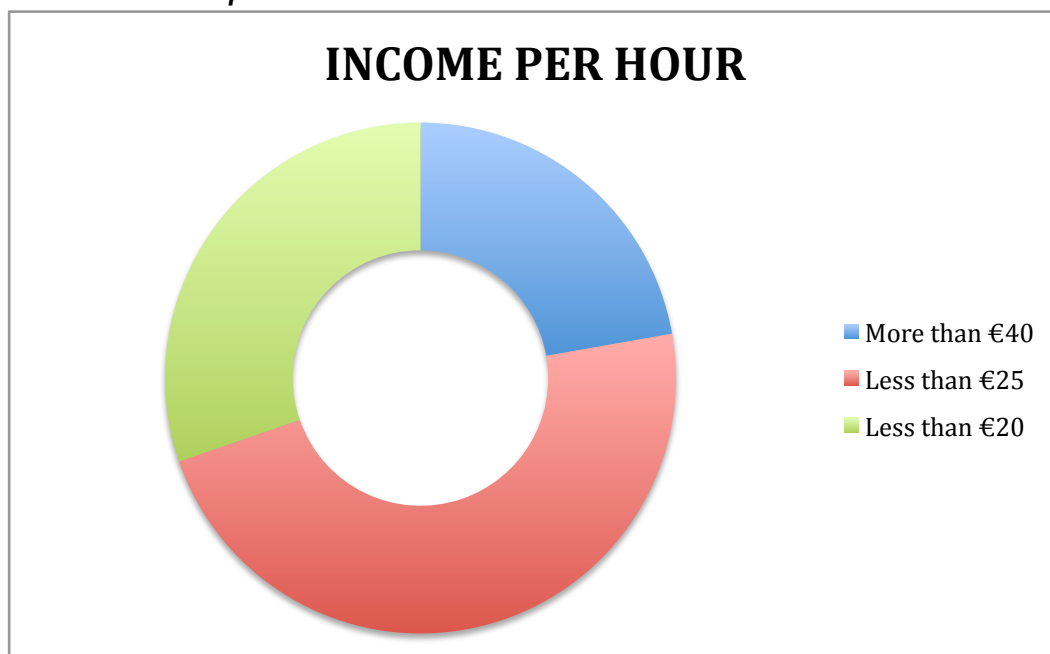
### **6.3.3 Number of employers**

- 25% of respondents had one employer
- 45% had at least 3 different employers
- 16% had 6 different employers

Respondents appear to have been minimizing their precarity by not putting all their “eggs into one employer basket.” 16% of respondents had six different employers – a situation that involves learning multiple organizational styles, and administrative practices. However, my first trainer interviewee “Raine,” in addition to having six different types of employment concurrently at the time of interview, also conducted examinations for two different organizations.

### 6.3.4 Income (437 responses)

Table 6C: Income per hour

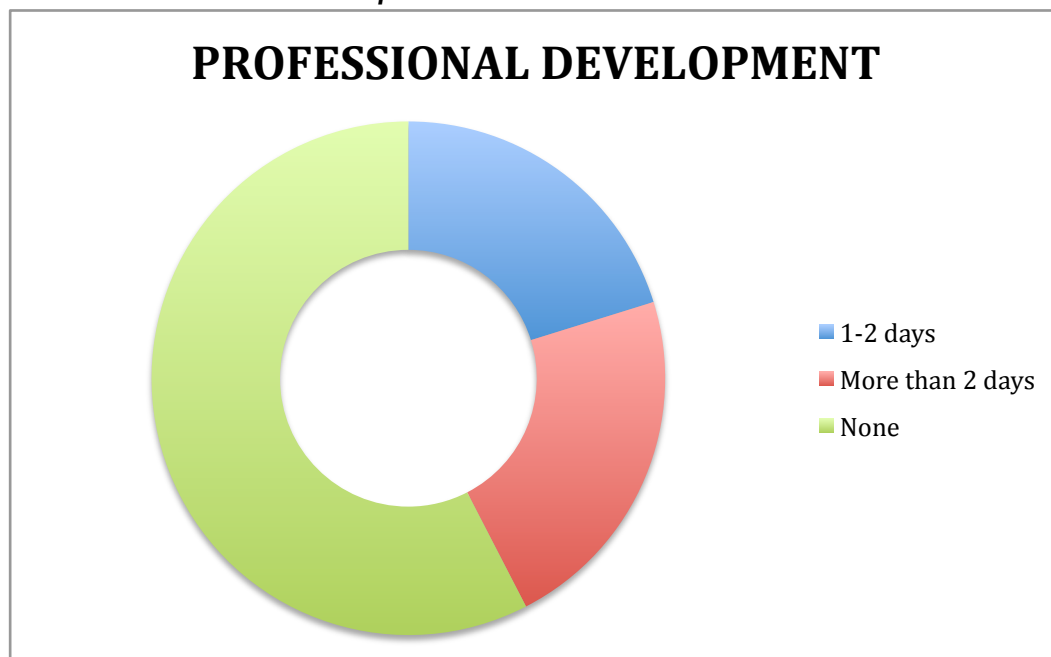


- 22% of respondents were paid a salary of more than €40/hour
- 47% of respondents were paid less than €25/hour
- 30% were paid less than €20/hour (on or below the minimum wage)

The questions about income received a lower response rate than the other questions in the survey perhaps indicating this is a sensitive subject. TESOL France chose to underscore the almost 80% of respondents who are paid around the minimum wage level, but they also pointed out that many English trainers “are the spouses of French nationals who have a steady job in France” and teaching “is seen as a supplement to the household’s income” (Wickham, 2015a, p. 9). If trainers are not taking the profession seriously, they will not be motivated to seek qualifications or Continuing Professional Development (CPD) or demand salaries in line with their qualifications and training.

### 6.3.5 Professional development (789 responses)

**Table 6D: Professional development**



- 20% of respondents had one to two days of professional training in the previous 2 years
- 22% of respondents had more than two days' training in the previous 2 years
- 57% of respondents had no formal professional development in the previous 2 years

Wright comments that “it is ironic that training and educational organisations are among those providing the least amount of CPD for their own teachers, mostly because the language teaching business is underfunded, prices are constantly under pressure, profitability is poor and turnover high.” (2016, p. 55). Indeed, Wickham (2016) in a presentation to TESOL France in February 2016 reported that in 2014 the average language school profit margin was 1.4%. Hidden behind this disappointing CPD figure, however, is the earlier point that many English trainers saw English training merely as a supplement to household income rather than a profession whose skills demanded honing.



### 6.3.6 Principal concerns of respondents (658 answers)

**Table 6E: Principal concerns of trainers**

<b>Concern</b>	<b>Example comment</b>
<b>Pay and rates</b>	<i>“Abuse of teachers by language schools with low pay and not paying when students ... cancel at the last minute.”</i>
<b>Income insecurity</b>	<i>“For many like myself we are in a situation of precarity and uncertainty about work tomorrow.”</i>
<b>Poor and deteriorating work conditions</b>	<i>“Extra work (syllabus writing, management and coordination duties, attendance at meetings) which are (sic) not paid.”</i>

Wickham emphasizes that, despite everything, many respondents commented that they “loved their profession and were very happy” (2015a, p. 12).

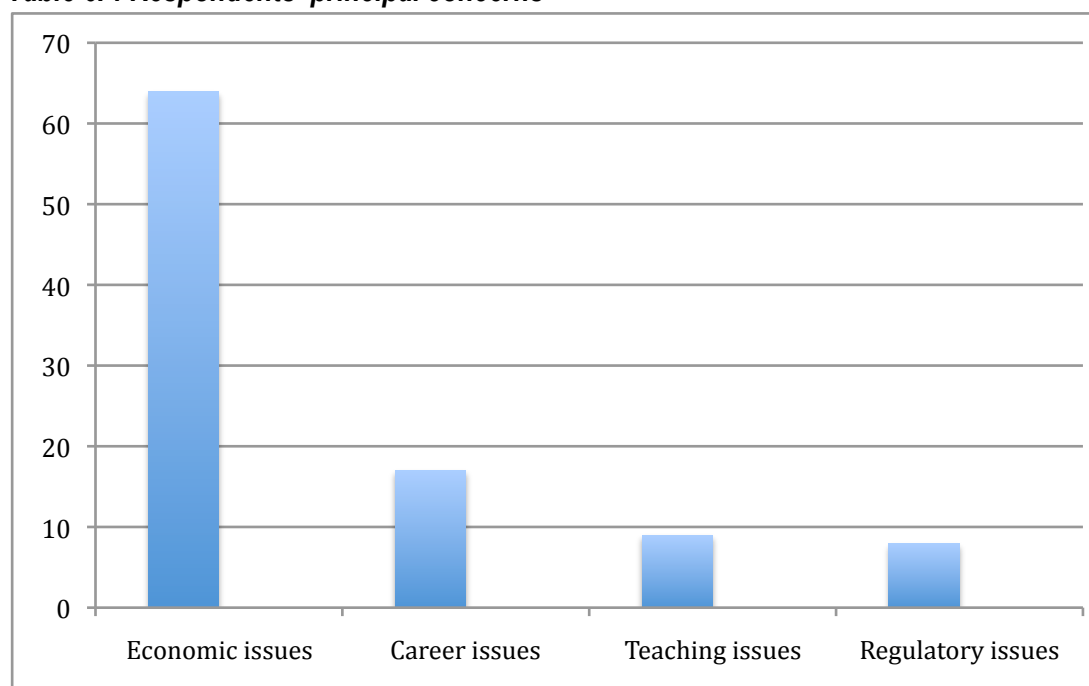
It is difficult to argue with Wright’s concluding comments: “We are convinced that quality language teaching is only possible if conditions and career opportunities for teachers encourage the most competent and passionate to enter or remain in the profession and enable them to carry out their job to the best of their ability.” (2016, p. 56). I view my research as picking up the gauntlet thrown down by TESOL France as my overarching research question - “how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to empower and equip learners” - directly addresses the issue raised by Wright and TESOL France.

### 6.3.7 Conclusions to be drawn from TESOL France’s research

TESOL France et al must be lauded for this attempt to map the English-language training field at a critical juncture in its evolution. Surveying 8000 English-language trainers – although the response rate was weak at around 12% - is an impressive undertaking for a loosely affiliated group of volunteers. The effort involved reveals the extent to which this group deems that English-language training is worthy of consideration as a profession.

Although it appears that TESOL France and associates wanted to draw attention to the negative elements of English-language training in France, the survey took pains to avoid leading questions. Additionally, the reporting of TESOL France’s data analysis via the two magazine articles attempts to paint a balanced picture of the responses received with participants’ positive comments also being reported. The picture, however, is generally grim. Hilgers and Mangez (2015) point out that fields are held in tension by the opposing forces of economic capital and cultural capital. However, the English-language training field as depicted in this research is overwhelmingly in thrall to economic capital. This is vividly portrayed by a graphic in the Wickham article/report entitled “Your principal concerns.”

**Table 6F: Respondents’ principal concerns**



Concerns about teaching (cultural capital) are a poor third to economic and career concerns.

Instead of the “corps of specialists” depicted by Hilgers and Mangez who “monopolize a rare, socially recognized knowledge” (2015, p. 6), English trainers were considered easily replaceable and their knowledge, experience and qualifications (cultural capital) were not widely recognized or valued. It

is, however, reductive to view English trainers in the role of victims of unscrupulous language schools. As Wickham points out (2015, pp. 9-10), many trainers relied on French partners for the bulk of their income, and English teaching was viewed as a handy safety net in a country with high unemployment.

Hilgers and Mangez (2015) point out that closure to the influence of other fields characterises an autonomous field. However, the relative ease in which in just a few months in 2015 the English-training field was subjugated by the Hollande training reform reveals its weakness and lack of closure against the forces of the field of power. A social field can, however, also influence the field of power. Indeed, the international examination organizations, ETS Global and Cambridge English, along with the multinational language school Wall Street English, lobbied the government in the spring of 2015 to restore English to the lists of approved training for public support (Portanelli, 2015). An online petition was organized from representatives from language schools calling themselves “Les Hiboux” (the owls) (Perez, 2015). However, these interventions could not be considered a field-wide co-ordinated response.

I would thus argue that English training in France could not be considered a Bourdieusian field. Lahire describes what he terms a “secondary field” - a domain that yields “low profits, (is) weakly institutionalized and barely professionalized” (2015, Preamble, para. 9). This was an apt description of English-language training in France as depicted in the TESOL France survey. The survey, however, did not include in-depth qualitative data, such as could be obtained from interviewing trainers. The next part of this chapter, therefore, focuses on my interviews with five trainers in “Langues-sans-Frontières” just as the reform was beginning to take effect.

## 6.4 Interviews with LSF trainers

### 6.4.1 Answering RQ1: What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?

Ritchie shared an experience that encapsulated the “dark side” of English and globalization:

94-96	Ritchie	Well, the biggest contract I had in a company was in a television set manufacturing company in (a nearby city). The company was due to move from France to Poland and so the technicians who were my students were actually learning English in order to teach their jobs to Polish people, knowing that they would finish one day by being ...
		made redundant. So the atmosphere wasn't very easy. The people were learning English in this context so they weren't very happy.
97	JM	It must have been a nightmare for motivation.
98	Ritchie	Not very pleasant really.

But when I tried to draw Raine into a discussion of the politics of English in France, she diverted our discussion into an impassioned critique of the *Education nationale* for its inadequate teaching of English to children:

125	JM	Is there perhaps a “dark side” to English in France?
126	Raine	The only dark side is that English is still <u>not taken seriously enough</u> . That is the dark side because these kids, especially doing <i>grande école</i> , graduate school, they cannot go and work now without being able to communicate in English, otherwise they'll <u>be ridiculous</u> . It's like the person we know who wants to teach in (a <i>grande école</i> ). They don't have the level; they will not <u>be taken seriously</u> . So people in a business situation will <u>not be taken seriously</u> either. You can't spend your whole time communicating by email with Google Translation next to you. I wouldn't say it's a gatekeeper, I think it needs <u>to be taken more seriously</u> ... because it is <u>ridiculous</u> to have a high-level engineer, who is not able to speak correctly. It is just not possible. Not possible, if he wants <u>to be taken seriously</u> .
127-129	JM	So, what you're saying is that to be a serious professional in France, there is no choice ... but to have a mastery of the English language?
130	Raine	Yes, which should start in primary school and should be followed correctly in primary school – I've been there, I've done it. ... It is possible, but <u>people are too lazy to do it properly</u> . <u>People are too lazy to do it properly</u> .
131	JM	Teachers or ... the <i>Education nationale</i> ?
134	Raine	The <i>Education nationale</i> – they try and give them the tools and they

		<p>have training occasionally, but if you do follow the indications they give you, it is possible to do it. I learned it from scratch <u>but a lot of people are too lazy</u> to follow the way – But that is the age when you have to get them, get them motivated, show them it’s fun, it’s not difficult. And then you have got them for life.</p>
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Raine’s argument is structured on the binaries of “being taken seriously” (repeated five times in Exchange 126, for instance) or being “ridiculous.” She does not see an issue with English being used as a selection tool, or gatekeeper, in French education and employment - from her perspective the problem is rather that students and future engineers are not exposed to serious training to enable them to “speak correctly.”

In this exchange, significant is the use of “to speak correctly.” Raine does not say “to speak *English* correctly” – to speak professionally is to speak English. (Gee’s fill in tool, 2014, p.18). She does not say that a professional should be able to “get by” in English. The assumption is that a professional should aspire to speak at a “native speaker” level.

Who “owns” English is a heated debate in the ELF literature, but I think this would be surprising to Raine for whom it is a given that the native speaker is the rightful owner of the language. In her questionnaire, for instance, she ranked to “be a native speaker” as the most important requisite for an English trainer of adults. In Exchange 144, she expresses frustration that native speakers are not used in French primary schools:

What they need to get is more native speakers to be there to be available, to give advice, to give tools. ... a native speaker has a thousand songs in their head that they learned as a kid and that is a wonderful teaching tool in primary school.

Another theme that comes out of this exchange is that of “laziness,” as is seen in the repetition in Exchange 130 of “people are too lazy to do it (teach English) properly” and again in Exchange 134 “a lot of people are too lazy.” For someone who worked as hard as Raine, clearly lazy teachers would be anathema. In fact, teachers in the *Education nationale* have lifetime tenure

and work around 18 hours per week. Raine worked much longer hours without any job security. Her comments about “laziness” might have been a veiled criticism of this situation.

Rosalie was clearly puzzled about my question about the “dark side” of English, as twice she asked for clarification:

240	Rosalie	I think as time goes on, I think English is really important, particularly in engineering firms, in factories, if you want to become a manager, you’ve got to have English. <u>Is that what you mean?</u>
241	JM	Yes.
242	Rosalie	But I think if you’re management material, anyway, if you’re a go-getter, I think you’ll find ways of improving your language level. You go off to work in England like we did. I went au pairing, you know, I didn’t have a bean. You go and enrol in a class and you work in a family. You improve your level if that’s what you want to do. But I think you’ve got to have that motivation. But I think the doors are always opening, particularly in, just in my experience here, somebody who wanted to change his job, he was 40, his English was poor and he wasn’t getting the interviews because of his language. <u>So is that what you mean?</u>

In [240], Rosalie, in stating the importance of English to managers in industry, gave an answer that might have been truer of France twenty or thirty years earlier. The Hollande government’s own research (the LEMP report of 2015) pointed to English being used by all levels in an organization. Rosalie, remembering when she was an au pair (who had a good base in French from university), cannot envisage the difficulties for the mid-career 40-year-old she mentions to “go off to work in England.” She expresses an optimistic view of English in the workplace: “the doors are always opening” that is, unfortunately, not borne out by Deneire’s research (2008) into English in the French workplace or by the LEMP report.

## 6.4.2 Answering RQ2: Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?

Emmanuel and Elouan were both dismissive of English being used merely for the purpose of communication, with Elouan drawing a dividing line between “real English” and ELF or “Globish”:

I’m not too sure that it’s always a good idea to start with English (as the first foreign language taught in school). It’s very handy – speaking English is quite good because you can travel a bit around and a lot of people can manage in English. It doesn’t mean that you’re going to speak a real English, but it is like a lingua franca, which is maybe – well, we talk about Globish, but you can’t speak with a native English speaker, but otherwise you can manage here and there, so why not? (Elouan, Exchange 144)

Globish, a portmanteau of “global” and “English” is the brainchild of an ex-IBM employee, Jean-Paul Nerrière; it is based on a simplified English lexicon of 1500 words and aims for “efficiency before accuracy” (my translation; Nerrière, 2017, p. 13).

The concept of ELF was also alien to Rosalie and Raine, with Rosalie dismissing ELF exchanges as “me Tarzan, you Jane.” Gee (2014) encourages analysts to explore intertextual references (the intertextuality tool) and here Rosalie would appear to be referring the quotation attributed to Johnny Weissmuller the actor who played Tarzan, the “ape man” in a series of films in the 1930s and 1940s. It is not a flattering analogy for ELF exchanges. Rosalie underscores that she expected her trainees to reach NS-standards of “perfection” or “correctness”:

192	Rosalie	Yes, it’s interesting because I’ve often got students who say oh, I don’t understand the English, but I understand my colleague in Italy - because the language is at a different level. But, I think, I say to that of course you can communicate at a very basic level, like <u>“me Tarzan, you Jane.”</u> It can be very limited, and you get by, you operate, particularly in technical fields where everyone knows what they’re talking about, but the English is far from <u>perfect</u> . But I say to my students <u>I aim for perfection</u> . <u>You have to aim for perfection</u> ,
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		because it's not just their job, it's also when they go abroad. You never know what's going to happen in life.
193	JM	That's right. Life is long.
194	Rosalie	Life is long, so you may need this more sophisticated level of English later on or maybe they're going to get promoted and they have to give presentations. They just can't say oh well I can, you know, I can communicate with my colleague and I don't have to do this and I don't have to do that. Emails, for example, can be very brief. But I say, well, you know, I think we should write <u>correctly</u> . <u>I think there's a respect of the language</u> . Write and speak as best as you can, but acknowledging the fact that – I put my little input in but maybe they'll just carry on as it was before. <u>My responsibility as a teacher is to show them that there is a correct way</u> .

Raine was similarly dismissive of ELF:

81	JM	Some people suggest teaching a “pared-down” version of English for international use. What do you think of that?
82	Raine	[Slightly irritated?] “Pared-down”? I always adapt to whomever I'm teaching.
83	JM	So, for example, the third-person ‘s’ -
84	Raine	[interrupts] Oh, you can't do without it.
85	JM	[laughs]
86	Raine	No, seriously, that is one of the worst things. ...

Gee (2014) suggests that analysts pay attention to how the speaker's intonation contour contributes to the meaning of their utterance (the intonation tool), and in this exchange, I detected some irritation or incredulity about my question about teaching a “pared-down” international English. Raine repeated the expression “pared-down” slowly and deliberately, separating the two lexemes, whereas in connected speech these elements would usually be elided: /'peədaʊn/. I interpret as incredulity or surprise that this question was being asked.

When I tried to give an example to illustrate what I meant by “pared-down” language in [83], I invoked the semantically empty third-person ‘s’; Raine interrupted emphatically with “you can't do without it” and “that is one of the worst things.” Gee highlights the importance of deictics, which he describes as “pointing words” (2014, p. 14). Of interest in the above extract are the deictics “you” and “that”; what or who are they pointing to? Indeed, a related element



to the deictics tool in Gee’s toolkit is the “fill-in tool” (2014, p. 18), where analysts need to ask what “knowledge, assumptions, and inferences do listeners have to bring to bear in order for this communication to be clear and understandable?” Raine’s “you” appears to refer to both adult learners of English, who were the focus of this part of the interview, and learners in school, whom she went on to discuss later in the extract. I understood Raine’s “that” to indicate that she believed the omission of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person ‘s’ to be a grave error.

Rosalie also rose to the defence of the third-person ‘s’:

210	Rosalie	I love the third-person ‘s’! I always put big ‘s’s up on the board and point to it. But can I say, it’s such an easy thing to do. I tell my students, it’s such an easy thing to do and you have to remember because it makes a difference between “oh, this person doesn’t speak English well because he misses ‘s’s off”. It reflects on their overall knowledge, even if their knowledge can be good elsewhere. If they don’t put the ‘s’ on it really brings them down, I think in other people’s - what other people listen to in their language.
211	JM	Very interesting.
212	Rosalie	So, I always say: the ‘s’!

Analyzing this exchange with the guidance of Gee’s deixis and fill-in tools, I found myself asking who are the “people” Rosalie imagines would be thinking (or saying) “this person doesn’t speak English well because he [sic] misses ‘s’s off”? It could only be (some) native speakers or those who had acquired or wished to acquire native speaker-level competence in a high-value native-speaker dialect. It is likely that in an ELF situation the omission would not draw such opprobrium. As with Raine’s interview, I found myself questioning what it is about this tiny piece of grammar that arouses such passion – especially as its omission is not uncommon in native-speaker English dialects: indeed, it is a feature of East Anglian English (Vasko, 2010). Thompson, in the introduction to Bourdieu’s *Language and symbolic power* points out that:

On a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others; and part of the practical competence of speakers is to know how, and to be able, to produce expressions which are highly valued on the markets concerned (2016/1991, p. 18).

Clearly the English that Raine and Rosalie were aiming to teach their learners is what they consider to be - in Bourdieusian terms - a “legitimate language,” a dialect of English where the third-person ‘s’ is not considered an optional feature, but is highly valued.

### 6.4.3 Answering RQ3: How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?

#### 6.4.3 (a) *Minimizing stress*

The influence of France’s national education system is never far from discussions of language and language learning. Ritchie, who had worked in the French school system, commented that he gathered “the atmosphere in French classes is quite stressful” (Ritchie, Exchange 34). At LSF, Ritchie was working with learners who were reconnecting with the language again as adults; he was duly sensitive to the previous (negative) experiences his adult beginners may have had with English at school:

76	Ritchie	With adults like that, I use a method. I generally use <i>Headway</i> .
77	JM	Which has got a long history.
78	Ritchie	Yes. And I find it’s well done; it’s well structured. And it gives the students a kind of security. They like to have a book that they can take home. But I don’t only do that. I go out of <i>Headway</i> , in and out. And sometimes we don’t touch the book during the session. For instance, the adults really like to study songs. Recently with two groups we studied “The streets of London.” So we look at the language and the translations etc. and they sing it.
79	JM	There is also a big debate, I think, in English teaching about translation. What is your take? Do you use French in your classes? ...
82	Ritchie	Yes, I do. I’m not inhibited about using French. Not too much.
83	JM	It’s a debate and there’s no real consensus.
84	Ritchie	No. Personally, it doesn’t bother me to use a bit of French, because I find that it makes some people feel more secure. There are adults who have had a bad experience with English. And, especially at the beginning of the year, they can feel quite stressed.
85	JM	Does that relate to their earlier experiences -
86	Ritchie	Yes.
87	JM	maybe, as you mentioned, in the <i>Education nationale</i> ?

88	Ritchie	Yes.
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Later Ritchie explained that he had noticed that some teachers had an “aversion” to using the language of the students, which he thought was a “kind of trend.” He explained that his reason for using French “from time to time” was that during his TEFL diploma they had a morning of instruction in Swedish. He remembered feeling “completely lost” without “one single word of English” and overall he said it “was a very negative experience” for him (Ritchie, Exchange 112-114).

Gee’s intertextuality tool (2014) is pertinent to Ritchie’s interview as he referred to two texts, including the 1970s UK folk hit by Ralph McTell “Streets of London.” This song with its themes of loneliness, old age and destitution would counter the blander elements of the British English teaching series *Headway*, the other text that Ritchie brought up in the interview. So although Ritchie recognized that his adult beginners felt secure with a method and coursebook, he, nevertheless, was not averse to confronting his learners with more challenging material.

Ritchie also expressed a desire for his lessons to be “more practical” as his students were learning English to “deal with pretty practical situations.” He imagined “One room with a curtain and be able to do little sketches concerning the airport.” He commented “a classroom is rather like a schoolroom ... And I feel it is not the best environment for learning and for teaching English to people like that.” Ritchie’s ideas were echoed by one of my learner interviewees, Luc, who chose to direct his valuable CPF (Personal Training Account) hours for a course based on the “natural approach” (Krashen and Terrell, 1983), where participants were seated in deckchairs. Ritchie’s ideas also chimed with approaches such as (De)Suggestopedia, where learning does not take place in a typical classroom (Richards and Rodgers, 2001, pp. 100-107).

### 6.4.3 (b) *Putting in the time*

One of the manager respondents in the Hollande government-commissioned “Languages and Employability” report, was surprised that beginners, taking English lessons in-company, needed “hours and hours and years of courses before they are able to follow conversations” (Benoit et al, 2015, p. 57, my translation).

