Framing pre-service English language teachers' identity formation within the theory of alignment as mode of belonging in community of practice

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HIGHLIGHTS

- Participants' narratives reveal monolingual and native-speaker-based practices in their college and cooperating schools.
- Participants are found to align with the English language practices espoused by their instructors.
- Little to no collaboration between participants and teacher training instructors happen in the English classrooms.
- Language teacher identity of the multilingual participants is largely informed by monolingualism and native-speaker norms.
- Pre-service English teachers must have opportunities to legitimize their participation within the community of practice.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the identity formation of pre-service English language teachers in a multilingual setting, through examining their narratives and interviews under the lens of Wenger's (1998) alignment as a mode of belonging in a community of practice (CoP). It was found that the alignment manifested by the participants lacks negotiability and shared ownership of meaning, which inhibits them from moving towards full participation in the CoP. What eventually results in this form of alignment is a language teacher identity rife with notions and practices anchored on monolingualism, native-speaker norms, and subtractive multilingualism.

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1. Introduction

As a pre-service English language teacher (PELT), I was immersed in prevailing discourses that place English at the top of the hypothetical language hierarchy and that, in the process, subjugate the other local languages; in my case, Filipino and Ilocano. I was aware then that these local languages occupy an essential space in my language teacher identity, but, at the same time, was not confident enough to articulate this awareness, especially in an educational system, whose English language programs reinforce the hegemony of English and the dominance of the Western world

(Phillipson, 1992). As prospective English language teachers, we were made to unquestioningly master the target language through a pedagogy rife with monolingual and native speaker fallacies (Phillipson, 1992). Being constantly exposed to such discourses, I accepted these as the natural scheme of things in English language teaching (ELT), that if you want to become a successful English language teacher in the future, you have to teach the students this way as well. However, within multilingual classrooms where I taught as a pre-service teacher, operating on such a framework became problematic. Learners preferred using Ilocano and/or Filipino in many instances during discussions and activities. Students opted to exhibit passive resistance by non-participation, when required to speak purely in English.

My personal account is only one of the many cases that depict

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the lack of language awareness among Filipinos in the education sector, and their conscious or unconscious veneration of the native-speaker, "standard" English, which Lin and Martin (2005) call the 'postcolonial puzzle', the renewed and unashamed enthusiasm in desiring English. Tupas also found this in his study where he interviewed seven Filipino student-teachers. They believe that "students must be taught standardized English because this is too empowering" but that "standardized English should [only] be taught as form" and not as content (2010, as cited in I. Martin, 2014a, p. 55). He concluded that "these beliefs … are a testament to the conditioned practices of their work as English language teachers" (Tupas, 2010; as cited in I. Martin, 2014a, p. 55).

Cruz and Mahboob (2013) likewise reported this privileging of the standardized English in their 2011 survey, which had a total of 232 respondents. The results suggest that English is the dominant language when it comes to literacy and the more academically-oriented language skills, and that English is preferred over any other language as a medium of instruction whether primary, high school, or university education. Furthermore, I. Martin (2010) also found similar language attitudes in her survey of 185 public elementary and high school teachers of English who reported that they regard American English as their target model in teaching. In another paper, she also maintained that "the disappearance or replacement of English in the Philippines does not seem imminent in the future" because "the Philippine constitution, as well as the educational system, assures the continued promotion of the language" (I. Martin, 2014b, p. 81). As one of her proofs, she cited the recent introduction of the Mother-Tongue Based Multilingual Education (MTBMLE). Rather than using it to address discriminatory exclusion among non-dominant language students (Dekker, 2017), MTBMLE includes as one of its objectives the upgrading of English language proficiency among Filipino students (I. Martin, 2014a). Certainly, as McFarland (2009) puts it, ever since Philippine independence, English has become the language of the government, business, media, and the elite. It remains at the top of the language hierarchy in the country.

One possible intervention that could help amend this unfavorable language choice in education is ensuring that the pre-service curriculum of Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs) is grounded on the current trends in linguistics and with the present status of Philippine linguistic situation. In the country, TEIs were established to serve as providers of high-standard and holistic pre-service education to prospective teachers. They subscribe to a curriculum framework which views practice or student teaching as the most authentic, hence most critical component of pre-service teacher training and development, since it links theory to actual practice. The success on practice teaching depends on pre-service teacher's personal and social qualities, aside from how well the TEI trained him/her to cope with the dynamism of classroom processes. During this challenging period of linking theory and practice through demonstrations, the pre-service teacher's identity is (trans)formed or (re)constructed recurrently. In this phase, he/she "develops either a genuine love or an aversion for teaching" (Ganal, Andaya, & Guiab, 2015, p. 64).

These specific issues concerning ELT in teacher education programs in the Philippines, with emphasis on the critical function that identity performs in the professional lives of English language teachers in a multilingual context, inspired the conception of this study, which deliberately focuses on uncovering and understanding the identity formation of pre-service English language teachers (PELTs) in a community of practice (CoP) (Wenger, 1998). This effort is informed by the ecologies and memberships in which these PELTs operate, so that their social locations and how these impact their practice can be examined more closely. Wenger (1998) argues that learning can be regarded as identity when people come to learn,

modify or maintain their behaviors, and identify themselves. Since acquiring an identity is considered learning, it is also in line with becoming. In this case, newcomers can learn and form identities as they become within the CoP. In the context of this study, for example, the PELTs may align themselves with the expectations of the English language teaching community in their cooperating school. Since alignment links with power and is achieved through a complex interplay of compliance and allegiance, the ways in which practices are aligned with expectations primarily depend on the individual. Consequently, this study acknowledges and addresses questions on the language beliefs and practices that are enabled or constrained in the CoP of professional English language teachers, the resources available for use by the multilingual PELTs, and the way they evaluate their participation in the said CoP.

