The Linguistic Marketplace of ELT in a Christian Mission in Thailand: Perspectives of Missionaries and Thai Learners

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Declaration

I declare that I conducted this research by myself throughout the entire journey of my PhD studies, and none of the work in this thesis has been submitted for any other degree at any other university. All the processes, including data collection and writing this thesis, have been completed by me, Luqman Mayi.

Word count of this thesis (inclusive of appendices but exclusive of footnotes and bibliographies): 67,488 words.

Acknowledgements

Lastly, I would like to thank my mom, dad, and sister, who helped me stay positive and understood that I had to study far away from home. Five years was a long time to study, but they were always there for me and very patient. They wanted me to finish writing my PhD successfully so I would become a scholar of repute in the future as I plan to be.

Abstract

The Linguistic Marketplace of ELT in a Christian Mission in Thailand: Perspectives of Missionaries and Thai Learners

For the past three decades, the intersection of Christian mission and English language teaching (ELT) has been a topic of debate in TESOL. Scholars such as Edge (2003), Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003), Pennycook and Makoni (2005), and Varghese and Johnston (2007) have conducted critical reviews and highlighted that some missionary organisations incorporate their faith into English language teaching activities, raising ethical and moral concerns. One of these is that some missionaries engage in covert actions, appearing to teach English while attempting to impart religious knowledge to students. This criticism has sparked a heated debate among Christian and non-Christian TESOL scholars.

However, our understanding of the connection between language and religion remains limited, as there is still a lack of evidence of how Christian missions behave in ELT contexts.

This research aims to contribute to the debates by exploring the perspectives of missionaries from different organisations (the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) and three other Christian churches) regarding the role of ELT in their missions in Thailand. The study sought the perspectives of five Thai Buddhist students who had learned English through interactions with LDS missionaries.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the study was conducted in phases. Phase one involved interviewing five Christian teachers (including two LDS missionaries) to gain insight into their perspectives on the role of English language in their Christian missions. Phase two involved interviewing one former LDS missionary and five Thai Buddhist students to explore the role of English language teaching and learning in the "free English class with missionaries" programme held in an LDS church in Thailand. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to delve into their perspectives.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the interview data, resulting in the identification of five themes in this study: 1) Reasons for teaching English in a Christian mission, 2) ELT qualifications in a Christian mission, 3) The role of missionaries as missionary English language teachers, 4) Free English as a Christian tool?, and 5) the "leaving the door open" approach.

The findings of this study highlight the multifaceted and complex nature of ELT in Christian missions in Thailand. Both missionaries and Thai learners perceive the role of ELT in multiple ways. For the missionaries, it serves as a means to reach Thai people and share their faith when possible. For Thai learners, it presents an opportunity to improve their English skills through interactions with English speakers.

From a linguistic market perspective, English as a symbolic language in Thailand provides a negotiated ground. The missionaries utilise their English skills to connect with Thais, while the Thai learners seek to enhance their English linguistic capital. In this framework, the study reveals that ELT in Christian missions is not a one-sided affair where the missionaries, with their privileged English competence, solely impart knowledge. Rather, it operates as a trade-off, benefiting both missionaries and Thai learners.

This finding underscores the notion of ELT in Christian missions as a linguistic marketplace. Symbolic English, linguistic capital, and economic capital are intertwined in complex ways. In contexts where symbolic English and language ideologies prevail, the role of missionaries as 'native' English speakers is reinforced, allowing them to effectively share their faith.

In conclusion, this study sheds light on the complex phenomenon of ELT in Christian missions in Thailand. It highlights the interplay between language, religion, ideology, and culture in the narratives of missionaries and Thai learners. It emphasises that ELT in this context goes beyond a mere instrument for teaching the language and is intricately connected to political, cultural, social, and spiritual aspects. Ultimately, ELT in Christian missions involves a trade-off between missionaries and Thai learners.

Academic Works and Presentations Arising from This Thesis

References of my academic work

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Mayi, L. (2023, August 17-20). *"I don't think the missionaries tried to make us Mormon when teaching us English": Thai learners' perspectives of free English with the missionaries"* [Paper Presentation]. AsiaTEFL2023 Conference, the Daejeon Convention Center, South Korea.

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Mayi, L. (2019, May 9). *Native-speakerism and Teaching English as a Missionary Language: Missionaries' realities and local voices within an Islamic community in Southern Thailand* [Abstract Presentation]. Faculty of Social Sciences Doctoral Conference 2019, the University of Stirling, UK.

Invited talk

Mayi, L. (2022, November 26). *Doing research in times of Covid-19: my struggles for data collection and how to move my PhD forward*. Doing Research in ELT by Graduate Students: Tenacity, Tears and Triumphs. AsiaTefl Webinar Series 2022, AsiaTefl Organization. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jYCKnwUd5SQ&t=1s.

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Acronyms

CALL	Computer-assisted Language Learning
CET	Christian English Teacher
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
ELT	English Language Teaching
GUEP	The General University Ethics Panel
IATEFL	The International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
LDS	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
LE	Linguistic Ethnography
MELT	Missionary English Language Teacher
NES	Native English Speaker
NEST	Native English-speaking Teacher
NKJV	The New King James Version
NNS	Non-native Speaker
non-NEST	Non-native English-speaking Teacher
NS	Native Speaker
TEML	Teaching English as a Missionary Language
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TA	Thematic Analysis
UK	The United Kingdom
US	The United States

Chapter ONE: Background to the Research

Introduction

This thesis examines the intersection of language and religion specifically focusing on the domain of English Language Teaching (ELT) in the context of a Christian mission in Thailand. It explores the perspectives of missionaries who arrived in Thailand as part of their Christian mission and offered ELT as part of their service. The thesis also includes the perspectives of Thai individuals who learned English through "free English classes" offered by the missionaries at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in Thailand. By elucidating the viewpoints of both missionaries and Thai learners in relation to ELT within the context of a Christian mission, the study aims to reveal some findings that can contribute to the existing knowledge in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) to enhance our understanding of complex dynamics between language, religion, and ELT within a Christian mission setting.

In this chapter, I begin by providing a short introduction to missionary ELT in Christian missions as an underexplored area of research. I then explain the rationales behind conducting this research, discuss the impact of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) on the research, and outline the adjustments made in response to the pandemic. Next, I outline the research objectives, present the research questions, and highlight the significance of the study and the research gap. After that, I describe Thailand's religious landscape before delving into the key terminology used in this study. Finally, I provide an overview of each chapter included in this thesis.

1.1 Underexplored territory of missionary ELT in Christian missions

ELT in a Christian mission is a contested area of research, yet it remains underexplored in the field of Applied Linguistics and TESOL. Since the publication of Edge's paper "Keeping the Faith" in 1996, which questioned the work of religiously motivated English teachers aiming to evangelise English learners, it has sparked research into ELT in Christian missions, aiming to critically examine the use of English

as a means of evangelisation. This notion led to a paper by Pennycook and Coutand-Marin in 2003, which raised ethical concerns about the missionaries' use of English in their mission to save souls on behalf of God. They urged TESOL professionals to further research English as a missionary language (TEML).

The criticism continued with the first evidence-based paper by Varghese and Johnston published in 2007, which explored the motivations of young American missionaries who received training in ELT as part of their mission to teach English. The interview-based findings from their research revealed that there was an intention among the missionaries to use ELT to deepen learners' knowledge of God. This paper further heightened the tension between Christian and non-Christian TESOL scholars, leading some TESOL scholars to explore further the connections between ELT and Christian missions (Wong and Canagarajah, 2003).

Although debates between different TESOL scholars are ongoing, there has been an effort to provide a space for dialogue and the exchange of views on ELT in Christian missions to find common ground and address some misunderstandings about TEML (Wong and Canagarajah, 2003). However, the current knowledge in this area is limited to academic argument and the perspectives of authors, and work in this area lacks data to support their arguments (Wong and Canagarajah, 2003). Although there has been a movement by some TESOL scholars to address ELT and faith through evidence-based research (Wong et al., 2013), these studies primarily come from the scholars who identified themselves as Christian. Hence, the question of whether missionaries could offer English as a part of their mission in diverse contexts (e.g., Buddhism, Islam) remains unanswered and unsupported by empirical evidence.

Therefore, the background of the study is that research on missionary ELT in Christian missions is still underexplored and, as TESOL scholars, we still do not know much about the perspectives of missionaries from different religious affiliations. Given the intriguing nature of what missionaries are doing, it is worthwhile to explore missionary ELT in Christian missions. This has led me to explore this research in Thailand, where I believe it is the first study ever written in the context of Thailand to provide evidence-based findings regarding ELT within missions.

1.2 My rationales for the research

Before I delve into the other main parts of the thesis, this introduction chapter allows me to provide the rationales for conducting this research. It begins with my own narrative stories that recount my experiences with ELT in a Christian mission. Also, I share the statements that sparked my curiosity and motivated me to pursue this research.

1.2.1 My experiences on Christian work and ELT

In my lifetime, I have experienced two significant incidents involving Christian work and ELT. The first incident occurred in 2007 during my undergraduate studies at a university in Thailand. A Thai friend informed me about a free English class at the university taught by a group of visiting 'native English speakers[1]' (NES) from the United States (US). When I attended the class, a Thai coordinator asked me to sit with an enthusiastic American man, a 'NES'. However, during my one-on-one session, English was not explicitly taught by him. Instead, he focused on sharing the life story of Jesus with me. This is not what I expected to learn, so I expressed my beliefs saying to him that I would rather stick with my religion, Islam. By the time I left the class, I realised that the meeting with the 'NES' was not primarily for ELT purposes, but rather to share the good news of Jesus.

Another situation involving an American group offering ELT involved me again in 2017. At that time, I had already graduated and was working as an English teacher at a university in southern Thailand. A few of my Thai colleagues approached me and asked if they could bring the group to teach English to my undergraduate students in my class. I agreed and allowed them to do so for two hours. From what I observed, the group adopted the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach and used a simple lesson, such as teaching correct pronunciation of the word "horse," and included ice-breaking activities to encourage communication among the students. Many of my students seemed very excited about speaking English with them. Later, I

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[1] The phrases 'native English speaker' (NES), 'native English-speaking teacher' (NEST), 'native speaker' (NS) are the terms that are problematic in Applied Linguistics and TESOL as they denote a negative perspective on multilingualism (see Dewaele, 2018). However, it is quite challenging not to use these terms in my thesis as they are important for my thesis discussion. Therefore, I have decided to highlight their problematic nature by enclosing them in single quotation marks throughout my thesis.

had the opportunity to connect with the group and build personal relationships during their two-week visit to the community. From what I saw, there was no overt proselytisation through verbal means. This Christian group was respectful and openly displayed their Christian identity through their traditional dress code (Christian women wore a small piece of white cloth as a head covering). Unlike the first group I encountered, this latter group came to establish relationships with the locals and teach English. These two contrasting experiences serve as the starting points for me to conduct this research.

1.2.2 Road to the current study

The current project did not emerge until I began my studies at the University of Stirling in 2018. Initially, my intention was to propose a project on 'NES' ideologies in Thailand, as I had observed that many of my students were eager to interact with and learn from 'NESs'. One prevalent fallacy among 'NESs' is the belief that they can effectively provide CLT without ELT training or qualifications (Todd, 2006). Such ideologies continue to be a subject of debate in TESOL.

During a supervisory meeting with my supervisor, Professor Fiona Copland, our discussion turned to the topic of the visiting American Christian group where I met in 2017. Fiona made an intriguing remark, stating, "That Christian group is interesting!" This immediately caught my attention and ultimately led to my study on the relationship between Christian work and ELT. This meeting served as a catalyst for my subsequent small-scale pilot study. In the summer of 2019, I returned to Thailand and conducted four weeks of ethnographic fieldwork in a Muslim city in the southern part of Thailand. The purpose was to explore ELT in a Christian mission in the Muslim city and gain emic perspectives of the missionary who worked as an English teacher at an Islamic school, a school principal who hired the missionary, and five students who were learning English from the missionary (I will provide a detailed description of this pilot study in Chapter 4, Research Methodology).

After conducting the pilot study, the idea of investigating English teaching in missions further developed through discussions with my current supervisors, Professor Adrian Blackledge and Professor Fiona Copland. This led to my main study, which at first

aimed to explore ELT practices and perspectives within a group of missionaries who were teaching English to young students in the city. However, one of the main missionary participant declined to take part in my study and requested that I refrain from exploring his work, as it could create tensions with the strict Muslim community. Hence, I decided to change a location to avoid the conflict with which the missionary was concerned. This experience has helped me understand how sensitive the topic of teaching English as a missionary language could be and why perhaps it had not been further researched in the Muslim area.

While delving deeper into the Christian group that could serve as the primary focus of my study, I discovered the presence of various denominations across Thailand online, some of which incorporated ELT into their services. I came across the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) on a social media platform. They were advertising their free English classes. My curiosity prompted me to inform my supervisors about the possibility of exploring ELT practices among LDS missionaries who served their mission in Thailand. After my supervisors and I agreed on my research topic and contacted some of the LDS missionaries who agreed to take part in my study in principle. I then obtained ethical approval from the University to conduct fieldwork at one of the LDS Churches in Thailand to gather data. Then I returned to Thailand straightaway to collect my data.

1.3 COVID-19 impact on my original research design

In March 2020, I returned to Thailand for data collection at one of the LDS Churches. Unfortunately, I had returned at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. This challenging circumstance significantly impacted my original plan for data collection.

First, the ELT programme called "free English classe with missionaries" was suspended by the LDS Church as the pandemic began to spread across Thailand. During this uncertain time, I was concerned about not being able to collect data, so I tried my best to visit the location of my fieldwork. At that time, I was only allowed to be outside the church and was not permitted inside. Just a few days later, the Thai government announced that all physical activities and gatherings must be stopped to contain the virus. In April 2020, the Thai government implemented a curfew, which

means they prohibited people in Thailand from having any physical contact outside their homes.

After that, my main LDS participants informed me that their Mission President in Thailand decided to call all LDS missionaries who served in their mission in Thailand to return to the US. This means that their English classes and missions were put on hold until further notice. Around the same time, the University of Stirling also announced a ban on all research activities involving face-to-face fieldwork, as the COVID-19 outbreak had become uncontrollable and was spreading globally. This means that I could not collect data as originally planned.

It was such a challenging and turbulent time for me. At first, I felt that it would have been a great opportunity for me to explore ELT practices of the LDS missionaries at the church in Thailand, an area that had not been extensively studied before. However, I had to abide by the guidelines set by the university and the Thai government. I returned to my hometown in Thailand during the curfew and discussed with my supervisors online to explore any possibilities for data collection.

During the global COVID-19 pandemic, I made the decision to redesign my research approach. Instead of collecting data on-site, I opted to gather data virtually for my study. I made this decision for two main reasons. Firstly, my funding had a limited timeframe, and I was not granted an extension. Therefore, it was important for me to collect possible data for my thesis in some way. Secondly, online English language classes became increasingly popular as pandemic restrictions continued and I hoped that I would be able to find some LDS missionaries carrying out this work.

Fortunately, even though I was unable to conduct fieldwork, the university allowed me to collect data online. Driven by my curiosity and without hesitation, I made the necessary adjustments to my research approach, transitioning from on-site data collection to virtual data gathering. To suit the COVID-19 circumstances, I divided my data collection into two phases.

In the first phase, I interviewed the perspectives of five English language teachers who were missionaries from various religious organisations based in Thailand. These

organisations included one person from Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF), one person from Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT), one person from Institute for Global Opportunity (IGO), and two people from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). In this phase, I used snowball sampling and also contacted some of my Thai friends who knew some of the missionaries.

In the second phase, I reached out to a former missionary and advertised my recruitment for Thai participants in his Zoom English classes. To get the data, I interviewed the perspectives of one former LDS missionary and five Thai learners who had experienced studying English with the former LDS missionary and other LDS missionaries before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The former LDS missionary also belonged to the LDS affiliation, but he had already finished his mission in Thailand before the COVID-19 pandemic. During the COVID-19 period, he maintained contact with some Thai people and ultimately taught English to Thai people via Zoom.

For the Thai participants, all of them were not Christian but Buddhist at the time of my data collection. Their denomination is Theravada Buddhism, which is the main religious belief held by the majority of Thai people.

For both phases, the missionary participants in this study belonged to two distinct religious denominations: three were from various Protestant denominations, and the other three were from the LDS faith. Initially, my plan was to focus solely on one specific denomination, which is LDS. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and my status as an outsider to the Christian community, I was unable to find enough missionary participants from the same group for this thesis. It is important to note that I adjusted my research design based on various religious denominations, which also means that none of my participants in this research are from the Catholic tradition. Despite the challenge of exploring a specific group, I believe that including participants from various religious denominations including LDS missionaries can capture a diverse range of perspectives within the broader Christian landscape, specifically those who offer ELT as part of their Christian missions in Thailand.

Despite the fluctuating circumstances surrounding COVID-19 in Thailand, I managed to carry out these phases of data collection. My hope is that the data I have diligently

collected will reveal some interesting insights and make some contributions to the existing scholarship in the TESOL field. I will provide a detailed explanation of the redesigned study methods in the Research Methodology Chapter, Chapter 4, and the participant recruitments in Chapter 5.

1.4 Research questions

Due to the significant impact of COVID-19, it was not feasible for me to conduct classroom observations to explore missionaries' ELT practices at the LDS church during the data collection period in Thailand. As a result, I had to adjust my research method and collect data online instead. This adjustment also required me to revise my research questions accordingly. This means that the research aim changed from focusing on the ELT practices of LDS missionaries in a Christian mission to exploring the emic perspectives of missionaries from different organisations and the Thai learners. Based on this shift, the study seeks to address two main research questions:

1. How do Christian missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in the context of a Christian mission in Thailand, and what motivates their decision to incorporate English in their missionary activities?

2. How do Thai learners perceive and experience learning English with missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and what motivates their decision to engage in English language learning within a Christian setting in Thailand?

In order to address the two research questions, the following sub-questions have been formulated to consider context-specific elements that are relevant to each phase of the study:

Sub-questions of research question 1
a) How do three Protestant missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission when they taught English in Thailand?

b) How do two missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission when they taught English in Thailand?

c) How does a former missionary of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission?

Sub-questions of research question 2
d) How do five Thai individuals perceive the role of English, both for themselves and for the missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints in a Christian mission in Thailand?

e) How do five Thai individuals perceive the integration of spiritual thoughts with English language teaching by missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and how does it impact their motivation, engagement and decision to remain in the class or leave?

1.5 Objectives of the research

As the aim of the research is now focused on capturing the emic perspectives of the participants, the study is guided by five main objectives. These objectives are as follows:

1.5.1 to explore the perspectives of the missionaries engaged in ELT activities as part of their religious mission in Thailand;

1.5.2 to explore the perspectives of Thai individuals who have participated in the "free English class with missionaries" programme offered by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Thailand;

1.5.3 to analyse the data collected from semi-structured interviews with both the missionaries and Thai people, aligning them with the relevant literature on ELT in Christian missions;

1.5.4 to interpret the findings obtained from the analysis of the interview data, with the purpose of revealing insights into the dynamics of ELT, learning processes, and cultural exchanges within the context of Christian missions in Thailand; and

1.5.5 To contribute to the field of TESOL by considering this study conducted in Thailand as an evident example of ELT in a Christian mission.

1.6 Research gap

As mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons for me to conduct this study is the lack of evidence-based research on the topic of ELT in Christian missions in the field of TESOL. This research gap is apparent in Thailand, where the TESOL community has not explored this topic extensively, despite the presence of various missionary organisations offering English as part of their services (e.g., the LDS Church). When discussing ELT in Thailand, most scholars tend to focus on mainstream educational institutions, neglecting the ELT provided by missionaries in non-mainstream settings such as churches. This context is intriguing as these missionaries operate independently from state-run schools, allowing them greater control over their ELT programmes. Consequently, there is limited knowledge about their approach to ELT in their church spaces. Given the opportunity to investigate this research in the context of Thailand, I was determined to conduct this study.

Secondly, the abovementioned empirical studies in section 1.1 that are Varghese and Johnston (2007), and Wong et al. (2009) only collected data from Christian participants. To provide a more balanced understanding of this area of inquiry, I argue that it is important to consider the viewpoints of different stakeholders. In my pilot work, I gathered data from various participants, including the missionary, the school principal, and the students, which will be explained in detail in the research Methodology Chapter, Chapter 5. Similarly, this study aims to address this gap by obtaining perspectives from not only the missionaries but also their learners at the LDS church.

Lastly, as TESOL is a professional field within academia, our objective is not only to provide high-quality language instruction but also to be aware of the political implications associated with the status of English as a global language. It is worth mentioning that some missionary organisations incorporate ELT into their mission, which has drawn criticism from scholars regarding their spiritual objectives in TESOL (these criticisms will be elaborated upon in the Literature Review, Chapter 2). However, it is important to understand that missionaries come in various forms with different doctrines and denominations, and it would be incorrect to assume that all individuals teaching English, whether as a profession or voluntary work, prioritise proselytisation. Hence, it is crucial to avoid generalisations in this regard. Instead, the intention of this study is to gather empirical data from missionaries and their learners in Thailand, contributing nuanced insights to our understanding of LDS missionaries' English teaching practices.

1.7 Thailand's religious landscape

Given that qualitative research is context-dependent, it is of utmost importance for me to specify the context that is relevant to my study.

This research focuses on the context of Thailand where I was born and live. It is the country renowned for its rich cultural heritage and distinctive religious landscape. Officially known as the Kingdom of Thailand, it is a vibrant Southeast Asian nation located in the heart of the Indochinese Peninsula, sharing borders with Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and Malaysia (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017). The geographical positioning of Thailand has made it a crucial crossroad for both land-based and maritime trade, as well as fostering cultural exchange and economic interaction.

Thailand does not have an official state religion, but Buddhism holds a predominant position, with approximately 94 percent of the Thai population practising this faith (Suwan, 2020). Some Thais also practise other religions. This includes approximately 4.29 percent of the Thai population who are Muslims, primarily residing near the Malay borders (Kvam, 2015). The Christian community is smaller, comprising only 1.17 percent of the population (WELS, n.d.). These Christians are primarily located in the

northern part of Thailand. Hinduism and Sikhism, among other religions, as well as atheists, make up the remaining percentage of the population in Thailand.

As a country that predominantly has embraced Theravada Buddhism since ancient kingdoms like Sukhothai and Ayutthaya in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Buddhism plays a crucial role in shaping Thai society, arts, values, and culture (Andaya, 2021). For instance, Thai society holds great respect for the elderly and encourages younger generations to revere grandparents and parents. Thai people are also obligated to show respect for the monarchy, which holds a significant stature in Thailand (Choowattanapakorn, 2003). This respect, as derived from Theravada Buddhism, is evident in various rituals, ceremonies, and public displays as signs of loyalty in Thai society.

Thai identity, in general, is deeply connected to Theravada Buddhism. Its influence is often regarded as a fundamental aspect of Thai culture. It has a profound influence, shaping values, traditions, and societal norms, whatever a person's religion. For example, the concept of "Krengjai" (Kislenko, 2004), emphasising the importance of avoiding inconvenience to others, reflects the widespread influence of Thai Buddhism. Consequently, the pervasive nature of Theravada Buddhism in all aspects of life in Thailand leads to the assumption that the country's identification as Buddhist is rooted in this profound influence. Even though Thai citizens have the freedom to choose their religious practices, transitioning away from Buddhism is presumed to be uncommon. Therefore, exploring ELT in a Christian mission in the context of Thailand could be an interesting area of study, as missionaries are allowed to be in Thailand for evangelism, while most Thai people have a deep connection to Theravada Buddhism.

1.8 Key terminology

In this study, it is important to address specific terms that are relevant to the area of inquiry in ELT in Christian missions in Thailand. The following terms are used in this thesis and their respective meanings are provided below.

1.8.1 What 'missionary' means

Generally speaking, the word 'missionary' refers to a religious person who is sent to other religious areas and places where no recognisable religion is practised to share their beliefs with others and establish institutions such as churches and schools (Chaiwan & Theol, 1975). The word 'mission' stems from the Latin word 'Missio Dei', meaning 'to send', and implies 'being sent' to do a religious task under the mission of God (Snow, 2001, p. 26).

In relation to Christianity, 'missionary' is a literal meaning of the biblical word 'apostle' which means someone who travels and makes disciples of all nations (Matthew 28: 19). The meaning of 'missionary' in Christianity is associated with the term 'a Christian mission'. What Christian mission consists of can vary depending on different opinions and denominations. For examples, Bebbington (1993) refers to Christian mission with regard to the mainstream of Protestant evangelicals who have a strong desire to convert others to Christianity; Wah (2001) gives the example of door-to-door preaching among Jehovah's witnesses; and Riess (2019) gives the example of LDS missionaries who are sent abroad to serve ministries for about two years. Kim (2019) states that the top priority of missionaries is to evangelise non-Christians. However, this is not always the case. Snow (2001) argues that evangelism is related to Christians from conservative backgrounds who tend to emphasise evangelistic outreach (Snow, 2001), rather than, for example, Catholic missions, which tend to focus on serving the community and hoping that local populations will convert through admiring this work. Hence, the word 'missionary' may vary depending on their organisations or religious affiliations.

1.8.2 What 'Protestantism' means

Protestantism is a branch of Christianity that emerged in opposition to the teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church during the sixteenth century. Early Protestants argued that the Roman Catholic Church made it difficult for believers to have direct communication with God, as the Church proclaimed that all messages must be conveyed through the Pope, who held ultimate authority (Gaillardetz, 2003).

The excessive power and authority vested in the Pope led some believers to reject certain Catholic doctrines and form a new branch known as the Protestant Reformation (Irvin, 2017). Ryrie (2017) states that this movement derived its name from the word "protest," which signifies a publicly declared strong disagreement. The historical moment is often associated with Martin Luther, who vehemently opposed perceived abuses within the Roman Catholic Church and emphasised that the Bible alone should be the ultimate authority in matters of faith (Rylie, 2017). Protestants believe in personal faith and salvation, with a direct relationship between individuals and God.

Today, Protestantism encompasses numerous denominations. Some well-known examples include Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, among others. In Thailand, there are also various denominations represented, such as the Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT), Seventh-Day Adventist, Institute for Global Opportunity (IGO), Mennonites, and the Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT), among many others. In my study, three of the participants I interviewed belong to different church organisations but identified themselves as Protestants.

1.8.3 What 'Mormonism' means

Mormonism, also known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is a religious tradition that is relatively new and originated in the nineteenth century in the US. The founder is named Joseph Smith. He claimed that God and Jesus Christ had appeared to him in a series of revelations and told him that there was a missing book from the Bible called the Book of Mormon. According to Mormon beliefs, Smith was chosen as a prophet who was to restore the true church that has been lost since the time of Jesus Christ.

It is argued that Mormonism is distinct from traditional Christianity, such as Catholicism and Protestantism, as some of their beliefs are different (Bushman, 2008). One of the claims is that the Book of Mormon is also considered a sacred book and is believed to be a companion to the Bible. According to this belief, the Book of Mormon is claimed as the missing book that completes the Christian faith and represents the restoration

of true Christianity. This claim is widely arguable by traditional Christians such as Catholics and Protestants.

Mormons strongly believe that family and communities are very important, and members must actively participate in church activities. They also believe in the practice of contributing money to the church, known as tithing. This practice is strongly encouraged among its members.

One very important aspect of Mormon culture is serving in an overseas mission. Mission experiences are part of their culture. Young Mormons (mainly males) are asked to spend eighteen months to two years of their lives volunteering wherever their main church chooses to send them (Riess, 2019). There were more than 67,000 LDS missionaries working globally in 2020 (Cheung, 2020). Riess (2019) also states that the scope of the LDS volunteer work can be flexible, but mostly LDS missionaries are expected to preach the gospel, learn the culture of the host country, and provide church services.

It is true that in Thailand and perhaps other parts of the world, Mormonism is not widely accepted as part of mainstream Christianity (e.g., Catholics, Protestants). However, it shares strong similarities with Protestant Christianity (Turner, 2016, p. 5) and has common ground with other Christian groups such as believing in the Bible and focusing on faith in Jesus Christ. Mormons attempt to live their lives following the teachings of Jesus Christ and claim that the LDS church is Christian (BBC, 2009).

In my study, the participants preferred to label themselves as Christian because they said they believed in Jesus. They said they also preferred to be referred to by the full name "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" as they felt the word "LDS" did not include the word "Jesus." However, they also told me that they were happy if I used the word "LDS" in this thesis since it is widely recognised. They just asked me if I should at least inform my readers that they preferred the full name in which the word "Jesus" is explicitly stated.

1.8.4 What 'Christian English teacher' means in TESOL

Missionary work in TESOL is closely linked to the role of missionaries as 'native English-speaking teachers' (NESTs) from the US, the United Kingdom (UK), or other English-speaking Western countries.

Snow (2001) coins the term 'Christian English Teachers' (CET) in the literature to define Christians who are ambassadors of God and take a role as a missionary at an overseas church or overseas educational settings (e.g., schools). They are also committed to short-to-medium length terms of service abroad, a period ranging from one to five years (Snow, 2001, p.20). This specific definition is understood to make CETs distinct from other types of 'NESTs' who identify themselves as a Christian and work in the TESOL field. Nevertheless, denominations of CETs are not clearly identified by Snow (2001), but he points out that CETs should have professional training in language pedagogy (p. 24).

1.8.5 What 'Missionary English Language Teacher' means in this study

'Missionary English language teacher' (MELT) is the term I create to define missionaries who are 'NESs', who serve at an LDS church overseas (e.g., Thailand) and who teach English as part of their services. The reason why I do not use 'CET' coined by Snow (2001) is that it has no clear definition of what school of thought a CET comes from (e.g., Catholics, Orthodox or other denominations). I consider different types of missionaries important for us to identify their beliefs and practices which are situated in the ELT context. So, I prefer calling my participants as MELTs so that my readers could see this study refers to the missionaries in this study.

1.8.6 What 'free English class with missionaries' means

The reason I want to define what it means by 'free English class with missionaries' is because it is the ELT programme offered by the LDS missionaries in Thailand, and this programme will be mentioned frequently in my thesis, especially in findings from Phase 2.

LDS Church sends out several missionaries every year worldwide to allow their missionaries to work on a two-year mission. These missionaries are required to share

their religious beliefs with non-LDS members and work closely with the local Church in the designated area. In Thailand, these LDS missionaries were informed by the Mission President of Thailand to teach English as part of the church service. The English class programme that the LDS Church offered is called "free English class with missionaries". This was widely advertised on social media, including their Facebook page and website, and invited people in Thailand to learn English with the missionaries. To invite Thai people to the Church for English language learning, the missionaries also greeted Thai people along the streets in person. They were often given an invitation card that had details of a nearby church location and the days and times of the English classes. The card that LDS missionaries used to invite Thai people to their English class is shown in figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 The free English class card given by LDS missionaries

The programme was operated in 32 LDS chapels across Thailand. The missionaries, who were assigned to each chapel, generally taught English two to three times a week. Each of their English classes took about one hour. The English class ran every week.

1.9 Chapter overviews

This thesis comprises nine chapters, which are as follows: introduction, literature review, theoretical framework, research methodology, participants, analytical findings, summary of the study findings, and conclusion.

Chapter one focuses on the background of the research, my motivations behind conducting this study, and the importance of the research. The chapter also addresses the impact of COVID-19 on the research, explaining how it affected the study but also why the research remained feasible. The chapter also discusses the inclusion of research conducted after COVID-19 as part of the data collection process. Lastly, the chapter defines key terminology used in the research, highlighting the importance of aligning these terms with the study's specific context and addressing any controversial terms that require clarification.

Chapter two provides an overview of the relevant literature for the study. It begins with the debate between TESOL scholars and Christian TESOL scholars regarding ELT in Christian missions. The chapter then explores ELT in Thailand, including its global spread and the current trends in the country. It discusses the challenges faced by ELT in schools, leading to the emergence of alternative programmes such as English programme, English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), and communicative language teaching approaches as a means of immersing Thai students in English. Another important aspect of this chapter is the examination of native-speakerism, which connects both missionaries and the global trends in ELT. This discussion also touches on the idea of legitimacy and its significance in relation to ELT in Christian missions.

Chapter three focuses on the theoretical framework that guides this research. Specifically, it draws upon sociocultural theory, specifically Bourdieu's concept of the linguistic marketplace. This chapter highlights the potential of incorporating Bourdieu's theory to analyse and interpret the findings and discussions of the study. It covers various theoretical aspects, including English as symbolic capital, English as economic capital, and English as linguistic capital, all of which serve as the foundation for understanding the linguistic marketplace.

Chapter four presents the methodology and methods used in the research. The chapter begins by explaining the rationale for utilising a qualitative inquiry approach. It further discusses the epistemology and ontology underlying the research. The primary method employed in the study is semi-structured interviews. The chapter delves into the details of data collection, including information about the participants,

the duration of the interviews, and how the data were collected and analysed using Thematic Analysis. The chapter also discusses the pilot study conducted at the outset of the research. Additionally, reflexivity and ethical considerations are addressed in this chapter. Lastly, the chapter highlights the methodological limitations that arose due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Chapter five presents the detailed information of the eleven participants of the study (both phases 1 and 2). The chapter also describes the method I used for this study, the data analysis, reflexivity and also ethical consideration.

Chapter six presents the analytical findings from the first-phase data collection. It focuses on three main themes identified in the study. The chapter presents extracts from the interview data, provides commentary on the findings, and includes analytical points related to each theme.

Chapter seven also presents the analytical findings from the second-phase data collection. It also explores three major themes of the study and includes extracts from the interview data, commentary, and analytical points.

Chapter eight summarises the central findings derived from the analytical findings of both Chapters 5 and 6. It highlights the main points of the study, providing new perspectives that contribute to the field.

Chapter nine concludes the research by summarising the thesis. It addresses the study's contribution to knowledge, implications, and recommendations for future research. The chapter concludes with a final statement underscoring the significance of the study.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the reader to the background of the study, my rationales for conducting the research, and how the COVID-19 pandemic affected the study and necessitated its redesign. It has also presented the two research questions, discussed

the significance of the study, and provided Thailand's religious landscape. Additionally, it has introduced key terms and concluded with an overview of the thesis's chapters.

The next chapter, Chapter 2, will focus on the relevant literature review.

Chapter TWO: Literature Review

Introduction

Over the past three decades, one of the ongoing and contentious debates within the field of TESOL has centred around the relationship between Christian mission work and ELT. Pioneering scholars such as Edge (1996, 2003) and Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) are among the first to bring attention to issues of transparency and professionalism in ELT in Christian missions. Their arguments posit that Christian missionaries often employ ELT as a means to establish a presence within non-Christian communities. This critique has generated significant interest within the TESOL community, with numerous scholars expressing contrasting perspectives on these matters (Wong & Mahboob, 2018). It is precisely this divergence of opinions that has sparked my curiosity and motivated me to embark on a thesis-length research endeavour to examine the intersection of ELT and Christian missions, particularly in the context of Thailand.

In this chapter, I provide a relevant literature review for this study. The first main part includes the history of Christian missionaries and ELT, critical views about ELT and Christian missions, responses to criticisms about teaching English as a missionary language (TEML), and Christian work and linguistics imperialism. The second part of the chapter focuses on ELT in Thailand and the connection between ELT and Christian missions in that context.

2.1 History of Christian missionaries and ELT

2.1.1 The Great Commission

> All authority has been given to Me in heaven and on the earth. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age conclusion of the system of things. (Matthew 28: 18-20, The New King James Version (NKJV)) (Nelson, 2005)

The above passage, mentioned in the last chapter of the Bible, records the final words of Jesus Christ to his eleven disciples before his departure (Akin et al., 2020, p. 20).

Stier (2009) notes that Jesus's last statement is closely associated with the practice of evangelism often used for evangelicals to persuade other Christians to embark on evangelistic journeys to the world. A Dutch missionary named Justinian von Welz (1621-1668) is understood to be the first person who introduced the term 'The Great Commission', that is, man's role in God's greater work (Akin et al., 2020, p. 20). In its literal meaning, it represents a mission to tell the truth of God's words (Hara, 2017, para. 2). In the eighteenth century, this concept gained wide usage among determined evangelicals, especially around the time of Hudson Taylor, a British Protestant Christian missionary, who travelled to China. Today, the phrase appears to be the theme of blogs, articles, books, conferences and sermons for evangelicals; it is also assumed to be a driving force behind their missionary activities (Akin et al., 2020).

One of the world's most important historical events which missionaries took part in is the colonial expansion of the British Empire in the early 1800s (Snow, 2001). The Western colonisers who travelled to the East under the purposes of God, gold and glory, obliged their missionaries to establish Christian institutions to spread the words of God (Chaiwan & Theol, 1975, p.11). However, delivering the Christian message was resisted by the invaded native peoples. So, to avoid conflicts, the missionaries became educators instead (Lee, 2003). Johnston (2017, p.19) reiterates that colonial missionary work has been linked with language and teaching since the colonial era and that several missionaries provided language services such as translating the Bible and teaching English. In the nineteenth century, they were widely engaged in the linguistic work for Bible translation (Wonderly & Nida, 1963). During the same period, English as the language of the invader, "came into its own in the age of colonialism" (Viswanathan, 1989, p.20).

With the decline of the British Empire, especially around the time of World War II, the US appeared as the world's next leading power in terms of its military, economy and culture. At around the same time, evangelical Christianity began to play a role in US politics (Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003). Johnston (2017) notes that, in the late 1970s, a group of evangelical Protestants made a political impact in the US by becoming a strong supporter of cultural conservatism backed up by the Republican Party, especially during the presidential time of the 40th US President, Ronald Reagan. This particular wing of Christianity, known as the Christian Right, promoted

conservative activities based on their keen sense of Christian values, power and national pride (Byler, 2009, p. 122). They attacked secular humanism in the US and wished to ban abortion and same-sex marriage (Byler, 2009). Johnston (2017, p. 21) further notes that the end of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the reaffirmation of the Great Commission in a pan-evangelical congress in Manila in 1989, led to the call for increased Christian missions by the year 2000. Consequently, interpreting the words of Jesus, "Go, therefore, make disciples of all nations, baptising them..." (Matthew 28:19) as a reference to evangelise the world, many evangelicals were able to recruit missionaries, who then travelled overseas to reach the unreached with the Gospel message by the end of the twentieth century (Dörnyei, 2009; Pennycook & Makoni 2005).

2.1.2 Christian mission and the connection with ELT

Despite proselytising efforts, many non-Christian countries appear to close their doors to evangelism (Byler, 2009), requiring those missionaries with strong convictions to find alternative ways to spread their spiritual message. Coincidentally, the use of English was on the rise worldwide as the world had entered the age of globalisation (Nunan, 2001). Also, the concern over the lack of an all-inclusive centre for ELT brought about the emergence of the TESOL organisation in 1966 and the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) in 1967, both of which aim to recognise the official status of ELT as a global professional field (Johnston, 2017). In the early 1980s, several missionary organisations saw the world's hunger for ELT and believed that it could offer them a chance to teach more than English (Purgason, 2016, p.136). Since then, taking a role as 'NEST' has appeared to be the most common way for missionaries to obtain visas to places where they are not welcomed as preachers (Byler, 2009, p.120).

To illustrate the point about Christian missions adopting the usefulness of ELT, one of the missionary organisations named *English Language Institute China* was founded in 1981 with the aim of sending missionaries to teach English in China and other countries (as cited in Purgason, 2016). The first publication by Baurain (1992), titled *Teaching English Feeds a Worldwide Craving,* published in Evangelical Missions Quarterly*,* discussed the practical issues of TESOL which ministries could include in

their missions. The director of the evangelistic conversational English programme announced, "there are simply more people interested in learning English than there are people interested in learning about God. Therefore, you offer them what they want and package it in such a way that they get more than what they expect" (as cited in Purgason, 2016, p.136). Tennant (2002), an associate editor of Christianity Today, also made a definitive statement, "Teaching English may well be the twenty-first century's most promising way to take the gospel to the world. It is the globalised world's equivalent of a cup of water for the thirsty" (n.p.). Purgason (2016) states that the demand for English globally opens the door for them again; consequently, a number of missionary organisations have been founded overseas to serve as missionary bases.

