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ABSTRACT
                 Proceedings of a seminar on the developmental
justification for British investment in English language teaching
(ELT) as part of its overseas technical assistance program are
presented in the form of papers presented, summaries of
presentations, and case studies. The keynote address, "The Economic
Benefits of English Language Teaching" (Roger Iredale) is presented
in its entirety. Topics of the sessions summarized include: a study
evaluating the effects of ELT programs; the role of communication
skills projects in economic development; socioeconomic aspects of ELT
for development; perceptions of the social and economic impact of ELT
in development; and linguistic imperialism. Case studies are for
Yemen, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Uganda, Peru, Malaysia, Cameroon, and Sri
Lanka. Appended materials include results of a survey of ELT teachers
and teacher-trainers; a summary of four case studies relating to the
session on perceptions of program impact; and a seminar schedule and
list of participants. (MSE)

Dunford Seminar Report 1991

The social and economic impact of ELT in development

The British Council

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The Dunford House Seminar

This is an annual residential seminar run by the English Language Division of the British Council. It focuses on ODA-funded ELT projects and serves as a forum for the exchange of ideas and experience through the participation of ELT professionals involved in various areas of project delivery. These include British Council career officers, British Council contract, ODA-funded, English Language Teaching Officers (ELTOs), UK Higher Education ELT specialists and representatives from private sector institutions. The seminar functions as a think-tank on the design, implementation and evaluation of ELT projects. The report is distributed to a wide readership in the profession in the UK and throughout the developing world.

Previous seminar topics

1978   ESP course design

1979   ELT course design

1980   Communicative methodology

1981   Design, evaluation and testing in English language projects

1982   Teacher training and the curriculum

1983   Design and implementation of teacher-training programmes

1984   Curriculum and syllabus design in ELT

1985   Communication skills training in bilateral aid projects

1986   Appropriate methodology

1987   ELT and development: the place of English language teaching in aid programmes

1988   ELT in development aid: defining aims and measuring results

1989   Managing ELT aid projects for sustainability

1990   Training for sustainability of ELT aid projects

Acknowledgements

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Overview

The social and economic impact of ELT in development

The 1991 Dunford House Seminar attempted to investigate the developmental justification for investing in English language teaching (ELT). Discerning the economic benefits of ELT is not a straightforward task particularly in view of the fact that there is little available in the way of hard data. Anecdotal evidence exists but there has unfortunately been little if any rigorous research into the role played by ELT in social and economic development. In order to promote debate in this challenging area, English Language Division (ELD) of the British Council commissioned the London School of Economics (LSE) to research the developmental effects of ELT. A summary of the study is to be found on page 11. The conclusions arrived at point out the need for further research and data collection in order to be able to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of ELT aid.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of using English as a medium of instruction at school and/or higher education level? Another question to add is "what are the economic and developmental costs of using English as a medium when resources are insufficient to allow for it to be used effectively as a medium of instruction or study?".

The paper by Dr Desmond Nuttall, Director of the Centre for Educational Research, LSE investigates the educational effects of investing in ELT and considers the use of indicators in evaluation. As he rightly points out the first requirement is to specify objectives with greater precision and this will facilitate the design or selection of appropriate indicators of achievement. It is likely that general education indicators will have to be taken into consideration as well as those which are specific to ELT. More research is required and research capability in developing country educational institutions needs to be upgraded.

Research into the vital role of communication skills in development would be particularly valuable. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that it is difficult to determine with confidence the developmental impact of education projects in ELT. There exists a problem, I believe, in basic project design. It seems to me that project frameworks written for ELT seldom capture adequately the wider context in which the project operates. There is a noticeable tendency to concentrate on the immediate objectives which are more accessible to the ELT profession and are more easily monitored by project managers. The question of wider objectives is one that I consider is central to project design because it is here that the wider developmental objectives can be spelled out and means of evaluating them identified.

The developmental benefits of investing in ELT are discussed in the papers given by Dr Roger Iredale, Chief Education Adviser of the ODA. In his wide ranging paper many key issues are raised. The question "what is the economic cost to a country of deciding to adopt English as a medium when English is not the mother tongue?" is asked together with the related question "is there an economic cost in deciding not to do so when multilateral and bilateral projects suffer from inefficiencies in transfer of skills from adviser or specialist to host country trainee through inadequate availability of language skills particularly in English where it serves as a medium of international communication?". This is one reason why communication skills projects are so important and it is my guess that in the future, when targeting of scarce resources to education and ELT is considered, ESP/communication skills capacity building will be considered a priority for donor assistance. The article by Maggie Jo St John explores some of the key issues in the implementation of such projects which necessarily have implications for other stages in the project cycle.

The importance of these concerns is apparent to all who work in donor financed ELT. Is language a cross cutting issue? Is access to a language of international communication a means of development or dependency? What are the gender implications of investing in ELT and how does such assistance affect the poor, minorities or rural communities? There is still much to be discussed. This Seminar must be considered the first step on a long but fascinating journey. One that will necessitate the ELT professional taking a wider view of the world and acquiring a broader range of skills in the area of education and development.

