Articles

From ELT to GELT: The Feasibility of Global Englishes Language Teaching Curricular Innovation

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Global Englishes (GE) is an inclusive paradigm that recognizes the diversity and fluidity of English use and English users around the world (Rose & Galloway, 2019). GE has inspired a framework for research and teaching known as Global Englishes Language Teaching (GELT). To evaluate the practicality of the GELT framework as a guide for curricular innovation, it is necessary to ascertain whether teachers view GELT as feasible. Building on studies by Cameron and Galloway (2019) and Galloway and Numajiri (2020), the present study investigated in-service teacher views on innovation feasibility and barriers to innovation. A questionnaire was distributed to 27 participants at 3 time conditions, and focus groups were conducted with 16 questionnaire respondents. Findings indicate that in-service teachers perceived GELT innovations to be somewhat feasible, yet various factors were identified as barriers. These results suggest that GELT curriculum innovation is most possible when initiated from the bottom up.

　Global　Englishes（GE）は、世界中の英語使用と英語使用者の多様性と流動性を認識する包括的なパラダイムであり、Global Englishes Language Teaching（GELT）という研究・教育のフレームワークを生み出した（Rose & Galloway, 2019）。本研究では、GELTによるカリキュラム革新の実現可能性とその障壁に関する現職の英語教師の見解について調査した。アンケートは27名の英語教師に対して、3つの違う時期に実施した。フォーカスグループには16名のアンケート回答者を採用した。その結果、GELTによるカリキュラム革新をいくらか実行可能として捉えていた一方で、様々な要因をその障害としてみなしていることがわかった。これらの結果が示唆することは、GELTによるカリキュラム革新はボトムアップ方式が最も可能性があるということである。

The "native speaker" was pronounced dead more than 35 years ago (Paikeday, 1985), yet in English classrooms in Japan and across Asia, linguistic competence is still largely equated with conformity to native speaker norms. This is despite the fact that English is commonly used in communication among non-native speakers or in mixed groups, and that norms observed in lingua franca communication do not necessarily reflect the conventions of British or American English (Jenkins, 2012). Considering these facts, TESOL professionals may consider shifting to adopt the paradigm of Global Englishes (GE) and the framework of Global Englishes Language Teaching (GELT), which recognize English as a language that is fluid, diverse in form, and outside of the control of any single group (Rose & Galloway, 2019). Curricular innovation aligned with GELT would benefit learners who will go on to use English in a globalized world. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the feasibility of GELT curricular innovation and determine barriers to innovation based on the perceptions of in-service English teachers.

Background

What is Global Englishes?

Global Englishes is "an inclusive paradigm looking at the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural diversity and fluidity of English use and English users in a globalized world" (Rose & Galloway, 2019, p. 4). The word "English" has been pluralized to highlight the fact that multiple Englishes are used in different speech communities worldwide, thus dispelling the notion that a single Standard English is the only form worth recognizing. GE encompasses Englishes that are nationally bound such as Singaporean English and Indian English as well as regionally bound Englishes such as ASEAN English as a Lingua Franca (Kirkpatrick, 2011), and Englishes that are connected to certain speech communities such as hip-hop English (Barrett, 2018).

GE is often used as an umbrella term, bringing together work from the fields of World Englishes (WE), English as an International Language (EIL), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Nevertheless, WE, EIL, and ELF are not interchangeable terms. WE research raises awareness of the existence and legitimacy of different English varieties, drawing inspiration from Kachru's (1990) model that organizes English-speaking countries into three con-

centric circles: The Inner, Outer, and Expanding circles. WE tends to focus on English varieties that are constrained by geographic boundaries; see Bruthiaux (2003) for a critique of this tendency. EIL research is interested in the effects of the rapid spread of English around the globe (Sharifian, 2009) and tends to focus on the social and pedagogical implications of the globalization of English (e.g., Matsuda & Duran, 2012). ELF research is particularly concerned with how English is used as a common language among speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds, often focusing on linguistic pragmatics (e.g., Jenkins, 2002). Differences notwithstanding, it is clear that all three fields are interested in the diversity of English use and users around the world. An enhanced understanding of English(es) can transpire from examining contributions from these fields, and one aim of GE research is to integrate knowledge from these disciplines into one paradigm.

Yet GE is not merely a catch-all label for certain kinds of applied linguistics research. Its principles can inform English teachers working in classrooms in Japan and around the world. These principles are consolidated in a framework known as Global Englishes Language Teaching (GELT).

What is Global Englishes Language Teaching?

Recognizing the need for an epistemic break away from Western-oriented, native-speaker oriented practices in ELT (Kumaravadivelu, 2012), Galloway (and later Rose) developed a framework to guide research and curriculum innovation in a different direction. The Global Englishes Language Teaching framework (Table 1) emerged from a study with Japanese university learners (Galloway, 2011) and has been updated based on new ideas and research (Rose & Galloway, 2019). The framework clarifies the ways that traditional ELT and GELT diverge and offers suggestions on how to align teaching practice with the GE paradigm.

Key differences between traditional ELT and GELT are shown in Table 1. Noteworthy among them is the relative importance assigned to "the native speaker," who is the axis of traditional ELT. GELT challenges native speaker norms and calls for a move away from positioning the native speaker as the benchmark of success for *all* learners. In GELT, Standard English as prescribed by native speakers is not the universal default. This does not mean that Standard English has no value; GELT acknowledges that some learners need to acquire a form of Standard English for their education, career, or day-to-day life (Rose & Galloway, 2019). A needs analysis is critical to determine what kind of English should be taught in a specific classroom (Jenkins, 2012).

