

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **RESEARCH CONTEXT**

The aim of this chapter is to provide the contextual background to the study reported in later chapter of this thesis. The chapter is organised in three main parts. The first part provides an historical account of TESOL, tracing its development from being a part of language teaching undifferentiated from the teaching of other languages, to being a discipline in its own right. The second part provides an overview of TESOL today. It begins a discussion on the rise of English as a global language and its impact on the demand for TESOL. This is followed by a brief look at the nature and scope of TESOL provision worldwide and the factors that affect the quality of TESOL provision. The final part gives an overview on TESOL provision in Australia, in particular, the ELICOS industry.

#### **The History of TESOL**

The history of TESOL goes back as far as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The first foreigners to learn English were European merchants who had business dealings with the English. The first manual produced in England was bi-lingual, aimed at teaching English to French merchants and vice versa. Printed by William Caxton in 1483, it is now commonly known by its subtitle, *Tres Bonne Doctrine pour Aprendre Briefment Fransoys et Engloys* or *Right Good Lernying for to Lerne Shortly Frenssh and Englyssh* (Henrichsen and Savova, 2000). It began with greetings and was followed by simple texts introducing vocabulary deemed useful for survival. These included words on food, household equipment, family relationships, and so forth. The next part of the manual contained dialogues on shopping and a very detailed dialogue on buying and selling textiles of various kinds (Lambley, 1920).

The first large-scale teaching of English to foreigners took place in the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. During the 1570s and 1580s, England experienced a deluge of refugees escaping the religious persecution that accompanied the Counter-Reformation movement on the European continent. Approximately 60,000 Protestants (the French Huguenots and Protestants from Flanders, Italy and Spain) made their way across the English Channel between 1570 and 1588 (the year of the Spanish Armada). The majority of these refugees were skilled craftsmen, dyers, artisans and weavers. Also included in this group were some teachers. Among them were Bellot from Normandy and Holyband from the Loire Valley (Lambley, 1920). Both teachers made significant contributions to language teaching in England with their development of appropriate instructional materials, and the teaching of English to their fellow refugees and French to the local populace. Howatt (1984) observes that both teachers were NNES. Indeed, as noted in Henrichsen and Savova, (2000), the majority of the TESOL teachers in the early days were NNES.

The kind of English taught to the refugees was very practical. The craftsmen needed basic English literacy skills to practice their trade in England. On the other hand, the women needed spoken English in order to fulfil their functions as housekeepers and carers on the home front. Books of the period catered to both these needs. Bellot, for example, wrote two books, *The English Schoolmaster* (1580) and *Familiar Dialogues* (1586) ([www.oup.com/elt](http://www.oup.com/elt)). *The English Schoolmaster* was aimed at the craftsmen who had learnt English informally through their interactions with their English clients. It contained the English alphabet and pronunciation. It also had a section devoted to homophones, which Howatt (1984) speculates, enabled the craftsmen to recognise the print form of words they use in their daily speech. It was the first book written with the specific aim of teaching English to foreigners. *Familiar Dialogues* (1586), on the other hand, contained dialogues that were centred on the typical daily activities of a housewife living in sixteenth century England ([www.oup.com/elt](http://www.oup.com/elt)).

TESOL activities in England declined after the Edict of Nantes was declared in 1598. With the assurance that they would be able to practise their religion without fear of persecution, a large number of Huguenots returned to France. It was not until the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup>

century that the momentum for TESOL picked up when religious refugees started arriving in England once again. The numbers rose much higher after the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. Once more, there was a need to teach English to the new migrants and, for a second time, it was provided by refugee teachers (Henrichsen and Savova, 2000; Howatt, 1984).

TESOL in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was more informed by the practices of the teaching of modern foreign languages then prevalent in England. Foreign languages were taught using the basic procedures of teaching Latin. This meant an emphasis on students mastering the grammar of the target language (Bowen, Madsen and Hilferty, 1985). In keeping with this practice, grammar occupied a central position in TESOL of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Richards and Rogers, 1986). One of the great proponents of the teaching of grammar was a Swiss immigrant, Miege. Miege wrote a book on the teaching English as a foreign language called *Nouvelle Methode* (1685), which, according to Howatt (1984), lifted TESOL to a more professional level than ever before. For the first time, an English language manual had a clearly articulated teaching approach that was focused on providing a solid foundation in pronunciation, spelling and grammar. In addition, it contained linguistic information that Miege was able to draw from the published works of local phoneticians and grammarians as well as from his own insights into the language.

After the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the bulk of TESOL activities moved to the European continent as no new foreigners arrived in Britain in large numbers until after the French Revolution in 1789. TESOL on the continent, however, began much earlier than the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Howatt (1984) describes the spread of TESOL as a ripple effect. The first countries that offered TESOL were those which were geographically closest to England, namely, France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany. The next group of countries to offer TESOL was the Mediterranean countries. They were followed by the Baltic countries. Finally, TESOL arrived in Russia in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Alston, 1967).

The spread of TESOL was slow at first. English as a foreign language was taught in Flanders and France as far back as the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. The people studying English

then were mainly from the mercantile community. The demand for TESOL, however, was limited, partly because French was then the *lingua franca* and was commonly used by all merchants for trading. An interest in English philosophy and literature in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century acted as a catalyst for the rapid spread of TESOL in Europe. European scholars saw England as a place where “challenging new ideas in divinity and philosophy could be expected” (Howatt, 1984, p.64). In particular, the works of John Locke and David Hume created much excitement in academic circles. The desire to read the works of these English philosophers in the language in which they were originally written led many European scholars to learn English. With reference to literature, a rise in interest in the works of Shakespeare and other English dramatists, especially in Germany, culminated in the teaching of English in schools.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the teaching of English spread further afield, following the path of British imperial expansion. According to Crystal (1997), wherever the British went they established schools in which English was used as the medium of instruction and where English literature was introduced to the local population with the aim of civilizing the local population. Thus, English was brought to South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Nepal), Africa (for example, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, and Nigeria), South-East Asia and the Pacific (for example, Singapore, Malaysia, and Papua New Guinea).

Howatt (1984) observes that up until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, TESOL was not differentiated from the teaching of other languages. For a long time, bi- or multilingual manuals were common for language instruction. For instance, it was common for a manual to be written in French and English, and to be used to teach both the French and English speakers how to speak each other’s language. There were teachers of languages, not teachers of only one language. A teacher of French such as Bellot was also a teacher of English.

No distinction also was made between English as a foreign language and English as a mother tongue (Strevens, 1992). When English first began to replace French in functions

of the court and government (when Henry IV claimed the throne in 1399), there was no standardised spelling and pronunciation. Neither was there a written grammar nor a dictionary. Thus, when the linguistics scholars of between 1550 and 1700 worked on standardising and codifying English, their primary concern was with fixing the language, not whether their work was more suitable for the teaching of English to either native or non-native students (Howatt, 1984).

TESOL came to be recognized as being distinct from English for native English speakers (NES) only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Henrichson and Savova, 2000). According to Howatt (1984, p.212), “the notion that English was a second language with a utilitarian function in the communication of knowledge had begun to emerge” in the 1920s. Prior to that, English taught in the various British colonies was the same as that which was taught in England. Textbooks written for students in England were also used by students in the colonies. In 1926, West, an official in the Indian Education Service, observed in his report on the English- language needs of Bengal that English as used by the Bengalis served different functions from that used by the NES in England. The Bengalis used English mostly for reading. West, therefore, advocated the teaching of reading and the use of simple reading materials with controlled vocabulary. In his report, he made a distinction between English as used by native speakers in England and that used by the people in Bengal, by consistently referring to English in Bengal as a ‘second language’.

There are different accounts on when the division between English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) was first made and the circumstances that led to the distinction (Nayar, 1997; Strevens, 1987). The account by Howatt (1984) states that it was not until the 1950s that the distinction between the two became common. This came about as a result of events of history. In the 1950s and 1960s, many colonies gained independence from Britain and each newly independent country was faced with the need to make a decision on the status of English *vis-à-vis* its national agenda. According to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984), some countries like Singapore and Nigeria retained English as an official language. Thus, English continued to be used in several public and private domains. Some countries like Malaysia reduced the role of English to that of a language

for external communication. Here, the argument was that only people who needed to communicate with the outside world needed to learn English. Therefore, in countries that retained English as an official language, English was a second language while in countries like Malaysia, it became a foreign language.