Further information can be obtained from Director, ELD, The British Council.

David J Clarke
Course Director

Keynote speech

The economic benefits of English language teaching

Roger Iredale, Overseas Development Administration

I am glad that the conference organizers have chosen a theme that bears on the question of the value of English language teaching since it reflects the broader issue of the economic return which various kinds and levels of education can deliver. Among economists, educational planners and donor agencies there is now a broad consensus that education represents an important and major investment in any country's development - a theme which in Britain is reflected currently in statements by both the Government and the Opposition as well as by many professional, industrial and educational bodies with an interest in improving Britain's productive capacity. A recent paper from the Royal Society, "Beyond the GCSE", emphasizes the importance of investment in education and the high return which this investment will bring in terms of productivity, as do scores of other current books, speeches and papers.

As we all know, substantial amounts of time and research have been dedicated by the World Bank and many other organizations to an assessment of the relative economic value of supporting education at various levels, both in terms of individuals and societies at large. The current fashionable view is that investment at the primary level produces a higher rate of social return - that is, return to society - than investment at higher levels.

But we have to be careful of this kind of assertion for two reasons: firstly, because it is easy to be led into believing that because investment across the board at primary level produces higher economic returns, resources should be concentrated at that level to the detriment of the secondary and tertiary levels (which is patently an absurd proposition); secondly, because the means by which economists measure rates of return are not always particularly comprehensive or therefore representative of reality. On the first point, it is clear that the World Bank are already developing compensatory interests in education at the tertiary level as if to counterbalance the unequivocal thrust into primary education.

The standard method of measuring the social return that results from educational provision is to look at the salary achieved by people with differing levels of education; the problem with this kind of analysis is that subsequent labour market developments may devalue or put a premium on certain levels of education and lead to measurements that were not necessarily appropriate or applicable at the time at which the investment was made and the education took place; in addition, the measurement of social value by income is an inaccurate method of examining the value of the education of, for example, women who have married and ceased employment. For an economist, the value of any particular level of education to a woman who is child rearing is probably rated at zero, while in effect we know that it is of inestimable value in shaping her attitudes to her children's education which consequently will have a substantial impact on the length of time that they are likely to remain at school. Furthermore, this all ignores the importance of providing education for its own sake so that women can act as important role models for their peers and for younger women.

What nobody has before asked, as far as I know, is the question: "What is the economic value of English language teaching?". In a sense, and on an entirely rule-of-thumb basis, education advisers and geo-graphical desk officers at the ODA have asked the question many times over in the past, since they have had to make difficult and important choices between educational projects and other forms of investment. You, as largely field practitioners of education, arrive after a project has been selected for funding, after all the appraisal has taken place, and after the geographical department in the ODA has made the crucial and important decision to fund this particular project rather than one in rural health or the development of cooperatives, or some other important grassroots initiative.

Yet in order to make the decision to fund a project in education, that kind of comparison has to be made, whether consciously or unconsciously. In other words, people *have* been assigning an economic value to ELT for many years now, though not in a very systematic way. They have to compare the economic justification for an educational project with that of many alternative areas of possible investment, and try to weigh up the likely return.

You will notice that this is my first reference to ELT as such, rather than to the word *education* with which I have so far been concerned. The reason for this is that while I recognize that ELT is a discipline with certain unique features, it is, from an educationist's point of view, no different from any other aspect of education in general. The ODA supports educational projects in developing countries, and increasingly supports them where they are combined with initiatives in other disciplines such as health or population education. ELT is simply a sub-set of education, albeit a distinctive one and one in which Britain has rather more to offer than most donors. We see ELT as merely one element within the development of an educational initiative rather than something in isolation. Increasingly, we see projects that aim to develop a range of key subjects and techniques within school and college classrooms across a range of subjects, especially mathematics, science and technology. Our largest projects focus specifically on *levels* of education, such as the Andra Pradesh Primary Education Project or the Jordan Secondary Education Project. In Jamaica, we pursue our aims through the provision of books to secondary school classrooms, again without any particular or specific subject emphasis; the same was true of the important Sierra Leone Textbook Project of the mid-1980s.

This is the direction in which we were moving in the early 1980s when we abolished the KELT scheme as a functionally funded part of the aid programme. Many of us were at that time not happy that ELT occupied a

separate and earmarked place of the aid programme; by integrating the funding of ELT into the funding of all other technical cooperation programmes, we ensured that it was subjected to the same scrutiny for priorities as all other aid, and we were able to ensure that, by competing for the same funds, it became increasingly an integral part of wider projects, and took place only where it genuinely represented a priority use of scarce funds.