Table 1

The GELT Framework (Rose & Galloway, 2019, p. 21)

Focus	Traditional ELT	GELT
Target interlocutors	Native English speakers	All English users
Ownership	Inner Circle	Global
Target culture	Static NE cultures	Fluid cultures
Norms	Standard English	Diverse, flexible, and multiple forms
Teachers	Non-NE-speaking teachers (same L1) and NE-speaking teachers	Qualified, competent teachers (same and different L1s)
Role model	NE speakers	Expert users
Source of materials	NE and NE speakers	Salient English-speaking communities and contexts
Other languages and cultures	Seen as a hinderance and source of interference	Seen as a resource as with other languages in their linguistic repertoire
Needs	Inner Circle defined	Globally defined
Assessment criterion	Accuracy according to prescriptive standards	Communicative competence
Goals of learning	Native-like proficiency	Multicompetent user
Ideology	Underpinned by an exclusive and ethnocentric view of English	Underpinned by an inclusive Global Englishes perspective
Orientation	Monolingual	Multilingual/translingual

The GELT framework can serve as a guide for teachers who wish to change their teaching practices to reflect GE principles. That said, the existence of the framework by itself will not lead to change in TESOL. For widespread change to occur, teachers should be willing *and* able to use the framework for curriculum innovation.

Implementing a GELT Framework

From ELT to GELT

Rose and Galloway offer six proposals for change in TESOL based on ideas in Galloway (2011). They are reprinted below (Rose & Galloway, 2019, p. 16).

1. increase World Englishes and ELF exposure in TESOL curricula
2. emphasize respect for multilingualism in TESOL
3. raise awareness of Global Englishes in TESOL
4. raise awareness of ELF strategies in TESOL curricula
5. emphasize respect for diverse culture and identity in TESOL
6. change English language teacher hiring practices in the TESOL industry

Many of these proposals could be achieved through top-down initiatives. However, GELT curriculum innovation typically follows a bottom-up approach. Curricular innovation informed by an inclusive perspective should not be "defined one-sidedly by experts from centers of scholarship and research, divorced from pedagogical ground conditions, but must be decided in negotiation with practitioner knowledge in actual settings" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 27). Immanent innovation attuned to the local situation and based on teacher recommendations is more likely to be successful and sustainable because teachers have a sense of ownership and commitment to innovation (Galloway & Numajiri, 2020; Rubdy, 2008; Watson Todd, 2006).

Given the central position of teachers in GELT curriculum innovation, Rose and Galloway's (2019) proposals are unlikely to succeed if teachers do not perceive them to be feasible.

Barriers to GELT Innovation

Based on ideas in Galloway (2011), Rose and Galloway (2019, p. 180) suggest six barriers to GELT innovation in TESOL, and they are reprinted below:

1. attachment to standards
2. lack of awareness of alternative ideas
3. assessment
4. parental attitudes
5. lack of materials
6. teacher training

The above barriers may affect teachers' attitudes toward GELT, diminishing perceived feasibility and preventing teachers from attempting change.

Studies on Attitudes Toward GELT Innovation

In the literature on teacher attitudes toward GE, three studies directly relate to curriculum innovation and feasibility. Suzuki (2011) explored how diversity instruction affected the attitudes of three Japanese pre-service student-teachers toward introducing various Englishes in their classes. The student-teachers were taking a Japanese university course entitled Multicultural Education, and they participated in one-on-one interviews at the beginning, middle, and end of the course. According to them, English teachers in Japan should raise awareness of diverse Englishes. However, they balked at actually presenting different varieties during lessons, prefer-ring to "refer to them in passing" or "quickly mention them in class" out of a desire not to confuse students and to present a standard form of English that is "correct" and "easy to catch" (p. 150). Although caution must be taken in generalizing a case study of three student-teachers to a larger population, these findings support the notion that "attachment to standards" serves as a strong barrier to GELT curriculum innovation.

Cameron and Galloway (2019) examined the attitudes of pre- and in-service TESOL teachers, inquiring about what aspects of GELT could be introduced into the classroom today and what barriers prevented teachers from doing so. Participants were enrolled in an MSc TESOL program at a UK university, and data came from a questionnaire (*n* = 66) and semi-structured interviews with five participants taking Galloway's Global Englishes for Language Teaching course. All five interviewees declared their support for GELT; however, they were not very optimistic about curricular innovation, with one reporting that change may occur "in the very, very long run," and another admitting "I have no confidence of [change], actually" (p. 157). Participants indicated that the three greatest barriers to change are testing, textbooks, and lack of time for innovation. In an analogous study, Galloway and Numajiri (2020) explored attitudes toward GELT curriculum innovation held by pre- and in-service teachers who were enrolled in Galloway's GELT course at the same UK university. Participants completed a questionnaire (*n* = 47) and interviews (*n* = 21). Findings were parallel to those of Cam-eron and Galloway in that participants reported positive attitudes toward GELT yet misgivings about feasibility, as evident in the following comment: "There's scope for these things to work, but it'll need to wait 30 or 40 years" (p. 19). Like those of Cameron and Galloway, these findings may be biased toward a GELT perspective because they are predicated on data that came from participants who elected to take a GELT course. Nevertheless, the two

studies point to the distinction between *support* and *demand* for change toward GELT (Cameron & Galloway, 2019).

