Travellers’ Tales

Travellers' Tales:
The Expatriate English Language Teacher in the New Global Culture

By

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I also dedicate this book to my wife Myriam and to my daughters Jessica and Emily. Their support, patience and understanding throughout have been crucial in helping me bring it to completion.

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FOREWORD

Most of the research into ELT has focused on its linguistic and methodological aspects, which are based on Western scientific traditions. The contributions and experiences of English language teachers themselves, especially their work in overseas contexts, have usually been overlooked. Native-speaking English teachers teach a world language that contributes daily to the process of globalisation, and I therefore argue their work has important social and cultural ramifications. This book describes a quasi-ethnographic case study undertaken to investigate the lives and work of nine native-speaking English language teachers who have lived and worked outside their countries of origin for extended periods. The study aimed to document the complexity of ELT as "work" in new global economic and cultural conditions, and to explore how this complexity is realised in the everyday experiences of ELT teachers. The narratives of their experience provide rich information on issues of culture, globalisation, and the multi-positioned nature of ELT.

To understand the current experience of teaching English in non-native-speaking contexts, I begin by exploring the development of ELT from the colonial experience to its current status as a global commodity, referencing the work of Robert Phillipson and Alastair Pennycook, as these researchers in particular have commented extensively on the political and ideological implications of ELT, and have argued the need for a wider, more critical approach to the teaching and learning of English as a non-native language. In order to more closely define the work of ELT, I then offer some comparisons with mainstream teaching. Key issues here are the differences in applications of methodology in other cultural contexts, and other cross-cultural issues. Differences in perceptions of career paths are also explored. I then situate ELT in the discourses of globalisation, and describe its contribution to the process. As a framework for the case study analysis, I have applied Appadurai's theorisation of global flows of people, images, ideas, technology and money, or scapes, as a metaphor for the various dimensions of ELT. The narratives constructed from the experiences of the teachers I interviewed reveal much about the personal, pedagogical and cultural dimensions of ELT work in non-Centre countries. It is hoped that this information will be useful to ELT training

programmes, and will contribute to a greater understanding of the intercultural dimensions of ELT for all those who work in it, and in related educational fields.

CHAPTER ONE

GLOBAL NOMADS

1.0 Introduction

> I have lived that moment of the scattering of the people that in other times and other places, in the nations of others, becomes a time of gathering. Gatherings of exiles and émigrés and refugees, gatherings in the ghettoes or cafes of city centres; gathering in the half-life, half-light of foreign tongues, or in the uncanny fluency of another's language; gathering in the signs of approval and acceptance, degrees. Discourses, disciplines; gathering the memories of underdevelopment, of other worlds lived retroactively; gathering the past in a ritual of revival; gathering the present (Homi K. Bhabha, 1990:291).

This book describes an investigation of the lives and work of a small but representative number of teachers of English to speakers of other languages who have spent many years away from their home culture and become distanced from it in ways both professional and personal. Homi Bhaba's quotation above refers to the migrant experience, an experience shared by the expatriate English teacher, but in an extended sense. Many of those working in English Language Teaching (ELT) become "othered", to use Edward Said's (1978) term, not once but several times over their careers, as they take up posts in several different countries. In contrast to migrant guest workers, rather than "gathering memories of underdevelopment", native-speaking English Language teachers come from developed nations, which are part of the "Centre" of global power, rather than the developing "periphery". Today there are emerging Centres outside the native English-speaking areas, but power in these new Centres is to a large extent derived from access to the English language, which facilitates and enables flows of business, resources, technology, and cultural imagery and ideas. These flows are characterised by deep disjuncture (Appadurai, 1990).

1.1 The beginnings of the study

The idea for the study germinated during one week in late 1999, in the course of which I was invited to two émigré social events in Brisbane, Australia. These events caused me to reflect on new dimensions of cultural change and the place of the English language within them. Although British by birth, I migrated to Australia in 1996 after a period of ten years working in the Middle East, South America and South-East Asia. From the outset my professional and social life in Australia had involved contact mostly with non-native speakers of English. It is estimated that around 23% of the current population of Australia was born overseas (Productivity Commission, 2006). As a migrant myself therefore, (and an English language teacher) I found I came frequently into contact with émigré groups from a variety of cultures.

The first event of that week was an invitation to dinner with an Iranian family. The family were Christians who had fled from persecution in Iran, first to Germany, then five years later to Australia under refugee status. Their children had grown up in three countries, spoke German, Farsi and English, and were seemingly at ease in each language and cultural milieu. The whole family had undergone profound changes, geographically, culturally, socially and professionally.