The difference between ESL and EFL was also made sharper within Britain itself (Howatt, 1984; Nicholls and Hoadley-Maidment, 1988). This was brought about by the need to cater for a growing number of non-native English speakers (NNES) settling in Britain after independence was granted to the colonies. The programs and services already in place for international students studying English were not suitable for the migrants who needed specific language skills to help them get employment and integrate into the community. Special courses had to be designed to suit the schedule of workers and housewives, and their language needs. Furthermore, TESOL materials for child migrants studying in schools were not in plentiful supply. New instructional materials had to be written to serve two aims simultaneously. They had to help the students to achieve the broader aims of education, while at the same time develop their competence in English.

Finer distinction in the type of English offered was also made in the 70s. By the 1970s, English was already being used widely in education, science and technology, commerce and international communication. England was the study destination of many NNES students who were on scholarship. These students required English that was specifically related to their field of study. This gave rise to English for Special Purposes, which later became known as English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Today, this has expanded to include a variety of specialisations such as English for Specific Purposes, English for Academic Purposes (EAP), Business English, and English for Occupational Purposes (Howatt, 1984; Gatehouse, <http://iteslj.org/Articles-ESP.html> retrieved 6/8/2004).

Howatt (1984) also claims that those involved in TESOL developed an autonomous profession in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The criteria he uses to define a profession are 1) the existence of an intellectual framework, 2) the establishment of institutions whose functions are, among other things, to regulate entry into the profession, maintain standards, and

produce professional journals, and 3) a commitment to research and development. The TESOL intellectual framework was derived from two sources. The first was from the work carried out by linguists of the Reform Movement, especially after 1880. These linguists (Sweet, Vietor and Passy) advocated the use of the scientific approach for the study of the sound and emphasised the primacy of speech over writing in the study of language. The second source was the Direct Method of language teaching that stipulated the sole use of the target language in the classroom (Richards and Rogers, 1986).

In terms of providing special training for TESOL teachers, the first steps were taken by the Institute of Education at the University of London with a training course for teachers of English as a foreign language in 1932 (Howatt, 1984; McArthur, 1985). In North America, Fries set up the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan in 1941. The ELI performed several functions – teaching English to foreign students, teacher training, writing materials and undertaking research in linguistics (Stern, 1983). Back in England, the School of Applied Linguistics was founded at the University of Edinburgh in 1957. This was the first university school of its kind in Britain. In 1967, the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) began offering the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language to Adults that later became known as the Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA).

In relation to the creation of professional bodies, the TESOL Association was founded in the U.S.A. in 1966. The following year, the Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language was started in Britain. It later became known as the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATFLA). In the same year, the British Association of Applied Linguistics held its first meeting.

TESOL also has its professional journals. The first major journal established in the field was *English Language Teaching*, produced by the British Council in 1946. It became known by its current name, *English Language Teaching Journal* in 1972. In 1948, the ELI under the headship of Fries published *Language Learning: A Journal of Applied Linguistics*. Today, there are several journals that are produced by various TESOL bodies

throughout the world. Included are the *TESOL Quarterly*, the *Regional Language English Centre (RELC) Journal* which concentrates on English language research in the South-East Asian region, and the *English Teaching Forum*, an American government-sponsored journal (Bowen, Marsden and Hilferty, 1985).

Professionalism also entails the establishment of a self-governing body to ensure the maintenance of standards. Within TESOL, a self-regulatory body, the Association of Recognised English Schools (ARELS), was established in Britain to look after the private sector in 1960 (Stern, 1983; McArthur, 1985). Since then, professional bodies have been set up in other countries to oversee the TESOL operations in those countries. In Australia, the NEAS monitors all language centres that provide intensive English courses (EA Information Sheet, 1999).

Howatt (1984) asserts that research into TESOL began in the 1920s with the vocabulary research of Palmer in Japan and West in Bengal. In addition, research in linguistics began to inform TESOL practices. American linguists like Bloomfield and Fries, who belonged to the descriptivist school of linguistics, were keen to see a practical application of their research through language teaching in the classroom. Bloomfield (1942) was particularly interested in finding a useful role for linguistics in the community. Fries (1945) conceptualised the relationship between linguistics and classroom teaching to be unidirectional, with linguistics supplying the knowledge of languages and applied linguistics functioning as a bridge between abstract linguistic theories and the actual learning of languages in the classroom. Leadership provided by the ELI mentioned above led to many significant descriptive and applied linguistic studies including Pike's *Intonation of American English* (1946) and *Phonemics* (1947), Nida's *Morphology* (1946) and Lado's *Linguistics Across Cultures* (1957).

In the area of language pedagogy, the descriptivists developed the Audio-Lingual Method that came to be widely used in America and several other countries from World War II up until the early-to-mid 1960s (Stern, 1983; Bowen, Madsen and Hilferty, 1985; Burnaby, 1997). Like the Direct Method that was popular in Europe, the Audio-Lingual Method had



communication in the target language as its primary goal. As such, greater emphasis was placed on listening and speaking than on writing or reading (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). In the case of the Audio-Lingual Method, however, there were strong theoretical underpinnings derived from descriptive linguistics and behavioural psychology guiding the development of its curriculum, teaching materials and teaching methods (Bowen, Madsen and Hilferty, 1985). The materials were focussed on grammatical structures, which were carefully graded according to levels of complexity determined by the descriptivists (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). Additionally, the teaching of structures was believed to be made more efficient through predicting the areas where students would encounter difficulty. This was accomplished by contrasting the target language with that of the learners' first language (Shirai, 1997).

The descriptivists were keen to align linguistics, and by extension, language teaching, with the sciences. Being strict adherents of empiricism, they held the view that the scientific knowledge of language could only be discovered through the systematic study of a corpus of data gained through observation. They developed a set of procedures which they meticulously followed in their search for the grammar of a particular language. The set of procedures to discover the grammar of any language began with the analysis of phonemes followed by morphemes, then syntax and finally, discourse (Newmeyer, 1986). Every language was considered to be unique, with each having its own distinctive patterns. In terms of learning, the descriptivists agreed with the behavioural psychologists' claim that learning was a matter of habit formation. Language learning could, therefore, be fostered through repetition and drill (Larsen-Freeman, 1986).

The influence of the descriptivists on language teaching, including TESOL, went unchallenged until Chomsky came onto the scene in the late 1950s. Chomsky argued for the downplay of empiricism in the formation of linguistic theory, maintaining that how a theory was developed was less important than whether a theory could be fully explained (Newmeyer, 1986, 1994). He proposed a new theory of grammar, which he called transformational grammar, in his book, *Syntactic Structures* (1957). The theory sought to explain the tacit rules of grammar which an ideal speaker/hearer knows of his/her native

language and which enables him/her to generate an infinite number of new sentences (Campbell, 2001). He presented the linguistic community with a means to explicate the relationship between the surface and deep structures of a sentence, which linguists before him had failed to do. Chomsky also criticised the views of behavioural psychologists on learning. In 'Review of verbal behaviour' in *Language* (1959, V35, p26-58), he argued that language learning was not a matter of memorisation and habit formation. Instead, language learning was a creative activity made possible only through the learner internalising the rules of the language rather than memorising strings of words.

Although Chomsky (1966) did not think that his work had direct relevance to language teaching, it served as a springboard for research in other areas that impacted directly on language teaching. One of the more influential theories that has emerged in language acquisition research is Krashen's Monitor Theory (Shirai, 1997). In the Monitor Theory, Krashen made a distinction between language acquisition and language learning. The former refers to the informal process by which a person comes to know a language while the latter refers to the conscious learning of a language. The monitor refers to the explicit knowledge of rules gained through conscious learning and Krashen claimed that it is used by speakers to ensure correct and accurate utterances whenever they speak the language. Based on this theory, Krashen and Terrell (1983) proposed the Natural Approach to second language learning in the classroom. They advocated the setting up of learning situations that were similar to those in which people learn their first language naturally. Another method that drew from Krashen's Monitor Theory was the Total Physical Response method by Asher (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). Both these methods place importance on comprehension of the target language before speech production.

Another notion of Chomsky which influenced language teaching, albeit indirectly, was his concept of competence and performance (Howatt, 1984). Chomsky (1965) made a distinction between knowledge of language and language use. He labelled the former 'competence' and the latter 'performance'. In his theory of language, Chomsky was mainly concerned with competence. Hymes (1972), a linguistic anthropologist, pointed out that Chomsky's concept of 'competence', which was limited to grammatical competence alone,

was too narrow in scope. He argued that knowing a language meant more than the mere knowing of the rules of a language. It included the notion of appropriate speech, a question of who can say what to whom and in what situation. This involved an intuitive understanding of the social and cultural rules that accompanied all forms of interactions. He called this 'communicative competence' (Stern, 1983). Thus, Hymes took Chomsky's notion of competence and expanded it to include language performance as well.