2.1.3 Critical views about TESOL and Christian missions

The rising status of English as a global language combined with the use of ELT as part of the Christian missions (including missionaries working at churches and CETs working at educational settings) led to a backlash from several TESOL scholars who started to speculate about the danger of Christian missions within the ELT contexts. The criticisms mainly concern whether missionaries use ELT as a means for (covert) evangelism.

Edge (1996) was the first scholar to discuss issues concerning English teaching positions in TESOL Matters. In his paper called "Keeping the Faith," he argued that those individuals who worked in the TESOL should "restrict the purpose of teaching to facilitating the life of our students" (p.23). In 2003, Edge publicised another short paper titled "Imperial Troopers and Servants of the Lords" and explicitly questioned the issues of transparency and professionalism for evangelicals in the TESOL world. He expressed deep worries that ELT could now be combined with "the material and spiritual aspects of imperial acquisitiveness" associated with the hidden agenda of the US to send missionaries to evangelise the Muslim world (p.706). He decried the covert programme, emphasising that since learning about Christianity was not the primary purpose for students it sounded unethical for missionaries under cover of English language teaching to make use of ELT as a means to an end.

At around the same time, criticisms were further raised by Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) who coined the term "Teaching English as a Missionary Language" (TEML). They argue that TEML is the promotion of ELT driven by missionary desire rather than educational need (p. 348). In the article, they reviewed several websites of missionary organisations and discovered that the primary intention of Christian work was not about ELT, but rather spreading Christianity. One of the missionary websites emphasises this point:

> Obedience requires creativity. Most of those entering Creative Access Nations teach English, but other vocational skills provide a means of access also. English speakers from North America are in great demand. Your ability to share your language and Christian truth makes you valuable. (Baptist Mid-Missions, n.d.)

Pennycook and Makoni (2005) impel other TESOL scholars to examine the TEML approach, noting that some Christian organisations' websites are "open and clear about their preparedness to use ELT for missionaries' purposes" (p.142). As part of this TEML approach, Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) coined the term "creative access," meaning that English offers a golden opportunity is offered for missionaries to obtain access to places where missionary work is not accepted (p. 346). Getting a visa to enter such places is the first procedure of creative access (Pocock, 2005).

Moreover, it is understood that creative access appears to be insidious, as the subsequent step is to lure non-Christian individuals by making them feel trust in the role of missionaries as English teachers (Pennycook and Makoni, 2005). Pennycook and Makoni speculate that Christian missionaries would not reveal the real purpose too early but rather would first build the relationship until a host and students gained trust in them. Later, when the time was ripe to reveal their secret identity, conversion activity would begin. In this case, the concept of creative access involves hiding the real agenda, building up trust and strengthening the relationship so that the spread of the Christian message would be feasible. As Tennant (2002) states, "Start an evangelical church in Poland, and no one will come. Start an English school, and you will make many friends" (n.p.).

However, it is important to note that Pennycook and Coutand-Marin had not conducted fieldwork or interviews to assess the practical implications of creative access until Varghese and Johnston's paper in 2007. The work of Varghese and Johnston involved a qualitative study examining Christian missionaries preparing for ELT. By interviewing ten missionaries undergoing English teacher training at two Christian universities in the US, the study provided emic perspectives on the matter. The study reveals that the main reason for being English teachers was to use ELT as a foundational tool to plant seeds of Christian faith in non-Christian communities. These missionaries also believed that ELT served as an effective strategy to attract non-Christian believers to be interested in them. One of the interviewees openly expressed their view on using ELT as an entry point for promoting Christianity:

> [...] and I think that using ESL and EFL on the mission field is the quickest and easiest and least evasive way to get people to see your purpose in the country, your purpose with the people and to get your point across because you can always integrate faith and learning into your lesson plans. [....] You need to build relationships, plant a seed in them, allow them to know that you love them as a person and that God loves them as a person because he created them. (p.24)

More worryingly, according to Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003), MELTs seem to target accessing disadvantaged areas where resources are few. They use the phrase "preying on the weak", to describe this practice, and give an example of a religious aid programme teaching English to vulnerable groups within poor countries (p.2).

An example of this practice can be seen on a large missionary website titled "Mission Finder" (n.d.) that launched several preaching campaigns, such as the mission of hope, aimed at suffering areas where missionaries could serve a short-term mission to change people's lives through the name of Jesus. In Indonesia, Yeoman (2002) explains his experience of the missionary work he witnessed. He observed that that after the gaining access to a poor area, the mission would provide aid by teaching English to the poor. When trust (and gratitude) was developed between missionaries and the local learners, new Christian believers would arise. Pennycook and Makoni (2005, p.141) insist TEML is a serious issue for TESOL. They believe that ELT is being used as a bait for the missionary hook.

2.2 Responses to the criticisms about the TEML approach

This section provides arguments of several evangelical scholars who have responded to the criticisms described above. There are two main reasons why they have taken action: firstly, to clarify the central principles of missionary work, and secondly, to provide recommendations for CETs when they are engaged in ELT in an intercultural context.

To explain the first point, Purgason (2016, p.321) claims that the golden rule of Christian work includes not only the Great Commission (the truth of God's word) but also the Great Commandment (the love of God). As the Bible states:

> Master, which is the great commandment in the law?
>
> Jesus replied to him: "You shall love the LORD your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the first and the great commandment. And the second is like it: You shall love your neighbour as yourself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets. (Matthew: 22:36-40, NKJV)

Purgason (2016) further highlights that when missionaries are in their mission, they are required to treat others as they would expect others to treat them (p. 321). In other words, integrity and transparency are the essential keywords to represent how missionaries treat others fairly. This assertion aligns with Baurain's (2007) view on the issue of respect. In his paper, "Christian witness respect for persons*",* he emphasises that although Christians hold the truth of their own belief by following the teachings of Jesus, there are clear lines of respect set within the religion that should not be crossed. He criticises what Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003, p. 348) called the unethical moral project of Christianity and claims that forced conversion is considered to be disrespectful and discouraged in Christianity (p. 209). Baurain argues that becoming Christian is through the work of God, not the work of people, as he states:

> From a believer's perspective, the model for Christian witness is God himself. He has revealed himself, he invites, there is evidence, there are arguments, but he does not force people to believe nor make it impossible for them to believe otherwise. (p. 216)

Wong and Lee's (2018) research supports Baurain's and Purgason's viewpoints by illustrating the case of the early CETs (the late 1800s to early 1900s) who served in North Korea as an example. They emphasises that paying respect to Korean culture, fraternising with Koreans, supporting social justice, and helping to rebuild the Korean national spirit are what they did for their host country. Contrary to Pennycook and Coutand-Marin's (2003) claim that "Christian missionary work typically preys on the weak, using English to gain access to vulnerable non-Christian communities" (p. 348), Wong and Lee (2018) argue that the CETs supported the locals rather than causing them harm. This perspective aligns with the principles of respect and integrity seen in the works of Baurain and Purgason.

In addition to the explanation of the ground rules for missionaries, the Christian scholars also acknowledge critics' views, especially the issue of covert Christian activity. Purgason (2016) insists that all Christian organisations which offer English classes should be clear about when, where and in what form hosts and their students would encounter a religious message. Dormer (2001, p.9) also suggests that CETs should not pose any harm culturally and spiritually when they offer ELT. Wong (2009, p.93) supports Dormer's point of view and agrees that using English as an evangelistic tool would corrupt the TESOL profession. In the book titled "English Teaching as Christian Mission", Snow (2001) reiterates the point, arguing "It would be a great loss if CETs were to limit their understanding of Christ's witness to the direct and explicit form of Christian outreach" (2001, p.66). In conclusion, these Christian scholars highlight the need for clear guideline and ethical consideration when missionary organisations offer ELT as part of their mission.

Taking a slightly different approach, Byler (2009), from the Christian Mennonite Partners in, also urges academic scholars of TESOL to be aware of the conflation of the Christian right's beliefs with right-wing politics in the US. She states that the extreme American nationalism and Christian fundamentalism create political complications in cross-cultural understanding, sensitivity and respect. Byler believes that if missionaries combine the work of God with political authority, it does not represent the actual biblical story of God, as she claims:

> Jesus does not come to earth in triumph, but rather as a baby, born in humble surroundings, heralded and worshipped by simple shepherds. The life of Jesus as described in the Gospels is one of vulnerability – he did not attempt to establish a kingdom built on power or to overthrow the Roman government that was in power. He spent his short time on earth reaching out to the poor and disadvantaged, criticising those interested in using religion for their own gain. (p.125)

As can be seen, the responses given by the Christian scholars to the critics of missionaries attempted to show an alternative view of mission and ELT. They argue that transparency, doing no harm, and respect are the principles of missionary work. Nonetheless, they point out that insidious activities of Christian missions devalue TESOL as a profession.

ELT and Christian spiritual work led to the first debate on the online forum in the IATEFL Global Issues Special Interest Group, in which most of the discussants raised questions about the ethics of the missionary work (Angelinas & Hall, 2006). The ethical concerns brought the first book in the field to the TESOL field called "Christian and Critical English Language Educators in Dialogue" co-edited by Wong and Canagarajah (2009). The book further discussed the ethical dilemmas of both evangelical and non-evangelical scholars in the TESOL field. Wong and Canagarajah (2009) made a determined attempt to encourage both sides to establish dialogues about Christian work in ELT. However, all the scholars in the book presented their points of view regardless of empirical work. Most scholars generally responded to the ethical concerns which Edge (1996, 2003) and Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) had already pointed out. In essence, the responses to the criticism rely on the scholars' viewpoints, and intellectual discussions have not moved on due to the lack of empirical evidence. This is the reason why I would like to undertake this study to provide an in-depth investigation of missionary work and ELT based on empirical evidence from a context where it is a long-established tradition.

Although there has been empirical research published in recent years on this topic, contributions appear to be limited. For instance, Baurain's (2013) dissertation examined the role of religious beliefs among predominantly evangelical Christian ESL teachers in Southeast Asia. Similarly, Wong et al. (2013) contributed a book of

empirical studies that explored various aspects of the intersection between English language teaching and evangelical Christian faith. However, it is noteworthy that most of the contributors in this area of research hold Christian perspectives.

Indeed, Johnston (2017) has noted that empirical research on ELT in Christian missions has mainly been carried out by Christian scholars. As Johnston identified himself an atheist in his book, he has called for researchers of different beliefs to contribute to this research. As a Muslim, I agree with his viewpoint and argue that this research should be discussed not only by Christian and non-Christian scholars, specifically atheists, but also by scholars from other religious backgrounds, such as Muslims and Buddhists. ELT in Christian missions is a global phenomenon, and TESOL researchers should conduct research within their respective contexts to examine the interplay between ELT, religions, and cultures in society. This will help us understand that ELT in Christian missions is a complex issue that goes beyond simplistic black and white findings (Johnston, 2017).

2.3 Missionary work and linguistic imperialism

In addition to the ongoing ethical debates between both evangelical and non-evangelical scholars as reviewed in sections 2.1 and 2.2, missionaries are also criticised for promoting linguistic imperialism (Lessard-Clouston, 2013). Before delving into the link between Christian missionaries and linguistic imperialism in particular, I firstly describe Phillipson's (1992, 2009a) linguistic imperial concept in relation to native-speakerism. It is an area of research that has been widely discussed with the Applied Linguistics and TESOL field.

2.3.1 Linguistic imperialism and native-speakerism

English as a global language plays a significant role in ELT profession (Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 1995). In countries where English is not widely spoken, 'native English-speaking teachers' (NESTs) are often viewed as a desirable group (Yandell, 2017). In this ideology 'NESTs' are considered to be superior to non-native English-speaking teachers (non-NEST) in terms of their communicative competence in English and a high level of understanding about the language (Phillipson, 1992). In the more

recent view of Phillipson (2009a) in his book, titled "Linguistic Imperialism Continued," he further argues that the injustices and inequalities perpetrated through the spread of the English language were associated with the five ideological tenets: 1) "English is best taught monolingually", 2) "The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker", 3) "The earlier English is taught, the better the result", 4) "The more English is taught, the better the result" and 5) "If other languages are used much, standard of English will drop" (p.12). Based on the above tenets, Phillipson's view shows that 'NESTs' are often valued and accepted as ideal for ELT.

When we discuss the dichotomy of 'NS' and NNS, legitimacy is always a contested area as it is associated with power and authority. For instance, in relation to language, the questions such as "who speaks the language?" and "what kind of language do they speak?" are associated with legitimacy. In the marketing sense, legitimacy can be related to the value and credibility of the brand, such as what brand do you use? And who owns that brand? (Block, 2017). In ELT, legitimacy is referred to as dominant ideologies such as Standard English varieties (e.g., American English, British English), English accents (e.g., BBC English accent) and 'authentic' English (e.g., English used by 'NSs'). These notions are alive and well in many parts of the world, and in practice, they are the ones that define and set the standard what is acceptable and what is not acceptable, as well as what is correct and what is incorrect based on such beliefs.

Kubota (2020) notes that the notion of legitimacy of English is closely linked to the prevalent belief about who legitimate language users are, and the obvious category is the 'NES'. In academic discussion, this notion is known as "native-speakerism" (Holliday, 2006), meaning that 'NESs' are viewed as an ideal model for language learners because they are perceived/presupposed to be the most proficient speakers who know English and culture best. Together with the dominance of standard English, alongside hegemony forces in language education, the 'NES' becomes powerful, ranking at the top of the hierarchy of the English language (Jenkins, 2015). This widespread belief about 'NES' persists on multiple levels, from the ideological to the practical, including education policies.

However, many Applied Linguistics and TESOL scholars have raised concerns about such models, which were thought to be the only legitimate models (Hall, 2016). The

real idea behind challenging this concept is that there is no single version of English in reality, but rather that English itself has multiple versions (Seargeant, 2016). These range from native English varieties (such as London English, Yorkshire English, and Scottish English) to World Englishes (such as Indian English and Singapore English) and English as an international language (English as a means of communication and interaction among speakers of different first languages in international settings). All of this implies that teaching only standard English varieties do not reflect English as a lingua franca or the realities of English used widely in the world (Jenkins et al., 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011). Many scholars who have documented the use of English in real-world contexts argue that what is taught (e.g., British English or American English only) is no longer effective in international contexts, and they state that educational policies of ELT must be revised according to such contexts (Cummins & Davison, 2007; Matsuda, 2003; Phillipson, 1997). Tomlinson (2016) suggests that new materials for English as an international language should focus on authentic texts, tasks, and exposure to international communication, enhancing learners' pragmatic awareness and ability to communicate effectively.

The movement of abolishing the normative ideology of fixity in ELT (e.g., 'NES') and the emergence of changing English (Hall & Wicaksono, 2020), which aims to inform us about the pluralistic views of English, have given more voices and recognitions to those marginalised people that are labelled as non-NESTs. Many more researchers these days have stood up against the notion of monolithic English and move towards pluralistic English, which celebrates the diversity of English speakers and captures the real use of English.

This trend is promising; however, things seem not to move quickly enough, as Pinner (2016, p.35) says, "there is still too much emphasis on the 'native speaker' and the truly international voices of this diverse language are all too often marginalised. Global English is a story of two sides: bitter matrimony of power and convenience and also a hopeful metaphor for global human collaboration."

To illustrate this point about the contested issues of 'native English speaker' ('NES')' and non- native English speaker (NNES), Sung (2015) state that although efforts made by researchers (such as Rose & Galloway, 2019) to introduce World Englishes to

language education shows positive learning outcomes, such outcomes remain at the superficial recognition level and attitudes towards English are still unchanged. In other words, the 'NS' norm remains strong and salient and is still prevalent in attitudes and practice. This suggests a notable divide between the perspectives of academics and the general public, as the discussion on the topic may seem overly abstract or theoretical to the average person, who believes they have a clear understanding of what a 'NS' is.

For example, research done by Suzuki (2011) found that though three Japanese student teachers realised that English is now a global language and that they should include outer-circle and expanding-circle models in their teaching to embrace global communication, they tended to stick their teaching with standard normative English. They viewed outer-circle and expanding-circle models as incorrect and that they did not want to get students confused.

Seargeant (2016) also argues that the reason why inner-circle English remains strong is not only that it has been codified in ELT but also because some NNESs themselves prefer to follow such 'NES' norms as they were conscious of making language errors (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). This also relates to students' desire to learn English with 'NESs' as it is already established as a correct model. As Motha and Lin (2014, p. 332) contend, "English language learning comes with the desire for language, for the identities represented by particular accents and varies of English; for capital, power, and images that are associated with English; for what is believed the doors that English unlocks."

In relation to authenticity, Pinner (2016) attempts to reveal the salience of 'NES' norms and points out that the notion of authenticity could be a reason for monolithic English that looks set to remain so. As he puts it:

> It seems that despite the power of Kachru's voice and the fact that this area is thriving in terms of research, sadly it seems to have made little impact in the reality of Global English as it is experienced by those who wish to engage with it. It seems that although Quirk's (1985) 'monochrome standard' idea was less popular within the academic community, there is a lot of political power behind such an idea, particularly in terms of cultural capital. (p.35)

Authenticity is also discussed by Duchêne & Heller (2012), who state, "we carry through with us today the idea that things (including people and places) are valuable because of a privileged link to nature; the Romantic idea that nature confers authenticity, whether on things that come from it or on people who live close to it, retains its power to convince."

Authenticity links to legitimacy, power and authority (Pinner, 2016) and the notion of the 'NS' is heavily implicated here (Creese et al., 2014). Research by Pinner (2014) found that Japanese participants who classed themselves as NNESs did not find their English authentic as they felt the authenticity of English belonged to 'NES'. This indeed resonates with the statement of McGrath (2002, p.23) that presenting authentic language, particularly in CLT, was held to give students "a taste of the real world" and serve to prepare them "for that real world". Despite the claim 'NS' is dead made by Paikeday (1985), this notion of authenticity may be the reason why 'NS' norms are still co-existing with outer-circle and expanding-circle varieties of Englishes and are oftentimes exploited by ELT industries.

2.3.2 The effects of 'NES' in a missionary ELT

Although there are several topics which are pertinent to linguistic imperialism and ELT such as the controversial issues of hiring practices between 'NESTs' and non-NESTs (Braine, 2009), two main issues are closely tied in with the missionary ELT.

For the first point, the issue of spreading western cultures among missionaries is addressed by Johnston (2017). He employed ethnography as a methodological approach and spent a year observing English classes of the Lighthouse school, an English language school run by evangelical Christianity in Poland. One of his findings shows that the CETs represented a neo-colonial character via ELT in the classrooms. He highlights that such CETs assimilated their learners into 'NES' and western culture but did not attempt to learn Polish as a language of the host country (p. 155). For his study, he argues that unequal language relations, which is one group learns the other's language but not vice versa, indicate hegemonic and colonial aspirations.

Another study similar to Johnston's is Kim's (2019). She points out the relationship between power and CETs. Employing a critical approach and ethnographic methods to examine power relations between evangelicals and minority students (North Koreans) at the Church-run EFL school in South Korea, the findings reveal that using their position as a 'NEST' led the CETs to have authority over the minority students in the classroom. As a result, CETs were able to include Christian beliefs during the class although their students did not intend to learn about them. Even though evidence of conversion to Christianity was not suggested in the study, Kim argues that CETs should never insert Christian texts in ELT. She also comments that the power of being 'NESTs' could support the CETs to promote Christianity.

For the second issue, Dormer (2011, p.3) states that many Christian missionaries lacked adequate training in ELT. They used their 'NES' abilities which are communicative competence (skill in using English) and linguistic knowledge (knowledge about English) to validate themselves with ELT. Such validation is misconstrued in the TESOL field. To be qualified like English teachers, missionaries are strongly advised to have theoretical knowledge (knowing about English learning) and methodological competence (skills in designing appropriate classroom activities) before going into ELT (Dormer, 2011). A statement which supports Dormer's view is posted on the TESOL website[2] (2003) that states:

> English language learners, whether in an English as a second language (ESL) or English as a foreign language (EFL) setting, have the right to be taught by qualified and trained teachers. 'Native speaker' proficiency in the target language alone is not sufficient qualification for such teaching positions; the field of TESOL is a professional discipline that requires specialised training. (TESOL Board of Directors, 2003)

Dormer (2011) speculates that several CETs used a certificate from a training course as short as three days to claim their eligibility to teach English in the TESOL field. To support her view, a missionary organisation titled "Institute for Global Opportunities" in Southeast Asia provides a course for new missionaries to prepare themselves before they travel to non-Christian areas for six months (p.10). Missionaries spend three

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[2] https://www.tesol.org/docs/pdf/374.pdf?sfvrsn=2&sfvrsn=2

months in the course, but the TESOL training is at a very introductory level in which missionary students learn about ELT sessions for a few days. The central part of the lessons is devoted to Life of Jesus, the history of missions, Christian evidence, and church planting efforts.

Lacking attention to proper TESOL training among missionaries leads to ignorance about considering TESOL as a professional, legitimate field (Wong, 2017). Phillipson (2009b) addresses this point in his work on linguistic imperialism and Christian work. He argues that missionaries should not only respect cultural and linguistic diversity and human rights in freedom of religion, but also be qualified in teaching English. He suggests explicitly that CETs should teach students to have high levels of both English competence and political awareness (p.68). As Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) also explain:

> The field of ELT has struggled for years—with only partial success—to oppose the employment of English teachers (often with no qualifications, yet on higher salaries than their local counterparts) purely on the grounds of supposed 'native speaker' abilities. When missionary English teachers offer 'free' English lessons, when churches send untrained English teachers to spread the word, these problems are immeasurably increased. (p. 341)

It can be seen that several scholars, both evangelicals and non-evangelicals, accept that TESOL is a professional field in which missionary organisations should never use 'NES' abilities as a way to gain a foothold within non-Christian communities. In this sense, several Christian scholars including Dormer (2011), Purgason (2016), Snow (2001), Wong and Canagarajah (2009) strongly urge all missionaries who engage in the TESOL field to have suitable training and qualifications in ELT. With regard to empirical work, only Johnston (2017) and Kim (2019) have engaged this approach. In other words, more data-based research is needed as the tension between linguistic imperialism and ELT offered by missionaries is still an important area of enquiry.

2.4 ELT in Thailand

After delving into the main arguments of the interrelationship of Christian faith and English language teaching in the broader literature, I will now describe contexts of ELT

in Thailand where the data collection of this study took place. In this section, I review the status of English in Thailand which includes the history of missionary work, the role of missionaries and linguistic imperialism, ELT and the language of literacy and the current status of ELT and learning in Thailand.

2.4.1 ELT and Missionary work in Thailand since 1851

Even though English has never been given the status of an official language in Thailand, it has been the most dominant foreign language taught since the eighteenth century (Baker, 2008; Kaur et al., 2016; Wiriyachitra, 2002). English was first spoken in the reign of Rama III[3] (1824-1851) by individuals from Western countries who used English as a means of diplomatic negotiations with Siam[4] (Baker & Jarunthawatchai, 2017).

However, the emergence of ELT became apparent during the reign of Rama IV (1851-1868). Due to the fear of the threat of colonisation and the tremendous adversity of not knowing English (the language of the invader), The King accepted the need for English, and it was officially taught by the English Protestant missionaries who came to Siam under the purpose of establishing Christianity-related institutions overseas (Chaiwan & Theol, 1975; Watson, 1983). According to Lee (2003, p.35), Rama IV became the first Southeast Asian monarch to be literate in English. He had a close relationship with his Christian friend, Dan Beach Bradley, who was sent by the American Missionary Association to work as a doctor in Siam. Apart from Bradley's medical expertise, his 'NES' appeared to be so useful for Siam that Rama IV appointed him to be a translator for essential documents, such as foreign treaties. Bradley founded the first Siamese English newspaper read among the aristocratic Siamese people. Because of his considerable work, Bradley was regarded by Rama IV as a well-respected pioneer in the land of Siam (Lee, 2003).

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[3] The word 'Rama' is referred to as King of Thailand, and the given number in line with Rama means the king is in the Chakri Dynasty of Thailand and reigns during the period. The current king of Thailand is Rama X.

[4] The former name of Thailand

The Christian movement brought advanced knowledge for the prosperity of Siam. Several Christian missionaries were accepted in Thailand; some of them worked as 'NESTs' providing ELT for the royal family members. However, as the role of missionaries was to reach the unreached to spread the word of God (Byler, 2009), it led to a severe problem for the missionaries. To illustrate the interrelationship of Christianity and ELT in Thai history, persecution of Protestantism happened in 1869 in the north of Siam where two protestants were killed by Thais due to promoting Christianity to Thai Buddhists (Chaiwan & Theol, 1975, p.24). This case highlights a proselytising effort of missionaries in Siam, of which Rama IV became aware. Considering ELT to be necessary for the country, Rama IV wrote a letter to a missionary (Mrs. Anna H. Leonowens), declaring his intention to hire a missionary as a 'NEST' to teach English to his royal family members, which states:

> To Mrs A. H. Leonowens:
> Madam: We are in good pleasure and satisfaction in heart that you are in willingness to undertake the education of our beloved royal Children. And we hope that in doing your education on us and on our Children [....] you will so your best endeavour for knowledge of English language, science and literature, and not for conversion to Christianity; as the followers of Buddha are mostly aware of the powerfulness of truth and virtue, as well as of the followers of Christ, and are desirous to have facility of English language and literature, more than new religions. (Leonowens, n.d.)

From his letter, it was clearly stated that despite the importance of English, conversion activities appeared to be a threat to Thai Buddhists. Nonetheless, 'NESTs' were still prized by the Thai monarchy.

Based on this historical perspective of Thailand, ELT in Siam arose because of the arrival of missionaries who were hired as 'NESTs' during the colonial time. Although the west colonisers did not colonise Thailand in history, the colonial missionaries appeared to be the principal agents in which religion and language intersected (Spolsky, 2003). As Pennycook (2001) states, ELT appears to be "a mission to the world", in which English is linked closely to colonial missionaries (p.59).

2.4.2 ELT and linguistic imperialism since 1968

The missionaries were accepted to teach English during the reign of Rama IV because it was considered to be necessary for diplomatic interaction. However, literacy in English historically appeared to be limited to some individuals of the highest class (Hice, 2015; Kosonen, 2008, p.174). Missionaries as 'NESTs' were associated with the elite level of Siam, which was noticeable in the two following reigns.

Rama V (1868-1910) established the first school within his royal palace to educate children of noble birth (Kosonen, 2008). In 1872, he also founded a primary English language school and employed a Christian missionary named Francis Petterson as a 'NEST' (Bennui and Hashim, 2014, p. 217). In this context, English was used as a Medium of Instruction for the first time. The Thai language was not allowed to be used in the classroom so that learners could adapt themselves to a real English-speaking environment. This case illustrates linguistic imperialism which Phillipson (2009a) points out in one of the tenets: "English was best taught monolingually" (p.12). Ironically, in response to this example, Bennui and Hashim (2014, p. 217) state that Francis Petterson received hostile comments from his students stressing that learning English without Thai words was culturally inappropriate. Nevertheless, 'NESTs' were still favoured by the King as they produced some Thai students with proficient English. In 1878, the American missionaries were allowed to establish their English language school (Bennui and Hashim, 2014, p. 217).

In the reign of Rama VI (1910-1925), the role of 'NESTs' rapidly developed. Rama VI was educated at the University of Oxford and obtained standard British English. He became the first 'westernised' Thai monarch. During his reign, Rama VI founded the royal Bangkok sports club for the elite society to socialise in English (Chutisilp, 1984, p.96). Jackson (2007, p. 331) refers to this scenario as 'semi- colonisation' indicating that the incorporation of some western systems such as education, science and technology into the country's development was adopted to avoid westerners stating Siam was an uncivilised state. This aspect of 'NES' construction intensified social stratification between aristocracies and commoners in that those who could have access to English gained better social advantages (Cummins and Davison, 2007, p.3).

To modernise the country, several Thai elite individuals who returned from their studies in the US and the UK were appointed to be ministers and government officials in Thailand (Bennui & Hashim, 2014).   Standard English varieties were deemed particularly valid within Thai society (Buripakdi, 2014). Hayes (2010) and Kosonen (2008) relate the achievement of using standard English in urban life in Thai culture where the elite groups dominated and benefitted. For instance, two major English newspapers in Thailand titled "The Bangkok Post", and "The Nation" were sustained by the elite readers who were well-travelled and well-educated overseas (Sutthisripok et al.,1993). At that time, competence in English appears to be a social marker of high status in Thailand (Aksornkool, 1985).

Although proselytisation appeared not to be encouraged, what can be understood from this discussion is that missionaries were part of linguistic imperialism especially in the reign of Rama V. Indeed, it continued through the reign of Rama VI at which the western power strongly influenced the modernisation of Thailand. Since then, English has been used as a device to divide people into a basket as "us", "them" or "other" (Buripakdi, 2008). Therefore, from the historical perspective, class and English have been actively associated. It could be said that standard English was associated with an ideology of elite modernity.

2.4.3 ELT and the language of literacy

English in Thailand was restricted to the elite for over a century and only appeared to be part of Thai school curricula as an academic subject for students beginning at grade five in 1921 (Wongsothorn, 2000). The year marked the first time for Thailand that English was a required subject of study for the masses based on two following reasons: 1) Thailand should produce more modern commoners for the nation and, 2) to do so, the commoners should have sufficient knowledge of English (Aksornkul, 1980). Furthermore, it was also the year that represented a significant shift for Thailand in a sense that ELT should not be confined to some particular groups but should be expanded to accommodate other children (Wongsothorn et al., 2002).

After the change of Thai political system from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy during the reign of Rama VII (1925-1935), equal education for all Thais appeared to be a key component in the government's national plan (Baker & Jarunthawatchai, 2017). Later, between 1948 and 1977, the Thai government extended English in Thai education[5] to the upper primary levels (years 4-6), all secondary levels (years 7-12) and higher education so that Thai students could have more hours to learn English. In 1996, English became mandatory for all primary grades, reflecting the general trend in Asia for ELT at a younger age (Baker, 2008 p.137). Also, the emphasis was on developing language proficiency for international communication, moving away from a purely academic approach and focusing on career prospects. However, such expansion attracted comment. This includes the political debate about whether English should be implemented as a compulsory subject or an elective one (Baker & Jarunthawatchai, 2017), the criticism over the ineffective method of rote memorisation (Hilado-Deita, 2015), the lack of standard course books, and the insufficient numbers of qualified teachers (Sukamolson, 1998, p.84). These cases reflect some ELT difficulties in Thailand during the early stage of ELT implementation in education.

The most recent change to ELT policy was the 1999 Education Act, and the National Education Curriculum implemented in 2002 which made English the language of the intellectual development of the country (Wongsothorn et al., 2003, p.445). Culture, communication, connection and community became the main four strands for the English curriculum (Baker, 2008) and the paradigm shift in teaching methods changed from teacher-centred methods to learner-centred ones (Rogers, 1969). Moreover, computer-assisted language learning (CALL) was encouraged as part of the ELT in the classroom (Baker, 2008).

2.4.4 ELT and the language of globalisation

From the historical perspective, the first spread of English to Thailand occurred through diplomatic relationships during the colonial era. In contrast, at present, English

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[5] Thai education systems comprise of three-year of pre-school and twelve-year basi education (year 1-2) (Zebioli, 2009, p.152)

in Thailand has been majorly spread because of globalisation such as tourism, world commerce and international educational flow (Low & Ao, 2018). The aspect of globalisation is also attached with neoliberalism which suggests that English will provide personal, social, and economic advantages (Park, 2011).

According to the three concentric circles description[6] (Kachru, 1985; Kachru 1992), Thailand has been classified as an Expanding Circle country where English is mainly taught as a foreign language. Regarded as a worldwide lingua franca (Jenkins, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2010), English for Thailand has become the 'de facto' language for international communication, resulting in the growing demand for acquiring communicative competence in English (Baker and Jarunthawatchai, 2017; Low & Ao, 2018). This impact includes the outline of a draft proposal for English as an official language in 2010 (Darasawang and Todd, 2012), the fast increase in the number of Thai-English bilingual and English-medium programmes in multi-levelled institutions (Glass, 2009; Kaur et al. 2016), and more recently "the English Speaking Year 2012 Initiative" (Baker and Jarunthawatchai, 2017, p. 33), which the Thai government established to encourage Thai citizens to practise English for intercultural communication with other ASEAN[7] countries.

However, English for globalisation still sustains the 'NS' norm in Thailand. Baker (2008) points out that the Thai government attempted to recruit numbers of 'NESTs' as they believed 'NESTs' could offer CLT to Thai students. Eventually, 'NESTs' took the lead on teaching English listening and speaking in the class, though their presence was not ubiquitous across every school in Thailand. However, teaching qualifications of the 'NESTs' were overlooked by the government. The criticism about unqualified

[6] Inner Circle Countries (English-speaking countries such as UK, US, Canada, Australia, etc.), Outer Circle Countries (the nations that were colonised by the West such as India, Malaysia, Singapore, etc.) & Expanding Circle Countries (the nations that use English as a foreign language such as Thailand, China, Russia, etc.) (Kachru, 1985, 1992).

[7] ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, is a regional intergovernmental organisation comprising ten Southeast Asian countries, which are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia. Established on August 8, 1967, the organisation aims to promote political and economic cooperation and regional stability among its member states.

NESTs flocking into Thailand was raised by Dhanasobhon (2007) who demanded the government examine the credentials of 'NESTs' properly.

Another criticism concerned culture. Sukamonson (2014) explains that ELT curricula appeared to require Thai teachers to teach the culture of 'NES' to students despite the fact that most of them had no cultural background knowledge of the 'NES' models (e.g., the UK and the US).

In more recent years, Ministry of Education Thailand and the British Council Thailand have celebrated the fourth anniversary of an aid programme called Thailand English Teaching (TET), for which British undergraduates are brought to Thailand and to work as ELT assistants in Thai secondary and primary schools for nine weeks (British Council Malaysia, n.d.). Although the project is designed to support local English teachers, there is also an ideological aim noticeable on the website to recruit 'NESTs': "but your knowledge and understanding of the UK will be great benefits, giving students an idea of what life is like in the UK" (Global Graduates, n.d.). This has been noted by Anchimbe (2006), Takahashi (2012) and Foley (2007) who argue that ELT in Thailand could never be free from the 'NS' norm, in which made its ELT regarded as native-speakerism.

2.5 Conclusion

To this point, we have seen that ELT in Thailand has undergone remarkable transitions over the last three centuries. English today is no longer associated with elite only but has become a language of mobility, socially and economically. Several Thai scholars have followed the global trend in TESOL within the twenty-first century and addressed current political issues of ELT in Thailand. Many of them have focused on English as a lingua franca (Kirkpatrick, 2010; Low & Ao, 2018), linguistic imperialism (Buripakdi, 2014), native-speakerism (Anchimbe, 2006; Dhanasobhon, 2007; Foley, 2007; Takahashi, 2012) and intercultural communication (Baker, 2008; Baker & Jarunthawatchai, 2017).

However, previous research has mostly overlooked the role of missionaries as 'NESTs' even though several missionary organisations in Thailand, such as Sim by prayer[8], ABWE International[9], Teachbeyond[10] and the Baptist Mid-Missions[11] have already responded to the demand for English language learning and include ELT as part of their services. Linking to the broader literature of missionary work and ELT, it is clear that there is also an ongoing debate about the work of missionaries that offer English to non-Christian believers. Some scholars have expressed their criticisms over the danger of teaching English missions and linguistic imperialism (Edge, 1992, 2009; Kim, 2019; Johnston, 2007, 2017; Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003; Pennycook and Makoni, 2005; Phillipson, 2009b) while some scholars responded to the critics and provided suggestions for missionary organisations with integrity (Baurain, 2007; Byler, 2009; Dormer, 2011; Purgason, 2016; Snow, 2001; Wong, 2009).

Indeed, there is still a need for evidence-based research to help us understand the complexities surrounding ELT in Christian missions, as different contexts can provide nuanced insights. As a Thai individual who has personally witnessed ELT in missionary activities, as described in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.1), and observed various websites and online platforms (such as Facebook), I have noticed the presence of different missionary organisations in Thailand. Some of these organisations, like LDS, openly advertise their ELT programmes. Based on my strong interest in this topic and firm belief that it merits further research attention, I am particularly motivated to study and explore it more deeply. Therefore, in my PhD study, I aim to shed light on the investigation of missionary work and ELT in Thailand. Part of this, I will introduce my pilot study in Chapter 4, the Methodology Chapter, which will serve as a crucial turning point in my understanding of ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand.

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[8] https://www.sim.org/-/Thailand?countries=Thailand

[9] https://www.abwe.org/serve/focuses/translation-esl

[10] https://teachbeyond.org/go/english-camps/

[11] https://www.bmm.org/serve/where-we-serve/ministries/can

Chapter THREE: Unlocking the Linguistic Marketplace: The Role of ELT in a Christian Mission in Thailand

Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis, which is the linguistic marketplace, and establishes links between missionary ELT and English as a symbolic language. The concept of the linguistic marketplace emerged from the analyses of the interview data of this study, the refinement of the research findings, and the discussions with my supervisors to identify a theoretical approach that could best elucidate the relationship between language and power. The linguistic marketplace, as Pierre Bourdieu's broader theory of cultural capital (1969, 1973, 1986, 1991), serves as a critical lens to explore the perspectives of both missionaries and Thai participants concerning ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand. This theory is chosen to explain the research findings in Chapters 6 and 7 of this study.

In this chapter, I will begin by providing the significance of English symbolic capital. Then, I will explore the concept of English as economic capital and as linguistic capital, and its relevance to native-speakerism. Then, I will move to linguistic marketplace where linguistic capital can be operationalised. After delving into the theoretical underpinnings of the linguistic marketplace that guides this research, I will highlight its relevance to this study. The last part of the chapter is the conclusion of this chapter.

3.1 Symbolic capital

> Symbolic capital includes not just the prestige and recognition associated with a particular profession or background, but also the way in which these are used to differentiate oneself from others and establish one's place in the social hierarchy. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 119)

What Bourdieu attempted to point out above is that people in society use professional and social status to distinguish themselves and find their position in society. Essentially, the prestige, recognition, and the way in which they set themselves apart from others carries symbolic capital.

The symbolic value of an object or entity varies, as different items do not hold equal levels of capitals. As Bourdieu posits (1984), language – an entity - retains symbolic power, which associates with social stratification and can perpetuate inequalities between individuals. This is important in this study because English, for example, holds symbolic capital in Thai society and that those speakers, including MELTs, who use English as their first language are in position of power in Thailand. It is thought they can gain better social advantages in some contexts than those who do not.

Canagarajah (2005) adds that language is imbued with value, and those who hold power and speak a particular language possess greater value than others. In linguistic marketplace theory, multiple languages compete to establish dominance. At this point in the twenty-first century, English is a valuable resource and a preeminent global language with many NNESs learning it for cultural, economic and social reasons. In Bourdieu's terms, as quoted above, being able to use English establishes a speaker as a global citizen and differentiates them from those who lack English and the benefits it brings.

In many contexts where English is not widely spoken, English is considered a highly valued language, with both 'NSs' and NNSs utilising it for communication. This has often positioned English as an important lingua franca. As a result of it conferring status, there is an increased demand for ELT in the market. English has emerged as a symbol of international communication, thus becoming a much sought-after skill for many individuals. These dynamics have led English to attain symbolic status in the language market, attracting people who wish to learn English.

Based on English as symbolic capital, I will examine whether there exists a significant symbolic value associated with English in contexts where demand for it is high. Specifically, I aim to investigate the complex workings of the linguistic/religious marketplace in missionary ELT in Thailand.

To further explain, I will explore whether missionaries can leverage this symbolic value to connect with non-believers and foster cooperation, while at the same time, NNESs believe they can benefit from the symbolic value of English by improving their skills.

3.2 English as economic capital

Duchêne and Heller (2012) assert that the globalised economy has given rise to a demand for language skills, thus prompting the commodification of language, and transforming language proficiency into a form of economic capital. Such proficiency may provide an advantageous edge, by capitalising on the notions of "pride" and "profit". "Pride" denotes language as a marker of identity, while "profit" refers to language as a source of income. Consequently, individuals possessing language proficiency in a sought-after language are better positioned for increased employment opportunities and a broader market scope.