Although this study does not directly aim to provide concrete solutions to specific issues besetting multilingual PELTs, it addresses the gaps in study on teacher education and teacher identity. Studies of teaching practice have given only limited attention to understanding the teaching practicum of PELTs, and have been dominated by accounts from the Western world (Atay, 2007; Trent, 2015; Yan & He, 2010) or in predominantly English-language native-speaker settings (Atay & Ece, 2009; Barkhuizen, 2017). Few studies have been conducted in multilingual settings (Trent, Gao, & Gu, 2014; Yayli, 2014). Sociolinguists such as Canagarajah (2007) and Varghese (2017) recommended that non-Western communities, like the Philippines, should take an active part in informing the current efforts for alternate theory building in the area of language teacher identity formation in multilingual settings. In addition, although current literature on teacher education directs attention to the importance of identity in teacher development (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), minimal work has been carried out to understand the process of identity construction within the context of language teaching and teachers (Barkhuizen, 2017; Trent, 2015). This study responds to these gaps by exploring the teacher identity formation among a group of four multilingual PELTs in the Philippines.

Furthermore, emphasis on language teacher identity in this study allows for the understanding of who English language teachers are and what ELT is in profound and extended ways; thus, it opens up a process of self-reflection for the multilingual PELTs. They are given the opportunity to realize how they situate themselves and are situated in the community of professional English language teachers. This study allows them to explore the ways that can guide them in attaining a sense of professional teacher identity and legitimacy by being empowered to recognize and challenge ideological discourses that may position them as non-powerful with regard to the teaching of English.

2. Methodology and methods

2.1. Research locale

The participants in this study come from a Teacher Education Institution (TEI) of a state university in Region I, Philippines. They are in the final year of their four-year Bachelor of Secondary Education (BSE) program, and have majored in English language teaching. In the first half of the second semester, all qualified fourth year BSE students are required to engage in on-campus practice teaching at the laboratory high school department of the college. Afterwards, the pre-service teachers will have to be assigned to nearby public secondary schools for the remaining half of the semester.

Guided by the policies and guidelines from the Philippine Department of Education (DepEd) and the Philippine Commission on Higher Education (CHED), the practice teaching course aims to

train the pre-service teachers "to become well-prepared and qualified teachers who can pass on their knowledge to the next generation of students" (Ulla, 2016, p. 237). Throughout their practicum, the pre-service English language teachers (PELTs) are expected to plan units and lessons, teach English language classes, evaluate students' learning, and reflect on their own teaching through mini-conferences and writing entries in their portfolios. These performance-based skills hinge on the National Competency-Based Teacher Standards (NCBTS), which is considered the common framework for teacher education and development programs, both in pre-service and in-service teaching, in the Philippines.

The laboratory high school department of the TEI is classified as a non-DepEd secondary institution, and was established to serve as a training platform for education students of the college. The high school students are expected to work with the pre-service teachers so that the latter could clearly establish the relationships that exist between theory and practice. With this, they become prepared for off-campus practice teaching in the nearby DepEd public schools. The English subjects in the laboratory school follow the K-12 Language Arts and Multiliteracies Curriculum (LAMC), which emphasizes meaning making through the six language teaching principles—spiral progression, interaction, integration, learner-centeredness, contextualization, and construction. In this curriculum, the following English language skills are taught: Reading Comprehension, Listening Comprehension, Viewing Comprehension, Literature, Oral Language Proficiency, Grammar Awareness, and Writing and Composition. A lesson that follows LAMC should integrate at least five of the mentioned language skills. In general, the instructional sequence would be reading, listening, literature, vocabulary, grammar, and writing. Ultimately, LAMC purports to produce communicatively competent and multiliterate graduates who apply language principles and strategies to interact with peoples and learn other content areas (K to 12 English Curriculum Guide, 2015).

2.2. Research participants

I used purposive sampling to select four PELTs who served as participants in this study. Given that "one objective of qualitative research is to present the complexity of a site or of the information provided by the sample," (Creswell, 2012 p. 209) adding more individuals may have diminished the overall ability of the researcher to provide an in-depth picture of the phenomenon being investigated. Hence, involving four multilingual PELTs as participants for the study allows for the generation of thick and rich data description. However, the small number of participants, their affiliation with the same institution of higher learning, and their participation in the same cooperating school may make the generalizability of findings unlikely. Consequently, contextualized interpretations that are drawn in the study will not be absolute; rather the findings may be interpreted subjectively and differently by others.

The four PELTs who took part in this study were invited to do so because they met the following qualifications: (1) prospective teachers of the English language in the Philippines, hence, speakers of a language other than the target language; (2) trained under the BSE – English Program of the selected TEI; (3) completed the ten-week on-campus practice teaching carried out in any of the two campuses of the selected TEI; (4) have no full-time teaching experience in secondary schools, other than their participation in the practicum component of their program; and (5) willing and able to share their experiences and insights about their on-campus practice teaching and the English language teacher education program of the selected TEI.

Only one coming from a rural area, the majority of the participants hail from the same urban area, where the TEI is also situated. All of them reported knowing and using English, Filipino, and Ilocano, the latter being their mother tongue. Most of them taught in Grades 7 and 11, whose class populations range from 25 to 30 students. The lessons they delivered during their actual teaching mostly fall under speaking, writing, and reading/literature. The participants only come from one TEI, which may be a limiting factor, because institutions do not necessarily provide the same learning contexts and experiences. This suggests that the participants' teacher identities may be constructed differently from those of multilingual pre-service English teachers in other schools.

