Alan Benson

Where do you come from?

How trainee teachers from outside the UK are recognised and develop an authoritative voice as teachers in London schools

► **About the author**   ► **Key words**

Policy concerns about the structure of the teaching workforce to reflect the super-diverse nature of the pupil population in London, combined with teacher shortages specifically in mathematics, has resulted in a significant number of those training to be mathematics teachers on the Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) route having gained their first degree at universities outside the UK. It is common for such trainee teachers to perceive mathematics as an international language and therefore ignore the part that language plays in the both the learning of mathematics itself and more generally in the classroom, particularly in the recognition of their own difference. This paper explores how they, and teachers in their first year of teaching, are recognised as different by drawing on qualitative data in which they discuss their experiences of difference in London classrooms characterised, in the title of this article, by a question they are often asked: 'Where are you from?' I find that the institutional setting and history of individual schools, combined with features associated with language and mobility described by Jan Blommaert (2010) are initially associated with difficulties of maintaining a teacher identity in classrooms as a result of recognition and the power which can be assumed by pupils as native speakers. I go on to examine how trainees manage this by developing authoritative speech (Philips, 2004) to which pupils listen and I identify the strategies of fitting into local expectations and challenging them in order for teachers to find new identity positions for themselves and subsequent recognition by pupils.

Hvaðan kemur þú? Hvernig erlendir kennaranemar í Bretlandi valdeflast og fá viðurkenningu sem kennarar í skólum Lundúnaborgar

► **Um höfund** ► **Efnisorð**

Stefna um samsetningu kennarahópsins og hvernig hann getur mætt gríðar-legum fjölbreytileika nemendahópa í London er nokkuð áhyggjuefni. Í kjölfar vaxandi skorts á stærðfræðikennurum hafa sífellt fleiri stærðfræðikennarar sem hafa grunnmenntun úr háskólum utan Bretlands (UK) útskrifast með kennara-réttindi (Post Graduate Certificate of Education, PGCE). Það er fremur algengt að þessir kennaranemar líti á stærðfræði sem alþjóðlegt tungumál og horfi því framhjá því hlutverki sem tungumálið spilar bæði þegar kemur að stærðfræði-námi og almennt í kennslustofunni. Ekki hvað síst þegar þeir líta í eigin barm. Í þessari grein er skoðað hvernig kennaranemarnir og kennarar á fyrsta starfs-ári, eru taldir vera frábrugðnir. Athugunin er byggð á eigindlegum gögnum þar sem kennarar ræða reynslu sína af því að vera frábrugðnir sem kennarar í London. Leiðarljós rannsóknarinnar birtist í titli greinarinnar og endurspeglast í spurningu sem þeir fá gjarnan: „Hvaðan ert þú?" Höfundi virðist sem stofn-anasamhengi og saga einstakra skóla, ásamt þáttum sem tengjast tungumáli og hreyfanleika eins og lýst er af Jan Blommaert (2010), séu í byrjun tengd við erfiðleika við að varðveita eigin sjálfsmynd í kennslustofunni á grundvelli viðurkenningar og það vald nemenda sem ætla má að fylgi því að tala innlent tungumál. Höfundur skoðar hvernig kennaranemar ráða fram úr aðstæðunum með því að þróa með sér valdræðu (e. *authoritative speech*) (Philips, 2004) sem nemendur taka mark á og greinir þá aðferð sem notuð er við að mæta stað-bundnum væntingum og takast á við þær í þeim tilgangi að kennarinn finni sitt hlutverk og öðlist tilhlýðilega viðurkenningu nemenda.

Introduction

London, from the declarations of the Mayor Boris Johnson to the celebrations of street food and restaurants, has come to be a global city not only in the centre of its financial district and economic hub but in the comings and goings of daily life. It is a city in which: "More than a third of Londoners were born outside the UK" (Greater London Authority [GLA], 2013) and where: "22.1 per cent of Londoners list a language other than English as their main language, a total of 1.73 million people" (GLA, 2011). These are but two axes of diversity further complicated by, for example, gender, age, and religion, a cate-gory which may include different devotions, which has resulted in:

> a contemporary situation of 'super-diversity'- named so in order to underline the fact that such a permutation marks a level and kind of complexity surpass-ing what Britain has previously experienced. (Vertovec, 2006, p. 23)