English, due to its symbolic capital, has increasingly become a commodified product in the ELT marketplace and beyond. It is now associated with entry into some specific countries, such as the UK, as well as the labour market (Block, 2003; Pennycook, 2007). Also, in the twenty-first century, being proficient in English for those who do not speak English as the first language has emerged as an essential soft skill, recognised by many parents as a means to better socioeconomic prospects for their children (Choi, 2017; Kubota, 2011; Pennycook, 2012). Hence, English has attained incontestable commodity status, apparent through the mandatory inclusion of English language courses in schools globally, especially in countries where English is not widely spoken. This includes some high-fee English programmes, such as English as EMI, English language programmes, and international schools worldwide. However, while these high-fee programmes promise to deliver higher quality ELT (Park, 2011), they are available to some families and not to others.

In Bourdieu's thinking (1991), economic capital set people apart in society as they may be grouped based on their financial resources they possess. Economic capital thus intersects with other kinds of capital individuals have, such as cultural and social capital, leading them to have unequal social mobility and varying positions within society. This interplay can result in power dynamics often favouring those who possess more economic capital in society.

In ELT, English functions as not only a symbolic language and also a commodity (economic capital), both of which often confer power. The use of a prestigious variety

of English, such as 'NS' English, is associated with power and is closely linked to the identity of its speakers.

In Thailand, learning English with 'NSs', whether within educational institutions or as supplementary instruction, typically incurs higher costs compared to non-NESTs and local teachers. This economic phenomenon arises from the theoretical construct of nativeness, which makes the 'NS' English associated with economic advantage. Evidently, this generates an industry that employs 'NSs' in ELT. However, there exists a considerable barrier for individuals who cannot afford to learn English with 'NSs' due to the high cost involved.

Since English classes offered by some missionaries in Thailand are accessible either free of charge or at a low cost, I will explore whether 'NES' is perceived as more legitimate than those who are NNES among the Thai learners. Also, I will explore how the Thai learners negotiate their access to these resources in the linguistic marketplace of missionary ELT.

3.3 English as linguistic capital

Linguistic capital is a theoretical concept that is important in this study, as it pertains to the significance and prestige of languages used within a given context (Bourdieu, 1991), which is English. Linguistic capital is part of a broader cultural capital construct as defined by Bourdieu. It refers to the ability to generate suitable and relevant language expressions specifically tailored for a particular context or audience (p.18). It is a tool that individuals possess and employ (Yoon, 2015). This encompasses aspects such as knowledge, abilities, lifestyles, and qualifications as well as language. Owning cultural capital can impart authority and social hierarchies, and linguistic capital can also constitute symbolic capital that confers legitimacy and authority to those individuals who wield it. Thus, language, as elucidated in this chapter, is not neutral but is intertwined with social status and power in a given social sphere.

Linguistic capital, according to Morrison and Lui (2000), refers to competence in a language that is highly esteemed and used by groups possessing economic, social, cultural, and political power at the local, national, and global levels. It signifies an

individual's proficiency in a language and their ability to utilise it in a socially esteemed manner. Therefore, a person who employs a prestigious language in a context where the language is held in high regard commands greater linguistic capital than those whose language is less valued.

In connection to ELT and learning, Block (2015) observes that English language learners who possess sound English language skills possess a prized linguistic capital, affording them access to superior life opportunities such as better employment prospects or moving overseas. Mastery of English can be viewed as a pathway to upward social and economic mobility since it is associated with improved job prospects, higher salaries, and a diverse array of social and cultural experiences. As Bourdieu (1991) posits, language proficiency is a valuable resource that can confer social advantages and provide opportunities for individuals and communities.

In this study, I will examine whether being a 'NES' and a missionary can provide an advantage in positioning oneself as a language teacher in a marketplace where the English language and 'NESs' possess symbolic capital. In other words, I will explore whether MELTs can use their linguistic capital as part of their Christian mission to share their faith and whether Thai learners are exposed to sets of values associated with the missionaries' faith in an exchange aimed at increasing their English proficiency through the missionaries.

3.4 Linguistic marketplace

The linguistic marketplace, also referred to as the linguistic market, market, space, or the economics of linguistic exchanges formed a part of the broader theory of cultural capital introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1986, p.254; 1991, p.103). Bourdieu posits that language served not only as a vehicle for communication but also as a carrier of social capital which could be employed by individuals to gain social advantages within a particular context (1991, p.51). For instance, the context of English language learning by Thai people of two different backgrounds, such as an affluent background and a less-privileged background in Thailand represent Bourdieu's concept of language as a carrier of social capital. The individual from an affluent family may be able to attend an international school where English was used as a language of instruction and that

made this individual fluent in English in a Thai context, while the other individual from a less affluent family may have attended a local Thai school where English was only taught as a subject, resulting in limited English proficiency in a Thai context. The example of the existence of social advantages, rooted in social capital, can contribute towards social stratification and inequalities in that the two individuals with different social backgrounds receive unequal quality of language learning. According to Bourdieu (1986) and Lin (1999), individuals or groups with better linguistic capital can utilise their connections and available resources to enhance their economic, social, and political status, while those without may find it challenging to achieve upward social mobility.

This perspective highlights the critical role of language as the medium for exchanging capitals in the linguistic market. In other words, language serves not merely as a tool for social interactions, but can also unify or divide different social groups, maintain social power amongst certain groups, and establish social hierarchies in society. Based on the example above, if both individuals were to have a job interview for a position requiring English proficiency, the person with a background of learning English in the international school would likely demonstrate more fluency in English compared to the other individual with limited English resources. This suggests that even if both of them are non-native speakers of English, the higher social background and fluency in English had a better chance to get a job. The phenomenon like this takes place under the notion language as a form of capital, as Bourdieu pointed out (1991, p.46).

The notion of language not being neutral for communication has generated significant interest among sociolinguistic researchers who seek to explore the link between language and power. Scholars have studied how the power attributed to prestige languages and varieties can give speakers an advantage and better access to socio-economic status within society.

My thesis links to the concept of English as a symbolic power, focusing on how English is perceived by people, particularly, with respect to 'NSs' and NNESs. As well as proficiency, accent also has symbolic capital, and my study examines the intricate dynamics of how the Thai people perceive English as taught by missionaries, who are 'NSs'. Specifically, the research delves into the symbolic significance attributed to the

American and authentic English pronunciation sought by the Thai learners. It seeks to understand how the preference for 'native speaker-led' instruction symbolises socio-cultural aspirations and linguistic prestige within the Thai context, shedding light on the intricate interplay of linguistic, cultural, and symbolic factors in English language acquisition and representation.

3.5 Linking it all together

After delving into the theoretical underpinnings of the linguistic marketplace that guided this research, I will now highlight its relevance to this study.

First, the situation of missionaries offering ELT within their mission highlights the symbolic value of the English language, which is contingent upon the Thai social context and its audience. As discussed in the previous chapter, English has a significant symbolic value because of its global use and deep connection to Western culture. In Thailand, English is regarded as prestigious, and its acquisition is highly demanded among many Thai people. In connection to this, as Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) noted about TEML, this study examines whether some missionary organisations have reconceptualised their missions by integrating gospel teachings with English language instruction to attract more Thai people to come to their church. In this study I will investigate whether missionaries are able to capitalise on the symbolic capital of the English language and attract Thai individuals who may not have previously been interested in attending church.

Secondly, English is often seen as a valuable commodity in the global marketplace, as it provides speakers with access to a wide range of economic and social opportunities. By offering ELT as part of missionary service in Thailand, missionaries could provide Thai individuals with a valuable skill that can help them navigate the global economic system and access new opportunities. Given the high demand for ELT in non-English speaking countries like Thailand, this research asks whether missionaries could also offer ELT as a product of their work in light of the high demand for ELT in non-English speaking countries like Thailand.

In conjunction with English and English-speaking communities serving as valuable resources in the globalised economy for language improvement, this study examines whether ELT offered by missionaries will represent a niche market in Thailand. That is, firstly, do missionary organisations use ELT as a means of spreading their message and sharing their cultural and linguistic resources with non-believers? Conversely, do non-believers seek out ELT opportunities with missionaries to improve their English skills, regardless of religious interests? These language learning dynamics are shaped by the larger language ideologies surrounding English and its speakers, both in the context of Christian missions and language education more broadly.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have informed the concept of the linguistic marketplace and its application to the study of ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand. It has highlighted the role of English as a form of symbolic, economic, and linguistic capital. Through the lens of linguistic marketplace, the concept has been useful as it has provided the complex interplay between language and power within this particular context. The findings which will be presented in Chapters 6 and 7 will show analyses based on this concept with the hope that it will provide nuanced findings and contribute to the field of TESOL and Applied Linguistics.

In the next chapter, Chapter 4, I will move to the methodology of the thesis.

Chapter FOUR: Research Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the methodological underpinnings of the research project. As previously outlined in Chapter 1, the aim of this study is to explore the perspectives of Christian missionaries who taught English in Thailand as part of their mission, and Thai learners who learned English with the missionaries. Therefore, the choice of methodology for this project was designed to align with the aim of the study to help me capture rich information that I sought to understand.

I begin this chapter by explaining my ontological and epistemological beliefs, which include social constructionism as my philosophical approach to this research. Then, I outline my rationale for choosing a qualitative approach to collect data for this study. Next, I discuss the pilot study I conducted in a Christian mission in a Muslim community in Thailand and move on to explain the main study redesigned to suit the pandemic's context. In the final section of this chapter, I end this chapter with a conclusion.

4.1 Philosophical underpinnings and knowledge framework

4.1.1 The shift of my ontological and epistemological belief

Scholars such as Creswell (2013, p.109), Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.91), and Denzin and Lincoln (2018) posit that it is essential to identify a researcher's epistemological and ontological beliefs as these beliefs play a fundamental role in the research they undertake. Epistemology and ontology refer to the researcher's assumptions about social reality and the nature and purpose of knowledge.

Indeed, epistemology and ontology are complex but important concepts because they are concerned with fundamental questions about knowledge, reality and how we think we understand the world. While there are some differences in how scholars describe and discuss the concepts, there is generally a shared understanding.

According to Creswell (2013, p.27), epistemology is concerned with how we know things, the methods we use to acquire knowledge, and our understanding of the

relationship between the subject and the object of knowledge. In other words, epistemology is about examining the nature of knowledge itself, including the processes of obtaining and validating knowledge, and the roles of the knower (subject) and the known (object) in this process. It delves into questions such as: What counts as knowledge? How do we come to know what we know? What are the sources of knowledge, and how do we justify our claims to knowledge?

In terms of ontology, Creswell states that it refers to the nature of reality, existence and being.

Richards (2003) notes that ontology deals with individuals' beliefs about reality (p.33). In his book, Richards used an example of two language teachers, Kylie and Cecily, to illustrate the difference. They expressed contrasting views of language learning and through doing so, showcase their philosophical positions (p.34).

What mattered most for Cecily was the classroom context and relationships between the learners and the environment; what mattered for Kylie was adherence to linguistic rules and regulations, demonstrating a structured and rule-governed view on learning and knowledge acquisition. Regarding ontology, Kylie took a realist position suggesting there was an external reality out there to be followed, while Cecily adopted a relativist position, denying a singular reality independent of our perspectives. In terms of epistemology, Kylie held an objectivist perspective showing that the truth was accessible, while Cecily adopted a subjectivist stance and viewed knowledge as something created through interaction between the world and the individual (p.35).

Hall and Wicaksono (2020) are also another two well-known scholars in Applied Linguistics who explicitly discuss these terms, with a greater focus on the ontologies of English - that is, the nature of English's existence in different realities (p.4) - and its related aspect, epistemology - the status of knowledge, its sources, and its validity (p.5). They argue that we, TESOL practitioners, should critically examine the ontologies that underpin our educational ideologies and professional practices. By doing so, we can achieve a better mutual understanding of what English is and, in turn, inform educational policy and practice more effectively.

Hall and Wicaksono provide an example of how standard English is viewed as knowledge based more on authority than evidence. The belief in the existence of standard English is reinforced by attributing value to it, thereby giving it a superior status compared to other forms of English from an ideological standpoint (p.6). They posit that different epistemologies lead to different ontological commitments, and these differing commitments serve as the foundations for different ideologies.

These explanations make me reflect on my views of English and ELT in Thailand, both of which are entrenched in my ideology. I was taught to use standard English in school back in 1998 in Thailand. I used English textbooks that primarily focused on teaching normative English based on the English spoken by 'NSs', mostly influenced by American and British English. After completing my first degree in 2008, I also taught English using these standard rules and pronunciation, emphasising to my students that by following them, their English would be understood and accepted in society.

Reflecting on this, I found myself relating to Kylie in Richard's example, as my philosophical stance which was a realist one. However, my experience living in the UK also exposed me to the fact that the local citizens rarely spoke 'standard English' in my interactions with them. My academic journey in TESOL, coupled with my interactions with multilingual English users, has significantly shifted my epistemological and ontological beliefs regarding the singular reality of English.

Therefore, for me English is not only confined to native-native or native-non-native talk. Even though such talk exists, it does not always mean they talk standard English or ideal 'native' English speaking as it is portrayed in education. Teaching only 'standard English' in class in Thailand and informing my students that this is the way 'NSs' only use does not capture what real English is like to me as my beliefs about it has changed. My ontology is now relativism, and my epistemology is subjective. The reality of English for me varies according to individual and cultural perspectives and contexts, and my knowledge and understanding of English is subjective.

However, different people have different sets of beliefs. Richards (2003) cautions us to focus on understanding our own belief systems, not to create arguments that only

serve to strengthen the conviction of the like-minded. Instead, the most effective way to persuade others of the value of our position is to produce research that demonstrates its worth. Therefore, our efforts should be directed towards research that substantiates our perspectives, which is what I attempt to do in this thesis.

4.1.2 My knowledge problematics

In social research, scholars typically classify beliefs about ontology and epistemology into four knowledge problematics, namely objectivism, subjectivism, intersubjectivism and interpretivism (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Richards, 2003). Crotty (1998) explains that objectivism refers to the belief that the social world can be observed objectively, and social phenomena can be measured and quantified. In other words, there is an objective reality that exists independently of our beliefs, values, and perceptions.

Subjectivism, conversely, assumes that reality is highly based on subjective experiences and perspectives of individuals. It focuses on the idea that knowledge and meanings are rooted in individual subjectivity and personal experiences. Such a focus can be personal factors of individuals such as motivation, background and individual styles. Subjectivism highlights the importance of people's unique perspectives or individual agency in understanding phenomena.

Intersubjectivism, meanwhile, refers to the belief that knowledge is co-created by people who participate in social interaction. Flyvbjerg (2006) states that this perspective acknowledges the role of the researcher in the research process as an active participant in the co-construction of meaning. It assumes that researchers have their assumptions, values, and beliefs that influence their interpretation of the data, and their interaction with participants affects the quality and nature of the information generated.

The last knowledge problematics is interpretivism. Interpretivism may appear related to subjectivism as they both recognise the importance of subjective experiences and interpretation. However, they have different perspectives in social research.

Interpretivism broadens the focus beyond individual subjectivity and concentrates on the social and cultural context in shaping interpretations. Simply put, it captures how individuals interpret and construct meaning, or recognises that the reality of the world is socially constructed rather than an objective truth waiting to be discovered. This perspective addresses the complexity of social reality and acknowledges that individual experiences and interpretations are influenced and shaped by social interactions, cultural norms, and historical contexts. It means that individuals do not interpret meanings in isolation but rather are influenced by broader social and cultural factors. Interpretivism then challenges the notion of absolutism and embraces pluralism, suggesting that knowledge is not fixed or static. It argues that knowledge and meaning are embedded in specific contexts rather than generalised ones (Alvesson & Deetz, 2014).

In this research, I have adopted an interpretivist approach to examine the social realities of ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand. Interpretivism assumes that multiple social realities exist, which are shaped by complex social and cultural factors that cannot be objectively measured and quantified (Creswell & Poth, 2017; Hammersley, 2018). As such, the aim of this study is to comprehend the subjective knowledge and perspectives of ELT participants in the context of their social and cultural background. I realise my role in this research is to inquire about my participants' opinions, experiences, and views on ELT in a Christian mission, enabling me to comprehend how they perceive and make sense of their world. However, since I am also an individual who carries my own perspectives, I have my subjective knowledge about the research and my way of interpreting things around me within the research. This means that I also possess my own subjectivity, positionality, and biases. In my role as a researcher of this study, I embrace and acknowledge all of these factors. I need to explain that as an interpretivist researcher, I do not see myself as neutral, and I believe it would be hard to achieve that neutrality. Therefore, in this chapter (5.2), I will also discuss my transparency, reflexivity (i.e., being open about the research process to disclose my biases), and ethical considerations (i.e., maintaining ethical standards and ensuring respect for the participants involved in the study).

As my position in this research is interpretivist, it is important to specify a broader theoretical framework that highlights construction of knowledge by individual and

communities. Two relevant orientations of interpretivism are constructionism and social constructionism (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Alvesson & Deetz, 2014).

Constructionism posits that knowledge is actively constructed by individuals based on their experiences, interactions, and perceptions. Therefore, people construct their understanding of the world around them through their subjective experiences. In constructionism, the focus is on the individual's knowledge-building process and how their subjective perceptions influence it (Gergen, 2015, p. 5).

In contrast, social constructionism asserts that knowledge is co-created through social interactions within a specific cultural and historical context (Gergen, 2015). Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue that meaning and knowledge are not intrinsically defined but are negotiated and constructed within a society. Social constructionism emphasises the role of language, societal norms, power structures, and cultural values in shaping individuals' knowledge-building process (Burr, 2015; Holstein & Gubrium, 2016).

The present study takes a social constructionist stance, assuming that individuals shape their understanding of reality through social interactions within a specific cultural and historical context. The study aims to explore the participants' beliefs, perceptions, and experiences concerning ELT within Thailand's broader cultural and social context and see how the participants make sense of ELT in a Christian mission setting, particularly when religion and culture are incorporated in the ELT context.

In conclusion, I can summarise that my ontology is relativism, my epistemology is subjectivism, my paradigm is interpretivism, and in relation to interpretivism, I have chosen social constructionism. In this study, I focus on exploring the perspectives of missionaries who came to Thailand to preach religion and teach English, as well as the perspectives of Thai people who learned English from them. I used semi-structured interviews to explore their views. Hence, my belief is that I recognise that objective truth does not exist, but rather that there are multiple social realities. I also believe that knowledge is shaped by subjective perspectives and social and cultural factors. As part of this interpretive approach, I acknowledge that I am not a neutral researcher, as

I am an individual with my own subjective knowledge that can influence the research. I will discuss this further in section 5.2.

4.2 Situating my study in research paradigm

4.2.1 Rationales for employing qualitative research

As previously stated, my ontological and epistemological beliefs align with interpretivism, particularly social subjectivism. This approach allowed me to examine how my participants construct the meaning of ELT within a Christian mission setting from their own perspectives. Consequently, the research methodology I have adopted is qualitative, which is well-suited to exploring individuals' subjective experiences and understanding the social and cultural context in which they are situated.

As we know, the debate about which research paradigm, quantitative or qualitative, is more suitable for conducting research raises vital questions about the nature of research inquiry (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Researchers such as Creswell (2014), Denzin and Lincoln (2018), and Guba and Lincoln (1994) caution researchers to recognise that both quantitative and qualitative paradigms serve various purposes and are appropriate for different research questions.

In qualitative research, the researcher seeks to understand the phenomenon under investigation from the participants' perspectives, recognising that different participants' experiences are unique and complex. Qualitative research employs techniques such as interviews, observations, and document analysis (Creswell, 2014, p. 182; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 27; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 56). On the contrary, quantitative research usually involves a structured measurement of data that follows a strict research design and data collection procedures, such as surveys or experiments. The researcher seeks to generalise the results to a larger population, using statistical analysis (Creswell, 2014, p. 26; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 5; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 18).

I agree with the above scholars and do not mean to imply that I do not see the value of quantitative research that others adopt. However, I have multiple reasons for conducting qualitative research.

First, the qualitative research is aligned with my beliefs, as mentioned above in section 4.1, and with the aim of this research, which is to examine ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand from various perspectives of missionaries and Thai people. Consequently, I see qualitative research as having the ability to help me explore subjective experiences, engage with complexities, embrace multiple perspectives, capture the richness of human lived experiences, and offer me the opportunity to study a social phenomenon in context. This approach could help me see the complex workings of ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand.

Secondly, as this research deals with a sensitive topic, it not only focuses on human power that drives ELT (i.e., 'NS'/NNS), but also superhuman power (i.e., God's mission, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam). The topic of ELT in Christian missions carries a lot of assumptions about what missionaries do with ELT and why they use it as part of their mission, or why missionary activity that offers ELT may not be seen as morally acceptable by (some) scholars in TESOL. These questions cannot be answered simply through quantitative research. They require a deeper exploration to understand how scholars arrive at their analyses (see Chapter 2) and to allow participants to express their viewpoints.

A scholar such as Johnston (2017, p.8), who is the author of the book devoted to ELT in Christian missions as mentioned in Chapter 2, also notes how emotional and sensitive the research in ELT in a Christian mission can be because airing religious views can cause significant tension, especially for those who have strong convictions about God and for those who do not believe in God. That is why a qualitative inquiry is necessary to understand the detailed perspectives of missionary and Thai participants, as it allows them to explain the role of faith in ELT in greater depth.

Thirdly, in connection to that, context plays a crucial role. As missionaries generally go out another country to share the word of God, they become immersed in the context they find themselves in. From my point of view, some groups of missionaries are quite similar to ethnographers (e.g., LDS in Thailand). They venture out, observe, live with people in another culture for a certain period of time, and make an effort to learn other

people's language and culture. So, I believe that their experiences can be considered insider perspectives. This is also true for Thai people who enter the context of the church and see the role of missionaries as teachers who provide education within the church where ELT takes place. This captures the complexities, nuances, and interplay of factors specific to this setting, such as religion, culture, and their connection to ELT and learning. These elements cannot be captured through quantitative inquiry.

Fourthly, qualitative research permits a flexible and participant-centred approach, which is not possible with quantitative research methods (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). By tailoring my questions to each interviewee's specific circumstances, I can obtain detailed information on their background, beliefs and perceptions. This will allow me to develop a more comprehensive view of their experiences and understanding of ELT in Christian missions. Ultimately, by using a qualitative paradigm, I aim to contribute new perspectives and insights into the field of ELT in Christian missions.

Finally, I am an outsider to the Christian community with limited experience of ELT in a mission context. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I only knew a few Christians who came to my community. This posed a challenge in finding a sufficient number of Christian and Thai individuals who learned English with missionaries to participate in a quantitative study. Also, some missionaries who teach English often do not readily disclose themselves in the research arena, a position Johnston criticises in his statement "stop hiding!" (2009, p.74). It is reasonable to say that while not all missionaries hide their identity, some may prefer to maintain a low profile. Therefore, qualitative research allows me to conduct a more viable study on this topic, as it requires a smaller sample size and facilitates a deeper exploration of the participants' experiences and perspectives.

In summary, the preceding paragraphs have presented my justifications for employing qualitative inquiry instead of quantitative inquiry. However, before delving into the design of the main study, I will first report on a pilot study I conducted in the context of ELT in a Christian mission in a Muslim area in Thailand.

4.3 The preliminary study

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018, p. 270), the key purpose of a pilot study is to refine the research design and methodology, evaluate the feasibility of conducting the study, and anticipate any potential challenges and limitations to improve the quality of the research. I found all these to be true in my pilot. The pilot study provided me with further benefits beyond these initially intended outcomes.

The pilot study that I carried out was part of my taught PhD programme, which involved taking modules in the areas of social sciences, education, and TESOL during the first year of my studies. Upon completion of these modules, I wrote a 10,000-word study, which is quite similar to a master's dissertation, which reported on a pilot study.

In May-June 2019, I returned to Thailand to undertake my pilot study entitled "A Linguistic Ethnography of Christian Faith and English Language Teaching: Responses from Christian Missionaries and Muslims within an Islamic Community in Southern Thailand."

The study site was an Islamic school called ETA School, located in a southern province of Thailand called Naga Province (both names are pseudonyms). The participants included one American missionary who had been employed as an English teacher at ETA School since 2010, one school principal who is Muslim and who hired the missionary, and five Muslim students who learned English as a subject with the missionary at the school. The participants were selected using the stratified purposeful sampling. The key characteristics of the participants was stratified into three groups: first, the Christian missionary who worked as a NEST in ETA School; second, Muslim student participants who learned English with the missionary and had frequent conversations with the missionary in both institutional and social contexts; and third, the Muslim school principal who hired the missionary. I was able to gain access to this school because I am part of this Naga community and had previous contact with the Mennonite missionary. To obtain permission to collect data at the school, I submitted a letter to the school principal.

The study aimed to examine the interrelationship between Christian faith and ELT by exploring two key areas: 1) the objectives of the missionary who taught English at ETA School in a southernmost province of Thailand and 2) how these objectives were perceived by a Muslim school principal and Muslim students. While the central focus of this pilot study was to gain emic perspectives of the 'NEST and those who had connections with him, I recognised that it would be less feasible for me to gain their insights into TEML without familiarising myself with the particular context that I aimed to explore, which is ELT in a Christian mission. Therefore, I employed Linguistic Ethnography (LE) as a methodological approach to immerse myself in the context of ELT in a Christian mission ethnographically.

The methodological tools utilised in this pilot study included learning how to write fieldnotes and gaining emic perspectives through semi-structured interviews. I employed this LE because my pilot study supervisor, Professor Fiona Copland, is an expert in this field, and I wanted to learn from her guidance. Additionally, I believe in the value of first-hand experiences and aspire to be an ethnographer. Later, Professor Adrian Blackledge became my second supervisor as he is an expert in sociolinguistics and ethnography.

During my pilot study time, I learned how to write field notes and conducted a semi-structured interview. Field notes were handwritten during my fieldwork period, which took place from May 13, 2019, to June 27, 2019. Due to time limitations, I did not observe classes directly; instead, I observed the school and the community, creating maps of relevant places such as local churches and mosques, as well as noting my personal concerns regarding data collection. A total of 8,133 words were written as reflexive notes, serving as my own journey as a linguistic ethnography researcher. These field notes were instrumental in understanding the processes of LE and examining the community through the lens of an ethnographer, immersing myself in the sensory experiences of sight, hearing, smell, and touch. For example, one scenario that I found during my observation was the harmonious relationship between the 'NEST' and the students, which indicated a lack of discomfort within the Islamic context. It showed me that despite their religious differences, the interactions between the 'NEST' and the students were smooth. Another scenario occurred during my initial school visit, where I interacted with acquaintances of my participants such as

colleagues, teachers, and friends. One individual, the Head of the English department at ETA School, provided valuable information about the Mennonite missionary and his Christian friends, stating, "Oh, the missionary and his friends and family, they are Christians. They are [name of the Christian group]." This interaction helped me to understand that local Muslims were aware of the people's Christian identity, dispelling my assumptions about their covert identity, that is, being inside the Islamic school and hiding their Christian identity to avoid conflicts. Field notes are essential in ethnographic studies as they allow researchers to not only observe events and participate in local activities but also document their observations (Copland, 2018, p. 251). Through observation and the practice of writing fieldnotes, my perspectives underwent changes as I gained insights into the community.

Apart from the field notes, I used semi-structured interviews to gain emic perspectives of the key participants about the objectives of the 'NEST' and how such objectives were perceived by him, the school principal and the students. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and audio recorded, after spending a month with them so we could get to know each other. The Interview guide questions were used to guide the direction of the interviews. At this stage, I learned how to modify my interview questions. For example, one of the interview questions that I had planned to ask my CET participant appeared to have an underlying assumption about TEML (i.e., *Why do you really want to evangelise to your students even though their primary goal is to learn English from you?*). By spending time in the field having several interactions with the participants before conducting an interview, I came to acknowledge my assumptions, allowing me to change my interview questions to reduce biases and to ensure my participants would feel comfortable expressing their views. Hence, I changed the question to what motivates you to engage conversations with your students on a deeper level beyond teaching English.

Due to limitations in fieldwork time, each participant was interviewed once, with each session lasting approximately 45 minutes (a total of 5 hours and 25 minutes). The interview with the Mennonite missionary was conducted in English, while interviews with other Thai participants were conducted in Thai. I transcribed and translated all the interviews from Thai to English. I manually analysed the data by repeatedly reading

the interview transcripts to identify recurrent patterns, followed by coding and the identification of recurrent themes.

Based on the interview findings, the conclusion of the study was that the main objective of the 'NEST' working in an Islamic school, was not to spread the Christian faith but to teach English to students and understand people's ways of life. Evidence from the interviews showed that the 'NEST' did not operate in an underhand way, and the school principal and students viewed him as transparent.

> The main goal of [name of the Christian group] is not about preaching Christianity, but their goal is to how to understand the way of life. That means they prove themselves by their actions that they are good enough to let other follow them. That's the way of [name of the Christian group], such as having good food, having good speech, or being polite. They are not familiar with lies so they are afraid of telling people lies. To be honest, they are not preaching Christianity. (School Principal)

> He just teaches English and I don't think he has any other reasons. (One of the Muslim students)

Also, the missionary was also able to integrate well into the local community as he was a well-accepted 'NEST'.

> It's important to learn English with NESTs. I learn the accent from the Mennonite teacher, vocabulary he used and how to use it. I prefer him because he is a NEST and he has clear pronunciation. (One of the Muslim students).

The study further indicated that there was a certain level of religious parallelism between Christianity and Islam in the school context, promoting peaceful coexistence. Christianity and Islam were perceived to live together as the participant saw the commonality in the belief in God and reject the idea of denying Christianity as different religion.

> We can't deny what God creates even they are not Muslims. If we deny them, we deny what God creates and we both have the same God, just different prophets that we follow. For me, I don't see any drawback. So, when I gave a speech about the differences between Muslim and Christianity in the [name of the Christian group] community, we learned from that. You see, we learn from each other. I do not deny the differences. Do not emphasise them, but we

need to think how we can live together peacefully. There are people with different religions, and all are created by God, so why do we have to hate them. We are wrong if we hate them. It's not Muslim to do that. (The school principal)

Based on the findings of this small-scale analysis, it appeared that the NEST was well-accepted in the school and lived peacefully with the locals without posing any threat to the Islamic community. This really surprised me as the conclusion suggests that not all missionaries working as English teachers would engage in subversive behaviour, which was a position often claimed in the research literature on the topic (see Chapter 2).

However, there were a number of limitations to this study. First, the study was exploratory in nature and involved only one missionary. As mentioned earlier, my observations were limited to gaining a general understanding of the context and immersing myself into the field of ELT taught by a missionary, as well as learning ethnographic research methods. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the role of missionaries in ELT, it would be necessary to conduct in-depth classroom observations to closely evaluate teaching practices. Further interactions between missionaries and their students would help to reveal a more detailed picture of their activities. These were the aspects that I aimed to explore more fully in my PhD project.

Given that there is a great deal of speculation about the behaviour of missionaries working as English teachers, which leads to the strong criticism of teaching English as a missionary language in academia (Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003), I recognise that I also brought personal biases to my pilot study. I had assumptions about the missionaries' primary aim, which I believed was to evangelise my local people. However, as I began to build rapport with the missionary and the school members, I became increasingly aware that I needed to be reflexive and mindful of my assumptions. As Passmore (1983) suggests, it is impossible to eliminate biases and assumptions in research, but acknowledging and reflecting on them is a crucial step in ensuring their impact on the findings is minimised.

Consequently, I learned how to be reflexive and identify the ways in which my questions, assumptions, attitudes, and ideas affected the research findings. Copland

and Creese (2015, p. 37) emphasise the importance of researchers developing an awareness of 'self' and 'other' and how they influence the research process. Awareness of these factors is essential in ensuring that the research process is grounded in a more accurate and objective representation of the data.

4.3.1 Unexpected scenario after the preliminary study

After completing the pilot study, I was keen to continue collecting data from the same location due to the nuanced findings. However, an unexpected scenario arose, which led to the change of location for the PhD study. Firstly, the missionary I had interviewed was the only Christian working in the school. When I sent him my pilot study dissertation to read and discuss further data collection for the PhD thesis, he expressed concerns about being identified in the study and potentially becoming a target in his Muslim community. Even though he was open about his Christian identity to others in the area, he realised that the study could intensify tensions between Islam and Christianity, which ultimately led to his withdrawal from the main study.

Secondly, most Thai Muslims reside in the southern part of Thailand, and the areas historically have experienced significant political conflict between the Thai government and Muslim separatists. For confidentiality reasons, it was essential to avoid identifying a conflict-filled location. Hence, I searched for a new religious group that provided English language teaching as part of its missionary service. After several months, I found that the LDS offered free English classes across 36 churches in Thailand. Due to the more diffuse location of the study and the larger numbers of LDS missionaries, I contacted them. After some discussions with them, I decided to choose the LDS as the group for my main study. In the following section, I will elaborate on my main study, the impact of COVID-19 on the research, and the rationale for continuing the study despite the pandemic.

4.4 The main study

As I have explained in Chapter 1 (section 1.3), COVID-19 had an impact on my research. Here, I will briefly mention this again and explain how I managed to move my research forward during these turbulent times.

Following the withdrawal of the pilot study missionary participant, I selected one of the LDS churches in Thailand as a site for data collection. As I had been in contact with them and they were open to having me, my plan was to examine the practices and perspectives of Mormon missionaries teaching English to Thai people free of charge as part of their mission at the LDS church in Thailand. My interest was to observe and gain insights into their methods of teaching English in the context of their church and how these methods related to the concepts of TEML and native-speakerism. I planned to use LE as a methodological approach to investigate their ELT practices and perceptions regarding their ELT programme called "free English with missionaries."

After gaining approval for my ethics application and data protection from the ethics panel at the University of Stirling, and successfully passing my first annual progress examination, I flew back to Thailand at the end of February 2020 to prepare for data collection.

Unfortunately, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic was something that was beyond our imagination. The virus rapidly spread worldwide, and it significantly impacted my research. The church closed, English classes ceased, missionaries returned to their home countries, and the Thai government announced a lockdown. All of these events occurred in quick succession and within days of my arrival in Bangkok. Consequently, I was unable to collect data as planned.

Despite the challenging circumstances, I remained committed to my research. On a practical level, I had received funding from the Thai government for four years, which meant that I was obliged to return to Thailand to work with them after I finished studying. Given the uncertain and unpredictable nature of the pandemic, waiting for it to end was not a viable option. Even when I started to write up my thesis, the pandemic was still ongoing, although conditions had improved significantly since it first emerged. At the time, I was determined to make adjustments to my plan to ensure that data collection could proceed.

Upon discussing with my supervisors, it became clear that the best way to continue my research during the pandemic was to collect data online and conduct remote interviews. Therefore, I considered it significant to adjust my project to fit the circumstances. I decided not to utilise LE as I would not be able to investigate the context of ELT in a Christian mission through linguistic ethnographic methods. Nevertheless, even though my study has now become an interview-based study where I explore the perspectives of the missionaries and Thai individuals, I believe that I have applied some approaches similar to those of ethnographers, particularly in the second phase of data analysis.

To illustrate this point, during the second phase, there was a way when a former LDS missionary named Edward (pseudonym) announced in the chat group called "English Conversation with Missionaries" that he would teach English online. At the time, I went to his first class to explore and found from a casual conversation at the beginning of the class that many of the Thai knew him well, and he did not ask anyone in his class to introduce themselves. After the class ended, I decided to contact him through a private chat and inform him that I would like to observe his online classes and interview him after that. After he read the participant information sheet and a consent form that I sent him, he came back to me signing the consent from saying that he was willing to part. At the time, I immersed myself in Edward's online teaching, which enabled me to write 40 pages of field notes describing each class (I will discuss later regarding the challenges and affordances of writing fieldnotes online).

During the class's Breakout Rooms, I had informal conversations with many Thai individuals who had learned English with the LDS missionaries. At some point, they discussed how their church classes went and how the missionaries incorporated religious content into the lessons. I also engaged and questioned them on these subjects, informing them that it was part of my research to study missionaries' ELT. Over the course of ten weeks attending Edward's online classes, I began to establish a rapport with some Thai individuals who frequently attended free English classes at the LDS churches before the COVID-19 outbreak. Once I was confident that some participants shared similar characteristics, which I will elaborate on in section 5.7, I began recruiting Thai participants.

Online ethnography, also known as virtual ethnography or netnography, is a research method similar to traditional ethnography, but it focuses on the study of online communities and the exploration of cultures and social interactions within these digital realms (Kozinets, 2015). Online platforms serve as spaces where people socialise and interact virtually, providing researchers with a unique opportunity to observe and analyse individual behaviour, social interactions, and cultural practices. Podjed (2021) asserts that online ethnography can serve as an alternative method for anthropologists amid the pandemic. One key benefit of online ethnography is its accessibility. In the digital age, individuals can easily engage with online platforms as learning spaces, allowing for socialisation, virtual interactions, and even serving as educational alternatives.

For my research, particularly in the early stages of the second phase, I believed that utilising online ethnography would provide an opportunity to observe ELT practices of the former missionary online. However, I encountered some challenges during the observation of the class. Firstly, I noticed that the class had a less participatory nature. The students seemed to enter the class and frequently turned off their cameras. When Edward posed questions, most students remained quiet and preferred to use the chat function to ask their questions. Sometimes, Edward had to occasionally turn off his camera due to poor internet connection. This presented a significant challenge in observing the classes, as the reliability of the technology was also an issue.

Another point to note is that Edward, as a former missionary, never discussed anything related to his religion during the class. The focus of the class primarily revolved around the conversational dialogues that he created. Since the original aim of the research was to explore ELT practices of missionaries, it became evident that Edward had already completed his missionary programme and was not obligated to teach English according to the Mission President's directives. When I questioned him about this, he responded by saying:

> Luq: When I observed your classes, you didn't actually say anything much about Christianity? Why did you decide not to include any of spiritual thoughts in your Zoom classes?

> Edward: Yeah because I try to go for just conversations that you have in the normal days and most of the time I talk with people like I don't talk about my religion like I don't talk about the scripture I read every day. It doesn't come up very often. There was one conversation in there that someone said they were learning the flute and they could play at the church. That's something that came up in my head that I learn the viola, a musical instrument. I learned that so I could play at the church. That's the normal thing I have had a conversation before so I included that as just one religious thing because the fact that someone is playing that instrument so they could play that at the church.

A portion of his class involved students practising among themselves in Breakout Rooms, with Edward coming in and out for about 3 minutes. Unfortunately, the students did not engage in much practice, as their conversations tended to be more general in nature. Despite this challenge, the Breakout Room sessions did provide an opportunity for me to establish a good rapport with the Thai students. It was during these moments that I could share information about my research and potentially identify Thai participants for my research.

Though online ethnography presented challenges that led me to decide not to include it as the main source of data, it still served a purpose as a secondary channel for me to ask questions about ELT within the church prior to the pandemic. There were instances in the classroom where students discussed whether different locations of the church in Thailand included spiritual prayers and thoughts. Some Thai students occasionally mentioned that some of their friends had converted. These moments aroused my curiosity and intrigued me.

However, the Breakout Room sessions were limited to only 10 minutes for practice, so my thoughts about spirituality in the LDS English classes before COVID-19 struck lingered in my mind. I used these insights to revise the interview guide questions.

In summary, I faced significant challenges in adjusting my main study to accommodate the impact of COVID-19. Although I made the decision not to use field notes as data due to the challenges encountered with online ethnography as a method, I found value in the connections I established with the former missionary and the Thai participants. Despite the limitations imposed by COVID-19-related data collection challenges, I

believe that the strength of this research lies in the relationships built with the participants and the opportunity to interact with Edward and the Thai participants online through his English classes. This groundwork ensured that both the Thai participants and Edward were frank and open in the interviews and willing to discuss their views with regard to religion and ELT. Thus the interview-based study became valuable and viable, propelling the research forward.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the details of how I moved my research forward due to the pandemic. It first started with the shift of my ontological and epistemological beliefs, which led me to adopt qualitative inquiry for this study. I have also been explicit about my interpretivist stance, which aligns with the thinking and doing of this research. The pilot study I conducted at the beginning of my doctoral study and the transition from that preliminary study to the main study, which was impacted by COVID-19, have also been described. As fieldwork became impossible during the pandemic, I have revised my research questions and presented them in this chapter.

In the next chapter, Chapter 5, I will delve further into the participants, the method, my reflexivity, and data analysis.