2.3. Research design

The view that teacher identity is (trans)formed as pre-service teachers participate in a teacher community is based on a socio-cultural theory introduced by Wenger (1998): the Communities of Practice (CoP). This theory provides an understanding that identity results from interactions a person participates in, within a context. Context is taken as the community of practice, which Wenger (1998) considers as a group of people who share a common enterprise and pursue mutual goals by interacting on an ongoing basis. In the CoP model, "identity is produced as lived experience of participation in specific communities through engagement with members of a community making use of repertoire of that practice and acquiring competence in it, taking on the perspectives and aligning oneself with it" (Smith, 2007, as cited in Chikoko, 2015, p. 56). Simply, how the person interacts in the CoP is considered as how his or her identity is formed.

In the context of teaching, Canagarajah (2017) agrees that the notion of CoP holds that "teaching is the embodiment of one's knowledge, skills, beliefs, and practices into an appropriate teacher identity … there is always the possibility that one will face tensions between one's teaching and social identities, [and] these tensions keep one evolving as a teacher, responding to one's changing identities and values, as one brings them to inform teaching practice" (p. 69). In the same vein, Castañeda (2011) asserts that "a teacher community has to be understood beyond the assumption that working together is a conceptually appealing notion" (p. 38). In a language teaching community, there are more complex factors that should be taken into account in the construction of teacher identity among multilingual PELTs, such as their previous experiences as language learners, tensions that occur in their cooperating schools, their relationships with the broader teaching community, or their professional expectations for the future.

The "three modes of belonging—engagement, alignment, and imagination" (Wenger, 1998, p. 173), are useful in making sense of the interplay of these factors involved in the process of teacher identity formation. Through *engagement*, we are enabled to invest in what we do and in our relations with other people, gaining a lived sense of who we are. *Imagination* allows us to create images of the world and envision our place within it across time and space by extrapolating beyond our own experiences. Finally, *alignment* coordinates an individual's activities within broader structures and enterprises, allowing the identity of a larger group to become part of the identity of the individual participants. In the CoP model, these modes are important in understanding the concept of identity, although they can be used separately as they highlight different dimensions of identity.

This qualitative case study, which was conducted for six months, draws upon the work of alignment (Wenger, 1998) to frame the written narratives and interview transcripts of the multilingual PELTs. Such methods helped uncover the language teacher identity

of the participants, and served as an analytical tool for the examination and interpretation of data gathered. By employing the principles of alignment, this study can focus on the manner in which the pre-service English teachers responded to the ELT practices adhered to in the cooperating school in which their on-campus practice teaching occurred. Such a focus provides emphasis on how meanings that matter during the practicum are negotiated, shared, resisted and/or conformed to (Wenger, 1998) by the participants. These actions are critical in the formation of their language teacher identity.

2.4. Data gathering procedure

Participants signified their voluntary agreement to participate in this study through signing the informed consent form, which is one of the requirements for the ethical clearance granted to the researcher. After which, they were asked to fill out a form for use in establishing their socio-demographic profile. In order to ensure the protection of participants' anonymity, they were assigned with pseudonyms based on surnames of officially-recognized Ilocano heroes: Ambaristo, Bukaneg, Escoda, and Ricarte. Afterwards, I requested the participants to write narrative essays and to engage in a series of interview sessions, as ways of eliciting texts from them.

With the assumption that identity is storied (Rodgers & Scott, 2008), and that "identities are not only located within particular discourses and ideologies but also within narratives" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 19), participants were asked to share their experiences and insights during their in-campus practice teaching through writing narratives. It was anticipated that there may be an issue on difficulty in recalling their teaching experiences during their practicum. To address this issue, participants engaged in cued and group recalls where they were given ample time to revisit their student-teaching portfolios and to share memories collaboratively. Here, the student teaching portfolios functioned as tangible cues that enabled the participants to recall their personal and social experiences in the course of their teaching practicum. The PELTs also participated in collaborative remembering which helped them recall and relearn their own memories through stories acquired from others who experienced the same past.

Participants were required to attend an 8-h session that was held for a day in a venue selected by the group. Prior to the session, the prompt was already provided to the participants so they were already able to devise plans or create outlines that helped them go about their writing. Participants were asked to respond to questions like, "How do ELT concepts and practices learned in your TEI match or differ from those recommended or imposed in the cooperating school?" and "What adjustments did you make during your practicum, in relation to using and teaching the English language?" The session is composed of two phases: the pre-writing and the narrative writing. Discussion of the prompt and cued and collaborative memory recalling are included in the pre-writing phase, with a time allotment of 3 h. The narrative writing, which was carried out in 5 h, is where the participants are expected to produce and submit narrative texts that satisfy the prompt given for that particular session. Participants were given the liberty to use the language within their repertoire that they are most comfortable with. Despite this instruction, none of the participants used the local languages in their writing.

The second data-gathering tool that was used in this study was the conduct of semi-structured interview sessions. The interviews were one-on-one, each taking twenty to 30 min. These were scheduled on a day and in a place selected by the participants. Mackey and Gass (2005) maintain that semi-structured interviews are less rigid; thus, the researcher can use "a written list of

questions as a guide" and still have "the freedom to digress and probe for more information" (p. 173). It is this nature of semi-structured interviews that is most beneficial for purposes of eliciting additional data from the participants' written narratives and, more importantly, having the participants explain the rationales behind the nature of their participation in the CoP during the on-campus teaching practicum. This means that the participants were asked probing questions giving them the opportunity to verify, refute, defend or expand on ideas articulated in their narrative essays. These probes vary from exploring the content of the written narratives in more depth to asking the participants to discuss in more detail any vague, incomplete, off-topic, or non-specific parts in their statements. Prior to the conduct of the interviews, the participants were provided with the list of possible questions, so they were given the opportunity to develop responses that made the discussions more productive and meaningful. Also, they were allowed to use their local languages during their respective sessions so the participants, except for one, also expressed themselves in Ilocano and/or Filipino aside from English.