Later in the week we were invited to a Sri Lankan cultural evening at a bowls club in suburban Brisbane. The Sri Lankan family who invited us had also spent an appreciable time away from their country of origin, as economic migrants rather than as refugees. They had left Sri Lanka for Canada, and then come to Australia some years later. Their daughter spoke both Singhalese and English fluently. The evening's entertainment was provided by a group of musicians who played a style of music with a distinct Portuguese influence, which illustrated the hybridised nature of modern Sri Lankan culture.

My own family is mixed culturally. My wife is a Spanish speaker, and our children have been brought up bilingually. I effectively left my home country, the UK, after qualifying as a teacher specialising in English language in 1985. I taught in Saudi Arabia for two years, returned to Britain briefly to marry, then taught in a private bilingual secondary school in my wife's home city of Bogotá, Colombia. I returned to England with a young family after a total of five years overseas. The experience was unsettling, economically and culturally. We soon moved overseas again; I took a contract as a secondary school English teacher in Brunei

Darussalam, the tiny oil-rich sultanate on the north coast of Borneo. We stayed for five years, during which I began a Masters Degree and applied for permanent residence in Australia. By this time I wanted to exchange the expatriate situation for a sense of "belonging" somewhere, but I came to realise that it was not quite so straightforward.

The Iranian family, the Sri Lankan family, and my own family shared a common experience. For political, economic, or professional reasons we were all global nomads, as I have titled this chapter. We, and our children, had experiences of living in two or more cultures, in situations where we had been made aware of our "otherness", constantly negotiating cultural difference. We had all experienced displacement and possibly permanent exile from former certainties (Krupnick, 1994).

Language had played a large part in our cultural hybridisation. Learning new languages can mean advantage and disadvantage, disjuncture and new identities. There may be a loss of "grounding", the sense of language as an identity-fixing element (Bammer, 1994). In the social situations described above, the language of communication was English. We shared the experience that the English language had facilitated our moves across continents and cultures. In my case I had taught it to non-native speakers, and our migrant acquaintances had learned it as a second or third language. In all our homes at least two languages were spoken. Although I was the only adult native English speaker in the social situations described above, I still felt displaced to an extent as a migrant in Australia, even though for obvious historical reasons the cultural distance experienced may not be as great for a migrant from Britain as it may be for people from non-English speaking backgrounds. The feeling of displacement is perhaps shared by most migrants, even if the "migrant sensibility" is in large parts of the world already more the norm than the exception (Bammer, 1994:xv). It is certainly widespread in Australia, and contributes to the sense of a youthful nation forging its identity.

A successful experience of migration is perhaps more possible in a country where change is accepted and encouraged, and newcomers are therefore made to feel they have a stake in the country's future because of national policies aiming at equal opportunity and social cohesion through multiculturalism (Cox, 1987). I have taught in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Brunei where the other extreme applies. Foreigners are tolerated on a temporary basis in those countries, and expressions of multi-culturalism are discouraged or even prohibited. Citizenship is rarely an

option for outsiders. I have also taught in Latin America, which is essentially Western in outlook and closer culturally to Anglophone cultures, but the deteriorating social and political situation in Colombia made it a difficult country to raise a family in. I had come to Australia with the intention of "putting down roots", at least for my children. The experience was mixed. After years of experiencing different cultures, I felt that I no longer "belonged" to any particular place. I no longer identified with once-familiar aspects of my cultural upbringing. Apart from one or two friends of long standing, the people I tended to communicate with regularly were others who had undergone similar experiences: the "global community" of English teachers.

1.2 Working in ELT

ELT today is a very large and still growing field, accommodating many teachers who are just "passing through", as well as a larger number who continue to gain experience and develop professionally. Training courses and markets have developed and expanded, initially in the UK and the USA, but also in the last twenty years or so in other "core" nations, as Braj Kachru (1982) describes native-English-speaking nations. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa are all developing ELT markets. ELT is delivered in most countries around the world, and training is becoming available to both native-speaking (NS) and non-native speaking (NNS) teachers in a growing number of non-Anglophone countries.

My own experience in ELT now spans twenty-five years and six countries: the UK, Spain, Saudi Arabia, Colombia, Brunei and Australia. During that time I have observed that people who become ELT teachers and stay in the field do so for a variety of reasons. These could be described as individual and personal, yet they are also profoundly cultural. For many the motivation is social; many start out with an interest in foreign languages, usually coupled with a desire to travel and experience foreign cultures. For others the teaching of the English language implies a significant political and moral commitment, if not necessarily at the outset. It often becomes so with a developing awareness of the "worldliness" of English.