Elouan, who, in addition to English, French and Breton, spoke Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, Finnish, Portuguese and some Arabic, was at the time of the interview learning Welsh. He agreed that language learning involved a significant time commitment:

137	JM	... A question which is often on my mind, because I work in companies and sometimes you have just like 20 or 30 hours or 40 hours to help people to reach quite a good level. In your experience, is there any way that, you know, you can go from a sort of lower intermediate level to a higher intermediate level in anything like 20 or 40 or 60 or 80 hours? To me, it seems like there is no way to accelerate the process.
138	Elouan	No, especially if it is just two hours a week or something, you know.
139	JM	So, to you, it’s really like something has to be done every day?
140	Elouan	I mean, I’m quite sure of it. I’m quite sure of it. That’s why I realised this week, working every day (on Welsh), and it’s 30 minutes, that’s not a big deal.

### 6.4.3 (c) *The native speaker debate*

I (not without embarrassment) mentioned to Emmanuel that data from my questionnaires with LSF learners indicated a preference for “native speaker teachers.” Emmanuel, a French first language speaker, appeared unruffled by the question, noting that many providers advertised that they had only native-speaking teachers. But his little aside was telling: “even if they are rubbish” (Emmanuel, Exchange 214-216):

222	Emmanuel	Yes, but, you know, native teachers I think are good and probably much better than French teachers at a certain level. I speak English, but at a certain level I find it hard just to answer some
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		very specific questions because this is not my native language.
223	JM	Well, I find it hard to answer some specific questions because it <u>is</u> my native language! And I may never have been asked that question before. ...
226	Emmanuel	So I think sometimes the French public, especially at the very beginning, they quite like having a French teacher because they are very in demand of grammar. Because the way we teach languages in France, and even including French, is through grammar. So they want to have some landmarks. .... And most of the time, native (English) teachers they don't have a clue about the English grammar because it's not very important. It's not important in the way you learn your own language. ... I'm really convinced that we could and we should teach English without any grammar. ...

Emmanuel's comments add nuance to the debate about "native" or "non-native" speaking teachers. Emmanuel suggests that French English trainers may be preferable for beginner adults as they better understand the earlier learning culture of the trainee and there is, thus, less of a disconnect between school and adult learning.

Notable also is our discussion of inductive versus deductive learning (below). Emmanuel's admiration for "Murphy" (shorthand for Raymond Murphy's *English grammar in use and Essential grammar in use* grammar guides - the latter has a French edition) and the inductive approach to grammar reveal a challenge to Emmanuel's habitus, formed through his French schooling, where the deductive model prevails. As a French teacher of English, Emmanuel's habitus had evolved to be open to a different learning/teaching philosophy.

230-234	Emmanuel	I much prefer the English way of teaching grammar, which is through the example. It's totally different. ... If you look at a French grammar and an English grammar. In French, the French grammar about English, they explain <i>le présent simple est utilisé</i> da, da, da and then you have some examples.
		If you take, you know, most English grammar, Murphy and so on, you have some examples and then, OK, it works like this so we could suppose that, OK, we would use the present simple to speak about routine, everyday matters.
235	JM	So it's a more inductive approach.
236	Emmanuel	Yes.
237	JM	It's not sort of top-down but bottom-up, but I think that mirrors the cultural differences anyway. The way we look at the world.

238	Emmanuel	Yes.
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A cross-fertilization of ideas between teachers from different backgrounds, as in the short example above, could pose an effective counterweight against the hegemony of - as Bax puts it - the one-size-fits-all approach of CLT (2003). Indeed, Hollande’s training reform and the ensuing Quality Charter for training providers insisted on providers offering Continuing Personal Development (CPD) opportunities to their trainers. As a result, LSF organized its first Development Day in June 2017, bringing together teachers of all the languages offered by the centre.

#### 6.4.4 Answering RQ4: How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?

##### 6.4.4 (a) *The impact of French education policy*

The Hollande government, as I emphasized in Chapter 5, explicitly linked their reforms to vocational training with their reforms to the national education and university systems. The education system, with its historic focus on the French language as the defining characteristic of a citizen of the Republic, was critiqued by Elouan early in his interview, when he told me that his “monolingual education” had been a “mistake” (Exchange 66):

67	JM	What do you mean by the monolingual education?
68	Elouan	I mean being in a monolingual system in France, just being educated in one language. Because I think that France missed a big opportunity of having a lot of bilingual people in the country, because there are a lot of languages in the country.
69	JM	I think I read 70 languages. Depends how you define them.
70	Elouan	Yes, what’s going to be taken. But I think there was a great opportunity. France did the opposite.
71	JM	It closed around the French language?
72	Elouan	Yes, it was very important to have a unity. <u>Unity</u> doesn’t mean <u>uniformity</u> , but there’s a mix in centralised France. That was the idea of a republic, not at the beginning. But that was the idea of the republic and even from some kings.
73	JM	French being the magnet to pull together all the aspects of what it means to be a citizen?

74	Elouan	One people, one language. And even in 1992, in the Constitution, they added Article 2. (“The language of the Republic is French.”) ...
76		And, at that time, <u>they</u> said oh, it’s to fight against the English language, but they used it against the Breton language and the other languages. You know, preventing <u>us</u> from doing this and that. So it has always been a fight.

Elouan makes clear the complicity of the education system and the French language in the construction of a unified Republic, but he is critical of the conflation of “unity” with “uniformity,” which has led to the marginalization of Breton and other heritage languages. The binary pronouns of “they” and “us,” (Exchange 76) (Gee’s deixis tool) (2014) make clear his desire to separate himself from the ideological foundations of the Republic. In Elouan’s discourse, the English language is merely a side story in the fraught linguistic history of the Republic. Elouan, thus, is able to reconcile his being a teacher of tiny Breton and English - a language depicted by Bunce et al as a “rampaging monster” that “threatens the vitality and diversity of other languages and cultures in the modern world” (2016, p. 1).

Indeed, Elouan viewed English warmly, almost in a romantic light:

When I think of English, I think of the Beatles, Monty Python, Woody Allen, you know, and Rob Brydon, and different things that you are close to – having a cup of tea with scones with clotted cream, you know, that kind of thing. You have to be close to the culture; you need friends, you know. ... It’s something very warm; it’s to communicate with the others, to find a way that you are close to, I think it helps a lot ... just being a consumer, you know, you can achieve it, but I think that’s not enough. There is something to do with the heart, I think. Heart, guts, love (Elouan, 170).

It is understandable that Elouan, being educated in a system where the French language is entwined with French culture, and being an activist for both the Breton language and culture, would connect English to cultural referents. Here he mentions English musicians and comedians, an American actor and director, and a Welsh comedian. The cup of tea and scones, almost a cliché, are a very English reference. With the exception perhaps of Brydon, who is Welsh, all cultural references are to the speakers of Inner Circle countries,

specifically Anglo-American. Elouan indicates that integrative motivation is key to successful language learning. He dismisses instrumental learning – “just being a consumer” – as a less effective approach.

Similarly, Emmanuel regretted that English “was considered by people just as a means of communication”:

They do not understand – and this is what I try to do in my lessons – that people when they speak a language they have a culture, and it’s important to speak about the culture of people, just to make them think and realise that the English are different from the Welsh, who are different from the Americans, who are different from the Australians, and it’s an international language and so we should speak as much as we can about international culture (Emmanuel, Exchange 266).

While recognizing variety in English, these two French teachers considered English as a cultural attribute of Inner Circle speakers rather than the lingua franca of a globalizing world.

#### **6.4.4 (b) *The impact of the training policy***

At the time of my LSF interviews, Hollande’s training reform had been in operation for a year, and it appeared that the demand for English training had not diminished, despite there being a paradigm shift towards placing responsibility for training in the hands of individual employees. Raine, for instance, explained that she aimed to do 25-30 hours teaching a week, and, in addition to being an examiner for Cambridge, she had also just trained to be an official TOEIC examiner. I asked Raine what, if anything, she would change about her working life:

70	Raine	What would I change? I used to say it would be ideal if I had a fixed contract so that I knew exactly what I had coming in every month. That is what I always wished for.
71	JM	I notice that you’re using the past tense.
72	Raine	Yes, because now – to be honest – the diversity is what I love. And also I’m very privileged in that I can choose more or less what I do because every year I could fill my timetable twice over.
73	JM	That would be sixty hours a week!



74	Raine	If I had the time – on top of having three children and a house to run – if I had the time I could fill it twice over.
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Gee’s “identities building tool” (2014, p. 112) encourages analysts to probe the identities that the speaker constructs. In line with the TESOL France trainers, Raine admits to having longed for less precarity. But why, I wondered, did she want me to see her as capable of teaching a superhuman 60 hours a week? I surmised that as a result of the precarious nature of English teaching in France, with the lack of full-time employment possibilities, Raine, nevertheless, wanted to demonstrate her value, and that she had some choice over the situation.

Hollande, in his speech in Blois in 2013, pledged to “bring a little order” to what he estimated to be 55 000 training providers in France (Elysée, 2013, my translation). I asked Emmanuel, in his role as director of LSF, if he thought the training reform would “tidy up” the language-training market:

158	Emmanuel	Yes, I think so. I think they probably believe that there are too many people who, you know, are in charge of training. Because, as I was saying before, it was so easy at a certain period just to become <i>organisme de formation professionnelle</i> (training provider).
159	JM	Just ten years ago, when I arrived.
160	Emmanuel	You know, you could become an <i>organisme de formation</i> – not only a teacher - but <i>organisme de formation professionnelle</i> .
161	JM	Exactly.
162	Emmanuel	And many of them are just, you know, single, there’s just one person, sometimes two. Right, you’re English, you teach English, and someone asks you to train in Spanish and you try to find a Spanish teacher and he works for you.

The reforms though imposed a heavy administrative burden on training providers, and Emmanuel feared for the existence of tiny LSF:

172	Emmanuel	So the trouble is that we have at LSF ... we’re much too small. We’re supposed to have a budget ... of something like €80 000 in <i>formation professionnelle</i> (vocational training), which is not the case for LSF, because today we have many different incomes ...
174		So, we’re too small. And, you know, I don’t know what’s going to

		happen.
175	JM	What do you think?
176	Emmanuel	We'll fight for it!
177	JM	Five years down the road?
178	Emmanuel	I think we'll fight for it. Because LSF is different, and we try to do something different. The good thing at LSF, I think, is mixing the public. In our classes, we can have, you know, a couple of guys who are here because they need to learn English for their jobs. And the other people are just ordinary people. And we have to learn from each other. ...
		The thing is, many people come here for personal reasons, but they are very happy just to improve their skills because they might use it for work. So they don't say that they come for professional reasons, but if you improve your skills maybe you can just apply for another job in your company. And you can say, well, I've been to LSF for three years and I'm learning English every week; I'm improving.

All publicly funded English courses under Hollande's training reform had to lead to a certificate. The examinations most usually selected in the period 2015-2017 were ETS Global's TOEIC suite (CPF Formation, 2017). Purporting to be tests of English for "international communication," there was nothing international about the English tested, nor was there any communication, in the sense of an exchange. The examinations consisted of multiple-choice questions in "Listening" and "Reading." The English tested was American English, although a variety of "native speaker" accents were employed in the listening section. As Ritchie pointed out, the TOEIC "isn't the ideal English level exam. It's too much based on comprehension rather than speaking" (Ritchie, Exchange 134).

Raine, in spite of having recently qualified to be a TOEIC examiner (Exchange 30), also took a negative stance toward the TOEIC being used as the *de facto* benchmark of English ability under the training reform:

104	Raine	They're (the government are) making a huge mistake, they should open it (the approval system) up to exams with an oral part ... And also I think the problem with TOEIC is that it is valid for two years. So, to be honest, it's a rip-off. People are using their personal account to do training and take an exam, OK? And in two years' time, it's going to be no longer valid, so they're going to have to start
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		again, which means that each time there is an extra amount off the budget going for an exam which doesn't have a validity. ...
109	JM	I'm just wondering why when the expertise is here in France, I wonder why TOEIC and BULATS have been given the power -
110	Raine	[interrupts] But they haven't, it's the businesses. They know how to sell themselves. It purely comes down to business, I'm sure about it. ...

Here Raine rails against “the businesses” of TOEIC and BULATS, but, as an examiner for both Cambridge English (who organize the BULATS) and for the TOEIC exam, Raine is working for both businesses. Raine here exemplifies the inherent tensions in being an English teacher/trainer: helping people to achieve their language goals, to secure a better job and so forth is a laudable and worthwhile mission. However, the real winners may be large globalized companies. She also draws out one of the absurdities of the training reform: with several suitable French examinations available, why was the testing given over initially to two foreign businesses?

## 6.5 Trainer habitus

Reay advises that moments of self-questioning can offer a glimpse into habitus (2004, pp. 437-8), and I believe these interviews offered an opportunity for the teachers to reflect on their professional life. Although Ritchie painted a grim picture of training technicians who would be losing their jobs to Polish workers, both Rosalie and Raine appeared surprised or uncomfortable when I asked if there was a “dark side” to English in France. Neither chose to engage with the discourse of English and globalization, which underpinned my question. Both redirected the question to one of their own concerns or experiences. Indeed, as Hannam (2012, p. 83) underscores, in reviewing Phillipson's (2009) project to highlight the “linguistic imperialism” at the heart of global English, the realization that English teachers may be “implicated in the process of domination” is an uncomfortable one.

I surmise that Raine and Rosalie's habituses framed their perceptions of the English language as a force for good, something that enhanced the lives of

their trainees, rather than a force that could increase inequality. My question must, therefore, have seemed odd.

Similarly to Raine and Rosalie, Emmanuel and Elouan redirected my questions about English and globalization towards deeper, older concerns about France and languages. Independently, both produced long, unbroken stretches of, often impassioned, discourse, which was amenable to analysis in terms of, what Gee terms, “stanzas” (2014, p. 86): “a group of idea units about one important event, happening or state of affairs.”

Emmanuel’s stretch of discourse (below) was almost unbroken by my commentary and divides into three stanzas. The discourse markers “Well” and “But” signal transitions to the second and third stanzas. The first stanza examines the issue of French learners being poor language learners from the frequently invoked angle, both in this research and in general, of poor teaching at school:

**Stanza 1.** The French are very proud of their own language and, at the same time, they see that everyone should speak foreign languages, but what do we do to speak foreign languages better? I think the English language is just taught exactly the same way as geography or mathematics or something. So you have thirty kids, you do something which is pretty boring and you expect them just to speak the language. And it doesn’t work. And they say, well, we don’t understand why the French are bad. Or some people would say, again in the government, that the French learners are not very good in foreign languages.

The dance of pronouns is notable in this first stanza. Emmanuel at first does not associate himself with the French whom he categorizes as “they” at the outset. “They” quickly becomes “we” and then “we” becomes “you” as he puts himself in the position of a teacher. The second half of the stanza is characterized by the pronouns “they” and “we” to refer to “some people,” which in turn refers to the government. Essentially a “them” and “us” binary is set up between French people and the government, but Emmanuel’s organization of ideas is much more subtle. He recognizes his dual identity as a French speaker of English and a teacher of English, and is reluctant to pinpoint

“they” as the government too rapidly, perhaps to de-emphasize the “them” vs “us” cliché.

**Stanza 2.** Well, why should we be worse than ... anyone else, you know, in foreign languages ... France has always been multicultural, many languages, but we have told them, we have told all those people who spoke Breton, Basque or Provençal or whatever that it was just dialects. So everything which is French is great; all the others are dialects and today this is the “English dialect,” which is the best. So we are late. We are late. Well, they are improving. ...

The tone changes in the second stanza where there is a tinge of anger in the rhetorical question “why should we be worse than anyone else in foreign languages?” Emmanuel identifies himself with the “we” of French speakers of foreign languages at first, but then also includes himself in the “we” who diminished France’s indigenous languages in his next utterance: “we have told them ... that it was just dialects.” He seemed to be accepting some responsibility in the marginalization of indigenous French languages. He outlined a language hierarchy with French at the top, English as being the most prestigious “dialect,” followed by the indigenous languages. The stanza ends on an enigmatic note: who are the “we” in “we are late,” and what are we late for? I took this to mean that the French in general and the French government (“they are improving”) had begun to realize that allowing France’s indigenous languages to thrive, in addition to valorizing France’s different cultures, could enhance the learning of other languages.

**Stanza 3.** But, you know, they have said for such a long time that French is the best language in the world, *la langue de la diplomatie* (the language of diplomacy) etcetera, that OK, why don’t the others speak French? They should all speak French. But it doesn’t work this way. So the French have got some sort of complex of saying OK we’re not good at foreign languages. Just the same as some people in Brittany or other areas were brought up, you know, in their own native language, you know, school, teachers, the church told them, you know, your language is not good, you should all speak French, so they were ashamed of their own language and they didn’t teach their children in their own native language because they were ashamed of their language. And I think the French are – they’re not ashamed of French, but they are not confident in learning foreign languages (Emmanuel, 248-266).

In the third stanza, Emmanuel extends the idea that he put forward in the previous stanza that French sat at the top of the language hierarchy in France.

He expands this idea to indicate that “they” (the elite?) had considered French to be “the best language in the world” and that other people should speak French. This not being the case, French people, through some sort of displacement, had decided that they did not speak foreign languages well. In each stanza, therefore, Emmanuel explores a different angle on the “*nul en anglais*” or French linguistic insecurity issue: it is due to poor teaching at school; it is due to France’s suppression of the natural multilingualism in the country; it is due to the belief that French is the best language in the world and the incredulity that this belief appears not to be widely shared. (In fact, French is in rude health, being the most taught language in the world after English. It is spoken on every continent, and, after German, is the language with the most native speakers in Europe (Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, 2017).

Throughout this exchange, I felt that I was being drawn into a “Big C conversation” - “debates among the Discourses that make up society” (Gee, 2014, p. 189) - but it was not the Conversation that I was expecting, which was the English-and-globalization Conversation. Emmanuel was including me in a Conversation that was much older: that is the brutality in which the Third Republic educators set out to erase France’s indigenous languages, and the mission of the *Education nationale* to meld the French Republic, the French language and French citizenship.

In terms of discerning a trainer habitus, although the teachers had had different life and career trajectories, the interviews and the subsequent DA revealed similar deeply held beliefs in English as system - rather than practice - which should be taught to native-speaker levels. Apart from Ritchie’s comments about the negative elements of English he had experienced in the television factory, none of the other teachers were concerned about the socio-political implications of English for those they taught, and the inequalities and stress that could be generated as English penetrated deeper into the lives of French workers. Emmanuel and Elouan harboured rage about the official

centuries-long promotion of French, which had led to the marginalization of France's indigenous languages, but they viewed English in an apolitical light. I judge the beliefs of the trainers about the status of English to be at the level of a habitus that would likely direct their teaching decisions.

## **6.6 Summary of Chapter 6: Portrait of a “secondary field”**

My analysis of TESOL France et al's research reveals that instead of a Bourdieusian field, closed and professionalized, English-language training in France was what Lahire describes as “a secondary field,” “weakly institutionalized and barely professionalized” (Lahire, 2015, p. 64). An apter description would be that of a so-called “gig economy,” where trainers took on multiple (up to six) types of employment, with (at that time) lightly regulated language schools their main employers. The experiences of Raine and Rosalie, in particular, exemplified the experiences of the trainers surveyed by TESOL France in their descriptions of a huge variety of work – but no jobs. Despite their hard work, 80% of the participants in the TESOL France study earned less than the minimum wage. The struggle for economic capital among myriad language schools and trainers was the defining characteristic of adult language-training in France, with a few non-profit organizations such as TESOL France and The Language Network enhancing the cultural and social capital of trainers through educational and networking opportunities. Possession of the linguistic capital of native-speaker English was a passport to enter the field, but as there were so many others with this capital, its value did not differentiate trainers. French English teachers like Elouan, despite his vast experience of learning and teaching languages, were actively discriminated against every time a language school advertised that its trainers were “native speakers.” Nevertheless, Elouan railed against “Globish” (in other words, ELF) and believed, like Rosalie and Raine, that there was a native-speaker standard to which learners should aspire. I posit a habitus shared by the trainers that English was a neutral or positive force in the world that existed as a system (rather than practice). For these trainers, English, connected with Inner Circle

cultures, was the rightful property of those born as native speakers. This habitus, likely shared by other English teachers, had, in fact, allowed an English-training field to develop where native-speaker English had high value as linguistic capital and its native speakers were considered its “natural” teachers.



## **Chapter 7: The English linguistic market and the French workplace: Adult English learners' experience and perceptions**

### **7.1 English in the workplace**

In **Chapter 5**, I argued that English was tacitly accepted in the Hollande government's reform to vocational training, and related legislation, as a key workplace "skill" (although, as I pointed out, it is debatable whether English could be considered a skill like welding, for instance) in line with ambient discourses of English and globalization. With English in demand, it could have been expected that a coherent system would be in place to cater to adult learners.

In **Chapter 6**, however, I examined the field of English-language training to discover instead a patchily professionalized "secondary field" (Lahire, 2015, p. 64) with a preference for "native-speaker" trainers with or without English-language teaching qualifications. Interviews with the teachers in "Langues-sans-Frontières" (LSF), led me to posit that a "native-speaker" habitus is, in fact, what fuels this English-training field. For instance, three trainers I interviewed specifically indicated that native-speaker English was their teaching model, with the two other trainers indirectly implying this was the case. Disdain was expressed for ELF, with Rosalie describing it as "Me Tarzan, you Jane" (Exchange 192) and Elouan dismissing what he called "Globish" (Exchange 144). However, these deep-seated, unquestioned beliefs, if widely shared, fuel the preference for "native speakers" as the "natural" teachers of English thus allowing for the development of an English-training field where the price of entry is more likely to be "native-speakerness" than teaching diplomas. The question then to be asked is how effective is the English-training field in aiding trainees to achieve their language goals for the workplace?

**Chapter 7**, then, turns to examine the experience and perceptions of those learning English for the workplace – through questionnaires, interviews and a focus group - of 14 adult English learners who were in my classes at LSF in the spring of 2016. Preceding this analysis, is an examination of (predominantly) quantitative research commissioned by the Hollande government – the LEMP (Languages and Employability) report (Benoît et al, 2015). These two analyses comprise the final two elements of the research model:

**Table 7A: Summary of research model**

<b>Research element</b>	<b>Area of research</b>
1	The “field of power” (Hollande government policy-making apparatus)
2	The English-language training field in France
3	English trainers’ perspectives on English-language training
4	<b>English use in the French workplace</b>
5	<b>Adult English learners’ perspectives on English-language training for the workplace</b>

The objectives of these two final elements of the research, in addition to answering the four research questions (below), are to determine what insights can be gained by viewing the LEMP and trainee data through the Bourdieusian lenses of linguistic market, linguistic habitus and linguistic capital.

**RQ1:** *What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ2:** *Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ3:** *How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes - and by whom (or what)?*

**RQ4:** *How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?*

This chapter then continues in **Section 7.2** by reviewing the lesser-used Bourdieusian concepts of linguistic habitus and linguistic market. **Section 7.3**

examines the findings from the LEMP report. **Sections 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6** are devoted to the analysis of data from the LSF trainees. The chapter is briefly summarized in **Section 7.7**, with **Section 7.8** examining the insights from trainee data in terms of answering the research questions.

## **7.2 Linguistic market, linguistic habitus and linguistic capital**

I have been referring to English as a form of linguistic capital throughout this thesis, with the idea that English skills can be exchanged in the workplace field for other forms of capital, for instance the economic capital of a salary or the social capital of new professional contacts. Within each field, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2007/1992, p. 145), certain languages (or dialects) have a higher prestige or value than others or are more valuable in terms of linguistic capital than other languages or dialects. Hence the idea of a linguistic “market” present in all fields – a metaphorical space where linguistic capital can be exchanged for other forms of capital. Key to understanding the linguistic market is linguistic habitus or the “set of socially constituted dispositions that imply a propensity to speak in certain ways” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 145), because “linguistic utterances” are “always produced in particular contexts or markets” (Thompson, 2016/1991, p. 20). A linguistic habitus posits that language experiences during primary (the home) and secondary socialization (the school) will “govern ... the subsequent linguistic practices of an agent” (Thompson, 2016/1991, p. 17).

I emphasized in Chapter 3 that, although Bourdieu’s theories can be applied fruitfully to other countries and contexts, the impetus for Bourdieu’s theorizing emerged from the specificities and paradoxes of the French context, where the construct or discourse of the Republic is linked inextricably to the French language (the “legitimate language”) and both are guarded by the highly centralized *Education nationale*, which continues to be a mechanism for the reproduction of elites (Peugny, 2013). The concepts of linguistic habitus and linguistic market then are particularly relevant to this study of how French

adults can best be prepared for using English in their workplaces. It could be envisaged, for instance, that the dispositions towards language laid down through early educational experiences with the French language (linguistic habitus) could be put to the challenge as the child becomes an adult and goes out in a workplace field where a linguistic market dictates that the English language is a more prized linguistic capital.

Data generated from Ophélie, a quantitative methods analyst, who participated in all three elements of the research, offers some evidence of a linguistic habitus at play. According to Ophélie's questionnaire data, her parents were both civil servants and she received her schooling through the *Education nationale*. So, with this background, it could be expected that she was encouraged to produce language conforming to "standard French." She appears to have transferred these standards over to English. When, for instance, asked on the questionnaire how Langues-sans-Frontières could help her achieve her goals, she responded, in addition to encouraging her to speak, to "correct my mistakes." This theme emerged again in her interview, where she commented, "it's very, very important for (you) to correct me" (Exchange 216). She also observed, "English speakers are very kind with you when you speak **bad English**" (Exchange 340) and "In our family, when our daughters don't speak very **good French**, my husband is very, very angry" (Exchange 344). Ophélie spoke again in the focus group about the importance of highlighting to children that they must speak "good French," connecting this idea with the idea that adults, in learning English, should aim to produce "good language" (Focus Group Exchange 138-158).

Clearly, linguistic habitus (if we accept its premises) poses pedagogic challenges. For example, should Ophélie's trainer encourage Ophélie to accept that English, in its lingua franca role, does not have to be spoken at the level of an "ideal native speaker"? Or should the trainer aim to teach to a "native-speaker" level, knowing that (in the time available) this is perhaps "mission impossible?" Can it be assumed, as Thompson appears to, that

habitus “may be relatively homogenous across individuals from similar backgrounds” (2016/1991, pp. 12-13) and teach accordingly? These questions, and others relating to the usefulness of the concepts of linguistic habitus and linguistic market to the teaching of adults in France for the workplace, will be raised in the following analysis and discussion of the trainee data. Firstly, I will briefly examine the insights that the LEMP report offers about the linguistic market in the French workplace.

### **7.3 The “Languages and employability” report: Findings**

This government-backed research, reported in Benoît et al, 2015, reveals that there is a linguistic market that spans the private sector French workplace. It confirms that English in particular is used as a gatekeeper from the job interview, where two-thirds of organizations polled admitted to testing language ability. Writing skills are prized almost as much as oral skills and managers and technicians in particular are expected to have a high level of skill. Linguistic capital is transformed into economic capital in the French workplace – but the real advantages accrue to those with French, English and another foreign language, which brings a further €300 a month on average, and offers a threefold advantage in securing a permanent job (Benoît et al, 2015, p. 48).