2.5. Data processing, analysis, and presentation

Interview data were transcribed using Fairclough's (2003) convention, which includes a deliberately simple and quickly attainable transcription system that considerably smoothens speech and sets the focus on content. Before beginning analysis, recordings were reviewed to reveal "details that were missed or inaccurately rendered during transcription and to re-engage the researcher with the original data" (Mackey & Gass, 2012, p. 192).

According to St. Pierre and Jackson (2014), in order "to determine first, what counts as data and second, what counts as good or appropriate data" (p. 715), qualitative researchers should make use of theory in the analysis. In this study, I employed the theory of alignment (Wenger, 1998) in the analysis of the pre-service English teachers' narrative texts and interview transcripts. This means that data analysis was guided by the assumption that a comprehensive representation and understanding of teacher identity requires attention to identification and negotiability through compliance and participation in the CoP (Wenger, 1998).

Data analysis was carried out in a recursive manner, as it required moving back and forth, from the coding segments of the texts to consulting the theory and research literature relevant to teacher identity construction. The narrative texts and interview transcripts were reviewed multiple times, whereupon patterns and recurrent features were identified. From these, tentative categories and salient themes that were potentially relevant in answering the research questions were constructed from the data, through a coding process. This process was based on the three forms of compliance, which are manifestations of the participants' alignment with the CoP. This involved "identifying text segments, placing a bracket around them, and assigning a code word or phrase (e.g. literal, partial, critical) that accurately describes the meaning of the text segment" (Creswell, 2012, p. 244) in order to identify discourses that inform participants' construction of language teacher identity.

3. Results and discussions

Wenger's (1998) theory of alignment is demonstrated by compliance, described as literal, partial, or critical. However, as presented in Table 1, the participants only demonstrated two types of compliance: Escoda and Ricarte aligned with literal compliance, whereas Ambaristo and Bukaneg aligned with partial compliance.

Although the participants complied to varying degrees, it is clear

Table 1
Themes Reflecting Pre-Service English Teachers' Evaluation of their Participation during the On-Campus Practice Teaching.

General theme	Sub-themes	Research participants	Number of research participants	Percentage
A Conscious Choice towards Alignment with Existing Practices in Teaching English	Alignment with Literal Compliance	Escoda Ricarte	2	50%
	Alignment with Partial Compliance	Ambaristo Bukaneg	2	50%
Total			4	100%

that all of them exhibited alignment with the existing English language teaching (ELT) practices in the cooperating school during their on-campus practice teaching. How the participation of the pre-service English language teachers (PELTs) is affected by their conscious choice towards alignment with the said practices will be illustrated in more detail as I unpack the narratives of the participants.

3.1. A conscious choice towards alignment with existing practices in teaching English

The CoP model argues that the way an individual aligns himself/herself will determine a sense of belonging, engendering identity formation. In the case of the four PELTs in this study, they consciously aligned with the existing and prescribed ELT practices employed in the cooperating school. And, since alignment is linked with power (Wenger, 1998), the participants realized it through differing degrees of compliance. The way that they aligned their beliefs, energies, and actions with the established practices depended on them, although it was strongly influenced by their teacher training instructors (TTIs) and students. As they became invested in the CoP through their participation and alignment, participants developed a deeper understanding of the practice, of who they are, and of what they know about the community.

The participants' conscious choice towards alignment is not without tension, as their written narratives reveal a mismatch between what they learned in their TEI and what they implemented in the cooperating school during their on-campus practice teaching. Trent (2010) reported a similar situation in his study involving eight pre-service English teachers in Hong Kong, who experienced "disassociation between the demands of their placement schools and those of their teacher education courses," the reason why "they are caught up in multiple and potentially contradictory discourses" (p. 11).

The research subject (Bukaneg) shares that "[t]his [mismatch] came as a surprise" because he recalls that when they observed teaching demonstrations in public schools, the practices carried out were consistent with those that were taught to them by their English professors. Ricarte, who like Bukaneg, "did not expect the clash," also notes in his narrative the disparate notions of teaching the English language gained from the TEI and from the cooperating school. Admitting that he was not able to apply most of the things he learned in college because these "are not applicable in the actual setting," and because "it's different when you're already in the real-life setting of English teaching," Ricarte describes his college education as "too idealistic". Here, he depicts his college education as 'idealistic' and uses the adjective 'real' more than thrice to represent the school setting in which he was assigned. This binary opposition Ricarte creates emphasizes the neglect of his TEI in recognizing the existing, authentic demands of English language teaching in the multilingual context, a concern echoed by Ambaristo when she confesses "… that what are being learned in the college are way too far from the real scenario in the field. That in the

college, [they] become too idealistic because of setting high … standards."

Table 2 shows the mismatch in ELT practices, as applied by the TEI and by the cooperating school, that the research participants mention in their narratives.

Being positioned in between two dominant forces influential in the formation of their language teacher identity, the PELTs made a conscious choice towards alignment with existing ELT practices in the cooperating school, a choice which illustrated and informed their participation in the on-campus teaching practicum. Aware that "there are differences between the practices suggested by [his] TTI so [he] can cater to the needs of the students and feel being 'in' with the English teachers in the school." Bukaneg likewise "followed all the teachings and recommendations of [his] TTI" so that he could satisfactorily meet the standards set by his TTI; a decision he thinks "will be better for the whole [practice teaching] experience." Confronted with the same issue, Ambaristo relived the moment when one of her college professors challenged her to "never let [her] orientation in the college be corrupted" when she was fielded for practice teaching, and to apply what she had learned in the TEI. Nevertheless, she intentionally did not heed her professors' challenge and did the opposite, since "the practices [she] had were not identical to [her] actual teaching experiences … so [she] also had to adjust". By adjust, Ambaristo means aligning her actions with the ELT practices followed by teachers in the cooperating school. Sharing the same feeling of initial ambivalence towards the practices in the cooperating school, Escoda writes, "[a]lthough I find it disturbing in my part as an English teacher since my orientation is different, I just followed … the lab school, so I can easily cope with the environment."