The notion of communicative competence has had far reaching effects on language teaching. It found resonance with many language educators in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Howatt, 1984). According to Stern (1983), a group of educational linguists (people who were both trained linguists and educationists) found the concepts of language as propounded by the descriptivists and the transformation generative linguists to be too restrictive to be of much relevance to the needs of the language learner. The descriptivists and the transformational generative linguists were only concerned with the formal aspects of language. For example, Oller (1979), an educational linguist, maintained that students would benefit more from being taught pragmatics rather than concepts such as 'competence' and 'deep and surface structures'.

Hyme's notion of communicative competence was also compatible with the developments in language pedagogy that were taking place in England and Europe. In 1971, the Council of Europe initiated a huge language project, which was aimed at developing a comprehensive foreign language framework to meet the demand of increased communication among the European countries. The framework devised was based on the language and learning needs of second/foreign language learners in Europe. It specified the minimum level of language proficiency individuals required in order to function in a foreign language (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985). The outcome of the project was the notional/functional syllabus, which emphasised the teaching of language functions for communication, such as apologising and disagreeing. The ability to communicate, not the knowledge of rules of grammar, was the goal of language teaching, and several principles and techniques were developed to translate the framework into classroom practice. The

approach that grew out of all these principles and techniques has come to be known as the Communicative Approach or Communicative Language Teaching (Shirai, 1997).

The approach's theoretical underpinnings were derived from the Speech Act Theory of Austin and Searle and from the Systemic Functional Grammar of Halliday who was trained under Firth. It was also derived from Hyme's work in sociolinguistics, especially the notion of communicative competence, which has already been mentioned (Shirai, 1997; Burnaby, 1997). Briefly, the Speech Act Theory, first developed by Austin in 1962 and later expanded by Searle in 1969 and 1975, was based on the assertion that language performs social acts and that all utterances perform three acts. The first is locutionary act which is what the speaker actually said to the hearer. The second is illocutionary act which is the function that is performed by the locutionary act, and the third is the perlocutionary act which is the effect of the speaker on the hearer (Kempson, 2001). In regard to systemic functional grammar, the underlying principle is that language is a resource for making meaning. To understand language, one has to understand how language is used. This is because "language has evolved to satisfy human needs; and the way it is organised is functional with respect to these needs .... A functional grammar is essentially a 'natural' grammar, in the sense that everything in it can be explained, ultimately, by reference to how language is used" (Halliday, 1985, xiii).

In addition to linguistics, developments in the area of education also played an important role in helping to shape some of the methods used in language teaching, including TESOL. One such development was the humanistic movement. According to Roberts (1998), humanism is based on the following concepts: that every individual is unique and must be seen as a whole; that every individual has an innate potential to develop fully, and that he/she knows what is needed for growth. It follows, then, that the role of the teacher is that of a facilitator providing students with the opportunities not only to learn the target language, but also improve the self. The psychological factors affecting learning are deemed to be of equal importance to the cognitive processes. Some of the techniques based on this philosophy were Gattegno's *Silent Way* and Lozanov's *Suggestopedia* (Burnaby, 1997). According to Celce-Murcia (1991), the humanistic approach was a reaction to the

overemphasis on audiolingualism of the descriptivists and the cognitive code of language learning of the transformation generative linguists.

## **TESOL Today**

### **The spread of English and TESOL**

The extensive use of English worldwide has been ascribed to the political and economic power held by Britain in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the USA in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Crystal, 1997). The British Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century covered nearly a third of the earth's surface and had more than a quarter of the world's population (Stevens, 1992). English, being the language of the ruling class, enjoyed a special status in all the colonies. It was used in administration, law, education, and diplomacy, all of which are domains of prestige. Access to power and prestige for NNES in these colonies was through proficiency in English. Indeed, in all British colonies, there was an English educated elite consisting of people who held positions of importance in government, who were professionals and who were employed in big commercial firms (Chua, 1990). The status of English in many of these countries does not appear to have changed and access to social status and economic benefits there at the present time is still closely related to proficiency in English.

Britain was also the leader in the Industrial Revolution and enjoyed great economic prosperity. Crystal (1997) reports that its gross national product was rising at 2% per annum in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was higher than any other country. Many important inventions of the time came from Britain. New terminology that needed to be coined for all of these new inventions were in English, and scholars from elsewhere wanting to learn about the new technologies had to know English first in order to gain access to this new knowledge. On another front, Britain, together with Germany and the USA, was also active in international banking. Countries and industries seeking British or American finance for their ventures had to use English in their negotiations and in applications for loans. There were many new colonies and less wealthy European countries that were anxious to get financial backing for new ventures (Crystal, 1997).

Economic and political power shifted to the USA in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many new inventions were from the USA. Increasingly, industries employed science-based technology to help streamline and increase production. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the USA was the world leader in industrial production and it continued to be one until the 1970s, when its position was challenged by Germany and Japan (Morris and Morris, 1996). The USA also emerged as a super power after World War II and it has since been wielding tremendous influence on the international scene (Legrand and Burne, 1989). As a superpower, it has been actively involved in international developments and affairs (Crystal, 1997). For example, it played a major role in the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Graddol, 1997). It also pursued an active program of English language teaching on a global basis as part of its foreign cultural policy (Phillipson, 1994).

A combination of all the above factors has culminated in English being used as either the only, or one of the languages, by international bodies in their communication with each other and in their administration. English is the only official language used at meetings of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPAC), and is one of the official languages used by the United Nations and the different organisations and bodies within it, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), as well as by the Council of Europe and the European Union. In addition, English is used by several sporting organisations such as the African Hockey Federation, the Asian Amateur Athletic Association and the Association of Oceania National Olympic Committees (Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997).

English has also been adopted for international safety. A restricted, unambiguous form of English labelled *Seaspeak* has been used by all the countries in the world for communication between ships and between ship and shore. There is also *Airpeak* for the management of air traffic. Thus, personnel around the world who work in air or sea traffic are required to learn to communicate in this form of English. In addition, another form of restricted English, *Emergencyspeak*, is in the process of development. Its aim is to

facilitate communication between emergency crew (police, ambulance, firemen) of England and the European continent. The need for such language was deemed particularly necessary with the opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1994 (Crystal, 1997; Abbott, 1994).

In mass communication – newspapers, magazines, advertising, radio and television - English is again the dominant language. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Yearbook* (2002, 850ff), countries in which English has a special status published approximately 57% of all the newspapers in the world. Crystal (2003) maintains that it is reasonable to assume that the majority of these papers were in English. In regard to magazines, journals, periodicals and so forth, a quarter of these printed materials are produced in countries where English is a dominant language (Crystal, 2003). In the arena of broadcasting, English is the *lingua franca* of several regional organisations such as the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association and the European Broadcasting Union. From Crystal's estimation (1997) that 45 per cent of the world's radio receivers belong to countries where English was dominant in 1994, it can be assumed that English most likely dominates the world of broadcasting. In the entertainment world, English language films dominated in 1995, with 85 per cent of the world's film market being controlled by the USA (Robinson, 1995, p245).

English is also strongly associated with developments in information technology. According to the *Asiaweek* (30<sup>th</sup> July, 1999), 80 per cent of web pages were in English at the point of reporting. In addition, “the biggest companies, the hottest startups and the best research institutions are in the U.S.” (*Asiaweek*, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1999). Perhaps more important is the fact that computer technology is being used in all kinds of businesses and is increasingly determining the way businesses are being operated. Spreadsheets, databases and other industry-related software are produced first in English. People who do not know English have to wait for translations of the programs before they can use them.

Finally, English is the main language of learning. Within Malaysia, Najib Tun Razak, the Minister of Education, has observed that new findings in many disciplines are almost always reported in English (*Asiaweek*, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1999). Since World War II, according to

Graddol (1997), many scientific journals changed from publishing in their own language to English. An example is the Mexican medical journal originally called *Archivos de Investigacion Medica*, which later became known as *Archives of Medical Research*. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of publications of French scientists in the 1980s were in English. In the book-publishing industry, there are more books published in English than in any other language. In the early 1990s, English-language books occupied 28 per cent of the total number of titles of books published in all languages and were well ahead of their closest rival, Chinese books, which consisted of 13.3% of the total number of titles published. Translations are time-consuming and costly, and most countries are not likely to have the resources to translate every new book or journal that is produced in English for their home readership. Thus, access to new knowledge is through learning English.