The report highlights the lack of effectiveness of adult language training (although it justifies its position with lazy research resting on the “commonsense” view that adults are poor language learners). One interviewee commented that the results of their in-company English training were good, but only

for those employees who already had a base, who already had a reasonable level of English from school. For the employees who started from zero, them no, we realized that even with individual courses the progression was very, very long needing hours and hours and years of courses before they were able to follow conversations (Benoît et al, 2015, p. 57, my translation).

The most significant findings from the perspective of adult English training are:

- among French businesses, ability in writing in a foreign language is almost as prized as oral communicative ability
- a high level of language skill is expected, especially at the managerial level
- considerable advantages accrue to those with French + English + another language (which can be either a “big” world language such as Spanish, or languages with fewer speakers such as Hebrew)
- English training for employees with a lower level of ability may need to be envisaged in terms of years, rather than hours

The next part of the chapter examines the experiences and perceptions of the LSF trainees who took part in the three phases of this element of the research: questionnaires, interviews and the focus group.

## **7.4 LSF trainee research : The questionnaires**

Electronic questionnaires (Appendix C5) were sent to my 20 LSF course participants (Appendix C9) in January (for my Monday and Tuesday B1-B2 classes) and March 2016 (for the Saturday TOEIC preparation class). Thirteen questionnaires were completed, and from those questionnaires, nine participants were interviewed in the spring of 2016. In addition to gleaning insights to my research questions, the questionnaire also functioned as a mechanism to collect data on the education and exposure to English as these participants were growing up - a key element in exploring linguistic habitus.

### ***7.4.1 (a) Family background and schooling***

The mean age group of the 13 respondents was between 41 and 50. This was a highly educated group with 5 out of 13 (38%) being educated to Master's degree level. In France less than 16% of the population has a Master's (Corbier, 2017). The most chosen profession for their fathers was civil servant or artisan (selected by 6 out of 13 participants or 46%) and a similar proportion of mothers were in the civil service or fulfilled an administrative role (6/12 or

50%). All respondents (13/13) had studied English at school, with an almost even split attending the two main systems (*Education nationale* and *privée* or Catholic system). Although almost 70% (9/13) judged English to have been badly taught at school, their comments were balanced, for instance: “I am of a generation where English wasn’t spoken, but more written with teaching rather focused on a grammatical mastery” (my translation).

None of the respondents had had a private tutor or after school support with English, and 83% (10/12) had had no one to help them with their English homework. Only one respondent had been on a holiday to an English-speaking country when they were growing up.

These results point to this being the first generation(s) when English was beginning to rise in importance, with 100% of participants having studied the language at school. However, it would appear that their parents did not speak English, and did not think it warranted extra support, for participants were, for the most part, left alone to cope with their homework and were not taken to English-speaking countries on holidays.

#### **7.4.1 (b) Using English professionally**

Nine out of 13 respondents were, at the time of the survey, regularly using English in a professional context (every day to every month) and appeared quite comfortable, with a mean rating of 5 out of 10 for effectiveness in English at work. Nine out of 13 indicated that English skills provided protection against unemployment. Ten out of 13 indicated that a job interview in English would cause them anxiety, with three respondents indicating that a job interview in English was “too difficult for the moment.” However, the LEMP report (Benoit et al, 2015) notes that two-thirds of companies polled tested the language skills of interviewees during the job interview, which suggests that interview role-plays should be a part of adult professional English training courses.

#### **7.4.1 (c) Learning objectives**

Out of 13 responses to the question about learning objectives, the root verb “speak” (*parler*) or its participles (“spoken”) etc. were mentioned by nine participants; “understand” (*comprendre*) was mentioned by five participants; the combination “speak and understand” was mentioned by three participants with “write” being mentioned by two participants.

“Speaking skills,” therefore, are overwhelmingly what this group of students wished to improve. When asked how LSF could help them improve their skills, answers included:

- By doing lots of oral work
- Regular oral practice is indispensable
- By allowing me to speak, speak, speak again and again and above all not hesitating to correct my errors and my accent (it doesn’t make me annoyed, the contrary) (My translation)

#### **7.4.1 (d) Views about the French learner and the “ideal” English trainer**

Eight out of 13 or 61.5% of respondents agreed with the statement “the French are *nul* (hopeless) in English” and the same proportion believed that an immersion course in an English-speaking country was the best way to learn. The group expressed a strong preference for a “native-speaking” teacher (10/13 or 77%) with TESOL qualifications (8/13), matching the results of my pilot study at Pak-King.

#### **7.4.1 (e) Views about the English language in France**

There was not a strong belief that English was a basic workplace skill in France (7 agreed; 6 disagreed), but, contradictorily, there was strong agreement (9/13) that English skills were a protection against unemployment. While 8 out of 13 agreed that English had become the second language of France, there was



almost unanimous disagreement (11/13; 84.5%) that the English language was a threat to the French language.

#### **7.4.1 (f) Summary of questionnaire findings and implications for research questions**

The ages of the members of the group spanned the 20's to the mid-50's, but there was general agreement that English had been badly taught at school across the age groups, perhaps revealing the resistance of the French education system to change. With their high level of education (five out of 13 were educated to Master's level) and employment in professions such as law, banking, research and management, this group of learners were solidly middle class. As Block points out, "it is generally the upper and middle classes of countries around the world who are the successful learners of English" (2012, p. 202).

This finding has relevance for **RQ1** (What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?) Most participants had invested much time (five or six years in the case of Roxanne and Bryce, for example) and their own financial resources to improve. If reaching a reasonable level in English is so effortful (and expensive) even for the middle class, there would appear to be little hope for those less fortunate, which is why programmes like the publicly funded CPF (Personal Training Account) are essential in expanding access to training.

Although a majority believed English to have become the second language of France, a strong majority disagreed that the English language was a threat to the French language. I believe these paradoxes to reveal an underlying resistance to the prevalence of English in French life and the workplace. I expand on this idea in the next section, where I analyze the interviews I conducted with the participants.

## **7.5 LSF trainee research : The interviews**

### **7.5.1 Bryce: the pilot interview**

Bryce, my first interviewee at LSF, was learning English for his own self-development and for travelling, not for the workplace. I, therefore, considered his interview a pilot, and adapted subsequent interviews according to my experience with him. For instance, experimenting with the interview format, I showed Bryce a slide with statistics about English in the world (Crystal, 2010, p. 370) and asked for his comments. There was an awkward interlude, as it took him some time to read the slide, and he was unsure how he should react. I realized that I had been attempting to influence him to question his overwhelmingly positive attitude towards English, which had opened many travel and personal opportunities for him, so this activity was not repeated in subsequent interviews.

### **7.5.2 Pairing and analyzing interviewee data**

Although I interviewed the remaining eight participants separately, I organized the following analysis of the transcripts of their interviews by dividing the interviewees into pairs that accorded with their workplaces. For instance, both Daniella and Ophélie worked in Higher Education, so their data is compared and contrasted. In this way, I was able to work within the restrictions of word limits while maximizing the potential for comparing participants' experiences in similar workplace fields. I draw on Gee's discourse analysis toolkit (Appendix D4) to analyze the data.

**Table 7B: Pairing interviewee data according to workplace field**

Workplace field	Participants
Higher Education	Daniella and Ophélie
Engineering	Idryss and Iann
Business services	Luc and Edouard
Local government/legal services	Betty and Roxanne

Although the fields of local government and legal services would appear to be quite separate, in the context of this research there was much overlap as Betty was the assistant to the mayor of Ouest-la-Rivière and Roxanne was the town's *notaire* (roughly solicitor). These are key positions in a French town and there would be much liaison between them.

### **7.5.3 Daniella and Ophélie: English for Higher Education**

Daniella's full-time job was in banking, but she wished to use her expertise in economics to develop a new career in teaching. She had, therefore, secured courses (which had to be taught in English) in a *grande école* in a nearby city, and was taking English lessons at LSF in order to strengthen her skills for these courses. Similarly, Ophélie worked for a market research organization as a quantitative methods analyst, and, as a graduate of a *grande école*, had been asked to teach courses in English on quantitative methods in the same *grande école* as Daniella.

Both participants were enthusiastic about this research and chose to be interviewed in English. The research was of particular interest to Ophélie as, in her role as quantitative methods analyst, she had set up and analysed many studies, but this was the first time she was participating in a research study – and a (mostly) qualitative one at that. Ophélie would go on to play an important role in the evolution of this project as she was instrumental in my setting up the focus group.

In the e-questionnaire I sent out to my LSF course participants, I placed a link to a clip about the University of Sheffield. Daniella had followed the link. She appeared genuinely interested in my motivations, and our interview began with my giving a brief explanation, stating that I wanted to discover “What adults really feel about English.” Daniella immediately responded:

Yes, I think for me the problem of this language, of English, is that it is important for all people in the world to speak English because English is the main language of business, commerce and industry. And nowadays probably you can meet this sort of people who work in companies or firms in France and they need to practise English fluently for their job. So I think we must learn fluently English ... (Daniella, Exchange 26).

I was struck by the tensions in this first exchange. Firstly, Daniella’s immediate use of the word “problem” in relation to English, quickly followed by “English is the main language of business, commerce and industry.” The ease with which Daniella deployed this lexical chunk was mantra-like; she must have heard or read the expression many times. I think this example also lends credence to the idea that discourse analysis is not only possible with the utterances of “non-native speakers,” but it can be highly instructive. The above stretch of discourse would typify the collocation patterns of a B1 user: “all people” (not “everybody”); “this sort of people who” (not “the sort”); “to practise English fluently” (to use English well?). So the sleek tautology of “English is the main language of business, commerce and industry” stands out. I am reminded of Bourdieu’s comments in a debate in about languages in the European Union:

through lexis, vocabulary that one assimilates without even realising, one acquires a vision of the world, notably the social and political world. It is so that, if it concerns the neoliberal vision of the world – which has become a sort of doxa, a universal unconscious belief, it is likely that it has been acquired unknowingly through the adhesion of lexis, of a constellation of words ... (Bourdieu & de Swaan, 1998, my translation)

Daniella would appear to have assimilated this lexical chunk, which was not “innocent” but carried with it a vision of the world where English is “naturally” linked with business.

My interview with Ophélie, on the other hand, started out on less contentious ground. We spoke of her personal experiences, occasional difficulties with teaching at a *grande école*, and about her pleasure in using English. I was, thus, taken by surprise towards the end of the interview when I asked how she felt about English as the dominant world language:

296	Ophélie	I think that <u>the weight of English</u> in our daily lives is too heavy. And the cultural differences of each country are lessened by <u>the weight of English</u> . And the more I learn English, the more I understand that the way of speaking of some French people comes from the English. So I don't have an example.
297	JM	That's an interesting point.
298	Ophélie	I'm searching for an example. " <i>Expérience</i> " in French. In marketing now, you always have " <i>experience</i> ." This word wasn't used at all in France. And since two years in all ads, in all textbooks, in all articles -
299	JM	But it's a French word.
300	Ophélie	But we spoke about <i>parcours</i> . The word <i>parcours</i> .
301	JM	Yes, yes.
302	Ophélie	" <i>Expérience</i> " is borrowed from English.
303	JM	To replace the word 'parcours'? ...
308 – 310	Ophélie	Yes. This is an example but there are many, many in my job. And even now in current life many words are borrowed from English. And now look at the advertising on TV. ...The claim. It's in English now; it's not translated into French
311	JM	It's supposed to be according to the <i>Loi Toubon</i> .
312	Ophélie	Yes, it's supposed to be. Citroën – " <i>creatif technology</i> ," with half English, half French. It's incredible. Or I think it's Apple or IBM – " <i>think different</i> " and so on.

Ophélie extended the metaphor of "the weight of English" in her next exchanges:

318	Ophélie	Incredible! French or Italian are nice languages and the globalization is <i>étouffer</i> – how to say it?
319	JM	Choking? Suffocating?
320	Ophélie	suffocating specific languages and maybe in two centuries we will all speak English.

The interview took place in Ophélie's home, a farmhouse that dated back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and as she spoke her gestures took in the rugged stone walls and centuries-worn tiles:

Because you see us, we are very attached to our roots, our culture, to our history and, in my opinion, it's very important to maintain that richness and these differences because ... what makes the richness of the world are differences between people, differences in their practices, in their languages ... (Ophélie, Exchange 326).

In opposing English to “nice” languages like French and Italian, Ophélie conflates English with globalization in Exchange 318.

Returning to an underlying theme to this thesis - the tension between language as system and language as practice - for Ophélie language is an entity that has an existence outside those who use it. Indeed, a little later in the exchange, Ophélie made a point of praising English speakers for their tolerance towards those learning the language: “English speakers are very kind with you when you speak bad English. They accept that you speak bad English” (Exchange 340-342). In fact, the correct use of language was a theme in Ophélie's interview.

Ophélie came back to the “weight of English,” despite my attempts to direct the interview to other subjects: “My worry, as I told you, is the weight of English” (Exchange 336). As this was the fourth time she had employed this expression, I attempted to clarify to ask if she had a “feeling of pressure.” She replied emphatically: “Yes, yes. The pressure that I'm obliged to run a course in English for French students. It's a real paradox. *N'importe quoi!* (nonsense)” (Exchange 338).

I had also asked Daniella why her economics courses in the *grande école* had to be taught in English:

108	Daniella	[long pause] I don't think because it was an obligation by the policy of the government and in Europe all the schools decided to use English, probably it's the history of England and the fact that they were in many countries during the centuries that the English language is nowadays used fluently in all the structures – in the firms, in start-ups and when you open the news you find the news in English. When I went recently to training in the Défense near Paris and I was looking at all the books and I found only books in English. [laughs]
109	JM	The training was in French or in English?
110	Daniella	No, it was in French but there was a meeting room with a space -
111	JM	Like a table with books?
112	Daniella	an area where people were waiting for an interview and there were only books and news in English, but it is a French company, so I don't understand why and, finally, I am interested in a book which spoke about hotels and travel in English.
113	JM	You said in your questionnaire that you don't believe that English is a threat to French, but when you describe that experience -
114	Daniella	Not a threat.
115	JM	No? It must be a strange feeling. You're in France, you're French, you're going to training in French and there's all that material in English.
116	Daniella	Mm.
117	JM	Could that not be seen as some sort of minimising the position of French in France?
118	Daniella	[long pause]
119	JM	Just a question.
120	Daniella	Ah, I don't know, and I don't tell you that it is right.
121	JM	OK.
122	Daniella	Because for me, French people, I think, don't appreciate the culture, English culture. So it is, for example, the reason why they are afraid of learning, or understanding -
123	JM	Oh, OK.
124	Daniella	English people. Because for me the humour of English people is not the same as in French. The culture is different; there is frequently a rivalry between English people and French people.

Although this is a fascinating exchange for what is not said or what is diverted and displaced by Daniella, I regret having been so insistent – especially in Exchange 117 where I am almost cross-examining Daniella. The position of English in France was obviously a sensitive and complex issue for her –

especially to express in a language in which she was just beginning to gain fluency. Her response in Exchange 120 expresses her irritation with my probing, and then she deflects the discussion to an unrelated aspect of English in France and back to the safe harbour of English and French stereotypes.

In fact, both Daniella and Ophélie had indicated on their questionnaires that English was not a threat to the French language, but their interview responses – see Ophélie’s “weight of English” comments above, for instance – indicated the contrary.

Daniella was at her most comfortable when she could speak about English as a conduit to a culture – specifically the “English” culture. Early in her interview, for instance, she told me excitedly of her discovery of the British English novelistic canon and Austen and Hardy, whom she was reading in English. She returned to the theme of language and culture towards the end of the interview: “For me, the fact that I decided to discover the culture, the English culture, is a leitmotif to understand and learn English.” (Exchange 142).

She went on to insist: “I’m not interested by the culture of the USA. It is so big, so ... I try to learn English English. ... The veritable English.” (Exchange 144-6). Daniella’s sentiments are remote indeed from my exploration in Chapter 2 of recent theories about English and English learning such as ELF or Pennycook’s English as a local practice. Here is a learner who finds the most appropriate method of learning English to be through the portal of “English” (not British) culture. Her conception of “English” does not account for ELF, despite my pointing out to her that: “Many, many, many more millions of people are speaking English as a second, third language and have never even been to England, have never – unlike you – read any literature” (Exchange 139).

Ophélie also spoke of culture throughout her interview. However, the concept was linked with languages other than English: “I’d like to speak Italian. It’s a



very nice language. I've done some Greek for many, many years. It's important for your own culture" (Ophélie, Exchange 354).

Daniella's rejection of American culture (and American English) may be because of its association in France with globalization (indeed Bourdieu made this connection, Bourdieu & De Swaan, 1998, for example). But later she commented about the American students that she taught at the *grande école*: "I tell them every time: 'speak slowly, please, I don't understand your questions', because they speak very hardly (loudly) and quickly. And the country is so large and ... " (Exchange 152). There is an interesting echo here of Flaitz's research thirty years before. Flaitz reports one respondent categorizing American English as "loud,' 'fast' and 'direct'" (1988, p.190).

Lecturing in a *grande école* in economics to American students as an intermediate speaker of English must have been daunting for Daniella. This might explain her lack of enthusiasm for American English and feelings of being overwhelmed, which she expresses in her use of "so big" and "so large" to describe America. Ophélie also admitted that teaching in English was a challenge:

120	Ophélie	... it's heavy, heavy work for me because I write what I'm going to say on the course and once I'm in the course I try not to read, of course. I try to be cool ... My course when I tried it in French the ambiance ... how do you say it?
121	JM	The atmosphere?
122	Ophélie	The atmosphere is very cool, very funny and I can't do it in English. ... Because I'm not comfortable enough ... to produce that atmosphere. ... And I think it will make all the difference and maybe my mark (feedback) in English will be lower because the atmosphere, in my opinion, contributes to the feeling and the learning. ... Sometimes I would like to give some examples of real life from my job, of course. And I don't do it because I'm sure I won't find the right words to explain it as well as I would (in French).

Nevertheless, Ophélie recognized that her willingness to teach in English differentiated her from some of the tenured teachers at the *grande école*,

telling me: “(Those teachers) who are not able to do it in English. What do they do? It’s a major problem in higher studies (HE) now.” (Exchange, 72).

#### **7.5.4 Luc and Edouard: English for business services**

Luc and Edouard were in my Tuesday class with Ophélie and Daniella, but, unlike their classmates, Luc and Edouard chose to be interviewed in French. The language change brought about a shift in power relations. In the interview with Daniella, for instance, I discerned a power imbalance between us: I was simultaneously her teacher, a researcher from a prestigious foreign university, and a “native-English speaker” conducting the interview in my own language (albeit with Daniella’s permission) in our classroom.

The sensation of inequality was, however, lessened with Ophélie, whom I interviewed in her home, where she had control, at least, of refreshments and seating arrangements. The language shift with Luc and Edouard, however, was the most powerful mechanism to level the power differential between researcher and researched that I experienced.

I interviewed Luc first, and, from the outset, there was awkwardness as I realized that I did not know whether to address him as the more familiar “*tu*” or the more formal “*vous*.” I also realized that a semi-scripted interview format was not ideal in my second language as I was slower to react to the interviewees’ comments than I would have been in English. However, this may not have been a “bad thing” as the interviewees were able to speak for longer stretches without my interference.

If Ophélie surfaced the issue of the “weight of English,” then the interviews with Luc and Edouard made the implications of this weight clear: from the investment (often made from personal funds) in on-going training (sometimes overseas) to the pressure to get a certain score in the TOEIC examination - in order to be able to graduate from a French-language Master’s; the worries

about the language training their children were receiving; or comparisons with colleagues who seemed to be more fluent. Simply stated, English was an imposition in the lives of these two young fathers with full-time management-level jobs. However, neither Luc nor Edouard complained about the status quo, emphasizing the advantages of English as a language that was useful not just for work but for overseas travel. Edouard even considered English a “good thing” to modernize and rejuvenate the French language.

Luc was a systems engineer in the Information Technology (IT) field. He explained to me that English was “compulsory” in his field, but he felt his level was inadequate for his job. He compared himself with colleagues that he considered “practically bilingual” (Luc, Exchange 86) because they had spent time abroad as part of their degree studies. He thought that the problem with his communicating in English was not in his knowledge of technical vocabulary or issues, but rather in the informal small talk that lubricated technical exchanges with clients. He was more comfortable communicating with second-language speakers, such as Vietnamese than with “native speakers” such as Australians – despite often listening to a Melbourne radio station. He believed that the way he was taught English at university had exacerbated his natural shyness, as he was encouraged to communicate in the unnatural setting of a language laboratory where others could overhear. He seemed philosophical, however, about the challenges of learning English and pointed out that English was useful for travelling and discovering the world, and, in countries like India, it was more possible to find an English speaker than a French speaker.

Edouard was a sales manager. Although the position he held at the time of the interview did not require him to use English, he was aware that this situation could change, and that he could not afford to let his English skills wither. Indeed, the LEMP report indicates that language skills were particularly important in the sales departments of the companies surveyed (Benoît et al, 2015). Edouard’s job involved travel around France, and he was appalled at

the low level of English he observed from hotel or restaurant employees and their English-speaking customers. He drew a parallel with the quality of English teaching his children were receiving in school. He knew that education policy was to introduce English at an earlier age but, in speaking to his children's teachers, he learned that they were not confident about teaching English. Edouard felt that his children's exposure to English was often little more than the odd song or a date on the whiteboard. He worried that they would have a similar experience to his. He remembered classes of 30 based on reading and writing without any fun. He even recalled his first grade in English – 6.5/20. He felt his first contact with English had been “*très rude*” (rather brutal) (Edouard, Exchange 54).

When Edouard started his distance Master's, he decided to boost his English skills in readiness for the compulsory TOEIC exam at the end of the programme. In addition to the English modules in his Master's, he attended courses at Wall Street Institute, one of the language school chains that have taken root in French cities, which he paid for personally, and he also attended my course at LSF (again which he paid for himself). In order to graduate from his Master's he had to achieve a score of 750 in the TOEIC exam. I highlighted the pressures of his attempts to juggle career, family, degree studies and English in my discussion of lifelong learning in Chapter 5.

Luc had also invested in an English immersion course before joining the course at LSF. The method used appears to be similar to the “natural approach” (Krashen & Terrell, 1983) based on the premise that adults learn their second language as children learn their first language. This is also the stated philosophy of Wall Street Institute (Cours d'anglais Wall Street English, 2016). Although based on shaky SLA research foundations, the approach could be particularly appealing to French learners who may have had a stressful experience with language learning at school.

As Luc enthused: “It was like we were children. I think everyone would prefer to learn a language as a child does.” (Exchange 158). The method incorporated singing, music, movement and much repetition encased in fun role-play situations. Participants sat in deckchairs. I am reminded of the interview with Ritchie, where he felt that for French adult learners a classroom carried too many negative connotations of school. Grammar on Luc’s course was approached inductively, and trainees were told that there was no point in learning lists of vocabulary. Translation was also discouraged. On researching this organization, I discovered that “Chiara,” the trainer colleague whom I had invited to participate in my pilot study in “Pak-King,” was employed there. Chiara had also interviewed for LSF in 2014 but had been turned down as she had no language-teaching qualifications.

Although Luc was enthusiastic about his experience in this organization, and felt that he made progress in English, it is clear that there is scope for organizations to make considerable sums from those searching for a method to help them learn English. This organization’s method is premised on a belief that is questioned in the literature, and it appears to employ at least one trainer with no language-teaching qualifications.

Nevertheless, at the time of the interview, Luc told me that he was planning a second 35-hour immersion at this institute and he was hoping to receive financial support from his company in order to do so. Otherwise, he planned to use his CPF to fund the course. When I reminded him of the necessity of doing a TOEIC, or similar exam, with the CPF he commented that the requirement was somewhat “aberrant” (Exchange 184) and he would rather draw on his own funds than to be subject to the pressure of an examination. It would appear important to Luc that language learning not be accompanied by stress and the ultimate goal for him was to pass his message without having to translate into French. Indeed, on several occasions Luc spoke out about the necessity to avoid translation.

Like Daniella, Luc held strong beliefs on how English should be learned. While Daniella thought that English learning could only take place through a connection with “English” culture, Luc believed that translation should be avoided and that adults learned like children. Ophélia, on the other hand, believed error correction and grammar were the key elements to language learning. The three came together in the focus group in mid-March 2016 and the ensuing debate, I believe, led to a useful cross-fertilization of ideas about the complexity of learning English.

Edouard, on the other hand, did not express a particular philosophy about how he thought English could be learned. In fact, he admitted that he had done the “grand slam” to try to enhance his level (Edouard, Exchange 110). By the “grand slam,” he was using a metaphor from the tennis world to indicate that he had tried many methods in many places. Indeed, he told me that after a recent holiday in Ireland he sent his family back to France, and spent a week alone on an English immersion course in an Irish family. According to my questionnaire data, only one of the 13 respondents had holidayed in English-speaking countries as a child. But, now adult, it was not unusual for them to choose a holiday destination where English could be practised. Daniella, for instance, had mentioned to me that her next holiday would be in Jersey “in order to speak more English. I will be in a hotel where there are no French!” (Exchange 56).

English was a constant presence – and pressure – in the lives of Luc and Edouard. They had invested heavily in both time and money to enhance their skills. Why then was it so hard for them to achieve a greater comfort level in English? Perhaps the concept of linguistic habitus can shed light on their struggles. From their questionnaire data, they were both aged between 31 and 40; both had Master’s; they came from a similar social background (farming and artisanal), where they did not have much exposure to English in the home. Luc was educated through the *Education nationale* and Edouard through the parallel Catholic system. Despite similarities of upbringing; undergoing a

similar education; being educated to Master's level, and having a managerial-level career in the fields of IT and sales, where English skills were prized, different linguistic habituses can be discerned. Luc viewed English learning through the framework of the "naturalistic" course he undertook before his course at LSF, where he was put into a relaxed and playful state where translation was discouraged. Luc went on to participate in the focus group, where he clung onto his beliefs against contrary opinions. It is much harder to discern a linguistic habitus for Edouard. He had tried many ways to enhance his English skills, and it is difficult to view evidence of his holding a core set of ideas about learning English. Edouard, without deeply held beliefs, could be vulnerable to the latest "miracle" language-learning methodology on the market.

### **7.5.5 Idryss and Iann: English for engineering**

Idryss (aged 31-40) and Iann (aged 51-60) were both technicians. Idryss, who chose to be interviewed in English, was one of the first students in LSF to use his CPF to fund his English training. LSF had decided to offer 20 hours of specific TOEIC training to this first CPF cohort on Saturday mornings in the spring of 2016. Iann attended my Monday evening class, but because his job involved overseas travel with long contracts when he was often absent, he agreed to respond to my questions by email. Both the questions and answers were in French. Idryss and Iann could be considered "classic" ELF users as they were mostly using their English outside France to communicate with non-native speakers from different countries.