A typical pattern for many ELT teachers is to gain an initial qualification in their home country, then travel and work overseas as an "experiment", rather than pursue a particular career goal. My own entry into the profession followed a similar route to many in the late seventies, during a growth period of ELT in Britain. I began by tutoring individual

students, holiday visitors who wanted to improve their speaking ability in English. I taught study tour groups of young Swedes, French and Spanish and other classes filled with mostly Libyan and Iranian exiles, groups experiencing displacement and disjuncture.

Many teachers leave ELT early, usually for economic reasons. Despite the increasing global demand for English, pay scales for teachers are relatively low in most countries. In the Centre countries, salaries are significantly lower for classroom ELT teachers when compared to mainstream teachers, and permanent ELT jobs are rare. Those who stay in ELT, as with other areas of education, have limited options for advancement. These options usually involve leaving the classroom. Some become managers and administrators. Others with business acumen may start their own schools. A minority enter the field of materials writing. Most long-term ELT professionals, however, stay in the classroom, and it is significant that most classroom teachers above thirty years old are female in core countries, where teaching English is often casual or part-time. For a male breadwinner, classroom ELT teaching may involve economic struggle. Sometimes difficult choices are made; more lucrative contracts still exist in places such as the Middle East, but employment may involve (usually male) teachers living away from their families, as other "guest workers" do.

There has been debate over whether ELT can be properly called a profession, or if it is better described as an industry. If ELT is considered to be a profession, in the sense that it has evolved its own benchmarks, training programmes, regulatory boards etc., then its structure is not as orderly and transparent as that of other established professions, such as law, medicine, or mainstream teaching (Maley 1992). Courses such as the Post Graduate Certificate in Education, run in the UK by the state principally to qualify teachers to work in the mainstream, have treated ELT as a profession, although a number of TESOL-specific courses have been cut in recent years. The large private sector in ELT, on the other hand, has more of the attributes of an industry. People compete for positions, often casual, in private establishments or they chase overseas contracts. ELT teachers change employers relatively frequently, a practice increasingly common in the Western corporate world also. State education sectors in the West are following suit in this respect. The increasing application of neo-liberal economic modes of governance, management and organisation**,** is resulting in the casualisation of mainstream teaching employment. Even short contract work is heavily competed for, and tenure is becoming harder to secure. There is also increasing pressure to produce

tangible results to satisfy political interests (Mahoney and Hextall, 2000; Spring, 1998). The "performance" of teachers is increasingly being equated with the performance of sales personnel, as I shall explore in Chapter two.

If ELT is a profession, the pressure to obtain higher qualifications to be competitive is not in proportion with real job opportunities and possibilities for advancement within Centre countries. If, on the other hand, ELT is an industry, most teachers rarely benefit from the kind of economic backing provided by, for example, the corporate world. In the business world considerable time and money is invested when sending workers on overseas assignments (Hofstede, 1997). Typically some form of cross-cultural training is offered; the importance of family settlement is recognised, and the conditions and support measures provided by most companies usually reflect this. In ELT this is rarely the case. Some large volunteer organisations offer general, generic overseas preparation to prospective teachers, and some of the subjects in this study report attending some general orientation sessions on the host culture. Generally, however, preparation for overseas work in ELT is either absent, superficial or inconsistent. Paradoxically, from the evidence of the teachers in this study and from my own experience, I would argue that the majority of ELT teachers generally regard their experiences overseas as positive and successful, despite lack of support or preparation. In the corporate world however, despite better salaries, elaborate support systems, and provision of cross-cultural training, many overseas assignments fail (Hofstede, 1997; McNerney, 1996).

This is not to say that working overseas in ELT always goes smoothly. The teachers in the study report many instances of conflict and difficulty while living in other cultures. Such difficulties might be alleviated by some kind of awareness training, but ELT training rarely addresses cross-cultural issues in more than superficial ways. As Phillipson (1992:256) argues, ELT training is "narrowly technical, drawing heavily on linguistics …and only lightly on education, cultural theory, sociology, international relations".