To summarize, the literature suggests that teachers may support GELT innovation in theory. In practice, they seem to be more cautious, harboring doubts about whether GELT is appropriate for their classrooms, and whether it could become widespread in TESOL. Yet these findings need substantiating. As shown in Rose et al.'s (2021) systematic review, relatively few studies examine teacher attitudes toward GELT curriculum innovation. The present study sought to address this gap by exploring attitudes toward curriculum innovation and barriers to innovation held by in-service English teachers from different contexts using a pre-test post-test intervention design. The following two research questions were addressed:

RQ1. To what extent do the in-service teachers believe in the feasibility of GELT-inspired curriculum innovation?

RQ2. According to the in-service teachers, what are barriers to implementing GELT-inspired curriculum innovation?

Methodology

This study followed a mixed-methods design "collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 32). Concurrent identical sampling was used to collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data at the same time from the same population sample (Collins et al., 2006).

Participants

Participants were recruited from the in-service teachers enrolled in the author's master's degree program in Applied Linguistics for Language Teaching, a two-year, distance/online course offered by a UK university. The course director is a GE scholar, and students were exposed to key GE concepts and given opportunities to critically evaluate issues in GELT throughout the course (primarily in the Sociolinguistics module).

Participants differed in terms of age, nationality, L1, L2, teaching experience, and teaching context. Although the majority would be classified as so-called "native-speakers" from Inner Circle countries (i.e., the UK, the US, and Canada), some would be categorized as "non-native speakers" coming from different lingua-cultural backgrounds. Figure 1 shows the breakdown of focus group participants in terms of age, L1, and teaching experience.

Figure 1
Focus Group Demographics (n = 16)
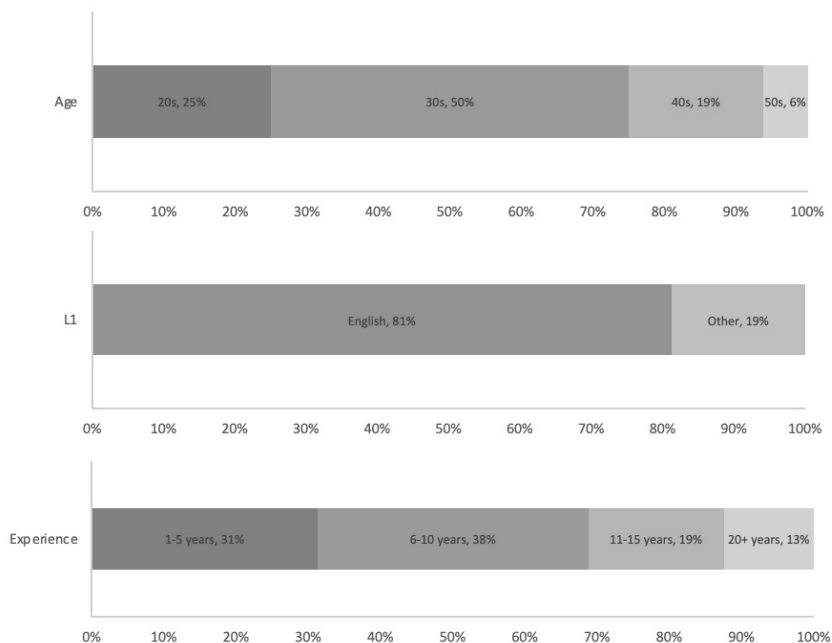
Data Collection Methods

The present study used two data collection methods: (a) a questionnaire to measure attitudes toward GE and GELT; (b) focus groups in which similar questions were discussed.

This paper reports on data gathered from the first and fourth sections of a four-part questionnaire. The first section had 12 items on a 10-point Likert scale that measured participants' views on proposals for change in ELT, followed by nine items on a 10-point Likert scale that gauged participants' views on barriers that prevent change. The fourth section of the questionnaire posed a series of open-ended questions about the feasibility or desirability of instigating change in TESOL or about barriers to change (depending on the time condition). The questionnaire was implemented online using the Qualtrics survey platform. All participants received the same version with items presented in the same order. It was estimated to take about 10 minutes to complete all four sections.

Data was also collected through focus groups conducted online through the Zoom application. Focus groups were chosen as a data collection method because the GE paradigm is based on the notion that English use and English pedagogy are socially constructed. It was determined that focus groups would be a suitable way to examine how teachers' attitudes are co-constructed and even modified through interaction with other teachers (Galloway, 2020). The decision to conduct *online* focus groups was made because of restrictions on face-to-face interaction imposed under COVID-19. When conducted synchronously on a video conferencing platform, online focus groups have been found to approximate face-to-face focus groups in terms of efficacy (Abrams & Gaiser, 2017). Therefore, the use of online focus groups was not thought to compromise the quality of data collection. An interview schedule was prepared in advance with six open-ended questions "designed to spark discussion," (Prior, 2018, p. 235). The author served as the moderator for all focus groups so that participants would feel relaxed talking with someone from the same in-group.