Idryss explained that English was increasingly important for his job as a technical manager in a company that specialized in the maintenance of industrial machinery. His company had contracts in Germany, Spain, Romania and the UK, which at the time of the interview his manager handled but, in due course, Idryss would be expected to take over these responsibilities. Idryss was positive about the use of English as lingua franca: "I feel it's a good thing

to use English. It's an international language and every factory uses English now to work. ... If you want to buy a machine or to buy a component ... now you always speak in English or write English for email." (Exchange 100-102). Idryss, however, echoed Luc in explaining that "all my software is in English, it's easy to know the words, different words to discuss with the manufacturers. My problem is more in normal conversation. ... for the weather, for the hotel, for the restaurant – all conversation!" (Exchange 84-90).

Iann, in his fifties, was at a different point in his career than the younger Idryss. With Idryss the pressure to improve his English skills was palpable, as he knew that his future in the company depended on how well he could communicate in English. On the other hand, the impression from Iann's written responses to the 15 questions I sent him (based on the script for trainee interviews Appendix C7) was that he was at ease in English and was also comfortable with English being the world lingua franca. His work as a telecommunications technician in the field meant that he was not usually communicating with high-level speakers. Nevertheless, he wanted to progress in grammar, vocabulary and fluency. His personal philosophy towards language learning came out in a phrase he used (in English) several times: "no pain, no gain." He believed that language learning was a personal issue and not the responsibility of either the government or an employer. He pointed out that the internet was full of inexpensive possibilities for enhancing language skills. He was not dismayed by the fact that English is used in France as a selection mechanism at job interview, believing that companies had the right to select candidates on the criteria they judged important. Iann thought that a language test like the TOEIC was a good idea if government funds were being used to fund training as it provided evidence of learning.

Idryss, on the other hand, had been using the previous DIF programme to support his one-on-one English training at LSF, and he stated that he preferred this scheme as there was no need to take time to prepare for an examination at the end of the training period. Hungry for training hours,



Idryss felt that training should be devoted to enhancing his work-related or social English skills. He was also not convinced that the TOEIC examination was a true test of a learner's ability as, with its multiple-choice format, the examinee could simply guess the correct answer; an examination that tested speaking capability would be more relevant, he thought.

I asked Idryss and Iann what sort of English we should teach them: "native speaker" English or a simplified, "international" English. Idryss commented that he thought it was "very important to work with the grammar and all the different tenses." But he noticed that when he spoke with his customers or manufacturers they only spoke in the present tense (Exchange 266). He insisted though that it was important to "learn all the grammar" (Exchange 272). Iann, on the other hand, felt that, at least initially, a simplified, international English should be taught which could be more nuanced when the learner had gained confidence. However, Iann believed that only a "native speaking" trainer could do justice to the nuances and ambiguities that made for the "charm" of the language. Idryss, however, disagreed indicating that the only requirement for a trainer was that they should "love teaching."

With Idryss and Iann there was a sense that their objective was "native-level" communication in English, not ELF. From a Bourdieusian perspective this is curious as they both already possessed a sufficient quantity of English linguistic capital to be comfortable in their fields and it is doubtful whether higher levels of English ability would translate into other forms of capital. Curiously, the older Iann, although still appreciating the native-speaker standard, held the view that English was what happened in practice, whereas Idryss clung to the idea of English as a system. This could be because of Iann's greater exposure to different varieties of ELF. Not only did he travel widely, but he spent considerable periods in each locale.

### 7.5.6 Betty and Roxanne: English in a French market town

Key people in the day-to-day life of Ouest-la-Rivière, Betty and Roxanne attended my Monday evening class. Betty worked as an assistant to the mayor in the town hall (*mairie*), and Roxanne was the town's *notaire* (broadly equivalent to a solicitor in English law). The *mairie* and the *notaire's* office are the bulwarks of a French town. Both Betty and Roxanne were enthusiastic participants, with both choosing to be interviewed in English.

In France, the legal aspects of buying and selling property are handled by a *notaire*. For Roxanne, this sometimes entailed her explaining in English the conveyancing process to the “English people” who were moving in or out of the town and its environs. She was also called on to explain French marriage contracts and inheritance law in English. Despite the technical nature of the language requirements of her profession, Roxanne appeared to relish the challenge, and was pleased with the progress she had made over five years of evening classes with LSF. She admitted that not all *notaires* in the area had comparable English skills.

Betty was attending the Monday evening class in order to boost her English for the town's imminent twinning with an Irish town. She was excited about going to Ireland to attend the twinning meetings, and hosting the Irish town's twinning committee in due course in Ouest-la-Rivière. She astutely recognized that enhanced English skills set her apart from her non-English speaking colleagues in the *mairie* as, in addition to the twinning project, there were sometimes foreign visitors, and she was the only person who could take care of their needs. Indeed, from the outset of our interview, she differentiated herself from a “typical” French learner: “French people are not used to speaking English, are not used to learning foreign languages. Some people love that, but most people don't want or don't take time to learn or manage their learning. ... I think they are frightened to speak” (Exchange 6). She recognized that English in the French workplace was used to “make a

difference between people” so “it’s better to have this skill.” It is indicative of the penetration of English into different French workplace fields that Betty - a civil servant far from the world of international commerce – here echoes the findings of the LEMP report about the importance of English in the French workplace. Betty, in fact, initially seemed positive about English and she did not appear to carry any psycholinguistic scars from her experiences at school.

Roxanne, on the other hand, had the more usual (among my participants) negative experience at school, volunteering early in the interview that: “I think the modality of learning English in France at school is bad. Very bad to progress in speaking English, and it’s not enough to have a conversation for many people. And it’s too academic.” (Exchange 28). Roxanne commented that English-teaching methods did not appear to have changed when it was the time for her children to be learning English. She, thus, encouraged them to go to the UK, Malta, Canada and Australia to be immersed in English for a period of time. Roxanne, who came from a modest background, had to make do with the exposure to English offered by school. When she became a successful professional, however, she was determined to give her children every possible opportunity to develop their English skills. And, as a member of a respected profession, she had the financial wherewithal to do so.

As the interview progressed, I asked Betty her opinion of the position of English in the world. Her initially positive tone became more wary. She commented that she thought it “important to have a universal language. It’s English, but why English, I don’t know” (Exchange 111), but “it’s good to have our accent, our French accent” (Exchange 103). Here she echoed Daniella, who also expressed puzzlement as to why English, as opposed to another language, had achieved such penetration. There were also echoes with Ophélie’s comments about the importance of retaining one’s history and culture: “I think I’m frightened ... not frightened, but it’s good to speak one language to exchange, for example when you are doing a trip or meeting people from

different countries ... but we have to keep our tradition, we have to keep our history” (Exchange 113).

Roxanne, on the other hand, was much less equivocal about the “weight of English.” Indeed, she was one of the few respondents in the questionnaire who agreed with the statement that English was a threat to French. Early in her interview she spoke about her job, mentioning that French law was based on Roman law. When I remarked, in agreement, that English law was based on the common law, I was surprised with the vehemence of her reply: “the common law wants to suck up all the world. We have to defend ...” (Exchange 90-92). Perhaps, to Roxanne, the common law, which is used in many English-speaking jurisdictions, was related to the spread of English. Indeed, as the interview progressed, it was clear that Roxanne, like Betty, had mixed feelings about English:

115	JM	How do you feel about that? (the position of English in the world)
116	Roxanne	Before I was angry [laughs].
117	JM	Angry?
118	Roxanne	Yes!
119	JM	<i>En colère?</i>
120	Roxanne	<i>En colère, oui.</i> Because I think it's a small country and all the world [laughs]....
121	JM	Yes? You mean Great Britain is a small country?
122	Roxanne	Yes. And when my children lived in England for a short time and I understand everything, I learned to appreciate the English people.
123	JM	OK. So, in your mind, the English language you still associate with Great Britain?
124	Roxanne	Yes, yes. <i>Oui.</i>
125	JM	But it's the language of America -
126	Roxanne	Yes.
127	JM	The language of Australia -
128	Roxanne	Yes.
129	JM	But you still connect it with Great Britain. That's interesting.
130	Roxanne	Yes.
131	JM	It's a language of India -
132	Roxanne	Yes.
133	JM	Nigeria. All sorts of countries.

Roxanne could not comprehend why the language of a “small country” had achieved so much influence in the world. Similar sentiments also arose during Daniella’s and Betty’s interviews. My efforts to point out that English was detached from its original roots in the UK also fell on deaf ears: for Roxanne English was inextricably connected to “England.”

As in the case of Daniella, with her comments about only wanting to learn and speak the “veritable English,” it is not surprising that, for Roxanne, the English language is linked to England and the English people for the UK, with its geographic proximity and historical connections to France, is often the first English-speaking country French people will visit on school trips or (before Brexit) to gain work experience (as did Roxanne’s children). Although French schoolteachers of English are expected to know about the culture of both the UK and the USA, British English is the model that is taught in school.

In addition to associating English with England, in confirming what she had indicated in her questionnaire that she thought that English was a threat to French, she conflated English with the negative aspects of globalization, as I have indicated in Chapter 3, Section 2.1, where Roxanne’s language was that of being consumed; “being invaded;” losing control; being exploited. Although she seemed to like the English, she disapproved of what she saw as their neoliberal lifestyle and the gap between rich and poor. For Roxanne then, the English language brought some worrying baggage along.

Betty, in fact, in the autumn of 2016 transferred from English classes at LSF to Spanish lessons; her incentive was to enhance communication with a twinning association in Spain. Betty was a pragmatist when it came to learning languages. Throughout her interview she drew on the analogy of language learning and sports. She showed no interest in English as a conduit to English speakers’ culture as had Daniella. Indeed, although she told me that she had a penfriend in London, that person was originally from Korea.

My interviews with Betty and Roxanne reveal an aspect of ELF that has not often been explored in the literature (although Wozniak's (2010) exploration of the English needs of French mountain guides is an interesting exception) - the need for French citizens to use English to communicate with (usually) English native speakers in the heart of French institutions. Betty and Roxanne's exchanges were more complex than tourist exchanges in restaurants or hotels and demanded a high-level of language skill. Betty and Roxanne's linguistic situations most likely arose because of "cultural globalization," and the initiatives of the European Union - open borders allowed British citizens to move to France and buy houses and be confronted with the bureaucracy of death and inheritance at the end of their lives; and twinning had been encouraged in Europe since the 1950s. Both interviewees, however, expressed concern about the encroachment of English in French life, and a concomitant erosion of French culture. For instance, towards the end of Roxanne's interview, in commenting about an untranslated poster in the town advertising "cheese and bacon burgers," Roxanne remarked "English is absorbing us" (Exchange 330-332).

From a Bourdieusian angle, both Betty and Roxanne's possession of the linguistic capital of English differentiated them in their fields - and they were very aware of this distinction. Betty's English linguistic capital was valuable in a workplace field where this capital was relatively rare and she was able to exchange it for, if not economic capital, then cultural capital such as trips to Ireland. Having achieved a level of comfort in English, Betty appeared to be employing the same strategy with her later switch to Spanish. In terms of future career choices, this was a wise move for the LEMP report revealed that possession of French plus two other languages brought huge advantages in the workplace. My interviews with Betty and Roxanne surfaced some puzzlement as to how English had achieved such power and penetration in France and both were concerned that French language and culture should be protected.

### **7.5.7 Summary of trainee interviews**

From the trainee interviews, there is an English linguistic market - at least in the area of France under study - which spans both private and public sector workplace fields. In some fields (technical, local government), the amount of English linguistic capital required to be operational is modest, but in other fields (legal, IT, HE) a near native-speaker level is required. Not only do my trainees go out into their different fields with differing amounts of English linguistic capital, but I consider that they also have surprisingly different (considering their similar family and educational backgrounds) linguistic habituses as can be discerned from the focus group analysis that follows.

## **7.6 LSF trainee research : The focus group**

Four learners attended the session: Ophélie, Daniella, Luc and Laura. By this stage, Ophélie, Daniella and Luc had filled in their questionnaires and had been interviewed. Although, Laura had not completed the questionnaire or the interview, she was willing to participate in the session and duly signed her consent form.

As Barbour points out, the advantage of focus groups compared with one-on-one interviews is that they “may also encourage participation of individuals who may otherwise be reluctant to talk about their experiences due to feeling that they have little to contribute to a research project” (2007, Chapter 2, *Accessing the reluctant*, para. 1, citing Kitzinger, 2005). I think this was the case with Laura, who was sometimes reserved.

### **7.6.1 Organization**

The focus group took place in a scheduled lesson slot from 1900-2100 on 15 March 2016. I began by dividing the attendees into pairs, with one (usually) chattier student and one who was (generally) more reserved together:

Duo 1 – Luc and Ophélie

Duo 2 – Daniella and Laura

Participants were instructed to read and discuss the statements (Appendix C10) in their duo and then choose the five or six statements that they found the most interesting. Participants were given 15 minutes for this activity. This preparation stage was not recorded. Participants were told that after the 15-minute period they would be expected to present their ideas to the other duo, who could decide to continue the discussion or not. The second duo would then present their ideas about one of the statements that they had picked. This process would continue for about 45 minutes or until all the statements the duos had chosen had been discussed. The role of the researcher was to “scaffold” the communication in case of a breakdown. This part of the session was audio recorded.

## 7.6.2 Analysis of focus-group data

### 7.6.2 (a) Organization of the debates

**Table 7C: Debate propositions selected by both duos**

	Propositions selected by both duos	Debated in plenary?
6	Vocabulary and pronunciation are much more important than grammar	Yes
9	The more English is used in France (in workplaces, in universities), the more society is becoming unequal	No
12	Reading and listening are the keys to improving your English	Yes

I believe that the propositions chosen by both duos to be significant as they indicate an interest that may be shared more widely. The propositions that both duos chose to discuss were (6) and (12), both related to how to learn or improve English skills. (9) related to the socio-political aspects of English, although chosen was not discussed in plenary so it is impossible to know if there was agreement or disagreement with the statement. This does point to a



weakness in the design of the focus group. Only the plenary session was recorded as there was only one set of recording equipment. If the duos had been placed in separate rooms and their discussions had also been recorded as they sorted through the statements useful data could have been generated to shed light on why both duos selected proposition (9) but did not bring it up in plenary.

**Table 7D: Debate propositions chosen by one duo only**

	Propositions chosen by one duo only			Debated in plenary?
1	A teacher of adults at LSF must be a native English speaker	Duo 1		Yes
3	Your English teacher at LSF must correct every mistake that you make when you are speaking so that you can improve	Duo 1		No
4	In France, English is not a simple foreign language like German or Spanish. It is used so much and in so many different situations (work, science, media, advertising etc.) that it is the second language of France		Duo 2	Yes
13	I think my children are having/have had/will have a better English-learning experience at school than I had	Duo 1		No
17	“WILDCARD” : PARTICIPANTS’ OWN IDEA		Duo 2	Yes

The propositions that were *not* chosen by the group could be considered as interesting as the topics that the group chose. So another missing element in the research design was that, in the summing up at the end of the session, I should have gone through the rejected strips to determine the reasons why they were considered less important – or too controversial? – to be discussed.

### 7.6.2 (b) *Analysis of the debates*

The topics that consumed most of the debate time went to the heart of SLA debates: that is learning versus acquisition or explicit versus implicit learning. Ophélie, Luc and Daniella - the only participants to have taken part in all three elements of data generation (questionnaire, interview, focus group) - maintained the stances they had assumed in their individual interviews vis-à-vis the “best” way to learn a language. This was a surprising finding as, although they bridged three different age groups (Luc 31-40, Daniella 41-50, Ophélie 51-60), their questionnaire data revealed that they shared many similarities:

- their schooling (both *collège* and *lycée*) was in the *Education nationale*
- they did not rate their English lessons at school very highly
- all went on to attain Master’s
- both of their parents worked when they were young and, apart from Luc’s father who was a farmer, were civil servants or administrators.
- they did not have private English tutors to help with their English homework when growing up
- they did not holiday in English-speaking countries when they were young
- they were quite satisfied with their ability to use English at work (an average of 5/10)
- none of them were confident about having a job interview in English, which is of concern as two-thirds of the companies polled in the LEMP had a component of their job interviews in English or another foreign language
- all three disagreed that the English language was a “threat” to the French language. (However, this was contradicted in their interviews and the focus group.)

With so many similarities of background and belief, I expected to find evidence of a shared linguistic habitus. But Ophélie, Luc and Daniella held very different perspectives on language learning. The focus group brought these differences out very clearly as they were pushed to defend their beliefs about language learning. Ophélie insisted on developing good discipline and linguistic hygiene with all “errors” being corrected. She seemed to have no particular interest in “native speakers” or native-speaker cultures. Daniella,

however, expressed the belief that the portal to language learning is through the native-speaker culture; she was very keen that the class be linked up to a class in the UK. Luc held on to his belief throughout the focus group that adults learn languages in the same way as children.

In addition to casting doubt on the idea of a shared linguistic habitus across groups of learners from similar backgrounds, this wide variation of beliefs in just three adult learners reveals that there is more to successful language teaching and learning than local context as Bax (2003) would contend. Lessons could be particularly unsatisfactory for adult learners if they have deep-seated ideas of how languages should be learned and the class or trainer takes a different direction. There does, however, seem to be evidence of an individual linguistic habitus that is quite durable, even when faced with contradictory beliefs. Luc, for instance, expressed surprise that Ophélie, despite her philosophy of language learning being diametrically opposed to his own, had attained a high level of ability in English.

### **7.6.2 (c) *The focus group as an example of ELF communication***

The debates could be considered to exemplify an ELF situation, as the participants turned to French only in extremis. Indeed, the group's interaction confirmed Seidlhofer's observations:

Misunderstandings are not frequent in ELF interactions; when they do occur, they tend to be resolved either by topic change or, less often, by overt negotiation using communication strategies such as rephrasing and repetition. ... which gives the impression of ELF talk being overtly consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive, and thus fairly robust. (2004, p. 218).

The following stretch of discourse, while not being particularly significant content-wise, nevertheless exemplifies Seidlhofer's comments:

343	Luc	Some caterers don't speak English – what is it?
344	Ophélie	Maids?
345	Daniella	Caterer? C – A – T –
346	Laura	Waiter!

347	Luc	Thank you.
348	Laura	What is “caterer”?
349	Daniella	<i>Traiteur.</i>
350	Luc	So the waiters in Paris, not all waiters really speak English in Paris.
351	Laura	But it’s not the most important -
352	Luc	But if you go to Japan or another country -
353	Laura	Not often, the most used language after French is English.
354	Ophélie	In France?
355	Daniella	Yes.
356	Ophélie	Maybe yes, I don’t know.
357	Luc	The second language for me is when -
358	Daniella	When I went to Freiburg in Germany, the tourism officer didn’t speak English and I was very -
359	Luc	<i>Ja!</i>
360	Daniella	I spoke German when I was younger, but not fluently. It is difficult for me to speak German, but not English. I understand English and I speak English, but in the tourism office -
361	Ophélie	But my daughter had - how do you say it, in German it’s <i>brieffreundin</i> but in English? <i>correspondant?</i>
362	JM	Penpal.
363	Ophélie	I know the word in German, but not in English. And when her penpal came to France, she didn’t want to speak French, she only spoke English. Only English. Yes, yes, and I speak German, it’s my first (foreign) language -

In this stretch of discourse, the group use several ways to scaffold understanding: spelling, translating, code-switching, humour (Luc’s “*ja*,” when Daniella began to speak of her experience in Germany). Certainly this stretch of discourse was “consensus oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive” (Seidlhofer, 2004, p. 218). The group also draw on their various linguistic repertoires, as Blommaert has indicated. In Luc’s case, this might just be the word *ja*, while Ophélie’s repertoire is much larger, and she explains her knowledge of German stems from it having been her LV1 (first foreign language) at school.

## 7.7 Summary of Chapter 7

I drew on the government and EU-backed LEMP report to examine the linguistic market in the French workplace. A key finding was that the linguistic capital of English was apparently diminishing in value, as the report

emphasized that French + English + one other foreign language was the most valued linguistic portfolio for workers to possess across a variety of workplace fields. This finding concurred with the movement within the ELF field (Jenkins, 2015, for instance) towards conceiving of English as just one element in multilingual competence, rather than as *the* lingua franca of a globalizing world. I found the trainees who participated in the interviews were exquisitely tuned in to the nuances of the workings of the linguistic market in their own workplace fields, and there was much comparing of their language abilities with those of professional colleagues (Ophélie, Luc, Betty, Roxanne, for instance). In line with the LEMP trends, Betty, who had reached a comfortable level in English, left the class to switch to Spanish in the autumn of 2016.

In terms of linguistic habitus, despite their being middle-class professionals who had had a similar upbringing and education through the highly centralized French system, instead of sharing a linguistic habitus, interviewees evidenced diverse beliefs and dispositions towards English, lending credence to Lahire's contention (2011) that habitus evolves throughout life in line with different socializing experiences.

## **7.8 How does the trainee data address the research questions?**

### **7.8.1 RQ1: What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?**

Those who participated in the interviews were well aware of the importance of English in their workplaces and, in some cases, had been working hard over a sustained period of more than five years to enhance their levels, usually funding themselves. English was a significant part of their non-working lives too, with holidays and entertainment choices arranged to maximize their chances to practise English. In turn, they guided their children towards

English activities (like the LSF “kids’ club”), and were anxious about the quality of teaching their children were receiving at school.

If all this is what is required for middle-class, well-educated professionals just to reach the B1 level, what chance is there for those blessed with less time and resources to reach a working level in English? This is a sobering question in light of both the LEMP (Benoit et al, 2015) and Saulière (2014a), who point to English increasingly being required at all levels of employment.

### **7.8.2 RQ2: Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?**

The trainee data revealed a wide range of reactions to the issue of “which” English would be an appropriate model to teach. These responses could be summarized by one of the questionnaire comments: “know the needs of each learner.” A Bourdieusian analysis – which would take into account linguistic habitus and linguistic market - is helpful in ascertaining learner needs, as it avoids the trainer simply viewing a trainee’s needs in terms of what they *do* with English at work. For instance, Betty’s needs for English in her job at the *mairie* (town hall) could be considered rather simple as they involved occasionally greeting and showing visitors around. However, Betty understood that, in the linguistic market that pertained to her civil service field, the linguistic capital of English was highly valued as it was not spoken by other colleagues. She recognized that her skills were a differentiating factor or mark of “distinction,” and, thus, wished to achieve a good level in English.

Following Reay’s suggestion (2004) that habitus could be discerned when an individual is brought to question previously unquestioned assumptions or beliefs, in Betty’s case a glimpse into her linguistic habitus can be perceived from the following exchange, when asked if she aspired to a “native-speaker” level:

Why not? But I think it's a good idea to have our accent, French accent. We have our roots. ... I think it's important to have a universal language. It's English. But why English, I don't know. But we have to have one language. ... I think I'm frightened, not frightened, but it's good to speak one language to exchange ... when you are doing a trip or meeting people from different countries to have one language to exchange, to speak together, to talk together. ... But we still have to keep our tradition, we have to keep our history. You understand? (Betty, Exchange 102-113).

**Table 7E: "Betty's binaries"**

French associated with	if "boundary" crossed	English associated with
<b>Nouns</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Verbs</b>
roots	<b>E</b>	to exchange, to speak, to talk
tradition	<b>A</b>	doing a trip
history	<b>R</b>	meeting people

Betty's attitudes towards English recall Kipling's lines ("East is East ... "): "French is French, and English is English, and never the twain shall meet." Her fear ("I'm frightened") stems from English leaking across the boundary she has erected between the two languages and blurring how she conceptualizes an identity constructed around the French language as a bearer of tradition, history and culture.

In view of Betty's need to separate English (a language of exchange, in her view) from French (a cultural artefact), and the communicative needs of her workplace, a simplified lingua-franca, function-oriented English would be the preferred teaching option. However, as has been noted from the literatures, an agreed-upon simplified ELF does not exist. Moreover, learners such as Daniella wanted to learn the "veritable English" (Exchange 144-6) of Austen and Hardy. As Seidlhofer points out, the "central pedagogic problem, still as relevant and as unresolved now as ever, (is) deciding what formal or functional features of the language as a whole are to be focused on as appropriate for learning." (2011, p. 176).

### 7.8.3 RQ3 How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?

The Hollande government only allowed for 24 hours a year of subsidized English training, which had to include time to prepare for an internationally recognized examination. Clearly, language schools could maximize their earnings from these hours by minimizing the use of trainers and maximizing the use of technology enhanced learning. As Hockley points out:

For adult learners, digital technologies ... provide a wealth of opportunities for learning a language without a teacher. They can learn about the nuts and bolts of the language ... online or via mobile apps. They can practise reading, listening, speaking and writing online. Some of this online or mobile app material is presented in an engaging way, with multimedia, spaced repetition and opportunities to engage with other language learners ... Adult learners now have the option of learning as and when they like, so there is less need for them to attend face-to-face classes. (2017, p. 58).

However, only four (out of 12) of LSF questionnaire respondents augmented their learning through internet sites, with only one having tried out a MOOC. Comments, however, indicated an appreciation for one-on-one (face-to-face) sessions specifically focusing on their workplace issues and/or working with participants of the same level in small face-to-face classes. Indeed, Edouard commented in his interview that he had “rediscovered the pleasure of English” through attending such a course (Exchange 88). The focus group, which in many ways replicated this learning situation, was also well received with comments at the end (Exchange 420-454) including:

- “I found that session very, very lively, interesting.” (Ophélie)
- “We can progress ... I think it’s because it’s a very little group. For me, it’s very important.” (Laura)
- “This session is really a means to speak a lot.” (Daniella)

From the questionnaire data, respondents expressed a marked preference for a “native-English teacher” (10/13 or 77%) with TESOL qualifications (8/13).



However, discussion on the issue in the focus group was more nuanced. Laura, for instance, countered Luc and Ophélie's preference for a native-speaking teacher by referring to the lessons she had taken with Emmanuel (the director of LSF), commenting that, despite not being a native-speaker, "he's very, very good" (FG Exchange 470).

For this group then, lessons based on discussion in small groups of the same level facilitated by a near-native-speaking trainer would be the preferred learning model, either to supplement or instead of one-on-one sessions. Little interest was expressed in technology-enhanced learning.

#### **7.8.4 RQ4 How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?**

With the exceptions of Betty and Edouard, who had both experienced inspiring English teachers, most participants held negative views about their experiences with learning English at school. More than 69% (9/13) of questionnaire respondents agreed with the statement that English was badly taught at school. These views often included worries about the experience their children were having in school, and comparisons with other countries. Bryce, for example, commented:

Nobody learns English very well in school, in childhood. For example, my youngest son (8 years old) doesn't learn English in school. ... In other countries, I think they can speak in English at four or five. (Exchange 96-104).