Even more recently, by getting rid of the former Aid Administration Grant which the ODA paid to the British Council, we have abolished the system by which the *administrative* costs of running ELT were kept separate from the rest of the aid programme thus bringing the administrative cost of ELT into line with the ways in which we pay the Council to undertake other activities on our behalf. As you will know, educational projects will increasingly be subjected to competitive tendering so that others as well as the Council may be able to offer to manage educational (and particularly ELT) projects on our behalf. This removes from the ELT element in educational aid that "special" element that set it apart and safeguarded it from the process of being ranked alongside other possible projects for allocation of available funds. This will mean that it will be ever more important to be able to justify educational projects with an ELT element in them in terms of their economic productivity. In aid terms the teaching of English is simply not an end in itself.

So what *are* the economic benefits of English language teaching, in so far as we can separate them from the economic benefits of education in general? The answer to this conundrum presents us with exactly the same problem as would the question, "what is the economic value of mathematics teaching or of history teaching?" The answer is accordingly not an easy one to establish. There is certainly a general view within the ODA and outside of it that there is a higher economic benefit to be ascribed to mathematics teaching than to history teaching, but only in the very restricted sense that most industrial societies at present lack mathematicians while they are not particularly short of competent historians. Hence, there is a temporary and slightly artificial premium on the economic return from mathematics or science teaching which arises from a supply and demand situation. Nobody would deny that historians are in an absolute sense just as important to society as are mathematicians - and in the current Eastern Europe probably even more so! But the point to make is that ascribing a specific economic value to the teaching of a particular subject is not going to be easy.

Nevertheless, the question has to be asked. I lived in Algeria between 1970 and 1972 when President Boumeddienne constantly reminded the Algerian people of their economic dependence upon France and French commercial contacts. He believed that Algeria needed to diversify its international contacts in order to break away from the commercial stranglehold of French companies and commercial links; he established an ambitious and aggressive ELT programme which bore fruit within a decade in the form of a generation of school children who became quickly quite competent in our

language and were ready to work in English both politically and commercially in international fora. While nobody could have measured the economic benefit of this policy, it was clearly advantageous to Algeria, just as the learning of English among science students as far apart as China and Latin America will have important benefits for those whose studies go to a sufficiently high level to require them to cope with textbooks and research papers written in English. The question, as far as I know is unanswered if we ask "but *how* advantageous?" How far has this skill enabled Algeria to diversify its industrial investment programmes? Has it broken out of the constraints of "la Francophonie" in ways that have benefited its people?

This raises the interesting question "who exactly should be taught English and at what specific levels within the school system?" There are presumably optimum levels for, say, the introduction of English as a medium of instruction, and the question inevitably arises as to how decision-makers decide at what level to introduce it. But behind this question is a much greater one: what is the economic cost to a country of deciding to adopt English as a medium of instruction in the first place? Because such decisions are political rather than administrative or economic decisions, we tend to ignore them or take them as given. When Sri Lanka and Tanzania in the early 1980s decided that they would switch increasingly to indigenous languages as the media for instruction and communication, the decision was a political rather than an economic one. Nevertheless, it must have had economic consequences. I am confident that children learning in their mother tongue, whether Singhalese or Swahili, did so far more efficiently than they do when they are attempting the same exercise in a foreign language which they have only recently begun to acquire possibly at the hands of teachers who are not particularly well trained or accomplished practitioners in ELT.

At the lower levels of education, where the indigenous language can be adapted to the efficient teaching of mathematics or science, there must be substantial educational benefits for pupils and teachers in acquiring difficult skills in a medium with which they are all comfortable. Hence, perhaps the first question which should be asked is, "what is the economic cost to a country of deciding to adopt English as a medium when English is not the mother tongue?" and, "is there an economic cost in deciding not to do so in favour of retaining the indigenous language?".

The most striking current example is Namibia, where the majority of the population speak an indigenous mother tongue and a *lingua franca* which is Afrikaans. The Government's decision to convert to English as the medium of instruction is an entirely logical one in political and international terms - who could possibly justify using Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and communication in a newly liberated country? - but as a political decision it must carry very substantial cost implications. These costs will be both economic and personal, and it is difficult to measure which is the greater. A more logical approach, setting aside the all-important political considerations, might have been to adopt Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for all

but those studying at the highest levels of education, ie at university postgraduate levels, since Afrikaans is perfectly well adapted to the teaching and learning of all subjects on the curriculum from arts through to sciences.

But as I said earlier, this is politically inconceivable and unacceptable, and the country therefore has to face the inevitable economic cost of its decision. The question of the economic benefit to a Namibian of teaching him or her English and through English is therefore a secondary question that is only relevant once you have considered the first.

I hope, therefore, that in your conference you will consider the economic benefits of teaching English within the much broader contexts of the economic benefits of education generally and the cost to non-ELT countries of adopting English as a medium. I hope you will consider very carefully the levels at which it is appropriate for English to be introduced as a subject, as a medium, and taught as a means by which people can acquire other skills. It will therefore be relevant to ask questions about the separate economic value of teaching English to science students at university level, to public administrators at senior management levels, to primary school children who are expected to continue their secondary education in English, and to people who wish to visit an English-speaking country such as Britain for further training. You may also like to consider how, after a project is complete, you can measure the effectiveness of the project in even the narrowest terms of how much better people teach and learn English.