Procedure

The questionnaire was sent to all those enrolled in the program (*N* = 27) at the beginning of Week 5 of the Sociolinguistics module (the module that is most relevant to GE and GELT). Teachers were encouraged to complete the questionnaire by the end of the week before engaging in the content of the lesson. The return rate was 85% with 23 teachers responding. At Week 8 (the final week) of the module, the same questionnaire was sent again to teachers. The return rate was 70% with 19 teachers responding. Finally, approximately one month after the end of the module, teachers were asked to fill out the questionnaire for a final time. The return rate was 63% with 17 responding. In this way, questionnaires were delivered following a pre-/post-/delayed-post-test design.

At Week 7 (the second-to-last week) of the module, the 27 teachers in the program were contacted by the author via email and invited to participate in an online focus group taking place approximately one week after the end of the module. 16 teachers agreed to participate. Three focus groups were scheduled with 4 members in the first group and 6 members in the second and third groups.

On their scheduled date and time, participants joined the author in a Zoom meeting. The author acted as facilitator, and participants answered questions that were prepared in the interview schedule. Each focus group lasted approximately 90 minutes. With participants' consent, audio and

video of the meetings were recorded as mp4 files to the author's computer using Zoom's built-in local recording feature.

All focus groups were transcribed by the author with reference to the rules outlined in Kuckartz (2014) and focus group transcription conventions established in Galloway (2011). Transcripts and open-ended questionnaire responses were coded through Qualitative Content Analysis (Schreier, 2014), and analysis was carried out in NVivo 12. Questionnaire data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics 26.

Results

Results pertaining to each of the two research questions will be presented in turn.
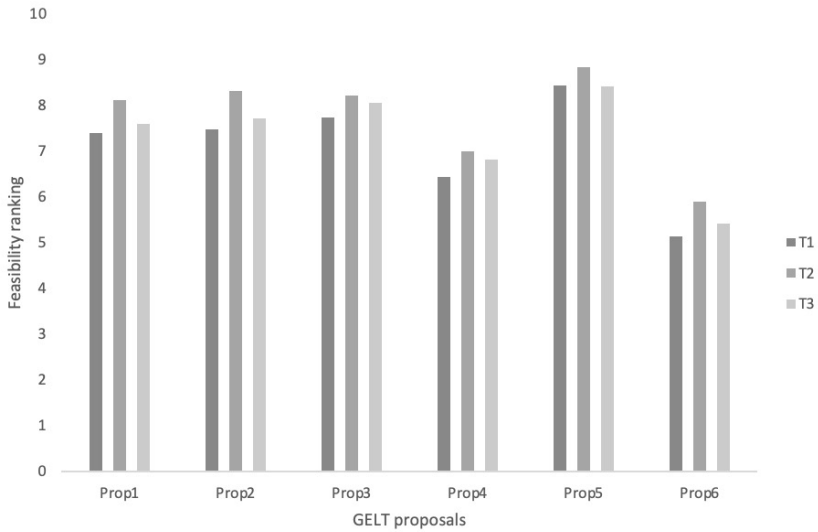
Feasibility

RQ1 asked, "To what extent do the in-service teachers believe in the feasibility of GELT-inspired curriculum innovation?"

On the questionnaire, teachers ranked the feasibility of the following six proposals for changed in TESOL:

Prop1: increasing World Englishes exposure

Prop2: emphasizing respect for multilingualism

Prop3: raising awareness of Global Englishes

Prop4: teaching ELF strategies

Prop5: emphasizing respect for diverse culture and identity

Prop6: changing English teacher hiring practices

A score of 1 is *not feasible at all* and 10 is *totally feasible*. Figure 2 summarizes the mean scores by time condition.

Figure 2
Mean Scores of Proposal Feasibility by Time Condition

Mean feasibility scores for T1 represent teacher attitudes before they received special training in GE and GELT and are reported in Table 2. T1 scores are most representative of the attitudes held by the majority of teachers, most of whom have not received a GE education.

Table 2
T1 Proposal Feasibility Scores (n = 23)

Statistic	Prop1	Prop2	Prop3	Prop4	Prop5	Prop6
Mean	7.39	7.48	7.74	6.43	8.43	5.13
SD	1.90	2.39	1.98	2.37	1.67	3.91

Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were conducted to check for significant differences in feasibility scores assigned to a given proposal between T1-T2 and T1-T3. No significant differences were found between T1-T2 or T1-T3 for any of the six proposals.

Least Feasible Proposal

Questionnaire results suggested that the in-service teachers viewed Prop6, "Changing English teacher hiring practices" as the least feasible proposal. At T1, the Prop6 mean was the lowest of all mean scores (5.13). As the scores were not normally distributed, the Friedman test was conducted, and significant differences were detected among T1 scores, $\chi^2(5) = 17.05$, $p = .004$. Post-hoc Wilcoxon signed-ranks tests with a Bonferroni adjustment showed that feasibility scores for Prop6 were significantly lower than those for Prop5 ($p = .003$).

Qualitative data reinforced the notion that teachers had doubts about Prop6. Three teachers (P6 and two anonymous questionnaire respondents) explicitly reported that Prop6 was the "least feasible" of the proposals, and two argued that changing hiring practices would be "difficult." Teachers gave various reasons as to why Prop6 has low feasibility. Some pointed out that schools are businesses that aim to serve their customers. P2 commented, "If you don't have students who want to sign up for someone who's from China speaking English, then you're not going to have a business." Many schools fail to change hiring practices in deference to the law of supply and demand (P6). Prop6 is also blocked by cultural values, as explained by one anonymous teacher at T1:

> Places that have a high demand for EFL teachers (e.g. Saudi Arabia and China) also link the ownership of the language to Inner-circle English speakers. In particular, these cultures place value of what is viewed as "correct and proper" and as a result hiring practices will not change.