New migrants from the European Union, and other migrants from Commonwealth countries and across the world go about their daily lives at work and play in what Gilroy (2004) has described as 'convivial cosmopolitanism'. Some seek to pursue their am-bitions of becoming teachers, or take up their former careers, by joining a university Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) course which offers both training in the pedagogy of a particular subject and experience of teaching in schools. This paper focusses upon the way in which trainees develop a voice which "allows them to get things done" (Blommaert, 2005), as mathematics teachers in London schools and will, in this setting, draw upon the use of 'authoritative speech', which Susan Philips (2004) deve-loped in her studies in classrooms in the USA. In so doing, it will focus on the contrast between 'convivial cosmopolitanism' and the, at times, uncomfortable recognitions and constraints of performing the role of a mathematics teacher in London schools.

Mathematics is a popular choice as a subject for teachers from outside the UK, in part because of its perceived universality which many initially refer to as an 'international language' without being aware of the different beliefs about the subject (Andrews & Hatch, 2006), which inform the practices and pedagogies of school teaching in England. During their PGCE, trainee teachers begin to realise, and come to terms with, the limitations of their previous conceptualisations of mathematics as an international language, as well as the particularities of curriculum and expectations of working as a mathematics teacher in London schools. Combined with the challenges and difficulties of learning how to perform their own identities as mathematics teachers, their difference is often recognised in classrooms when pupils ask the question 'Where are you from?' at more or less appropriate, and therefore manageable, moments. Further to such possible challenges to the particular power dynamics of a classroom, the question may open particular questions of identity which might have been unconsidered by the trainees and affect evolving relationships and interactions with pupils in a variety of different ways.

This paper will examine how language resources and ideologies are part of classroom recognitions and how, over time, trainees may develop teacher identities which allow them to respond to such questions with confidence in the course of their everyday classroom practice. In so doing, it will show how a framework of analysis drawn from applied linguistics can illuminate the classroom performances of both teachers and pupils and it is to a discussion of the main tools of this analysis to which I shall now turn.

Background and framework for analysis

The participants in the sample are all performing their teacher identities in English and I will use an analysis drawing upon linguistic ethnography (Rampton, 2009) to describe and discuss these performances.

The expectation of "high standards of literacy, articulacy and the correct use of standard English, whatever the teacher's specialist subject" (Department for Education [DfE], 2011) is part of the performative regime of observations of classroom teaching by both school staff and university staff which are an integral part of PGCE training. As a teacher in England, language resources in English, which might elsewhere have been a source of pride, may become a cause for concern. It is an illustration of how the mobile resources of language do not necessarily travel well in the process of migration. Jan Blommaert (2010), describes the local and national spaces across which people move in the process of migration as being structured in terms of different orders of indexicality which organise linguistic resources both in terms of the way meaning is negotiated and, in the case of those migrating to the UK, the effect of the powerful ideology of the Standard English. It will be used to discuss the ways in which trainees can experience how their hard won proficiency in English, which may have been considered a mark of distinction elsewhere, becomes a mark of difference which may lead to inequality in their work as teachers in English classrooms.

I will draw on the perspective of Rosina Lippi-Green (1997) to discuss how pronunciation and accent can be both an impediment to mathematical communication, and a way in which power can shift in classroom dialogue. There were also differences in the sample for this paper in the length of time that trainees had been in the UK, and I will use Blommaert's (2010) notion of polycentricity to discuss how trainees, particularly those who had been in the UK for a relatively short period of time, were influenced in the moment of speaking by the assumptions of other authorising centres drawn from both their linguistic and work experiences.

I will use the notion of a participation framework (Goffman, 1981) to highlight how the complex, and sometimes sudden power changes, which may result from the differing interpretations between the intended, ratified audience and those of other, non-ratified pupils in the classroom, occur. Furthermore, the focus on participation frameworks will give an insight into how Blommaert's orders of indexicality are subject to change and modification in the course of local interactions and practices as described by Suresh Canagarajah (2013). It will thereby provide a framework in which to analyse the ebbs and flows of power in terms of the 'participation status' (Goffman, 1981), of both teachers and pupils in a classroom. Further to this, it will allow for a discussion of how, over the time of the PGCE course and their first years in teaching, trainee teachers develop the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) to perform an authoritative voice which is recognised as that of a teacher and which matches their own sense of professional and personal purpose:

> Authoritative speech refers to the idea that by speaking in a particular style which is highly valued and/or associated with authority, or by speaking from within a particular discourse genre that is authoritative or associated with authoritative people a speaker is more persuasive, more convincing and more attended to. (Philips, 2004, p.475)

Research practices and participants

This paper draws on data from a qualitative study of the experiences of PGCE trainees during their training year, some of whom were also interviewed after their first year in teaching. The purposive sample of 18 who participated were all, with the exception of two, from a post-1992 university in central London; the remaining two were from a university department in the suburbs of the city. Training bursaries for the PGCE course are available for any trainee from within the European Union and there are many opportunities for employment as a mathematics teacher in London after qualification.

Table 1 – Characteristics of members of the sample referred to in this paper.				
Pseudonym	**Gender**	**Languages spoken other than English**	**Country where first degree awarded**	**Country of previous teaching experience if any**
Imane	F	Arabic, French	Algeria	Algeria
Christophe	M	French, German	Cameroon	Cameroon
Dieter	M	German	Germany	None
Pilvi	F	Finnish	Finland	Finland
Ossasune	F	Basque, Spanish	Spain	None
Semye	F	Hindi	India	India
Giana	F	Italian	Italy	None
Doina	F	Romanian	Romania	None

The gender imbalance in this sample arises from the demands of exemplification for the purposes of this paper and was not a feature of the original research sample. The variety of the languages spoken and country where the first degree was gained is an aspect of the super-diversity of London, and particularly that of the university in central London, where all but Giana and Ossaune studied. Super-diversity or "the diversification of diversity" (Vertovec, 2006, p.1), represents not only languages spoken and countries where mathematics had previously been studied but also, for example, the range of migration statuses and experiences which were part of each individual's personal biography. Both Semye and Christophe came from Anglophone post-colonial countries in contrast to the other trainees who had learnt English, in the first instance, as a foreign language before using it in the course of their own academic studies or work experience in the UK. There was a wide variation of time spent in the UK before starting the course ranging from Pilvi who arrived just before the course began to Ossasune and Giana who had worked in the country for over five years before deciding upon a career change.

The themes for this paper are drawn from fifteen semi-structured in-depth interviews, each of which lasted for approximately one hour. When involving participants during their PGCE year there were two interviews: after their first school placement and their second school placement when they had been responsible for teaching mathematics to pupils in the schools to which they had been assigned. For those who were working as qualified teachers there was one interview. The participants were given the opportunity to choose where the interview was conducted and I explained that my role was as researcher with a view to addressing issues of power and the possibilities of bias resulting from my position of being their university lecturer and course leader. The questions were organised into broad themes. These related to the participants' initial experiences in their role as classroom mathematics teachers and the way in which they subsequently adjusted these performances in the light of the recognitions of pupils and the observations of other mathematics staff and colleagues specifically tasked, as mentors, to be part of the participants' professional training. The transcripts were subject to an analysis which identified common themes and it is from these transcripts that the exemplifications used in this paper have been taken.

Discussion and analysis of the data

The rest of the paper shows how the analytical tools that I described earlier can be used to discuss the strategies the participants in the research used to develop authoritative speech (Philips, 2004) as teachers. Reference to them will therefore be interwoven throughout the analysis.

First I will discuss issues arising from English as a mobile language resource, drawing upon Blommaert's (2010), analysis of Global Englishes, of orders of indexicality, polycentricity and pronunciation. I will trace the effect of ensuing recognitions on the participation framework of the classroom (Goffman, 1981). I will then go on to consider how the respondents developed professional and institutional linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) and, in some cases, actively engaged in unsettling the locally prevalent orders of indexicality in their classrooms. I will discuss how this directly affected their performances in the participation framework of the classroom, thereby contributing to the development of an authoritative teacher voice.