The English language is seen today as the language of empowerment. This is the most likely reason for people from countries all over the world wanting to learn it. According to Kachru (1986, p.1), “(K)nowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin’s lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power”. Most people study English because they believe that it will lead to material rewards. For example, Shaw (1983) found that Thai students studied English because they felt they needed it for work. Sukwiat (1985) found that one of the most important reasons for Thais studying English was so that they could get a job. For the Filipinos, English has been linked to social and economic mobility; the greater one’s proficiency in English, the better the chances of getting a good job (McKay, 1992).

### **The provision of TESOL today**

Given the position held by English in all the vital and prestigious domains today, it is little wonder that the demand for English language provision is huge. The majority of Asian countries now believe that to be competitive in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is necessary for its people to be proficient in English. Countries such as Malaysia, which downgraded the status of English in order for its own national language to flourish, now admit to the necessity to “make a very conscious effort to improve proficiency in English throughout the educational



system ... (so as) to be an important global player” (Razak, *Asiaweek*, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1999). Such is the perception of the importance of English that the Prime Minister of Japan in 2000 recommended that Japan seriously consider making English the second language of the country (*Asiaweek*, 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2000). In the Philippines, knowledge of English is necessary for promotion in the army as it is claimed that a great amount of information within the army is disseminated in English. Additionally, the Bank of Philippine Islands will only employ people who know English (*Asiaweek*, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1999).

TESOL is offered in most countries around the world. Its nature and scope varies according to the country and the local conditions under which the institutions are operating. To a large extent, this depends on the status and role of English within the country (Richards, 1985; Judd, 1987; Kaplan, 1987). If English is the official language and is used widely in all formal and informal domains, the likelihood is that TESOL courses of various kinds and differing levels of difficulty are readily available. In countries of the inner circle, such as Australia, there are English courses that cater to the needs of NNEs child migrants in both primary and high schools, adult migrants in the workforce and at home, and international students studying in institutions of higher learning and on holiday. On the other hand, in countries of the expanding circle, where English is a foreign language, the TESOL courses are likely to be more limited in range and focused on helping students to acquire the required skills and language to perform the specific roles served by English. For example, English classes in Japanese, Taiwanese and Korean schools emphasise reading skills. This is because the people living in these countries only need to know English primarily to understand the massive amounts of information that is produced in English. Oral English skills are not deemed as important and tests of proficiency are mainly in the form of translations from English to their own language (Kaplan, 1987).

In countries of the inner circle, a high level of English proficiency is compulsory for people to participate fully in the community and to maximise their opportunities in education and employment. Past and current migration policies have resulted in significant numbers of non-English speaking migrants living in these countries. As their ability to settle in their new country and to be self-supporting members of the society is closely linked to their

ability in English, TESOL instruction is made available to the NNES migrants in all countries of the inner circle. TESOL programs and modes of delivery may vary from country to country. For example, migrant children in Britain have on-the-spot assistance from their TESOL teacher who works alongside the mainstream teachers. In contrast, the USA favours withdrawing migrant children from mainstream classes for special language classes (Clegg, 1996). Although the importance of TESOL is recognised in all these countries and provisions are made for NNES migrants to learn English, most countries of the inner circle report that TESOL provision in their respective countries is insufficient (Britton, Schafer and Watson, 1990).

In addition to TESOL for migrants, the majority of these countries, particularly, the USA, Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, have a fast-expanding commercial TESOL industry that provides English-language tuition to international students. According to statistics produced by Brian McCallen Research, there were 1,237,900 international students who went to one of the above-mentioned countries to study English in the year 1997/98 (Batchelor, 2000). Britain attracted the most number of students. The number that chose to study in England made up more than half of the total number. The USA had the second largest number of students, while Australia came fifth. However, Batchelor (2000) cautions that these statistics may not present an accurate picture as some of the sources did not have comprehensive data. The British market draws most of its students from Europe while students from the Far East favour the North American market. Students who chose to study in Australia come mainly from Japan, Korea and Indonesia (Batchelor, 2000).

In countries of the outer circle, the situation with TESOL is more complex. This is because some of these countries have continued to have English either as the sole or one of the official languages of the country while, others have opted to relegate English to the status of a foreign language. Both Singapore and the Philippines have English as one of the official languages of their country. In Singapore, all students have to learn two languages. English is the language which the majority of the people have chosen as the main medium of instruction in school. The other language chosen is usually the mother tongue of the

students. The level of English achieved by Singaporeans varies, but a very high level of English proficiency is essential for well-paid prestigious positions (Pakir, 1991; Chua, 1990). In the Philippines, early education is in Pilipino, a modified form of Tagalog. However, beyond the early years, English is used as the medium of instruction for science and mathematics (Kaplan, 1987; McKay, 1992). Again, promotion in many jobs here is contingent upon competence in English.

Malaysia, on the other hand, opted to replace English in all official domains with Bahasa Malaysia, a modified form of the Malay language, after its independence from Britain. Bahasa Malaysia replaced English in all important public domains and it became the medium of instruction in schools and the university. Although the Malaysian government claims that English is an important second language (McKay, 1992), the time allocated to the study of English throughout the whole school system is not more than five hours a week. A large number of teachers directed to teach English are not English majors and have never been through an English course (Chitravelu, 1985). Furthermore, a pass in English is no longer compulsory for university entry. An outcome of this deliberate shift in the status of English has been the drop in the standard of English in the country (Richards, 1985; Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984; *The New Straits Times*, 18<sup>th</sup> May, 2001; *The Straits Times*, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 2001). Considering the restricted use of English in the country and the modest hours allowed for English teaching in schools, the status of English in Malaysia is more that of a foreign language than a second language.

The situation of English use in many countries in the expanding circle is very similar to the situation in Malaysia. English is offered as a school subject. The level of English language proficiency achieved by the English-language students in different countries is varied. The community's expectation of the level of proficiency to be achieved by those who study English plays a role in determining the level of language proficiency to be achieved by the learners (Richards, 1985; Strevens, 1987; Batchelor, 2000). According to Strevens (1987), if the public expects the language learners to attain a high level of proficiency in a particular language, the probability of the expectation being met is also high, irrespective of the status of the language. Strevens (1987) cites the example of

Sweden where the people have a high level of English language proficiency. He believes that this is because the community has taken for granted that people who learn English will reach a high level of proficiency. Batchelor (2000) believes that a high level of English language proficiency is expected of the inhabitants in several European countries because English is the prime language of the European Union. As such, school children are introduced to English as early as their primary school years. In addition, English language tuition is offered by the rapidly growing number of private English language institutions in Europe. These institutions provide additional types of English language teaching not catered for in the school curriculum. As far back as 1985, Haycraft (1985) estimated that there were at least 500 private English schools in Paris alone, 50 in Turin and over 300 in Greece in 1985. Considering the greater demand for TESOL today, it is likely that the number of schools has increased rather than decreased.

Batchelor (2000) also reports that in Latin America, English is offered in the school system. However, the quality of teaching is inconsistent and this has resulted in many people travelling overseas to study English. The traditional countries to which most Latin Americans go to study English are Canada and the USA. In Asia, English is in the school curriculum in many countries. In Thailand, it is offered at high school and it is the most popular foreign language. Additionally, English is also taught in private institutions. Consistent with what has been mentioned earlier, the demand for English is great because most Thais believe that competence in English is necessary for securing well-paid jobs (Sukwiwat, 1985). In Japan, English is one of several foreign languages offered for study at junior high school. However, it is the language that is chosen by most principals for their students to learn and English is also one of the subjects required for the university entrance examination. In addition to the school system, there is a large private sector that caters to the demand for English (McKay, 1992). In Indonesia, English is a compulsory secondary school subject and there are several private institutions that run English language courses (Britton, Shafer and Watson, 1990).

Just as the nature and scope of TESOL vary from country to country, so does the variety of English taught. English is not monolithic. Over the years, English in the different

countries has adopted features of the local language(s) in terms of sounds, intonation patterns, word, and expressions. The English in each country has evolved so much that it is common to refer to Englishes rather than English today. In countries of the outer circle, the great majority of TESOL teachers have English as a second language and have only ever been taught English by NNES teachers themselves. It is inevitable that the English taught by NNES TESOL teachers would be those varieties that they themselves speak (Leith, 1983). There is, therefore, a great deal of differences in the English taught in each place, and a great deal of difference in the teachers.