This last question touches upon my own policy review of training, which I am currently undertaking for ODA's Permanent Secretary, Tim Lankester. In considering the allocation of aid money to the training of key people for important future jobs, we have to keep constantly in mind the question whether it is better to train them in-country or to bring them to Britain. To take the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project, for example, it is clearly necessary to bring the most senior staff to the University of London Institute of Education for their three-month courses, and to enable them to look at some of the best practice within British primary education. But we have similarly taken a conscious decision to undertake training further down the cascade within India and in the local language. Similarly, we need to consider very carefully whether it is really necessary to bring somebody to Britain for training, especially when this involves spending a relatively long time on teaching them a foreign language to a level that will enable them to understand quite sophisticated and complex ideas, when it might be better to provide them with the same basic training within their own country, if possible.

In many cases, we do regard it as worthwhile, and on the Sino British Friendship Scholarship Scheme the Chinese side of the consortium provides six or more months of training to very senior academic staff in order to enable them to visit Britain, simply because it is considered essential that people at that level should have direct experience of British university research techniques and contact with senior British academics. But there must be many other levels of training where one has to ask whether it is really essential, or whether it would be better to find a means by which training can be provided either in-country or in a neighbouring country, making considerable cost savings on otherwise expensive EAP training.

I think the burden of my introductory speech has been that as practitioners of ELT you do not operate in isolation; you are part of a much greater effort involving complex decisions about relative priorities and about alternative ways of tackling problems. As I have shown, you work frequently within the context of political rather than economic decisions, but this simply means that the ensuing decision-making process has to be even more precise and analytical if it is to lead to the efficient use of resources. And perhaps this is the appropriate place to end: on the concept of resources. The World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien last year pointed out the enormous shortfall of the resources needed to improve primary education qualitatively and quantitatively to a satisfactory level in developing countries. At this moment governments are wrestling with the massive problems of resource allocation in contexts where there is less and less money to spend on more and more priorities. This really does mean that every penny counts, that there can be no room for luxuries, and that educational decisions reflect a conscious analysis of what is absolutely necessary rather than simply what is desirable.

As senior practitioners of education many of you will be called upon to advise ministers and permanent secretaries on their strategies. I hope that this conference will help you to align your thinking with that of the planners who have to carry through the findings of the Jomtien conference, and that it will help you to clarify in your own minds the difference between what is necessary, or simply desirable. By all means give the best that you can professionally, but temper it with a continuing consciousness of the balance between what is necessary and essential, and desirable but perhaps a little extravagant.

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Evaluating the effects of ELT

Desmond L Nuttall, London School of Economics

Background

The British Council and the Overseas Development Administration invest very substantial sums of money in supporting English language teaching. They do not do this simply as an act of charity or simply for cultural reasons; they do it in the belief that ELT investment will contribute to economic and human development, for example, by giving university students access to technical literature, and possibly to make it more likely that countries will wish to trade with the UK, or send its students to the UK, rather than, say, to France. Of course, the UK is by no means the only English-language speaking country in the world, so others like the USA, Canada and Australia might benefit from the aid efforts of the UK (and vice versa).

The British Council asked the London School of Economics to prepare a report into the relationship between ELT aid and educational, social and economic development. This report was also to propose a model/framework for analyzing the relationship between ELT and development, identifying key indicators and potential means of evaluation. The report was also to summarize its findings in relation to a justification for ELT aid. The chain of links between young people studying English in the classroom and later economic and human development that can be uniquely and unequivocally attributed to those English lessons is fragile. To demonstrate that ELT investment "pays off" one has to eliminate other possible reasons for a country's economic and human development. The aim of the present study was to explore that issue in more detail, to establish whether or not the issue would be amenable to more elaborate research.

In the first part of the study an analysis was carried out of the wider objectives of ODA-funded British Council ELT projects, the indicators of achievement and the proposed methods of evaluation, from project descriptions in the standard form. Some wider objectives pointed to the broader aims of ELT as mentioned above, and can be termed "strategic". For example

- to raise the level of proficiency in English so that English can be more effectively used as a tool of national development in the fields of agriculture, technology, tourism and health

- to improve the level of skill in English language of those who have left school and need English for further training or employment, including future teachers of English language

There are many other objectives noted down, often as the principal objectives. These fall into three broad categories. The first category addresses staff development and INSET for English language teachers. For example

- to improve the competence of English teachers at school and university level, of teacher trainers, and

of secondary school students

- to increase the number of English lecturers in PRESET and INSET

Objectives of this type might be described as the *tactics* for achieving the highest, strategic, objectives. These are often underpinned by objectives concerned with the manner in which the tactical objectives can be given *support*. For example

- to train the trainers providing INSET

- to enable English teachers in the region to provide a professional ELT facility for adults

- to revise English language examination systems

These objectives in their turn are often underpinned by objectives concerning the creation of *material*. For example

- to devise materials for teaching and learning

- to develop distance teaching materials

- to assist in the design, writing, editing and production of a four-year ELT textbook for secondary schools

Finally, there is a small category of objectives concerning research and monitoring