Chapter FIVE: Participants, Method, Data Analysis and Reflexivity

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the research participants from both phases. After that, I discuss my rationale for choosing semi-structured interviews to gain emic perspectives of my research participants and lastly move on to describe the data used for this study and how I analysed it. I end this chapter with a conclusion.

5.1 Research participants

As I mentioned earlier, I collected data of this study in two phases because of the disruption of COVID-19. For this reason, I recruited participants in two phases, using different sampling techniques. In the following sections, I describe how I recruited participants for the study and introduce each of them.

5.1.1 Participant recruitment of phase one

In this phase, I explored the experiences of missionaries from different organisations who came to Thailand as part of their Christian missions and had the opportunity to teach English through their faith-based programmes. I chose to recruit participants from different organisations because I faced difficulties in finding Christian participants due to two reasons.

Firstly, I believe that recruiting participants from various religious organisations would allow me to gain a better understanding of the experiences of some MELTs in Thailand and produce more comprehensive findings in the field of TESOL. From my reading and my pilot study, I had begun to understand that missionaries were not a homogenous group and had different attitudes to covertness, approach, and evangelism. I believed that I would be able to capture some of these differences (and similarities) if the participants came from a number of missionary groups.

Secondly, I was an outsider to the Christian communities. As such, it was difficult for me to contact the gatekeepers of Christian missionary organisations, many of whom

seemed to move between their home countries and Thailand. I thought, therefore, that recruiting participants from various organisations was the best option at the time to progress my research in the hopes of finding enough people.

I decided to use a snowball sampling technique to identify potential participants by reaching out to some of my Thai Christian friends and asking them to help me contact their missionary contacts. This technique is often used in qualitative research when studying hard-to-reach or hidden populations (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). From this technique, two Christian missionaries responded to me and were willing to take part. The first person was Anne (pseudonym) from Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF), and Dorothy (pseudonym) from Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT). At the time I contacted them, they taught English privately at their Church, but the classes were suspended due to COVID-19.

In addition, I also contacted various religious organisations in Thailand that stated they offered English as part of their missions. I emailed them to request recommendations of anyone in their organisation interested in participating in my study. From this technique, two missionaries responded to me and were willing to take part. They are Ben (pseudonym) and Joe (pseudonym), both of whom were missionaries from the LDS Church. At the time contacted, they had served their mission in Thailand, but they had to pause their duty and stopped teaching because of the COVID-19.

Lastly, I utilised a convenience sampling technique to contact missionary friends in my community with whom I had established good relationships while they were undertaking outreach programs. This sampling technique involves contacting people who are easily accessible, known to the researcher, and whose contact information is readily available (Creswell, 2015; Patton, 2002). From this technique, one missionary responded to me and was willing to take part. His name is Landon (pseudonym) from Institute for Global Opportunity (IGO). His denomination is Mennonitism, a branch of Protestantism. At the time, he was in the US planning to come to Thailand as part of an outreach programme but had to stop due to COVID-19.

Through these methods, I managed to recruit five missionaries who met the specific characteristics necessary to answer the research questions of the study. These characteristics were:

1. Adult 'native speakers[12]' of English born in English-speaking countries, such as the US, UK, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand.

2. Born into a Christian family and practising Christianity during the data collection.

3. Sent to Thailand as part of their religious organisation to share their Christian beliefs with Thai people.

4. Assigned to teach English short-term and/or long-term in Thailand as part of their missionary service, Church programme, and/or outreach programme.

As this study is the first of its kind on ELT in Christian missions within the Thai contexts, my hope is that exploring the perspectives of missionaries who teach English within the context of their missions in Thailand will provide a better understanding of ELT in Christian missions for TESOL and may also inspire Thai scholars to conduct further research concerning the relationship between English Language Teaching and religion in Thailand.

5.1.2 Participant recruitment of phase two

To recruit participants for the second phase, I focused specifically on the experiences of a former LDS missionary and Thai individuals who had learned English with the LDS missionaries at the LDS churches in Thailand. To initiate this phase, I joined a chat group for LDS missionaries and Thai people, created as part of the "free English with missionaries" programme by the LDS missionaries to promote their English language classes. I was initially invited to the chat group by an LDS member, whom I had contacted when I planned to collect data at one of the LDS churches in Thailand.

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[12] 'Native speakers' for this study are the missionaries who speak English as the first language and were born in a country where English is spoken as the first language.

However, due to the pandemic, all classes had been cancelled, and the group was used to provide updates on new classes and for people to contact the missionaries.

Fortunately, in August 2020, an announcement was made on the chat group by a man who planned to teach English via Zoom for a short duration. He asked if any Thais were interested in learning English with him. I viewed this as an excellent opportunity to collect data and considered it as "Phase Two" of my data collection.

On the first day, I attended his class, but did not record it as I had not obtained his permission. The instructor was a former LDS missionary who had served in Thailand for two years (2017-2019), and several Thai people in the Zoom class knew him well and referred to him as Elder Edward. Recognising the value of this opportunity to collect more data during the COVID-19 pandemic, I then contacted him and ask if I could observe his classes and interview him for my research. After sending him the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form, he agreed to participate. He had the same characteristics as the Christian participants I recruited during phase one (see above).

Joining his classes provided a wonderful opportunity for me to familiarise myself with him and also Thai individuals who attended his Zoom classes. Consequently, I opted to recruit Thai participants for my study using purposive sampling, which is a technique that qualitative researchers employ to recruit participants that have knowledge and experience pertinent to the aim of the research (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2002; Ritchie et al., 2003).

To that end, I advertised my Thai participant recruitment in the Breakout Rooms, verbally inviting individuals who fulfilled the following characteristics to participate in my research interviews:

1. Adult Thai individuals who speak Thai as their first language;
2. Born in Thailand adhering to Buddhism, or other religions except Christianity, and not being Christian at the time of data collection;
3. Possess experiences of learning English with LDS missionaries for a minimum of two years.

During this recruitment phase, five Thai individuals met the characteristics and were able to provide substantive responses to my research questions. They agreed to take part in my study.

5.1.3 Introducing participants of phase one

There are five Christian missionaries in this phase. All the participants' names were anonymised. The Demographic information for these participants is provided in Table 5.1, and their profiles are briefly described in sections 5.1.3.1 – 5.1.3.5.

Table 5.1 Participant demographics of phase one (pseudonyms are used throughout)

Name	Nationality	Organisation	Denomination	Sites of ELT	ELT training	Thai proficiency	Years spent in Thailand
Ben	American	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS)	Mormonism	LDS churches	No formal ELT training	Able to use Thai confidently	9 months
Joe	American	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS)	Mormonism	LDS churches	No formal ELT training	Able to use Thai at beginner's level	One year
Landon	American	Institute for Global Opportunity (IGO)	Mennonitism	community visits and school visits	No formal ELT training	Unable to use Thai	4 years
Anne	New Zealander	Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF)	Protestantism	universities, schools, and private teaching	Trinity certificate in TESOL	Able to use Thai quite confidently	7 years
Dorothy	Canadian	Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT)	Protestantism	EFT churches and schools	CELTA [13]	Able to use Thai at beginner level	10 years

[13] Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

5.1.3.1 Ben

Ben is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He was born in Pennsylvania, USA, and lived in Georgia. His parents were active members of the LDS church, so he realised that someday he would be a missionary and serve somewhere in the world. When he was 17 years old, he worked as a volunteer and went to Thailand for three weeks under the program called Humanitarian Experiences for Youth (HEFY) organised by his church. After returning to the States, he applied for a missionary position. In 2019, he was assigned to serve in different places in Thailand where he taught free communicative English one to two hours a week. His lessons included speaking, listening, pronunciation and vocabulary. He was able to use Thai well as he received some training during his training programme in Utah. Also, he spent much time with Thai people during his mission. Because of the COVID-19, he served in Thailand for nine months and was required to return to the States.

5.1.3.2 Joe

Joe is also a member of the LDS Church. He grew up in Salt Lake City in Utah and chose to do the missionary work because he believed that he had a profound cultural and philosophical understanding of Jesus Christ which he wanted to share with the world. In 2019, he was assigned to serve in Thailand where he also taught English to Thai people at LDS churches. Like Ben, he taught English one to two hours a week and mainly taught English speaking and listening, pronunciation and vocabulary. He served in Thailand for eight months and returned to the States because of the outbreak of COVID-19. His service was supposed to end in the summer of 2021, so he plans to return to Thailand again to continue his missionary work.

5.1.3.3 Landon

Landon was originally from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the US, and grew up in a conservative Christian community known as the Mennonite. In 2016, he travelled to Thailand to attend an Institute for Global Opportunities Gospel Team Program, where he was training in theology for four months. He returned to the States and worked as a Christian book delivery driver. In 2017, he was invited to join a Christian mission and travelled to the South of Thailand, where I met him and where he taught English at some Islamic schools within a community. He visited the community each year from

2017 to 2019 and had a good relationship with the locals. However, due to travel restrictions with COVID-19, his visit to Thailand was cancelled for June 2020.

5.1.3.4 Anne

Anne is from New Zealand. She is an active Christian member of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF). Before she went into ELT, she obtained a degree of Engineering and worked as an engineer in New Zealand. Later, she obtained a Trinity certificate in TESOL which provided a basic qualification in English language teaching. In 2005, she joined a Christian mission with the OMF under the project called 'Teachers for Thailand Program' where she visited schools and offered ELT to Thai teachers and students. In her life, she worked full-time and part-time as an English teacher at some universities and schools in Thailand. During the time when I interviewed her, she moved to a province in the south of Thailand, where she ran her own English classes for teenage and adult students.

5.1.3.5 Dorothy

Dorothy is a member of Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand, one of the Protestant churches. She is from Canada and first came to Thailand in 1992 to 1994 to work as a volunteer for children with disability. In 1999, she came back to Thailand again and fostered a Thai boy who inspired her to do English language teaching. She then went for ELT training and received a CELTA certificate. She is an active member of the church and taught English to young children at a Christian school in Thailand and also taught free English to adults one hour per week at the church. During the time of the interview, she was in Thailand. However, due to the COVID-19 lockdown, her classes at the church were suspended.

5.1.4 Introducing participants of phase two

There are six participants taking part in this phase: one is the former LDS missionary, and the others are five Thai people who learned English with him and the LDS missionaries in Thailand. All the participants' names were anonymised. Table 5.2 provides demographic information of the participants who took part in this first-phase study, and parts 5.1.4.1 – 5.1.4.6 give a brief description of each participant.

Table 5.2 Participant demographics of phase two (pseudonyms are used throughout)

Participants	Nationality	Religious beliefs	Native language	Meeting channel	Foreign language proficiency
Edward	American	Mormonism	American English	Teaching English at LDS churches, Thailand, and on Zoom	Thai: able to use Thai confidently
Jeab	Thai	Buddhism	Thai	Learning English at LDS churches, Thailand, and on Zoom	English: A1 based on CEFR
Boo	Thai	Buddhism	Thai	Learning English at LDS churches, Thailand, and on Zoom	English: A1 based on CEFR
Pao	Thai	Buddhism	Thai	Learning English at LDS churches, Thailand, and on Zoom	English: B1 based on CEFR
Lucky	Thai	Buddhism	Thai	Learning English at LDS churches, Thailand, and on Zoom	English: A1 based on CEFR

Pay	Thai	Buddhism	Thai	Learning English at LDS churches, Thailand, and on Zoom	English: A1 based on CEFR[14]

5.1.4.1 Edward

Edward is an American 'native speaker' of English and is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints based in the States. Coming from a Christian family, he applied for a missionary programme. His organisation assigned him to serve his mission in Thailand between 2017 and 2019. During his mission, he mainly taught his religion. He took responsibility for teaching English to Thai people at the LDS churches across Thailand. After finishing his mission in 2019, he returned to the States to continue his undergraduate education. Due to COVID-19 resulting in the entire suspension of the face-to-face English classes at the LDS churches across Thailand, he contacted some of his Thai students, who had learned English with him, through social media. He informed them that he would teach English classes on Zoom during the pandemic. He then announced in the chat group stating that he would run an English class on Zoom for free.

5.1.4.2 Jeab

Jeab, is a middle-aged Thai female, born and raised as a Buddhist, and based in a central part of Thailand. She had learned English since she started school till completing her master's degree, as part of her educational requirements. She did not pay attention to her English classes as she thought it was a difficult subject for her. After she left her job and became a personal carer for her niece, she realised that she had more time to learn more English. That was the time when she set her goal of

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[14] CEFR stands for the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. It is an international standard for describing language ability and proficiency of English language users. The framework provides a set of descriptors for each proficiency level, ranging from A1 (beginner) to C2 (proficient). These CEFR levels are meant to assist in the development of assessment criteria and benchmarks for measuring language proficiency.

improving her English. She then took online English courses and spent a substantial amount of money on study fees. In 2017, she came across the 'free English class with missionaries' programme advertised on Facebook. She decided to go to the nearest church and learn English with the LDS missionaries. She had learned English at the church for three years until COVID-19 came. She also learned English with Edward and was an enthusiastic English learner.

5.1.4.3 Boo

Boo, a middle-aged man, is also a Buddhist since birth and based in Thailand's central region. He finished his undergraduate degree in Computer Science and had worked in this field ever since. Throughout his life, he learned English because he needed to fix his customers' computer problems. As a result, he had to read a lot of online English blogs about computer problems. That was the time when he was dedicated to English language learning. In 2017, his wife accidentally met a group of Mormons at the shopping centre. They gave her an invitation card of the 'free English classes with missionaries' programme. As his wife realised that he was enthusiastic about learning English because of his work, she passed the card to him and told him to learn English at the church. At the time, he already assumed that these missionaries came to Thailand to teach about religion. However, he decided to go to the church because he wanted to improve his English and dreamed of learning it with 'NS'.

5.1.4.4 Pao

Pao, a Thai citizen, a middle-aged female based in the eastern part of Thailand, is a Buddhist who liked learning English since she started her secondary education. Inspired by international music in the 1980s, she started learning English through music books. After completing her undergraduate studies, she set up her own business by selling Thailand-based products on the Amazon website. In her work, she had to deal with her American customers who placed an order with her. Eventually, when she went to the shopping centre looking for more products for sale, she found the products but was unsure how they were called in English. She began talking to two white foreigners whom she assumed would know English. The foreigners helped her with the English translation and introduced themselves as missionaries. These missionaries gave her a business card informing her about the 'free English class with

missionary' at their churches. She decided to study English with them at the nearest church and found out later they were part of the LDS Church. Since 2016, she had learned English with these missionaries at the church until the pandemic happened.

5.1.4.5 Lucky

Lucky is also a Thai female who lived in the central part of Thailand. She is also a Buddhist. Since childhood, she dreamed of using English proficiently. However, throughout her lifetime, she lacked learning opportunities for many reasons. After her early retirement, she realised that she was free to follow her goal of learning English. When she went to see a physician for her physical health, she told her about her dream of acquiring English. That physician suggested she study English at the nearby church where English 'native speakers' offered English communicative practices for Thai people. She decided to go there and found out the English class was implemented by the LDS Church. Since 2017, she had continued learning English with the LDS missionaries at the church until COVID-19 affected the programme.

5.1.4.6 Pay

Pay is also a Thai Buddhist female who lived in the central part of Thailand. As a lawyer, she realised that her workplace offered a scholarship for Thai lawyers to have on-the-job training abroad. She dreamed of grasping that opportunity, so she decided to learn English attentively in case she could pass an interview for the scholarship. She took several online courses which she spent much money on. In 2018, When she was following several ELT pages on Facebook, she came across the 'free English class with missionaries' page and followed the page to see the activities. She realised that there was a nearby church where she could go to study English with the missionaries. She was an active English learner at the church and attended classes very often.

As indicated earlier, 11 individuals participated in this research comprising five Christian missionaries for the first phase and one former LDS missionary and five Thai individuals for the second phase. To address the COVID-19-related challenges that hindered data collection in Thailand, various sampling techniques such as snowballing, convenience, and purposive sampling were used. The participants'

characteristics were based on those that aligned with the research's objectives and addressed the study's research questions.

The upcoming section will concentrate on the primary research method, which is semi-structured interviews. The section will clarify why and how semi-structured interviews were implemented in this research.

5.2 The study method

5.2.1 Observational data as a valuable process

I need to first clarify that during my data collection (phase two), I had also observed the online classes of Edward, who was a former LDS missionary and had completed his mission in Thailand before the pandemic. During the pandemic, he offered teaching English to Thai people when the free English classes offered by LDS churches were suspended. There were no other online English classes offered by the LDS missionaries, as they were not assigned by their supervisors. I came to know about this as I was a part of the chat group where the Thai people were asking if online English classes would be available.

Although Edward had given me the permission to audio record the class for research purposes, I had decided not to include my observations of the online classes, including my fieldnotes, as part of the findings. The reason behind this is that his online classes did not have any direct connection to Christian teachings or practices. Edward did not insert any spiritual thoughts during his classes, as they were mainly dedicated to speaking practices for Thai people. This had surprised me, as I had assumed that the classes offered by Mormons would inevitably be intertwined with religious practices or beliefs. However, Edward still practised Mormonism, and his students continued to call him Elder Edward. He was no longer a missionary and did not feel the need to include religious content in his teaching.

Also, observing the online classes was quite challenging. It was difficult to observe the interaction between Edward and the Thai participants, as the sessions were more like a lecture in which Edward would present a dialogue, read it aloud, pronounce some words, provide their meaning, and then allow the students to practise it among

themselves in the Breakout Rooms. Most of the time, the students would go quiet and turn their cameras off. In the Breakout Rooms, Edward would check on them for a few minutes to ensure that everything was fine. After the Breakout Room activities, all the participants would return to the main room for the question-and-answer session, where the Thai students would ask questions related to the lesson and English usage before the class would end.

Although observing online classes has some limitations (Smithson & Lewis, 2019), it can be a crucial way to access this mode of delivery for research purposes (Bender & Scherer, 2019). For this study, the observational data proved to be useful for this study for two reasons. Firstly, it was instrumental in revising my interview guide questions before the interview with Edward as well as the Thai participants. I included additional questions to elicit further insights from him such as why he continued to offer English classes to Thai people, despite having completed his missionary programme in Thailand (a sample of written details of the interview guide questions for Thai participants can be found in Appendix 1). The responses provided by him were related to his religion and ELT, which were essential to the findings of the study.

Secondly, the process was essential in building rapport with the Thai participants, as it enabled the researcher to access potential participants for the study (Creswell, 2014), since they could provide insights into the English language learning with the LDS missionaries. I had the opportunity to speak with them during the Breakout Rooms, which helped me develop a relationship with them. As mentioned before, I positioned myself as an outsider of ELT in the Christian mission context, and I was unfamiliar with Thai individuals who learned English with the missionaries. Therefore, getting to know them and building a connection with them helped us form a comfortable relationship during the interview phase.

Although I recognised the value of the observational data in terms of accessing the world of ELT and learning by a former missionary, I did not use it as data for analysis. However, it served as a valuable resource in helping me to gain a deeper understanding of ELT from the perspective of a former missionary. It also served as a means for me to revise my interview guide questions, build relationships with the participants, and recruit Thai individuals to take part in the study.

5.2.2 Qualitative interviews

It is true that conducting interviews with missionaries and Thai people would help me explore my study through their perspectives on ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand during the COVID-19 pandemic. With the practical guides and advice that I have learned from the PhD programme at the University of Stirling, numerous methodology books, websites, and YouTube videos, I have gained knowledge about practical techniques for using interviews as a research instrument.

However, I must also be cautious not to be uncritical or unreflective about the use of interviews. It is easy to assume that we know what interviews are and what they produce, as Briggs (1986, p.2) warns. This means that using interviews by default should not be seen only as a method to collect data, but rather as a complex interactional event of talk (Prior, 2018). I will further explore this critical reflection in section 5.2.6, where I will discuss semi-structured interviews as a social practice based on Talmy's (2010) work.

5.2.3 Types of qualitative interviews

Generally speaking, there are three main types of research interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Bryman, 2016), each serving different purposes. The first type is structured interviews. These interviews typically consist of pre-established and standardised questions, much like a questionnaire, with the aim of eliciting information from participants in a systematic manner (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Depending on the researcher's epistemological stance, structured interviews can also be used as a tool to gather facts, which is commonly done in quantitative research (p.3). Studies that use this type of interview can collect demographic information or measure attitudes, opinions, or behaviours on a standardised scale.

Unstructured interviews are the opposite of structured interviews. This type of interview does not have a predetermined set of questions, but relies on a more open-ended approach, allowing an interviewer to ramble in order to get insights into the attitudes of interviewees (Walliman, 2006). During the interview, the researcher may only need to provide a few prompts (Rolland et al., 2019, p. 280). Unstructured interviews are favoured by grounded theorists (Charmaz, 2006). The goal is to uncover

new insights, generate hypotheses, and discover unexpected themes emerging from participants' narratives.

The last type is semi-structured interviews, which I have chosen for this study. I will explore this type of research tool, including its definition, affordances, limitations, and justification for its use.

Semi-structured interviews are the most commonly used type of interview in qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Dörnyei, 2007). While structured interviews have pre-established questions asked in a specific order, and unstructured interviews allow respondents to speak freely on any topic, semi-structured interviews take a balanced approach to data collection (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 418). The nature of semi-structured interviews enables researchers to ask set questions while also giving participants the freedom to expand on their answers and delve further into their experiences, beliefs, feelings, or thoughts (Bachelet & Reid, 2019; Bryman, 2016).

This method provides participants with the opportunity to share unique, personal, and complex perspectives that can enhance and expand researchers' understanding of the topic under study (Creswell, 2013; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Seidman, 2006), while still allowing the researcher to achieve the set questions prepared based on the interview guide.

5.2.4 Affordances, limitations and awareness of using semi-structured interviews

Apart from the benefit of semi-structured interviews, which provide a balance between the structured and open-ended approaches (Prior, 2018), there are also other affordances, limitations, and important considerations when using this type of interview.

First, semi-structured interviews are adaptable to almost any research setting, making them applicable to a wide range of research contexts and topics. They offer a flexible approach to data collection, allowing researchers to adapt their interview style and questioning to suit specific research needs and participant characteristics. This adaptability is a strength, as it allows, "creativity and flexibility to ensure that each

participant's story is fully uncovered." (Knox & Burkard, 2008, p.567). In other words, it enables researchers to tailor their approach by using probing and follow-up questions to capture the depth and complexity of participants' responses.

As follow-up questions and probing continue, the researcher can observe participant engagement as participants have the opportunity to share their experiences, perspectives, and interpretations. This can lead to surprising insights provided by the participants and allows the researcher to delve deeper into the meaning of what participants have said (Richards, 2003, p.56). For example, the researcher might use probing to ask open-ended questions such as "Can you tell me more about that?" or "How did that make you feel?" However, Fielding and Thomas (2001, p. 129) warn that probing requires practice, as it can easily introduce bias if not done carefully.

Furthermore, semi-structured interviews help researchers, especially novices, to explore topics that are unfamiliar to them (Richards, 2003). For example, even though there is relevant literature on ELT in a Christian mission for this research, as an outsider who is not part of the ELT in a Christian mission, I can utilise semi-structured interviews to gather new insights and further engage with participants to enhance my understanding.

The aforementioned affordances highlight the benefits of using qualitative interviews. However, there are also pitfalls to using them as research instruments.

Prior (2018, p. 233) states that semi-structured interviews can be labour-intensive activities. This is because the nature of being both structured and open allows the interview to be longer and, in the worst-case scenario, it can stray off-topic. This rings true as in some of my interviews, for example when participants started discussing how their mothers liked visiting temples and making merit, even though the topic was about the role of Buddhism in an English class in the missionary field. Redirecting the conversation back to the topic proved to be a challenge when the interviewee was eager to share their personal stories. Navigating the conversation back to the topic often relied on the interviewer's ability to say, "Wow, that was interesting, but let's get back to our main topic of...". This kind of technique also varies depending on the culture and the role of the interviewee, such as a school principal, for example.

Also, it is true that researchers can display potential biases, especially during follow-up questions, or when the researcher feels they have knowledge that may influence participant responses (Richards, 2003). In other words, there is bias in all research, and semi-structured interviews are no different. Therefore, the interviewer might display their bias through questions and probes in their study. However, rather than attempting to neutralise these biases, it is better to acknowledge them and recognise them as part of the co-construction process.

As Prior (2018) warns, semi-structured interviews do not allow researchers to observe what participants do in their daily lives (p. 241). At the time of using semi-structured interviews, I acknowledged that they could not replace classroom observations, which I was unable to conduct due to the pandemic. This is an important point to emphasise, as I regret not being able to fully capture the ELT practices of the LDS missionaries.

Sometimes, I became unaware of my attempts to relate what my participants told me to claim it as real and truthful. This is what Kvale & Brinkmann (2015) warned about. They pointed out that semi-structured interviews cannot predict behaviours or group dynamics, nor do they reveal what people truly think. Instead, interviews can only show how people respond and how they make meaning as they describe their lived experiences.

However, semi-structured interviews can provide storytelling or narratives from the participants, which can contribute to our understanding of knowledge and reality. This includes descriptive knowledge, where researchers can gain a comprehensive understanding of participants' experiences; contextual knowledge, where researchers can delve into the socio-cultural and historical factors that shape participants' ideologies; and interpretive knowledge, where researchers can see how participants make meaning based on the phenomena they are involved in (Elliott & Timulak, 2021).

It is also important to note that while semi-structured interviews can be considered valuable evidence in exploring ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand, I acknowledge that this evidence cannot be treated as the universal truth or representation of reality.

The perspectives of the participants presented in the findings are situated within the specific context of the Christian mission in Thailand. Therefore, I recognise that generalising the data from semi-structured interviews may be tempting but must be avoided, as these interviews were conducted based on the unique factors and dynamics presented in the context of the study.

5.2.5 The justification for choosing semi-structured interviews

First, semi-structured interviews allowed me to obtain rich and detailed information on participants' experiences of ELT in Christian missions. They provided the opportunity to ask follow-up questions that delved deeper into participants' initial responses, resulting in comprehensive and insightful data. For instance, during one of my interviews with Boo, a Thai participant, I asked the question, "You mentioned that you attended a religion session after the English class because you wanted to give back to the missionaries. What are your thoughts on this?" By asking a follow-up question, Boo was able to elaborate further, providing more insightful information on how he constructed meanings about ELT in a Christian mission embedded in Thai culture.

Also, another rationale behind using semi-structured interviews was to understand how my participants constructed meaning during the interviews (Seidman, 2013, p.2). This concept is often referred to as 'insider perspectives' by qualitative researchers (Norton, 2013; Pennycook, 2001).

The term 'insider perspectives' refers to the way participants view their own culture and experiences within the specific societal, contextual, and phenomenological setting being studied by the researcher (Creswell, 2013, p.73; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.2). The significance of insider perspectives lies in the fact that participants possess knowledge based on their experiences, and they express their feelings, attitudes, and perceptions towards it. In other words, it is their worldview and how they make sense of their own world. Accessing participants' subjective experiences is valuable for the researcher as it allows for a better understanding of the interpretations and meanings they assign (Mishler, 1991, p.54). This approach enables researchers to acknowledge the interpretations and meanings that participants assign, leading to more accurate interpretations of their data. By valuing emic perspectives, researchers can ensure

that their research is culturally and contextually relevant (Bernard, 2017, p.174) and contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of human experiences (Lincoln et al., 2011, p.18).

As an example of applying this approach in my research, I discovered that some of my Thai participants appreciated the practice of LDS missionaries commencing class with a prayer and did not view it negatively. On the contrary, they felt that the missionaries had acted benevolently, as Thai Buddhists also believe in prayers. This nuanced finding, which I will further explain in Chapter 7, suggests that Christian prayer may not pose a threat to the Thai participants, despite their adherence to Buddhism.

5.2.6 Semi-structured interview as an interactional event

It has long been accepted that qualitative interviews should not be confined solely as a research instrument, but also seen as a social event where the interviewer and interviewee co-construct the interview (Prior, 2010).

Scholars such as Holstein and Gubrium (2004) and Talmy (2010) have pointed out that interviewing is not a passive data-gathering process, but an interactive event where meaning is actively constructed by both the interviewer and the interviewee. This argument serves as the theoretical foundation for the idea that the interview should not be viewed solely as a means to an end (such as completing interview data), but rather as a "social encounter" as described by Silverman (1973). This focus has led other researchers, such as Mann (2011), to question the under-theorisation of qualitative interviews. He argues that scholars in applied linguistics tend to view interviews as an approach rather than recognising them as a social process where both the interviewer and interviewee are actively involved in co-constructing the interview and creating meaning together. Consequently, the idea of the interviewer passively waiting for the interviewee to respond has been critiqued in the literature (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002; Holstein and Gubrium, 2004; Rapley, 2002, as cited in Garton and Copland, 2010), as it fails to acknowledge the active role of the interviewer in meaning-making.

To illustrate this, Holstein and Gubrium (2004) conducted a study on the "active interview," which highlights the interviewer's role in shaping the interview process and co-constructing meaning with the interviewees. Their work emphasises that the interviewer has an active role in not only designing interview questions but also creating a comfortable atmosphere for the exchange of information. They also discuss the importance of the interviewer's presence, engagement, and responsiveness during the interview. Their analysis shows that the direction and depth of the interview are influenced by the interviewer's active involvement.

Building on their statement about knowledge being constructed through collaborative action between the interviewer and interviewee, they stress that the interviewer is not merely a "passive vessel" through which knowledge is transmitted:

> No matter how hard interviewers try to restrain their presence in the interview exchange and no matter how forthright interviewees are in offering their views, [interviews] are interactional accomplishments rather than neutral communicative ground. (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011, p.150)

When I examined the transcript of my interview with the participants, it became evident that I also co-constructed the interview by sharing and exchanging information. The following extract represents the interview data between me and Pao. I was about to end the interview, but I also gave comments on the Mormon group:

Luq: Thank you very much for today. There are many kinds of missionaries in Thailand, and I just wanted to know what Thai people think about studying English with the group of Mormon, which I think they are also good. Thank you.

Pao: **To me, the group of Mormons is the fairest in terms of how honest and open they are.** I have learned English with other churches in my life and I believe the Mormons are the fairest. I have learned English with them for four years, how I can remain Buddhist? You know, other religious organisations would lock me up and make me Christian. There are some of my friends who feel bad about declining the offer when missionaries invite them to learn about Christianity. They are still Buddhist. I know this because they told me they didn't want to be in there but they felt bad about saying know. I just told them that they should let the missionaries know. You see, these missionaries are fair.

The extract discussed above has demonstrated that knowledge co-construction occurs during an interview, where I offered a comment on the group of Mormon and then the interviewee (Pao) picked that up and elaborated further about them. This highlights that interviews are not simply passive exchanges of information, with the interviewer asking questions and the interviewee responding. Instead, both parties contribute to the knowledge construction process.

5.2.7 Language of the interview

As qualitative research interviews are generally verbal communication, it is crucial for a researcher to consider which language to use for an interview. If the language for an interview is not agreed-upon between interviewer and interviewee, it may result in not getting information as intended by the interviewer and can also cause a dilemma.

Rolland et al. (2017) suggests that if an interviewer is a multilingual speaker, they can allow the interviewee to choose the language they want to speak. In this study, there are two main groups of participants: 1) the missionaries who are 'native speakers' of English and 2) English language learners who are 'native speakers' of Thai. In my case, I interviewed the missionaries in English given that I am a multilingual speaker and speak English at a C1 level based on CEFR. However, some of my missionary participants also learned Thai as foreign language and were proficient to speak Thai, such the LDS missionaries. In such cases, I gave them the option whether they wanted to switch codes and were allowed to speak Thai as well. However, most of the time, the interviews with the missionaries were carried out in English.

For the Thai participants, I first asked them if they wanted to have an interview with me in Thai or English. However, I honestly informed them that it would be better to interview in the Thai language. This is because the focus of the interview is on gaining insights into their perspectives of ELT in a mission which is a complex subject to discuss in a foreign language when the speaker is not at an advanced level. The reason I explained this was that a few of my interviewees enjoyed practising English. Jeab, for example, said to me before having an interview that the interview could also be a good way to practise English. Ultimately, Jeab and I decided to use Thai for the

interview but still kept open the option for us to use English if necessary. However, all the interviews with the Thai people were conducted in Thai.

This aligns with what Rolland et al. (2017) refer to as planning and conducting ethical interviews. They suggested that an interview is not just a matter of data collection, but also involved power and emotions. To protect the right of my participants, they were free to choose the language they felt most comfortable during the interview.

5.3 The data

In this study, the total interview data used for analysis was 11 hours, 28 minutes, and 27 seconds. The interviews conducted during Phase 1 accounted for 4 hours, 39 minutes, and 2 seconds, while the interviews conducted during Phase 2 accounted for 6 hours, 39 minutes, and 5 seconds. Table 2 displays the length of interviews for each participant during Phase 1, and Table 3 displays the length of interviews for each participant during Phase 2.

Table 5.3 Length of interview for each participant from phase one

Participant	Date	Length of interview
Ben	15 April 2020	1:00:46
Joe	20 April 2020	49:48
Dorothy	25 April 2020	57:59
Anne	13 April 2020	42:09
Landon	30 April 2020	1:09:20

Table 5.4 Length of interview for each participant from phase two

Participant	Date	Length of interview
Edward	7 December 2020	1:06:34
Pay	19 January 2021	59:50
Lucky	13 December 2020	1:08:10
Pao	25 December 2020	1:10:10
Jeab	31 December 2020	1:03:23
Boo	27 December 2020	1:11:58

During the first phase of the study, the University of Stirling implemented strict guidelines for research activities to address the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently,

face-to-face interviews were prohibited, prompting the use of Teams and telephone calls for individual interviews. Between May and July 2020, for phase one, I conducted the interviews over the phone. One interview was audio recorded using a separate recorder, while the other four interviews conducted on Teams were recorded using its built-in recording function. Each participant was interviewed only once, with each interview lasting approximately one hour and conducted in English, resulting in a total of about five hours of interview data.

In the second phase of the study, which was also affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the same online method was employed to conduct semi-structured interviews with participants via Teams. All sessions were audio recorded. Each participant was interviewed once, with each session lasting about one hour, resulting in a total of approximately 6 hours of data. Edward was interviewed in English, while the other five participants were interviewed in Thai.

After completing data collection for both phases, all the data were transcribed into English. I initially transcribed the interviews with the Thai participants in the Thai language before translating them into English. I performed all the transcription tasks myself. Once transcribed, the data were sent to the participants for verification before proceeding with the analysis.

In the next section, I will outline the steps taken during the data analysis process, utilising Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013) as the approach for analysing my data.

5.4 Thematic Analysis

To uncover the recurring themes that emerged as the findings of the study, I analysed the interview data using Braun and Clarke's six-step approach (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Their approach focuses on identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of emerging themes. Before I present the six-step process that reveals the six emergent themes of the study in sections 5.4.2.1-5.4.2.6, I will first provide readers with an introduction to the nature of thematic analysis.

5.4.1 Background of Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) is a widely utilised method across the social sciences. Its primary purpose is to provide a methodological tool for organising a dataset by identifying and explaining patterns or themes that contribute to the study's findings. TA was initially met with some scepticism in qualitative research due to inconsistencies in the steps involved and its origins in quantitative content analysis. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) have presented TA as a flexible and methodologically rigorous approach, which has led to its widespread acceptance and use by scholars in various disciplines for data analysis.

TA is a relatively recent addition to accepted methods, but it has gained popularity among qualitative researchers for its ability to quickly identify patterns in the data. This means that once the researchers have identified the themes, they can be used to report the findings of the study. As states here:

> Themes are recurring features, such as concepts, topics or ideas, within a set of data that have meaning or significance in relation to the aims of the research. (Braun & Clarke, 2013)

While themes do serve as patterns within the data that are used to write the findings chapters, it is important to recognise that in interview studies, the questions themselves may inherently include certain assumptions or pre-existing ideas. King and Horrocks (2010) provide a gentle reminder that themes do not simply emerge from the data; rather, they are identified through active efforts by the researcher to make sense of it. In other words, themes are created by the researcher rather than found.

In relation to the theoretical basis of interviewing, it is evident that interviewing is an interactive event where both the interviewer and interviewee actively participate in co-constructing knowledge. Similarly, theme creation in thematic analysis follows a similar process. Themes are not something that wait to be discovered; rather, they are created by the researcher. Therefore, it is crucial to ensure that these themes are rigorously established, and where possible, the biases and subjectivity of the researcher should be acknowledged.

Since the researcher is involved in the analytic process, Braun and Clarke suggest that we must choose whether the representation of the data will involve semantic or latent themes. Semantic themes focus on what participants said and do not rely on interpretations by the researchers. On the contrary, latent themes result from the attempt to interpret data in a more nuanced way by focusing on the underlying meaning, which may be influenced by the researchers' own experiences or existing literature.

It depends on the researcher to decide which level of interpretation they want to employ. Braun and Clarke suggest that this decision should be based on the researcher's aims and research questions. In my own research, I aim to explore the perspectives of missionaries and Thai people on ELT within a Christian mission. My goal is to uncover insider perspectives that can also be interpreted through the theoretical lens of the linguistic marketplace. Therefore, I have chosen to base my research on latent themes.

However, interpretation is a complex concept. For one thing, if we do not interpret enough, we may feel that something is lacking in terms of meaning. But if we over-interpret, we may introduce our own biases and dilute the authenticity of participants' words. This is indeed a challenging task for me. As a PhD researcher, I have received feedback from experts, including my supervisors, who occasionally pointed out that my interpretation was evaluative.

I do not view these comments as negative, as I believe that different people have different ways of interpretation. Moreover, having my work read and critiqued by experts who have extensive experience with academic research can serve as a valuable lesson for me to be cautious about being too evaluative. As a PhD researcher, I am committed to continuously rewriting and improving my work, and I see this as a necessary step towards becoming a skilled researcher.

Another aspect that I struggled with was using theoretical concepts as a lens to explore my study. Initially, when I conducted my data analysis, I heavily relied on the debate surrounding ELT in a Christian context. Many papers, such as Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003), criticised ELT missionary activity as unethical and insidious.

These negative comments, both within and outside of academia, had a significant impact on my initial findings.

However, qualitative research is not a linear process. Researchers often go back and forth, revisiting, and reconsidering themes, as well as thinking about theoretical concepts that can guide their research. As I became immersed in the data, I decided to use the concept of the linguistic marketplace as a lens to explore the value and role of English as perceived by missionaries and Thai people within the context of the Christian mission in Thailand. This concept encompasses English as symbolic power, English as an economic capital, and English as a linguistic capital. These theoretical points became the basis for developing themes that demonstrate how English acts as a point of convergence between missionaries and Thai people, who also bring their own religious and cultural experiences into the mix.

5.4.2 Six-step process of data analysis

In the following sections (5.4.2.1-5.4.2.6), I will outline the six-step process I followed to develop the themes of my study.

5.4.2.1 Step one: Familiarisation with the data

After completing each interview with my participants, I stored my data on the online storage provided by the University of Stirling. I did this to ensure the security of the data, as recommended by the University, and to prevent the raw data from being publicly shared or accidentally stored on a public computer.

During the process of familiarising myself with the data I collected, I first listened to each recording multiple times to become accustomed to the voice of each participant. I also took the time to write rough notes in both Thai and English while listening, in order to capture any interesting points. Following this, I transcribed the recordings line by line, while simultaneously listening to them. This process was time-consuming, but it was worthwhile as it helped me to make sense of the data.

It is worth noting that I have two versions of dataset transcripts: one transcribed in Thai with the Thai participants, and the other transcribed in English with the missionary

participants. For the Thai dataset, I used the Thai transcription as part of data analysis. Then, the English translation from Thai to English was made after for the purpose of this thesis (see Appendix 2). Although I decided to do the translation myself, it was quite challenging and time-consuming, as I wanted to ensure the accuracy of the translation. Despite being confident in my translation skills as a multilingual speaker, I sought feedback from my supervisors by including extracts in my initial findings. If my supervisors had any questions, it would either be about the readability of the translation, or the statements made by the interviewees. If it was the former, I would double-check to make sure the meaning was conveyed accurately. If it was the latter, I would go back to the participants to clarify their intended message. This process can be considered as member-checking. Some participants were helpful and provided feedback, while others did not respond.

Once I had a complete transcript, I read through it multiple times and made notes using Microsoft Word's track change feature.