TESOL is provided in different countries in various ways by different types of providers. The providers may be large universities, schools, privately owned language schools, or single-person operations. One way of categorising the different providers for purposes of discussion is to divide them into three categories according to their funding sources (McKay, 1992). These are public institutions, which are mainly funded by the government, privately funded institutions that receive most of their funds from external sources such as large corporations and religious organizations, and private institutions which generate their own funds through fees received from students. The funding source is important as it plays a significant role in shaping the TESOL in the institutions it finances. It is the funding source that makes decisions on matters such as student population, curriculum and staff recruitment.

Public institutions that offer TESOL are mainly primary, secondary and post-secondary schools. TESOL in public institutions tends to be controlled by the government through its Ministry or Department of Education. Although the degree of control exercised by the Ministry/Department varies from country to country (McKay,1992), the Ministry/Department is usually responsible for implementing the language-in-education policies of the country. It ascertains the education level at which English is introduced in school, allocates the number of hours of English instruction, sets the curriculum guidelines and the levels of proficiency to be achieved by students, controls the examinations nationally, and recruits the staff to teach the subject.

Privately funded institutions, according to McKay (1992), can be corporations which may provide funding for English language teaching for their staff. Private funds may also be from religious groups. McKay (1992) observes that if funding is from a corporation, then the student population is likely to be the workers of that corporation and the curriculum may reflect the perceived needs of the workers in the workplace itself. If the funding source is a religious group, the likelihood is that the students will be from that particular faith and the curriculum may contain religious topics. Furthermore, the group may stipulate that the teachers belong to the same faith.

In regard to the private institutions, decisions on student population, curriculum, and qualifications of teachers reside with the owners/or board of directors of the institutions. As these institutions depend on students' tuition fees as their main source of income, many of their decisions are based on what their students want. McKay (1992) observes that these institutions offer the most variety of courses and are more likely to have short-term student-centred goals in their curriculum, unlike the public institutions that may have long-range nation-building goals as their focus. Private institutions are most likely to run tailor-made ESP courses and courses that combine the learning of English with the acquisition of other skills such as deep sea diving and golfing. Examples of such institutions are the English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students' (ELICOS) colleges in Australia, which cater specifically to the international student market.

Not all TESOL providers can fit into the categories that McKay (1992) has developed. For example, the British Council, which is partly funded by the British Government, has an English language teaching arm that exists strictly on a cost-recovery basis (Pennycook, 1994). This arm carries out contract work by teaching staff of certain corporations in addition to the other types of TESOL courses they conduct on their premises. Another example is the Adult Migrant Education Service (AMES), which is funded by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs in Australia. The AMES also carries out TESOL on a cost-recovery basis to the NNES staff in workplaces such as the Water Authority and the Burswood Casino in Perth.

### **Factors affecting the quality of TESOL**

McKay (1992) is of the opinion that the quality of TESOL provision is dependent upon the funding available. In the public sector, how well funded TESOL programs are hinges upon the degree of importance the community places on education in general, and TESOL in particular. If education is deemed to be important, it can expect to get a bigger share of the national budget. Similarly, if the community perceives TESOL to be important, it is likely to receive a bigger portion of the money allocated to education. Adequate funding is likely to result in well-trained teachers, well-equipped classrooms, sufficient teaching materials, and reasonable class sizes. In countries where a generous sum has been allocated to education in the national budget, it is likely that the TESOL programs are well resourced. Where low priority has been given to education in the national budget, however, then it is likely that TESOL in those countries will suffer.

Crandall, Miller, Spohnholz and Wederspahn (1985) carried out a study on English language assessment in Central America. Guatemala, they found, allocated only 1.7 percent of its budget on education at the time of their study. Although English was compulsory for its students from Grades 7 to 11, the instruction was so poor that students completing Grade 11 could not understand more than “What is your name?” and a few isolated English words. This was despite the fact that the students had had over 500 hours of English language instruction. This poor performance could be attributed to the lack of formal teacher training, huge class sizes, an inadequate number of textbooks and other resources. Similarly, Honduras spent 3.5 percent of its national budget on education. Its situation was not much better than that of Guatemala’s. Once again, teachers had little or no training. The best schools were private institutions that only the rich could afford to attend. In contrast, Costa Rica devoted a third of the national budget to education. Crandall *et al.* (1985) found that the students graduating from high school were more proficient in English and that English was spreading quickly.

In privately-funded institutions and private institutions, the funding source also plays a significant role. Lack of funding can result in the employment of untrained teachers and lack of adequate teaching materials such as textbooks, proper classrooms and classroom

furniture. McKay (1992) states that privately-funded and private institutions generally have access to greater resources than the public institutions. Their class sizes are usually smaller and the classrooms are better equipped. For example, well-managed and well-resourced ELICOS centres in Australia have specific spaces devoted to teaching, language laboratories, computer laboratories and up-to-date materials. They also have a ceiling on the number of students allowed in a class. This, however, does not necessarily mean that private institutions are always better. For example, McKay (1992) observed that in Malaysia, private educational institutions suffered from poor image for a long time as they were known to be the places for school dropouts. The teachers were often untrained and unqualified. Facilities were also poor in comparison to what was available in public funded institutions.

Funding available for TESOL in the public sector impacts on the quality of teaching in the private sector. McKay (1992) stated that the lack of public education for all in Saudi Arabia resulted in a high level of illiteracy. Thus, when employers paid for their workers to learn English, the TESOL teachers not only had to teach English but also had to teach basic literacy skills. Crandall *et al.* (1985) reported that in Honduras, rich parents registered their children in private English language schools at birth just to make sure that their children had a place in the school when they were ready to start school. This was because the quality of TESOL provided by the public schools was poor due to the meagre allocation of funds to education.

The size of funding, though important, is not the only factor that affects the quality of TESOL. Another factor that impacts upon the quality of TESOL is the TESOL profession itself. Strevens (1987) conceptualises the TESOL profession as consisting of two parts. The first pertains to the knowledge aspect of the profession:

...those disciplines, in the academic or quasi-academic sense, which contribute to our understanding of the nature of language learning and teaching – i.e. linguistics, psychology, educational theory, social theory, scientific method, principles of educational technology, etc. – and which are “available”, so to speak, in broadly similar ways throughout the world by way of universities, research institutes, and similar centres of intellectual activity (p14)



The second part of Strevens' (1987) conceptualisation refers to the way the people in the TESOL field organise themselves as a professional community. Part of the organisation includes the criteria which TESOL teachers use to admit newcomers into the profession, the qualifications and training required for a person to become a TESOL teacher, the professional development available to the members for continuous improvement, and the ethic of social responsibility by which all must abide. Strevens (1987) asserts that the profession should have a sufficient number of people who are able to lead the profession intellectually by keeping abreast of relevant developments in other disciplines and in other places, and promoting research so that constant improvement is made in the field. In addition, there should also be a system in place whereby all TESOL teacher trainees can receive suitable training and encouragement to become competent instructors, the majority can become competent and caring teachers, and a large enough number can become educators. In this regard, Strevens (1987) believes that there has been a rapid rise in professionalism since the 1970s and this has resulted in a large number of suitably trained TESOL teachers today.

Finally, the quality of TESOL depends on the teachers themselves. Some of the factors that affect the teaching of students include the training the teachers have received, their level of English language proficiency, the teaching approaches used, the methodology available to them and their personality (Strevens, 1987). Haycraft (1985) remarks that some of the foreign students studying in an MA course whom he met at a university in England had such limited English language proficiency that he doubted if they would have been able to pass the Cambridge First Certificate examination which was an upper-intermediate level English language proficiency test. Additionally, the majority of TESOL courses, regardless of where they are offered, do not make provision for language development of the NNES TESOL teachers (Cullen, 1994; Murdoch, 1994; Liu, 1998). Where NES TESOL teachers are concerned, problems related to literacy, which some may have, may also affect the quality of TESOL delivery.

In summary, the quality of TESOL depends on certain key factors. These are the level of funding available, the influence of the profession on the educational scene, and the quality

of the teachers. Funding is important in that it determines the amount of resources available for facilities, the level of expertise of teachers and other language professionals involved in various aspects of language teaching and learning, and the nature of the student population. In regard to the influence of the TESOL profession, it appears that a higher degree of professionalism is displayed in countries where TESOL professional bodies are active in promoting research, providing opportunities for professional development of teachers, organizing conferences and producing professional journals. Finally, the level of training of the teachers impacts on the actual learning of the students. Even when the environment is poor, a well-trained and professional teacher is more likely to exploit whatever teaching opportunities are available to maximise student learning.