Many projects have two or three such objectives, often spanning the range illustrated above. Beside the objectives, indicators of achievement are proposed by which the success of the project in meeting its aims will be judged. These indicators of achievement, or targets, are usually written in far more specific terms than the objectives. For example

- by June 1988 the first cohort of 45 students have a sufficient level of competence in English to begin their postgraduate studies in Britain with not more than two months' pre-sessional English

The attainment of this target is much more easily measured than the achievement of the strategic objectives mentioned above. Is it identical, however? The answer must surely be that it is not. While it may be a *necessary* condition for benefiting from further study and, by implication, human development, it is most unlikely to be a sufficient condition. It is at this point, then, that we begin to notice the fragility of the chain linking ELT investment with human, economic and social development

The example of an indicator of achievement quoted above is, however, unusual in its specificity. It is much more common to see indicators in the following type of form

- more effective functioning in English by Angolan cadres who need English to work

- negotiation and communication (when they take place) are conducted without language being a constraint

• better classroom performance by teachers and children

What is really meant by some of these indicators can be gleaned from a study of the evaluation instruments designed to investigate whether or not the target has been reached.

These include examination and test results, classroom observation, surveys (e.g. of former students), the number of and the attendance at workshops and courses, reports from project leaders, feedback from students, monitoring visits and reports from British Council officers or from visiting ELT consultants. All these can make valuable contributions to the evaluation of attainment of targets, provided, of course, that they are validly and reliably conducted (which is not always easily achieved for, say, classroom observation). It would be useful to see reports of such evaluations to check how dispassionately the evidence from different sources has been weighed up. This is not to suggest that evaluations must be objective, but that they attempt to minimize subjectivity and recognize its existence.

It must be concluded that, by and large, the attainment of strategic objectives is *not* evaluated, but only the objectives at the level of tactics, support, materials and research. How might such an evaluation be carried out? Indicators could be specified, but in many cases the evidence would have to be collected several years later to establish fairly whether those who studied English had indeed benefited at work, in science and technology and in other ways (e.g. in education). It is a still further step to examine the effectiveness of ELT as "a tool of national development", or as "the language of manpower development in education, training and the market place".

If it is effective, one would expect to see a correlation between ELT aid and social and economic development. Social development is multi-faceted, and appropriate indicators would have to be developed.[1] Economic development is more regularly measured; appropriate indicators are available, and later parts of this paper address their use. It must be stressed, however, that, while the absence of any correlation between ELT aid investment and economic development would suggest no link between them, a positive correlation does *not* prove that they are causally linked, only that they are associated, perhaps as a result of a third factor or another source of educational aid. Alternative hypotheses about the factors that might have contributed to economic development have to be tested, and the effects of yet other factors (for example, ELT aid from other countries) have to be eliminated (which is often possible using appropriate statistical techniques).

Evaluation using indicators

Partly as a result of calls for accountability, the regular publication of indicators (such as examination

results) by institution, LEA and nation is being required throughout the developed world and increasingly in the less developed world. Unesco is on the point of publishing World Education Indicators assembled from their database and is calling for indicator development work to measure progress towards the achievement of the goals agreed at Jomtien.

The international body making the pace is, however, the OECD which has been working on the issue for over three years. It did not want to rely solely on statistics, because these tended to be entirely about inputs to the system or enrolments in it, saying little about the quality of the process or its outcomes. The OECD proceeded to develop a framework to describe national education systems and to consider, initially within the period of compulsory education, what indicators should be developed. The three figures that appear at the end of this paper show, first, within a classification of "Background", "Processes" and "Outcomes", the broad areas of education that the OECD International Education Indicators (INES) Project consider should be covered.[2] The second figure shows more specific indicator topics, while the third figure (in a slightly different graphical presentation) shows the actual indicator topics that the Project will be presenting at the end of its second phase. This reveals many gaps, especially in the field of expectations, opinions and attitudes. The three indicators shown under "Learning and Other Results" will not, however, show any data since the Project feels that the studies measuring attainment in different countries, using the same test in each country (translated as necessary) do not meet the standards of quality established by the Project. Measuring student attainment is notoriously difficult; objective tests and written examinations can measure only a limited set of skills, often the least important ones. The development of new, more realistic, assessment tasks is being pursued in all the Anglophone OECD nations but, as everyone has discovered, at considerable expense both in cash terms and in teachers' time. Nevertheless, without some direct measure of student achievement, the indicator system will be significantly less useful to the policy-maker (be that at the national or the school level).

One important point to note is that the proposed indicator system is regarded as a *framework* rather than a *model*. This is because the term "model" usually implies causal connections between variables and this notion was not sustainable in the context of existing research findings and understandings of the education process. The links between some pairs of variables are well-established, but causal links within the framework as a whole are not adequately established. The use of the indicator system must therefore be cautious, and the system should be regarded like the dashboard of a car: providing useful information to the driver, but not a working model of the vehicle.