At this stage, I also made a note of all demographic information mentioned by each participant during the discussions. In addition, I highlighted noteworthy points that could serve as essential extracts for my findings. These included repeated statements by the participants, unexpected statements that surprised me, and connections to concepts discussed in the literature review of the study. Through this note-taking process, I was able to conceptualise the data and identify the most interesting aspects to include in the finding chapters. Figure 5.1 below shows a sample of my initial notetaking while listening to Edward's interview recording. Figure 5.2 below presents a sample of highlighted texts and additional comments using the Microsoft Word tool.

Difficulties in teaching grammar (for what he said also related to standardised training)
He felt it was difficult to teach and he thought grammar teaching should be simple because he thought as a native speaker so he felt it was easy for him to express English in a different way while non-native speakers cannot express as variedly as they do.

Minutes 23.27
Learning people's culture is required by missionaries
Everyone will get to learn about religion in their own language, so they try to **give an opportunity** for others to learn about their religion but because people in Thailand do not speak <mark>English</mark> so we have to learn Thai

So to me English is not a Christian language but English is a Christian tool — the way in which English is used

Minutes 24.23 — about **invitation** to what they believe.

Awareness of service & Christian mission (26.00)
Should serve others out of love, not out of desire

'Everyone is a child of God so we should serve everyone out of love'

Minutes <mark>28.45</mark> his ideology
- Thai People think where there is ELT is related to Christianity — this is an important line which you can use to link it with your analysis.
- Volunteers who come to teach English are associated with Christianity
- And they cannot **hide their identity** because they think they should be honest with who they are. They are open for what they believe and they don't make any effort to hide themselves and true feelings. He said if you speak with a religious person their religion would come out a lot.

Figure 5.1 Initial notes on the data

They used topics as way to run_each class. First, they would ask some general questions about that topic so that we could be in the mood to learn English. Sometimes they would start the class with games. Sometimes they created a situation for us so we could start speaking English with friends. They focus the class on English communication and pronunciation

ลุค: มีการใช้ภาษาไทยด้วยไหมครับ
Did they teach in Thai or English?

พี่เป้: ที่จริงเขาอยากให้เราพูดภาษาอังกฤษเป็นอันดับแรก แต่ถามว่าภาษาไทยได้ไม่มี ถ้าคำไหนไม่รู้ ได้ก็ใส่ภาษาไทย แล้วเค้าก็จะอธิบายที่หนังว่าอย่างนี้
Well, they taught us in English and they wanted to use English as the first priority. However, there were times that we also used Thai like some words we didn't know in English. Elders would explain in Thai just to get the class going.

ลุค: แล้วคนที่เรียนกับเราเป็นมิชชันนารี พี่เคยเข้าร่วมกิจกรรมอะไรไหมครับ
Have you ever attended any Christian activities as a consequence of learning English with them?

พี่เป้: (the ones that she wasn't forced) เคยค่ะ เข้าร่วม 2 ครั้ง ครั้งแรกที่โบสถ์บางเชน เอลเด้อร์ ซิสเต้อร์ และสมาชิกของเค้า มีการแสดงละครกัน แล้วเค้าก็ชวนให้อยู่ร่วมดูด้วย ซึ่งวันนั้นก็เป็นเสาร์บ่าย ซึ่งเค้าก็เชิญชวนให้เราอยู่ถ้าเราได้ติดอะไร ซึ่งวันนั้นก็มีการแสดงละคร เกี่ยวกับการเกิดของมนุษย์ การที่พระเจ้าได้มีส่วนอย่างไรในการเกิดของมนุษย์ ก็เลยอยู่ดู เค้าจะจัดเป็นฉากๆ ในแต่ละห้อง

Pay: Once. I have attended elders' and sisters' Christian role plays. It was held in the first church that I went for English classes. After the class was done on Saturday, the elders and sisters asked us if we were free to see their performance. And because I didn't have anything to do after that, so I joined. It was a role play about the origin of mankind and how God made that happen. There were scenes in each room and we just walked to each room to see their performance.

ลุค: แล้วมีอะไรที่เรารู้ครับว่า มันเกี่ยวข้องกับศาสนา
Luq: How did you know it was pertinent to religion?

พี่เป้: มันเหมือนเป็นข้อมูลที่เกี่ยวกับศาสนาเค้าเลยอ่ะค่ะ มีการพูดที่อ้างอิงเกี่ยวกับพระคัมภีร์ เค้าก็อ่านมาให้ฟัง เป็นบท เป็นตอนกช่วง เค้าพาเราไปที่ห้องโถงที่เขาไว้ทำมัลการของเขาอ่ะ ปกติไม่เคยเห็นห้องนี้มาก่อนเลย เป็นห้องโถง มีเก้าอี้วางๆ มีเวที ห้องนั้นเค้าไม่ได้เปิดบ่อย

Pay: They talked about God as I said. The show kind of told us about general information about their religion. They also referred some parts of their show to the Bible like

12

Luqman Mayi
The enagagement of leanring about c

Luqman mayi

Reply

Luqman mayi
This shows how students to be engaged with religion. Even though they aim to study about English but ended up learning about religious stories. The consequence of learning English with them -- And this varied

This is some kind of spreading the news. I feel that one of the aims is that they don't try to force everyone to be Christian as they respect for other people. However, they tend to invite people to know about God.
20/07/2021 11:39

Reply

Figure 5.2 Highlighted texts and further comments in Pay's interview transcript

5.4.2.2 Step two: Generating initial codes

Coding is the stage where a researcher begins to systematically analyse the relevance of the data to their research questions and the phenomenon they are investigating (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This process is crucial, as it lays the foundation for identifying patterns, themes, and categories that will inform the findings of the thematic analysis-based study. This is when I initiated the coding process, keeping my research questions in mind (and having them physically posted on the whiteboard in front of me), to ensure I stayed focused on what I wanted to address in the study.

During this stage, I did not utilise any software to assist with my coding process (although I did learn how to use NVivo from my qualitative module and a summer course provided by student programs at the University of Stirling). Instead, I preferred a hands-on approach and coded manually by typing on the transcripts on my computer (samples of initial coding processes of phase-one data can be found in Appendix 2). I found this approach more practical for me as it allowed me to easily recall what I had

written and coded. While there are no "right" codes or specific ways of coding (such as using software, pen and paper, or sticky notes), it is important to note that coding should be conducted systematically.

To achieve this, I first started by reviewing the highlighted phrases and sentences, as well as the comments I had made, and attempted to create a code. After completing this step, I revisited the coding process multiple times to ensure that no aspect of the data was overlooked. Next, I examined the codes I had created for each participant's transcript and organised them within the corresponding column. Subsequently, I sought to identify similarities across the entire table of codes and determine their relevance to my research questions. Once I had accumulated a substantial number of codes, I collated and analysed them to uncover patterns. Figure 5.3 below displays a summary of the codes identified in each participant's interview transcript.

Codes					
Edward	Jeab	Boo	Pao	Pay	Lucky
Native-speakerism / native speaker's pronunciation / pronunciation ideology / no ELT training / difficulty to teach grammar / Easy English for native speakers / ELT missionaries' challenges / motivation for ELT on Zoom / Making religion part of Eng classes / ELT and connecting to faith / connection between volunteer ELT & Christianity / issues of respect / perceptions on Zoom classes / missionary identity vs American identity / western culture inside ELT / caring about Thai people / planting seeds & creating good image / English can save some souls / maintaining relationship with Thai people through English / English & Christianity	Failure of Thai education / no motivation for learning English in school / strong ideology of native speakers / craving for learning with native speakers / revealing Mormon methods / interest in Christianity / her open-mind about Christianity / prayers and the spread of the word of God / English & Christianity / religion and language / feeling towards Zoom classes / elders' excitement about her interest in learning Christianity / Thai people's resistance to Christianity / Elders' politeness & respect / no changing religion / BD and her cultural	Ideology of native speaker pronunciation / curiosity of learning Christianity / elements of deception / his comment on BD culture and Christianity / ELT activities / the use of English as part of spiritual thoughts / insidious activities in English classes / religion and culture / linking between religion &b language / leaving the door open / hanging around with native speakers for comprehension / Missionary no training in ELT / Feeling good about Zoom / consequence of learning English with Mormon / cultural identity & BD /	Letting the door open / like interacting with Americans / assuming white people can speak English / language ideology of look / Christian mission and ELT / ultimate goals of Mormon / her goal for coming to the class / Nathan's motivation on Zoom / native speakerism and missionary classes /consequence of learning English with missionaries / no forced conversion / no ELT training/ religious policy / trust to study with Mormons / prayers in class are normal / BD ideologies / English as a global lang providing spaces	English for passing the tests / English in Thailand / missionaries providing contexts for communication / motivation for learning English with missionaries / Zoom classes and practices native speakers don't understand her English / no concerns of learning English with missionaries / English learning and Thai traits / prayers / classed equipped with religion / methods of free English with missionaries / giving a choice for students to make / being engaged with learning with Christianity / spiritual thoughts for ELT purposes / issues of respect and care / ethics of ELT / acceptance of spirituality / no forced conversation / good native speakers of English / religion & culture /	TEFL offering to Thai people / feeling new to learning English with missionaries / good things about elders / intentions to learn with these missionaries / Christianity in class / prayers and spiritual thoughts / issues of ethics inside the class / Crazy in missionaries' look / English on Zoom /awareness of Christianity-based ELT / leaving the door open / comments on ELT with BD culture / something good about these missionaries / the benefits of religious training / native-speakerism
	identity / characteristics of missionaries / ideology of native speaker pronunciation	dilemmas / using English as a hook / resistance to being a Christianity / not feeling good about leaving the door open method / being a native speaker provide an entry for missionaries / seeing native English as a model / EFL & world Englishes comments	for missionaries / English as a religious tool / depending on persons / religious door open / fairness of ELT method of the Mormon / her desire for real English /	English under Christian context / language & religion intertwined / after-class with missionaries / validation of missionaries teaching English / English and the prices / resisting Christianity / defending her friends for seeing missionaries in the wrong way	

Figure 5.3 One of summarised codes found in each participant's interview transcript

This process took several weeks to ensure that all the codes were captured and nothing was missed. I referred to this period as a "crystallisation" phase, during which I formed a clear mental picture of the themes that should emerge. For instance, I identified a theme called the "leaving the door open approach" based on the experiences shared by the Thai participants regarding how they negotiated their departure time from the English class before the spiritual thought session commenced. I will provide a more detailed explanation of this theme in Chapter Seven.

5.4.2.3 Step Three: Search for themes

Once I had recorded the number of codes in each participant's column and initially observed some codes that could be grouped together, I proceeded to highlight related codes in different colours and grouped them under candidate themes. I utilised Microsoft Word for this process. As Sullivan et al. (2018) reminded us, it is important to ensure that the context and meaning of the codes are not lost when collating them. To ensure this, I referred to the transcripts where I had made my notes, created codes, and highlighted relevant phrases and sentences. Engaging in this back-and-forth process reassured me that the themes I had identified were indeed meaningful and that I could connect the data to answer my research questions. During this stage, I was able to identify the primary themes that emerged from the data. Presented below are some extracts that illustrate the amalgamation of codes and themes from phase two.

Theme: Zoom classes
 motivation for ELT on Zoom / perceptions on Zoom classes / feeling towards Zoom classes / feeling good about Zoom / Edward's motivation on Zoom /Zoom classes and practices /English on Zoom / English learning and Thai traits

Theme: Native-speakerism of missionaries
native speaker's pronunciation / pronunciation ideology / Easy English for native speakers / strong ideology of native speakers / craving for learning with native speakers / ELT activities / hanging around with native speakers for comprehension / native speakerism and missionary classes / native speakers don't understand her English / being a native speaker provide an entry for missionaries / seeing native English as a model / EFL & world Englishes comments / good native speakers of English / native-speakerism / ELT training/ Missionary no training in ELT

Theme: English language teaching & Christian mission
making religion part of Eng classes / ELT and connecting to faith / connection between volunteer ELT & Christianity / maintaining relationship with Thai people through English / English & Christianity / English & Christianity / religion and language / Christian mission and ELT / no concerns of learning English with missionaries

Theme: Leaving the door open approach
prayers and the spread of the word of God / elements of deception / leaving the door open / issues of ethics inside the class / language & religion intertwined

Figure 5.4 Sample of the repeated codes and initial themes

5.4.2.4 Step Four: Reviewing themes

After completing phase three, where I identified candidate themes, I began to refine the themes and develop sub-themes that fell within each candidate theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest two important steps to be taken at this stage: 1) revisiting the codes and examining the coded extracts to ensure that coherent patterns are evident, and 2) reviewing the entire data set to ensure that the themes align with the phenomenon under investigation.

As mentioned earlier, qualitative research is not a linear process, and it is common for researchers to revisit the transcripts, notes, and highlighted extracts to refine and finalise the themes. When I refer to being "satisfied" with the themes, I mean that they achieve saturation within the scope of the data set I have collected, and there are no new themes that emerge beyond what has already been identified. This sense of satisfaction indicates that the qualitative study has reached a point where no further themes need to be suggested.

5.4.2.5 Step Five: Defining and naming themes

After grouping similar codes under relevant themes, I revisited these themes and the transcripts to identify extracts that would support and illustrate each theme. This stage involved careful consideration and resulted in the creation of the themes. To ensure coherence and continuity in my analysis, I also developed sub-themes within each

main theme. These sub-themes helped me present the story I wanted to convey in each chapter. The findings sections of Chapters 6 and 7 present the five themes and their respective sub-themes, as shown below.

Theme One: Reasons for teaching English in a Christian mission
- Sub-theme one: Teaching English as a means to fulfil missionary goals
- Sub-theme two: Teaching English as a service-oriented mission
- Sub-theme three: Teaching English as a gateway to religious engagement

Theme Two: ELT qualifications in a Christian mission
- Sub-theme one: The views of untrained MELTs
- Sub-theme two: The views of trained MELTs

Theme Three: The role of missionaries as MELTs
- Sub-theme one: Empowering learners through help
- Sub-theme two: Challenges of navigating dual roles

Theme Four: Free English as a Christian tool?
- Sub-theme one: Free English class on Zoom and its dual purpose
- Sub-theme two: Free English class at church and its connection to native-speakerism
- Sub-theme three: Free English class at church and its connection to religion work

Theme Five: The "leaving the door open" approach
- Sub-theme one: Missionaries' faith integration in an ELT classroom
- Sub-theme two: Value of missionaries' faith in English class
- Sub-theme three: The line between ELT and religious practices
- Sub-theme four: English teaching with an add-on of explicit religious content
- Sub-theme five: Students' decision-making moment

5.4.2.6 Step Six: Providing a detailed analysis

The final step is the time when I used themes to develop the findings of the study. All five themes have been divided into two chapters: Chapter 6 for the first three themes and Chapter 7 for the remaining themes four to five.

5.5 My reflexivity

I believe that everyone is biased, and when it comes to conducting research, especially qualitative research, the way a qualitative researcher thinks about their research, the participants, and the context can affect research findings. However, there are ways for us to be aware of this:

> to ensure that our study was grounded in the experiences and perspectives of our participants, we engaged in a reflexive process of questioning our own assumptions and biases throughout the analysis and interpretation of the data. (Norton & Early, 2011, p. 182)

In qualitative inquiry, the researcher is often viewed as an essential research tool (Creswell, 2013; Dodgson, 2019; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This implies that the researcher's identity and skill impact the study's results. As Young et al. (2020) note, while quantitative research aims to reveal objective truths that minimise the researcher's bias, subjectivity is inherent. Consequently, researchers recognise that their biases, beliefs, presuppositions and experiences will have an inevitable effect on their process. Therefore, they actively practise reflexivity to reveal the impact of subjectivity throughout their inquiry (Teh & Lek, 2018). Reflexivity is frequently used as a qualitative criterion to ensure the thoroughness and quality of research (Olmos-Vega et al., 2023, p.241) and to assess its reliability. Consequently, qualitative researchers must comprehensively practise reflexivity during their research process and make their subjectivity explicit in their studies.

Although various definitions of reflexivity exist, it is typically viewed as a form of researcher awareness that emphasises the researcher's role in research practice and the impact of the research object on that role (Haynes, 2012). Through reflecting on their own awareness and documenting it in writing, researchers can scrutinise how they influence the research findings and process: this is sometimes called

"positionality" (Copland and Creese, 2015). As an outsider to the Christian missionary community conducting qualitative research, it is necessary for me to clearly articulate my positionality in this research.

As a Muslim researcher investigating Christian missionaries who teach English in a predominantly Buddhist country, I do not hold negative views about Christianity as a religion or the way its believers practise their faith. I believe that it is their right to share their religion with non-believers as part of their missions, provided they have good intentions, respect the host cultures, and strive to introduce non-believers to God without using deception or hidden agendas. In Chapter 1 (Section 1.2), I narrated how I was invited to learn about Christianity by preachers in Thailand and the UK, and I appreciated their politeness and the fact that I was free to accept or decline their invitation. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that other non-believers may not encounter the same circumstances as me. Various factors such as social and cultural norms may differ and affect their decision-making. For example, as stated in my study, some Thai participants found it challenging to refuse the missionaries' invitation after gaining familiarity with them while studying English.

As a Muslim researcher living in a multi-cultural society, I value intercultural awareness and do not view Christianity as a threat to my faith or community. Growing up in Thailand, where Buddhism is the predominant religion, my Muslim identity is rooted in Thai culture. Therefore, I see living in a diverse environment as a chance to learn about different cultures and belief systems and broaden my perspective on what it means to be Muslim in Thailand and beyond.

Initially, I held negative views towards ELT activities created by missionaries as part of their missions, based on academic literature and assumptions that they were using English to propagate their religion. This attitude impacted my research process significantly. In 2019, I conducted a pilot ethnographic study at an Islamic school in Thailand where a missionary taught English to Muslim students. My focus was on finding evidence of the missionaries' insidious and covert actions. However, during my fieldwork, I discovered that my assumptions were not entirely accurate, and the students' experiences with the missionary and the social relationship between the school principal and the missionaries were more nuanced than I had perceived.

These findings contradicted my initial negative assumptions about the missionaries, highlighting the extent to which my preconceived notions had influenced my research.

As a result, I became more aware of my own biases towards ELT in Christian missions during my research. I began to critically examine the academic literature I encountered, in particular, those that lacked empirical evidence. Armed with this new perspective, I collected data with an open mind, ensuring my research stayed free from any prior assumptions as much as possible.

Despite numerous discussions with my supervisors about ensuring subjectivity during data collection, such as designing interview guide questions for my participants, I became aware of my own biases after presenting my finding chapters to my supervisors. In the commentary section of my research findings, I attempted to understand how my participants made meaning, but my supervisors pointed out that I had included evaluative writing that went beyond what my participants stated. As a result, I went through multiple revision stages for my finding chapters, starting from the initial drafts to the final presentation in this thesis.

Nevertheless, I must acknowledge that as a researcher, fully eliminating my subjectivity was challenging. Regardless, I remain committed to maintaining my ethical integrity, transparency, and reflexivity regarding my subjectivity. I am open to receiving any feedback on my research findings. My PhD journey has taught me the importance of recognising and addressing my own biases when exploring the opinions and contexts of my participants.

In the following section, I will elaborate on the ethical concerns and considerations that steered my research.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Nowadays, an ethics application is a prerequisite for researchers in any research that involves humans as research participants, and it must be reviewed by ethics committees before data collection can begin. This also applies to qualitative research, particularly when there is human participation or involvement. According to Singer and

Couper (2008), it is crucial to protect research participants physically and mentally as potential harm may arise during data collection, data analysis or even after the research has been published and disseminated. To minimise possible harm to research participants, qualitative researchers must first respect their participants' decision to participate in or withdraw from the study (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Furthermore, researchers must ensure that any documentative or verbal data obtained for research purposes is kept confidential and in accordance with the agreement between the researcher and participants (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009).

Generally, ethical considerations in qualitative research involve three critical components: respect, beneficence, and justice (Creswell, 2013; Holloway & Wheeler, 2013). Respect refers to participants' right to participate in or withdraw from the researcher's research. This means that participants need to review the participation information sheet and, upon agreement, read and sign the consent form. Thus, participation in the study is contingent on the willingness of participants. Confidentiality and anonymity, which mean the protection of participants' information are also aspects of respect. Participants have the right to ask the researcher questions, check or uncheck boxes on the consent form, refuse to answer interview questions, and withdraw from the study under this provision (Alderson and Morrow, 2020). The researcher must respect and recognise their control over their data. In addition, anonymity ensures that participants' real personal information remains anonymised to protect their identity. To ensure anonymity, it is suggested fake names be used instead of real names.

Another critical ethical aspect of qualitative research is beneficence. This means that the researcher must prioritise the well-being and research interests of their participants. Palinkas et al. (2015, p. 537) emphasised that qualitative researchers should take steps to promote their participants' welfare and minimise potential risks. In other words, researchers must not cause harm to their participants and work to protect their privacy and interests.

Justice is the last crucial component of ethical principles of qualitative research. The principle of justice requires that the researcher treats all participants fairly and equally throughout the research process. This can be achieved by providing participants with

equal access to research study findings, or the researcher must ensure that participants do not feel coerced into sharing their views during the data collection process. Liamputtong (2013, p.135) cautions that qualitative researchers should be mindful of power imbalances between researchers and participants, particularly when incentives are offered.

In the next section, I will elaborate on how I conducted my research in an ethical manner and also, I include ethical dilemmas I encountered during the research process.

5.6.1 My research and ethics

In the second year of PhD studies, the General University Ethics Panel (GUEP) at the University of Stirling has approved ethics of my research (see Appendix 4). After my ethics application was approved in February 2020, I immediately returned to Thailand with the intention of conducting fieldwork at one of the LDS churches in March 2020. My proposed plan, as outlined in my ethics approval, was to observe ten weeks of English classes at the LDS church called 'free English class with the missionaries' and then conduct in-person interviews with ten participants.

Unfortunately, as discussed in Chapter 1, my research was significantly impacted by the global pandemic of COVID-19, and I was unable to collect data as originally planned. While I was in Thailand for data collection, the University of Stirling announced that postgraduate research students whose ethics applications had been approved prior to the pandemic could continue their research using virtual methods without needing to reapply for another ethics approval. After discussing it with my supervisors, I decided to modify my research design from face-to-face fieldwork to online techniques to gather data during my data collection period in Thailand.

Despite the shift to online data collection, I adhered to the ethical standards and protocol put in place by the University of Stirling. Before consenting to participate in the study, all of my research participants were provided with an information sheet and a consent form (a sample of information sheet in English and a consent form can be found in Appendix 3). They were informed that participation was voluntary and that

declining to participate in the study would not have any negative consequences. The participants had time to read the information sheet and ask me any relevant questions before they agreed to take part.

Throughout the online interviews, all participants agreed to have their real names anonymised, and their personal information, including their biodata, was generalised to ensure they were not personally identifiable.

It is worth reiterating that this study is overt, and from the outset, both the participants, including the Thai people and missionaries, and myself were open about our identities, including our professions and religious backgrounds. This was made clear from the moment we met before the interview and throughout my attendance at Edward's English classes and casual conversations in the Breakout Rooms. Because the study focused on ELT in Christian missions, this approach ensured that all participants and I understood that, in addition to their views on the ELT provided by the missionary organisation, their religious identity also played a role in the research. I did this because many Christian missionaries I contacted refused to participate because they were uncomfortable telling me about their religious missions, and I respected them for it.

During the online class observation in which I observed Edward's English classes on Zoom, he and I had the opportunity to inform his Thai students about my attendance. He told the students about myself and my research before the Zoom class began. Then I had the chance to introduce myself and explain why I was on Zoom with them. I did this because I felt it should be the same as when we were in the field, where everyone in the class should understand why the researcher was there. For my research, I did not need to use video-recorded classes for data analysis. However, In Edward's classes, the students were required to turn on their video cameras for pronunciation practice. For my research, I decided to use my own audio recorder to record the online class observation, and I informed everyone in class before I did that, too.

I conducted online semi-structured interviews with all participants using Zoom and Teams. The interview was audio and video recorded. Some participants and I felt that

the video-recorded interviews were more casual and relaxed because we could see our faces on camera while being interviewed. However, the videotaped interviews were not used for data analysis in this study. I relied solely on the audio recordings to answer my research questions, which required me to translate and transcribe the data for data analysis and writing my findings. Furthermore, all of the recorded data was securely stored in the university research storage, as recommended by the university, to ensure confidentiality. I did not share any data with anyone, except my supervisors, with whom I discussed data collection processes, research findings and analysis.

Once the interview with each participant had been transcribed, I sent a copy of their transcript to them. This was done to ensure that their perspectives were accurately transcribed and that they were okay with me using it for analysis purposes. Unfortunately, not all participants responded, although some did express their appreciation.

Interestingly, a few of the Thai participants contacted me after reading the transcript. They were keen to improve their language skills and asked if I could teach them English. This surprised me because I did not expect it to happen. However, I decided to offer them an hour of English class every Saturday from June 2021 to April 2022. I did this to express gratitude and to maintain good relations with the participants.

However, it should be noted that this research was not without its ethical challenges. Although I have some experience interacting with Christian missionaries, I am still an outsider when it comes to understanding Christian communities and the many different denominations and the intricacies of the faiths. I have to admit that I was too naive at the start of the research and had to learn about Christian beliefs because my research also involves Christianity, which is not my religion.

First, one of my key missionary participants reacted negatively to me after I sent him my pilot study dissertation during the pilot study phase. Despite the nuanced findings demonstrating how transparent and well-accepted he was by the community, school, and students, he became concerned that he and his Christian group would be the object of the study. He perceived my research as a threat to his entire religious group and believed that disseminating the study in academia could harm his religion.

Eventually, he decided to withdraw from my study. Furthermore, he asked that I not include his religious team or Muslim students as primary participants in my PhD project. I acknowledged and respected his decision and did not collect additional data from the school where he taught. This incident demonstrates how challenging it can be to research sensitive areas and to report honestly on them. It also provides researchers with a dilemma – should they publish (in the interests of transparency, accountability and honesty) or should they accept the reluctance of participants?

Secondly, during my presentations at different conferences, I faced ethical challenges concerning questions from fellow academics. At one point, a question arose concerning why I had categorised the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a Christian denomination in my writing. This denomination is not widely accepted by larger Christian groups such as Catholics and Protestants, leading to a controversy around whether or not they are considered Christians (Stark, 1996).

While acknowledging the existing debate, I chose to refer to LDS church members as Christians because that is what my participants preferred. They did not want me to call them 'Mormon' because I was an outsider. This decision was made out of respect for my LDS participants' beliefs and preferences, thus adopting an emic approach.

Another ethical challenge I encountered was whether I should explicitly identify the religious organisations of my Christian participants because doing so could harm their reputation. While this question raised concerns about justice, it is important to note that Christianity comprises various denominations, each with distinct rituals and beliefs. Therefore, it does not make sense to normalise my participants as 'Christian' regardless of their denomination. The researchers who studied this topic, such as Johnston (2018), identified their participants' denominations because Christianity is not a single group but rather a collection of denominations. Also, because this is a qualitative study and we usually consider their perspectives to be opinions rather than facts, it stands to reason that the actions of my participants should not be used to generalise or stereotype the entire denomination, as each member is a unique individual with their own opinions and experiences. Therefore, I mentioned their denomination to refer to the group of my participants rather than Christianity as a whole.

As stated above, ethical considerations are an important part of any research, and researchers must keep this in mind when conducting research on humans. The researchers must ensure that well-being and safety of participants are of utmost importance. When researchers consider working with humans, they must submit an ethics application to the ethics panel. This procedure ensures that the principles of autonomy, beneficence, and justice are upheld. However, obtaining permission from the committee should not be misconstrued as indicating that the research is fully ethical; it is simply the first step (Copland, 2018). The concept of the "ethically important moments" (Guilleman & Gillam, 2004) is relevant here, as challenging and unexpected situations may arise when researchers collect data from individuals in the field. As previously mentioned, I have personally experienced such a scenario. It is essential to be open and honest about what happened during the research, not solely to comply with ethical standards but also to maintain the trustworthiness of the research.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter provides details about the participants from both phases of the study, as well as information about the semi-structured interview process. I acknowledge that the interview served not only as a research instrument but also as a social practice. I have also provided a detailed explanation of the six-step process of thematic analysis, which led to the creation of the final themes that will be presented in the finding chapters. Additionally, I have discussed the importance of addressing ethics and reflexivity in this research.

In the subsequent chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), I will report the analytical findings of the study. First, I will present the first three themes that emerged from the data collected in Phase One. Then, I will discuss themes 4-6, which emerged from the data collected in Phase Two.

Chapter SIX: Perspectives of Christian Missionaries on ELT in Thailand

Introduction

This chapter presents the analytical findings derived from the first-phase interview data with five missionaries from different organisations. The five interviewed individuals include Anne from Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF), Dorothy from Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT), Landon from Institute for Global Opportunity (IGO), Joe and Ben from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). The objective of this chapter is to illuminate the perspectives of the missionaries regarding the role of ELT in their Christian missions in Thailand and also examined how the economics of linguistic exchanges, as theorised by Bourdieu (1986), is reflected in their views on the role of ELT.

The theoretical framework guiding this analysis is Bourdieu's economics of linguistic exchanges as stated in Chapter 3. According to Bourdieu (1986), language operates as valuable resources that individuals and groups use strategically to gain social, cultural and economic advantages.

The chapter specifically addresses Research Question One of the study and its sub-questions (a) and (b):

RQ1: How do Christian missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in the context of a Christian mission in Thailand, and what motivates their decision to incorporate English into their missionary activities?

a) How do three Protestant missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission when they taught English in Thailand?

b) How do two missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of ELT in their mission when they taught English in Thailand?

Three main themes presented will answer RQ1 (sub-questions (a) and (b)) as follows:

6.1 Theme 1: Reasons for teaching English in a Christian mission

6.2 Theme 2: ELT qualifications in a Christian mission

6.3 Theme 3: The role of missionaries as MELTs

For a coherent structure of analysis, the sub-themes are used. I first provide a brief summary of an extract, followed by the transcription and commentary and data analysis based on the economics of linguistics exchanges.

6.1 Theme 1: Reasons for teaching English in a Christian mission

The participants' extracts that are presented in this theme show ELT serving multiple purposes within the context of ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand. The missionaries explained their reasons differently for why they and their organisations offered English classes in Thailand. These included: retaining missionaries' visas to stay in Thailand; helping Thai people learn English; offering English as a missionary service, using English classes to connect with Thai people, receiving financial support and responding to the demand of a Thai Christian member to teach English to Thai visitors to the Church. These reasons highlight the missionaries' recognition of their English language proficiency as a form of linguistic capital, which allows them to offer English classes in Thailand where English carries symbolic value. In order to explain this clearly, I will discuss it in relation to the data presented in the four sub-themes.

6.1.1 Sub-theme one: Teaching English as a means to fulfil missionary goals
In this sub-theme, I will show Ben's extracts 1-3 on the role of English as a form of linguistic capital in LDS.

When I asked whether ELT was important for LDS, Ben said that it depended on the context to which LDS missionaries were sent. He stated that their main goal in Thailand was to teach religion, but the problem was it was difficult for them to get a visa to stay in Thailand. ELT was offered to retain their visa, as he puts it:

Extract 1
Luq: Is English language teaching an important part of your organisation?

Ben: Yes and no. it depends on where you are. **For Thailand, the reason
            we started doing teaching was because it's just one way we keep
            our visa**. **Our main goal is to teach religion.** So, it was hard to get a
            visa so that was easy for us to have a visa to teach English classes
            every week. And the more we've done it, it's been very very helpful for
            people whether or not they learn about religion. It's just been a really
            good way that helped Thai people. **If it's something they want and a
            good way to get a relationship to people, just to be helpful, you
            know.**

Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital refers to the value and resources associated with one's linguistic skills and proficiencies within a specific society (Bourdieu, 1991). Given the high value placed on English in Thailand's linguistic market, much like in an economic market, English becomes symbolic and acts as a form of linguistic and economic capital.

To illustrate the economic metaphor, Ben's statement in extract 1, "the reason we started doing teaching was because it's just one way we keep our visa," highlights the pragmatic use of his linguistic capital to achieve his primary goal of teaching religion in Thailand while also fulfilling visa requirements. This implies that Ben recognised the mutually beneficial arrangement that teaching English could offer. The interest for Thai people in improving their English skills provided the opportunity for Ben to maintain his presence and continue his religious teachings in Thailand. Thus, it becomes evident that his linguistic capital provides a social advantage, allowing him to secure his position in Thailand and sustain his religious mission.

Furthermore, the perceived prestige of English in Thailand granted Ben an advantage in the economics of linguistic exchanges. This is evident in his statement in extract 1, "the more we've done it, it's been very very helpful for people whether or not they learn about religion or not." This signifies the power dynamic at play. English, as a form of linguistic capital, gave Ben a symbolic power in the linguistic marketplace, positioning him in a helpful and advantageous position. This can also be seen in what Ben said, "If it is something they want and a good way to get a relationship to people, just to be helpful." However, the fact that he said he taught English 'to be helpful' is in contrast with his goal of obtaining a visa in Thailand. So, the use of ELT within the Christian mission for him implies that he could offer English to be helpful by positioning himself in the linguistic marketplace of ELT.

In Bourdieu's thinking, there are always power imbalances at play in a social field or market. Ben, as a 'NES', may hold a high symbolic value as he used English as his first language. The perceived prestige and authority associated with 'NES' could provide Ben with tapping into the linguistic marketplace of ELT in Thailand. This is very much linked to the commodification of English (Duchêne and Heller, 2012) where English becomes a language of instrumentalism (Wee, 2008) making those people, in

this case Ben, use English for social gain that English is placed highly valued in Thailand.

In Extract 2 below, Ben tapped into the linguistic marketplace and revealed another point associated with English as a symbolic power. He further explained the reason behind offering ELT in an LDS mission. Under the position of teaching English, he could promote what he calls a positive influence:

Extract 2
Ben: The way of our missionary programme works is **yes we go to teach about religion but the real idea is spread the kind of positive influence that we have gotten from our religion wherever we go.** Whether or not I am going somewhere to ask people to join the church, if I am helping someone, that's the point. That's the idea. **That's really what ELT is about where that comes from.**

In this extract, Ben viewed the positive influence derived from his religion as something that could be transmitted through language and communication, specifically through ELT. According to his perspective, the act of 'helping someone' by teaching English becomes an avenue to impart his positive religious influence on Thai people, and this is a form of exchange in itself.

In Bourdieu's perspective of linguistic capital, Ben recognised the symbolic value and advantages associated with ELT in his work and English proficiency is utilised as a tool to spread the positive influence derived from his religion. Thus, it can be seen that linguistic capital goes beyond language skills alone encompassing broader social, cultural, and symbolic values associated with language use (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991).

Finally, with regard to the value of English, Ben also emphasised the importance of offering ELT in his organisation, which, based on his viewpoint in extract 3 below, depends on the context. He mentions that in Thailand, there was a need for ELT, and LDS missionaries could contribute to fulfilling that need. As he puts it:

Extract 3
Ben: In America there is not a lot of English teaching, because most of the people that are teaching are Americans speaking English. South

America, there aren't huge demands for free English teachers in a little town where people are never expecting to leave. They are never expecting to do English there. So, we don't do teaching English there. **But in Thailand there is a need for it. It's a lot of people who want it, so it's easy for us to get involved and be helpful.**

Based on Ben's viewpoint, the significance of offering ELT in LDS missions depends on contextual factors and not every place the missionaries visited would offer opportunities for teaching English. This implies that English as a symbolic capital is not equally valued everywhere. This is related to an economic metaphor where selling strategies are used in the market in order to achieve their expected outcomes.

To illustrate the point of the economic metaphor, ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand is a good example as there is a considerable demand. It creates an opportunity for missionaries, like Ben, who possessed linguistic capital related to English, to capitalise on this demand and offer their services as English language teachers. As he said, "But in Thailand there is a need for it.", he was able to meet the need for ELT and be perceived as helpful by a lot of Thai people.

In summary, according to Ben's perspectives (extracts 1-3), his proficiency in English serves as a form of linguistic capital that is symbolically valued in Thailand. It enabled him to enter the linguistic marketplace of ELT and meet Thai people's demand for English language learning. Although he mentioned in extract 2 that he was fine if people did not want to join his church, the symbolic power of English that he possessed still provides him with a social advantage to connect with the Thai population through English classes and spread his positive religious influence.

6.1.2 Sub-theme two: Teaching English as a service-oriented mission
In this sub-theme, I present Joe's extract to show his views regarding ELT in his mission in Thailand. From the same organisation as Ben, Joe also gave a similar view of why the LDS Church offered English in Thailand.

Extract 4
Luq: Could you tell me some of missionary projects you were involved in
            Thailand?

Joe: So, we had a free English programme. Our focus is primarily on
            teaching about Jesus. But we often had the service-oriented activities.
            So, as part of our beliefs that the missionaries who believe in Jesus
            Christ, we try to serve other people, and we are trying to help strangers
            and people that have different beliefs from us as much as possible. **So,
            English is one of the easiest, one of the most wanted, one of the
            most necessary kind of like sought-after service kind of like
            opportunities. It's because it's always useful. It's a universal
            language right now. And we thought as part of our service is to
            help people learn English.**

Based on extract 4 from Joe, he stated that LDS missionaries came to teach about 'Jesus', and ELT was offered as a service in Thailand. According to him, the reason for offering ELT was to serve and help others. His reason was similar to Ben's (extract 2), which was to fulfil missionaries' goal of helping Thai people. He connected his reason for serving other people with the global status of the English language.

There are several aspects that reflect Bourdieu's concept of the economics of linguistic exchanges in Joe's extract.

First, Joe's extract shows the value of English as a form of linguistic capital as he described it as 'one of the most sought-after and necessary services'. His statement is consistent with Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital, which refers to the value and advantages associated with possessing a particular language proficiency. Through the concept of symbolic capital, or "profit of honour" (Bourdieu, 1998), Bourdieu reminds us of the fact that the value of any form of capital partly depends upon social recognition. English is the global language. The spread of English as a lingua franca and globalisation are closely interrelated (Jenkins, 2017). So, the phrase 'universal language' from Joe's extract highlights the social recognition of English. It suggests that he recognised the value of English proficiency in the global marketplace.

Apart from that, Joe's view shows English as a means to connect with and serve others, as he mentioned, "strangers and individuals with different beliefs". This also reflects Bourdieu's concept of language as a social advantage (1991), as the ability to

communicate effectively in English allowed Joe to 'serve strangers' in the linguistic marketplace of English.

In conclusion, based on Joe's extract 4, the statement provided has reflected how his belief in the importance of English language teaching aligns with Bourdieu's concept of the economics of linguistic exchanges. It has highlighted the recognition of English as a form of linguistic and economic capital, the potential for social advantage through language proficiency, and the dynamics of exchange within the linguistic marketplace.

6.1.3 Sub-theme three: Teaching English as a gateway to religious engagement

This sub-theme shows Landon's and Anne's extracts. First, in extract 5, Landon describes a cultural trip to a southernmost province of Thailand with his organisation called IGO. He states that the reason for his organisation to offer English in a community was to connect with the community. As he puts it:

Extract 5
Landon:　　　[…] The background at the time was to connect with the community there in [name of the city]. […] **We used teaching English as a way to meet people through teaching English**, playing Basketball, for example.

As can be seen here, there is a connection between teaching English and meeting people. His view on the use of English as a means to 'meet' people with the community in Thailand can be analysed based on the economics of linguistic exchanges.

First, Landon recognised his English competence as a form of linguistic capital that could facilitate his connections and relationships with the Thai community. In other words, ELT can be used as a tool to 'meet' people. In Bourdieu's framework, 'teaching English to meet people' represents the acquisition of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) for Landon, as he was able to gain access to the community and make connection with Thai people within the linguistic marketplace of English.

Moreover, 'playing basketball' as he said serves as a platform for cultural exchange. This can be said that the transfer of cultural knowledge in the basketball space

between the American missionaries and Thai people is through the 'meeting' of ELT. This is in line with Bourdieu's notion of the linguistic marketplace, where cultural exchange takes place through language (1986, 1991). Based on Landon's extract, English is seen as a marker of global connectivity and opportunity. By offering English classes and engaging in activities that utilise English, he reinforced the perception of English as a valuable resource, supporting Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital that holds symbolic power within a given social context (Bourdieu, 1984).