## **TESOL in Australia**

### **An historical account of TESOL in Australia**

The multilingual nature of the Australian population is not a recent phenomenon. Along with the 250 or more Aboriginal languages spoken by the various indigenous groups, there were many languages other than English, which were brought in by non-English immigrants during the gold rush in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The main community languages then were Irish Gaelic, Scots Gaelic, Welsh, German, French, Italian, the Scandinavian languages and Chinese (Clyne, 1991a). At different stages of the history of white settlement, different language policies appeared to have been in operation. Clyne (1991b) identifies four periods in which a different language policy was at work. The first period was up to the mid-1870s, which he terms as ‘accepting but laissez-faire’. During this period, the governments of the different states neither encouraged nor discouraged the use of one language over another. There was no law restricting the use of any language in education, the media, or business. Consequently, several bilingual schools (German-English, French-English, or Scottish Gaelic and English) were established.

Clyne (1991b) considers the period between the 1870s and early 1900s to have been ‘tolerant but restrictive’. The Education Acts of the 1870s decreed that English schools be

the norm and a limit was put on the hours of instruction for languages other than English. From 1914 to 1970, the policy of Australia was ‘monolingual and monocultural’. English was to be the sole language and the English culture the only culture. During this period, the attitude of the Australian government towards the language problems of NNES migrants changed from one of not doing anything to one of being actively involved. Martin (1999) reports that approximately 10,000 Austrian, German and other European Jews sought sanctuary from persecution in Australia between 1933 and 1939. The Australian government did not offer these newcomers any language instruction, although the churches provided some limited assistance. However, after World War II, when Australia was undergoing the phase of ‘populate or perish’, a large numbers of immigrants from non-English speaking countries were accepted into the country (Clyne, 1991b). The first groups were displaced persons from war camps in Europe, many of whom were of Slav origin. Successful settlement was gauged by the ability of the migrants to “become New Australians in every sense of the word” (Ozolins, 1993, p 70).

The teaching of English was a crucial aspect of getting the new migrants to assimilate into the society. A comprehensive plan was devised by the Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education to help the newcomers learn English. The immigrants were to be given English language tuition in four stages – pre-departure, on the voyage to Australia, on arrival, and after placement in employment (Martin, 1999). The AMES, funded by the Commonwealth’s Department of Immigration, began teaching English to migrants in December 1947 at the Training and Reception Centre at Bonegilla. A few months later, shipboard English commenced and in 1949, the program to provide pre-departure English started.

TESOL to adult migrants in the late 1940s and 1950s was an uncharted territory. The Direct Method was prescribed as it was deemed the most appropriate method for getting the migrants to learn English quickly. The method dictated that teachers and students were to use only the target language. While the teachers did not criticise the Direct Method, they found that it was impractical to adhere strictly to its principles. Often, the teachers deviated from the tenets of the Direct Method by resorting to translation themselves and allowing

more able students to translate for their fellow students. Teachers were also told to focus on teaching speaking and to use standard Australian English. This created bewilderment amongst the students because the English spoken by Australians outside the classroom was quite different from that which was taught to them in their English classes (Ozolins, 1993).

There were also no ready-made materials suitable for teaching the new migrants English and about life in Australia. The Commonwealth Office of education was given the responsibility of producing instructional materials. The materials produced included *English ... My New Language* for pre-departure students, *English on The Way* for shipboard learning, and *English for Newcomers to Australia* for on-arrival instruction (Martin, 1999).

In 1957, *Situational English* was published. According to Martin (1999), this was an important publication as it heralded a new teaching approach into teaching in the AMES. From the description given by Martin (1999), it appears that the situational approach to teaching was very similar to the audiolingual method of the descriptivists. The focus was on grammatical structure and learning was by rote. However, Martin (1999) claims that the methodology “influenced contemporary views of language acquisition worldwide” (p.129) and was “universally acclaimed” (p.131).

In relation to TESOL for child migrants, there was none provided. The Commonwealth government assumed responsibility over the adults, but left the children’s education to the states. The stand adopted by the states was that assimilation was best achieved by putting the migrant children into existing classes without any preparation (Martin, 1978; Ozolins, 1993). The belief was that children learn English language and culture most effectively through total immersion in school settings where they could interact with the Anglo Australian children.

It follows then that there was a great lack of instructional materials written specifically for migrant children. The teachers were also given very little training to cope with students with little English. Nevertheless, the official view in the 1950s and early 1960s was that the migrant children fitted remarkably well into the Australian school system. In the 1960s,

however, as classes grew in size, the concerns of teachers having to cope with classes with mixed language ability were voiced. At the same time, evidence was emerging that the existing arrangement for the child migrants was responsible for a large number of failures in schools. In consequence, the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) was set up to address the problems faced by migrant children. Among the activities of CMEP was the provision of TESOL. Funds were made available for the hiring and training of teachers for TESOL, the production of suitable teaching materials, and the purchase of capital equipment (Martin, 1978; Collins, 1990).

According to Collins (1988), the success of CMEP was only partial. Only one in every three of those children in need received it. Help was usually given in the form of withdrawal classes where students were taken from their mainstream classes for an hour or two per day to study English. Criticisms laid against the CMEP included the uncritical adoption of certain theoretical assumptions on which language teaching under CMEP was based. The instructional materials, written by the Language Teaching Branch at the Commonwealth Department of Education, were premised on the conceptions of language learning that appeared to be, once again, similar to those underpinning audiolingualism that was popular in America at that time. These were:

- Language is best learnt through habit formation;
- Language learning should be carried out through a development of sequence;
- Making errors in English should and can be avoided through making use of contrastive analysis between the children's first language and English.

Several small studies in the 1970s provided evidence that contradicted these assumptions (Martin, 1978). In regard to teacher training, Martin (1978) reports that it was felt to be too short and superficial. Teachers were given a one-day induction course before commencing work and a four-week in-service course after some months into their job. TESOL teachers were marginal to both the schools and teaching profession and had little prospect for career advancement.

The CMEP, which was originally conceived as a stop-gap measure to clear the backlog of child migrants needing special attention ceased to exist after 1975. Instead, funds for child

migrant education were given to the States to administer as part of the general program for schools. Around this time, the mood of the country had changed with a large number of people – the ethnic communities, politicians, language professionals – pushing for a multicultural policy. Assimilation was replaced by multiculturalism. In 1978, the *Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants*, better known as the Galbally Report, was published. The report identified four principles of which three were pertinent to TESOL in Australia. The first was that all Australians had the right to free and equitable access to all services and programs in Australia. The second was that all the needs of the migrants ought to be met by the programs and services available to the whole community. However, as the lack of English was preventing some migrants from accessing these services, special programs and services were required to ensure that the migrants could enjoy this right. The third principle was that the migrant community ought to be consulted on the design and operations of these services and programs and self-help should be encouraged.

The Galbally Report recommended massive injections of funds into TESOL for both child and adult migrant education. The focus of child migrant education was on English language training that would reduce life-long disadvantage caused by a lack of English competence. Ten million dollars was to be spent over a period of three years. Priority was to be given to getting more teachers with better training and improving the production and distribution of instructional materials. The aim was to lessen the need for withdrawal classes. In the area of adult migrant English, the Galbally Report recommended greater access and wider coverage of English classes. In addition to the existing programs such as the On-Arrival Programs and the Home Tutor Scheme, a new program called the On-Going Program for new and settled migrants was to be introduced (Foster and Stockley, 1984).

After the release of the Galbally Report, a number of important developments took place within the AMES. The first was the development of the Australian Language Proficiency Ratings (ALPR), which later became known as the Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR). The ASLPR was a useful tool as it served as a common reference for government agencies, including the AMES, when dealing with English

language issues. Another important development was the change in focus of the teaching approach used by the AMEP. The Galbally report stressed the importance of consultation with the migrants about their learning needs, hence the teaching approach became learner-focussed rather than teacher-centred. New TESOL methods found their way into the TESOL classroom in adult migrant English classes. They included suggestopedia, total physical response and community language learning (Martin, 1999).