1.2.1 The expatriate ELT experience: cultural identity and change

ELT is perhaps too multi-faceted to display a consistent structure, at least not in the way that mainstream education does. ELT offers unusual opportunities but little security, and no distinguishable career path. People

who experience the expatriate life for significant periods usually gain rich experience; for non-corporate workers however, moving around the globe draws heavily on the economic resources of individuals or families. Mortgages, for example, tend to be taken out later in life, if at all. "Settling down" is an uneasy concept. Expatriate ELT teachers may become flexible, open-minded "global citizens", but they tend to lose any sense of "belonging" anywhere in particular.

From my own experience and from my observations of others I would argue that many of those who stay in ELT and teach outside their own cultures for the long term find satisfaction and personal enrichment both in the experience of travelling and living in other cultures, and in the gaining of a greater depth of skill through varied teaching experience and further study. Contact with students and with other individuals from other cultures is potentially satisfying and enriching, and may result in many opportunities of unpredictable kinds, the opening of unexpected doors. Such encounters are also lessons in awareness of many cultural and social issues, which I will illustrate from my own experience. In London as a trainee teacher, my first teaching practice (TP) was in a specialist language centre for immigrant and refugee children in London, where I began to be more aware of the deeper social, political and economic implications of ELT. Classes included traumatised Vietnamese children, "boat people" who had fled the country with their parents or as orphans. They had missed years of general education, and were also having to cope with learning English. My second TP was in a secondary school in Madrid. Here I learned to be more aware of the need to take into account local background in the teaching of English. On one occasion I tried to present and practice relative clauses in an involving way, by referencing the host culture. I tried to elicit a relative clause by prompting the class with a well-known historical figure, Primo de Rivera, the republican leader from 1926 until the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. The exercise had volatile results. One student stated, "Primo de Rivera was a man who saved Spain". Another proposed: "Primo de Rivera was a dictator who ruined Spain" The Spanish Civil War nearly erupted once more in that classroom. I was warned by another student to avoid politics. I had received an early lesson in cultural sensitivity, and also learned that despite the trappings of modernity, history and tradition were powerful forces in local cultures.

Cultural aspects of the host culture affect the expatriate worker in a variety of ways. The downside of prolonged spells of work overseas for expatriate English teachers is that "home" becomes increasingly distant, psychologically as well as physically. Bhabha (1990) concludes that for

the émigré, there is no final return. The experience of being "othered" often results in some form of fragmentation.

> An erosion of the significance of the countless little rituals, rites and ceremonies which take place in the embodied practices between friends, neighbours and associates…. (and which) help formalise relationships which cement the social bonds between people. It is when we leave that place for some time and return that we seek out habits of home in which our body responds with ease as it falls into comforting, taken-for granted routines- like a dog eager to perform its tricks for a returning master (Featherstone, 1995:95).

For many returning "home" after a long period of absence the rituals may seem comforting but hollow. Old friends have grown in different directions; the culture of one's upbringing is seen in a different, often critical light; for many it is no longer possible to "fit in" in a way formerly taken for granted. So what compensation is there for a lost sense of "home"? A richness of experience, certainly; perhaps also a global network of friends and acquaintances from different cultures, easier to maintain now that technology has made written and spoken communication over distances cheap and often instantaneous. It can be argued that rewards are apparent in the increased understanding many teachers gain of other cultures, and therefore of humanity.

It is also likely that prolonged overseas experience may result in changes to personal identity. Teachers as migrants adopt new attitudes and patterns of behaviour as part of the process of adapting to the cultures they live and work in. They become cultural hybrids. This usually manifests itself superficially at first, in matters such as tastes for types of food, or styles of dress. Then patterns of social interaction are modified, and different ways of perceiving are compared; flexibility of mind develops. This is of course not a new phenomenon. Different cultures have always interacted to produce new forms. The core English-speaking countries in particular have seen mass immigration in recent history, with varying effects on their cultural make-up. A new factor in the equation, however, is that in the 21st century the interconnectedness of the modern world through technology, politics and economics is starting to manifest itself as a type of global culture in which the English language is dominant, and which is in turn being acted upon by individual, localised cultures. English teachers who have lived and worked in several cultures are part of this process. Their identities are modified not only by the interaction between local cultures, but also by the interaction between global and local cultures.

1.3 The purpose and significance of the study

The study is an attempt to tell the story of expatriate ELT teachers and explore the nature of their work. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions: what is the nature of the complexity of ELT as "work" in rapidly changing global economic and cultural conditions, and how this complexity is realised in the everyday experiences of ELT teachers. I attempted to answer these questions through case studies of nine ELT teachers with extensive overseas experience, analysed against Appadurai's (1990) theoretical framework of global flows and disjunctures.