Another extract that reveals English as symbolic power in the Christian mission is extract 6 below from Anne. Her extract shows the same reason for offering English in her mission. She states that missionaries generally used different methods when offering English. The first one was at the university where she worked, where there was a link with the student ministry. The other was outside the university, where they used English to get to know people. Then, she further states that English was used as the front door for being in the community. She shared an example of her former student becoming a Christian because of trust, leading her student to explore and embrace Christianity. As she states:

Extract 6

Luq: What do you think about religious organisations that include ELT in their mission?

Anne: We utilised various methods in our programme, such as the involvement of teachers from [name of university] in the student ministry. This allowed students to also be invited to the ministry. In [name of province], I used English teaching as a means to connect with people. I had three students from the school who regularly attended my English class. **During the class, I would teach them for an hour, and then spend the remaining 30 minutes discussing topics related to religion. This approach allowed me to engage with the community, even though some of my friends were not English teachers or missionaries. It served as a way to be part of the community and establish connections, while also providing religious content.** Over the years, I have met Thai friends who were part of an adult English conversation club that I used to run. They told me, "Do you remember me? I used to come to your class. Later I met some other people and now I am a Christian." Through these interactions, **English teaching laid the foundation for individuals to learn about Christianity and develop trust in Christians.** This highlights how we utilised English teaching to fulfil both our mission and personal goals.

From Anne's extract, English was utilised in various ways within her organisation. Anne's approach of using ELT served as a form of linguistic capital, enabling her and her team to 'be part of the community' and 'establish connections'. This reflects Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital as a 'valuable resource' for social exchange and connection (1991).

Additionally, based on Anne, "English teaching laid the foundation for individuals to learn about Christianity and develop trust in Christians," also reinforces the symbolic value placed on the language as a means of an exchange of something else. By becoming an active member of the community and teaching English, she mentioned that she was able to establish relationships and build trust. This implies that ELT in a Christian mission can be the space for an exchange of 'providing religious content'. This parallels Bourdieu's idea that languages can function as symbols of power and authority within specific social contexts (1991). ELT in a Christian mission goes beyond ELT itself: it connects with other people, builds trust, and shares religious content.

In summary, Landon's and Anne's use of English teaching as a means to establish connections, communicate religious beliefs, and integrate into the community reflects Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic capital, symbolic power, and social integration. They utilised English as a resource to facilitate engagement and reinforce religious values.

Next, I move to Theme 2 in the following page.

6.2 Theme 2: ELT qualifications in a Christian mission

The issue of trained and untrained MELTs has been discussed in the literature by evangelical and non-evangelical scholars (Edge, 1996, 2003; Dormer, 2011; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Purgason, 2016; Snow, 2001). The criticism centred on some religious organisations sending unqualified 'NES' to teach English in a country, where English is not widely spoken by its citizens, for covert proselytisation (Han & Varghese, 2019). Several evangelical scholars do not support unqualified MELTs. For example, Wong (2017) stated that lacking attention to proper TESOL training among missionaries leads to ignorance about considering TESOL as a professional, legitimate field. The issue of untrained English teachers is also unacceptable more broadly in the field of TESOL as the TESOL organisation states:

> English language learners, whether in an English as a second language (ESL) or English as a foreign language (EFL) setting, have the right to be taught by qualified and trained teachers. Native speaker proficiency in the target language alone is not sufficient qualification for such teaching positions; TESOL is a professional discipline that requires specialised training. (TESOL, 2003)

Therefore, this theme is another important aspect for both missionary organisations and the TESOL field.

When interviewing the missionary participants, I discovered that three of them (Ben, Landon, and Joe) lacked training in ELT, Dorothy and Anne said they had obtained certification in ELT to teach English. Therefore, in this section, the perspectives of both trained and untrained missionaries are presented in order to gain a better understanding of ELT training in the context of a Christian mission. Similar to the first section, the data will be analysed using the theoretical framework of the economics of linguistic exchanges (Bourdieu, 1986).

This theme has two sub-themes: untrained English language teachers and trained English teachers. Each of them shows evidence of participants' views about their ELT training and how it impacted their teaching in a Christian mission.

6.2.1 Sub-theme one: The views of untrained MELTs

When questioned about Ben's teaching in class, he clarified that the LDS missionaries were English volunteers, not formal English teachers, who taught English to assist, but it was not their primary responsibility.

Extract 7

Luq: What did you teach in your class in terms of speaking, writing, listening, reading and grammar?

Ben: When I first got there we had an English programme that returned missionaries established many years ago, but they were not English teachers. **We are just volunteers, not formal teachers. Because mainly we teach religion.** We taught English to help, and that wasn't our main duty.

Ben openly acknowledged that he and his fellow missionaries were not 'formal teachers', but 'volunteers'. From Bourdieu's perspective, the concept of being a formal teacher is connected to the acquisition of cultural capital, loosely defined as "knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions" (Thompson, 1991, p. 14), in this case the knowledge and skills gained through education and the official recognition as a teacher. By not possessing these institutionalised credentials, Ben did not classify himself and his friends as formal teachers, but rather as volunteers.

Ben's statement of 'we taught English to help, but that wasn't our main duty' reflects the idea of volunteering, which is based on a selfless desire to assist others, sometimes referred to as voluntourism (Sin, 2012). In this context, being a volunteer is not driven by a contractual obligation or assigned role, but rather a willingness to contribute one's time and skills for the benefit of others. This contribution is particularly significant in Thailand, where English is highly desirable. As Ben possessed English as a form of linguistic capital, he was able to leverage it to support and assist others.

The institutionalised credentials, labelled as training in this context, were discussed by other participants. Ben explains that he underwent missionary training prior to arriving in Thailand, where he learned how to teach religion and use Thai. He explicitly states that there was a lack of proper formal English training.

Extract 8
Luq: How long was the training before you started teaching?

Ben: All missionaries going to Thailand, we were trained for 9 weeks before
            we get to Thailand so 9 weeks in the training centre in Utah. **They
            teach you Thai and they teach you how to teach but they don't
            teach you how to teach English.** You learned how to teach religion.
            When you get to Thailand, the missionaries who are already there
            teaching the class and you kind of jumping in and helping them out. **So
            there is no real formal English training.** That's why our programme
            was kind of to get people show up and get people some speaking
            practice, some listening practice.

In this extract, it is evident that Ben believed his training as an English teacher was
not enhanced or developed during his missionary programme. It could be said that as
Ben's English proficiency was already established prior to his missionary work, it
served as a form of capital for him, granting him certain advantages in offering English
as part of his mission in Thailand without needing training. On the contrary, his training
in Thai during the missionary programme can be seen as the acquisition of linguistic
capital that was important for his missionary mission, as he may need to use Thai for
interaction with Thai people in Thailand.

Ben's statement that. "When you get to Thailand, the missionaries who are already
there teaching the class and you kind of jumping in and helping them out so there is
no real formal English training" further highlights that his pre-existing knowledge of
English is, from Bourdieu's perspective, a form of inherited or innate knowledge, rather
than something acquired through training. Where Thailand places the importance of
English as the global language, Ben and his missionaries were able to gain social
benefit in the linguistic marketplace.

Moreover, the phrases "get people to show up" and "get people some speaking
practice" indicate that the English course Ben assisted with in the missionary
programme aimed to encourage Thai individuals to interact and converse with the
missionaries. This demonstrates the utilisation of the missionaries' linguistic capital,
their English proficiency, to facilitate interaction and language practice. This mirrors
Bourdieu's concept of the economics of linguistic exchanges, where language skills
are exchanged and valued in social contexts.

Landon's perspectives also show a similar pattern to Ben's. In terms of ELT training:

Extract 9
Landon: We went on a trip to different countries and we would teach some
            English but a lot of it was just basic. I don't have any training in English.

Then, he expressed a feeling of inadequacy, but he said he still did his best. This indicates that Landon had a sense of responsibility to give his best effort, even without formal training. As he put it:

Extract 10
Landon: I felt I wasn't actually qualified when I went to [Name of City] but I felt I
            was with the group and I did my best. [..] We tried our best to make it
            fun and interact with them and teach the best that we know at least that
            I could.

Quite similar to Ben, Landon underwent four months of training, but it was not solely focused on ELT. As he states:

Extract 11
Landon: I came to Thailand in 2012, about 8 years ago. And I know the
            programme has changed a bit since I have been there. **But from what
            I experienced there was a focus on religion. There was also other
            programmes like a teaching English programme in Thailand
            where they go to teach English a couple days a week in schools.
            Some people were involved in it but not everybody. But lots of the
            missions involve teaching English. But I wouldn't say the whole
            course itself centred around teaching English.** It's more for the
            study of Christianity and religions.

Extract 12
Luq: Do you think you saw any challenges with respect to ELT?

Landon: Yeah, for me like I said I don't have too much experience but yeah
            watching people teach and downloading information online about ways
            you teach English. It was definitely nervous because like I said for a
            few times that I did. I feel like as I did. It came back 2-3 years. It was
            easier and I knew I was doing better. It was yeah I could say I was
            doing something out of my comfort zone. You know when you were
            anything different. Overall, it was a good experience. I always walk
            away from it. Felt like it was a good thing and it was. If the kids could
            get anything from my teaching per se, maybe my presence. Just being
            there. A lot of times just being with people, to show that you care.   I
            wanna believe that happened. Yeah it's a lot of a precious life and it's
            cool and a lot of amazing kids.

In Landon's extracts from 10-12, it is evident that the focus of the missionary training course in his organisation was not on ELT, but primarily on religion, which held a significant importance in their programme.

As previously discussed, English holds a high symbolic value and is highly regarded in Thailand, making Landon's English proficiency in the language already advantageous. In this context, Landon's English linguistic capital, which he acquired through his 'NS' status, allowed him to engage with the Thai population without requiring formal ELT training. His knowledge and skills in the English language were inherently valuable.

The last person was Joe, who, like Ben, was sent to Thailand by the LDS church. I put him last in this sub-theme because he did not explicitly mention that his Church trained him how to teach English or admit that he was untrained. However, his accounts below suggest that he might not receive ELT training from his Church.

When I asked Joe about what he taught, he stated that the programme focused on speaking. This is similar to what Ben stated in extract 8. However, Joe's perception was slightly different:

Extract 13
Joe: So our focus on the English programme was just to try to get people to speak as much as possible because like the way that I learned Thai was just going right to Thailand just speaking with Thai people as much as I could to try to get out and learn. That was practising speaking and I think it was perfect to do it. It was a perfect opportunity for people to come and practice speaking with foreigners speaking English from America and the UK.

Joe drew a comparison between his own experience of learning Thai through exposure and interaction in Thailand and argued that a similar approach should be taken when learning English. This perspective reflects Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital being obtained through social interactions (1986).

Moreover, Joe's mention of "it was a perfect opportunity to come to practise speaking with foreigners speaking English from America" highlights the symbolic capital of

English held by 'NSs', which he does not question. It signifies the power and value attributed to English, especially when spoken by 'NSs' from a specific country like America. On one hand, Thai people may see the arrival of missionaries as an opportunity to practise their English, as it implies the presence of individuals fluent in the language. Conversely, the symbolic power of missionaries in relation to their English competence enables them to gain access to Thai people, even without formal teaching qualifications. This places the missionaries in a favourable position to provide language exposure within the linguistic marketplace of ELT. It suggests that the definition of 'NSs' is interrelated with placed- and nation-based identity (Wicaksono, 2020, p. 81). From Joe's extract, practising English with missionaries is placed based on nationalities rather qualification.

Therefore, the narrative of 'NS' as presented in Joe's extract has demonstrated the intersection of linguistic and symbolic capital in the linguistic marketplace. The exchange of language skills, particularly English, becomes intertwined with the power dynamics and symbolic value associated with 'NSs.

6.2.2 Sub-theme two: The views of trained MELTs

The other two participants, Dorothy and Anne, mentioned that they had qualifications ELT: CELTA[15] for Dorothy and Trinity TESOL[16] for Anne. This highlights the strategic acquisition and investment of cultural capital, which, similar to economic capital, can be purposefully obtained and utilised. The findings of their accounts shed light on the significance of their ELT qualifications. As she states:

Extract 14
Dorothy: If people ask me to teach English because I did my CELTA in 2011,
            then I will tell them that I would like money to go into foundation.

As can be seen in Dorothy's extract 14, where she mentioned "money to go into foundation," illustrates the investment and returns associated with her CELTA qualification. It signifies that her qualification positioned her strategically within the

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[15] CELTA stands for Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. It is an internationally recognised teaching qualification awarded by Cambridge Assessment English.
[16] Trinity TESOL refers to Trinity CertTESOL, which stands for Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. It is an internally recognised qualification offered by Trinity College London.

linguistic market, and in a position to earn. This shows how the acquisition of formal qualifications can contribute to one's ability to navigate and succeed in the field of language teaching, economically.

Similarly, Anne's extract 15 highlights her transition from being an engineer to becoming an English teacher in Thailand through investing in a qualification.   This decision represents a deliberate investment of cultural and economic capital:

Extract 15
Anne: I am qualified and was an engineer before and I worked in this field 10
             years before coming to Thailand. Before coming I obtained a Trinity
             TESOL qualification. And when I came to Thailand, I took two-months
             of Thai language study.

Dorothy's and Anne's extracts mentioned show the alignment with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, which emphasises the value of acquired knowledge, skills, and qualifications. By obtaining these qualifications, Dorothy and Anne strategically increased their cultural capital and enhanced their professional prospects in the field of English language teaching. This underscores the notion that cultural capital, like economic capital, can be invested and strategically utilised to gain advantages in specific social and professional contexts.

In the next page, I will present Theme 3, which is last theme of this chapter.

6.3 Theme 3: The Role of Missionaries as MELTs

Research into ELT in Christian missions has also focused on the role of Christian beliefs in developing teacher identities as MELTs (Wong et al., 2013). Identity research generally focuses on language teachers being true to themselves (Creese, 2005), and regarding MELTs, Kubanyiova (2013) states that such research can deepen our understanding of who CETs are and how their Christian beliefs have shaped their classroom practice (p. 85). But how can missionaries balance their role as missionaries and teachers? Should they teach language learners to help, without evangelising, or should they also be serious about sharing their faith with language learners? This aspect is also reflected in the economics of linguistic exchanges that is whether the missionaries gave away their religious teaching while teaching English to help learners, and also to what extent the missionaries were prepared to negotiate their goal of being Christian inside the English class.

This final theme of this chapter will showcase missionaries' views on their role as MELTs. It will present the investment and return, the metaphor of the linguistic market and bartering as a form of exchange.

To illustrate participants' perspectives, two sub-themes are used: 1) Empowering learners through help and 2) Challenges of navigating dual roles.

6.3.1 Sub-theme one: Empowering learners through help
In this phase of the study, all the missionary participants showed that they had a positive feeling about offering English classes as part of their mission. They felt that they could help Thai people through improving their English. The extracts below show multiple perspectives of the participants regarding helping Thai people.

When asked about her perspectives on being a MELT, Anne states that she loved people. Though she made clear that she wanted to let others know about Jesus Christ, she felt that she also wanted to help her students improve their lives. The extract below shows her feeling about being an English language teacher. As she put it:

Extract 16

Luq: How do you feel about your role as a Christian teaching English?

Anne: **I think that we love people so we are teaching English out of love and we want to be the best for people. Definitely, I want them to know about the truth about Jesus Christ.** That would be my first and primary goal and that's why I need to make it clear. I don't want to hide my identity and I don't want to invite people to come for English under false intentions or something. I clearly explain about why I am here. I clearly explain why they will be in a Christian context and the teaching. But because I love people too. I really want them to **succeed**. I wanted to see them become the men and women they wanted to be.

In answer to the same question, she then showed an example of one of her students that needed help with her English language learning. As she puts it:

Extract 17

Anne: One of my students had a passion for English. She faithfully came for her class every week. I am keen to teach her because I want her to grow and develop. Her family doesn't kind of force her to study at the university. She just went to a local school. So, if I can **help** her and improve her English, **she might have the opportunity to get into the university** because she does well in her English class and it positively changed her life. Yeah, I think it's a privilege to be able to **help** someone. Yeah become a person she's meant to be.

Similar to Anne's extract 17, Dorothy gave an example of helping her student who struggled to get a job because of her low English proficiency. As she states:

Extract 18

Dorothy: I was thinking of one lady who can't still speak a lot of English but I am sure that part of just being in that group it encourages her at the age 43 to go and apply for a position as an official with an army. Suddenly she was able to speak some English. She was able to put few simple sentences together. I think somehow **that's been encouraging**.

Joe also felt that taking a MELT role teaching English in Thailand helped him see the development of students who were initially shy to speak English. He perceived that helping others could help him see his talent for helping others. As he put it:

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Extract 19
Luq: In what way does ELT fulfil your mission?

Joe: What I really like and it makes me happy really is that I inspired many people in making their lives better when I first got there. As a missionary in Thailand teaching English, I got to see people who were shy to begin with, shy to speak English, kind of tried that out. Teaching them, opening up, watching them. **They were comfortable around us**. They were starting to **practise** and **getting the skills**. Honestly, it made me extremely happy to understand our talent kind of using my talent for good, making me really happy.

The last person is Ben from the LDS Church. He felt ELT fulfilled his mission because he could help someone improve their English. However, as he was also a missionary, he realised that Thai people did not feel interested in his religion. Based on his experience, the Thai people rejected his faith. He became more understanding and felt ELT seemed to fulfil his mission more broadly. He felt he was helpful that he helped someone with English language learning, even though his main goal was to help people know about his faith. As he states:

Extract 20
Luq: In what way does ELT help to fulfil your mission?

Ben: When I was on my mission, the thing that made me feel the best, **the happiest, and the most excited about being a missionary was when I was helping someone**, and I could tell that they **appreciated** it. Teaching religion definitely provided these experiences. You are teaching someone, and you can tell they loved it. It really helps them to be happy. **However, in Thailand, most people aren't Christian, and many aren't interested. It's really hard to face that rejection. I try to show them this important thing, but they either don't understand or aren't interested, so they don't accept it. Thai people are wonderful and polite about it. I wanted to show them, but English provided a wider reach for helping people.** Religion is more one-on-one, meeting people while walking or talking on the bus, and hopefully being able to visit them at home and teach them. English class, on the other hand, allows me to sit in a circle with 10 people, and they are all smiling, laughing, and having a good time.

It is evident that all participants had a positive outlook on their role as MELTs as they are motivated and excited by helping others, and that this help is through improving their English. They expressed their desire to help others, acted upon it, and derived satisfaction from their efforts.

To further support the point of 'help', several extracts from the participants' accounts emphasise the importance of teaching English as an act of help. Anne expresses her love for teaching and her desire for her students to 'succeed' (extract 16) and that also helped one of the students to improve get a better life. This is indexed in Anne's statements such as 'have the opportunity to get into the university' and 'it positively changed her life' (extract 17). This act of help is also found in (Dorothy's extract 18) that she used the word 'encouraging' to see her students able to use simple English.

Joe's extract 19 highlights the impact of teaching on students' confidence, explaining how initially shy individuals became more 'comfortable' and 'started practising their English skills'. Ben emphasised the idea of others 'appreciating' him upon the act of help with ELT.

This suggests that the linguistic marketplace of ELT in the Christian mission for the missionaries demonstrates what they received in exchange for doing good things for others. Such exchanges include students' appreciation and the missionaries' satisfaction.

These extracts further support the findings of the study about the linguistic marketplace of ELT in the Christian mission for the missionaries. That is, the missionaries perceived their role as one of care and support for their students' well-being and progress, and they received something in exchange for doing good things for others (e.g., students overcoming shyness, practising English, and building confidence). This is consistent with the notion of teaching as a form of social and cultural capital exchange, where the missionaries contributed to the linguistic development and personal growth of their students.

The missionary participants invested their linguistic capital, derived from their 'NS' status and qualifications in ELT, to provide English instruction and support to their students. This linguistic capital is valuable, as it allows them to facilitate language acquisition and foster a supportive environment for their students.

The finding from this sub-theme is consistent with Baurain (2007), who claims that MELT's faith can have a positive influence on practice. ELT for MELTs can mean 'valuing and respecting other people and appreciating their intrinsic worth' (p. 202). He emphasises "the doctrine of God's love" (p.202) as a very powerful act in informing how MELTs should approach ELT.

In summary, the participants' positive perspectives on 'helping others' offer valuable insights into the role of MELTs in fulfilling their mission in Thailand. The findings suggest that empowering language learners through the act of help may stem from the participants' Christian identity, which centres on serving and loving others.

6.3.2 Sub-theme two: Challenges of navigating dual roles

The analysis shows that four participants out of five (Ben, Anne, Dorothy and Landon) encapsulated problems with their role as MELT. Each of them provided different interesting accounts. Extracts 21-25 below are the evidence of their perspectives.

First, Ben from LDS admitted that ELT for LDS missionaries was like a doorway to make Thai people learn about their faith. However, he was aware that sharing his faith in the English class made his students uncomfortable. However, he also felt he did not want to give away his main goal of teaching religion. Therefore, he ended up trying to find a balance in his role at MELT, which teaches English and leaves the door open. As he states:

Extract 21
Luq: Do you have any tension between being a language teacher and being a missionary?

Ben: Sometimes ELT can be a doorway to indirectly introduce people to religion. We used to include prayers and spiritual thoughts in our English lessons, but we noticed that it made some people uncomfortable. So, **we decided to focus solely on teaching English without trying to promote religion. However, we still leave the door open for those who may be interested in learning more about it.** Our main goal is to help people learn English, but we also remember that our purpose is to teach about religion. It's important to find a **balance between these two aspects without pressuring people to talk about religion.** We should always keep in mind the primary objective of teaching English.

Then he further explains that as a MELT, he had to face the challenge of students' resistance to learning about his faith. According to him, some Thai people asked for the Scripture to practise English, and he felt they did not feel the same value of the Scripture as him. The scenario he explains in extract 22 below shows his tension when he took a role as MELT:

Extract 22

Luq: Did you feel uncomfortable about balancing your role as a missionary when you are teaching English?

Ben: Definitely. We often received questions about religion and requests for scriptures. **It excited us because it was rare to find people interested in Christianity in Thailand.** However, sometimes they just wanted English practice materials, which was fine. We wanted to help them in any way we could, so we would try to invite them to discuss the book or visit us, but they would decline saying they weren't interested. **It was challenging because teaching English was fulfilling**, but the most satisfying moments were when we could assist someone with their religious beliefs, which were deeply personal to us as missionaries. **It was difficult when people didn't share the same value due to their different backgrounds. Finding a balance between teaching English and addressing their personal needs was a constant tension that we had to navigate.**

From what Ben stated above, the word 'balance' plays a crucial role in making Ben realise how to deal with his position as a MELT. It could be interpreted that 'balance' is another economic metaphor. In this exchange, Ben was prepared to keep religion in his back pocket, foregrounding English in order to appeal to the market. Also, Ben's statement, "It was difficult when people didn't share the same value due to their different backgrounds. Finding a balance between teaching English and addressing their personal needs was a constant tension that we had to navigate," reflects the way in which Ben negotiated his deal in the market. This was almost like haggling with the customers. In the economic metaphor, Ben wants one kind of deal (his religious value), but the customers (language learners) wanted another (English skills).

Similar to what Ben expressed, Dorothy also felt some tension when trying to use biblical content in a Christian school where she worked. When I asked her if she had any reaction to the use of biblical content, she expressed that there was a time when

she used biblical content inside the class, and the students asked her whether they needed to learn about it. She stated that she felt upset about this as she said:

Extract 23
Dorothy: Because I was at a Christian school and the school that I taught at was a Christian school. **I taught every subject, and I would use Bible stories sometimes as part of the English study. There was only a time when I had a little boy who was like 'Do we have to talk about that?'.** He was feeling very Buddhist on that day, and I felt very upset about it. I said, 'That's Ok. I understand where you are coming from.

Although the student's reaction to her faith-based pedagogical practice made Dorothy upset, her response - positioning the boy's religious beliefs as fleeting, easy-come-easy-go, ephemeral, and therefore without foundation – is demeaning and surprising. It also contrasts with the seriousness with which she views her own faith and how she wants others to view her, as can be seen in the extract below:

Extract 24
Dorothy: I believe that English learning has great value in personal and community development. It's something beneficial that we can offer, just like salvation is a free gift. **Teaching English is not just about language learning; it's a part of my purpose in life.** When people ask why I am here, I explain that it's because God called me and prepared a mission for me. Initially, I had doubts about teaching English, but I realised it was another gift from God to serve the Thai people. I hope that others will be curious about what motivates me - it's the joy and fulfilment that comes from following the path that Jesus took.

In the above extract from Dorothy, there are several instances where economic metaphors can be observed. The phrase "something beneficial that we can offer" reflects an economic metaphor, as it seems as if she is presenting English learning as a product that can be offered to others. The term 'gift' also functions as an economic metaphor, symbolising the exchange of gifts as a form of social and economic transaction. That is, in Bourdieu's terms, 'the gift' (1991) has a dual role - on the one hand, a generous, selfless act, and on the other hand, an act that always demands something in return. So, it could be said that for Dorothy, the act of a gift could be both, as she expressed in extracts 23 (i.e., she felt upset) and extract 24 (i.e., it was another gift from God to serve the Thai people).

Landon also expressed his feelings about his role as a MELT in a Muslim context. I met Landon in the area in 2017 before embarking on my PhD and beginning this project at Stirling University. I had the opportunity to experience the activities of the IGO team and Landon in the area. In 2017, a local gatekeeper introduced me to the IGO team, who came to [name of province] for a visit, and I observed their activities in a coordinating role.

Based on my personal experience with this group, I then asked Landon a specific question about not seeing him try to express his Christian identity verbally, assuming that he would be trying to introduce biblical content in his English class. However, what he states in the interview raised an interesting issue. He explains that he had a different approach to administering his Christian work. Due to the Muslim context, he prioritises peace but also negotiates a trade-off by saying it is not about this; it is about that. As he elaborated:

Extract 25
Landon: **It's not about forcefully imposing beliefs on others, but rather demonstrating love and allowing Jesus to guide our hearts**. Of course, we acknowledge that we are imperfect in our efforts. As we travel to places like [name of province], **it's not about explicitly stating our beliefs but rather letting our actions speak for themselves - radiating peace and joy.**

This above narrative by Landon showcases the negotiation of his Christian identity within the context of a Muslim community. His approach reflects a nuanced strategy, seeking to embody Christian values rather than overtly asserting his beliefs. It reveals an intriguing negotiation of cultural and religious capital within the linguistic marketplace, where the exchange of values and beliefs takes on a subtle but influential role in language education and community engagement.

Based on the extracts 21-25, the findings have also revealed that these missionary participants faced some challenges to varying degrees when attempting to incorporate biblical content into their classes.

One example to illustrate this point is Ben's account (extract 22). It highlights the tension Ben experienced in integrating ELT with religious teachings. While acknowledging the need to be sensitive to people's comfort levels by maintaining

primary focus on teaching English, he recognised the significance of teaching about religion in his mission.

Also, two participants encountered resistance to the learning of faith. When Dorothy inserted biblical content, a student asked why it needed adding (Dorothy's extract 23) and Ben explained how some students considered the scripture as a resource for improving English language learning rather than a book for studying about faith (Ben's extract 22). These incidents show the challenges faced by the missionaries trying to navigate their role by incorporating religious content into their ELT.

In the economics of linguistic exchanges, these challenges can be seen as bartering linguistic capital for religious capital. The missionaries aimed to invest their linguistic capital in teaching English but also wanted to impart their religious beliefs and values. However, they encountered resistance and confusion from students, highlighting the difficulties in achieving a successful exchange.

These challenges also highlight the importance of understanding the linguistic market in which the missionaries operate. They had to consider the cultural and religious beliefs of their students and navigate the expectations of the language learning environment. They needed to find ways to present religious content sensitively and effectively, while still achieving the language learning objectives.

In summary, the analysis in this theme has shown that teaching English is considered by the participants as part of a Christian mission, it can provide language learners with a service and have a positive impact on both the missionaries and the learners in terms of fulfilment. However, attempting to incorporate religious teaching into ELT posed challenges for the missionaries causing them to dismiss learners' feelings or question the learners' motives. In these cases, the linguistic exchange goes somewhat awry with missionaries perhaps not getting what they had expected.

6.4 Conclusion

The chapter has reported on findings based on three main themes:

> 6.1 Theme 1: Reasons for teaching English in a Christian mission

6.2 Theme 2: ELT qualifications in a Christian mission

6.3 Theme 3: The role of missionaries as MELTs

The main goal of this chapter was to shed light on the viewpoints of the missionaries regarding the significance of ELT in their Christian missions in Thailand. It also explored how the concept of the economics of linguistic exchanges, as theorised by Bourdieu (1991), was evident in their perspectives on the role of ELT.

Based on the findings from the aforementioned themes, the research has revealed the significance of English proficiency among the missionary participants as a form of linguistic capital that holds symbolic value in Thailand. This linguistic capital allowed them to participate in the linguistic marketplace and establish connections with the Thai population through ELT. The symbolic power attributed to their English fluency granted them a social advantage in connecting with the Thai community through ELT, enabling them to demonstrate their religious influence within the linguistic marketplace.

The research has also illustrated the intertwining of linguistic and symbolic capital in the linguistic marketplace. The exchange of language skills became entangled with power dynamics and the symbolic value attributed to 'NSs'. Some of the missionaries realised that Thai learners wanted opportunities to practise English through interactions with missionaries, which gave them the opportunity in turn to access the Thai population. This bartering relationship is based on the mutual benefit of what the missionaries could offer through ELT and what they could do with ELT.

The chapter has also revealed the empowering and positive impact of teaching English as part of a Christian mission, particularly for the missionaries. It has highlighted how help and fulfilment are experienced by the missionaries. However, incorporating explicit religious teaching into ELT could present challenges for the missionaries. This sheds light on the role and position of the organisation sending them to Thailand, putting them in a difficult situation.

In the next chapter, Chapter 7, I will present two more themes: free English class with LDS missionaries (theme 4) and leaving the door open approach (theme 5)

Chapter SEVEN: Free English Class with LDS missionaries in Thailand

Introduction

This chapter presents findings and discussion from the second-phase interviews, focusing on the "free English class with missionaries" programme offered by the LDS members in the churches across Thailand. The participants for this chapter include Edward, a former LDS missionary, and five Thai individuals - Jeab, Pay, Boo, Pao, and Lucky, who learned English with Edward via Zoom during the COVID-19 pandemic and with other LDS missionaries before COVID-19 started.

Using Bourdieu's economics of linguistic exchanges (1977) as a theoretical framework, combining elements of linguistic marketplace, linguistic capital, economic capital and symbolic capital, the aim of this chapter is to present the complex role of free English class with the LDS missionaries in Thailand.

The chapter specifically addresses Research Questions One and Two, with sub-questions (c), (d), and (e) being discussed:

RQ1: How do Christian missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in the context of a Christian mission in Thailand, and what motivates their decision to incorporate English in their missionary activities?

c) How does a former missionary of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of ELT in their mission?

RQ2: How do Thai individuals who are Buddhist perceive and experience learning English with missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and what are their motivations for engaging in English language learning within a Christian setting in Thailand?

d) How do five Thai individuals perceive the role of English, both for themselves and for the missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints in a Christian mission in Thailand?

e) How do five Thai individuals perceive the integration of spiritual thoughts with English language teaching by missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and how does it impact their motivation, engagement and decision to remain in the class or leave?

In this chapter, two more themes are presented as follows:

7.1 Theme 4: Free English class with LDS missionaries
7.2 Theme 5: the "leaving the door open" approach

To ensure a comprehensive and coherent analysis, the chapter employs sub-themes similar to those used in Chapter 6. First, I will introduce a brief summary of the extracts, followed by commentary and analysis associated with the theoretical framework of the study. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a summary of the themes.

7.1 Theme 4: Free English as a Christian tool?

This section presents the participants' perspectives on the role of English in the Christian mission of LDS in Thailand. It is divided into three sub-themes: 1) free English class on Zoom and its dual purpose, 2) free English class at church and its connection to native-speakerism, and 3) free English class at church and its connection to religion work. These sub-themes shed light on how participants perceived English as a Christian tool. Similar to the previous analytical chapter (Chapter 6), which I also addressed in the same manner for other research questions, this chapter addresses two specific sub-research questions:

c) How does a former missionary of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of ELT in their mission?

d). How do five Thai individuals perceive the role of English, both for themselves and for the missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints in a Christian mission in Thailand?

7.1.1 Sub-theme one: Free English class on Zoom and its dual purpose

In the extracts 26-30, I share the interview data gathered from Edward, an LDS member who offered English classes on Zoom to Thai individuals during COVID-19 when the LDS missionaries were unable to offer in-person classes at the LDS church in Thailand. Three Thai participants, Pao, Boo and Lucky, also joined Edward's classes on Zoom and had previously learned English from him in person when he was a missionary in 2018 before COVID-19. The extracts below focus on the questions I asked Edward about why he did not include religious or spiritual themes in his Zoom classes. These questions arose after I had observed Edward's Zoom classes for 10 weeks.

Extract 26

Luq: When I observed your classes, you didn't say anything much about Christianity. Why did you decide not to include any of spiritual thoughts in your Zoom classes?

Edward: I try to go for just conversations that you have in the normal days. And most of the time I talk with people, I don't talk about my religion. **I don't talk about the Scripture I read every day. It doesn't come up very**

often. There was one conversation in there (his lesson) that someone said they were learning the flute and they could play at the church. That's something that came up in my head that I learned the viola, a musical instrument. I learned that so I could play at the church. That's the normal thing I have had a conversation before so I included that as just one religious thing because the fact that someone is playing that instrument so they could play that at the church.

Extract 27
Luq: What are your reasons for teaching English on Zoom even though you have already finished your missionary programme?

Edward: The most honest reason is that right now there aren't missionaries in Thailand, right? There is no English class in Thailand because all of them have to come back to America. I was afraid that after COVID-19 and until missionaries were able to go back to Thailand from America that they have no other English classes. **The English classes are better when you have people to go, to invite their friends. That just gives them more exposure to the church. If more people come to an English class, more people know more about the church. And probably more people will be more interested in learning about our church.** So, I kept teaching English so that we would keep having people learn English with us that when missionaries go back to Thailand, they have some people to start to teach English to, to grow their English class from.

In the same vein, concerning English as linguistic capital that the Thai people sought from Edward, and the fact that ELT offered by missionaries is used for religious purposes (Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003) to reach the Thai people (non-Christian believers), I inquired with the Thai participants whether Edward's classes included religious teachings, as described by Pao, Lucky, and Boo:

Extract 28
Luq: Apart from your learning experience with many missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ, do you think the Zoom class was also related to Christianity?

Pao: **No, I don't think so. Edward has finished his missionary programme**. To be honest, he has offered English because he was **generous** and wanted to teach English to Thai people. He just wanted to **connect** with Thai people and Thailand after his mission was completed. Maybe he likes Thai people personally, and that's why he feels connected to us. I remember that, before he left Thailand, many Thai people wanted to be friends with him on Facebook.

Extract 29

Luq: From your experience, do you find the Zoom classes connected with
            religion?

Lucky: No, not at all. There were no prayers. There was no Christian teaching
            after the English lesson. There was nothing related to anything like
            that.

Extract 30

Boo: I don't think his classes were related to the missionary programme.
            There is nothing related to Christianity at all.

Based on the extracts above, the meaning analysis reveals a nuanced picture of
Edward's approach to teaching English on Zoom, particularly when ELT of the LDS
missionary work in Thailand was not possible over the pandemic.

According to Edward, his Zoom English classes did not include explicit religious
teachings or practices, but it was more to do with everyday conversations, though the
talk about 'flute' in the extract 26, which is part of his religious activities, was mentioned
in one of his classes. This was also in line with the Thai participants' extracts 28-30
as they mentioned they did not see explicit religious teachings practised in Edward's
Zoom classes. Pao's extract 28, for example, shows that she perceived Edward's
English classes as a generous offering from a personal connection to the Thai people,
rather than as an explicit extension of his missionary programme. She recalled the
personal interactions and connections Edward maintained with the Thai people, such
as being friends on Facebook, which reinforced the personal nature of Edward's
engagement with the community.

Based on Lucky's memories (extract 29), there is the absence of overtly religious
elements in the Zoom classes. According to her, there were no prayers, Christian
teachings, or any explicit religious content during or after the English lessons. Her
perception reinforces the idea that the classes were primarily focused on English
education rather than religious instruction. The last Thai participant is Boo (extract 30)
acknowledged that Edward's classes were not explicitly related to the missionary
programme or Christianity. Instead, as he further notes in the dialogue, the focus of
the classes was on practising English through dialogues.

When I looked at Edward's extract 27, it is in line with his teaching approach, as he said he taught English based on everyday conversations, and religious discourses would come up naturally, such as the learning of the 'viola'.

Although the Zoom English classes were considered by the Thai participants as English conversation classes, the classes were implicitly connected to religious work for Edward. In his interview (extract 27), he emphasises the need to sustain English classes to provide a platform through which Thai people could remain connected to the church. While Edward recognises that there may be a benefit for Thai people to learn English with him via Zoom (as Bourdieu terms it 'a social space' or 'a linguistic market' (Grenfell, 2014), He reveals that his classes have a dual purpose, "That just gives them more exposure to the church. If more people come to an English class, more people know more about the church. And probably more people will be more interested in learning about our church". This can be interpreted that his English classes serve not only a means of English language learning but also as a platform for exposure to religious teachings later when free English classes with missionaries in Thailand resume after COVID-19. For Edward, the English classes on Zoom serve a dual purpose: a free offer for language learning during COVID-19 and the use of English as a means to maintain the relationship with Thai people to later connect with his Church. This is another example of linguistic metaphor of "gift" that has dual purposes – to offer something to get something in return.

In relation to the economics of linguistic exchanges, it seems that the linguistic exchanges were two ways for Edward, but the Thai participants saw it as one way. In other words, the Thai participants saw the goal of the Zoom classes aligned with Edward's intention, which was to help Thai people improve their English during COVID-19. They also saw his assistance as a response to the Church's cancellation of all English classes in Thailand. However, none of them realised that the Zoom English project was connected to religious work for Edward. This sub-theme highlights that Edward offered online English classes to enhance students' English skills while also serving religious objectives.

Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) discuss the transparency of ELT in missionary organisations in their seminal paper. They introduced the term 'creative access' to describe how some missionaries employ English as a subtle and covert means to gain entry into non-Christian communities where missionary work was typically unwelcome (p. 346). They argue that ELT is used as a lure for missionaries to pursue their hidden religious agenda, which raises ethical and political concerns (Wong and Canagarajah, 2009) regarding the secular activities of missionary organisations worldwide.

However, this study further elaborates on the concept of 'creative access'. Missionaries are welcome to do religious work in Thailand, but it may also be seen as challenging for the missionaries to convert Thai people's religion to Christianity since Buddhism is deeply ingrained in all aspects of Thai people's lives (Leeprecha, 2017).

Therefore, it is possible that 'creative access' can happen in Thailand through the concept of symbolic capital of English. That is, there is the high value of English in Thailand and that means English has social recognition. In other words, English is valuable and socially recognised in Thailand. It is the language of globalisation. This provides 'creative access' for missionaries like Edward, who taught English on Zoom to help others and also to engage in subtle missionary activity by using the Zoom English classes to sustain the relationship between the LDS church and non-members.

To illustrate the point of using English as a form of 'creative access', the lens of Bourdieu is relevant.

Bourdieu discussed social life as a game, which he frequently referred to as 'a football game' (Bourdieu, 1984). According to him, the game that occurs in the notion of 'space' or 'field' or 'market' is competitive, with various agents using differing strategies to maintain or improve their position (Thomson, 2014, p. 85). In relation to Edward's perspective of using ELT for dual purposes, he leveraged his position as an English teacher to provide language teaching, positioning himself as the player who had particular forms of linguistic capital and put him at an advantage. Since the linguistic market depends on linguistic capital that is socially recognised, this analysis suggests

that Edward could use his linguistic capital in the market for English to engage in subtle missionary work. It also shows that ELT within the realm of Christian service can be 'creatively employed' when the linguistic authority of a 'NS' is merged with missionary work.