Global Englishes

All respondents learnt English outside the UK. Some like Pilvi and Dieter learnt English as a second language at school, which was developed in the context of their needs for university study and leisure purposes. Others, for example Semye, had learnt English both in schools and by using, on a daily basis, a local English inflected, in accent and

various dimensions of vocality including tone and rhythm, by local languages. These Global Englishes, which may have been markers of personal pride or high prestige, in the move to the UK may now become, in the indexicalities of England, markers of low prestige (Blommaert, 2005), as represented by Christophe's experience:

> My English at the start of it I thought it was here 'The Queen's Language'. I was just speaking the English as the English, what my students would call the 'dictionary English'. They tell me that "Sir, that's dictionary English", and I will tell them, "No it's the Queen's language". I say "It's not Cockney" and they will start laughing. I said, "I don't speak Cockney, I speak the Queen's language". They say like, "Yes Sir because your language is too direct, too straight, it just…you don't say anything that's not in the dictionary. (Christophe)

Christophe's reference to the Queen's English is a reference not only to the standard English in Teaching Standard 3 of the Teaching Standards (DfE, 2011), by which teachers in England are assessed, but also adds the note of distinction (Bourdieu, 1991) endowed by 'Queen's English', the legitimate language of the Southern Cameroons during British colonial period, which Christophe imagined, at first, was the language spoken by the English in England. When he travelled there Christophe found that this prestigious variety, which had become even more so in the language struggles of the Anglophone minority in the newly independent Cameroon when French became the legitimate national language, was no longer prestigious and a marker of distinction. Infected by his own French accent Christophe's negative evaluative stance (Jaffe, 2009) towards Cockney, representing the local language of Londoners, seemed only to be a source of amusement for the pupils, and hence, a source of instability in the participation framework of the classroom. Instead of an assumed source of authoritative speech, (Philips, 2004), his language seems to be a threat in terms of its syntax and tone of its delivery. Instead of inspiring pupils, Christophe's pride in Queen's English is derided by the contemptuous phrase 'dictionary English', (Christophe). It indicates a loss of power in terms of the local orders of indexicality (Blommaert, 2010), which resulted in this class-room in his 'dictionary English' being at a lower level than either Christophe or the Teaching Standards anticipated. More than this, and with ongoing effects on the production of language itself, is the personal doubt sown by the discovery of the new found inadequacies of an English of which you were proud, encapsulated by Dieter's comment:

> When I came to the UK, I felt completely disabled because I couldn't express myself at all in the way I would like to. (Dieter)

Dieter's use of the phrase 'couldn't express myself' (Dieter), is slightly at odds with Christophe who felt he could express himself perfectly, indeed in the Queen's English, and reflects the situation of somebody whose first language was not English. It is a useful contrast between English learnt by non-native speakers listed in the sample, and Global Englishes, themselves positioned by histories of colonialism and the powerful mono-lingual ideology (Canagarajah, 2013) of Standard English. Nonetheless, Dieter draws attention to the way in which a speaker is a "body engaged in acoustic activity" (Goffman, 1981, p.144), and the ways in which the insecurities experienced by himself and Christophe affect the physical production of sound for speakers of Global Englishes and other non-native speakers.

Polycentricity

The sudden source of instability in Christophe's account of the Queen's English can also result from shifts in reference as brought about by what Blommaert refers to as polycentricity:

> Each time one orients towards other centres of authority offering ideal-types
> of norms of appropriateness criteria, as it is called in pragmatics: the places
> where 'good' discourse about these topics is made. (Blommaert, 2010, p.39)

In the case of trainees this authorising centre may be outside the UK and be shaped by the categories and dispositions of previous experiences of teaching.

I had the opportunity to meet Pilvi in Helsinki where she had successfully found employment as a teacher after her PGCE year and, laughing, she reflected that her first words to her first class as part of a PGCE school placement were:

> Hello. My name is Pilvi. (Pilvi)

Back in a school in Helsinki she, and other teachers, were routinely addressed by their first name by all pupils. Unfamiliar with the practices and forms of address between pupils and teachers in English schools Pilvi referred, in the very moment of utterance, to the Finnish authorising centre. In London, UK, teachers would not refer to themselves in front of pupils by their first name and indeed frequently, much to the discomfort of other trainees, refer to each by the honorific title, (Deckert & Vickers, 2011), of ' Miss' and 'Sir' in all exchanges throughout the day in order to avoid this happening. This honorific, with its sense of hierarchy in all parts of London schools, is in contrast to the sense of trust (Sahlberg, 2007), which is a much valued feature of the Finnish educational system. It indicates the power and complexity of the authorising centres in all aspects of communication and practice. Like the case of Christophe, the immediate outcome was a change in power relations in which Pilvi's unfamiliarity with UK practices was recognised and from which she had to recover. She remembered the effects of this loss of professional front (Goffman, 1990) which was all the more distressing because Pilvi had already worked as a teacher in Finland: "It's frustrating, of course, like it's a stupid feeling", (Pilvi), and the effect of recalling these memories was very difficult, as I wrote in my notebooks:

> Tearful and physically the memory of it displayed itself on her body. She was
> overcome with this emotion which was difficult to articulate and one suspects
> would have been so in Finnish. (Alan Benson 17022011 Field Notes)

The effect of this memory some eighteen months after the event and, despite being initially contextualised by laughter, attests to the emotional effect of such events similar to the ones Dieter described. It is an emotional effect which marks the boundary of the body in the way that Ahmed (2004) describes in her description of the circulation of emotion and is a hint of the physically debilitating effect for Pilvi of this 'stupid feeling' at the moment she was a teacher in the classroom.

Long practice of producing sounds in other contexts and languages also affected the sounds which individuals made in pronouncing English, which could also lead to sudden affects in professional front (Goffman, 1990) and it is to a consideration of the effects of pronunciation on participation frameworks that I shall now turn.

Pronunciation

Although recent arrivals to the UK like Pilvi and Imane were prepared for issues of recognition and categorisation concerning their accent, others were taken by surprise if, like Ossasune, they had worked in the UK for a considerable period:

> I didn't went into all the details of the culture differences and, you know, the
> perception of people about me as a foreigner. I was pretty confident always

because I've been working in the pharmaceutical sector for many years.
(Ossasune)

It is difficult to describe in text the sound of pronunciation, but it connects language direct-ly to time, to a moment characterised by Maggie MacLure as the "fleshy connections of language and the untidy one off contingencies of performance" (MacLure, 2003, p. 40). These moments "cannot be sensibly divorced from listening, […] which involves the con-ditions of reception" (Miller, 2004, p. 294), and as such emphasises the different role of hearers, both ratified and non-ratified (Goffman, 1981), in the participation framework with the potential for the sudden of breakdown (Goffman, 1972), through the back channels of non-ratified communication.

This sudden intrusion of pronunciation of a name last enunciated in Africa and repro-duced again for the first time in a UK classroom is well described by Christophe:

> In Africa we say "Samwell" ...Samwell. And Samwell is doing something wrong,
> so I'll tell him "Samwell stop that". "Excuse me, Sir, my name is not Samwell,
> my name is Samuel". It has shattered the way from trying to control a particular
> behavioural management to you. And kids start laughing, everybody start...
> they join in, you lose it then. I had to go out to learn how to pronounce those
> names. (Christophe)

This shows the importance of the honorific name to an individual and the particular diffi-culties that these bring if they have been learnt in other circumstances. In addition to the implied disrespect that this brings is the way that Christophe's difference in pronunciation gives the native speaker (Canagarajah, 2013) power of correction over Christophe, parti-cularly in the context of what Canagarajah characterises as a "monolingual orientation" (Canagarajah, 2013, p.19) not characterised by negotiation. The effect of this switch of power quickly snowballs because in the participation frame of the classroom hearing is not limited to Samuel, the ratified hearer but "over-hearers" (Goffman, 1981, p. 129), themselves native speakers, who take Samuel's part. What might have been a simple matter of adaptation by Samuel quickly becomes one that is out of control in the wake of the power switch of assumed by native speakers. Entangled in the assumptions of the ideology of native speakers may be other sedimented assumptions derived from the colonialist period, a time when "the language of the colonized subjects is routinely deemed inarticulate, primitive or sub-human by the colonialists" (MacLure, 2003, p. 34), and now played out in London classrooms. These assumptions are challenging, not only in terms of the pronunciation, but may also be a direct challenge to the teacher's mathe-matical ability shown in the following excerpt from Semye who had been a teacher in India before migrating to London to join her husband under the Highly Skilled Migrants Programme:

> '[…] each and every word I am saying they are just kind of "Miss this is not how
> to pronounce... you pronounce like 'this'" and I was telling, "But you know what
> I'm saying about, for example square, for example area of the square" and
> "Miss you can't pronounce like this, you can say..." "Of course I understand, my
> apologies, but you know what I am telling". (Semye)

Semye's apology for her language marks a complete reversal of the expected role and authority system of the participation system of a classroom, in which part of the role of a teacher is to set work for pupils. This incident was complicated by the fact that Semye was working as a supply teacher in an all-white school outside London where few teachers of colour worked.