Furthermore, the written narratives of the participants reveal that their college instructors subscribe to the "monolingual tenet" (Gatenby, 1950, as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 185), which holds that the teaching of English should be done entirely through the medium of English to maximize the learning of the language, regardless of what other languages the learners know and can use. This neglect of other languages in ELT reflects an implicit belief that other languages, including the mother tongue, hinder target language learning (Phillipson, 1992, p. 187). Phillipson argues that this tenet is false, thus should be redesignated as a fallacy.

"One practice I learned in speaking is the All-English Time Policy," Bukaneg reveals, and asserts that "[t]his is a good approach especially when you want your students to be fluent in using the language because they will be compelled to speak using the language, whether they like it or not." Certainly, the participants' TEI is only one of the several educational institutions in the Philippines that implement the English Only Policy, which Canilao (2018) identifies as a colonial legacy that penalizes speakers for using their local languages. Escoda briefly illustrates how this policy works:

Table 2
Differences between the Teacher Education Institution and the Cooperating School in terms of English Language Teaching Practices.

English language teaching practices noted by the research participants		Teacher education institution	Cooperating school
Macroskills in English	Practices	Applied?	
Speaking	One-Minute Free Talk in English	Yes	No
	All-English-Time Policy	Yes	No
	Imitative or Modelling	Yes	Yes
	Code-switching	No	Yes
	Use of Philippine languages	No	Yes
Writing	Process-Oriented	Yes	No
	Product-Oriented	No	Yes
Reading (Literature)	Interfacing language and literature	Yes	No
	Literature as a separate lesson	No	Yes
	Schema activation prior to reading	Yes	Yes
	Vocabulary development	Yes	Yes
	Use of side notes, guide questions and annotations	Yes	Yes

… you must speak or use only the English language to interact with your friends and in the class discussion. And when the teacher caught you for not following the said policy, your name will be written on the board with the label "Wall of Shame." The worst is your name will not be erased for the entire period, not unless the next teacher or class or person or any entity will.

Her use of the word 'caught' in relation to speaking a language besides English, presumably the mother tongue, suggests "transgression against authority, which basically makes [an individual] a transgressor, a subject position that understandably breeds uncertainty as it deviates from the dominant ideal" (Bourdieu, 1984, as cited in Franquelli, 2016, p. 80). Moreover, portraying the act of speaking a different language during their English class as something that is 'shameful' subordinates Philippine languages. It positions multilingualism as a less natural form of knowing, doing, and learning, and, in the process, takes monolingualism as the implicit norm (Cruz & Mahboob, 2013; Ortega, 2014).

The participants also recount their use of an imitative approach in TEI, not only in speaking, where as Bukaneg exemplifies, "in order [for us] to have a native-like speaking voice, we [had] to … watch [American] movies and listen to authentic conversations," but also in writing. "Like for example, in letter writing … we were introduced first with *excellent* [emphasis added] samples or models [from American writers] where we can pattern our own," Ambaristo elaborates. This process in learning how to write in English, according to her, "eliminates the possibility of being misled, as well as the possibility of committing habitual errors, most especially on the structure." The use of native speakers as *ideal* models to emulate has informed the English language programs of teacher education in most Asian countries for a long period of time now (I. Martin, 2014a), a practice that has placed language teachers whose mother tongue is not English at a social disadvantage, in which they are almost always judged as less competent than the native speaker (Castañeda, 2011; Cruz & Mahboob, 2013).

Participants express fear and uneasiness towards such instances of monolingualism in the teaching of English. It can be deduced from the participants' statements that they exhibit implied negative evaluations towards the described monolingual practices in ELT. Such negative evaluations are signified by their use of negative descriptive units, like 'afraid,' 'a lot of reservations,' 'hard up sometimes,' 'challenged,' 'don't understand,' and 'not related.' The negative evaluation may be a collective judgment of the pre-service English teachers toward monolingualism, rather than an isolated one, because of Bukaneg's use of the pronoun 'we' in narrating his experiences. Interestingly, however, when asked if these practices are effective, they shift from negative to positive evaluation, saying

that the native-speaker models "assure that the language is the standard one, and the one that is accepted internationally," (Bukaneg) and that the All-English-Time Policy is really effective because "[they] learned how to use the language well" (Escoda).

Ortega (2014) reasons that this bias, which Phillipson (1992) calls the native speaker fallacy, results from the faulty assumption that monolingualism is the default for human communication. Nativeness is valued as a superior form of language competence and the most legitimate relationship between a language and its users. In the Philippine context, I. Martin (2010) identifies this bias as one of the four myths about English that prevail in the country: the myth that American English is the only correct English.

Monolingualism in ELT, the participants would later find out in their on-campus practice teaching, was not entirely favored by English teachers in the actual teaching context. In this particular case of tension, the PELTS negotiated the meanings that mattered; they did not want to emphasize misalignment more than alignment, because they might manifest "a lack of competence along three dimensions—engaging in action with other people, forms of accountability through which [they] are able to contribute to an enterprise, and ability to interpret and make use of the repertoire of a practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 153). In fact, even though they consider monolingualism as effective in their English language learning, they comment that it is too idealistic, hence, far from the real, multilingual scenario in the field. As a result, the pre-service English teachers did not necessarily seek to resist the ELT practices shared among the teachers in the cooperating school by insisting on employing the monolingual practices they learned in their teacher education. They demonstrated an investment in alignment because it connects them to a history they wanted to contribute to, but of which they are not a part. Consequently, they varied in their demonstration of alignment towards the ELT practices in the cooperating school, as reflected in their written narratives, hence, the emergence of two subthemes, presented next.