Cultural values inform top-down policymaking. P12 pointed out that national policies can be hostile to changes in English teacher hiring practices, and in some countries, it is nearly impossible for a non-native-English-speaking teacher (NNEST) to acquire a visa to teach English. At the institutional level, "local NNESTs in public schools may be paid significantly less than [native-English-speaking teachers]" (anonymous, T1). As hiring is usually dependent on top-down decision making, it is not so easy to change hiring from the bottom up. This sentiment is echoed by P4:

> I think, like the others, [proposals] one to five seem to be things that you could do as an individual teacher in your own classroom [...] whereas number six obviously is out of the hands of

> many- well, the majority of English language teachers, if you're
> not in the position to hire people.

Because it is blocked from the top down and difficult to achieve from the bottom up, teachers perceived the feasibility of changing hiring practices to be low.

Interconnectedness

Overshadowing teachers' perceptions of GELT feasibility was concern over the high degree of interconnectedness within and between problems and solutions related to curricular innovation. The qualitative data produced 15 references to interconnectedness. Teachers felt that the first five proposals seemed "interlinked and equally important" (anonymous, T1), and barriers "feed into each other" (P1), creating a "vicious cycle" (P7; P8) and a "chicken and egg" dilemma (P5). Findings suggest that it is impossible to disentangle the problems facing GELT and difficult to know where to start to instigate change (P8). This can lead to inertia, as suggested by P1:

> [...] the reason things stay the same is because no one knows
> where to start. Right? It's like when you've got a really long To
> Do list. Most people will procrastinate because, oh, there's too
> much to do. Whereas actually, the most sensible thing to do
> would just be- nothing matters, just pick something.

These comments allude to the fact that a sense of interconnectedness, coupled with the lack of a clear action roadmap, negatively affect teachers' views on the feasibility of GELT innovation.

Most Feasible Proposal

Teachers ranked Prop5, "Emphasizing respect for diverse culture and identity" highest in terms of feasibility. At T1, the Prop5 mean was the highest of all mean scores (8.43). A Friedman test and post-hoc Wilcoxon signed-rank tests revealed that the Prop5 mean at T1 was significantly higher than that of Prop4 ($p = .012$) and Prop6 ($p = .003$).

It is important to note that Prop5 and Prop2 were often conflated; P1, P13, P14, and an anonymous questionnaire respondent referred to these proposals in combination. Multiple comments during focus groups suggested that these proposals would be achievable through teachers' classroom conduct. P9 argued that respect can be encouraged "verbally, just

from my personality." However, some teachers questioned the relevance of emphasizing respect in TESOL. Some had political objections, including P9 who remarked that while learning English, students "shouldn't have to be force-fed respect." P14 gave a similar comment:

> I think if we're talking about emphasizing respect for multi-lingualism, or people are talking about diverse culture and identity, and it's the CURRENT stakeholders talking about that, I think it's very problematic because it should be- that should be coming from the people who need multi- from multilingual sources.

Teachers felt disinclined to support Prop2 and Prop5 if the result is token-ism (P5) or the imposition of a set of values on learners without consideration for their needs or agency in learning (P12).

Despite these concerns, teachers overall reported that promoting awareness and respect for diversity in English is "critical" (anonymous, T1) and achievable, something that any teacher can do with relative ease (P1). As shown below in "Self-reported Change", teachers even reported implementing many of these proposals themselves, seemingly influenced by the Sociolinguistics module.

Barriers

RQ2 asked, "According to the in-service teachers, what are barriers to implementing GELT-inspired curriculum innovation?" On the questionnaire, teachers indicated the relevance of nine barriers (Bar1–Bar9) as obstacles to change.

Bar1: lack of globally oriented teaching materials

Bar2: language assessment focuses on Standard English

Bar3: my lack of knowledge of Global Englishes

Bar4: colleagues or manager's lack of knowledge of Global Englishes

Bar5: attachment to Standard English by students

Bar6: attachment to Standard English by teachers

Bar7: attachment to Standard English by parents

Bar8: teacher recruitment practices desiring "native" teachers

Bar9: students' demand for native speaker teachers

A score of 1 is *not relevant at all* and 10 is *absolutely relevant.* Figure 3 summarizes the mean relevance scores by time condition.

Figure 3

Mean Scores of Barrier Relevance by Time Condition
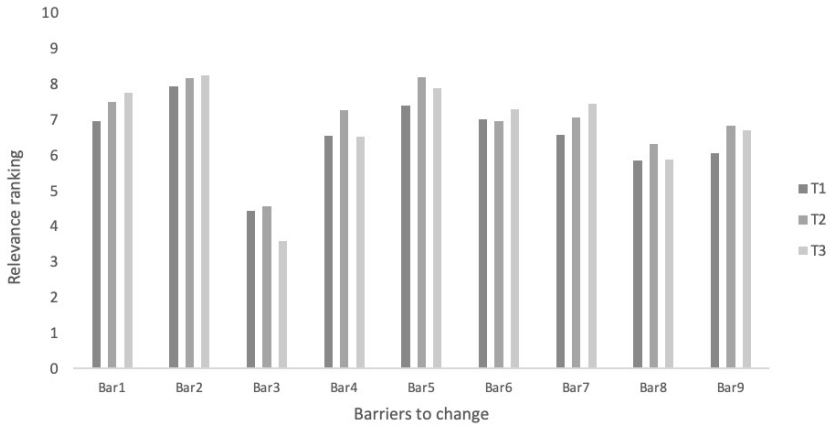
Mean relevance scores for T1 are reported in Table 3.