A framework of this kind is likely to be necessary if we are to look for a way of assessing the strategic

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[1] There is much work in this area. For example, see Social Measurement and Social Indicators, by M Carley (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981).

[2] See full LSE study a copy of which is available on request from Director ELD, The British Council.

objectives of most ELT projects. Background and process indicators (which would include ELT investment) would have to be specified, to allow the chain of links between ELT investment and the broader outcomes to be traced. It would require substantial time and effort to devise such a framework that would be accepted as valid.

The narrower objectives lend themselves more readily to evaluation, and the enhancement of the capability to speak, write and understand English can be looked at over a shorter time span. This should not, however, be regarded as straightforward, and relying on tests or examinations is unlikely to be adequate (for the reasons discussed above). More explicit and narrower objectives are necessary for valid assessments

Samples from Australia (Pathways of Language Development, ACER, 1990) and from the National Curriculum in England and Wales illustrate this

Australia

* adjusts concepts to integrate new learning
* uses a range of language forms
* shows sensitivity to style and tone

England and Wales (level 4 writing - typical 11-year-old)

* produce pieces of writing in which there is a rudimentary attempt to present simple subject matter in a structured way, e.g. by means of a title and paragraphs or verses; in which sentence punctuation (capital letters, full stops, question marks and exclamation marks) is generally accurately used; and in which there is some evidence of an ability to set out and punctuate any direct speech in a way that makes meaning clear to the reader

* write stories which have an opening, a setting, characters, a series of events and a resolution; produce other kinds of chronologically organized writing, such as instructions and accounts

* organize non-chronological writing in orderly ways

* show some competence in the structures of written Standard English and begin to use some sentence structures different from those which are characteristic of speech, e.g. a wider range of subordinate clauses, expanded noun phrases etc

* attempt independent redrafting and revision of their own writing and talk about changes they have made

Although these statements about language use are quite specific, more work has to be done if we are to determine whether or not a student has displayed acquisition of, and competence in, the behaviour described in each objective, by designing appropriate methods of measurement. The methods do not have to be by way of a written test; the judgement could be made by observation of classroom behaviour, or of written or oral work done in the normal course of classroom life, by the teacher; if however, we are aggregating

information from a number of classrooms, the different teachers all have to be trained to use the same criteria and standards for judgement. Similarly, inspectors and consultants would need to be trained so that they applied comparable standards.

In practice, it is more appropriate to look at change over time rather than at a static position (indeed, the OECD expects to publish indicators each year so that comparisons over time become possible in addition to comparisons between countries). Relationships between the amount of ELT aid invested and the improvements in national development, with other factors held constant, (e.g. discovery of natural resources), could be investigated, similar studies could be carried out for narrower objectives, like the increase in the number of students going to study at the tertiary level in English-speaking countries (and therefore deemed competent in English).

The first requirement is greater precision in specifying objectives, which will lead to greater clarity in designing appropriate indicators of achievement, and ways of assessing them. After this is achieved, what is needed is the creation of a model or framework of indicators that shows the link between ELT and desired outcomes in the context of other factors that may have also contributed to the desired outcomes. Alongside the indicators there need to be definitions of how these indicators are to be measured or assessed. To achieve these proposals will inevitably require time and resources.

Executive summary of LSE study

1   Arguments which suggest that, in the aided country, ELT aid is fungible, freeing up domestic funds (that would otherwise have gone to ELT) for investment in less aidworthy projects, and therefore should be cut, appear very dubious, both on theoretical and empirical grounds.

    In particular, there is very little evidence to suggest, on either theoretical or empirical grounds, that private returns to tertiary education, and by extension, to ELT are significantly higher than social returns, nor that returns to education are significantly higher than returns to the economy at large. It is therefore possible to conclude that educational aid is needed.

2   Evidence from Africa suggests that the use of English as a medium of instruction allows for the cheaper delivery of education.

    Using UN data, a case study is presented comparing educational attainment in fifty African countries, distinguished on the basis of whether English is used as a medium of instruction or not. It was found that when wealth (GDP per capita) and commitment to education (per capita expenditure on education as a proportion of GNP) is taken into account, the use of English as a medium of instruction emerges as a significant factor in determining educational attainment. Countries that use English as a medium of instruction were likely to have a higher degree of educational attainment

than those that did not. This would indicate that, given the resources at their disposal, delivery of education in countries that use English as a medium of instruction was more efficient than those that did not.

3   While the results in 2 above demonstrate the usefulness of ELT, they do not in themselves demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of ELT aid. Further research will be required to develop models and acquire data which can be used to assess cost-effectiveness in this area.

Conclusions and proposals for further research

This study has reinforced the difficulty of demonstrating any causal link between ELT investment and educational, human, social and economic development because of the mass of other variables potentially involved in contributing to development and the time taken for the improved EL capability to feed through to development. Indeed, it is also not easy to demonstrate a causal link between ELT provision and improved educational standards where one might expect a closer connection and a shorter causal link.