I believe the findings are important because ELT is a type of work that in new times is throwing up many new paradigms. In fact it can be argued that ELT is a crucial part of the engine of globalisation, and as such merits research into the wider cultural experiences of its teachers. Until now most of the research in ELT has focused on linguistics and methodology, which are based on western scientific traditions. The contributions and experiences of teachers in the field have rarely been studied. The study is an attempt to address this gap in the research, and hence provide useful information to both new and experienced ELT workers, and to workers in related fields of education and social science.

I would agree with Phillipson (1992) that ELT has always been primarily method-driven; the picture that emerges from much of the literature is one of language teachers absorbing and applying Eurocentric academic thought to the world's language classrooms. However, as I will show, relationships between theory of method and actual practice are complex. A global culture is evolving, the English language itself is evolving and being appropriated by former colonies and non-colonies for their own purposes (Kachru, 1982), and the teaching of English as a global language is therefore being called upon to accommodate an increasing number of new situations. This study will argue that the multi-positioned nature of English language teachers gives them an important role in this evolution.

Native-speaker English teachers share many traits of social and educational background, but their experiences in other cultures are extremely varied. I have attempted to identify common strands in the experiences English language teachers have. Depending on viewpoint, a number of contrasting metaphors may be applied to their work. Are they missionaries imparting a culture through a language? Are they mercenaries, selling their skills in the mechanics of language to areas they

are most interested in or will profit most by? Are they new bureaucrats, forced into the pursuit of higher qualifications, but working in unstable, changing systems? Or are they education guest workers, tolerated by the host country for their skills, but never fully accepted? They are possibly all these and more. The global market for English is rich and diverse. The demand for English teachers overseas shows no sign of decreasing. The spread of English as an International Language (EIL) has been subject to extensive critical analysis, notably in Philippson's (1992) charges of linguistic imperialism, and in Pennycook's (1994) call for the application of critical pedagogy, both of which will be discussed in Chapter Two. If the cultural and political implications are as important as the linguistic aspects of the teaching of language, then the life experiences of ELT teachers is of great relevance to the discourses of EIL. Boyd-Barrett (1982:193) called for more attention "…to be given to the processes by which individuals and groups interpret, translate and transform their experiences of foreign culture to relate to more familiar experiences." It is argued that overseas teaching experience creates the possibility for certain kinds of change and development, both for teachers and for those they come into contact with. This book investigates both the complex nature of the work of ELT, and how overseas experience shapes ELT teachers culturally and professionally. Teaching English overseas is an extraordinary experience. It shares obvious pedagogical aspects with mainstream teaching, but it differs in that the subject matter is also the mode of communication. It also involves the sensitive area of intercultural communication. Teaching language cannot help but involve culture. What happens to language happens to people. It is therefore time for ELT teachers to go on record.

1.3.1 Organisation of the book

This study is based on case studies of English language teachers, their careers, lives and families, the very "forms of life" that are part of this new kind of work. Over a period of twelve months nine teachers were interviewed, all of whom had extensive overseas experience in more than one country. These case studies raise as many questions as they answer about English language teaching as an educational practice, and about teaching in a multinational framework.

To understand the complexity of ELT today, it is necessary to consider its historical development and the particular nature of teaching work as developed in a Western context. Chapter Two therefore begins with a presentation of the historical and sociological contexts in which ELT is

situated. The history of ELT is discussed and analysed, from its emergence in the Middle Ages to its current global reach. The cultural, linguistic, socio-political and socio-economic implications of ELT are discussed, with specific reference to the work of Robert Phillipson (1992) and Alastair Pennycook (1994). Then the nature of teachers' work is discussed, principally by contrasting mainstream teaching with ELT. Finally the application of Eurocentric teaching methods to different cultural contexts is explored.

Chapter Three analyses the currents of globalisation and cultural theory that the spread of English is inextricably bound up with. An overview of globalisation theories culminates in a discussion of Appadurai's (1990) *scapes*, or new global flows of finance, technology, people, and cultural imagery and ideology. I have applied the scapes as a metaphor for ELT in different contexts, and as a framework for the analysis of the case study data.

Chapter Four briefly describes the methodology I have used, quasi-ethnographic case study. There follows a review of the limited literature related to teachers' "forms of life". Next a description of the evolution of the study is presented, along with subjects and the criteria used for selection.