Despite the Hollande government's reforms to language education – the foreign languages strategy of Minister Vallaud-Belkacem (*Stratégie langues vivantes*, 2016), for instance, detailed in Section 3.1 of Chapter 5 - participants usually expressed pessimism that the English-teaching situation would improve for their children, with Edouard, who had received a stressful introduction to English as a young boy, commenting "I have the impression that my children (aged 9 and 10) are setting out on the same trajectory as me" (Exchange 38, my translation).

As for Hollande's workplace reforms, my questionnaire was sent out in January 2016, a year after the legislation came into effect; however, 58% (7/12) of respondents had no idea how to access their rights to training under the new law. Indeed, in the early days of the reform there were few publicity campaigns. The impact of this lack of pedagogy, however, would have meant that potentially a great number of people were missing out on subsidized English training.

Idryss was one of those who was using his CPF (personal training account) to fund his training at LSF. However, he commented that the previous DIF scheme (*Droit individuel à la formation* or individual right to training) was preferable as there was no imperative to take the TOEIC examination at the end of the training. He was disappointed to have to use valuable training hours for exam preparation rather than working on issues that were more pertinent to his job.

For this middle-class, early middle-aged (the mean age of participants was 41) group, there seems to be no respite from the pressure of having to learn English. Not only were they concerned about bolstering their own skills for their workplaces, but they were also concerned that their children should be prepared from an early age to use English professionally.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion : “Tom-ay-to?” “Tom-ah-to?” Let’s call the whole thing off!

### 8.1 2015: *annus horribilis* or new dawn?

Viewing vocational training as the panacea to France’s persistent high unemployment, President François Hollande vowed “to bring a little order” (Elysée, 2013) to the highly fragmented vocational training field, which in 2012 comprised around 60,000 organizations, including language schools. The subsequent training reforms, introduced in 2015, brought in measures that had a significant impact on English-language training for adults in France - a key element in the €370-million, lightly regulated language-training industry.

In addition to the imposition of strict quality controls for language schools, trainees were, for the first time in France, framed as actors in their own lifelong learning journey. As English was the most demanded subject under previous training schemes, allowing individuals to take charge of their own training decisions – rather than having to negotiate with their employers for permission to access government subsidies as in the past – might have been expected to increase demand for English training.

However, to the disbelief of the language training community, it took almost three months for English (and other languages) to appear on the lists of subsidized courses. This hiatus led to the demise of a number of language schools, as the language-training field was highly competitive with low profit margins (Wickham, 2016). English, and other foreign languages were added in the spring of 2015, but trainees could only be subsidized for 24 hours a year (plus any hours that were outstanding from the previous scheme) – and this training had to lead to a recognized English-language qualification. With few training hours available, and the need to prepare trainees for an examination, the question arose as to how effectively adult learners could be assisted to use

English in what – as the government’s own “Languages and Employability” report of 2015 indicated – was an increasingly globalizing workplace in France.

In addition, the quantitative study undertaken by TESOL France and its associates, which was published as the training reform was taking effect in 2015, revealed that the English-language training field was characterized by precarity, with a corps of (usually) “native-speaking” trainers working with multiple language schools. Professional development opportunities were rare, despite only one-third of trainers having language-teaching qualifications (Wickham, 2015a).

Hollande’s training reform disrupted the language-training status quo that had been evolving for the previous 30 or so years, creating the opportunity to reflect on and examine English-language teaching for adults in France. The workplace of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, for many, is fraught with challenge and increasing precarity. Added to these burdens is the need for French workers of all levels to have a high level of English ability in order, in some cases, to successfully navigate an interview for a job in a French company (Benoît et al, 2015), or to “validate” a French Master’s degree in order to apply for a promotion (Edouard, interview). It is hard to believe that (if French once again rose to be the world lingua franca) employees in Melbourne, Australia or Manchester, UK could or would tolerate a similar scenario. French employees, thus, need access to the highest quality language training information and support in order that they may be empowered to ask Bunce et al’s question: “Why English?” (2016) or be equipped with the “languaging” (Seidlhofer, 2011) tools to appropriate English – and, increasingly, the other languages that are demanded by the workplace (Benoît et al, 2015).

My overarching research question, thus, addressed how English-language training could be organized – post training reform – both in terms of the structure and organization of the English-training field itself, and what could be taught to adult trainees, how they could be taught, and by whom:

*Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, how can the teaching of English to French adults be organized to “empower and equip” (Newton and Kusmierczyk, 2011, p. 88) learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace where English is a powerful linguistic capital?*

The overarching question evolved from four more narrowly focused sub-questions:

**RQ1:** *What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ2:** *Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?*

**RQ3:** *How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?*

**RQ4:** *How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?*

To answer my research questions, I drew on Bourdieusian concepts and the “thinking tools” of habitus, capital, field, linguistic habitus, linguistic capital and linguistic market. As a researcher whose impetus emerged from the specificities of Republican France, and whose research was centred on issues of language and power and (latterly) globalization, Bourdieu had much to offer this research project, which brings his concerns to bear on an increasingly globalized France. In addition to the thinking tools, my research structure takes its inspiration from Bourdieusian field analysis, as is depicted in **Table 8A** overleaf.

**Table 8A: Research structure**

<b>Research element</b>	<b>Area of research</b>	<b>Bourdieuian tools/concepts</b>	<b>Researched through</b>	<b>Addresses research questions</b>
1	The “field of power” (Hollande government policy-making apparatus)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field</li> <li>• Capital</li> </ul>	Critical Discourse Analysis of Policy texts	RQs 1-4
2	The English-language training field in France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field</li> <li>• Capital</li> </ul>	Survey data from TESOL France	RQs 1-4
3	English trainers’ perspectives on English-language training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitus</li> <li>• Capital</li> <li>• Field</li> </ul>	Discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews with five Langues-sans-Frontières’ trainers	RQs 1-4
4	English use in the French workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linguistic market</li> <li>• Linguistic capital</li> </ul>	Survey data from the “Languages and employability” report	RQs 1-4
5	Adult English learners’ perspectives on English-language needs and training for the workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linguistic habitus</li> <li>• Linguistic capital</li> <li>• Linguistic market</li> </ul>	Questionnaire, interview and focus-group data from 14 adult learners at Langues-sans-Frontières. Transcripts analyzed through Discourse Analysis	RQs 1-4

The research design proved to be robust, both in terms of the practical organization of the research and conceptually, as the structure facilitated data comparison and triangulation. For instance, the theme (or “obsession,” as Gumbel (2010) puts it) of the education system can be traced through all five research elements.

A Bourdieusian-inspired structure and analysis also proved compatible with the discourse analysis (DA) tools that I employed to analyze Hollande's policy, trainer and trainee interview and focus-group data. As Alvesson points out, both DA and Bourdieu share "a sceptical stance towards the idea that language mirrors the world" (2002, p. 69). The advantage of DA, when applied to the data generated from interviews and the focus group, over methods such as grounded theory coding is, that rather than seeking themes that run across data generated from different participants, DA's foremost insistence is on a thorough analysis of individual data and how an individual constructs their reality through language. This has allowed me to posit that each of the trainees I interviewed could not, paraphrasing Bourdieu and Passeron, acquire English "without thereby acquiring a relation" to the language (2000/1977, p. 116). I, thus, found Bourdieu's concept of linguistic habitus to be a powerful tool to probe beneath attitudes and perceptions to English to the dispositions underlying those attitudes and perceptions.

An illustration here is my analysis of "Betty's binaries" (Chapter 7, Section 8, Table 7E), where Betty conceptualized French as the language of "roots, tradition, history" (nouns) and English as the language of travelling, meeting people, and exchanging (verbs). She was concerned that the boundary that she had constructed between the languages not be broached.

With multilingual Ophélie, who complained of the "weight of English," this tendency to categorize languages was also evident. She considered Greek to be a language connected to western culture and French to her personal culture and history. Twice, Ophélie mentioned that Italian was a "nice" language: "French or Italian are nice languages and the globalization is ... suffocating specific languages and maybe in two centuries we will all speak English" (Exchange 318-320). As with Betty, there is a clear separation between French and English; English, for Ophélie, was a byword for globalization.

However, both Betty and Ophélie were taking lessons in order to enhance their English skills for workplaces, where these skills were valuable linguistic capital. An understanding, therefore, of the complex dispositions towards English of different trainees is highly relevant to how they could best be assisted to achieve their goals. The aim of my research then was to posit how adult learners could best be supported in an increasingly globalized French workplace, in the light of an ambiguous attitude on the part of the government of François Hollande toward subsidizing English training.

**Section 8.2** offers responses to the four research questions, with **Section 8.3** summarizing the key findings of the research. **Section 8.4** explores the implications of the research findings for practice. **Section 8.5** examines the contributions of this research to the literatures. **Section 8.6** points up the limitations of the research. **Section 8.7** concludes by offering answers to the overarching research question - but not without some significant caveats.

## **8.2 Answering the research questions**

### **8.2.1 RQ1: What are the socio-political implications of teaching English to French adults for professional purposes?**

One of the key findings of this research was the existence of a perceptual gap between the Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF) English trainers and the trainees in regard to the socio-political implications of having to learn English in order to thrive in the French workplace. The trainers, particularly Rosalie and Raine, did not accept that there was a “dark side” to English in France, in other words, that English was being used as a gatekeeper in education and employment. The French teachers, Elouan and Emmanuel, similarly viewed English in a positive light as just a foreign language connected to the cultures of the Inner Circle countries, reserving their ire for the way in which indigenous French languages had been marginalized by the imposition of French as the only language of the Republic.



As for the trainees, Betty, Roxanne, Daniella and Ophélie all expressed concerns about what Ophélie described as “the weight of English” in their professional and private lives and its impact on French. Luc, who worked in IT, also expressed some resentment towards the position of English in his profession and in the world. Technicians Idriss and Iann, on the other hand, appeared to embrace the opportunities offered by ELF in their international workplaces. Sales manager Edouard tended to agree with Idriss and Iann that English offered a pathway to opportunity, and it was even a source of nourishment for French. However, he admitted to having done the “grand slam” (tried every possible method) to improve his level.

Attitudes towards English among my trainee participants were divided on broadly gendered lines, with the female participants sometimes expressing quite strong fears about losing their culture. Among the male participants, excepting Luc, there was a much more matter-of-fact acceptance of the status quo as “c’est la vie.” Although I did not pursue the issue of gender differences relating to language and culture, it is perhaps an aspect that I would be more attentive to should I have the opportunity to do more research in this area.

Apart from gender and age, what struck me were the similarities between my trainees in terms of family background, education and professional life. My own observations of a widely shared linguistic insecurity among adult French learners, often expressed as the “*nul en anglais*” phenomenon, and my working within a Bourdieusian frame, led me to posit the existence of a shared linguistic habitus which could have been drawn upon to make English training more culturally specific for adult French learners. However, despite their similarities, I found widely diverging views about language learning among the three trainee participants (Luc, Ophélie, Daniella) who participated across all three elements of the research (questionnaire, interview, focus group).

A significant finding is, therefore, that in this study there is no confirmation of Bourdieu’s idea of a linguistic habitus, shared by a social group, being set

down through similar primary and secondary socialization experiences. The study, however, points to confirmation of Lahire's reconceptualization of habitus as being shaped by experiences throughout life, leading to a much more malleable concept of habitus than Bourdieu envisioned.

### **8.2.2 RQ2: Which variety of English (eg, British English, American English, or some form of simplified lingua-franca English) should be taught to French adults for professional purposes?**

For the five English trainers who participated in this research and for a majority of the trainees interviewed, an Inner Circle variety, particularly British English, was the model that was taught or aspired to. This should not have been a surprising finding in view of the geographical proximity of France to the UK, that British English is the model taught in school and most French schoolchildren have the opportunity to visit the UK on a language exchange. In addition, the three "native speaker" teachers at LSF were British. Flaitz, writing in 1988, pointed out that the French connect language with culture, and little seems to have changed on this front. Grammatical accuracy was judged very important by the teachers Elouan, Rosalie and Raine, with the latter two very strict about the use of the third-person 's'. The trainee Ophélie was also insistent about all her errors being corrected and speaking "good English." Trainees Idryss and Iann, whom I categorize as "classic" ELF users, as they were using English in exchanges with non-native speakers outside France, despite having a high level of comfort in their professional use of the language, nevertheless, aspired to grammatical correctness.

The idea of teaching ELF or a simplified lingua-franca English was simply not countenanced by the trainers, and with only one trainee believing that a simplified English could be taught in the early days of learning the language. Clearly, the objectives for both trainers and trainees were that trainees reach native-speaker levels of proficiency. The training reform only offered 24 hours a year of training, but Cambridge English (n.d.) points out that 200 hours of "guided training" were probably necessary to move up each rung of the

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2018). With British English, or another prestigious Inner Circle version, as a model for French adults, could it be thought that French adults and their trainers were setting themselves up for failure?

### **8.2.3 RQ3: How should English be taught to French adults for professional purposes – and by whom (or what)?**

The “Languages and employability” (LEMP) report (Benoît et al, 2015) revealed that a high level of language skill in both writing and speaking was a requirement for managerial or technical positions in the French private sector workplace. My research confirmed the findings of the LEMP study. My trainee participants worked in a variety of fields from Higher Education to legal services, where a high level of competence in English was required. In terms of how English could be taught to adults for professional purposes, the experience of LSF is salutary, as Emmanuel, the director, underscored that trainees from various backgrounds came together in small groups. Outside of their workplace situations or offices, trainees could be more at ease with professionals from different fields. My trainee interviews with Luc and Idriss, for example, revealed that specific technical English was not usually an issue for them; rather the challenge was “social English.” Courses with a mix of professionals could create a natural space for social English, while also allowing for trainees to explain their specific workplace situations.

Language learning takes time and regular exposure, and this fact needs to be acknowledged by the government and the language-training field. This means ending the selling of English training in packages of 24 hours per year, and thinking more in terms of courses of at least 200 hours – the time estimated to climb one rung of the CEFR (Cambridge English, n.d.).

The LSF experience of “native” and “non-native” speaking teachers reveals that each can learn from each other. As Emmanuel, the director of LSF, pointed

out French English teachers may have a better understanding of the specific issues of learners stemming from their exposure to English at school; whereas “native-English” teachers may offer more insights into the nuances of the language. However, all trainers should be qualified to avoid privileging native speakers “fresh off the boat.” In fact, French training does exist. The University of Grenoble, for instance, offers a post-graduate diploma in English-language training to adults, which can be obtained by validating prior experience and qualifications or by attending a face-to-face component plus a supervised practical element in the student’s own context (Université Grenoble Alpes, n.d.). Insistence on a French qualification would be a step towards professionalizing the English-training field in France, as well as allowing dialogue between French English teachers and those from elsewhere. Similarly, if there is a need for trainees to have an examination at the end of their training, the French Ministry of Education’s “DCL” or *Diplôme de compétence en langue* (Diploma in language ability), a four-skill task based test valid for life, which has been specifically designed for adults using languages in the workplace (Education.gouv.fr, 2018), would be preferable to the CPF policy where large sums of public money were being paid to an American organization - ETS Global - for its TOEIC suite of tests, which lose their validity after two years.

Longer and more regular training courses would also mean that trainers could be employed on a full-time basis, and paid a regular salary, obviating precarity and the need “to buzz around” like Rosalie’s “blue-arsed fly” (Rosalie, Exchange 118) satisfying the needs of multiple language schools.

#### **8.2.4 RQ4: How does French language, education and training policy impact adult English learners and their trainers?**

Much like the characters in *The Great Gatsby* attempting to live the American dream (Fitzgerald, 1950/1926, p. 172), I was often “borne back ceaselessly into the past” and my interviewees’ (often negative) experiences of learning English

at school. Indeed, Gumbel (2010) equates the education system in France to the “French dream.” The system plays a preponderant role in French society, with Hollande’s first minister of education, Peillon, underscoring that the Republic, in fact, emerged from the endeavours of the Third Republic (1870-1940) educators who disseminated Republican values and the French language across the land (Hyatt & Méraud, 2015). Insistency on the primacy of the French language as the mark of a French citizen led to the systematic marginalization of France’s many indigenous languages and an awkward relationship with the languages brought in by the immigration of the last half-century or so. Indeed, the two French teachers of English I interviewed, Emmanuel and Elouan, were much more concerned with the positioning of French as the only official language of the Republic than with the creeping onset of English, which, as Le Lièvre (2008) suggests could be considered the *de facto* second language of the country.

Viewed in this national context, it is understandable why the insights of Bourdieu and Passeron about the education system being far from an equalizing force, but actually a mechanism to reproduce elites (2000/1977), would have caused immense shock. Recent research, however, (OECD, 2015, Peugny, 2013) confirms that the education system persists in working to the interests of an elite. The consensus from both those interviewed for this research and from French employers (Benoît et al, 2015) was that English was badly taught at school, leading to the possibility that families with higher levels of cultural, social and economic capital could supplement their child’s exposure to English at school with private tutors, holidays or internships in English-speaking countries and so forth. I wondered to what extent English, in an unequal education system, could be an additional factor in creating inequality. Block, for instance, posits that it is the middle and upper classes who are the successful learners of English (2012).

Although there was general agreement that English was not well taught at school or at university, my trainees, middle-class professionals with a mean

age of 41, were not prevented from achieving high levels of professional success after their compulsory education. But now parents themselves, and faced with the increasing pressure of updating or upgrading their English skills for their workplaces, they appeared determined to aid their children in every way possible. Daniella and Edouard organized family holidays in English-speaking countries; Edouard, Luc and Idryss wanted to register their children in LSF's "Kids' Club." It would appear that for the generation in full-time education in the 2000s, acquiring confidence in English could be more critical than for the previous generation because of the perception or discourse that English is a key skill across diverse workplaces. Indeed, the Hollande government under the last minister of education, Vallaud-Belkacem, in commissioning the "Languages and Employability" report specifically tied language teaching in school to the needs of the workplace. Vallaud-Belkacem's reforms to the *Education nationale* saw English being taught from the first year of primary school. In support of my observation that there appeared to have been a generational shift to a greater emphasis on the importance of English, Ager reported that in 1997, foreign language teaching did not begin until the first year of secondary school (1999, p. 201). Graddol points out, however, that in most countries finding competent teachers of EYL was problematic (2006). With teacher selection being based on ability in competitive examinations (*concours*) rather than in specific subject training, it is unlikely that simply teaching English earlier will lead to better results. Indeed, trainee Edouard remarked in his interview that his children's teachers lacked the confidence to teach, and English exposure was limited to the writing of the date on the whiteboard in English. Adult training in English, thus, is likely to remain important for some time to come in France.

With an overt acceptance of the importance of English in the workplace from the earliest years of schooling, and a policy of linking school through university through to vocational training in a "government of skills and knowledge" (Ministère du Travail, 2014), the omission of English from public funding in the early days of the training reform did indeed appear to be an

aberration, which as I explained in Chapter 5 was likely due to the reluctance of elements of the “social partners” to consider English as a skill like baking. However, the omission of English under the new reform led to language schools closing and trainers being laid off. The complexity of the new law and its progressive application over a period of two years with initially little promotion or advertising, and complex procedures for individuals – for the first time considered responsible for their own training choices – led to “early adopters” being able to organise their English courses, but many holding off on training. It is likely that potential trainees were also deterred by the imposition of a compulsory examination at the end of a training course. The need to prepare trainees for an examination, as trainee Idriss pointed out, took away precious training hours that could have been directed towards a more specific communicative need.

Anecdotally, another unexpected effect of the training reform was the alacrity with which large companies realized that the procedures to sign up for training were often too complicated for their employees. In “helping” employees to activate their CPF (Personal Training Account), companies were able to provide employees with training without having to dip into their own pockets. More alarmingly, with the requirement for an examination, with ETS Global’s TOEIC being preferred, at the end of training, companies would have a convenient metric upon which to compare employees. The law, however, imposed quality requirements on language schools, which included the obligation to offer continuing professional development opportunities to their trainers, which was a welcome step in light of the dismal statistics gathered by TESOL France.

The organization of this research, in viewing English-language training from the perspectives of not only English learners and trainers, but also from the government perspective, underscores how delicately the French government must tread in any policy that affects languages. The country is founded on the centrality of the French language, which is the requirement for citizenship,

and French is taught to a high level in the education system. For a government to admit, therefore, that its citizens might need English (and other languages) in order to get a job and remain employable is a complex conundrum, which goes to the heart of debates about the meaning of education.

## 8.3 Summary of key findings

### 8.3.1 Key findings from policy analysis

- The Hollande government tacitly accepted English (and other languages) as a key workplace skill that should be inculcated from the first year of primary school through university. However, viewing “the government” as different factions revealed the conflict between cultural capital (the primacy of the French language in educating Republican citizens) and economic capital (the usefulness of English and other foreign languages in citizen employability). The initial hiatus regarding English was likely because of this inner conflict, rather than a view that the globalization-and-English phenomenon was somehow to be resisted
- The French *Education nationale* reverberates through the lives of adult learners and has some effect on how English is viewed – in particular that language is connected to a culture, and should be learned to a native-speaker level
- The implicit problem faced by the Hollande government was not unemployment, but rather the skills of the workforce. Whether English could be considered a skill like welding or baking was at the heart of the English hiatus. Here the policy analysis reveals a connection between the government and wider discourses, as laid out in Chapter 2, which are asking, “What is English?”



### **8.3.2 Key findings from LSF trainers' discourse**

- The English to be taught to adults is that of the Inner Circle. ELF was not countenanced, being described by Rosalie as “Me Tarzan, you Jane” and by Elouan as “Globish.”
- The French trainers expressed deep concern about the positioning of French as the only official language of France. They were not concerned about the position of English and its effects on adult users.
- The British trainers (except perhaps Ritchie, who spoke of having to teach television technicians English so that they could then teach their jobs to Polish workers) did not acknowledge the “dark side” of English in France, whereas most trainees viewed English as a threat to the French language and cultural norms

### **8.3.3 Key findings from LSF trainees' discourse**

- Most learners aspired to native-like levels of competence in English
- Like trainers, learners were unaware of the ELF movement; however, analysis of their interactions (as B1 users) in English in the focus group supported Seidlhofer's (2011) contentions that ELF was consensus oriented and mutually supportive
- Social English was considered more important than workplace-specific language
- A preference for qualified, native-speaking trainers
- Although there was some evidence of individual linguistic habituses, there was no consistency across trainees which could suggest a shared linguistic habitus among trainees of similar backgrounds
- Appreciation of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) techniques was evidenced in the focus group, which followed a CLT-inspired structure
- It takes many years of sustained effort to reach a comfortable level in English
- Preference for learning in small groups of the same level

- Not a strong interest in technology-enhanced learning
- Incomprehension as to how English had become the world's lingua franca

## **8.4 Implications of the findings for practice**

### **8.4.1 Teach to a native-speaker model**

Adult learners, according to this study, wanted to speak “native-speaker” English, not ELF or “Globish.” However, with only 24 hours of subsidized training a year, this could be a long drawn out process. Language schools and trainers need to make it clear to trainees that around 200 hours is needed to progress up each rung of the CEFRL, which means for a weekly two-hour course running over 12 weeks, the trainee would also need to spend around 15 hours a week in private study. Clearly, some form of blended or “flipped” learning model would have to be applied, but the number of hours invested would be hugely daunting for adult learners who have to balance English learning with other work and life commitments.

### **8.4.2 Combine individual work-focused learning with small group discussion-based classes with a mix of professionals**

This research revealed that trainees have very specific requirements for English in their workplaces; part of their training, therefore, should consist of the trainer shadowing them through a typical meeting/day/conference call/presentation in order to understand their needs and help them apply appropriate language strategies to meet these needs. In parallel, as could be seen from the focus group, adult learners benefit from exchange with other professionals out of their particular workplace context. A small group session could fulfil trainees' needs for “social English” and also allow for exchange and debate on how best to approach the learning of English.

### **8.4.3 Encourage discussion about English in the world and how to develop transferable language-learning skills**

One of the surprising findings of this research was a lack of comprehension among trainees about how and why English became the world's lingua franca. Discussions about the advantages and disadvantages of this situation would alert trainees to the fact that this situation may not persist indefinitely, and that they should be aware of the possibility that they may need to learn another language at some point.

### **8.4.4 Don't neglect writing skills – and prepare trainees for job interviews**

The trainees in this study demanded speaking practice; however, the LEMP report indicated that in French enterprises, writing skills are valued as highly as speaking. The report also indicated that two-thirds of the organizations surveyed tested the language skills of job applicants at interview. Clearly, writing skills and job interview practice should be important elements of any training programme.

## **8.5 How does this research contribute to the literatures?**

I viewed this research as contributing to the literatures in three inter-related areas:

- English and globalization
- English as the world lingua franca, and the implications for teaching adults
- English in France

### **8.5.1 English and globalization**

From my review of the literatures, it is difficult to find disagreement that English and globalization are intimately intertwined (Blommaert, 2010; Graddol, 2006): a situation that has created both winners, for whom English is

a language of opportunity, but also losers who lack access to the opportunities offered by possession of this powerful linguistic capital (Park & Wee, 2012). However, the years between 2015 and 2018, when this thesis was written, were turbulent ones with the Trump presidency and “Brexit,” for instance, seemingly heralding a return to closed borders and renewed nationalism. What then can this thesis contribute to debates about English and globalization at (what may be) a pivotal moment when the socio-political trends of the previous 30 or so years may be entering a new phase?

The key contribution of this research, I believe, is in its investigation of English and globalization “off the beaten” track of super-diverse urban settings in world cities (Blommaert, 2010) or in giant multinationals (Ehrenreich, 2010). In depicting the lives of trainers and trainees in a medium-sized market town in the west of France, hundreds of kilometres from Paris, it is evident that globalization and English have infiltrated the very fibres of this society. As Payne observes, globalization phenomena have reached “far beyond the global cities” (2014, p. 12).

The visible traces of English and globalization are evident in the posters advertising McDonald’s, but this is not a superficial phenomenon. The town’s *notaire*, Roxanne, and mayor’s assistant, Betty, are learning English to distance themselves from colleagues with less ability; one of the town’s bankers, Daniella, is spending her holidays in English-speaking countries and watching *Downton Abbey* to learn the “veritable” English, while teaching part-time to American students in a nearby *grande école*. Meanwhile, Luc, in a small IT start-up is puzzling over the traffic reports from a radio station in Melbourne, Australia as he sets up a meeting with his Turkish client.

To boost their English skills, these learners will take lessons in a small non-profit language school from bilingual Rosalie, born in Britain, who has taught French in America and English in China. Her French English teacher colleague, Elouan, was born in Algeria, but speaks Breton at home, along with

eight or nine other languages in which he has reached a high level of proficiency. While I am not suggesting that little LSF is an example of a “super-diverse” school (Payne, 2014), there is a surprising amount of linguistic diversity, at least among the teachers, in this small town of 8500 inhabitants, which makes it clear that labels such as “native” and “non-native” teacher are problematic.