Table 3

T1 Barrier Relevance Scores

Statistic	Bar1	Bar2	Bar3	Bar4	Bar5	Bar6	Bar7	Bar8	Bar9
n	22	22	21	22	22	22	19	21	21
Mean	6.95	7.95	4.43	6.55	7.41	7.00	6.58	5.86	6.05
SD	3.02	2.66	2.77	2.32	2.94	2.88	3.96	3.82	2.73

Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were conducted to check for significant differences in relevance scores assigned to a given barrier between T1-T2 and T1-T3. No statistically significant differences were found between T1-T2 or T1-T3 for any of the nine barriers.

Lack of GE Knowledge

Relevance rankings indicate that Bar3 ("My lack of knowledge of Global Englishes") was perceived as the least relevant barrier. At T1, the Bar3 mean was the lowest of all mean scores (4.43). A Friedman test found significant differences among the T1 scores, $\chi^2(8) = 23.79$, $p = .002$. Post-hoc Wilcoxon

signed-ranks tests with a Bonferroni adjustment found that feasibility scores for Bar3 were significantly lower than those for Bar1 (p = .004), Bar2 (p = .001), Bar4 (p = .004), Bar5 (p = .006) and Bar6 (p = .006). These findings suggest that the teachers did not perceive their own lack of understanding as a barrier to GELT-inspired curriculum innovation. Indeed, this potential barrier was not mentioned in any of the focus groups or open-ended questionnaire responses.

Yet, although teachers perceived Bar3 to be the least relevant barrier to curriculum innovation, data suggest that some teachers were in fact confused about certain aspects of GE. For example, P8 misunderstood GE as merely pertaining to pronunciation without appreciating that GE also accounts for flexibility in other areas such as grammar and vocabulary. A number of teachers (e.g., P5, P15, anonymous at T3) incorrectly suggested that ELF is a variety of English that can be spoken and taught. P1 seemed to understand Global English as a variety unto itself.

In the end, Bar3 (lack of knowledge of GE) could be a barrier to GELT-oriented curriculum innovation, all the more because teachers are not cognizant of the barrier's existence. If teachers disseminate incomplete or incorrect information to their administrators, colleagues, or students, it could result in widespread misunderstanding of GE and possibly lead to the adoption of curricula that are misaligned with GELT principles.

Assessment

Teachers perceived assessment to be a highly relevant barrier to change. Bar2 ("Language assessment focuses on Standard English") had the highest overall mean score at T1 (7.95), although it must be noted that at both T1 and T2, there were no significant differences between Bar2 scores and scores for other barriers except Bar3 (see above).

In open-ended responses, three anonymous teachers implicated assessment as the single greatest barrier to change. During the focus groups, assessment was said to be "the thing that is holding this back the most" (P5) and "the only real barrier I have" (P7).

Teachers reported that standardized tests as barriers are deeply entrenched due to the fact that they are often "used for things other than assessing language," (P12). The TOEIC test and other English assessments are used to rank employees and determine eligibility for pay raises and promotions in nations like Japan and South Korea (P12; P15). Such tests are also used to establish cutoffs for admission and graduation at universities

worldwide (P13; P16). Because assessments based on Standard English are vital to the academic and professional lives of many English learners, teachers who wish to serve their students cannot easily switch away from them, P3 argues:

> So why are we throwing in all these other bells and whistles that the teacher thinks are Global-English-based or culturally enlightening? And the students are saying, "No, no, you're not helping me pass X exam." Because it's standardized English.

This comment highlights the fact that without pressure from the bottom up, top-down changes in assessment are unlikely. P15 concurs:

> [...] if we get newer tests that [sic] it could actually be a way to change to Global English more, but first before that we would need the WANT for those exams. And that might not happen until there's more of a bigger societal shift in perspective. (emphasis in original)

As mentioned here by P15, teachers also viewed assessment as an avenue for curriculum innovation. Washback from assessment could have a positive impact on the spread of GE. P16 contended that if individual teachers changed classroom assessments to focus on communicability, it could enable GELT-inspired curriculum innovation because teachers often create syllabi working backwards from the endpoint of assessment.

However, teachers judged the feasibility of changing assessment, especially standardized assessment, to be low. P12 remarked, "That's going to lose a lot of money for the testing companies. It's going to lose a lot of money for the schools that teach to those tests." To change the status quo could jeopardize profits, so there is little incentive to change assessment from the top down. With no push from the bottom up, change is unlikely to happen. Thus, assessment remains a deep-rooted barrier to GELT-oriented change.