3.1.1. Alignment with literal compliance

Wenger (1998) explains that literal compliance entails conformity and/or submission, for instance to a classroom practice or a school policy, "generat[ing] alignment with little regard to negotiability" (p. 205). In the case of the pre-service English teachers, negotiability would allow them to enlist the collaboration of their TTIs and their students, to make sense of the ELT practices in the school, and, finally, to assert their membership in the community of professional English language teachers.

Two of the research participants, Escoda and Ricarte, subscribed to this kind of alignment. While, upon the commencement of their actual teaching, both of them exhibited traces of resistance to the

kind of ELT practices being followed by their respective TTIs, their decision to fully comply with these existing practices prevailed.

Escoda expressed in her narrative her shock and disappointment when her TTI informed her that their approach in teaching writing is product-oriented, rather than the more favored process approach in creating compositions. Even though she knows the value of having students experience the different stages in the writing process, she admits to providing her students samples and asking them to write their compositions at home or even during weekends, as per her TTI's instruction. Her decision is rooted in the need to complete curriculum requirements of the subject within the allotted timeframe. She depicts the product-oriented approach in teaching writing with explicit negative evaluation. Her use of the adjectives 'shocked' and 'disappointed' highlight her distaste for it. She further negatively evaluated the outcome of the said writing practice when she divulges that "this was very hard on [her] part as the teacher" because she had to deal with so many errors and points for improvement.

Matsuda (2003) argues that neither controlled nor guided composition, which are forms of product-oriented approaches in writing, can adequately prepare students for free composition. Since both focus almost exclusively on sentence-level structures, they cannot help students produce their original structures. Nevertheless, akin to the reasoning of Escoda's TTI, Malaysian English teachers consider the process approach to be time-consuming as it involves several drafts before students are able to come up with a final draft (Palpanadan, Salam, & Ismail, 2014). Accordingly, the process approach is deliberately overlooked by many English teachers in order to accommodate more work and to finish the syllabus on time (Palpanadan et al., 2014). Bukaneg echoes this finding when he states, "[t]he teachers in the cooperating school are busy with other tasks like programs and activities, so they have to be really conscious of the timeframe they have to use for their lessons, particularly on writing."

When it comes to the teaching of literature in the high school level, the emphasis "is not the *study* of literature as an end in itself, but the *use* of literature as a tool for learning other skills" (de la Cruz, 2011, p. 164). In keeping with this notion, the classroom then becomes a platform where students communicate their own ideas, appreciate the writer's literary style, and interact with various themes essential in their personal growth. Through all this, de la Cruz maintains, "the teaching of literature cannot, in practice, be separate from the teaching of language" (p. 165). But, in the cooperating school, there is a different setup.

"This mismatch made me rethink … my perceptions about the teaching of English in real life," writes Ricarte, who also conveyed his dismay, although implicitly, to the prescribed practices he employed in teaching English:

> The literary piece is *only* dealt on the literature itself. *Not* extending to the teaching of the grammar. Thus, I taught literature by itself, *without* fusion with grammar and I also *just* let students perform group or individual silent reading.

Ricarte's use of adverbs 'only' and 'just' seems to express a subtle form of disagreement with adherence to the established practice of teaching literature, which disregards the integration of the macro skills needed in learning the target language. He heavily underscores this observation in these statements: "the literary piece … dealt on the literature itself[,] [n]ot extending to the teaching of grammar," and "I taught literature by itself, without fusion with grammar." Considering literature as a separate lesson is associated with negative adverbials, such as 'only,' 'not,' and 'without,' and therefore, suggests its limitedness in teaching both the piece and the language.

Emerging most frequently from all of the participants' narratives is the use of local languages rather than the implementation of the All-English-Time policy in the cooperating school. The following extracts illustrate how the pre-service teachers complied to the use of local languages in the ELT classroom:

> … I sometimes permit them [the students] to use the *dialect* [emphasis added], also a bit of Filipino, when they are already hard up in explaining or expanding their answers. Although I find it disturbing in my part as an English teacher since my orientation is different, I just followed this practice … (Escoda)

> … when I taught in my on-campus [practice teaching] … I needed to *code-switch* [emphasis added] in some cases so that my students can participate actively in the discussion or so that they can understand my questions. . . . They should only use the *dialect* [emphasis added] if they cannot already express themselves well in English no matter how hard they try. (Ricarte)

It is important to note that the participants, except for Bukaneg, use the term 'dialect' in their narratives (even in their interviews) to refer to the Ilocano language. 'Dialect' is a variety of a language that signals where a person comes from. The notion is usually interpreted geographically, but it also has some application in relation to a person's social background or occupation. Taking into account this definition, the Ilocano language is, in itself, a language and not a dialect. "The labeling of a language matters, as it goes to the heart of linguistic identity," (Nero, 2014, p. 36); thus, misrepresenting Ilocano as a dialect designates it with an identity of subordination to English and Filipino, and may threaten the validity of the knowledge generated through the use of such a local language (Ortega, 2014).

Apart from the implied negative evaluation of the Ilocano language by describing it as a 'dialect,' the participants also devalue its role in ELT by staving off its use in the classroom. They only allow speaking in Ilocano or in Filipino when the students "can no longer deliver some parts of their explanations or discussions in English" (Bukaneg). Ricarte even went as far as translating the responses of his students expressed in either Ilocano or Filipino because, he reasons, "[they] are in the English time or in [an] English class." Ambaristo writes that "[she] motivate[s] [her students] to use English, most of the time, by tolerating errors that do not necessarily affect the meaning of their utterance," in support of her TTI's instruction to use local languages sparingly during lesson delivery. In this case, use of local languages in the ELT classroom is driven not only by the TTIs' instructions, but also by the PELTs' need to sustain surface-level interaction between them and their students. Rather than employing Ilocano and Filipino as essential linguistic resources to foster meaningful and productive learning of English, they are pushed into the margins and are not classified as equal to the target language in the ELT classroom.