There are three analysis chapters, organised around Appadurai's (1990) framework of global flows. Chapter Five explores the interplay of the experience of the subjects in the Ethnoscapes, or global flows of people. Chapter Six situates the teachers in the Mediascapes and Ideoscapes, the global flows of media imagery which may also have ideological content. Chapter Seven explores ELT and the Technoscapes and Financescapes, the related flows of finance and technology that drive globalisation. There is frequent overlap and disjuncture in the scapes, and I will show that teachers' experiences parallel these. The findings of the study are summarised in Chapter Eight, and recommendations for further research are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

THE WORK OF ELT FROM THE BLACK DEATH TO THE INTERNET

2.0 Introduction

I have set out to explore the complex nature of ELT work in a globalising world, and show how it affects ELT teachers in expatriate work situations. To this end I have divided the literature review section into two specific areas. This chapter examines the development of ELT and the work of English language teachers, and Chapter Three focuses on globalisation as a framework for ELT. In these two chapters I hope to convey the complexity of situations teachers face as a result of history and contemporary rapid change. For purposes of clarity I set down here the main areas discussed.

- The methods and approaches of ELT have historically been tied up in colonial relations of ruler/ruled;
- The teaching of English to non-native speakers therefore is a matter of language and power, with teachers currently participants in a multinational business enterprise.
- The forces of economic and cultural globalisation have both accelerated these processes, and made them more contradictory and complex.

The first two points are dealt with in this chapter, and the third is the subject of Chapter Three. To begin the discussion of ELT within discourses of power, I will first look at the historical complexities of English and how it is reflected in the development of ELT. Aspects of these complexities include the development of varieties of language and of teaching methods, ELT specialisations, and the mixed attitudes that non-native speakers (NNS) have towards English. The relevance of this discussion lies in the reality that the work of ELT teachers is a result of inheriting the set of conditions described. Next the historical development of ELT is discussed from a critical perspective, from the establishment of

the British Council, through the expansion of American influence, to consolidation, and power in English in the post-colonial sphere, and the post-colonial spread of English. Following this is a discussion of the critiques of ELT, with specific reference to the work of Robert Phillipson (1992) and Alastair Pennycook (1994).

The second part of the chapter aims to define the kind of work ELT is, through a wider discussion of issues in teaching. The influence of economic rationalism on mainstream teaching is used as a basis for comparison with ELT work. Pedagogical and other differences are then considered, which will lead to an exploration of the application of western-based pedagogy to other cultural contexts. A number of examples will be given from various teachers' and researchers' experiences in China, Pakistan, Indonesia, Kenya and Thailand, with the aim of more narrowly defining ELT work in non-Centre contexts.

2.1 The linguistic, social and professional complexities of ELT

Native-speaking English teachers who work overseas today are interacting with other cultures in a world that is changing rapidly and unpredictably. The experience of living in such changing cultures is likely to change the outlook of teachers and create complex experiences. Linguistic and cultural transformation through cultural interchange is, of course, not a new phenomenon. Historically, transformation and hybridisation have been features of the English language, its role in the world, and the issues around teaching it. Language is a unique human faculty, and naturally speakers and teachers are part of an evolutionary process, which I will analyse at linguistic, social and professional levels.

Modern English is the result of contact between two languages, Old English and Norman French, a Germanic tongue and a Latin one respectively (Crystal 1988; 1995; Bragg, 2003). The teaching of modern English also has its origins in complex European social and religious movements; the first ELT practitioners of importance were bilingual immigrants to Britain (Howatt, 1984). ELT today is a complex and varied field, with features of both a profession and an industry. It is driven by both Western academic tradition and by market forces. Conflict has occurred in all these aspects of its development, resulting in paradigms that both overlap and differ from mainstream educational considerations. I will now present more detail on the complexity of the development of the

English language, and the forces which have contributed to the establishment of a teaching discipline for it.

Modern English emerged from a bilingual society. Contact with French, the language of Norman overlords since 1066, hybridised Old English and moulded it over 300 years into a form more or less recognisable to us today. It survived and grew despite the role of Norman French in government and administration, and the Church. French was for a long time the language needed for social advancement. In the late 14th century John of Trevisa blamed the Black Death of 1356 for the breaking up of traditional linguistic patterns, complaining that English children "knew no more French than their left heel" (in Howatt, 1984:3). The establishment of Middle English as a literary language by Chaucer and his contemporaries coincided with the Renaissance in Europe, a period which was marked by the questioning of established (or archaic) values. England was essentially monolingual by the beginning of the fifteenth century, but by the late sixteenth century it was still a minority tongue in Europe, "worth nothing past Dover," according to John Florio (1578).