In addition to problematizing the idea of “native-English-speaking teacher,” it is clear from this research that the phenomenon of globalization-and-English trigger very individual responses, depending on a learner’s professional situation and personal beliefs and interests. Lahire’s revision, therefore, of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, is significant, as I detail below in Section 8.5.3.

### **8.5.2 English as the world lingua franca**

While early English as a lingua franca (ELF) research attempted to address the concerns of those teaching English to adults for international intelligibility (Jenkins’s lingua franca core, for instance), subsequently the field changed tack in moving towards a conceptualization of ELF as an element in multilingual competence (Jenkins, 2015). This shift was in line with the “postmodern rethinking” of language that is associated with the work of Blommaert and Pennycook, who explore language users who draw on multilingual language “repertoires” in “super-diverse” city spaces. For Blommaert (2010) and Pennycook (2010), language is a verb rather than a noun; it is something people do (a practice) rather than a reified linguistic object or system

However, my research participants did not share this view of language. Both the trainers and the trainees I interviewed viewed English as a foreign language, a reified object, which was the rightful property of the native speaker.

As the trainees were unaware of ELF and how, when and why English had achieved its lingua franca status, this led to puzzlement as to why, as Roxanne put it, everyone had to learn the language of a small island off France's shores. Indeed, English was strongly equated with Britain, or particularly England.

Eleven out of 13 respondents to my questionnaire to trainees indicated that English was not a threat to the French language; however, this finding was belied at interview with five out of eight interviewees expressing degrees of discomfort or alarm about, as Ophélie put it, "the weight of English" in their lives and professions. The subject was also raised in the focus group.

This research, then, contributes to debates on ELF by exposing conceptual gaps between:

- ELF research and the knowledge of this research among the teachers and learners who participated in my study. To borrow the proposition of a debate in 2017 at IATEFL: "English as a lingua franca (ELF) is interesting for researchers, but not important for teachers and learners" (Hall, 2017)
- teachers' perceptions of English being merely a foreign language, and trainees' concerns about the complicity of English with globalization and concomitant cultural appropriation

### **8.5.3 English in France**

In Chapter 2, I sketched the nascent field of research into English in the French workplace and noted that most researchers had focused on French adults' attitudes and perceptions towards English in light of official ambivalence to English, particularly since the 1990s and the onset of technology-enabled globalization. My contribution to the research in this area is in my use of Bourdieusian tools in an attempt to locate the dispositions *underlying* adults' attitudes, beliefs and perceptions towards English. The thinking tools of habitus, capital and field and the associated linguistic habitus and linguistic market encourage investigating how a learner's background

(habitus/linguistic habitus) and workplace (field/linguistic market) influence their conceptualization of English and may offer clues as to appropriate teaching strategies. Investigating linguistic habitus, however, led to one of my most unexpected findings.

Most trainee data was generated from Luc, Daniella and Ophélie as they participated in all elements of the research (questionnaire, interview, focus group). Despite commonalities of background and education, they held divergent beliefs: from Daniella who believed that a connection to “the veritable” English and English culture was the way to learn English, to Luc, who believed that adults learn like children.

I, thus, reject the Bourdieusian idea of there being a linguistic habitus fixed by primary and secondary socialization, in favour of something much more elastic, along the lines of Lahire’s revisiting of habitus. Lahire uses the metaphor of a “folded” or “unfolded” social reality. Instead of viewing the state, the education system and so forth as “unfolded” or abstract forces, Lahire argues that these “macro-social objects” are experienced as “folded or creased” “in the form of nuanced and concrete combinations of contextual and dispositional properties”:

Each individual is in some form the “depository” of dispositions to think, feel and act that are the product of his or her multiple socializing experiences, more or less lasting and intense, in various collectives (from the smallest to the largest). In this folded version of reality ... individuals are not reducible to their Protestantism, their class membership, their level of culture or their gender. They are defined by the entire series of their experiences, past and present (2011, p. xv).

Clearly, the idea of a more elastic linguistic habitus has important implications for those who teach adults. The quality of the teaching experience could affect or amend deep-seated beliefs. Conversely a negative experience could reactivate previous negative perceptions. Indeed, Lahire posits that rather than the past systematically influencing the present in a “block,” certain past experiences could be triggered by experiences in the present (2011, p. 48).

Trainer Ritichie's comments about changing the form of his classroom could be pertinent. In making the adult classroom less like a school classroom, there would be less chance of unpleasant memories of school being triggered.

## **8.6 Research limitations: Using a convenience sample to answer a question that relates to 23 million people!**

Hollande's training reform was aimed at 23 million private sector workers across the whole of France. Even if only half of them were interested in learning English, this is still an enormous number. I made every effort to enhance the trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of this research by

- triangulating data from several different sources
- furnishing a clear "audit trail" of key documentation
- providing "thick" descriptions of both contexts and participants
- "member checking" by allowing all participants to review transcript data
- problematizing my own positionality and implication in the field I am researching

However, the core of the research is based on data generated from just five teachers and 14 adult learners in a small non-profit language centre in a market town in the west of France. Cohen, Manion and Morrison underscore that a "convenience sample" – "those to whom (the researcher) has easy access ... does not represent any group apart from itself, it does not seek to generalize about the wider population" (2011, 8.8 Non-probability samples, Convenience sampling, para. 1). The issue, perhaps, is not so much the absurdity of a grandiose research premise, but is rather the imprecision of the research question, which can be amended:

Against the backdrop of rapidly evolving training policy, **what insights as to how** the teaching of English to French adults could be organized to empower and equip learners to thrive in a globalizing workplace, where English is a powerful linguistic capital, **can be gleaned from government policy texts, secondary quantitative data, and qualitative research into the perceptions of the teachers and adult learners of a small French language school in 2016?**



## 8.7 Answering the (revised) overarching research question

### 8.7.1 Caveats

Although I am about to make recommendations based on what I have learned from this research project, these recommendations come with important caveats.

Firstly, the edifice of globalization and English that this research explores teeters over very old and – as yet – unresolved philosophical fissures relating to the questions:

- What is language? Is it a system or a practice?
- What is the purpose of education? Is it to educate citizens or workers?

These debates are crystallized in the context of English in the French workplace. My recommendations, thus, cannot be effected unless and until these more fundamental fissures, which go to the heart of the discourse that is the French Republic, are addressed.

It is also clear from this research that France’s “monolingual habitus” (Hélot and Young, 2008) has had a deleterious effect on the conception of languages in France whether they be indigenous, immigrant or English. The “*nul en anglais*” phenomenon and the generalized anxiety about speaking other languages likely stems from the highly centralized education system, the guardian of Republican values, and protector of the “legitimate language” of the Republic. The Hollande government paid lip service to the importance of English (and other languages) for employability, but unless language learning is taken more seriously at school with trained language teachers, and with effective and equitable procedures in place for teaching adults after the period of compulsory education, nothing I recommend can be implemented.

One of the “most popular events at the University of Sheffield” (University of Sheffield, 2018) for which it is advised to “get tickets well in advance” is the “TEFL Taster” course, where applicants are encouraged to “give ‘Teaching

English as a Foreign Language' a go." My third caveat, therefore, relates to the influence the worldwide field of English-language teaching to adults has on the French field - particularly the perception that TEFL is a passport to the world accessible to all those with a sufficient command of English, rather than a serious profession that can, as Charlotte the trainer in my Pak-King case study commented, be "a positive force in the worklife of people." Initiatives to professionalize the field must, I believe, come from the field itself, such as the TESOL France research that I have referred to throughout this thesis. As Wright underscored, "We are convinced that quality language teaching is only possible if conditions and career opportunities for teachers encourage the most competent and passionate to enter or remain in the profession and enable them to carry out their job to the best of their ability (2016, p. 56). A professionalized English-language training field that took itself seriously would then be in a strong position to influence the "field of power" or government forces to develop a coherent strategy towards adult language training for the workforce.

### **8.7.2 So, let's call the whole thing off?**

In the words of the old Gershwin song about language and relationships, what is required may be to "call the whole thing off" - to rethink completely the organization of publicly funded English-language training in France. A first step would be to recognize that courses may need to be ten times longer; the field needs to be professionalized, with committed trainers with regular working hours, salaries, and opportunities for Continuing Professional Development (CPD), and where trainers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds have the opportunity learn from each other. To ensure trainers were committed to the profession, entry should be through French qualifications such as the post-graduate *Diplôme de formateur en anglais* (English-language trainer diploma) of the University of Grenoble (University of Grenoble, n.d.). Entry by a French diploma would also act as a deterrent to

language schools employing trainers based primarily on their being “native speakers.”

Language schools could be modelled on the lines of Langues-sans-Frontières (LSF), the setting for my research. The organization is rooted in and funded by its community, and connected with local businesses and aware of their needs. English courses are offered with other major foreign languages, but tiny Breton is not neglected. The organization’s non-profit status allows any surplus to be re-invested in training resources and fair salaries for its trainers.

Ideally, adult trainees would be registered on courses of around 200 hours, demanding attendance for three hours per day for a period of three months. Small classes, drawing on Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) principles, would comprise learners from different organizations to maximize the opportunity for “social English” – identified as a key need by my research participants. Learners could also be encouraged to discuss and debate their ideas of how languages are learned, as was the case in my focus group. “Classrooms,” as trainer Ritchie pointed out, and in line with Lahire’s concept of habitus, would need to be designed differently from school classrooms to avoid triggering potentially negative memories of English at school. If an end-of-course examination were required, the French task-based *Diplôme de compétence en langues* (Diploma in language ability) would fit the bill as it is designed specifically for French adults in the workplace. In parallel to these small group sessions outside of the workplace, trainers could “shadow” the trainee in their workplace, perhaps for one or two days, somewhat on the lines that Rémi in my Pak-King study suggested. In this way, the trainer could observe the trainee as they completed tasks in English and be in a stronger position to offer specific workplace-related advice.

Clearly, a network of language schools modelled on LSF could require significant investment to set up. But, as Hollande indicated in 2013, successive governments had collected funds to the value of €32 billion towards vocational

training (Elysée, 2013). Additionally, €370 million was being paid to language schools during Hollande's term. Funding, then, is not really an issue.

My suggestions to rethink the English-language training field would ensure that companies or individuals only undertook training in English if it was considered absolutely essential, in light of the serious time commitment and the impact on the employee's working life. Alternatively, Peugny suggests that, if society is to take lifelong learning seriously, then all adults should be issued with universal training rights of up to 5 years after post-compulsory education (2013, pp. 95-97).

The organization I propose would lead to deeper thinking about English and globalization: to what extent is the demand for English led by discourses of globalization; to what extent are English skills truly essential for an individual employee?

My research with both the Pak-King pilot study, and with the LSF trainees, indicated that English skills were not optional. However, the French multinational Michelin operates in French, and insists its senior managers have French skills (Bourges, 2014, p. 231-233). Translation technology is advancing rapidly, and could alleviate the linguistic burden. Globalization itself may well be faltering or entering a new phase and, as Graddol pointed out in 2006, the future of English is linked with globalization.

One of the more unexpected findings of this research was that the French government, through its "Languages and Employability" report, noted that multilingual individuals were highly sought after in the French workplace, which connects with the move towards multilingualism of the ELF project and of "postmodern" theorists. In an uncertain world, it may not be enough for individuals to rely on their English skills to sustain them. The future may be multilingual. And that is the challenge for governments, education systems, companies and individuals.

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## **Appendices**

# Appendix A : Ethical considerations

## Appendix A1



Downloaded: 12/12/2017

Approved: 22/07/2015

Julie Meraud

Registration number: 120102226

School of Education

Programme: EdD

Dear Julie

PROJECT TITLE: Learning and teaching English for the workplace in France: policy, perceptions, practice  
APPLICATION: Reference Number 004246

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 22/07/2015 the above-named project was approved on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

University research ethics application form 004246 (dated 02/06/2015).

Participant information sheet 1008656 version 2 (02/06/2015).

Participant consent form 1008657 version 2 (02/06/2015).

The following optional amendments were suggested:

this is approved but please see feedback from reviewers

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

David Hyatt

Ethics Administrator

School of Education

## Appendix A2

### Personal Ethical framework

1. No parties will be involved without their prior knowledge or permission and informed consent ie, they know what they are letting themselves in for and where the “findings” might be publicized (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
2. Participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without explanation, and without researcher approbation.
3. Participants have the right to be interviewed or communicate about this project in the language they feel most comfortable in.
4. Pseudonyms will be used in reporting individuals, institutions and research locations. While this does not guarantee anonymity, it reduces the likelihood that individuals and institutions will be identifiable (from Simons, 2009).
5. Permission will be sought for access to documents, files and correspondence; these will not be copied without explicit permission (from Simons, 2009).
6. No attempt should be made to *force* people to do something unwillingly, e.g. to participate in any part of this study or to have their voice recorded (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
7. Relevant information about the nature and purpose of the research will always be given (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
8. No attempt should be made to deceive the participants (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
9. Every effort will be made to avoid invading participants’ privacy or taking too much of their time (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
10. All participants should be treated fairly, with consideration, with respect and with honesty (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
11. Confidentiality and anonymity should be maintained at every stage, including in publication (from Wellington, 2013, p. 57).
12. Interviewees will have an opportunity at the beginning of an interview to ask questions about the nature of the study. At the end of the interview, participants will be given the opportunity to ask further questions or to review and revise what they have said during their interview. They will be given a transcription or report of the interview within 21 days, which they will be allowed to edit. No data will be reported that a participant asks to be kept in confidence.

## Appendix A3



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.

### *Participant Consent Form*

Title of Research Project:

**French adults learning English: policy, perceptions, practice**

Name of Researcher: **Julie Méraud**

**Participant Identification Number for this project:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Please initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information email dated \_\_\_\_\_ explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant  
(or legal representative)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of person taking consent  
(if different from lead researcher)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

\_\_\_\_\_  
Lead Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*



## **Appendix B : Pilot study – “Pak-King”**

### **Appendix B1**

#### **Request for permission to conduct in-company research (pilot study) in the multinational “Pak-King”**

Email correspondence between Julie Méraud and “Desmond” the owner and director of “Top Langues,” the language-training organization contracted to upgrade the English skills of eight key personnel as Pak-King made the transition to the SAP Enterprise Resource Planning system from February to July 2015.

##### **Email from Julie Méraud to “Desmond” 4 May 2015**

Do you think it would be possible to get permission from Coentrin (Pak-King boss) to get each of the 8 people who have had English lessons to fill in an (anonymous) questionnaire (10 minutes) at the end of the course (end June?)?

The questionnaire (in French) would be about their background, attitudes towards English and how the training they have had has helped them at work. It would form the empirical section of my thesis which is going to be something along the lines of "Learning and teaching English for the workplace in France: policy, perceptions, practice". For the policy bit, I am analysing French gov policy towards English as a world business language (including the new reform of training); the "perceptions" bit would be TP trainees' comments on English at work. For the "practice" bit, I'd like to interview the other teachers on the team. But that is another email!

There would be an invitation in the Pak-King questionnaire for a follow-up interview (15 minutes), which not all would likely take up.

All this would be done in line with - and indeed has to be approved by - the Ethics Committee of Sheffield University. This means that the company name, location and all participants' names are anonymised. Participants have the right to pull out at any time. Confidentiality of the data given is of the utmost importance. The School of Education at Sheffield is among the top 10 in the UK and research ethics are taken very seriously.

However, this does not prevent the information being used in a report to Pak-King as part, for example, of the end of course tie-up by Top Langues.

What do you think? Hopefully, it would be a win-win-win - I would have interesting data; Top Langues and Pak-King would get some detailed feedback.

##### **Reply from Desmond to Julie Méraud : 4 May 2015**

Sounds good to me..would you like me to approach the boss first?

##### **Response from Julie Méraud to Desmond : 5 May 2015**

Thanks for your support. Yes, please could you contact Coentrin or whoever is in charge.

The idea is that the questionnaires would be given out at the end of June or beginning of July with short interviews to follow.

I would also like the input of Charlotte and Chiara (the English trainers assigned to the Pak-King project). Can I have your permission to contact them? They would have a short questionnaire and then - probably - a focus-style interview together about their experiences teaching this group.

I may also need to speak to someone about the history of the company, the takeover by Pak-King and the rationale for the choice of those for English lessons.

The data should yield useful insights on how best to customise our training to industry needs.

## Appendix B2

### Email to pilot study trainees 26 July 2015 / Original in French

Cher stagiaire  
**Dear Trainee**

J'espère que tout va bien et que vous avez eu l'opportunité de profiter du soleil et d'un peu de repos cet été.

***I hope that all is well and that you have had the opportunity to enjoy the sun and a bit of a break this summer.***

Je vous contact parce que j'aimerais, en tant que stagiaire du cours d'anglais de Top Langues, que vous puissiez participer à une petite étude que je mène dans le cadre de mon programme de doctorat en éducation à l'Université de Sheffield (Royaume-Uni).

***I'm contacting you because I would like you, as a student of Top Langues' English course, to participate in a small study that I am undertaking as part of my doctor of education programme at the University of Sheffield, UK.***

<http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/>

Cette étude, qui sera sur l'apprentissage et l'enseignement de l'anglais dans le milieu du travail, a été approuvée par la comité d'éthique de l'École d'éducation à l'Université de Sheffield et est supervisée par Dr David Hyatt ([d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk)).

***This study, which will be on the learning and teaching of English in the workplace, was approved by the Ethics Committee of the School of Education of the University of Sheffield and is supervised by Dr David Hyatt (d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk)***

<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/education/staff/academic/hyatt>

#### Objectif

L'objectif de cette étude est:

#### **Objective**

***The objective of this study is :***

déterminer comment l'anglais peut être mieux enseigné aux étudiants adultes au travail pour les aider à faciliter leurs communications avec des collègues d'autres pays et cultures.

***to determine how English can best be taught to adult students in the workplace to help them communicate with colleagues in other countries or of other cultures.***

#### Participation strictement volontaire

Votre participation à cette étude est entièrement **volontaire** et, si vous décidez de participer, il vous faudra environ 30 minutes. **Toutes les informations recueillies seront rendues**

anonymes et ni Pak-King ni Top Langues ne seront pas en mesure d'avoir accès aux questionnaires ou aux éventuelles enregistrements et transcriptions.

**Participation strictly voluntary**

***Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and, if you decide to participate, it will take you about 30 minutes. All the information gathered will be anonymized and neither Pak-King nor Top Langues will have access to the questionnaires or to any eventual recordings or transcriptions.***

L'étude est en deux parties:

***The study is in two parts :***

Partie 1

**Un sondage** (15-20 minutes) - 21 questions (en anglais et en français) - sur vous et votre expérience de l'apprentissage de l'anglais. Les questionnaires vont être livrés à Pak-King lundi 27 juillet dans des enveloppes individuelles adressées à chacun de vous. Dans votre enveloppe, vous trouverez le questionnaire plus une enveloppe pré timbrée et adressée pour que vous puissiez facilement le retourner.

**Part 1**

***A survey (15-20 minutes) – 21 questions (in English and in French) about you and your experience of learning English. The questionnaires will be delivered to Pak-King on Monday 27 July in individual envelopes addressed to each of you. In your envelope, you will find the questionnaire plus a stamped, addressed envelope so that you can easily return it.***

Partie 2

**Une discussion** (15-20 minutes) - seul ou avec un autre stagiaire/des autres stagiaires - au sujet de votre formation en anglais, à propos de l'anglais en France et l'anglais au travail - en français et / ou en anglais. Les discussions auront lieu en septembre.

**Part 2**

***A discussion (15-20 minutes) – alone or with another trainee/other trainees – on the subject of your English training, about English in France and English at work. The discussion will be in French and/or English. The discussions will take place in September.***

**Vos droits**

***Your rights***

- Ni le nom de la société Pak-King, ni le nom de Top Langues, ni votre nom ne pourront d'aucune façon apparaître ou être identifiés dans cette recherche. Elle sera complètement anonyme. Protéger votre confidentialité et la confidentialité de l'entreprise sont primordiales.

***Neither the name of the company Pak-King, nor the name of Top Langues, or your name will appear or be identifiable in this research. The research is completely anonymous. Protecting your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the company are of the utmost importance.***

- Vous avez le droit de vous retirer de l'étude à tout moment - même si vous avez rempli le questionnaire et participé à la discussion - en m'écrivant simplement à cette adresse e-mail.

***You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time – even if you have filled in the questionnaire and participated in the discussion. Simply write to me at this email address.***

- Si vous avez d'autres questions au sujet de cette recherche ou souhaitez déposer une plainte, merci de me contacter ou contactez Dr David Hyatt, à l'adresse e-mail ci-dessus.

***If you have further questions on the subject of this research or wish to make a complaint, please contact either myself or Dr David Hyatt at the email address below.***

## Résultats

L'information recueillie formera une partie de ma thèse de doctorat, ainsi qu'être résumée dans un rapport à Top Langues afin d'améliorer votre apprentissage de l'anglais au travail.

### Results

***The data collected will form a part of my doctoral thesis as well as being summarized in a report to Top Langues with the aim of improving the way you are taught English at work.***

Il existe très peu de recherches dans ce domaine, bien que l'anglais occupe une place importante dans le milieu du travail en France. Les informations que vous donnez seront, par conséquent, très importantes pour veiller à ce que Top Langues fournit la meilleure formation possible en anglais. Je souhaite aussi rendre compte des résultats de cette recherche aux associations dédiées à l'enseignement de l'anglais locales et nationales et de publier un article dans une revue internationale pour les enseignants. **Toute publication des données recueillies de cette recherche sera entièrement anonymes.**

***There is very little research in this area although English is very present in the French workplace. The information that you give will be very important to ensure that Top Langues offers the best training possible. I would also like to share this research with local and national organizations concerned with the teaching of English, and to publish the results in an international journal for teachers. All publication of the data generated from this research will be anonymised.***

Je me rends compte que les derniers mois ont été très occupés pour vous à la fois par l'anglais et la formation de SAP, et mon intention est de ne pas vous rendre la vie encore plus compliquée. J'espère, plutôt, que vous verrez cette étude comme une occasion d'exprimer librement vos opinions et commentaires, dans le but de faire vos expériences de formation en anglais les plus agréables et productives que possible.

***I realize that the last months were very busy for you with English and SAP training, and my intention is not to make your life even more complicated. I hope, however, that you will see this study as an occasion to freely express your opinions and comments with the aim of making your training experiences as pleasant and productive as possible.***

Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas de me contacter à cette adresse mail.

***If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me at this email address.***

Très cordialement et dans l'espoir de vous voir bientôt

***Best regards and I look forward to seeing you soon***

## Appendix B3

### Email Invitation to "Top Langues" trainers (pilot group trainers) to participate in pilot study : 26 July 2015

Dear Charlotte and Chiara

I hope you are having a good summer so far! I am writing to ask you to take part in a small case study.

#### What is it?

As you may know, I am currently in the third year of a doctor of education (distance) programme with the university of Sheffield. I am writing about English and globalization as they play out in the workplace in France. The first half of the thesis will be an analysis of government policy towards English, including the new CPF. For the second part of the thesis, I want to do a small case study of a company. Pak-King seemed perfect and I spoke

with Desmond (the director of Top Langues) about it a few months ago and he got approval from the HR department for me to send out questionnaires to the trainees.

### **Organization**

So, I have designed questionnaires for the original group of 8 trainees and will be dropping them off at Pak-King tomorrow. (They are paper questionnaires as this format was a bit more flexible as I have done them in English and French and used different colours etc.). I will send you a copy of the trainee questionnaire in another email, just in case the trainees ask you questions about it.

The aims of the questionnaire are to find out how they felt about the first phase of their training (February - July) as well as probing their attitudes towards English in general and at work. Participation is completely voluntary and totally anonymous. I hope some reply as I think their feedback will be useful both for their future training and for other Top Langues in-company courses. In line with good ethical practice, the trainees have been cautioned not to use the name of their trainer(s) - all comments on the training they received must be general observations.

To complement the trainee questionnaires, I have designed a short Google forms survey for you. It should not take more than 10 minutes. I will send the link separately. As for the trainee questionnaire, the survey is completely anonymous and totally optional. Please note that your real name and other identifying factors like the company name or the name of Top Langues will not be used in any written report that may result from this study, including possible later publication of a journal article based on this research. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your confidentiality. You also have the right to withdraw from the study at any time by simply writing to me at this email address. If you have any questions or wish to make a complaint, then you can contact me or my supervisor Dr David Hyatt ([d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk)).

### **What will the data be used for?**

Information gathered from the surveys will be summarised in a report to Top Langues and form part of the thesis for my doctorate studies.

There is very little research in this area, although English has an important place in the workplace in France. The information that you give will, therefore, be very important to ensure that Top Langues provides the best possible English training helping it to stay competitive in these complicated times. I also hope to report the results of this research to local and national English-teaching associations, like TESOL France, and to publish an article in an international journal for teachers. All data will be fully anonymised at all times.

Depending on the responses I get, I would hope to move into a second stage of research at the end of September where I would have discussions with trainees to go into the survey questions in more depth. It would be great if I could also do the same with you trainers and have a short session with you both together to explore your ideas on in-company training in more depth.

In the meantime, take care and enjoy the rest of the summer. The Google questionnaire will follow shortly.

Very best regards

## Appendix B4

### Pilot study questionnaire (paper) for trainees (original in both French and English)



#### **Questionnaire pour les employés de Pak-King qui ont achevé la première phase de la formation en anglais de Top Langues février - juillet 2015** *Questionnaire for the employees of Pak-King who completed the first phase of English training with Top Langues February-July 2015*

Les données recueillies dans ce questionnaire seront utilisées pour améliorer votre formation ultérieure de langue anglaise avec Top Langues, ainsi que de fournir des informations précieuses sur la façon dont la formation en langue anglaise devrait être organisé dans le cadre du lieu de travail en France.

*The data gathered in this questionnaire will be used to improve your future English training with Top Langues and to provide precious information about the way English training should be organized for the workplace in France.*

Lorsque cette recherche sera présentée à l'Université de Sheffield, il n'y aura aucun moyen que Pak-King puisse être identifié et que votre nom apparaisse. Toutes les données **seront anonymes**. Personne d'autre que Julie Méraud aura accès à ces questionnaires. *When this research is presented to the university of Sheffield, there will be no means by which Pak-King can be identified and your name will not appear. All data will be anonymised. No one except Julie Méraud will have access to these questionnaires.*

Le questionnaire devrait prendre 15-20 minutes à remplir.  
*The questionnaire should take 15-20 minutes to fill in.*

Merci d'avoir accepté de prendre part à ce projet. Il y a 21 questions sur cinq sections :  
*Thank you for agreeing to take part in this project. There are 21 questions in five sections :*

1. Votre travail et lieu de travail

*Your job and workplace*

2. Votre enfance et votre scolarité

*Your childhood and schooling*

3. Votre expérience de l'apprentissage de l'anglais en tant qu'adulte

*Your experience learning English as an adult*

4. Votre formation avec Top Langues

*Your training with Top Langues*

5. La langue anglaise en France

*The English language in France*



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.