In the 1980s, several activities of significance to the delivery of TESOL to migrants took place. The first was related to the move towards a coherent national language policy. In 1982, the federal parliament appointed the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts to investigate the issue of a national language policy. Two years later, *A National Language Policy for Australia* (ANALPA) was released. The report acknowledged the importance of TESOL. Of interest was the identification of Australia's potential to play a major role in providing TESOL in the Asia-Pacific region (Clyne, 1991b). Another significant point made in ANALPA was the recommendation that all teacher trainees be given training in TESOL and be encouraged to undertake pre-service English skills courses. In 1987, the much-acclaimed *National Policy on Languages* (NPL) was released. The NPL, which was the work of LoBianco, reiterated many of the recommendations of ANALPA. Among them was the point that subject teachers needed to be aware of the language implications of their discipline. TESOL was to be integrated into the teaching of all subjects. Furthermore, it was recommended that English teachers be given a good grounding in applied linguistics, language learning and TESOL methodology in their teacher-training courses (LoBianco, 1987).

The NPL also called attention to the capacity of Australia to provide EFL to Asian, Pacific and Indian Ocean regions as foreign aid and as an economic concern for fee-paying students. In order to do this, the NPL argued for "planned and controlled development of the (TESOL) field in Australia" (LoBianco, 1987, p. 97). This was to be achieved through "the provision of high-quality teacher training and research courses in EFL teaching methodology, the methodology of teaching English for Special Purposes, and the development of appropriate curriculum and resource material." (LoBianco, 1987, p.97). In

addition, it recommended the establishment of key centres for applied English language research and teaching and a standing committee on English and Learning of the Advisory Council on Australian Languages Policy. One function of the committee was “to develop and disseminate national guidelines on language in teacher education for discussion and ultimately for implementation by teacher education authorities” (LoBianco, 1987, p.102).

The NPL endorsed the recommendations made by several other reviews into the provision of TESOL to both child and adult migrants. Two of the reviews endorsed were the *Reviews of the Commonwealth ESL Programs*, which were better known as the Campbell Reports of 1984 and 1985. While the Galbally Report of 1978 focussed on the extending of English language services to more migrants, the Campbell Reports were concerned with the quality of program delivery (Martin, 1999). The Campbell reports found TESOL provision to be inadequate for a number of reasons. First, the existing TESOL methodology was still monolingual in approach and did not seriously take into account the learners’ first language. Next, the TESOL methodology of specialists was also deemed to be inadequate. The reports favoured a greater use of bilingual methodologies (Ozolins, 1993).

In 1991, a new language policy, the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP), was announced. The new policy placed great emphasis on an area that had not been clearly identified until then, that is, literacy (Herriman, 1996). Against a background of economic reforms and industrial restructuring that began in the late 1980s and continued into the early 1990s, the emphasis was on English literacy. However, the ALLP appeared to have blurred the distinction between the literacy needs of NNES migrants and the local NES Australians (Herriman, 1996; Clyne, 1997). Consequently, there were institutions where NNES migrants were put in the same class as the NES Australians requiring literacy instruction. The ALLP also changed the landscape of adult TESOL provision by allowing private English language providers to bid for programs, which had been the monopoly of the AMES and other government providers (Martin, 1999). Additionally, TESOL, which had been provided free of charge, was no longer free for all. Economically well off migrants were to be charged for the service. With the priority of funding given to TESOL programs that prepared unemployed migrants for the workforce, certain other groups of migrants



were disadvantaged. In particular, housebound people such as young mothers and the aged were neglected.

No major language policy has come out since the ALLP. However, all the states now have their own language-in-education policies in which TESOL has the major share of the funding. The role of the Commonwealth is to put in place a set of programs for delivering language education, including TESOL (Herriman, 1996). Where the provision of TESOL to adults is concerned, it is likely that the system of awarding contracts to the most 'efficient' and competitive providers (private as well as public) will continue. The Hilmer Report (Smith, 1995) recommended that the government pursue a policy of national competition so as to promote efficiency and economic growth.

### **The ELICOS industry**

The ELICOS industry is a growing industry. In 2001, it contributed \$710 million to the Australian economy (EA media release, 9<sup>th</sup> October, 2002). In terms of a share in the global market, ELICOS in Australia lags far behind Britain, the USA and Canada. Most of the students studying in ELICOS centres in Australia are from Japan, S. Korea and Indonesia (Batchelor, 2000). However, English Australia (EA), the current name of the ELICOS Association of which the majority of ELICOS colleges are members, is beginning to make some inroads into the European markets. In 2002, 17% of ELICOS enrolments were from Europe while 6% came from South America (EA media release, 9<sup>th</sup> October, 2002). This figure represented almost 20% of the total number of ELICOS students in Australia.

According to an EA information sheet, *Learn English in Australia*, (1999), students choose to study English in Australia because it is a relatively safe place, enjoys low cost of living, asks for low tuition fees, has high quality English tuition and provides students with the opportunity to travel. There are two types of students who come to Australia to study intensive English. The first are those who wish to upgrade their English language skills in order to undertake further study in a post-secondary institution. The second are those who wish to study English for reasons such as travel, career enhancement, business, and

personal interest. Thus, the English courses offered by ELICOS providers are many and varied. They include EAP, general English, ESP (e.g., English for Pilots, Business English), examination preparation courses (e.g. the Cambridge First Certificate, the International English Language Testing Systems Test, and the Test of English as a Foreign Language), secondary school preparation courses, and study tour programs. As McKay (1992) observes, there is great flexibility among private institutions to respond to changes in market demands.

According to NEAS regulations, ELICOS centres are required to provide 25 hours of English language tuition a week. Furthermore, no class should have more than 18 students. Although there is a demand for English language teaching, the existence of more than 168 ELICOS centres ([www.neasaustralia.com/Pages/accredited\\_institutions.htm](http://www.neasaustralia.com/Pages/accredited_institutions.htm) 6/12/04) throughout Australia means that competition for students is great. Because of the current market demand for short courses and more flexible student enrolment, many courses are designed to last between four to five weeks, with hardly any breaks between the commencement and end of courses. Some centres have rolling enrolments where new students are allowed into class at the beginning of every week and leave at the end of each week. Students may be enrolled for as short as a week.

There are two types of ELICOS providers – those in the public sector such as the centres associated with a university or Technical and Further Education College, and those that are privately owned. No distinction is made between the two types of providers as the public sector providers have to be self-funding operations. The employment of teachers is based on the guidelines provided by NEAS. In regard to salaries, there is the ELICOS award rate. However, providers are not obliged to adopt the award. For example, some ELICOS centres attached to universities choose to follow the university award for academic staff. Employment contracts may only be for the duration of a four-week term. Renewal of contract is conditional upon the effectiveness of the person as a teacher. However, teacher effectiveness does not necessarily depend on the ability of the teacher to instruct. It could also be judged by her/his ability to please the students.

### **The ELICOS colleges**

According to Bundesen (1990), the history of ELICOS as an industry can be traced to the early 1960s. It began as a service to help overseas students on Australian government scholarships to improve their English so that they could undertake mainstream university study. The courses were intensive, as indicated by the 'I' in ELICOS, the acronym for English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students. In the early days, only a few centres were involved with intensive English language courses and they were nearly all attached to a tertiary institution (Bundesen, 1990).

In the late 1970s, a change in government policy on tertiary education vis-à-vis overseas students led to an extension of the role of the ELICOS centres. Prior to this time, overseas students were not charged any tuition fees to study in an Australian university. From 1980 onwards, however, overseas students were required to pay a portion of their tuition fees if they were able to get a quota place in a formal institution of learning. Many overseas students attempted to get such places by coming to Australia to undertake an English course first. The ELICOS centres were permitted to take full fee-paying students who were allowed to enter Australia on 'single' and 'preliminary' English visas. This was the ELICOS industry's first major foray into the commercial world of English language teaching. (Bundesen,1990).

Up until 1985, there were only ten colleges in Australia providing intensive English language courses to overseas students (Bundesen, 1990). However, between 1985 and 1987, the number of ELICOS colleges grew to 26. By 1989, there were 91 ELICOS colleges around Australia (Marginson, 1997). This was due largely to the Australian government's decision to charge full-fees for all overseas students as recommended by the Goldring and Jackson Reports. The outcome of this was a dramatic increase in the number of formal and non-formal vocational and professional courses on offer to overseas students. The facilities put in place by the government to help all institutions of learning to market their courses also benefited the ELICOS industry. Additionally, around this time, the USA stopped issuing visas to students from the People's Republic of China (PRC) who applied

to study English. Australia became an alternative. Many Chinese students were granted visas to study in ELICOS centres.