The first large-scale demand for ELT was created by a large influx of Protestant Huguenot refugees from France and the Low countries. Religious persecution in these countries, together with immigration for other reasons, caused the number of aliens registered in England to rise to 360,000 between 1570 and Armada year (1588). This number accounted for around 10% of the population at that time (Howatt, 1984:13). Two important early figures in ELT, Jacques Bellot and Claudius Holyband, were refugees themselves. Bellot devoted himself to the educational needs of the immigrant French community in London in the 1580s. Holyband, the leading professional language teacher of his day, wrote textbooks which reflect the everyday life of the period, and employed a bilingual method of teaching, in particular the technique of "double translation", i.e. translating into French, then back into English with the aim of approximating the original. In fact, as Howatt (1984:60) points out, native-speaking authors of course books for ELT were "virtually unknown in England until the 19th century and Henry Sweet". A different situation prevails today where native-speaking authors virtually control the market.

It is interesting that the bilingual approach was established early as a methodology. It is still commonly used in modern languages teaching today, in contrast to established ELT practice. ELT training today favours

a monolingual approach, but there are circumstances in which this may not be effective, as Auerbach points out:

> There is increasing evidence that L1 and/or bilingual options are not only effective but necessary for adult ESL students with limited L1 and schooling backgrounds (Auerbach, 1993:29).

16th century native speaking educators reacted against the growing influence of these foreign-born bilingual teachers, perhaps motivated by feelings that control over the instruction of English should come from the Centre, as personified in the native-born speaker. In 1593 John Eliot wrote *Ortho-epia Gallica*, a mock French tutor, which satirises works such as John Florio's *First Fruits,* (1578), an English teaching textbook. At the end of his text Eliot rails against foreign teachers:

> Beasts and serpents who have poisoned England with the works of Machiavelli and other devilish writers, railing that they should be banished from England like the plague! (Eliot 1593, in Howatt, 1984:28)

Today non-native speaking teachers still have to struggle for issues such as credibility and different textual identities. The native speaker is an idealised being, but the question of which version is ideal is politically loaded. The US and the UK continue to hold power over the concept, creating inequality via an unofficial bar. Canagarajah (1999a) highlights the absurdity of an educational system that prepares one for a profession for which it disqualifies the person at the same time. He gives as an example the case of a Korean student training for a Master of Arts degree in TESOL in the United States. The student was unable to get a job at home or in the US because of the "native speaker bar." Some language professionals from the Centre have recognised the important role of non-native teachers in non-Centre contexts. Strevens (in Phillipson 1992) comments that local educated teachers are the ideal teachers of English in non-English speaking countries of the periphery. He argues that they are more aware of the cultural and educational traditions of their own communities (Strevens, interviewed by Phillipson 1992). They can also teach English through their first language.

It is also important to recognise the role of the non-native instructor in the early development of ELT. Non-native speakers have themselves learned English as a second language, so it is logical that they are sensitive to the issues in teaching it. The first ELT teachers fulfilled a social need when teaching their own immigrant community. The Huguenot community brought foreign influences into England, and was gradually

assimilated into the culture. A similar situation occurred nearly three centuries later, when the growing threat of Fascism brought large numbers of refugees to Britain in the 1930s. Once again an urgent need for English language instruction was created, but by this time the Centre of teaching in Britain was already established by native educators.

2.1.1 ELT as a complex field: profession or industry?

From the early 19th century onwards, the teaching of English effectively split into two areas; the first was concerned with the expansion of empire and educational policy development within it, and the second was the response of language teaching methodology to educational and social change in Europe. In Europe ELT was influenced by both academic and commercial factors. In the UK, foreign language teaching was gradually integrated into a modernised secondary school curriculum. At the same time, a market for utilitarian language learning began to appear, related to practical needs and interests such as travel or business. These last points reflect the divergence of state and private sectors, a characteristic feature of ELT today. In the mid 19th century more frequent commercial and social contact between European and other nations created a need for practical courses and textbooks. Schools and universities in Britain largely ignored this phenomenon, but in the United States this was a time of mass immigration, and there was a large demand for practical English instruction, to help new citizens assimilate. The entrepreneur Maximillian Berlitz (1852-1921) fulfilled this need by creating a network of schools for other languages as well as English, using a tightly controlled direct teaching method. He opened his first language school in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1878. By 1914 his organisation was at its peak with 200 schools, including 63 in Germany and 27 in Britain. For (generally young) North American and British teachers, these schools offered an opportunity to explore Europe and themselves with some economic support. The UK linguist Harold Palmer was a Berlitz teacher. So was war poet Wilfred Owen, who was working at the school in Bordeaux just before The First World War broke out. Letters home reveal that he was overworked and underpaid, but enjoying himself immensely, an experience many young modern-day English Language Teachers might identify with (Howatt, 1984: 205-6).