Both these incidents indicate the way in which recognitions and articulations of race and neo-colonialist discourses combine with the power of native speaker and monolingual ideologies of standard English to cause particular difficulties for teachers of colour.

I shall now turn to discuss situations where teachers were able to manage recognition in ways which allowed them to perform the role of a teacher (Goffman, 1972) without facing the sudden switches of power resulting from Global Englishes, polycentricity and pronunciation which I have described in this section.

Recognitions: Participation frameworks and the invisibility of whiteness

In a school where she did not meet any other foreigners, Giana, who had chosen to become a teacher after a successful business career, commented that the recognition of her Italian accent led to talk about:

> '[…] football teams, about Lamborghini, about Ferrari. This sort of questions I was getting which I was happy to answer or they were asking how would you say in Italian such and such. They were fine. They find it fascinating that I can speak any foreign language'. (Giana)

These were links Giana had come to experience as the usual thing in conversations about Italy, from which, in contrast to Semye, she accrued symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Such talk, which was comfortable and unchallenging, was, with the exception of Dieter, whom I shall discuss later, the experience of all white teachers from Western Europe. Indeed Pilvi was relieved by her own invisibility and the subsequent lack of questions about Finland. It was an invisibility associated with the power of whiteness (Rollock & Gillborn, 2011), which resulted in the accent of Doina, whose first language was Romanian, being recognised as Italian. Although this meant that Doina had to face the dilemma of having to disclose her Romanian heritage, it nonetheless gave her the possibility of avoiding, in the absence of any other Romanians, questions arising from negative representations of Romania in the popular press. Whatever the recognitions which resulted from their accents, white trainees were able to defer what they considered to be less relevant, and possibly destabilising, questions about national identity until the end of the lesson with a phrase like: 'you (can) pack (up) five minutes earlier and while you are packing, you can ask me questions' (Giana). This meant that they were able to compartmentalise questions of recognition in ways that added to their prestige and did not challenge their ability to be recognised as teachers of mathematics.

In this section, I have contrasted the way in which white teachers were able to manage recognitions of being foreign without the sudden shifts of power experienced by both Semye and Christophe. It indicates how various features of identity can be articulated in terms of the recognition of being foreign and that we should not fall, therefore, into the trap of constructing a false binary between being foreign and not foreign. I shall now turn to how the members of the sample developed, over time, "authoritative speech" (Philips, 2004) as part of their "communicative repertoire" (Rymes, 2014) as classroom teachers.

Learning the language of authority in school

Adapting to local practices

Linguistic performance as a teacher, and the time teachers take to develop this, are caught well by Doina, who described how her voice (Blommaert, 2005) improved in responding to the challenge to her authority in difficult situations by her use of the phrase

'OK' which she had learnt from colleagues during her first job immediately after having passed her PGCE:

> Well actually it's not OK is it? Because you're coming here to learn and I'm coming here to teach. That's what I get paid for, and that's your interest to learn. (Doina)

Here Doina uses 'not OK' to express a personal evaluative stance (Jaffe, 2009) in colloquial English and justifies this with reference to the power of recognised discourses about the purposes of schooling and how this affects roles and power relations in the participation framework of the classroom lessons. The statement contributes to the realisation of an assertive performance and, by reiterating phrases used by other teachers, added an authority to Doina's performance to which the pupil listened.

In a similar way Christophe, in adopting colloquial forms, was able to change what had been perceived as the threat of the 'talking dictionary', (Christophe), and achieve a framework in which all felt able to collaborate in ways which the following excerpt makes clear:

> I never thought I would say to somebody 'Are you alright?' "Yes it's alright, why are you asking? Are you alright?" It's like "Good afternoon" "Good evening", "Good afternoon, how are you?" it's not like "Are you alright?" "Yeah I'm alright". I had to learn that from them "Are you alright?" "Yes", coming down "Are you alright?" "I'm alright, thank you". (Christophe)

In addition to the strategies of learning the language of authority, Semye learnt about local culture through which she was able to redefine her recognition as being foreign and begin to accrue local symbolic capital (Bourdieu,1991), which she was able to use in terms of effectively maintaining the participation framework of her classroom:

> Instead of going "Oh can you please stop" (I said) "Oh did you watch that (on TV)? Oh did you watch this one? Oh that was very good isn't it?" "Ok, let's talk about that later, can you please get into the work" and they say "Miss, which team you support?" Before that I was supporting Man U and now I'm support-ing Arsenal. I don't know. ….so the sorts of getting talking, giving a talk like one or two minutes, or at least 30 seconds talk with them, and then asking us to come back to the work, then that worked. I tried many times and that worked. (Semye)

By such techniques Semye was able to perform her role in ways which would demon-strate her achievement of Teaching Standard 7 'Behaviour Management and Organi-sation', (DfE, 2011), and thereby fit into the requirements of schools in ways which this quote shows she had striven towards.

I would like to finish by considering briefly how two trainees sought to reframe the recognition of being foreign by challenging, and thereby changing, the local orders of indexicality in the context of which they were initially recognised.

Challenging local orders of indexicality

Although he did not expect to at the start of his training, Dieter had to deal with Anglo-centric views of German history, specifically the Nazi period. Dieter recalled that the questions about being recognised as German, were something he dealt with each time he began a new class in September:

> "Are you German, do you know Hitler?" That's really...that's the classic…and
> I say "Well I don't know Hitler in person but I know how he looked like… if the
> question is, "Do you like Hitler?" then I say "No I don't like Hitler" and I say "I
> think it's a very hard thing to like Hitler because he did all these awful things
> you probably learned about in history"… So I try to be as kind of like calmly
> and nicely about it as is possible. (Dieter)

The word 'classic' (Dieter), colloquially expresses both that it is a very frequent question, and is an evaluative stance (Jaffe, 2009) of Dieter's disbelief that the question is still being asked. Yet Dieter deals with it with equanimity, challenging the imagined assumptions of Germany, which he meets on an annual basis, by school children in England.

I finish this section with a quote from Christophe which clearly acknowledges the recognition of difference but, in explaining similarities in trajectories and ambition, it imagines a different community which allows him to draw on his own migration story to guide, and contribute to, the lives of young people in the London as well as being their mathematics teacher:

> ''But you are not us, so you cannot be telling us what we want to be." So I
> tell them "Hey excuse me, I am different, but I left also from somewhere to
> somewhere bigger, and that's what I want you to do". I compared two situation
> parallel, two parallel situations, a lot of similarities in it. (Christophe).

Conclusion

The question 'Where are you from?' is based upon a recognition of difference that all trainee teachers in the sample experienced and, as Dieter pointed out, it is one that is frequently asked during training and on into the first years of teaching. This paper has shown how these recognitions may occur and the ways in which trainees can develop an authoritative professional voice over a period of time. There are differences faced by individuals resulting from their own particular trajectories and articulations of identity, yet it is important to recognise that there is a danger that, in super-diverse samples, these differences and the resultant inequalities (Blommaert, 2005) may be unacknowledged on the simple grounds that it requires an unusual knowledge of migration trajectories and their related histories. Nonetheless, this paper has shown that there are also common issues shared by some groups of trainees, for example, those who can be recognised as being from countries with a colonial history.

The paper has shown that, in the midst of these recognitions, categories drawn from linguistic ethnography indicate a nuanced understanding of how such recognitions may come to be made. Blommaert's (2010) identification of the categories Global Englishes, orders of indexicality, and polycentricity were all shown to affect teachers at the start of their training. At that time the teachers were likely to face resultant significant swings in the participation framework of the classroom and it is worth noting that, as Ossasune pointed out, this was as likely to affect those who had been in the UK for a long time as those, like Pilvi, who had been in the country for a short period of time. There is no evidence of a linear progression in learning how to manage the effects of these recognitions which may continue into the first years of teaching as evidenced by the examples of Semye and Christophe.

In time, for those who, like the teachers in the sample, continue to teach, there are two strategies with which to achieve an authoritative voice, which might be called 'fitting in' or challenging the local orders of indexicalities to achieve new recognitions. The first strategy

was achieved by Doina in using the language of her colleagues or by Semye in becoming a football fan whilst she was in school. In their different, and perhaps more difficult, ways Christophe and Dieter both employed a second strategy; challenging the prevailing index-icalities bequeathed them by history to share with pupils a different identity in the face of local assumptions.