Lack of Teaching Materials

Bar1 ("Lack of globally oriented teaching materials") was middling in terms of perceived relevance as a barrier to change. At T1, it was ranked fourth most relevant ($M = 6.95$). Qualitative data suggest that technology partially accounts for this lower ranking. The internet provides teachers with access to "a plethora of material" that is GELT-aligned (P3). A number

of teachers mentioned using online articles and audio/video clips to supplement required coursebooks. P9 argued:

> Even when we have courses that are pre-canned courses or the teacher CAN'T change anything, they always bring value added, which means they can add a different reading, they can add a different YouTube, they can add a different mp3, whatever it is. (emphasis in original)

Moreover, teachers expressed recognition of their own agency in the creation of materials. P1, who used to work at an academic publishing house, emphasized that teachers are able to impact the creation of textbooks through voicing their opinions, as "publishers look more to social media than you would think in terms of what is wanted out there." Some teachers acknowledged that they do not have to wait to start publishing GELT-oriented materials online. P5 argued that "there are ways for us to act now without waiting for some publishing contract from a company," suggesting a blog or Twitter as platforms for sharing resources.

In summary, teachers reported that the internet allows for greater flexibility in choosing classroom materials and increases the potential for sharing GELT-oriented materials among teachers. Possibly for these reasons Bar1 was perceived as less of a relevant barrier to change.

English as a Commodity

Qualitative data illuminated additional barriers that were not addressed in the quantitative data. One such barrier was "English as a commodity" which was referred to 14 times in the data. As discussed in "Assessment", teachers felt that the desire to make money or the fear of losing money props up the status quo in TESOL and eliminates the impetus for top-down change. P16 remarked:

> Money plays a role, or you can say like, neo-liberal, global capitalism plays a role, or whatever. [...] It's really hard to make a change because a lot of us work for an institution that profits off the traditional ELT model, and one of the- like, the way of making money is completely based around that model.

To protect their profits, institutions resist changes in hiring (5 references), in materials (2 references), and in assessment (5 references). Moreover, because the messages sent by these institutions are supportive of Standard

English and native speaker norms, the average English learner must accept them to succeed, "buying into it to secure their future," (P11). Due to the commodification of English, buyers and sellers have become loyal to traditional ELT norms, which precludes GELT-inspired innovation.

Intolerance

In the qualitative data, teachers made 10 references to intolerance as a barrier to change. Here, "intolerance" and "discrimination in hiring" are differentiated (although intolerance certainly leads to hiring discrimination). Intolerance manifests as ingrained biases and prejudices (see P3), preferences toward homogeneity (see anonymous at T1), and racism (see P10). Intolerance and attachment to Standard English are typically intertwined, as evident in this comment by one teacher at T1: "The largest barriers are student attitudes, including outright racism and suspicious [sic] of nonnative models of speech." P5 echoes this comment when discussing learner reactions to examples of non-standard English:

> I just saw an app store review of our app with someone complaining about the Indian accents in our course saying, "This is how we're meant to learn English? From INDIANS?" giving us a one-star review. (emphasis in original)

When stakeholders including learners, teachers, parents, and school administrators lack tolerance for diversity, GE and GELT have little chance of being accepted.

Self-reported Change

It is worth noting that after taking the Sociolinguistics module, some teachers reported having made changes in their classroom conduct. Many said that they had started talking with their students about GE, specifically about different varieties of English (P4), issues of language ownership (P13), and native speaker norms (P15). P8 reported that she now takes more care in her word choice, recounting that she used to ask students, "Would you like to try a class with a native speaker?" Now she asks, "Would you like to try to talk to someone who doesn't speak your first language?" She was inspired to change her wording to "send a message about what I personally believe about native speakers and the importance of talking to them." P7 mentioned feeling more comfortable now using students' L1 during class.

According to teachers, they had considered such ideas before, but now they feel empowered to translate their ideas into actions.

Moreover, a number of teachers spoke about plans to create new courses or new modules that explicitly address or incorporate aspects of GE and GELT (e.g., P2; P7; P11). Some teachers reported that they had already implemented GE-inspired activities in their classrooms, for example, listening to non-native speakers and discussing perceptions of pronunciation (P12) or researching different English varieties within the UK and around the world (anonymous, T2). Others reported modifying teaching materials, incorporating more audio samples of various Englishes (P5; P10). A few teachers specifically made reference to Galloway and Rose's 2018 study (introduced in the module) in which students gave presentations on a chosen variety of English. They stated that they either wanted to replicate or already had replicated this activity in their own contexts (P2; P11; P16). Coincidentally, these self-reported curricular innovations align with Prop1, Prop2, Prop3, and Prop5, which were rated as highly feasible on the questionnaire. These findings will be given more consideration in the Discussion section.

Discussion

In-service teachers had mixed views on the feasibility of GELT innovation. They judged proposals for change to be moderately feasible, with mean scores generally ranging from 6 to 8 out of 10. Some even reported attempting curricular innovation themselves, and their innovations corresponded with the proposals that they rated most highly.

At the same time, teachers expressed pessimism about the prospects of GELT going mainstream. Like in Cameron and Galloway (2019) and Galloway and Numajiri (2020), teachers in the present study had difficulty imagining that GELT could become the standard for ELT in the near future. This pessimism may stem from a sense of powerlessness in the face of an "overly complex" problem (see Brown, 1993) impeded by tightly interconnected barriers.

Teachers generally confirmed the barriers to innovation that had been previously established. They also noted three additional ones. As these three barriers have yet to appear in the literature on GELT, they merit further discussion.