With organisations such as Berlitz, ELT began to take on the characteristics of an industry, in particular a service industry supplying the English language as a commodity, as White (1987:221) explicitly states. In the 20th century this developed in parallel with its “professional” side.

Those working in a "profession" are usually perceived as having specialised knowledge after long and intensive academic preparation. However, in ELT the relationship between academic research and practice may be tenuous. Strevens (in Phillipson 1992) is sceptical of the real extent to which linguistic research influences the method of delivery of ELT.

> I don't know a single country in the world which bases its English teaching policy on the results of research…it is a matter of administrative and political convenience. (Strevens, interviewed in Phillipson 1992: 238).

The existence today of a large and growing private ELT sector blurs industry/profession distinctions. In the private sector, administrators are generally required to have at least a certain amount of business training, but not necessarily an ELT background. The private sector is also served by teachers who, although usually university graduates, do not have any formal educational qualifications, as recognised by the state sector. A wide range of intensive training courses are commercially available, through which candidates can "learn" to teach English in as little as four weeks. The fact that candidates pay out of their own pockets to gain a qualification that is recognized by the private sector contributes to the "industry" view of ELT.

The commercial value of language teaching, demonstrated earlier by Berlitz, has increased and spread into other areas such as publishing and software. There are large markets not only for instruction and training, but also for materials, examinations, and methodologies. Viewed as a service industry, even two decades ago ELT ranked as the sixth largest in the UK, behind finance, tourism, shipping, civil aviation and telecommunications (McCallen, 1989). Even the British Council now has a competitive agenda. The terminology ELT uses today, as in many educational fields, is becoming mercantile: "clients", "transactions", "exchange", and "tokens". This re-emphasis raises the question of whether not only private language schools but also language units within the apparatus of state education are set up primarily to further learning and communication or simply to ensure adequate profit margin.

2.1.2 The complexity of ELT specialisations

Evidence that English was becoming a necessary tool in a wider variety of disciplines was demonstrated in the emergence of English for Special Purposes (ESP). Whereas English had previously decided its own destiny,

it now became subject to the "wishes, needs and demands of people other than language teachers" (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987:7). One of the earliest examples of ESP was Mackin and Weinberger's (1949) course for Spanish doctors and medical students, *El ingles para Medicos y Estudiantes de Medicina*. Other courses followed, in specialised English for Business, and English for Science and Technology (EST), and English for Academic Purposes (EAP).

Hutchinson and Waters cite two key periods in the development of ESP. First, the end of the Second World War brought with it an "age of enormous and unprecedented expansion in scientific, technical and economic activity on an international scale for various reasons, most notably the economic power of the United States in the post-war world….the role (of international language) fell to English" (Hutchinson and Waters, 1986:6). Second, the oil crisis of the early 1970s resulted in Western money and knowledge flowing into the oil-rich countries. Again, English had a major role in the provision of knowledge and technical know-how.

Specialised English for Business and for University preparation courses are a large part of the ELT market today. As with other areas of education, it has combined with the technology market since the 1960s. Audio-visual technology was pioneered in France by the *Centre de Recherche et d'Etude pour la Diffusion du Francais*, (CREDIF), a research centre at the *Ėcole Normale Superieure de St.Cloud*, near Paris. Radio and TV broadcasts, audiocassettes and language laboratories have become auxiliaries to language learning. Technical apparatus has become a prerequisite for any serious ELT establishment. In recent years a new technology-based branch of ELT has arisen with CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning), and the possibilities of ELT disseminated over the Internet are only beginning to be explored.

In this section I have shown what kind of work ELT has become as a result of complex historical processes, which have been linked to the rise of European technical superiority. I have also addressed historical issues affecting what kind of people work in it. ELT in the UK originated in the need to address the assimilation of foreign victims of persecution, and was primarily the province of bilingual members of the refugee community. This scenario has been echoed throughout history in mass immigration to the USA and further immigration from European refugees in World War Two. It may have strengthened the idea of teaching English as a kind of evangelising mission, a form of aid to the poor and persecuted. As ELT