All of this evidence contrasts, at least for the first years of teaching, the convivial metro-politanism of street life with the difficulties of performance and recognition in the insti-tutional setting of schools. Yet teachers from outside the UK often feature in the staff rooms of London schools, which suggests that, after the difficulties that I have described in this paper, many teachers find an authoritative voice which allows them to continue to work as teachers in schools throughout the city.

References

Ahmed, S. (2004). *The cultural politics of emotion.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Andrews, P., & Hatch, G. (2006). A comparison of Hungarian and English teachers' conceptions of mathematics and its teaching. *Educational Studies in Mathematics, 43*(1), 31–64.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction.* Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of globalization.* Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.

Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Deckert, K. D., & Vickers, C. H. (2011). *An Introduction to sociolinguistics: Society and identity.* London, United Kingdom: Continuum.

Department for Education. (2011). *Teachers standards.* Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teachers-standards

Gilroy, P. (2004). *After empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?* Abingdon, England: Routledge.

GLA Intelligence. (2011). *Census snapshot: Main language.* Retrieved from http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/2011-census-diversity/resource/f6c119a1-638c-4bdd-8bf4-9107dd4f1485

GLA Intelligence. (2013). *Diversity in London.* Retrieved from londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/IyE%3D2011-census-diversity-in-london.pdf

Goffman, E. (1972). *Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction.* Harmonds-worth, England: Penguin.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk.* Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Goffman, E. (1990). *The presentation of self in everyday life.* London, England: Penguin.

Jaffe, A. (2009). *Stance.* Oxford, England: OUP.

Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States.* New York, NY: Routledge.

MacLure, M. (2003). *Discourse in educational and social research*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Miller, J. (2004). Identity and language use: The politics of speaking ESL in schools. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identity in multilingual contexts* (pp. 290–315). Clevedon, United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters.

Philips, S. U. (2004). Language and social inequality. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 474–495). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Rampton, B. (2009). *Linguistic ethnography and the analysis of data*. Retrieved from http://elc.ioe.ac.uk/Rampton%20handout%20may09.pdf

Rollock, N., & Gillborn, D. (2011). *Critical race theory (CRT)*. Retrieved from http://www.bera.ac.uk/

Rymes, B. (2014). *Communicating beyond language: Everyday encounters with diversity.* Abingdon, England: Routledge.

Sahlberg, P. (2007). Education policies for raising student learning: The Finnish approach. *Journal of Education Policy, 22*(2), 147–171.

Vetovec, S. (2006). *The emergence of super-diversity in Britain*. Retrieved from http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/working_papers/WP_2006/WP0625_Vertovec.pdf

About the author
Alan Benson (a.benson@londonmet.ac.uk) is Course Coordinator for Secondary Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) and Course Leader of PGCE (Mathematics) at London Metropolitan University. The University is situated in the centre of London and was founded in 1992. It has a long history of initial teacher education (ITE).

Key words
superdiversity – migrant teachers – recognition – participation framework – authoritative speech

Um höfund
Alan Benson (a.benson@londonmet.ac.uk) er kennslustjóri náms til kenn-araréttinda (e. *Post Graduate Certificate of Education, PGCE*) og réttinda til kennslu í stærðfræði (e. *PGCE – Mathematics*) við London Metropolitan University. Háskólinn er í miðborg Lundúna og var stofnaður 1992. Hann á sér langa sögu þar sem grunnnám kennara (e. *ITE*) er annars vegar.

Efnisorð
gríðarlegur fjölbreytileiki – aðfluttir kennarar – viðurkenning – þátttökurammar – valdræða

Alan Benson. (2014).
Where do you come from? How trainee teachers from outside the UK are recognised
and develop an authoritative voice as teachers in London schools.
Netla – Veftímarit um uppeldi og menntun: Sérrit 2014 – Diversity in Education: Teachers and Learners.
Menntavísindasvið Háskóla Íslands. Sótt af http://netla.hi.is/serrit/2014/diversity_in_education/001.pdf

[Alan Benson. (2014).
Where do you come from? How trainee teachers from outside the UK are recognised
and develop an authoritative voice as teachers in London schools.
Netla – Online Journal on Pedagogy and Education: Special Issue 2014 – Diversity in Education: Teachers and Learners.
University of Iceland – School of Education. Retrieved from http://netla.hi.is/serrit/2014/diversity_in_education/001.pdf]