Based on Bourdieu's perspective, I argue that what Edward said about his motivation to teach English on Zoom is part of a long game, extending beyond his Zoom classes to serve religious purposes for later. He continued to carry out his missionary duties and utilised ELT as a tool for his Church.

7.1.2 Sub-theme two: Free English class at church and its connection to native-speakerism

This sub-theme moved from the Zoom English classes offered by Edward to the "free English class with missionaries" programme offered by the LDS missionaries at their church in Thailand before COVID-19 hit. This sub-theme focuses on Edward's and the Thai participants' perspectives of the programme. It aims to reveals the connection of the programme with native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006).

As informed in Chapter 5, Edward is a 'NES' from the US and taught English in the "free English class with missionaries" programme when he was a missionary in 2017-2019 in Thailand. The interview data from Edward (extracts 31-33) and the Thai participants (extracts 34-41) below show their perspectives of the "free English class with missionaries" programme that was run by the LDS Church in Thailand. The extracts also focus on aspects of English language learning of the Thai students at the church, and the role of 'NES' in an LDS mission. This sub-theme delves into the 'NS' status as the belief contributing to the perspectives of the LDS missionaries as ideal language model. It also explores the lack of ELT qualifications for the LDS missionaries and the function of such classes as a refuge from the commercialisation of English education in Thailand.

When asked about the "free English class with missionaries" programme that Edward was involved with, he revealed that the programme centred around daily English

conversations. As a 'NES', he also felt that teaching pronunciation had become LDS missionaries' central point to teach Thai people. As he puts it:

Extract 31
Luq: So, what aspects of English did you teach to your students?

Edward: I believe a lot of it was conversations like we would choose the topic and then try to show a couple of samples from the conversations and fill in the blanks so people could choose what to say and focusing on functional skills. We also like to throw in like some idioms which make learning the language fun. **We also try to focus on pronunciation because we are native speakers and that's the main thing we can provide like how to pronounce them perfectly. You know pronounce the same as we do.**

Extract 32
Luq: Why was it important for Thai people to learn about English pronunciation with you?

Edward: I think there are some sounds that we say in English they don't commonly say in Thai, especially with the consonants at the end of words like the sound of /r/, the sound of /l/ in the end. Also, some vowels are different. **Those were traditionally hard for Thai people and I think most of American people wouldn't understand the Thai accent. So, we want to help practise** the sounds that they have never practised before.

Extracts 31 and 32 reveal that the "free English class with missionaries" programme in the LDS church had a specific emphasis on conversational English. Edward's statement in the extracts above highlights the issue of Thai people's English pronunciation, which he believed would not be understood by 'American people'. His language ideology is fixed on the American speech community and connected to the nation-state. According to him, English produced by Thais is perceived as 'wouldn't understand' when they speak with 'American people'.

Bourdieu's (1991) concept of symbolic power is closely linked to what Edward said about the reason for teaching pronunciation to Thai people. In fact, Bourdieu (1977) challenges the perception that language is merely a subject of comprehension, emphasising its role as a tool of action and power. Symbolic power, in Bourdieu's framework, is "an 'invisible' power which is 'misrecognised' as such and thereby 'recognised' as legitimate" (Thompson, 1991, p. 23). From Edward's perspective,

teaching pronunciation based on American 'NES' resonates with symbolic power, in that he may perceive American English is recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1991) and the prerogative of 'NS'. This is a type of symbolic violence in the way that missionaries, as 'NESs, are considered by Edward as the 'legitimate speakers' of English, while the Thai learners' pronunciation is perceived as having a less valid or authoritative status in relation to the language.

This misrecognition contrasts with English as a lingua franca, in the sense that English serves as a tool of international communication. Since the majority of English speakers are non-native speakers, global linguistic variations have developed. However, Edward's view that Thai English as incomprehensible to Americans reflects '"the exercise of power through symbolic exchange which always rests on a foundation of shared belief" (Thompson, 1991, p. 23). It implies that the legitimacy of pronunciation teaching is tied to the 'NS' model in order to be comprehensible.

To further elaborate on the point of 'NS' ideology that forms the foundation of shared belief, I asked my participant whether the LDS provided ELT preparation for missionaries who taught English. Edward's experience was similar to Ben's in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), in that the LDS organisation did not provide training to him on how to teach English during his missionary training, as he points out:

Extract 33

Luq: You were in the training centre back in [name to the city] and had 9-week training for a missionary programme.

Edward: Yeah.

Luq: Did you also realise at the time that you would be required to teach English when you came to serve your mission in Thailand?

Edward: Yeah, our supervisors told us a couple of times that we would be teaching English every Tuesday night. **But we never practised in [name to the US city]. We never practised teaching English.**

Based on the extract above, it is clearly evident that the LDS church did not pay attention to the ELT qualifications of missionaries who taught English as part of their service. It implies that the rationale for running the English classes depended on

missionaries' 'NS' status. The programme prioritised notions of national identity, homogeneity, and 'NS' proficiency (Doerr, 2009) rather than English as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2011). Edward's language ideology was influenced by the linguistic authority of 'NS', leading to the belief that English produced by Thai individuals would be incomprehensible to American people. The dichotomy between 'NES' and NNES has been extensively studied by TESOL scholars, who argue that perpetuating 'native speaker' myths results in prejudice and discrimination within the TESOL field (Braine, 2009; Canagarajah, 1999; Copland et al., 2016; Holliday, 2006; Llurda, 2009) and supports linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

Recently, Wicaksono (2020) has published a paper on 'native' and non-native speakers of English to prompt reflection on the nature of English at an ontological level. Part of the discussion about 'native' and non-native speakers in TESOL pertains to the comprehensibility among various speakers of English in the international context (p.90). As comprehensibility in the English langaube is a contested issue and is often linked to how different English speakers speak, NNESs are often discriminated compared with NESs. According to Wicaksono, scholars in the subfield of Applied Linguistics generally concur that there is no direct link between speaking an Inner Circle ('NS') variety of English and being comprehensible in an international setting (p.89). According to her, what is crucial is for all English speakers (including those in the Inner Circle) to regularly practise adapting their speech in order to be understandable to speakers from diverse language backgrounds (p.90). This may indicate that Edward's perspective, based on his American background, may be naive about intelligibility when it comes to the use of English international contexts.

Apart from Edward's perspectives, the Thai participants also revealed their perspectives regarding missionaries' lack of teaching qualifications. First, Boo realised that these missionaries did not have teaching qualifications when teaching in the church. Consequently, he felt that the missionaries struggled to teach English and explain the lessons. As he puts:

Extract 34
Boo: There is one thing about these missionaries. They lacked ELT
            qualifications. In Thailand, if you want to be a teacher, you need to
            have an ELT qualification. **For these missionaries who taught in the**

free English classes, they did not have qualifications in English at all. I sometimes saw that the way they delivered their teaching wasn't clear. I mean sometimes I don't think they knew how to teach. I think that's their weakness. I think it would be better if they could have a qualification.

However, when asked about his perception of the impact of lacking a teaching qualification among the LDS missionaries, Boo responded:

Extract 35

Luq: So you think that 'NSs' with no formal qualifications can have an effect on your learning outcome?

Boo: **Well, it is the class that I don't really expect much. I came to their classes because I just wanted to hear native speakers' accent.** I wanted to check whether my way of speaking is understandable enough for them. That's what I wanted. And I feel that being a native speaker providing a context of communication could balance out the con these missionaries have -the lack of teaching qualifications.

Luq: Balancing out the con they have?

Boo: Yeah, their native speaker status outweighs their weak point of no formal qualifications in English.

The 'NS' status and ELT qualifications were also mentioned by Pay and Lucky:

Extract 36

Luq: What are your views on missionaries who teach English but do not have a teaching qualification?

Pay: I don't mind that, and I don't think they really need that. **They use English every day and what they teach us is what they use in their everyday life. So, they teach us according to their real-life experiences which are correct.**

Extract 37

Luq: So, what are your views on these missionaries who teach English but do not have ELT qualifications?

Lucky   **They are native speakers of English you know. At least they know something about their language,** and at least they could guide us how to use English like they do. If you ask me whether they need ELT training, as I said, they are native speakers.

According to Boo (extract 35), he held low expectations for these classes. He attended the classes led by the missionaries because they were 'NESs', and he wanted to hear

their accent and gauge whether his own speech was understandable to them. Boo believed that the missionaries' 'NS' status enabled him to recognise the advantages of learning English with them, even though they lacked formal training in English language teaching. This reflects Boo's discerning assessment and underscores the high esteem reserved for 'NS', despite the ideological debates in the literature about their non-existence (see Chapter 2).

The shared belief about 'NS' is also evident in Pay's and Lucky's extracts above. In this research 'NS' English is considered socially accepted consents by Pay and Lucky as they held the shared belief about missionaries being 'NS' so "They teach us according to their real-life experiences which are correct" (Pay's extract) and "They are 'native speakers' of English…they know something about their language" (Lucky's extract). These reflect language ideology (Woolard, 1998), the exercise of power in terms of consenting in maintaining the power inequality among languages by accepting established practices without question (Fairclough 1989).

Therefore, the emphasis on the 'NS model' of the missionaries, as perceived by the Thai participants, demonstrates the value that confers power of 'NS' English as 'symbolic domination' (Bourdieu, 1991). It gives the legitimacy of the missionaries to teach without a formal teaching qualification. This cultural and social capital of the missionaries, which holds a privileged and authoritative position, contributes to the perpetuation of the 'misrecognition' of native-speakerism.

Moreover, Boo's perspective also demonstrates an understanding of English as a lingua franca; however, the concept of 'native-speakerism' is salient, as further emphasise by the following extract:

Extract 38

Luq: How does missionaries' native speaker status support your language learning?

Boo: Well, many people think that they learn English so that they can speak with native speakers. In reality, there are only a few English-speaking countries such as England, American, Australia and Canada. And yes, native speakers' English has patterns which we can see as a model. When we use it, it just means to ensure us that that people would understand with each other. But I just want to be clear that English is no

longer tied to native speakers' world; it is a language for international communication now. There are more non-native speakers of English than native speakers. **But anyway, we as a non-native one, we need to study native speakers' English patterns so that we don't get lost when we learn English or use English with others. So, for me, we need to see how real native speakers use English in real life so that we know how they use it and treat it as a model.**

According to Boo, this extract highlights a paradoxical and confusing aspect of the distinction between 'NS' and non-NS English.

First, Boo emphasised the importance of studying a variety of English speakers with different accents. However, Boo emphasises the significance for him of studying English patterns from 'NSs' as a means to develop his English. This paradox implies that while there is social recognition of the value of non-native English speakers for him, English language learning for NNESs is still attached to the perceived superiority of 'NS' English. In other words, the 'NS' is powerful, and when compared with those who speak English as a foreign language, 'NESs' are in a privileged position (Roth, 2018, p. 40), ranking them at the top of the hierarchy of the English language (Jenkin, 2015). Boo's extract is really perceptive and demonstrates his awareness of his own motivations for learning English. He really is in the marketplace.

Also, when I asked Pay's views on learning English with these missionaries who are 'NESs', she addresses three points. First, she states that learning English with these missionaries helped her realise how 'NES' pronunciation was different from Thai teachers' pronunciation. Secondly, while learning English with 'NESs' in Thailand was expensive, these missionaries taught English for free. The third one is that the LDS missionaries could speak Thai, meaning that they could speak the language of learners. As she puts:

Extract 39

Luq: Can you tell me why you wanted to learn with these missionaries?

Pay   Throughout my life, I learned English with Thai teachers, both in school years and in the time of my preparation for getting a scholarship. I have learned with many people. **However, when I came to the church for free English classes, I must say that I couldn't really understand what they talked about. I couldn't catch what they said.** Then I realised that using English with native speakers is different

from using English with Thai teachers. **Native speakers' pronunciation is different from Thai teachers**. They are native speakers, and they know their language, which is good to us to learn with them. Also, learning English with native speakers in Thailand, we must pay a lot. It costs a fortune you know. It's more expensive than learning English with Thai teachers.

Luq: You see it is expensive to learn with native speakers in Thailand?

Pay: Yes, it is. But learning with these missionaries were free, so you don't have to pay. On top of that those native speakers are not able use Thai. I am not good at English, and I wouldn't get it if I had to learn with those native speakers. But here at the church, the missionaries could describe the lesson in Thai too.

In the extract from Pay, there are several points to discuss. Firstly, she notes that Thai teachers' pronunciation differed from that of 'NESs' and expressed her preference for learning with 'NESs' as they were knowledgeable about their language. This reflects the trust placed in missionaries who are 'NSs' simply due to their native-born status with the language. This aligns with three ideologies of the 'NS' that Doerr (2009) underpins: (a) the 'NS' is linked to citizenship of nation-states, (b) the 'NS' is viewed as homogeneous with a fixed language within a homogeneous speech community, and (c) the 'NS' is assumed to automatically possess a high level of linguistic competence in all domains. This credibility establishes the 'NS' English of missionaries as legitimate in Pay's view.

Secondly, though being recognised as a legitimate speaker illustrates the unequal power dynamics, where 'NESs' are afforded more credibility than local teachers, as mentioned by Pay, her remarks further emphasise the point regarding access to learning English with 'NSs', which afforded her a social advantage.

From her perspective, the availability of free English lessons not only granted her access to a 'NS' English environment but also addressed the issue of 'NEST' being a commercialised business in Thailand, as she expressed the high costs associated with learning English from 'NESs'. Since English holds symbolic significance in privileged environments, such as Thailand, and is also a commodity language, Pay felt that she

was able to learn English with 'NESs', a pursuit she considered 'expensive' when studying with these groups outside the missionary programme.

In Thailand, obtaining English language education from 'NESs', whether in formal educational settings or through additional tutoring, generally involves higher costs compared to learning from NNESs. This circumstance is rooted in the theoretical concept of nativeness, which imbues the language with symbolic significance and links it to economic advantages. Consequently, this situation has led to the establishment of an industry that engages 'NESTs'. However, this has created a significant barrier for individuals, such as Pay, echoing Bourdieu's assertion that education was experienced as a mechanism for consolidating social separation (Grenfell, 2014).

However, from Bourdieu's (1988) argument, there remains the possibility of 'free play in the field', signifying agency and potential change in the market. In this study, although missionaries may use ELT as 'creative access' to engage more with Thai people, they are represented as part of this 'free play', suggesting that missionary ELT has the potential to offer English for free in Thailand. In other words, the linguistic marketplace of ELT in the LDS church can offer opportunities for those unable to afford high-fee English classes with NSs in Thailand. This can be seen in Pay's extract above.

Lastly, although the LDS missionaries seem to overlook the concept of ELT as a professional field in the sense that they taught English without proper training or qualifications, this study's findings have suggested that Pay still valued the classes led by the missionaries, as they were able to explain the English lessons in Thai. This lends legitimacy to ELT by LDS missionaries in Pay's view.

Jeab was also excited to learn with the missionaries as it made her feel confident in her English. As she puts it:

Extract 40
Luq: What are your views on learning English with these missionaries?

Jeab: At first, I felt excited. I felt excited every time when I spoke with them.
            And I felt really great when they understood what I said. I felt

encouraged. I felt I wanted to study more. I could tell myself I knew English, I pronounced English words right. It's not that difficult for me.

Moreover, when I ask her a follow-up question, "So you joined this class because you felt confident in using English with them and they understood what you said?", she states that traits of the missionaries, the opportunity for free English practice, and immersing herself in an English-speaking environment all motivated her to attend the class. As she expressed:

Extract 41
Jeab: **Yes and they were also polite and well-mannered.** They are very strict with their rules like one elder and one sister cannot be together in the same room and things like that. I understand that and also respect that. They were dedicated to teaching and taught it with their heart. I remember joining their Friday activity night and playing Basketball with them. I could learn about their culture, their English and friendship. I could also use English with real native speakers and it's all free. I don't think we can find things like these anywhere else.

I have shown in the discussion that there is a connection between ELT in the LDS mission and 'NESs'. However, such a connection is rather complex. Being a 'NES' for the LDS missionaries represents symbolic violence in the sense that it grants them legitimacy as speakers and allows them to offer English in Thailand, despite lacking qualifications in English. This perception of being legitimate speakers provides a social advantage for the LDS missionaries to connect with Thai people through ELT. The Thai participants also enjoyed learning English with the missionaries as they were 'NESs', providing them the opportunity to access the linguistic market where 'NESs' held value.

Learning with the LDS missionaries also represents the way in which ELT offered by the missionaries could reduce study costs, as learning with LDS missionaries was free as Pay said. Thus, the missionaries acted as 'free players' in the field, initiating changes in the way individuals from lower economic backgrounds could access English learning. There was also a positive aspect of learning with the missionaries, as they were not monolingual and could use Thai to assist Thai learners in their English classes, which positioned them at a social advantage in the linguistic marketplace.

7.1.3 Sub-theme three: Free English class at church and its connection to religious work

In this sub-theme, I will further present findings regarding the connection between the "free English class with missionaries" programme and religion. It will depict the perceived motivation for the free English classes of Edward and the Thai participants. It also provides an analysis of Bourdieu's perspective that language is a "social-historical phenomenon" (Thompson, 1991, p.4).

In the following extracts, the Thai participants reflect on various aspects of LDS missionaries' motivation for offering the "free English class with missionaries" programme.

First, Boo shared his perspective on the missionary organisation using English as part of their service, which he believed was a means of doing good things for others. As he states:

Extract 42

Luq: What are your views on missionary organisations using English as part of their service?

Boo: It is the consequence of doing good for people. There are many ways to show that you are doing good things. **The missionaries, they are mostly native speakers who use their own English to do good things for others like teaching English. And because teaching English is a good thing and it's free, students want to do something for them in return like accepting an invitation to religion studies or listening to their religious beliefs.** Once some students have started to believe in their faith, it would be a good opportunity for them (missionaries) to increase their members. You know, to become like them.

Then, he further pointed out the missionaries' use of English to achieve their goals. This extract reflects the linguistic market for English where exchanges of other things occurred and were traded off, as he observes:

Extract 43

Luq: So you said it's like someone wanting to give them back in return?

Boo:	Yeah, **it's become like a feeling of wanting to give back and feeling like contentment after getting help from someone**.
Luq:	And what are your views on that?
Boo:	In my view, **they set a sprat to catch a mackerel.** If I think in a positive way, they are doing a good thing, and they will get something in return which is more people will be Christians because of their good action. But if we see this in a negative way, they use English classes to attract people first, then build a relationship with them, then invite them to learn about their religion and eventually some of them will be their members. **For me, both ways are possible, and that's normal in the real world in the way that people will use their strong points so they could achieve what they want.**

Based on Boo's perspective, offering something to other people requires something in return. He expressed the feeling that Thai learners may want to give missionaries something in return as a consequence of the missionaries offering English classes as part of their LDS organisation. However, he also felt that it was understandable that missionaries would expect something in return for offering good things. According to him, there was a strategy where "they use English classes to attract people first, then build a relationship with them, then invite them to learn about their religion, and eventually some of them will become their members". For Boo, this strategy was perceived as 'normal in the real world', reflecting the workings of the economics of linguistic exchanges.

In the linguistic marketplace, as per Bourdieu's (1986) term, is a field of linguistic exchange in which people trade their language varieties and linguistic proficiencies, serving as linguistic capital and producing linguistic profit. However, the linguistic profit in the linguistic marketplace can entail other things in exchange for linguistic capital. From Boo's perspective, the profit he could derive from the LDS missionaries is English proficiency, but for the missionaries, it could be 'something in return' such as establishing relationships with Thai people, or eventually, gaining more members for the church.

The concept of linguistic profit as explained above may not be understood as purely numerical, as, according to Bourdieu, each individual possesses a portfolio of capital

(Grenfell, 2014), encompassing not on only economic capital, but also cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, in this context, missionaries, as 'NESs', possess a form of linguistic capital through their legitimate competence in English. This linguistic capital serves as a valuable asset in the linguistic marketplace, particularly within the setting where English proficiency is highly esteemed, such as Thailand. By offering ELT, missionaries create a social exchange wherein they provide English proficiency, a form of linguistic capital, to the Thai people. In return, they may seek to gain relationships with the local community or to potentially attract more individuals to join the church.

Pao also had the same viewpoint as Boo. She believed that English as a global language helped these missionaries to be in a good position for attracting Thai people to come to the Church for language learning and then offer them religious learning as part of "doing good things" for others. As she stated:

Extract 44

Luq: What is the relationship between missionaries and English language?

Pao: English is a global language, and missionaries are native English speakers, and they use English in their everyday lives. We don't use English in our daily life for Thai people, but we see English is a global thing, and that's the point. **Missionary organisation uses English to attract Thai people and make some of them a member of Mormonism. This can be done by offering religious teaching after an English class. As you come to learn at their place, they would offer you anyway whether they want to know Christianity further.** Another reason is that they do it as a way to serve God. You know Thai people want to get better at English, and these missionaries are doing a good thing, to help Thai people practise English at their place.

Lucky also pointed out that English was used as a tool among these missionaries. She experienced that ELT delivered inside the LDS churches was how the missionaries could use it to spread religious thoughts after inviting people to come to their church for language learning. However, she comments that it depended on whether these missionaries managed to persuade them successfully. For her, she was not interested in Christianity. As she explains:

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Extract 45

Luq: What are your views on missionary organisations that include English as part of their service?

Lucky: I think it's their stratagem for spreading their religion. **Including English as part of their service, they can attract more people to come to church. You know if you want English, you come to my place. There is motivation there. However, that depends on the learners.** Some are more convinced than others. I don't mind if they do a prayer and say some words like Amen or things like that. I don't mind at all, but if you ask me whether I want to go deeper than that like becoming like them, I would say no. I am not that interested.

Based on the extracts 44-45, both Pao and Lucky saw that linguistic capital that they gained from the LDS missionaries would also be part of an exchange of religious offer. The word "offer" in Pao's extract is a lexicon that is used in a market and the phrase "it depends on learners" in Lucky's extract also relates to a consumer's choice   to make a decision. Based on the findings of this study, this exchange happens in the linguistic marketplace in the context of ELT in a Christian mission. It is a trade-off which fits neatly with Bourdieu's metaphor of an economy of linguistic exchange. However, based on the finding above there have been some differences among the Thai participants' opinions.

Apart from the learning of Christianity through missionaries' invitation, the participants also draw a connection between English and Christianity.

Pay also perceives that there was a relationship between English and Christianity. She stated that these missionaries taught English so Thai people could get better at English, and consequently, would understand more about Christianity. In other words, language and religion are strongly linked. She made sense of this phenomenon by showing a connection between the Thai language and Buddhist culture. As she states:

Extract 46

Luq: What is the relationship between Christianity and English language?

Pay: There is a relationship, I think. They (missionaries) are foreigners, and they are Christian, and their God exists in their world. **Because they want people from other countries to know about their faith, they then teach us English so that we can understand their faith. I think**

that's how English and Christianity relate to each other. Like us, we were born and raised as Buddhist in Thailand, and something we want to share with others are sometimes about our faith, but we can't because they don't know Thai. It's the same for these missionaries. They are Christian, and **they want us to learn their language so we can understand their faith.** Translation from English to Thai is not clear enough. That's why they want to teach us so that eventually we will understand their faith.

For Pay, you can only understand about the different religions by knowing the language which in her mind are connected with those religions: English for Christianity and Thai for Buddhism.

Edward also believed that there was an association between his religion and English. He believed that English had become the global language because God desired individuals to be exposed to Christianity eventually. That is to say, English is perceived to be a Christian tool for him. As he states:

Extract 47

Luq: What is the relationship between Christianity and English language?

Edward: We don't think things happen by accident. So just part of our religion is we believe that part of that English has become the global language is that it opens the way for many people to learn about Christianity. **We think that God tried to help everyone learn about Christianity**. So, most people just speak English because it's like the global thing and that allows people to learn about Christianity. Another thought is that English is like the Internet in that it helps people do business, have a better life and that's not the only it does. Internet can also help us learn about Christianity.

Based on the extracts from the participants (extracts 46-47), there appears to be a connection between English and Christianity. Edward correlates ELT with the status of English as a global language. This study indicates that English holds symbolic power not only because Edward recognises it as an international language, but also because he perceives it as the language of Christianity. This is evident in his extract where Edward mentioned a connection between global English and God's plan. While this study cannot state that this belief is the rationale behind the LDS organisations' use of English for evangelistic purposes, it implies that the relationship between religion and

language ideologies can help understand the multifaceted role of ELT in a Christian mission.

In connection to Bourdieu's perspective, it is crucial to consider Edward's viewpoint on language as a 'social-historical phenomenon' (Thompson, 1991, p.4). This suggests that rather than being a received set of knowledge, language develops and evolves over time in relation to the social contexts of its use. English was first introduced in Thailand during the colonial period of the West (Baker & Jarunthawatchai, 2017), and missionaries were the primary agents teaching English, particularly to the nobility (Kosonen, 2008). At that time, English was associated with the elite class, conferring symbolic status upon the elites, although this is no longer the case due to the status of English as a global language. In relation to Christianity, one of the oldest religions, it has spread from its origins to a global level. Aligning English and Christianity, Edward's perspective aligns with the 'social-historical phenomenon' as proposed by Bourdieu.

In conclusion, this sub-theme has presented the connection between ELT and the religious work of the "free English class with missionaries" programme of the LDS missionaries. Based on the perspectives of the participants, there is a trade-off within the linguistic market for English in the programme. English, as a symbolic language, represents the capital that the Thai participants desired, but they also felt that the offer of ELT by the LDS missionaries could require something in exchange. From their perspectives, the LDS missionaries could offer information about their religion if the Thais wanted to learn about it or use English as a way to establish a relationship. This aligns with Bourdieu's metaphor of the economics of linguistic exchanges. Also, Pay and Edward provided their perspectives on the connection between English and Christianity. Edward's perspective, perceiving that learning English is part of God's plan to make people become Christian, is relevant to Bourdieu's perspective of language as a 'social-historical phenomenon'. This concept suggests that language develops and evolves over time in relation to the social contexts of its use, which also aligns with the spread of Christianity as a global religion.

Next, I will present Theme 5.

7.2 Theme 5: The "leaving the door open" approach

According to all the Thai participants' perspectives, the English language programme at the church was packaged with a spiritual thought that the LDS missionaries included. However, the LDS missionaries would ask the students first whether they wanted to remain seated or leave the class during the spiritual thought session. This is what I call this theme 'leaving the door open approach'. The Thais reported that they learned English for 45 minutes without explicit religious contents; however, there was a time when they were asked to remain seated for the spiritual thought session for 15 minutes or leave the English class if they were not interested in it. This crucial aspect of the "free English class with missionaries" programme shows how the Thai participants dealt with the 'religious integration' in the programme and what made them decide to remain seated or leave the class during the spiritual thought session.

In this theme, I focus on the perspectives of the Thai participants regarding and see how the session impacted their motivation, engagement, and decision to remain in the class or leave.

This theme addresses RQ2, specifically sub-theme (e), which is the last sub-question addressed in this final theme, which is:

Sub-questions of RQ2:

> e) How do five Thai individuals perceive the integration of spiritual thoughts with English language teaching by missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and how does it impact their motivation, engagement and decision to remain in the class or leave?

This theme has five sub-themes: 1) Missionaries' faith integration in an ELT classroom, 2) Value of missionaries' faith in English class, 3) The line between ELT and religious practices, 4) English teaching with an add-on of explicit religious content, and 5) Students' decision-making moment.

7.2.1 Sub-theme one: Missionaries' faith integration in an ELT classroom

In this study, the structure of the "free English class with missionaries" programme emerged from the Thai participants' interview data. It reveals pedagogical and ethical practices of missionaries with regard to faith integration of the programme.

Based on the Thai participants' extracts, which I will show below, the programme included an English language lesson, spiritual prayers, spiritual thoughts, and a Q&A session about English and religion. After the class, if Thai people were interested in Christianity, the missionaries would take them to another room where the Thai learners would discuss with the missionaries regarding the religion.

First, Boo said that some components of the programme were intertwined with the religious beliefs and practices of the missionaries. As he puts it:

Extract 48

Luq: Could you describe the moment that you learned English in the Church?

Boo: I saw a whiteboard with the phrase, 'Welcome to the English class', in front of me. Then, at 6:30 pm, the elders [missionaries] started the English class with a spiritual prayer. One of their members came to the front of the class and prayed to their God. This is the part of their Christian activity that they asked for their God to help us learn English attentively. **This usually took one to two minutes**. Then, the English lesson started and took about 45 minutes". […] and because we learned English with the missionaries, we would further practise some English with them at the end of English lesson. They would use a video clip, which was related to Christianity, such as the life stories of Jesus. But that the conversations in the video were in English, not Thai and it took about 15 minutes.

Luq: Okay. Have you ever attended that spiritual session?

Boo: Yes, quite a few times, but Thai people were allowed to leave if they were not interested in that. After the class was dismissed, there was a question time that some Thai people hung around in class talking to the elders about English or religion. That's when they [missionaries] saw that some students might be interested in religion like some students would ask questions about their faith. People who ask questions about religion mean that they are curious about Christianity. Then, the elders would invite them to another room where they would only talk about religion with the special ones.

The inclusion of the missionaries' faith beliefs and practices in the English class was further corroborated by the other four participants, namely Lucky, Jeab, Pao, and Pay. Lucky expressed this by stating: "…a representative of the Mormon members came to the front of the English class to praise their God for making everyone meet and have an English class together" (extract 49). Jeab's extract also highlights the presence of prayers in the class when she mentioned: "[...] the English class started with a spiritual prayer. The elders prayed in the name of Jesus, and then the English lesson began. There is nothing about Christianity inserted during the lesson, and it's just English. The prayer aims to encourage us to learn English smoothly under the name of Jesus" (extract 50).

Pao's comment also reveals the integration of faith in the English class. She explains, "For this programme, there are spiritual prayers: opening and closing. That's the start of the English class" (extract 51).

Lastly, Pay provided a more detailed account. She described her experience during the spiritual thoughts session, wherein she viewed a video clip pertaining to the missionaries' faith. She elaborates:

Extract 52

Luq: Is there anything related to Christianity?

Pay: They would teach us English first, then show us some video clips
            related to their religion.

Luq: What kind of video clips did you watch?

Pay: In the clip that I watched, a woman had a hectic life and consequently
            failed to manage her work-life balance. Her kids advised her to say a
            prayer, and she did. Because she prayed to God, everything in her life
            appeared to be more manageable than before. That kind of thing. Also
            there were other video clips looking similar to that too. They usually
            showed this to us whenever we had an English class. It took around 15
            minutes or so.

Based on the participants' extracts above, they provided interesting details about how the English class was organised by the LDS missionaries. From their perspectives, it is evident that the English class was integrated with religious

practices (such as prayers and spiritual thoughts), and at the end of the class, some Thai learners were invited to learn about religion if they were interested.

This study contributes by providing voices of the Thai participants confirming the integration of missionaries' faith inside the English class. As observed in extracts 48-52 above, the study does not suggest that other Christian missions or organisations in Thailand incorporate religious beliefs and practices similar to the LDS English class. However, the study demonstrates that the concerns about missionaries including their religious beliefs and practices in their English classes are not without foundation. Based on these extracts above, all the Thai participants reported being exposed to some degree of Christianity, ranging from basic elements like a prayer at the beginning to more substantial components such as watching a video clip about Christianity. This suggests that within the perspective of English as a symbolic language in the linguistic marketplace in an LDS context, it exposes the learners to Christianity. As Edward said in his extract 47 in theme 4, English classes organised by the LDS organisation facilitated learning about Christianity for Thai people. The linguistic market for English in a Christian mission goes beyond ELT; it exposes learners to Christianity in exchange.

7.2.2 Sub-theme two: Value of missionaries' faith in English class

Although the learners were exposed to some degree of Christianity, they expressed appreciation toward the prayers. Extracts 53-54 from Pay and Pao below show that the prayers did not appear to be a threat to them, despite their Buddhist beliefs. For Pay, Christian prayers conducted by the LDS members as a form of spiritual support, enhancing her English language learning in the class. This is when a short prayer of the missionary was valued in an exchange of linguistic capital. As Pay comments:

Extract 53

Luq: When the class started, was there a prayer?

Pay: Yes, every time. **The prayer aims to help us study English better, and you know it benefits us spiritually.** The elders pray to God for us to be good at English, make the English class full of knowledge, and make the class run smoothly. The elders do this every time before and after the class.

Luq: Is that the same or different from other English classes you have ever attended?

Pay: Very different. Unlike other English classes that an English teacher only teaches me English, this class comes with prayers. If you asked me whether it's good for us as students, it's good for us. Even though the prayer is connected to their spiritual world, asking their God to help us, I feel they do for us and help us learn English better.

Luq: So you said they prayed for you and other students?

Pay: **Yes, and it's actually good for us. It doesn't harm us at all**. It contains good words, and it's for us.

From Pay's extract 53, she stated three times that "it is good for us" - a positive , declarative statement. She also mentioned twice that the prayers were conducted to support her learning. This implies that she unequivocally expressed her support for the prayers.

Pao also shared her views on spiritual prayers. She demonstrates her understanding of the missionaries including such practices in the class. She drew a comparison between her Buddhist culture and Christian prayers, noting that even secular teachings inside a Thai temple in Thailand would include a spiritual prayer. This shows that the value of the missionary prayer in class was spiritually recognised, similar to her Buddhist culture, where prayers were also given in class in an exchange of capital, as she stated:

Extract 54
Pao: Yes, but I kind of understand that. It's an activity, and usually, it's their job to do that as part of their church policy. I believe every church has that, and I think it's normal. Like what we do in our temple, we also do the prayer first before learning something. I used to learn Math in a temple taught by a monk. And we had to pray first before the class started.

As demonstrated in Johnston's ethnographic research on English and evangelical mission at the Lighthouse school (2017), spiritual prayers within church-based ESL classes are typically considered standard practice for missionaries. However, there is no further explanation provided regarding the impact or significance of these Christian prayers on the students who experienced them in the class.

According to Pao's extract 54, it implies that prayers were normal to her, and she was neither surprised nor upset when the missionaries conducted them. It was as if she accepted that when learning with a religious organisation, learners had to accept prayers of some sort. This study highlights that a short prayer before the English class started appears not to offend the participants, but rather supports their learning within the linguistic market of the "free English class with missionaries" programme. It can be interpreted that such an exchange was an acceptable level for both Thai participants.

7.2.3 Sub-theme three: The line between ELT and religious practices

The following extracts below present the data from the Thai participants regarding the amount of time they said the missionaries spent teaching them English. For the Thai participants, this was the primary capital they sought to acquire from the missionaries.

As stated in the participant information in section 5.1.4 in Chapter 5, all participants attended this programme with the primary goal of learning English. In other words, it is the linguistic capital that the Thai participants desired from the programme. This can be loosely defined as "knowledge, skills, and other cultural acquisitions" (Thompson, 1991, p. 14), or more broadly, Bourdieu's cultural capital.

The findings reveal that the programme provided a 45-minute English learning experience free from explicit religious content. Below is Lucky's extract. She expressed that the 45-minute English lessons taught by the missionaries did not incorporate any Christian content, as she states:

Extract 55

Luq: How about the English lesson? Anything related to religion?

Lucky: **No, there was nothing related to religion at all. This is the good thing about this programme**, and they have never added religious content during the English lesson.

Pao also mentioned that there was a 45-minute English lesson followed by a 15-minute spiritual thoughts session. However, based on her experience of remaining in

the class for the spiritual thoughts session, she noted a connection between the topics of both sessions, as she expresses:

Extract 56

Luq: During the class, is there anything related to Christianity?

Pao: Not very obvious. I mean, yes, they teach English for 45 minutes, and it's only English. The other 15 minutes will be their spiritual thoughts. There is a link between these two. For example, if they teach us about body parts during the lesson, they will use the same topic for spiritual thoughts. They would say our body is part of God's creation or something.

Based on the extracts above, it can be said that there may be a certain degree of separation between religion and language. The Thai participants learning English with the missionaries seem not to explicitly learn religious content over the period of 45 minutes. They acknowledged this separation by expressing that "this is a good thing about the programme," "it's only English," or "there is nothing about Christianity in the lesson." This section highlights the transparency of the programme. The learners could get English learning to increase their linguistic capital as they wanted to. This sub-theme helps address some of the ethical concerns raised by Julien Edge (1996), who argues that as language teachers, our role should be to facilitate the life purposes of our students. In this programme, the Thai participants were able to learn English in the 45-minute session as they expected, even though they were aware that they may be exposed to Christianity at some point, which I will explain in the following sub-theme.

7.2.4 Sub-theme four: English teaching with an add-on of explicit religious content

The following extracts below present relevant data from the Thai participants regarding an additional explicit religious component in the overall programme. This addition occurred after the 45-minute English lesson. The extracts discuss the ethical aspects of the programme, noting that the missionaries intended to include a 15-minute spiritual thoughts session, with participants being informed in advance. Essentially, the programme allowed students to choose whether to leave the class or remain seated if they were interested in it. This announcement of what would happen next is considered 'an ethical moment' in the programme, as it helped students become

aware of the content and ensured that their participation was not mandatory. The study also found that within the linguistic marketplace, explicit religious content was traded and negotiated in terms of acceptance. It means that the participants' ability to decide to either leave the class or remain seated is considered to an ethical practice of this programme.

The extracts of Lucky, Pay, and Pao (57-59) are the evidence of this ethical moment in this study. Lucky, who rarely remained in the spiritual class, and Pay, who stayed until the class was dismissed, described how the missionaries asked for students' consent before the 15-minute spiritual thoughts session took place. As Lucky states:

Extract 57

Luq: But you also said they also included some spiritual thoughts. Is that right?

Lucky: Yes, for 15 minutes.

Luq: Okay. Did they ask students to stay in the class?

Lucky **I'm not sure about other churches, but they (LDS missionaries) would tell us first that they would add some religious sessions after the English lesson. Sometimes, they gave us a note to read to ensure we understood what they meant. But we could leave the class if we did not want to hear that. For me, they are very open about this.**

Luq: Did you stay?

Lucky: Once, because I wanted to know what it was like and what they talked about. They would talk about their religion from the Scripture, like Chapter 1 and new vocabulary used in the Bible. Overall, I think they taught us how to be a good person and have faith in God. But most of the time, I left soon after the English lesson was finished.

Second, as Pay states:

Extract 58

Luq: Did they tell you that there would be these kinds of videos?

Pay: **They did. It was like there was a form for us to fill in. It asked us how we would feel if they wanted to share their religious thoughts.** They asked us for some opinion about that and what we

	wanted to learn more about English. There was a form. I was asked to fill in 2-3 times when I was there for English classes.
Luq:	So they would let you know first?
Pay:	Yes, **they would let us know first, but we can leave if we want to. But because it was in English, we stayed and watched it till the end of the class.**
Luq:	What did you fill in?
Pay:	There were questions like, what else do we want to learn? I said I wanted them to add more dialogues to the class and focus the class on communication. The next question was like, 'if we would like to share our spiritual thoughts with you, do you agree with that?' I ticked 'yes'. I don't have a problem.

Asking for consent has not been previously discussed in research on ELT and Christian missions, perhaps due to a lack of evidence-based research on this topic. However, based on the findings of this study, the ethical practice of the programme was mentioned by the Thai participants. They were told about the explicit faith integration. This aligns with the principles followed in academia, which prioritise avoiding harm to all participants, whether or not they give their consent (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

In the context of missionary ELT, this translates to refraining from causing spiritual harm to individuals who do not practise Mormonism or have no interest in explicit religious content. The implementation of ethical consent is evident in Lucky's extract 57 where she mentions receiving a note to ensure comprehension and the option to leave the class if desired. This is similar to the ethical concept of 'withdrawal'. For instance, Pay's extract 58 refers to filling out a form multiple times during their attendance in English classes. The study indicates that although explicit religious content was introduced later in the programme, ethical practices were in place. The students had the right to be informed about upcoming activities and have agency in their decision-making.

Furthermore, the ethical moment is also evident in Pao's extract below. Similar to Lucky, Pao attended the class regularly but usually managed to leave before the start of the spiritual thoughts session. She emphasised that the programme did not impose

any obligation on students to learn about Christianity. Pao expressed her satisfaction in being able to return to the class without feeling pressured to conform to the religious practices of the missionaries. Furthermore, she compared the ethical practices of the LDS organisation with those of other religious organisations. As she states:

Extract 59

Luq: And have you ever thought about being their members because of learning English with them?