Title of Research Project: **Learning and teaching English for the workplace in France**

Name of Researcher: **Julie Méraud**

**By filling in the questionnaire that follows, you are giving your agreement to the following:**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information email dated 26 July 2015, or the printout of this email included in my envelope, explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree that the data collected from me can be used in future publication.
5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Titre du projet de recherche: **Apprendre et enseigner l'anglais pour le milieu du travail en France** Chercheuse: **Julie MERAUD**

**En remplissant le questionnaire ci-dessous, vous donnez votre accord au suivant:**

1. Je confirme que j'ai lu et compris le mail d'information daté 26 juillet 2015, ou la version papier de ce courriel inclus dans mon enveloppe, expliquant le projet de recherche ci-dessus et que j'ai eu l'occasion de poser des questions sur le projet.
2. Je comprends que ma participation est volontaire et que je suis libre de me retirer à tout moment, sans donner de raison et sans conséquences négatives. En outre, si je préfère ne pas répondre à une question ou des questions, je suis libre de refuser.
3. Je comprends que mes réponses resteront strictement confidentielles. Je donne la permission pour les membres de l'équipe de recherche d'avoir accès à mes réponses anonymes. Je comprends que mon nom ne sera pas liée aux documents de recherche, et je ne vais pas être identifiés ou identifiables dans le rapport ou des rapports qui résultent de la recherche.
4. Je suis d'accord que les données recueillies auprès de moi peuvent être utilisés dans une éventuelle publication
5. Je suis d'accord pour les données recueillies auprès de moi pour être utilisé dans les recherches futures.
6. Je suis d'accord pour participer au projet de recherche ci-dessus.

**Part 1 : Your job and workplace**

Partie 1 : Votre travail et lieu de travail

**1. What is your job?**

1. Quel est votre métier?

Tick ✓ the box that best corresponds with your job  
Cochez la case qui correspond le mieux à votre travail

- Technician / Technicien
- Administrative role / Rôle administratif
- Manager / Cadre
- Other, please write in the box below /  
Autre, merci d'expliquer dans la case ci-dessous

**2. How long have you worked for Pak-King?**

2. Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous chez Pak-King?

Tick ✓ the box that corresponds with the time you have worked in the company  
Cochez la case qui correspond à la période de temps que vous avez travaillé dans l'entreprise

- Less than one year / moins d'un an
- 1-10 years / 1-10 ans
- 11-20 years / 11-20 ans
- 21-30 years / 21-30 ans
- More than 30 years / plus de 30 ans

**3. Please explain (in English or in French) how you will use English in your job after the English training with Top Langues**

3. Merci d'expliquer (en anglais ou en français) comment vous allez utiliser l'anglais dans votre travail après la formation en anglais de Top Langues

**4. How well has the English training with Top Langues prepared you for using English in your job?**

4. Dans quelle mesure la formation en anglais de Top Langues vous a préparé pour l'utilisation de l'anglais dans votre travail?

Please circle ○ the number that best corresponds with what you think  
Encercler le nombre que correspond le mieux à ce que vous pensez

1	2	3	4	5	6
Not very well			☺ Very well		



Pas très bien

Très bien

**Comments (English or French)**

Commentaires (anglais ou français)

**Part 2 : Your early life and schooldays**

Partie 2 : Votre enfance et votre scolarité

**1. How old are you?**

1. Quel âge avez-vous?

- 20-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61-70

**2. What is your highest educational qualification?**

2. Quel est votre diplôme le plus élevé?

- Baccalauréat
- Technical diploma / diplôme technique (CAP, BTS etc)
- Licence
- Master
- Other, please write in the box below  
Autres – merci d'écrire dans la case ci-dessous

**3. What jobs did your parents do when you were a child? Put M in the box next to the job your mother did and put P in the box next to the job your father did.**

3. Quels étaient les métiers de vos parents pendant votre enfance? Mettez **M** dans la case que correspond au travail de votre **mère** et mettez **P** dans la case que correspond au travail de votre **père**

- Technician / Technicien
- Administrative role / Rôle administratif
- Manager / Cadre
- Other, please write in the box below  
Autres – merci d'expliquer dans la case ci-dessous

**4. Which type of school did you go to?**

4. Quel type d'école avez-vous fréquenté?

**Collège**

- Education nationale
- Privé (catholique)
- Other

**Lycée**

- Education nationale
- Privé (catholique)
- Other

**5. Did you learn English at school?**

5. Avez-vous appris l'anglais à l'école?

- Yes / oui
- No / no

**If you answered NO, please skip to question 8▼  
Si vous avez répondu NON, merci de passer à la question 8 ▼**

**6. Please describe your experience of learning English at school**

6. Merci de décrire votre expérience de l'apprentissage de l'anglais à l'école

**7. Who helped you with your English homework when you were a child? Please tick ALL the answers that apply to your situation**

7. Qui vous a aidé à faire vos devoirs en anglais quand vous étiez enfant?

Cocher **TOUTES LES REPONSES** applicables à votre situation

- My mother or father / ma mère ou mon père
- A private English after-school tutor / soutien scolaire privé
- My sister/brother / ma soeur/frère
- My friend/friends / un ami/des amis
- Other, please explain in the box below  
autres - merci d'expliquer dans la case ci-dessous

**8. How much exposure did you have to British or American culture when you were growing up (age 12-18)? Please tick ALL the answers that apply to your situation.**

8. Avez-vous eu l'occasion d'être exposé à la culture britannique ou américaine quand vous étiez adolescent (âge 12-18)? Merci de cocher **TOUTES LES REPONSES** applicables à votre situation

- I listened to popular British or American music / j'écoutais de la musique populaire britannique ou américaine
- I watched British, American or Australian TV series / je regardais des séries de télévision britanniques, américains ou australiens
- I had an English-speaking penpal / j'ai eu un correspondant/une correspondante anglophone
- I read English magazines / je lisais des magazines anglais ou américains
- I watched British or American movies / je regardais des films anglophones

- I went on family holidays to English-speaking countries / je suis allé en vacances dans les pays anglophones
- Other, please explain in the box below / autres – merci d’expliquer ci-dessous

9. **When you were growing up what was your impression of “native” English speakers (Australians, British, Americans, New Zealanders, Canadians) from TV, magazines, music, films or from people you met?**
9. Lorsque que vous étiez enfant et adolescent, quelle était votre impression des anglophones ‘natifs’ (les Australiens, les Britanniques, les Américains, les Néo-Zélandais, les Canadiens) de la télévision, des magazines, de la musique, des films ou des personnes que vous avez rencontrées?

**Please circle ○ the number that best represents what you think**  
 Merci d’encrer le nombre qui représente le mieux ce que vous pensez

	1	2	3	4	5	6
☺ <b>Positive</b> Positif						<b>Negative</b> Négatif

**Comments**  
 Commentaires

**Part 3 : Your experience with learning English as an adult**  
 Partie 3 : Votre expérience de l’apprentissage de l’anglais en tant qu’adulte

1. **What English training did you have after you left school? Please tick ✓ ALL the answers that apply to your situation**
1. Quelle formation avez-vous eu en anglais après avoir quitté l’école? Merci de cocher **TOUTES LES REPONSES** applicables à votre situation

- I had English training as part of my apprenticeship / j’ai eu des cours d’anglais quand j’étais apprentis
- I had English courses at university or in an institute of further education / j’ai eu des cours d’anglais à l’université ou dans un institut de formation continue
- I had English courses at work with a language school like Top Langues / j’ai eu des cours d’anglais au travail avec un institut de langues comme Top Langues
- I did not have any English training until my course with Top Langues / je n’ai pas de formation en anglais avant mon cours avec Top Langues
- Other, please explain in the box below / autres – merci d’expliquer ci-dessous

2. **Apart from your English lessons with Top Languages, what do you do to improve your level of English? Tick ✓ ALL descriptions that apply to your situation**

2. En dehors de votre cours d'anglais avec Top Languages, que faites-vous pour améliorer votre niveau d'anglais? Cochez **TOUTES LES REPONSES** applicables à votre situation

- I watch American, British, Australian or Canadian TV series / je regarde des séries de télévision américaines, britanniques, australiens, canadiens
- I watch English language films in *version originale* / je regarde des films anglophones en version originale
- I listen to the BBC or other English radio stations / j'écoute la BBC ou d'autres stations de radio anglophones
- I speak with English-speaking friends or family members / je parle avec mes amis ou mes proches anglophones
- I practise with English-learning apps or websites / je pratique avec des applications ou des sites web d'apprentissage de l'anglais
- I read English magazines or newspapers / je lis des magazines ou des journaux anglophones
- I go on holidays to the UK or other English-speaking countries / je vais en vacances en Grande-Bretagne ou dans les pays anglophones
- Other, please explain in the box / autre – merci d'expliquer dans la case ci-dessous

**Part 4 : Your training with Top Languages**

Partie 4 : Votre formation avec Top Languages

\*If you talk about your trainers in this part, please do not give their names

**\*Si vous voulez faire un commentaire sur votre formatrice/vos formatrices, merci de ne pas mentionner leur nom/leurs noms**

1. **What was the BEST THING about your training with Top Languages? Choose ONE item from the list below:**

1. Quelle était la meilleure chose à propos de votre formation avec Top Languages? Choisissez **UN ELEMENT** dans la liste ci-dessous

- learning materials / les soutiens pédagogiques
- trainers / les formatrices
- relevance to my job / la pertinence de mon travail
- programme content / le contenu du programme
- timetable of the lessons / les horaires des leçons

**Comments**

**Commentaires**

- 2. How could your training with Top Languages be improved?**  
2. Comment pourrait-on améliorer votre formation avec Top Languages?

- 3. What background do you think a Top Languages English trainer should have?**  
3. Quel profil, à votre avis, doit avoir un formateur en anglais dans le cadre de Top Languages?

Choose **THREE (3)** from the list below  
Choisissez **TROIS (3)** de la liste ci-dessous

- Degree in linguistics / licence ou master en linguistique
- Work experience in a multinational company / l'expérience d'avoir travaillé dans une entreprise multinationale
- Qualification in teaching English to adults / diplôme dans l'enseignement de l'anglais aux adultes
- Have lived and worked in different countries / ont vécu et travaillé dans quelques pays
- Degree in business / licence ou master en management
- Excellent French skills / excellentes compétences en français
- A native English speaker / langue maternelle anglaise
- Other, please explain in the box below / autres – merci d'expliquer dans la case ci-dessous

- 4 What is your goal in English?**  
4. Quel est votre objectif en anglais?

Please choose **ONE** response from below  
Merci de choisir **UNE** REPONSE ci-dessous

- I just want to be comfortable / je voudrais simplement être à l'aise
- I would like to speak like a Pak-King manager / je voudrais parler comme un manager de Tetra Pak
- I would like to speak like a native English speaker / je voudrais parler comme un locuteur natif d'anglais
- Other, please explain in the box below / merci d'expliquer dans la case ci-dessous

- 5 How can Top Languages help you reach your goal?**  
5. Comment Top Languages peut vous aider à atteindre votre objectif?

**Part 5: English in France**  
Partie 5 : L'anglais en France

Please ~~cross out~~ the statements that you DISAGREE with  
Merci de ~~rayer~~ les déclarations avec lesquelles vous n'êtes pas d'accord

1. English is now a basic workplace skill in France  
1. L'anglais est désormais une compétence de base dans le milieu du travail en France
2. Using English at work can be stressful  
2. L'utilisation de l'anglais au travail peut être stressant
3. French people are weaker in English than other Europeans  
3. Les Français sont plus faibles en anglais que les autres Européens
4. Learning and using English at work makes me feel international  
4. L'apprentissage et l'utilisation de l'anglais au travail me donnent le sens d'être internationale
5. Improving my English is a protection against unemployment  
5. Améliorer mon anglais est une protection contre le chômage
6. It is a good thing for French business that English is the world language  
6. C'est une bonne chose pour les entreprises françaises que l'anglais soit la langue mondiale
7. English is an easy language to learn  
7. L'anglais est une langue facile à apprendre
8. The English language is a threat to the French language  
8. La langue anglaise est une menace pour la langue française

**Comments**

**Commentaires**

**Thank you very much.  
That is the end of the questionnaire!  
Merci beaucoup  
C'est la fin du questionnaire!**

**If you agree to a 15-minute discussion to go into more detail about the themes of this questionnaire, please write your email address below:  
Si vous êtes d'accord d'avoir une discussion de 15 minutes afin d'explorer un plus en détail les thèmes de ce questionnaire, merci de noter votre adresse mail ci-dessous:**

## Appendix B5

### Pilot study E-questionnaire for trainers

#### Survey of Top Langues trainers / Pak-King Project February - July 2015

By completing this questionnaire, you are consenting to take part in this research project and have understood that the data you provide will be completely anonymous. Your name will not appear anywhere, nor will the names of Top Langues or Pak-King. Full details of your rights are explained in the Information Email sent to you on 26 July 2015. Among these rights are the right to withdraw from this research project at any time. Thank you very much for your time.

---

#### How long have you been teaching English in France?

- Less than 2 years
- 2 - 5 years
- 6 - 10 years
- More than 10 years
- I'd rather not say

#### Did you come to France with the intention of teaching English to adults?

- Yes
- No
- I'd rather not say

#### Are you a member of a teacher's association like TESOL France?

- Yes
- No
- I'd rather not say

#### What English-teaching qualifications do you have?

Tick all that apply

- "CELTA" (Cambridge certificate in TESOL)
- "DELTA" or Trinity College Diploma in TESOL
- PGCE (Post-grad certificate in education)
- CAPES (French qualification for teaching in schools)
- MA Applied Linguistics
- Diplôme de formateur (French qualification for training adults)
- I'd rather not say
- Other :

#### Apart from Top Langues, where else do you teach English?

Tick all that apply

- Another language school
- A university
- A grande école

- Independently - my own clients
- Education nationale
- I just teach for Top Languages
- I'd rather not say
- Other :

**What is your main working status?**

Tick your most important status

- Autoentrepreneur
- Travailleur indépendant
- CDD
- CDI
- I'd rather not say
- Other:

**How satisfied are you with your earnings as an English trainer?**

If you prefer not to answer, please miss this question out

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Dissatisfied	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very satisfied

**How satisfied are you with your job security as an English trainer?**

If you prefer not to answer, please miss this question out

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Dissatisfied	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very satisfied

**How satisfied are you with the opportunities that are available to you for professional development?**

If you prefer not to answer, please miss this question out

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Dissatisfied	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very satisfied

**What is the most rewarding aspect of being an English trainer in France?**

**What is the least rewarding aspect of being an English trainer in France?**

**How successful do you think you were in preparing the Pak-King trainees, during the first phase of the training, for using English on their jobs?**

If you prefer not to answer, miss this question out

	1	2	3	4	5	6
--	---	---	---	---	---	---



Unsuccessful       Very successful

**What would be the ideal background for a Top Langues English trainer in Pak-King?**

Please tick all that you think are important

- Have a degree in applied linguistics
- Have had work experience in a multinational company
- Have a qualification in teaching English for adults
- Have lived and worked in different countries
- Have a degree in business studies
- Have excellent skills in French
- Be a "native" English speaker
- Other :

**What were the most difficult aspects for you of the first phase of the Pak-King training?**

**What knowledge, skills or training would be of help to you in your work with Pak-King?**

**Please rate how effective you thought that communication by Google Docs was between trainers during the first phase of Pak-King training**

1 2 3 4 5 6

Ineffective       Very effective

**Please rate how important you think the following are for your Pak-King trainees**

	Not at all important	Quite important	Important	Very important
Grammar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
General vocabulary	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Technical and business vocabulary	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pronunciation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing emails or short technical documents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading technical				

	Not at all important	Quite important	Important	Very important
documents eg, SAP				
Functional language eg, agreeing and disagreeing; booking a hotel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening to a variety of input	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making a PowerPoint presentation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in a conversation on a variety of topics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**Any other comments?**

.

## Appendix C : Final study : “Langues sans Frontières” (LSF)

### Appendix C1

#### Request for permission for “Langues sans Frontières (LSF) case study

##### Email of 13 November 2015 from Julie Méraud to “Emmanuel,” director of LSF

Dear Emmanuel

As you know, I am working on a doctorate thesis part-time. The title is: "Teaching English to working adults in France : policy, perceptions, practice". I am writing because I would like your permission to do a small case study based on my Monday and Tuesday classes, which would involve a 15-minute questionnaire and a 15-minute interview for those students who need English for work or professional purposes. Of course, it would all be **completely optional** and would be governed by the university of Sheffield's **extremely strict** ethics policy. If students agreed, both elements would be done out of lesson time. It is also likely that I would refer to the documentation that the students filled in about their needs etc at the beginning of the course.

The findings would then be summarised and passed on to you and other LSF teachers.

A good part of my research is about English and globalization and the French government's approach to adult English training through the Training Reform Law and the CPF. To complement the "official view", I was planning to do a case study in a company to capture working adults' impressions of learning and using English for and at work. However, this has proved very hard to do, as I have to rely on the (fluctuating!) goodwill of various "gatekeepers" such as HR departments.

If you agree, I will then begin the ethics approval process with the university. This can take several months ... but hopefully I would be able to do the research early in 2016.

Thanks for considering my proposal.

**(Verbal approval was given for the project on Monday 16 November 2015)**

## Appendix C2

### Email to LSF case study trainees inviting participation

#### Email in English and French to trainees in the Monday and Tuesday classes

22 January 2016

**Dear students**

Chers stagiaires

**I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project I am doing as part of my studies for a Doctor of Education programme at the University of Sheffield (UK) <https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/about/rankings>.**

Je voudrais vous inviter à participer à un projet de recherche que je fais pour mon doctorat en éducation avec l'université de Sheffield, GB.

**My area of research is globalization and the English language, and the title of my thesis will be "Teaching English to adults in France : policy, perceptions, practice".**

Je fais de la recherche sur la mondialisation et la langue anglaise et le titre de ma thèse sera: 'Enseigner l'anglais aux adultes en France: la politique, les perceptions, la pratique de l'enseignement'.

**For the "policy" part, I am analysing the new training policy of the Hollande government and the introduction of the *compte personnel de formation* (CPF).**

Pour la partie de la thèse sur la politique, j'analyse la loi sur la réforme de la formation professionnelle et l'introduction du CPF.

**For the "practice" part, I will be interviewing teachers.**

Pour la partie de la thèse consacrée à la pratique de l'enseignement, je vais avoir des entretiens avec des enseignants.

**I need your help for the "perceptions" part! I am interested how adult learners like you use English and how they feel about English in their lives and in France.**

Pour la partie de la thèse sur les 'perceptions', j'ai besoin de votre aide! Ce qui m'intéresse est de découvrir comment des apprenants adultes, comme vous, utilisent l'anglais, et leurs sentiments envers la langue dans leur vie et dans leur pays.

**Participation in the research is COMPLETELY VOLUNTARY and if you do participate, all data will be treated in confidence. The University of Sheffield has very high ethical standards as it is in the top ten universities in the UK for research.**

Votre participation dans cette recherche est ENTIEREMENT VOLONTAIRE et si vous décidez d'y participer, toutes les données recueillies seront traitées confidentiellement. L'université de Sheffield est parmi les dix meilleures universités britanniques pour la recherche et ses normes éthiques sont très strictes.

**There are two parts to the study. The first part is an on-line questionnaire IN FRENCH (25 questions) which you can access at the link below. This should take no more than 15 minutes.**

L'étude consiste de deux parties : la première partie est un questionnaire EN FRANCAIS en ligne (25 questions) accessible à ce lien:

**[https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1konWZQbEOIF-6qmK-zuLMkIMfUA3dQdDDKyl6Tkpc0/viewform?usp=send\\_form](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1konWZQbEOIF-6qmK-zuLMkIMfUA3dQdDDKyl6Tkpc0/viewform?usp=send_form)**

Le questionnaire doit prendre 15 minutes ou moins.

**The second part of the study will be a short discussion with me (in English or in French) to go into more detail than is possible in the questionnaire. This should also take 15 minutes. If you agree to having a discussion, please put your email address at the bottom of the questionnaire and I will contact you individually.**

La deuxième partie de l'étude sera une courte discussion avec moi (en anglais ou en français) pour explorer plus en détail les thèmes du questionnaire. Cette discussion doit aussi prendre 15 minutes. Si vous êtes d'accord, merci de noter votre adresse email à la fin du questionnaire afin que je puisse vous contacter individuellement.

**Please let me know if you have any questions.**

Merci de me contacter si vous avez des questions.

## **Appendix C3**

### **Email in French to LSF Saturday class**

30 March 2016

Bonjour tout le monde. J'espère que vous avez passé de bons moments de Pâques!  
***Hello everyone. I hope that you have had a nice Easter!***

Dans notre dernière leçon, je vous ai expliqué que je suis en train de faire une étude basée sur les expériences de l'anglais des étudiants de Langues sans Frontières. Cette étude va former une partie de ma thèse de doctorat, que je suis en train de préparer avec l'université de Sheffield en Angleterre. Cette étude est aussi pour Langues sans Frontières, pour qu'on puisse améliorer notre offre à nos étudiants.

***In our last lesson, I explained that I was conducting a study based on the experiences of English of LSF students. This study will form a part of the doctorate***

***thesis that I am doing with the University of Sheffield in England. This study will also help LSF improve our services to our students.***

La thèse va s'appeler: "Enseigner l'anglais aux adultes français: la politique, les perceptions, la pratique". Pour la partie "la politique" je vais analyser le nouveau dispositif CPF. "Les perceptions" sont les perceptions de l'anglais de mes étudiants, et "la pratique" concerne comment on enseigne/on doit enseigner l'anglais aux adultes en France.

***The thesis is going to be called 'Teaching English to French adults : policy, perceptions, practice'. For the policy part, I am going to analyse the new CPF scheme. The perceptions are the perceptions of English of my students, and practice concerns how we teach or how we should teach English to adults in France.***

C'est très important que j'aie vos contributions, parce que vous êtes les premiers étudiants CPF de Langues sans Frontières! On voudrait offrir la meilleure formation possible et pour ça il faut vous entendre.

***It's very important that you contribute because you are the first students doing the CPF in LSF! We want to give you the best possible training and, for that, we need to hear what you have to say.***

Donc, voici un lien à mon questionnaire  
***So, here is a link to my questionnaire***

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1konWZQbEOIF-6qmK-zuLMk-IMfUA3dQdDDKyl6Tkpc/edit>

ça va prendre 10 minutes maximum.

***It will take a maximum of 10 minutes***

Toutes les données recueillies sont anonymes, mais si vous êtes d'accord il y a une deuxième étape qui est un court entretien. Si vous êtes d'accord d'avoir un petit entretien pour parler plus en détail, merci de noter votre adresse email à la fin de la questionnaire.

***All the data gathered will be anonymous but, if you agree, there is a second stage, which is a short interview. If you agree to have the interview to speak more in detail, please put your email address at the end of the questionnaire.***

Ci-joint, un email que j'ai envoyé en janvier pour lancer cette étude qui contient des informations à propos de l'université de Sheffield etc.

***I attach an email that I sent in January to launch this study, which contains information about the University of Sheffield etc.***

On va avoir un cours ce samedi matin 0900-1100, si vous auriez des questions à propos de cette étude.

***We will have a lesson this Saturday morning from 9 to 11, if you have any questions about this study.***

Donc, à samedi alors!  
***So, see you on Saturday !***

## **Appendix C4**

### **Email to LSF case study English “native speaker” trainers inviting them to participate in the study : 27 January 2016**

Dear Colleagues

I'm writing to ask you to take part in a research project I'm doing for my EdD at Sheffield University. The first part consists of a short (12 questions) anonymous on-line questionnaire. There is also the possibility of an individual discussion and/or "focus group" style meeting if you were interested.

My field of study is globalization and English from the perspective of teachers and adult learners of English in France. The thesis will be called: "Teaching English to working adults in France: policy, perceptions, practice."

The "policy" part is an analysis of the new training law which has given us the CPF. The "perceptions" part, is an exploration of how students feel about English in France. Emmanuel (the director of LSF) has given his permission for me to send questionnaires to my LSF students, and these have just gone out. Some of them have agreed to interviews, which start next week. So it is all very exciting!

The "practice" part is where you come in! The questionnaire should be quick to do up to question 11, which is a video of a lesson that you are asked to comment on. Question 12 is a small case study, where you are asked to describe how you would design a programme for two working adults.