The choice of the four PELTs to use, to such an extent, Filipino and Ilocano in their classes, is not only a form of literal compliance to the instructions of their respective TTIs, but also an affirmation of their monolingual education in college. They had been educated in an institution that emphasizes the relevance of education for producing proficient users of the *standard* English variety, which is American. The only language permitted in their ELT classrooms is American English. In such a monolingual setup, "reference to the mother tongue was only made *in extremis* and only as a check on comprehension" (Makarere Report, as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 186). It is clear in the many narrative accounts of the participants that the target language is dominant in their TEI's educational system. With this kind of arrangement, the pre-service English teachers "may have become proficient in using English, and may

thus learn to prefer that language over their local languages for many usage functions" (Gorter & Cenoz, 2012, p. 190).

When asked why she preferred to write her narrative in English instead of using one or both of her local languages, Ambaristo says, "… in writing … the flow of ideas is more continues when I use English … and I do not know how to write in Filipino." In a similar vein, Escoda confesses that she cannot express her ideas well in Ilocano because she has very limited vocabulary in the language. She also demonstrates explicit positive evaluation of the English language, saying that "if you are using or speaking the English language … you're so fab … that's a fancy thing in you." On a different note, Bukaneg chose to write his narrative in English, simply because he is an English teacher. "Why would you choose to write in Filipino or talk in Filipino [if] you are an English major [?]" he asserts.

These accounts explicitly and implicitly echo Phillipson's (1992) monolingual and native-speaker fallacies, and essentially reinforce the discourse that local languages have no place in school (Cruz and Mahboob, 2013). Moreover, the participants' preference for English in their narrative writing and their use of local languages in their interviews correspond to the allocation of the target language to the educational function (vertical discursiveness) and of Filipino and Ilocano to the conversational one (horizontal discursiveness) (Berstein, 1996, as cited in Cruz and Mahboob, 2013). In such cases, Gorter and Cenoz (2012) conclude, the schools may in the end contribute more to the endangerment, rather than the strengthening and revival of the local languages.

ELT classrooms, such as those in the participants' TEI and in their cooperating school, should be seen as interesting sites for the negotiation of power relations (Wenger, 1998). Here, the models of language are provided by the teacher. Students then learn to use English language based on the standards set by the teacher. For instance, Bukaneg still taught the subject in *straight* English, though his students were allowed to access their mother tongue in some strict instances. "This is to motivate the students to also speak in straight English," he justifies. Escoda likewise "tried to speak in English through the entire class" so she can serve as a *good* model to her students, and so she can become a more *reliable* and *respected* English teacher. Her frequent use of positive adjectives ('good', 'reliable', and 'respected') to describe the outcomes of speaking in English exhibits her explicit positive evaluation toward subscribing to monolingualism.

3.1.2. Alignment with partial compliance

Whereas Ricarte and Escoda aligned their energies and actions with the existing ELT practices of the cooperating school through literal compliance, Ambaristo and Bukaneg demonstrated alignment with partial compliance. The kind of participation they put forth in teaching English during the on-campus practicum can be described as a subtle mix of participation and non-participation (Wenger, 1998). Here, the two participants recount in their written narratives that they generally complied with the prescribed practices in the school. However, in teaching writing, they insisted on applying an approach that they believed would provide the students with the best benefits. Ambaristo clarifies that she "enabled [her] students to follow [the] stages of writing … though [her] TTI told [her] that they do not do this … because it is hard to write in the English language … [the students] need a lot of time to process their ideas and put these into writing." Similarly, seeing that his TTI does not feel favorably disposed to following the process-oriented approach in teaching writing, Bukaneg "decided to insist on implementing the stages of writing so that the students can also experience self-editing and peer editing." He affirms that through this, "they can also enhance their grammar which is important in learning the English language."

Contradictory to Bukaneg's TTI, who believed in his own principles, and thus, readily agreed with his pedagogical decisions, the TTI assigned to Ambaristo only allowed her to try out the process writing approach "under the condition that [she has] to be a hundred percent sure that it will improve the outputs of [her] students." Ambaristo admits that this condition made her nervous because she might fail. But through her students' positive feedback, she was able to prove to her TTI that the multiple phases the students had to undergo are indeed helpful in refining the grammar and mechanics of their work. She adds that having them experience the whole writing task in chunks made it easier for them to manage it. What encouraged her to stay firm with this choice was her own experience of difficulty in writing when she was still in high school. Because of the teacher's own multilingual background, Canagarajah (2017) explains, he/she could understand the rhetorical and linguistic challenges faced by students when writing in English. The teacher has insights into the complexity of these challenges and ways of addressing them by drawing from his/her own experiences.

Ambaristo and Bukaneg were right in upholding their positive evaluation on the use of process-oriented approach in writing because "[i]nvention strategies, multiple drafts, and formative feedback—both by the teacher and by peers … are important parts of [the] writing instruction" (Matsuda, 2003, p. 21). When students are assigned or asked to spend more time on their writing task, they will have more opportunities for brainstorming on their topic, retaining more information from various sources, and developing more powerful arguments or insights.

Despite the process approach touching upon the many dimensions of writing, both Ambaristo and Bukaneg merely measured its effectiveness against its impact on the grammar aspect of the students' written works. Clearly, the participants believe that mastering English grammar is critical in learning the language. As a matter of fact, Ambaristo equates an English teacher's success with her ability to employ correct grammar. She says, "if he/she is an English teacher, and then he/she uses faulty grammar … it seems like he/she is not an effective teacher." She recalled that when she was still a college student, she would first write down on her notepad her ideas in English before she would participate in the class discussion in order for her to avoid committing grammatical errors. Interpreting her statements, we see Ambaristo's effort to comply with the traditional descriptive/prescriptive grammars, which Mahboob (2017) says are widely used by teachers and students in most parts of the world. In the Philippines, these grammars are so popular that, in a study by I. Martin (2014b), "teachers who claimed to be practicing communicative language teaching (CLT) also reported that they taught grammar explicitly to their students," (p. 479) a practice which is incompatible with CLT.