Little was done to ensure that the applications were *bona fide*. This laxness presented a significant number of ‘students’ with the opportunity to use their student visa as a backdoor entry into Australia. Many arrived with no money for even their living expenses. They spent their time working in poorly paid jobs instead of attending class. The result of a lack of proper guidelines in regard to ELICOS students was a high level of absenteeism amongst certain groups of students and also a number of them overstaying. A number of ELICOS centres “helped non-students to obtain student visas and manipulated attendance records to preserve their student status” (Marginson, 1997, p.205). The majority of the ELICOS centres, however, were worried and they sought action from DEET (Department of Employment, Education and Training) and DILGEA (Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs) (Bundesen, 1990).

In 1989, the government tightened regulations for students applying to study English in Australia. The effect on the ELICOS industry was quickly felt. In reaction to the high number of overstays, DILGEA put in place a number of checks which were designed to help them determine the genuineness of the ELICOS applications. These checks, which Bundesen (1990) describes as ‘draconian’, deterred many bona fide students from choosing Australia as their study destination. They included the following conditions:

- Students had to be under the age of 35;
- They had to have had an equivalent of Year 10 education;
- They had to undertake a course that was beneficial to their work.

The number of ELICOS applicants in 1989-1990 period dropped (Asia Pacific Access Pty Ltd, 1991). The situation was exacerbated by the government’s decision to stop all students from the PRC from coming to Australia to study ELICOS. Fees that were paid upfront had to be returned. Eight ELICOS centres around the country were forced to close (Asia Pacific Access Pty Ltd, 1991). This number rose to eleven by October 1992, while 22

institutions were suspended or had their licences cancelled. Students who had paid their fees to these centres were left stranded.

The lack of regulation and control of the industry led to many incidents that harmed the reputation of the industry. First, because of a few centres that were more interested in making money from the Chinese students than providing a service, the whole industry was seen as being party to an immigration scam. Bundesen (1990) observes that the ELICOS industry transformed from being “the flavour of the economic month (to one) not worth knowing” (p.15). Next, the closure of some centres due to poor financial management gave all centres in Australia a bad reputation in Asia. The failure of these colleges was reported in the media in the Far East and South-East Asia, while there were also diplomatic complaints (Marginson, 1997).

It was apparent that tighter controls were needed to ensure that only legitimate students were allowed into the country and that the centres were also *bona fide*. Accreditation of ELICOS centres was the responsibility of DEET but it handed over the task to the states in 1990. The ELICOS industry recognised the potential for confusion and inconsistency if individual states were left to take charge of the registration of ELICOS centres. The idea of having an independent body to regulate the industry was proposed and accepted. Hence, NEAS was created in 1991. It was set up to act as an independent watchdog for the industry (Bundesen, 1991). Its duties included accrediting new institutions and renewing the accreditation of existing institutions. To do this, it was to carry out checks of the various institutions to see if they had complied with the regulations set (EA Information Sheet, 1999).

Other measures were also introduced to ensure that all ELICOS institutions maintain standards of quality. In 1991, the Education Services for Overseas Students Act (ESOS Act) was passed. The Act required the centres to maintain a certain code of conduct, establish mechanisms for students’ pre-paid tuition fees, and the setting up of a trust account for fees. In 1994, the Tuition Assurance Scheme (TAS) was instituted. The scheme guaranteed that students who had paid their tuition fees would be able to complete

their study even if the college at which they were studying was closed. Unlike English language centres in Britain where registration is voluntary, Australian institutions cannot offer ELICOS until they have been accredited by NEAS and placed on the Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students (Batchelor, 2000; *Learn English in Australia*, EA Information Sheet, 1999).

In addition, there is the EA, which is a professional association of which 80% of ELICOS providers were members in 1999 (*ELICOS Association*, EA information sheet, 1999). It has its own Code of Conduct and benchmarks for quality service in all areas of student services. The EA has its own refereed journal, organises annual conferences, commissions industry surveys, and is active in representing its interests to the government. It is active in the overseas promotion of ELICOS courses in general, and its member centres in particular.

### **ELICOS teachers**

To be an ELICOS teacher, a person has to meet the requirements set by NEAS. NEAS stipulates that only TESOL teachers be employed to teach in ELICOS centres. A TESOL teacher is defined as someone with a recognized pre-service teaching qualification and a TESOL qualification. A recognized pre-service teaching qualification can be a Diploma in Teaching, a Bachelor of Education, a Bachelor's degree and a Diploma in Education, a Bachelor's degree and Postgraduate Diploma in Education Studies (TESOL) or a Bachelor's degree and two-year Teaching Certificate. A TESOL qualification is one where a teacher has undergone TESOL training in which the following form part of the curriculum:

- English language, language learning, TESOL teaching;
- A practical component that includes at least six hours of supervised and assessed teaching;
- 100 hours of training comprising both theory and practice.

A degree holder with no teacher training qualification is also acceptable to NEAS as long as the person has had a minimum of 800 hours of classroom teaching and a TESOL qualification. Furthermore, the degree must be recognised in Australia. NEAS specifies

that a degree or diploma holder without the necessary 800 hours teaching experience or formal teaching qualification may also be employed if the person has written evidence to show that he/she has achieved a higher than normal grade in his/her TESOL training, or has demonstrated outstanding TESOL competence. A centre, however, cannot have more than 20% of such teachers on staff.

In practical terms, the minimum TESOL qualification acceptable to NEAS is the CELTA, which is a qualification awarded by UCLES. A large number of ELICOS teachers possess only the certificate. In addition, there are many teachers who have more than the minimum qualification and have Diplomas, Graduate Diplomas, Master's degrees and doctorates in an area related to TESOL.

In regard to the content of the various TESOL courses available, each institution offering the courses has control over what to teach. There is no agreed corpus of knowledge which all training institutions have to offer their students in order for them to qualify as TESOL teachers. Even UCLES which contracts out its training to various centres around the world and which keeps a firm control over the quality of its teacher training allows the training institutions the latitude to decide on the specific topics on which they wish to focus. Similarly, different universities often design TESOL courses based, amongst other matters, on the perceptions of what the needs of trainees are and their understanding of the skills and knowledge essential for TESOL. Consequently, the SMK of TESOL teachers who graduate from different institutions and universities may differ significantly.

In summary, SMK preparation in TESOL training varies according to the type of course and qualification that the students receive on successful completion. Furthermore, it is dependent upon the institution from which the students receive their training. The nature of the subject matter of TESOL to which the students are exposed differs according to the perceptions of needs of TESOL by the individual training providers and the availability of expertise of each provider.

The ELICOS industry accepts all the above qualifications as adequate preparation for work. More importantly, the qualifications of the teachers appear to have little or no bearing on decision-making by program managers regarding the level of teaching responsibility given to teachers. For example, the degree of supervision of certificate-trained teachers is likely to be similar to that of a diploma-trained teacher. In addition, there is an equal chance for a Master's qualified teacher being assigned to teach an elementary language class as there is for a teacher with a CELTA qualification.

This practice of allocating teaching responsibilities without apparent due consideration being given to the TESOL training received by the teachers raises a number of questions in regard to assumptions made of TESOL, and in particular, of SMK within the ELICOS setting, all of which would merit further deliberation. This is because such practice appears to be at variance with the commonly held assumption that the longer the period of training and learning, the greater the acquisition of knowledge and expertise which, in turn, would translate to greater effectiveness in teaching. Some of the questions this practice raises include:

- Is the subject matter offered in courses beyond the certificate in TESOL superfluous to TESOL in the ELICOS setting?
- Is SMK an important consideration for effective TESOL within the ELICOS industry?
- Is the nature of TESOL so different from all other subject disciplines that SMK of TESOL teachers is of little consequence to the successful learning of languages?

Alongside such questions, however, there is also the question of what TESOL teachers' perspectives on SMK are. In other words, there is a need for 'emic'-type studies as well as 'etic'-type. The study proposed here is of the 'emic'-type. It is an interpretive study aimed at developing theory about TESOL teachers' perspectives on SMK necessary for planning and teaching.



## **Conclusion**

This chapter aimed to place the current study within the wider context of TESOL provision first, from an historical perspective, and second, from the point of where it is situated within the TESOL scene in the world today. The chapter was divided into three parts. The first part was concerned with the historical developments of TESOL beginning with the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The second part dealt with the TESOL scenario in the world today while the third part concentrated on TESOL in Australia and especially the ELICOS industry. Concerning the ELICOS industry, a broad overview of the industry was first given. This was followed by a short history of the ELICOS colleges. Finally, the qualifications acceptable for teaching in the ELICOS sector were described in brief. A literature review of works pertinent to this study will now be presented in the next chapter.