Participation is completely voluntary, of course. But, just in case, you have a moment, here is the link:

[https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1\\_gmDvM8Rv9GsvLMdZe8ScTKY\\_8C9QsW7nI68EHx6kMA/viewform?usp=send\\_form](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1_gmDvM8Rv9GsvLMdZe8ScTKY_8C9QsW7nI68EHx6kMA/viewform?usp=send_form)

Best regards

## Appendix C5

### E-Questionnaire for LSF trainees

#### Original in French

<b>Title: Survey about learning English as a French adult</b>	
<b>Informed consent</b> This survey will form a part of the research of Julie Méraud for a Doctor in Education degree at the University of Sheffield (GB). This study has been approved by the ethics committee of the University of Sheffield and is supervised by Dr David Hyatt ( <a href="mailto:d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk">d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk</a> ). All data gathered will be anonymised. Thank you very much for your participation.	
In filling in the questionnaire below, you are giving your agreement to the following:	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. I confirm that I have read the information email of 22 January 2016 explaining this research project and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.</li><li>2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any moment without giving any reason and without negative consequences. Moreover, if I prefer not to answer a question or questions, I am free to refuse.</li><li>3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give my permission to the research team to access my anonymous responses. I understand that my name will not be connected to the research documents, and I will not be able to be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that come out of this research.</li><li>4. I agree that the data collected can be used in future publications.</li><li>5. I agree that the data collected can be used for future research.</li><li>6. I agree to participate in this project.</li></ol>	
1	How old are you? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 20-30</li><li>• 31-40</li><li>• 41-50</li><li>• 51-60</li><li>• 61-70</li><li>• 71-80</li></ul>
2	What is your professional status or occupation? For example: 'job seeker', 'retired', 'engineer' (Participant input)
3	What is your highest level of education? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Baccalaureate</li><li>• Professional diploma</li><li>• Bachelor's degree</li><li>• Master's degree</li><li>• PhD</li><li>• Other</li></ul>
4	What was your father's main occupation when you were growing up? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Technician</li><li>• Administrator</li><li>• Manager</li><li>• Civil servant</li><li>• Farmer</li><li>• Artisan</li><li>• Other</li></ul>
5	What was your mother's main occupation when you were growing up? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Technician</li></ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrator</li> <li>• Manager</li> <li>• Civil servant</li> <li>• Farmer</li> <li>• Artisan</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
6	<p>What type of junior high school did you attend?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Education system</li> <li>• Private/Catholic system</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
7	<p>What type of high school did you attend?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Education system</li> <li>• Private/Catholic system</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
8	<p>Did you learn English at school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yes</li> <li>• No – GO TO QUESTION 11</li> </ul>
9	<p>Please describe your experiences of learning English at school. (Participant input)</p>
10	<p>Who helped you with your English homework when you were at school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My mother</li> <li>• My father</li> <li>• My sister/brother</li> <li>• A friend/some friends</li> <li>• An after-school private tutor</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
11	<p>Did you have the opportunity to be exposed to British or American culture when you were a teenager?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I listened to British or American pop music</li> <li>• I watched British or American TV series</li> <li>• I had an English-speaking penpal</li> <li>• I watched English-language films</li> <li>• I went on holiday to English-speaking countries</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
<p><b>Your experiences with the English language as an adult</b></p>	
12	<p>What training in English have you had after leaving school? Choose ALL the responses applicable to your situation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I had English courses when I was an apprentice.</li> <li>• I had English courses in a Higher or Further Education Institute</li> <li>• I had English courses at work</li> <li>• I haven't had any English training before my course at Langues sans Frontières (LSF)</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
13	<p>What is your objective in English? (Participant input)</p>
14	<p>Other than your English course with LSF, what do you do to improve your level of English? Choose ALL the responses applicable to your situation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I watch British/American TV series</li> <li>• I watch English-language films in English</li> <li>• I listen to the BBC or other English-language radio stations</li> <li>• I speak with English-speaking friends or family</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I practise with apps or English-learning websites</li> <li>• I read English magazines or newspapers</li> <li>• I go on holiday to Great Britain or to other predominantly English-speaking countries</li> <li>• I participate in MOOCs</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
15	<p>What is your confidence level concerning doing the following in English?</p> <p>very confident --- confident --- anxious --- too difficult for the moment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Writing an email to complain about a service</li> <li>• Making a telephone call to negotiate a price</li> <li>• Doing a PowerPoint presentation on a subject connected to your job or to a subject that interests you</li> <li>• Reading and understanding a technical manual</li> <li>• Discussing and debating with a group of friends or colleagues during a dinner</li> <li>• Understanding the news on the radio or on TV</li> <li>• Having an interview (for a job, for instance)</li> <li>• Showing an English friend or colleague the tourist sights in your town or region</li> <li>• Recommending a restaurant</li> <li>• Participating in a meeting (twinning committee or work, for example)</li> </ul>
16	<p>How can LSF help you to improve your English skills? (Participant input)</p>
17	<p>What background and experience should a LSF English instructor have? Choose THREE responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bachelor's or Master's in applied linguistics</li> <li>• Experience of work other than teaching</li> <li>• Diploma in teaching English to adults</li> <li>• Have lived and worked in several different countries</li> <li>• Excellent command of French</li> <li>• English "native speaker"</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>
18	<p>How was this English course financed?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• By me</li> <li>• By my company</li> <li>• By my DIF or CPF</li> </ul>
19	<p>Do you understand your rights to English training under the new training policy of the Hollande government?</p> <p>Not at all 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 Very well</p>
20	<p>Do you work at the moment?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yes</li> <li>• No – GO TO QUESTION 25</li> </ul>
21	<p>Do you use English at work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yes</li> <li>• No – GO TO QUESTION 25</li> </ul>
22	<p>How often do you use English at work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daily</li> <li>• Every week</li> <li>• Once or twice a month</li> <li>• Once or twice a year</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>

23	Explain how you use English at work. (Participant input)
24	How effectively do you think you use English at work? Not effectively at all 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 Very effectively
<b>English in France</b>	
25	What is your position regarding current debates about the position of the English language in France? True - False - No opinion
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• French people are poor in English</li> <li>• English is now a basic workplace skill in France</li> <li>• Improving my English is a protection against unemployment</li> <li>• It's a good thing for French companies that English is the world language</li> <li>• English is an easy language to learn</li> <li>• The English language is a threat to the French language</li> <li>• In France we should have the right to refuse to work in English</li> <li>• English is badly taught in the national education system</li> <li>• English has become the second language of France</li> <li>• To learn English, you have to do an immersion programme in an English-speaking country</li> </ul>
Thank you, that is the end of the questionnaire.	
If you agree to a short interview to discuss this subject in more detail, please fill in your email address:	

## Appendix C6

### E-questionnaire for LSF trainers

By filling in the questionnaire that follows, you are giving your agreement to the following:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information email dated 27 January 2016 explaining this research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree that the data collected from me can be used in future publication.
5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

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1. How long have you been teaching English to adults in France?
    - Less than 1 year
    - Between 1 and 5 years
    - Between 5 and 10 years
    - 10 years or more
  2. Did you come to France with the intention of teaching English to adults?
    - Yes
    - No
  3. How do you organize your work?
    - I have my own business
    - I have a contract (CDD/CDI) with a language school
    - I am an *autoentrepreneur/travailleur indépendant* working with language schools
    - Other
  4. Do you consider yourself a “native English speaker”?
    - Yes
    - No

5. Are you a member of an English trainers' network in France such as TESOL France or the Language Network?
  - Yes
  - No
6. What English as a Foreign Language teaching qualifications do you have (eg, CELTA/DELTA)?
7. What is the MOST rewarding aspect of teaching English to adults in your opinion?
8. What is the LEAST rewarding aspect of teaching English to adults in your opinion?
9. What training, skills and experience should an effective teacher of English to adults in France have? Choose THREE from the following list:
  - Degree in applied linguistics
  - Working experience other than teaching
  - TESOL qualifications (eg, CELTA/DELTA etc.)
  - Have lived and worked in several other countries
  - Excellent French skills
  - Be a "native English speaker"
  - Other
10. Adult training has been reformed under the Hollande government, with one of the key elements being the creation of the "personal training account" – the CPF. How confident are you that you could explain to one of your trainees how they could access English training through their CPF?

1      2      3      4      5      6

Not at all confident

Very confident

11. Watch the following short video of part of a one-to-one lesson with an adult learner of English. How effective is the trainer's teaching methodology in your view? Would you do anything differently? Please comment below.

(Video "Watch a live online English lesson with native English teacher" accessed January 22, 2016 from:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=it9WajjCmro>

by "Dan the English Teacher")

## 12. Case study

You have been offered a 20-hour contract to teach the duo of René-Pierre (level A1-) and Anne-Laure (level A2+). They work for a small French subsidiary of a company that makes

the small erasers that fit at the top of wooden pencils. Anne-Laure is a bubbly 27-year-old accountant, who is enthusiastic about learning English for her personal travel plans and her job. René-Pierre is a quiet 56-year-old warehouse manager, who is nervous about having to use English at work. He has not travelled outside of France apart from a school trip to Portsmouth when he was 12. The company's strategy is to expand across Africa and the Middle East, where increasing numbers of children have access to education and need pencils with erasers. The company wants the pair to do an internationally recognised exam in English after their 20-hour training, as well as having enough English to participate in an upcoming company-wide meeting to discuss moving manufacturing processes towards "Just-in-Time" production. The company is aiming for English to be the working language across the group by 2018. René-Pierre and Anne-Laure will have 10 two-hour lessons together every week from February to the end of May (allowing time for holidays and business travel commitments). It is likely that this format will be repeated for the next two years. Describe how you would go about developing a syllabus and teaching René-Pierre and Anne-Laure.

Thank you! That is the end of the survey. If you are interested in a 15-minute individual follow-up discussion or in participating in a focus group meeting with colleagues, please tick either or both of the boxes below and put down your email address and I will contact you.

- Please contact me about a 15-minute individual discussion of the themes of the questionnaire.
- Please contact me about my participating in a focus group discussion about the themes of the questionnaire.

## **Appendix C7**

### **Interview script (possible question areas) for LSF trainees**

#### **This research**

- Do you have any questions about this research project?

#### **CPF**

- What do you think of the new training reform law? How do you feel about having to take an exam at the end of an English course that is funded by the CPF?
- What approach should the government take towards the use of English in the workplace in France?
- The Hollande government's new training law allows the individual to take control of their own training without having to get the approval of their company as before. What do you think about this change?

#### **The best teacher for adults**

- (as applicable) In your questionnaire, you indicated that the best teacher for adults at LSF was a "native English" teacher. Why would you prefer a native English teacher?

#### **Motivation**

- What will happen to you if you are not able to improve your English skills?
- I have a model for speaking French – it is Charlotte Rampling/Kristin Scott Thomas (women of my age who are comfortable in both languages and who keep a light English accent in French). Do you have a person that is a language model for you? Why?
- Tell me about your best/worst experiences in English

- Could you describe an imaginary situation in the future when you feel totally comfortable in English

### **How should English be taught? / ELF**

- When you speak, which errors should be corrected by your trainer?
- Complete this phrase: “In the class at LSF, I learn best when ...”
- Which “model” of English should your trainer teach? British English? American English, or a simplified international English?
- Is there a place for translation in the English course at LSF?

### **The position of English in France**

- Some people think that in France English is not any more a simple foreign language but, as it is everywhere in the media, in advertising, in the world of science, education and work, it has become the second language of France. What do you think? What are the advantages and possible issues with this situation?
- Some people think that English in France is used as a selection device. For example, to progress in some jobs you need a certain score in the TOEIC. Or, in the case that two candidates are applying for the same job, often the candidate with the best level of English will get the job. What is your experience or your opinion on this situation?
- You said in your questionnaire that the English language was / wasn't (as applicable) a threat to the French language. Can you tell me why you think this way?

### **The French education system**

- (as applicable) In your questionnaire, you indicated that you thought that English was taught badly/well at school. Can you tell me a bit more about your experiences?
- What approach towards the teaching of English at school should the government adopt?



## Appendix C8

### Interview script (possible question topics) for LSF trainers

<b>Possible questions for Langues sans Frontières teachers</b>	<b>Addressing RQ</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Do you have any questions about this research project?</li></ul>	
<b>Your working experience</b>	<b>RQ1</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Can you tell me about your working life?</li><li>• What are the advantages/disadvantages/frustrations/joys of being an English teacher in France?</li><li>• What, if anything, would you change about your working life?</li><li>• How do you stay on top of new ideas/methods/technology/websites?</li></ul>	
<b>English as a Lingua Franca</b>	<b>RQ 2 and 3</b>
<p>In view of the fact that most interaction in English now happens between “non-native speakers” of the language:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• How does this affect how you teach the language?</li><li>• Where do you stand on the ‘accuracy’ or ‘fluency’ line?</li><li>• How do you teach grammar? Which grammar do you judge essential, for example for an adult in the workplace?</li><li>• Some people speak of teaching a “pared down” version of the language for international use. What do you think about that? For instance, the third person ‘s’ is often omitted so some commentators believe that as, it does not affect meaning, we should not bother to</li></ul>	

<p>correct when it is missing. What is your opinion?</p> <p><b>English in France</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Why do you think that so many French people consider themselves '<i>nul en anglais</i>'?</li><li>• What do you think about the CPF? How will it change things for you?</li><li>• Some commentators speak of an 'English divide' in France – where English is effectively used as a 'gatekeeper' to entry to <i>grandes écoles</i>, jobs and even to 'validate' degrees in business studies. What do you think about this more negative side to English in France?</li></ul>	<p><b>RQ1 and 4</b></p>
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## Appendix C9

### LSF Trainee participants

Pseudonym	Course attended	Age group	Highest educational level	Profession	Questionnaire	Interview	Focus group	Comments
Betty	Monday B1-B2	41-50	Diploma	Assistant to the Mayor	✓	✓ 2.2.2016	✗	
Bryce	Monday B1-B2	41-50	Baccalaureate	Property manager, self-employed	✓	✓ 1.2.2016	✗	Pilot interviewee
Daniella	Tuesday B1-B2	41-50	Master's	Banker/ university instructor	✓	✓ 2.2.2016	✓	
Edouard	Tuesday B1-B2	31-40	Master's	Sales manager	✓	✓ 1.3.2016	✗	Interview in French
Honorine	Tuesday B1-B2	21-30	Diploma	Civil servant local government	✓	✗	✗	
Iann	Monday B1-B2	51-60	Technical diploma	Telecommunications technician	✓	✓ 9.3.2016	✗	Interview by email in French
Idryss	Saturday TOEIC	31-40	Technical diploma	Manufacturing technician	✓	✓ 2.4.2016	✗	
Laura	Tuesday B1-B2	41-50	Not indicated	Laboratory technician	✗	✗	✓	
Luc	Tuesday B1-B2	31-40	Master's	Information Technology analyst	✓	✓ 2.2.2016	✓	Interview in French
Ophélie	Tuesday B1-B2	51-60	Master's	Quantitative methods analyst/ university instructor	✓	✓ 3.3.2016	✓	
Perrine	Saturday TOEIC	51-60	Baccalaureate	Couturière	✓	✗	✗	
Roxanne	Monday B1-B2	51-60	Professional legal qualifications	<i>Notaire</i> (solicitor)	✓	✓ 23.4.2016	✗	
Rozenn	Monday B1-B2	21-30	Baccalaureate	Unemployed	✓	✗	✗	
Valentin	Saturday TOEIC	41-50	Technical diploma	Technician	✓	✗	✗	

## Appendix C10

### Debate propositions for focus group

	Statements	Research question addressed
1	A teacher of adults at Langues-sans-Frontières must be a native English speaker.	RQ <sub>3</sub>
2	If you want to speak English well, you must be passionate about British and/or American culture and society.	RQ <sub>1, 3</sub>
3	Your English teacher at Langues-sans-Frontières must correct every mistake that you make when you are speaking so that you can improve.	RQ <sub>3</sub>
4	In France, English is not a simple foreign language like German or Spanish. It is used so much and in so many different situations (work, science, media, advertising etc.) that it is the second language of France.	RQ <sub>1</sub>
5	The new CPF law is a good idea. You have 24 hours a year of English training; you can choose how or where you will do the training, and when your training is finished you do a well known international exam in English (TOEIC, BULATS).	RQ <sub>4</sub>
6	Vocabulary and pronunciation are much more important than grammar.	RQ <sub>3</sub>
7	The English language is a threat to French culture and the French language.	RQ <sub>1</sub>
8	Your teacher should teach you a simplified form of English, which is useful for communicating internationally, not “The Queen’s English.”	RQ <sub>2</sub>
9	The more English is used in France (in workplaces, in universities), the more society is becoming unequal.	RQ <sub>1</sub>
10	There has to be an international language, so why not English?	RQ <sub>1</sub>
11	French learners of English of all age groups get poor results in English	RQ <sub>1, 3</sub>

	exams when compared to other Europeans because <i>les Français sont nuls en anglais!</i>	
12	Reading and listening are the keys to improving your English.	<b>RQ<sub>3</sub></b>
13	I think that my children are having/have had/will have a better English-learning experience at school than I had.	<b>RQ<sub>4</sub></b>
14	French business is suffering because French managers are not confident when they use English internationally.	<b>RQ<sub>1, 3</sub></b>
15	It is easier to communicate in English with a “native speaker” (Australian, Canadian, British, American) than with a second (or third) language speaker (Chinese, Russian, Italian etc.)	<b>RQ<sub>2</sub></b>
16	Government laws about learning and using English have absolutely no effect on my life.	<b>RQ<sub>4</sub></b>
17	<b>YOUR OWN IDEA!</b>	

## Appendix D : Discourse Analysis frameworks

### Appendix D1

#### The “CHEPDA” Framework

The Critical Higher Education Policy Discourse Analysis Framework  
(from Hyatt, 2013)

1. Contextualising		2. Deconstructing	
1.1	<b>Temporal context</b>	2.1	<b>Modes of legitimation</b>
1.1.1	Immediate socio-political context	2.1.1	Authorisation
1.1.2	Medium-term socio-political context	2.1.2	Rationalisation
1.1.3	Contemporary socio-political individuals, organisations and structures	2.1.3	Moral evaluation
1.1.4	Epoch/episteme	2.1.4	Mythopoeis
1.2	<b>Policy drivers, levers, instruments, steering and trajectories</b>	2.2	<b>Interdiscursivity/ intertextuality</b>
1.3	<b>Warrant</b>	2.3	<b>Evaluation and appraisal</b>
1.3.1	Evidentiary	2.3.1	Inscribed
1.3.2	Accountability	2.3.2	Evoked
1.3.3	Political	2.4	<b>Presupposition/ implication</b>
		2.5	<b>Lexico-grammatical construction</b>

### Appendix D2

#### The “WPR” Framework

The “What’s the Problem Represented to be?” Framework  
(Bacchi, 2009)

Q1	What’s the problem represented to be?
Q2	What presuppositions/assumptions underlie the representation of the problem?
Q3	How has this representation of the “problem” come about?
Q4	What is left unproblematic?
Q5	What effects are produced by this representation of the “problem”?
Q6	How/where has this representation of the “problem” been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

## Appendix D3

### The CHEPDA-WPR framework

<b>Contextualizing and deconstructing (from CHEPDA)</b>		<b>Discourse Analysis tools employed</b>
1	Socio-political context, actors and structures	
2	Drivers, levers and steering	
3	Warrant (evidentiary, accountability, political)	Modes of legitimation (authorisation, rationalisation, moral evaluation, mythopoesis)
<b>Problematizing (from WPR)</b>		
4	What's the problem represented to be?	
5	What presuppositions/assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	Binaries, key concepts, people categories
6	What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	

## Appendix D4

### Summary of Gee's discourse analysis tools

(From Gee, 2014)

Tool No.	Name	Description
<b>Language and context</b>		
1	The deixis tool	For any communication, ask how deictics are being used to tie what is said to context and to make assumptions about what listeners already know or can figure out. Consider uses of the definite article in the same way. Also ask what deictic like properties any regular words are taking on in context, that is, what aspects of their specific meanings need to be filled in from context.
2	The fill-in tool	For any communication, ask: Based on what was said and the context in which it was said, what needs to be filled in here to achieve clarity? What is not being said overtly, but is still assumed to be known or inferable? What knowledge, assumptions, and inferences do listeners have to bring to bear in order for this communication to be clear and understandable and received in the way the speaker intended it?
3	The making strange tool	For any communication, try to act as if you are an "outsider." Ask yourself: What would someone (perhaps, even a Martian) find strange here (unclear, confusing, worth questioning) if that person did not share the knowledge and assumptions and make the inferences that render the communication so natural and taken-for-granted by insiders?
4	The subject tool	For any communication, ask why speakers have chosen the subject/topics they have and what they are saying about the subject. Ask if and how they could have made another choice of subject and why they did not. Why are they organizing information the way they are in terms of subjects and predicates?
5	The intonation tool	Ask how a speaker's intonation contour contributes to the meaning of an utterance. What idea units did the speaker use? What information did the speaker make salient (in terms of where the intonational focus is placed)? What information did the speaker background as given or old by making it less salient? What sorts of attitudinal and/or affective (emotional) meaning does the intonation contour convey?
6	The frame tool	After you have completed your discourse analysis – after you have taken into consideration all the aspects of the context that you see as relevant to the meaning of the data – see if you can find out anything additional about the context in which the data occurred and see if this changes your analysis.
<b>Saying, doing and designing</b>		
7	The doing and not just saying tool	Ask not just what the speaker is saying, but what he or she is trying to do, keeping in mind that he or she may be trying to do more than one thing.
8	The vocabulary tool	Ask what sort of words are being used in terms of whether the communication uses a preponderance of Germanic words or of Latinate words. How is this distribution of word types functioning to mark this communication in terms of style (register, social language)? How does it contribute to the purposes for communicating?
9	The why this way and not that way tool	Ask why the speaker built and designed with grammar in the way in which he or she did and not in some other way. Always ask how else this could have been said and what the speaker was trying to mean and do by saying it the way in which he or she did and not in other ways.
10	The integration tool	Ask how clauses were integrated or packaged into utterances or sentences. What was left out and what was included in terms of optional arguments? What was left out and what was included when clauses were turned into phrases? What perspectives are being communicated by the way in which information is packaged into main, subordinate, and embedded clauses, as well as into phrases that encapsulate a clause's worth of information?
11	The topic and theme tool	Ask what the topic and theme is for each clause and what the theme is of a set of clauses in a sentence with more than one clause. Why were these choices made? When the theme is not the subject/topic, and, thus, has



		deviated from the usual (unmarked) choice, what is it and why was it chosen?
12	The stanza tool	In any communication (that is long enough), look for stanzas and how stanzas cluster into larger blocks of information. You will not always find them clearly and easily, but when you do, they are an important aid to organizing your interpretation of data and of how you can display that interpretation.
<b>Building things in the world</b>		
13	The context is reflexive tool	When you use the Fill in Tool, the Doing and Not Just Saying Tool, the Frame Problem Tool and the Why This Way and Not That Way Tool, and all other tools that require that you think about context (and not just what was said), always ask yourself the following questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to create or shape (possibly even manipulate) what listeners will take as the relevant context?</li> <li>2 How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to reproduce contexts like this one (e.g., class sessions in a university), that is helping them to continue to exist through time and space?</li> <li>3 Is the speaker reproducing contexts like this one unaware of aspects of the context that if he or she thought about the matter consciously, he or she would not want to reproduce?</li> <li>4 Is what the speaker saying and how he or she is saying it just, more or less, replicating (repeating) contexts like this one or, in any respect, transforming or changing them?</li> </ol>
14	The significance building tool	Ask how words and grammatical devices are being used to build up, or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others.
15	The activities building tool	Ask what activity (practice) or activities (practices) this communication is building or enacting. What activity or activities is this communication seeking to get others to recognize as being accomplished? Ask also what social groups, institutions, or cultures support and norm (set norms for) whatever activities are being built or enacted.
16	The identities building tool	Ask what socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. Ask also how the speaker's language treats other people's identities, what sort of identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to his or her own. Ask, too, how the speaker is positioning others, what identities the speaker is "inviting" them to take up.
17	The relationships building tool	Ask how words and various grammatical devices are being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures, and/or institutions
18	The politics building tool	Ask how words and grammatical devices are being used to build (construct, assume) what counts as a social good and to distribute this good to or withhold it from listeners or others. Ask, as well, how words and grammatical devices are being used to build a viewpoint on how social goods are or should be distributed in society.
19	The connections building tool	Ask how the words and grammar being used in the communication connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things. Always ask, as well, how the words and grammar being used in a communication make things relevant or irrelevant to other things, or ignores their relevance to each other
20	The cohesion tool	Ask questions like: How does cohesion work in this text to connect pieces of information and in what ways? How does the text fail to connect other pieces of information? What is the speaker trying to communicate or achieve by using cohesive devices in the way she or he does?
21	Systems and knowledge building tool	Ask how the words and grammar being used privilege or deprivilege specific sign systems (eg, Spanish vs English, technical language vs everyday language ...) or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief?
22	The topic flow or topic chaining tool	Ask what the topics are of all main clauses and how these topics are linked to each other to create (or not) a chain that creates an overall topic or coherent sense of being about something for a stretch of speech or writing. Topics in subordinated and embedded clauses represent less prominent topics that are subordinated to the main chain of topics in main clauses, but it is useful to ask how they relate to the main chain of topics. Ask, as well, how people have signalled that they are switching topics and whether they have "spoken topically" by linking back to the old topic in some first. Look, as well, for topic shifted structures and how they are being used.
<b>Theoretical tools</b>		

23	The situated meaning tool	Ask of words and phrases what situated meanings they have. That is, what specific meanings do listeners have to attribute to these words and phrases given the context and how the context is construed?
24	Social languages tool	Ask how it uses words and grammatical structures (types of phrases, clauses, and sentences) to signal and enact a given social language. The communication may mix two or more social languages or switch between two or more. In turn, a social language may be composed of words or phrases from more than one language
25	The intertextuality tool	Ask how words and grammatical structures (eg, direct or indirect quotation) are used to quote, refer to, or allude to other "texts"
26	Figured world tool	Ask what typical stories or figured worlds the words and phrases of the communication are assuming and inviting listeners to assume. What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions as well as values, are in these figured worlds
27	The big D discourse tool	Ask how the person is using language, as well as ways of acting, interacting, believing, valuing, dressing, and using various objects, tools, and technologies in certain sorts of environments to enact a specific socially recognizable identity and engage in one or more socially recognizable activities.
28	The big C conversation tool	Ask what issues, sides, debates, and claims the communication assumes hearers or readers know or what issues, sides, debates, and claims they need to know to understand the communication in terms of wider historical and social issues and debates. Can the communication be seen as carrying out a historical or widely known debate or discussion between or among Discourses? Which Discourses?

## Appendix E: Texts relating to the training reform

### Appendix E1

#### The “drivers and levers” of Hollande’s training reform

	<b>Drivers</b>	<b>Levers</b>
1	To put the individual in charge of their training throughout their career.	<i>The development of the internet-based personal training account (CPF) to source and fund approved training, that is which leads to a certificate, throughout the working life of the employee without the need for employer approval. All employees have the right to a free consultation with an Employment Counsellor (Conseil en Evolution Professionnelle – CEP) to help them plan their career.</i>
2	To encourage companies to see training as an investment in their people, not a cost	<i>Contributions towards the training pot reduced to 0.55% of payroll for companies with less than 10 employees and 1% for other companies; companies encouraged to invest appropriately for other training. An appraisal meeting must be held with each employee every two years to discuss training, career and salary. Every six years, companies have to have a review with employees and be able to evidence that there has been development, otherwise companies have to provide 100 hours of CPF training for full-time workers.</i>
3	To orient training funds towards those with the most need: young people, underqualified workers, jobseekers and those who work for small organizations	<i>The OPCAs will be a “one-stop-shop” to collect and distribute training funds in line with the needs of their sector and region.</i>
4	To strengthen the social dialogue about training and skills	<i>See point 2 above.</i>
5	To simplify the collection and distribution of training funds	<i>See point 3 above.</i>
6	To better meet the needs of employers and different regions or sectors of the economy	<i>See point 3 above. All training courses approved by representatives of employers and the social partners</i>
7	To reform every aspect of training: from basic to cutting-edge knowledge; from safeguarding careers to simplifying	<i>With the assistance of their OPCA or Employment Counsellor, employees can find a training course from national or</i>

	procedures, from the demand for training to monitoring the training; from the training of the weakest to a general increase in skill level.	<i>economic sector lists or from the “liste inventaire,” which covers skills not linked to a specific job (eg, English would be on this list). There is also a list of 7 critical skills. The OPCAs will be responsible for monitoring the quality of the training and the training provider. A quality charter has been drawn up.</i>
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(Ministère du travail, 2014)

## Appendix E2

### Quality criteria for training providers from 2017

<b>Quality criteria for training providers</b>	
1	To be able to provide training programmes with clear objectives which can be adapted to trainees' individual needs
2	To ensure that training premises are adapted to trainee needs and systems are in place to monitor attendance and to continuously assess the progress of the trainee
3	To be able to describe training methods and materials or internet platforms that will be used
4	To provide evidence of trainers' professional qualifications, their efficacy and the training provider's investment in trainers' continued professional development
5	To provide evidence that the training provider can enter into an official contract with financing agencies and can provide performance indicators such as exam success rates
6	To provide evidence that trainee feedback is asked for, acted on and shared with all stakeholders within a framework of continuous improvement

(from OPCA3+, 2017, my translation)