According to Mahboob (2017), "these grammars have evolved out of earlier grammars of English and are based on written samples of English by monolingual speakers of the language" (p. 15). While this familiarity, hence inkling in the use of prescriptive grammars is not an issue in itself, problems arise when these native-user-based grammars are classified as the *standard* language in a multilingual context, such as the ELT classes in the cooperating school, and when other usage functions of this language are judged against its varieties or against local languages (Mahboob, 2017).

4. Conclusions

I constructed Fig. 1 to provide a schematic representation of the pre-service English teachers' participation in the CoP, primarily focusing on their alignment with the practices prescribed and implemented by the legitimate members of the community, the TTIs. As one moves from peripheral to full participation through the
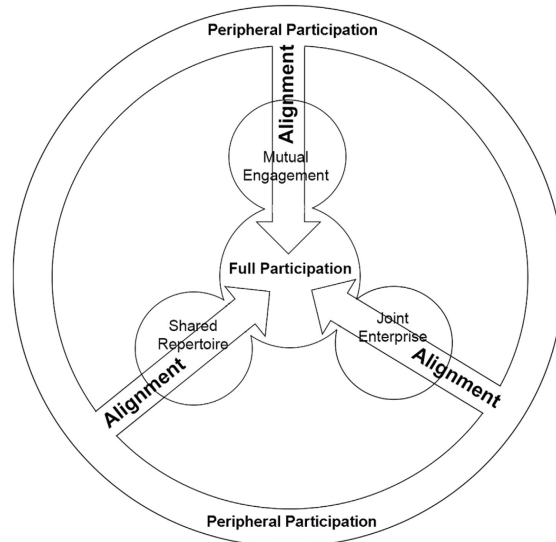
Fig. 1. The work of alignment in the community of practice.

work of alignment, he/she gains access to the practices (mutual engagement, shared repertoire, and joint enterprise) of the CoP. It can be observed from the diagram that full participation grants a pre-service English teacher open access to these practices. A pre-service English teacher's success in advancing to and securing a position at the center of the CoP is dependent on the kind of compliance he/she will carry out. For full participation to be realized, one has to demonstrate a critical kind of compliance, rather than literal or partial.

When the pre-service English language teachers (PELTs) enter the cooperating school for their on-campus practice teaching, they are met with the tension that concerns the ELT practices they learned in their college and those they are expected to implement in the laboratory high school. The participants resolve this tension or disassociation (Trent, 2010) by demonstrating alignment (Wenger, 1998) with the ELT practices implemented by their TTIs. Even though all four of the participants exhibited alignment, their degree of compliance differed. Escoda and Ricarte showed literal compliance, while Ambaristo and Bukaneg displayed partial compliance. Such forms of alignment, which make the participation of the PELTs in the CoP prescriptive and conforming, lack negotiability (Wenger, 1998) resulting in "a violation of sense of self" (p. 181) that negatively affects language teacher identity. The disregard for negotiability barred their access to full participation and legitimate membership in the CoP, positioning them at the margins of ELT during their practice teaching hence, leaving them silenced and disempowered.

The participants' narratives do not only provide evaluation of their participation during the on-campus teaching practicum, but also reveal the predominantly monolingual and native-speaker-based ELT practices both in their college and in the cooperating school. This is despite multilingual realities that naturally exist in these contexts. Two of the most frequently recurrent among these practices are the marginalization of local languages (Ilocano and Filipino) and the maintenance of a high regard for the linguistic systems and features of American English. Since the PELTs did not want to emphasize misalignment more than alignment, particularly during their practice teaching where they sought to become a legitimate member of the CoP, they conformed to these ELT practices espoused by their college instructors and adhered to by their TTIs. Consequently, the decision aggravated their peripheral positioning as they constructed a language teacher identity that is largely informed by monolingualism and native-speaker norms.

Acquiescence to the monolingual and native speaker fallacies (Phillipson, 1992) and to the myth that American English is the only correct English (I. Martin, 2010) do happen, and in fact, continue to be the norm in many secondary educational institutions in the Philippines (Dekker, 2017), such as in the cooperating school where the PELTs were assigned. This is despite the fact that in 2009, the country's Department of Education (DepEd) moved to a Mother-Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB MLE) language policy (DepEd, 2009, 2013). Dekker (2017) elaborates that the policy "addresses discriminatory exclusion among non-dominant language students by officially recognizing the value of the learners' mother tongues and home cultures" (p. 7). She even adds that appreciating the use of local languages for academic purposes is a "form of social justice education that aims to correct colonial legacies of linguistic discrimination and English hegemony in the

Philippines" (p. 8).

However, even with these positive evaluations of the MTB MLE policy, the cooperating school, like many public high schools in the country, still finds it difficult to question their ELT practices that are ingrained in monolingualism, native-speakerism, and subtractive multilingualism. This is evident in the participants' narratives and interview transcripts. It remains difficult for English language teachers, including pre-service teachers, to envision a future where multilingual practices could become the status quo in ELT classrooms. Therefore, it is imperative that teacher education, particularly language programs or ELT courses in the Philippines, are reframed to take into account linguistic diversity so that PELTs could actively respond to existing multilingual realities in education during their practicums and in their future teaching profession. Also, in effect, they may be able to develop a language teacher identity of legitimacy and full participation in the CoP, fortified by the pedagogy of multilingual language awareness.

Credit author statement

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

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