Pao: No, never thought of that, and the good thing about this Mormon missionary programme is that they don't force you to learn about their beliefs. Yes, they ask if we are interested, but if we are clear about our goal, they are fine. At the end of the class, there is a spiritual thing for 15 minutes. The elders informed us first if we wanted to stay or leave as they were about to tell us about their Christian thing. That's the option, and some people leave. This is the good thing about this denomination. That's why I am okay to go there every week. If they forced me to learn, I wouldn't go there again. I had that kind of moment when I learned English with another denomination that they kind of forced you to learn.

Luq: Another denomination?

Pao: Yes, some other religious organisations also offer free English classes. It's [name of denomination]. The missionaries taught English pretty well. They also had a worksheet for an English lesson, but they gave us their scripture to read at the end of the class. They told us it was a policy here to learn the scripture. They taught free English, but we had to learn their scripture. The other one was [name of denomination]. They taught English on Sunday, and I used to tell some friends who joined the Mormon English class to go to the class. The missionaries also inserted some spiritual thoughts into the class. They told us and explained to us, and we just listened.

Luq: I see. And you think English taught by Mormons was clear then in terms teaching spiritual thoughts?

Pao: Yes, the Mormons didn't force us to learn. This is why I can go to their church for language learning without worries. They do not force us when we study English with them, and if we want to go home after the English lesson, we can.

Based on Pao's extract, the idea of forcing appears to the central point for Pao to study English with the missionaries. Utilising Bourdieu's metaphor of the economics of linguistic exchanges, it can be interpreted that coercion may cause discomfort for the "buyers" (in this study, the Thai learners) as it may not allow them to negotiate. This

scenario resonates with Pao's experience when she compared it with other ELT offered by different religious denominations, which had compulsory religious components. This illustrates that Pao was not part of the vulnerable group, as she had the autonomy to decide whether she wanted to engage with Christianity, thus feeling less concerned about attending classes at the LDS church. Her account in the extract reflects the "logic of association" in Bourdieu's theory (1977), wherein each individual can make a particular choice based on their preferences. This points to the agency and autonomy of learners in selecting educational experiences, which I will also present in the following sub-theme.

7.2.5 Sub-theme five: Students' decision-making moment
In addition to the 'ethical moment' that highlights the programme's ethical practice, this section reveals the complexity of students' decision to remain in the class for the spiritual thoughts session.

The findings demonstrate that various factors influenced students' decision-making processes and led them to choose to stay seated. The below extracts from Pay and Boo, are elaborated.

First, Pay states that she stayed in the spiritual class because the session was conducted in English. It was perceived as a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) or a religious theme-based approach (Coyle & Baetens, 2007; Purgason, 2009), where students could learn about religious topics through the medium of English. Pay expresses this perspective by stating:

Extract 60
Luq: What do you think of the video clips associated with Christianity?

Pay: I don't mind because the videos we watched are in English, and the elders explained that in Thai later. So, because it's in English, I remained in the class. I can still learn some English, though.

Luq: You can learn some English in the videos?

Pay: Yes. I can practise English from watching that video, like guessing what the story is about.

Secondly, Boo shares the same view as Pay regarding the CLIL approach. Moreover, he offers additional reasons for choosing to stay in the class. The following are the various reasons provided for staying. As he puts it:

Extract 61

Luq: Spiritual thoughts at the end of the class?

Boo: Yes, when it comes to the end of the class, they usually give us some spiritual thoughts. But like I said, the session was in English, and we learned the spiritual thoughts in English, such as Jesus's life stories in an English version. **In this part, it is like we are learning English, but the topic is Christianity-related.**

Luq: Did the elders inform you that they would add this part to the class?

Boo: Yes, they did. Before the English lesson ended, they would tell us, 'the next session will be spiritual thoughts. If you want to stay, you are welcome. But if you don't want to stay, you are allowed to leave'. **However, in reality, Thai people would feel bad leaving. That's what our culture teaches us,** and we should not offend other people who do good things for us. **Also, it was 15 minutes, so most people stayed.**

Luq: Did you see anyone leave the class?

Boo: Some people did. They may want to pick up their kids, or maybe they didn't want to know about Christianity. I don't know their reasons. But if you ask me, I think we should stay till the end of the class. We can learn about their culture like what they believe, you know. Even though we will not be like them, we can still get something out of that, like their religious beliefs, culture, and Mormon ways of life. We can understand English better too, you know.

Based on Boo's extract, his reasons to remain seated during the spiritual thoughts session were that: a) it gave him an opportunity to learn English through a sort of CLIL approach; b) it was about Thai culture; c) the spiritual thoughts session was 15 minutes, and d) it allowed him to learn about missionaries' culture.

Based on what Boo said, there is a conflation of culture and religion, which raises the question of whether culture can exist without religion. In the context of Thailand, Buddhism is deeply ingrained in Thai culture, and it is challenging to separate certain delicate elements of the two. This study suggests that, in some sense, Christianity is similar, with religion and culture intertwining. In both cases, the hierarchy, norms, and

traditions of each religion intermingle and influence the broader cultural context. This complex interconnectedness shapes the cultural fabric of a society and underscores the entwined relationship between religion and culture.

The last person is Pao, who expressed her viewpoint on the issue of remaining in the class in the programme, which I think is worth adding, as she raises an important point about ELT in a Christian mission as a learner with regard to culture.

While she acknowledged that the Mormon missionaries were the most honest about their ELT approach, she advised other Thai students to be clear about their own learning goals. Pao emphasised that they should not feel guilty about declining the missionaries' invitation to learn Christianity. Her perspective responds to the role of Thai culture in students' decision-making processes and the pressure they may feel to stay in the class. As she states:

Extract 62
Pao: **To me, the group of Mormons is the fairest in terms of how honest and open they are. I have learned English with other churches in my life, and I believe the Mormons are the fairest.** I have learned English with them for four years; how I can remain Buddhist? You know, other religious organisations would lock me up and make me Christian. Some of my friends felt bad about declining the offer when missionaries invited them to learn about Christianity. They are still Buddhist. I know this because they told me they didn't want to be in the spiritual thoughts session, but they felt bad about saying no. I just said to them that they should let the missionaries know. You see, these missionaries are fair.

Based on the extract above, Pao articulated her perspective on fairness and coercive practices, specifically in her experience of learning English with different religious organisations. Her reflections shed light on the notion of coercion and the impact religious organisations can have on learners within the context of English language learning. Her viewpoint shows the importance of learner agency and the implications of forcefully integrating religious components into the educational process.

Pao's experience reflects the "logic of association" as proposed by Bourdieu (1977). Through her experiences with various religious organisations, she has developed a preference that aligns with Bourdieu's principle of selection and preference. Pao

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emphasises the importance of clear intention and autonomy in choosing the learning environment. Her recounting suggests that she perceives the group of Mormons as fair and non-coercive, thus aligning with her preference for an educational environment free from coercion and overt religious influence.

Pao's insight draws attention to the cultural sensitivity and ethical considerations in the educational practices of religious organisations. Her mention of Thai culture and the feeling of discomfort in declining offers reflects the complex interplay between culture, religion, and individual agency within the context of English language learning. It underscores the need for a respectful and inclusive approach to English language instruction within the cultural and religious diversity of Thailand.

In conclusion, this theme, leaving the door open approach, has presented analytical findings based on the interview data of the Thai participants. The interviewee said that the "free English class with missionaries" programme began with a two-minute prayer, followed by a 45-minute English lesson. After the English lesson, a 15-minute spiritual thoughts session was conducted. The missionaries informed the students about the session, which focused on religious teaching. In this scenario, the students were given the choice to either remain seated or leave the class. The class concluded with a prayer. Towards the end of the class, there was a question time where students could ask the missionaries about English and their religion. This Q&A session facilitated interaction between the missionaries and students, allowing them to learn more about each other's interests in language and religion.

It is reasonable to assert in this study that the pedagogical practices of the "free English class with missionaries" programme enabled students to learn English with the missionaries while also being exposed to their religious beliefs and practices within the class. However, there was some ethical practice as the programme allowed the students to leave or remain seated during the spiritual thoughts sessions. Nevertheless, the decision-making moment of the students was complex as their decision to remain seated varied not only according to their interest in learning English but also their exposure to Christian concepts and other cultural influences. Also, according to whether the Thai participants felt able to leave, part of the exchange for them is to stay and listen; otherwise, the gift-giving is wholly one way. Thai culture

would make it hard for them to leave as it could be perceived as rude, and Thais do not like to be rude. If the LDS missionaries knew this, then the ethical practice of withdrawal would be undermined by the psychology of leaving in Thai culture.

7.3 Conclusion

The chapter has provided an analysis and discussion of the findings based on two main themes:

7.1 Theme 4: Free English with LDS missionaries

7.2 Theme 5: The "leaving the door open" approach

The objective of this chapter was to present diverse perspectives from former LDS missionary who taught English in Thailand as part of his mission, as well as from five Thai individuals who learned English with him and the LDS.

In the upcoming chapter, Chapter 8, I will summarise the key aspects identified in the findings in connection to the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter EIGHT: Summary of the study findings

Introduction

This study collected interview data in two phases. The findings and discussions from each phase have been presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The goal of this chapter is to summarise the most important findings from both phases situated in the theoretical framework of the study.

The purpose of this research is to understand the role of ELT in Christian missions. The study focuses on the context of Thailand, gathering perspectives from five missionaries, one former LDS missionary, and five Thai learners. The research aims to answer two main research questions (RQs):

RQ1: How do Christian missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in the context of a Christian mission in Thailand, and what motivates their decision to incorporate English into their missionary activities?

RQ2: How do Thai learners perceive and experience learning English with missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and what motivates their decision to engage in English language learning within a Christian setting in Thailand?

Sub-research questions of each RQ were also used as follows:

Sub-questions of RQ1:
a) How do three Protestant missionaries perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission when they taught English in Thailand?

b) How do two missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission when they taught English in Thailand?

c) How does a former missionary of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints perceive the role of English language teaching in their mission?

Sub-questions of RQ2:

d) How do five Thai individuals perceive the role of English, both for themselves and for the missionaries of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints in a Christian mission in Thailand?

e) How do five Thai individuals perceive the integration of spiritual thoughts with English language teaching by missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and how does it impact their motivation, engagement and decision to remain in the class or leave?

All the main RQs and sub-questions of the RQs have been answered based on findings in Chapters 6 and 7, in which the corresponding discussions have also been presented. To summarise, I will now provide an overview of the five themes and the main RQs and sub-questions of the RQs that have been answered within each theme:

Table 8.1 Answering sub-research questions based on themes

Theme	RQ1	RQ2
1. Reasons for teaching English in a Christian mission	Sub-research questions (a) & (b)	-
2. ELT qualifications in a Christian mission	Sub-research questions (a) & (b)	-
3. The role of missionaries as MELTs	Sub-research questions (a) & (b)	-
4. Free English as a Christian tool?	Sub-research question (c)	Sub-research questions (d)
5. The "leaving the door open" approach	-	Sub-research question (e)

In the following part, I will provide a summary of the findings from both phases of the study based on the theoretical framework.

8.1 Summary of study findings

This study employed the metaphor of the linguistic marketplace to understand the missionary ELT and English as a symbolic language in Thailand. Bourdieu's model of the linguistic marketplace (1969, 1973, 1986, 1991) has served as a lens to explore the perspectives of both missionaries and Thai participants concerning ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand.

First, the study found that the use of English by the missionaries to attract Thai people to learn English and engage in religious activities highlights power dynamics at play. On the one hand, the missionaries offered ELT as a means to establish connections and bring Thai individuals closer to Christianity. On the other hand, the Thai people perceived learning English from the missionaries as an opportunity for improved communication with little financial investment. This suggests that within the context of Thailand, ELT in the Christian missions operates as a trade-off, wherein both missionaries and Thai learners aimed to achieve their respective goals through engagement in the English language classroom.

In this study, I argue that the marketplace of English in a Christian mission can be considered a niche market, where different parties are interested in each other's assets. For instance, in this study, the missionary participants viewed English as a gateway to establishing relationships with the Thai people, thereby facilitating their efforts to spread the message of Christ. Conversely, the Thai individuals recognised the missionaries' 'NS' status and consequently engage in English language learning with them, thereby enhancing their own linguistic capital. The symbolic power of ELT in the linguistic marketplace of Thailand acts as a magnet, drawing parties together in an exchange where both groups derive benefits.

This research also expands our understanding of the dynamics present in ELT within the Christian missions. It challenges the assumption that the relationship is unidirectional, with missionaries solely benefiting from increased church attendance.

Instead, the findings suggest a reciprocal arrangement, wherein the Thai individuals also gained advantages from their interaction with the missionaries (although it cannot be measured that both parties got equal benefit – either party might benefit more). Consequently, English in the context of Christian missions in Thailand becomes a trade-off, with both parties mutually agreeing and benefiting from the relationship.

Furthermore, the study found that ELT in Christian missions within the linguistic marketplace also poses a challenge to the commercialisation of 'NESTs' in Thailand. English is often perceived as a commodity (Duchêne and Heller, 2012), particularly in countries like Thailand, where it holds a significant value. 'NESs' are often placed in positions of privilege, commanding higher pay and benefits due to their linguistic proficiency. Consequently, they become rare and expensive assets in the linguistic marketplace, making them inaccessible to individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

However, the missionaries in this context utilised their language proficiency, seen by them as a gift from God, to provide English instruction for free. This not only had the potential to enhance individuals' linguistic capital but also renders exposure to the English language more accessible and available. As a result, the Thai individuals may experience an increase in their economic capital, affording them better opportunities in life. This research offers a perspective on how English becomes a privilege, primarily for 'NESs' who can exploit their advantage in the marketplace by charging high fees for English instruction. Yet, it also highlights the positive impact of the privilege of being a 'NES' in a missionary context. The study demonstrates that the missionaries aim to assist and teach English to help Thai people get English skills as part of their Christian beliefs.

Apart from that, the role of language ideologies in a linguistic market, where 'NES' hold high value, is also significant. This study highlights how the Thai learners sought out English instruction from the missionaries, who were perceived as 'NSs. Their choice to learn from the missionaries may be attributed to the shared belief that these individuals could provide them with an opportunity to assess their own intelligibility, boost their confidence, and receive affirmation that their English proficiency was

satisfactory. This pattern is evident among all the Thai participants, illustrating the importance they placed on 'NSs' and how it underlies their language ideologies.

From my perspective, this finding expands our understanding by revealing that the missionaries as 'NESs' are also influenced by the language ideologies prevalent among the Thai individuals. They are often seen as capable language instructors, while their ELT qualifications may be downplayed, given the assumption that being a 'NES' could already be sufficient. Existing literature (recently at least) argues that the concept of the 'NS' is invalid. This includes views among different Applied Linguistic and TESOL scholars, such as Copland et al. (2016), who argued that the academic argument that the 'NS' is a myth, is a long way from lay understandings. However, if there is no such thing as the 'NS', it is clear that the concept is alive and well in circulating global discourse.

This study demonstrates that within the context of ELT in a Christian mission, the notion 'NS' only exists as an ideological belief, rather than as an intrinsic fact.

This study also sheds light on the complexities of language ideologies and their impact on language teaching practices within a Christian mission context. It highlights how the perception of 'NS' as superior language instructors can influence learners' choices and the perceived value of qualifications in ELT. This insight contributes to an understanding of the dynamics at play in the linguistic marketplace, where 'NSs' are highly valued.

Another interesting point to consider is the potential motivational aspect of the 'NS' norm in language learning. In the context of English, which holds significant symbolic value, this study reveals how the Thai students viewed the opportunity to learn about religion as a means to improve their proficiency in English. This is exemplified in Pay's extract 60, for example, that for her the 'trade-off' was that she was prepared to tolerate Christian teaching in order to access more valuable 'English' time.

This finding expands our understanding by demonstrating that when English becomes highly symbolic and becomes entrenched in individuals' language ideologies, it can serve as more than just a means of language instruction. On the one hand, learners

may engage with English through spiritual discourse, enabling them to gain knowledge about the culture, particularly the culture of the missionaries. On the other hand, it also serves as a platform for missionaries to share their faith within the English classroom.

This highlights the intricate relationship between language ideologies, the 'NS' norm, and the symbolic power that English holds. Those who possess the language, such as missionaries, are positioned as powerful figures, not only because of their linguistic proficiency but also because their English classes serve a broader purpose beyond language instruction. This sheds light on how language ideologies and the symbolic value of English can enhance the power and influence of those who possess the language. It emphasises the multifaceted nature of language learning and teaching in contexts where English carries significant cultural and symbolic weight.

The next significant point for analytical discussion is the practice of including biblical content in English classes by missionaries. This topic has been extensively debated in the literature, often questioning the ethics of missionaries who are accused of using English to hide their true agenda of conversion.

The study demonstrates that missionaries informed their students about the spiritual thoughts associated with Christianity and explicitly state that those who are not interested were free to leave the class. This indicates a level of transparency and respect for the students' autonomy. However, the research highlights the complexity of decision-making moments within a Thai cultural context. On the one hand, ethical practice was being communicated in the English classroom before the 15-minute spiritual components started. On the other hand, some Thai students said they experienced some uneasiness in leaving the class as their decision-making was influenced by cultural factors and a sense of respect. They said in Thailand, for example, Thai cultural factors may play a role in their hesitation to leave the class and to not offend the missionaries or to give them back what they are teaching.

This research argues that while the Thai learners said they could leave the English class, the situation was not as simple as it may seem. Cultural understanding plays a crucial role in the decision-making process of the Thai students.

In conclusion, through the lens of the linguistic marketplace, the findings have highlighted several aspects and provided the participants' insights into the complexity of the role of ELT in a Christian mission. It reveals that within this framework, ELT in a mission in Thailand, for this study, functions as a niche market where both the missionaries and the Thai learners came together in the linguistic market, where there is a trade-off between the missionaries and the Thai learners.

8.2 Conclusion

This chapter has restated that both the main and the sub research questions have been answered for the study. It has presented the summary of the findings from both phases situated in the theoretical framework.

The study has argued that the linguistic marketplace of ELT in the Christian mission in Thailand is complex as both the missionaries and the Thai learners Thailand perceive the role of ELT in multiple ways. For the missionary participants, ELT served as a means to meet Thai people and share their faith when possible. For the Thai participants, it presented an opportunity for them to improve their English skills through interactions with the missionaries. Therefore, the linguistic marketplace operated as a trade-off, benefiting both missionaries and Thai learners. It is the negotiation of resources in such a market space.

In Chapter 9, I will present the contributions of the study, its implications and limitations.

Chapter NINE: contributions, implications and limitations

Introduction

This final chapter presents the conclusion of my doctoral thesis. It begins with the contributions of the study, exploring how my thesis contributes to the field of TESOL. The next section discusses the implications of the study and then identifies shortcomings of this study. Then, recommendations for future research are provided. Finally, the chapter concludes with my closing remarks.

9.1 Contributions

With regard to contribution, there is a thought-provoking question that a PhD student may get asked: *so what?* After having spent so much time and put a lot of effort into my doctoral thesis, what novel insights have I uncovered that constitute a contribution to knowledge within the field of TESOL?

I would like to begin by addressing the existing research gap in this area. ELT in a Christian mission is underexplored on a global scale. Many missionary organisations in the world send their teams to carry out their missions under the name of God, and many of them also offer English as part of their mission. This is not a new phenomenon, but the research into ELT in a Christian mission has been limited recently in the field of TESOL, perhaps because of the dominance of arguments that criticise English as a missionary language. In Thailand, there is also a scarcity of research into this topic explored by Thai scholars. Therefore, there is a significant research gap about English as a missionary language in general and the practice of English as a missionary language in Thailand, in particular.

However, I do not want to equate this research gap with a contribution to knowledge alone, nor do I want to take this gap for granted and say, "I have done this first in Thailand". I want to present what I have found and how I believe it contributes to the field of TESOL. Here are some key contributions of mine:

Firstly, one focus of this research has been to explore the ELT work of the LDS Church in Thailand. While the research had its limitations and had to adapt due to the pandemic, it has revealed emergent findings that conceptualise the language ideologies of both missionaries and Thai people regarding their experiences of teaching and learning English in a Christian mission in Thailand. While some previous studies have explored the views of evangelical missionaries on their ELT work (Varghese and Johnston, 2007), no research has delved deeply into how local people perceive missionaries in the countries where they serve, specifically in terms of teaching English as part of their missionary service. Previous studies by Christian scholars, such as Lepp-Kaethler and Dörnyei (2013), have highlighted the positive effects of using sacred texts in language learning, but their research focused solely on Christian English language learners rather than students from other religious backgrounds, such as Buddhists. Therefore, this study has explored the perspectives of both missionaries and Thai Buddhist learners in order to provide a more balanced understanding of ELT in a Christian mission.

Secondly, the role of the researcher conducting this type of research is also significant. In the past, such research has predominantly been carried out by TESOL scholars who identified themselves as Christian, such as Baurain (2007), Purgason (2016), and some scholars that wrote their chapters in the book edited by Wong and Canagarajah (2009). Some TESOL scholars who identified themselves as non-Christian, such as Johnston (2017) and Pennycook and Coutand-Marind (2003), have also contributed to this field. However, it is important to note that these studies may have overlooked the perspectives of those who hold different beliefs, such as Muslim and Buddhist researchers. Therefore, as a Muslim researcher exploring ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand, where most of the population follows Buddhism, I feel that my participation in this research process allows me to be reflexive about the diverse meanings and perspectives of Christians and Buddhists, and I believe my Muslim background has also informed my analysis. Therefore, I also encourage scholars of different religious beliefs to engage in exploring this topic, as it helps to provide insights into ELT in a Christian mission from different perspectives.

9.2 Implications

This research has several implications that contribute to the field of TESOL and our understanding of language teaching within a Christian mission in Thailand:

Firstly, the study enhances our understanding of ELT in a Christian mission by revealing the complexities and trade-offs present in this context. It goes beyond the missionaries' aim of using ELT to engage a wider audience, particularly Thai Buddhists, and demonstrates that it operates within the framework of the linguistic marketplace, where English holds symbolic value. The study highlights the interplay between ELT, culture, and religious beliefs, shedding light on the dynamics at play.

Secondly, the findings provide insights that have practical implications for language teaching practices that have previously overlooked religion in ELT. The study emphasises the importance of understanding the contextual and cultural aspects of incorporating faith-related content into language teaching. It underscores the need for ethical considerations and the incorporation of faith perspectives that align with the cultural backgrounds of language learners. This has the potential to inform and guide the development of more contextually relevant and effective language teaching methods within a Christian mission setting.

Thirdly, the research addresses the significance of cultural and religious sensitivity in language learning. This includes understanding and respecting the cultural and religious backgrounds of language learners, creating an inclusive and supportive environment for their language development.

Lastly, the study aims to foster dialogue and reconciliation among scholars in the TESOL community. Recognising the diversity of beliefs held by different scholars and individuals, the research seeks to open avenues for discussion and mutual understanding when religion is brought into the language classroom. By embracing pluralistic perspectives and fostering a respectful environment, the implications of the study strive to promote greater reconciliation among scholars with different faith-based beliefs.

Overall, I believe these implications have contributed to our understanding of ELT in a Christian mission and provided some insights of missionaries and Thai learners for understanding the complex role of ELT, enhancing cultural and religious sensitivity, and promoting dialogue among scholars.

9.3 Shortcomings

Generally, a thesis typically includes a section where a PhD student discusses the limitations of their research. This allows them to acknowledge that every piece of research has its flaws and suggests areas for improvement for future researchers to consider. In the case of this research, there were struggles, challenges, and limitations, which will be presented in this section.

I have already described the struggles and challenges I faced while conducting this PhD research during the COVID-19 pandemic in Chapters 1 and 4. The limitation of this study was a consequence of these circumstances, indicating that the investigation of this topic remains confined to perspectives of the participants, not practices of their ELT and learning. This is because I was unable to conduct on-site fieldwork to make sense of my experience about ELT in a Christian mission myself. So, what the participants said to me cannot be understood as what they did or state it as 'true'.

Secondly, we are always told by experts in conducting qualitative research that findings cannot be generalised to other contexts as that is not what it is called qualitative research. I understand this limitation of the study as it is context-dependent, specifically focusing on ELT within a Christian mission in Thailand. Therefore, this study provides insights solely from participants who shared their perspectives on ELT within the missions they experienced. It cannot be generalised to other contexts, including other contexts in Thailand.

Lastly, while the interview data I had collected was rich and detailed, I could only conduct a single interview with each participant. This limitation impacted the depth and the reliability of the findings.

It was not my intention to conduct only one interview with each participant; I had hoped to have more interviews with them. However, since many of the participants were unknown to me prior to contacting them (except for Landon), the relationships were established only after the initial contact. We did do pre-talk before the interview was arranged to get to know each other, and I highly appreciate their willingness to participate in my research. It is also important to be respectful and understanding towards my participants when they expressed that they could only participate in a single interview. Consequently, subsequent interviews could not be conducted in this study, but I made every effort to address all the points listed in my interview guide questions during the single interview with them.

Furthermore, the participants were given the opportunity to review and amend their interview transcripts, ensuring that their perspectives were accurately represented. Most of them responded positively to this process that they did not have anything to suggest. But because I recognised the limitation of conducting only one interview, and as a result, I designed my interview questions to capture a comprehensive understanding of the participants' perspectives. I revised the interview question design multiple times and sought feedback from my supervisors. This process aimed to mitigate some of the limitations associated with conducting only one interview.

9.4 Recommendations for future research

As research into ELT in Christian missions needs attention from scholars due to its underexplored nature across many contexts around the world, as noted by Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) as a 'global silence', there are recommendations for future research in this area.

Firstly, employing ethnography as a methodological approach to explore ELT practices across different denominations and to examine their perspectives on ELT in a Christian mission is a valuable approach. It would be beneficial for research to be conducted in various areas where ELT holds significance, even in regions where Christianity is not the predominant religion, such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar.

With regard to those who want to conduct research based on qualitative interviews, I would also suggest having multiple interviews with the participants to gain a deeper exploration of their perspectives. Conducting a narrative inquiry research would also be a valuable way to explore the experiences of missionary and learner participants. I understand that this topic of research is sensitive and can be challenging to convince missionary participants to join, especially for an outsider of their community. However, I believe it is worth trying. There is nothing wrong with receiving a decline from potential participants or when they express a preference for only one interview. It is part of our integrity as researchers and shows respect for others. However, it is important to make an effort and ask them first.

Secondly, although this research already involves missionaries who taught English in Thailand and Thai individuals who follow Buddhism and learned English from the missionaries, it would be worthwhile to interview locals who adhere to other faiths, such as Islam. This would provide a more comprehensive understanding of how ELT in Christian missions interacts with different religious beliefs within the host community.

The last recommendation could be the research focus on exploring ELT practices and the perspectives of NNES missionaries who are assigned to teach English as part of their service. This area of research could delve into language ideologies, biases, and racial perspectives held by both NNES missionaries and language learners. The aim would be to examine how their roles as language teachers are perceived through their own perspectives and those of the language learners, considering the intersectionality with the dominant 'NS' norm in ELT.

9.5 Last words

In this research, there has been much to say about ELT in a Christian mission in Thailand, and I am pleased to bring everything together and write a conclusion. The last statement that I want to make concerns with why we should pay attention to the topic of ELT in a Christian mission. This research is very sensitive and religiously connected, and as a postgraduate researcher, I also feel the need to approach it critically. But whom should I approach critically? Missionary organisations,

missionaries, English teachers, EFL students, the government, students' parents, religion, God, or us as scholars?

In this research, we have seen that some missionary organisations have been criticised for using English as part of their mission, especially when it is done explicitly in the name of God rather than in the name of profession. If it is meant for religious purposes, I join with other TESOL scholars, both Christian and non-Christian and feel compelled to speak up to protect our students and profession. However, this research has also shown that the topic is more complex than that. That is why research is important.

I then ask myself another question: what is the next step? I would say, 'carry on' doing research because I believe every study has its own conclusion but is never truly finished (like this PhD thesis). Research allows us to explore new ideas and make more arguments based on academic perspectives. Therefore, my job after this is not to be in academia trying to criticise every missionary, I encounter who uses English as part of their mission, but to engage in further research and exploration into what they do with ELT. I believe we should have a critical view of TESOL and provide missionaries and others with a critical understanding that the field of TESOL is not only about teaching a language. It also involves also social, political, ideological, and controversial and self-critical aspects.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: A sample of written details of the interview guide questions for Thai participants

→ คุณคิดว่า คุณผู้สอนภาษาอังกฤษ ในคุณ ลมด ถิ่นวุ่น
ควรเป็นแบบไหน

ส่วนที่สี่ ความคิดเห็นเกี่ยวกับการสอนภาษาอังกฤษและความเป็นเจ้าของภาษา

คุณมีความคิดเห็น อย่างไร เกี่ยวกับ การเรียนภาษาอังกฤษ กับ อาจารย์ ?

คุณ คิดว่า อะไรจะ ภาษา ที่คุณสอนมีสิ่ง ผิด พลาดของ ใร.
การได้ เรียน กับ   ในเรื่อง การออกเสียงภาษาอังกฤ.
แล้ว กับ เป็น เจ้าของ ภาษาไป มีความลำดับ กับ คุณมากเท่าใด

คุณ มีความคิดเห็นอย่างไร กับ พ ท เจ้าของภาษาที่สอนภาษาอังกฤษแต่ ให้ ม
ในหลวง รัชกาลในกองประดุฐ

Role of missionaries teaching English?

The reason for them to teach English?

บทบาท

missionary → Native-speaker

↓ God   ↓ able to offer Eng

↓   ↓

role →   → attracting more people
               → help people to learn Eng

(role)

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Appendix 2: Samples of initial coding processes of phase-one data

Generating initial codes
Interview data, first-phase data collection

Descriptive summary	Transcription	Initial codes
	Ben: Most of us have been reassigned to serve in places in the US. But some of us chose we were gonna wait for a year and hopefully get to go back.	
	Luke: Right, maybe 2021.	
	Ben: We'll see how it works after COVID and all that.	
	Luke: Can you tell me about your background? **Ben:** I am from the US, Georgia, but I was born in Penn, but now I am with my family in Ananta, Georgia. We have been members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latte-day Saints since born. I knew myself that I wanted to be a missionary anywhere in the world. And when I was 17, I went to Thailand, I was on a volunteer for three months. At the time, I was just a volunteer, not a missionary, in Thailand. Because I like learning language and I like Thailand so I decided to learn Thai. I self-studied like sawadee krab, how are you, something like that. I did study a lot. Then, I applied for a missionary and wanted to go to Thailand again, but I didn't tell in my application. Luckily, I was chosen to serve in Thailand. I was thrilled. Then. I served in Thailand as a	His personal commitment to be a missionary His personal reason why he learned Thai & wanted to go to Thailand

	missionary for 9 months. However, because of COVID19, I had to be back to the states.	
	Luke: Who did you go with when you first went to Thailand for three months? **Ben:** Sorry I didn't go there for three months. I went there just three weeks. I went with a humanitarian group called HEFY, humanitarian experiences for youth based in UTAH. I didn't go with anyone. I applied for that, then I went to Thailand. HEFY targeted Asian countries.	

Why did you focus on speaking and not other English skills? – this is the question I did not ask and I can't make an argument here why missionaries offered speaking only. I think the only way to know this is to contact him again. But if not, I think you can just reported that they focused on speaking but you can't make an argument here as it may be risky for you to justify their approach. Please wait first.	Luke: What did you teach (speaking, writing, listening, reading and grammar)? Ben: So when I first got there we had one program that returned missionaries established many years ago, but they were not English teachers. We were just volunteers, not formal teachers. Because mainly we teach religion. We taught English to help, but that wasn't our main duty. We started off like tongue twister. We had an exercise to get started. A tongue twister or our game. Then, we have a scaffolding like a sentence that we wanna teach them or a grammar principle. We created a grammar structure or sentence that we could vocab into. We created a sentence and gave an example of it, teach them some vocabulary and show them how to put it in a sentence and then create some games that can put it together. So, there is a focus on speaking, listening, but the difficult one for us to teach is. I mean it's easy to teach them how to listen, but it's difficult for us to teach speaking. Like I asked them to speak but no onone did. Students like to listen. Then, our focus is on trying to get people to talk. That's the big focus, speaking. We didn't do a lot of writing, but we did a lot of reading, speaking and listening.	His admittance of not being an English teacher. Self-identify as a volunteer. Reason for offering English is to help. Help plays a role in a mission Speaking focus / communicative approach identifying problem about Thai people, they can't speak English and that gave missionaries a space to teach English in Thailand
	Luke: how long was the program for? Ben: The first program that we had that was created by other missionaries in the past, so we had a program on two six weeks rotations. It's twelve week rotation (two six week	The aim of English class – to make people enjoy

Appendix 3: A sample of an information sheet in English and a consent form

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APPENDIX A (A1)

Information sheet for Key Participants
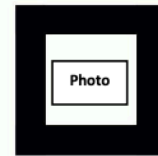
Researcher Bio:
Name: Luqman Mayi
Nationality: Thai
PHD student in TESOL Research
University of Stirling, Scotland UK
Email: luqman.mayi@stir.ac.uk
Tel. (local mobile number)

Photo

Title: Teaching English as a Missionary English Teacher: Practices and Perspectives at a Church in Thailand

What is this study about?
This project aims to explore English language teaching and everyday practices of missionaries who come to teaching English to Thailand a part of their missionary work. I am also interested in seeking voices from missionaries and Thai students who learn English at church and who would like to share their experiences. This could inform us, as TESOL professionals, of any potential threats or benefits that might happen in their own context and what it means to those working in the TESOL field. So, if this project is of your interest, I would like to invite you to take part.

Why have I been invited to take part?
To conduct this study feasibly and ethically, seeking collaboration from you is important. This means that I do not consider you to be the subjects of the study, but rather to be a collaborator who would be happy for me to be part of their activities and would like to share their views with me.

Therefore, I would like to invite you to take part if you would like to collaborate with me. I am looking for a participant who is:

☐ A missionary (adult, aged 20 or above) who is a native speaker of English offering English at a church to Thai people and who is interested in sharing perspectives with me on the in-class ELT activities

☐ A Thai individual (adult, aged 20 and above) who learns English with the missionaries as part of the English for adults at a church and who is interested in sharing insights into English language teaching and learning with native speakers of English.

Do I have to take part?
No. You do not have to take part if you do not wish to. This depends on your willingness to participate in this study.

However, if you would like to be part of this study, you can read a consent form and sign it to confirm your participation. This is a form that indicates you are happy to be a participant of the study. However, if you would like to withdraw from the study after signing informed consent, you still have the right to do so.

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You do not need to give me reasons for your withdrawal, but I would appreciate it if you could let me know about it for further improvements and future research directions.

What will happen if I take part?
The data collection for this study takes 12 weeks at a church, so if you agree to take part I would like:

- to be part of your English teaching and learning at a church (evening classes). I would like to observe you and your classes and make notes over 12 weeks. If possible, I would like to audio-record your English language teaching/learning in classes. The audio recording can take between 20-40 hours in total.
- to have an individual interview with you for about one hour. The interview will also be audio-recorded and conducted in person. Questions in the interview will be about your English language teaching experiences in multi-cultural and multi-religious contexts.

Are there any potential risks in taking part?
No, there are no potential risks in taking part. Your responses will not be shared with others, except my supervisors for professional advice, and you will not be identified in the study. Your real name will not be used and the setting of the study will be broad. I can assure you.

What will I expect from you?
For the missionary teaching English, I would expect you to share your views about your experiences as a missionary who offers English as part of your church services at a church in Thailand. I would also like to know about your feeling as a Christian teaching English in Thailand

For the Thai individual, I would like you to share your viewpoints about learning English with native speakers of English and how you perceive their role as an English language teacher at a church.

What will the researcher do with my responses?
I am carrying out this study as part of my doctoral degree in TESOL. Your personal information, e.g. names, places of living/working/studying will be anonymous using pseudonyms. The information you will provide in the interview and observation will be mainly used for my doctoral thesis. The findings can also be published as academic papers and conference presentations during my PhD studies. The data will be kept in the research storage drive provided by the university of Stirling. During my studies, all the dataset can be accessed by me and shared with my supervisors - Professor Fiona Copland and Professor Adrian Blackledge.

Will the research be published?
As briefly explained earlier, the research results will be mainly used for my PhD thesis. I also plan to present some parts of my analyses at academic conferences and/or in journal articles for further contribution. However, your personal information will still be kept confidential and your analysed responses will be anonymised. I am happy to provide you a copy of any published results in the future if you would like one.

Who has reviewed this research project?
This project has been approved by my supervisors and research ethics committees of the University of Stirling. If you have further concerns, you can ask me about research ethics of this project or visit the University website about research ethics and integrity. See this link: https://www.stir.ac.uk/research/research-ethics-and-integrity/

Who should I contact if I have concerns about this study?
Primarily, you can contact me if you would like to discuss any issues regarding the study. In case you have further concerns about the study or me, you can contact my supervisors:

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Principal supervisor	Secondary supervisor
Name: Professor Fiona Copland E-mail: fiona.copland@stir.ac.uk Contact number: +44 (0) 1786 466136 (UK)	Name: Professor Adrian Blackledge E-mail: a.j.blackledge@stir.ac.uk Contact number: +44 (0) 1786 466271 (UK)

What is next?

If you wish to participate, please read the consent form and hand it in to me with your signature on. You will also be given a copy of this information sheet to keep.

Thank you for your participation

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Consent Form for Key Participants

GUEP Approval Number ▓▓▓▓▓   Participant number ▓▓▓▓▓

Project: Perceptions of Christian English language teachers: a preliminary study of their experiences in English language teaching in Thailand
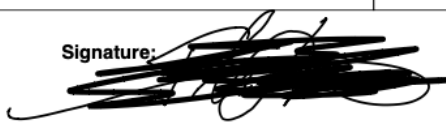
		Please tick box
1.	I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet [date read: _Aug. 14, 2020_], for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions about the study, and have had these answered satisfactorily.	✓
2.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time before 30th September 2020 without giving a reason, and without any consequences for me. I understand that, after 30th September 2020, when data analysis has started it may not be possible to remove my data from the study.	✓
3.	I consent to being audio-recorded for an interview.	✓
4.	I understand that my audio-recorded responses will be treated as confidential, and will be anonymised. I only give permission for Mr. Luqman Mayi and his supervisors to have access to my original responses.	✓
5.	I understand that my transcribed audio-recorded responses will be used in research outputs. I am aware that I will not be named in any research outputs but I could be identified by people I know through the stories I tell.	✓
8.	I agree to being quoted anonymously in research publications and presentations drawn on the data collected for this study.	✓
9.	I agree for my personal data to be kept in a secure database and in a locked file cabinet in his office.	✓
10.	I agree to take part in this study.	✓

Name of Participant ▓▓▓▓▓   **Signature:** ▓▓▓▓▓

Date: Aug. 14, 2020

Name of Researcher   Luke Mayi   **Signature:**   Luke

Date:

Appendix 4: Formal confirmation of ethical approval

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Luqman Mayi
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Stirling
FK9 4LA

General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling
FK9 4LA
Scotland UK

27 February 2020

E: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

Dear Luqman

Re: Christians in an Islamic Community: A Linguistic Ethnography of English Teaching and Socialisation in Thailand – GUEP 800

Thank you for submitting your application and updated documents for ethical approval in relation to the above.

The ethical approaches of your project have been approved and you can commence with your research.

Please note that if any of your proposal changes, a further submission (amendment) to GUEP will be necessary.

Please ensure that your research complies with University of Stirling policy on storage of research data which is available at:
https://www.stir.ac.uk/about/professional-services/information-services-and-library/current-students-and-staff/researchers/research-data/plan-and-design/our-policy/

If you have not already done so, I would also strongly encourage you to complete the Research Integrity training which is available at: https://canvas.stir.ac.uk/enroll/CJ43KW

Please be aware that research approved by GUEP may be audited to ensure the research has proceeded in the manner approved. The selection of projects to audit will be done at random.

If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk .

Yours sincerely,
Pp.

On behalf of GUEP
Dr William Munro
Deputy Chair of GUEP

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