Political objections seem to be one reason why people do not adopt GELT ideas. If the spread of GE and GELT is viewed as an ideological crusade or an outgrowth of linguistic imperialism, then people will resist. Although re-

searchers believe GE to be an inclusive paradigm that prioritizes the needs of learners and stakeholders (Rose & Galloway, 2019), advocates transmitting information about GE from the top down risk being perceived as dogmatic, forcing a respectful and inclusive paradigm upon others. Overzealous GE education could repel supporters and create a schism between the goals of GE and the image of GE as perceived by those outside the GE research field.

Intolerance also prevents people from adopting GELT. As a field, TESOL is by no means impervious to racism (Gerald, 2020). People actively discriminate against those who speak non-standard forms of English (Orelus, 2020), and linguistic prejudice is often tangled with racial and cultural prejudice (De Costa, 2020). To decrease intolerance in TESOL, it is important to promote GE ideas; however, GE ideas are rejected due to intolerant attitudes. The question is: How to break the cycle? In all likelihood, the intolerance barrier will never truly disappear. Intolerance is bigger than TESOL. It reinforces other barriers and is reinforced in turn. The best way to weaken intolerance may be to dismantle other barriers first and begin to introduce GE from the ground up. Yet as discussed earlier, it is difficult to know where to start.

The commodification of English also acts as a barrier to GELT innovation. Commercially, there is no denying that the native speaker is a selling point for English educational businesses (Seargeant, 2009), and industry players have a vested interest in traditional ELT which supports this business model. GELT endangers the hegemony of the native speaker, which threatens companies, publishing houses, schools, and institutions that maintain profitability by representing and selling the native-speaker standard. Overcoming a barrier rooted in capitalism and neo-liberalism will be extremely difficult because these systems are bigger than TESOL and are taken for granted (see Holborow, 2012). One thing is clear: The solution is *not* the commodification of GELT, as GELT is not a teaching method, it is not one-size-fits-all, and it cannot be prescribed and sold to teachers en masse. Yet one can imagine GELT being co-opted and used to serve the interests of the current establishment, who, in a bid to protect the status quo, repackage and sell a slightly modified version of traditional ELT under the GELT brand.

The aforementioned barriers come from the top down, and their existence may all but eliminate the possibility of top-down innovation. However, teachers felt that there is still hope for bottom-up change. They indicated their personal support of GELT and the desire to innovate their own practices, demonstrating that they believe in the feasibility of action on an individual basis. They also suggested that bottom-up change is made possible through

technology. Specifically, they cited how the "lack of materials" barrier can be overcome by using GE-oriented resources and materials from the web, and how it is possible to demand change in TESOL through social media.

In fact, other studies support technology as a way to drive GELT innovation in the classroom. For example, Kohn (2018) advocates for the use of intercultural telecollaboration to help learners develop ELF competence. Ke and Cahyani (2014) report on the effectiveness of email, instant messaging, and online forums at fostering ELF interactions and introducing an ELF perspective to learners. As these studies and additional studies highlighted in Rose et al. (2021) suggest, technology has pedagogical potential for teachers who wish to incorporate GELT into their practice. Because internet-based tools can be adopted with relative ease in classrooms around the world, and because the internet enables quick and easy sharing of resources and know-how, it is conceivable that technology-based classroom innovations can spread on a grassroots level to spark change on a grander scale.

Another way to drive GELT innovation may be through teacher training. Cameron and Galloway (2019) suggested that teacher training could be one way to convert support for GELT into demand for GELT. It appears that after taking the Sociolinguistics module, teachers were galvanized to change their behavior and their curricula. However, further research is necessary to investigate the effects of GE teacher training on teacher attitudes and behavior.

Calls for Future Research

Future studies should explore the relationship between GE teacher training and perceived feasibility of GELT innovation as well as the relationship between GE teacher training and teachers' decisions to adopt (or not adopt) GELT in their classrooms. Ideally, such research would follow a more longitudinal design with multiple delayed post-tests conducted after the course, including those taken after an interval of more than a few months, to establish long-term effects (Rose et al., 2021). If focus groups are used, then more than three groups may be necessary to ensure data saturation (Galloway, 2020). Furthermore, to determine whether teacher training can lead to effective GELT innovation, researchers must not simply rely on self-reported data. It is necessary to observe teachers in the classroom after they have completed training to see whether they actually made pedagogical changes or curricular innovations in line with GELT. If future studies triangulate results using questionnaires, interviews or focus groups, and classroom observations, then robust findings can be reported with significant practical implications.

Conclusion

TESOL professionals in Japan and across Asia stand to benefit from adopting a GELT perspective. Particularly in these contexts, most English learners will not go on to use English exclusively with so-called "native speakers". Many of them will use English as a common language alongside individuals from different Asian nations, with fellow speakers of the same L1, and/or with others who learned English later in life. Traditional ELT fails to serve learners by not preparing them for such real-world English interactions; GELT is better positioned to serve diverse learners with different needs. Yet whether teachers are willing and able to adopt GELT ideas remains uncertain. The present study sought to assess the practicality of GELT curriculum innovation by investigating in-service teacher perceptions of GELT proposal feasibility and their perceptions regarding barriers to change.

Findings suggested that teachers found GELT curriculum innovation to be somewhat feasible. Though it seems unlikely that innovation would be implemented from the top down, individual teachers are capable of making changes in their own classrooms. Teacher training may be able to encourage individuals to adopt new ideas; however, more research must be conducted to test this idea.

Despite the barriers and norms that would oppose GELT, this study suggests that innovation at the micro level (in classrooms) and at the macro level (across TESOL) is not impossible from the bottom up.

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