Council projects are required to specify their aims and objectives, together with the proposed success criteria (or indicators) and means of measuring them. The analysis of these shows that, although broad aims are often stated (linking ELT aid to development) indicators are almost always tied to shorter-term objectives, and that the indicators and evaluation methods are specified in very general terms.

It is difficult to see how ELT aid could fail to achieve its shorter-term objectives and yet contribute to development, but it is necessary to examine this statement carefully to see if other mechanisms of contributing to development might be present. If not, one can view the attainment of these objectives as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for contributing to development.

The second part of the study examines the much broader issue of the empirical relationship between education and development and the justification for aid. It demonstrates that there is very little evidence to suggest that private returns to tertiary education, and by extension to ELT, are significantly higher than social returns, nor that returns to education are significantly higher than returns to the economy at large. These findings imply that the less developed countries, by and large, could not readily afford to pay more for their education systems or support their own ELT programmes.

It also demonstrated that, in Africa, the educational attainment (as defined by the UNDP) in English-using countries is significantly higher than in non-English-using countries for a given financial commitment to education. This suggests that using English is an economic and an educational asset, but does not demonstrate a causal relationship. It might be, for example, that legacies of British rule other than using English, such as the continued use of a

British educational system, could be the cause (or part of the cause).

Together, the studies have not taken the topic of the relationship between ELT provision and development much further, though encouragement may be taken from the relationship between educational attainment and use of English in African countries. To make progress, further modelling at the micro-level and the macro-level is needed.

More specifically, the framework used by the OECD International Education Indicators Project should be expanded (and possibly adjusted) to encompass a wider range of outcomes including impact on development and to introduce ELT expenditure and ELT aid as inputs. This could lead to a regular monitoring of key indicators (most of which are already available through the UNDP and Unesco), the time series would provide more power by allowing the study of the relationship between changes in output and changes in input.

At the micro-level, more attention should be given to the careful specification of project objectives and indicators, as well as the means to measure them, and to examining the extent to which the objectives are achieved. These exercises might also assist in the refinement of the concept of educational development.

Finally, further research should be undertaken into the more detailed issues put forward in the second part of the study. For example, the rates of return to ELT provision and aid at different levels of the education system should be examined, as should the rates of return for males and females separately.

It is important to determine the investment of other English-speaking countries in ELT aid, and the division of these contributions in each less developed country. This division could then be related to the numbers of students from the less developed country studying in each of the donor countries, or to the proportions of LDC's foreign trade going to each of the donor countries. Other analyses of ELT and trade could establish whether there were more trade opportunities for English-speaking than for non-English-speaking countries in Africa.

These diverse examples suggest that a first stage of further work should be to develop a conceptual framework of the possible effects of the different kinds of development and the links between them, and macro-indicators of the type described above that would detect these effects, together with other possible explanations (such as the "free rider" effect of gaining from another country's investment in ELT aid), some of which might be eliminated or held constant in the analyses. This framework could be linked to the educational framework referred to above, the notion of educational development being the linking concept, which should therefore be clarified and expanded. This is a substantial programme of work. It might serve to improve the focus and quality of ELT aid, and maximize its beneficial effects, but it is over-optimistic to hope that it will be capable of providing an unambiguous estimate of the impact of ELT on educational, social and economic development.

15

Communication skills projects

Maggie Jo St John, Freelance ESP Communication Skills Consultant/David Clarke, British Council

Introduction

In this section David Clarke and Maggie Jo St John approached the issue of communication skills projects from two different perspectives. David has been a Desk Officer in ELD for the past three years and has therefore been much involved in the frameworking of project documents. Maggie Jo is a freelance ESP/Communication Skills Consultant who is involved with helping local personnel to implement project aims. The first part addresses the issue of the wider objectives of projects and the socio-economic aspects of these. In the second part issues are raised which seem to have major influences on the implementation and impact of such projects.

Wider objectives

Communication skills are an aspect of human resource development that have not received sufficient attention in the literature of development. Such skills are important in the native language use, but in a foreign or second language which is used as the means of transmission of knowledge and practical skills failure to develop them may act as a serious impediment to the successful uptake of training. There is a wealth of anecdotal evidence to suggest that failure to develop adequate communication skills in English which is arguably the foremost language of development and international co-operation can have a deleterious effect on the efficiency and effectiveness of projects in almost all sectors. Research is needed to ascertain the degree of the problem but it seems clear from available knowledge that communication skills development in English is a valuable means of assisting social and economic development.

Communication skills or ESP projects funded by the donor agencies appear to be on the increase. The areas for involvement are numerous: agriculture, forestry, medicine, tourism, science and technology, business and commerce, international relations and diplomacy, and shipping are some that are encountered with frequency.

In projects addressing communication skills there is typically a recipient institution that receives technical assistance in order to build up its capacity to deliver courses to develop such skills in its students. Aspects of this capacity strengthening will be incorporated in the immediate objectives of the project framework. Such objectives may include the training of staff, the development of teaching and learning materials and the establishment of means of testing students and evaluating the success of the teaching programme. What often appears to be insufficiently well considered are the wider objectives. And this unfortunately means the relative neglect of the developmental justification and impact of the project.

It is likely that the wider objectives of communication skills projects in essence are broadly similar in nature. They will typically seek to improve manpower skills, possibly in a number of key sectors in the economy. This is not particularly problematic to state. What is more difficult is the evaluative aspects of the objective. How can the improvement of manpower skills be charted and assessed? What statistics are available and how reliable are they? What is the economic value of English language communication skills? This argues for a much closer relationship between the educational institution and the business community as well as the state sector so that needs can be properly met. This will require greater research and data gathering capacity than such institutions currently possess. Typically they are, to use a military metaphor, "fire and forget" in their operation. Once students have graduated they are no longer the particular concern of the institution. This may now be an unaffordable luxury in both developed and developing countries. What is required, I believe is the closer conceptualization and greater linking between immediate and wider objectives together with enhanced funding for research and external evaluation of the impact of communication skills developed. This should result in better-designed projects and improved delivery of communication skills in English on a sustainable basis.

Key issues in the implementation of communication skills projects

There are certain features typically associated with communication skills work and projects that should be borne in mind throughout

* they are likely to be based in institutions of higher education where students are older and staff have at least a masters degree

* staff are likely to have experience of research and are expected to produce research publications

* communication may be vital to all our activities but will often be seen as either unnecessary as a formal subject or of less importance and relevance than other subjects

In this discussion three related issues will be touched on, not because there are only three, but because of time. These three issues are

* format of external personnel involvement
* sources of teaching material
* the role of evaluation

Influential variables

The above represent one issue from each of the three categories of variables considered to be operating within an organisation. The variables to which I refer are those illustrated in Figure 1.
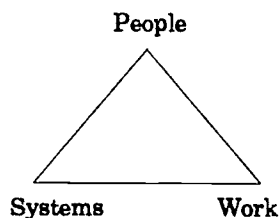
```
                People
                  /\
                 /  \
                /    \
               /      \
              /_____\
        Systems        Work
```

Figure 1

It is important to recognize the dynamic interaction which exists between these categories. Action taken under any one will affect not only that category but also both the others and, in fact, the choice of action is likely to have been influenced by consideration of the other two.

Also of importance is to recognize that these variables are contextualized, i.e. they are operating within and interacting with an environment. Like Kennedy (1988) my environment extends beyond the institutional context.

For a Language Centre the immediate environment is indeed the institution but I would see layers of environment. Thus for the institution there is the potential of a regional and certainly a national environment (see Figure 2)
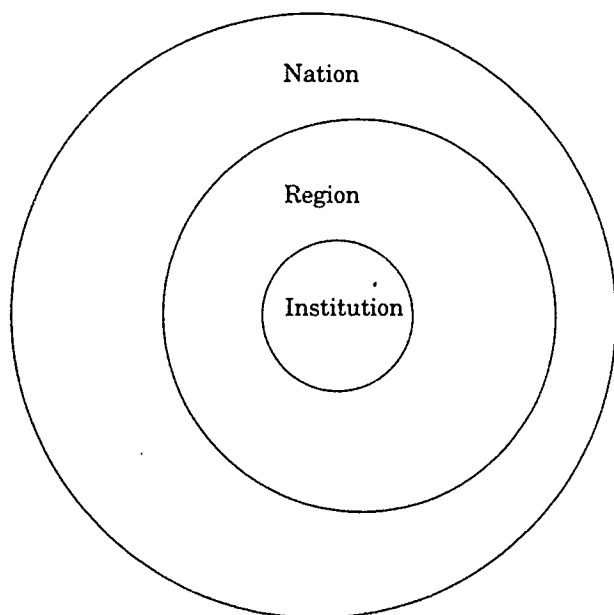
Within the environment the determinants which seem particularly apposite for our attention are: culture, language and politics.

```
    Culture              Politics
        \                /
         \              /
          _____/
           \          /
            \        /
             \      /
              \    /
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                \/
             Language
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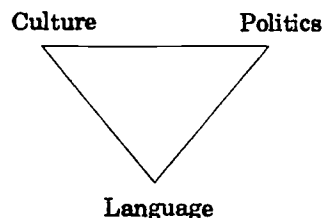
Figure 3

These are key factors that will, or again should, affect the choices and decisions relating to the people, the work and the systems.

Politics is to do with who has power, status and authority and how these are wielded, influenced and obtained.

Within **language** two aspects seem of particular interest: one is the role of English in the wider community, as a natural language or an official language or the language of an educated elite etc. The second is the position of L1 and L2 teachers of English.

Culture is the set of values, norms and beliefs which affect how groups and individuals perceive and act. A project (Lee & Field 1985) must fit the existing culture (unless it is a project whose specific objective is to change the culture). If it does not then it will fail either at the outset or wither away. We cannot expect to graft together unrelated species.

So at the implementation stage, we have variables concerning people, work and systems operating dynamically with each other and the wider environment, which includes language, politics and culture. (See Figure 4)

```
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    |   |  |Institu-|  |   |
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    \   \  +-------+  /   /
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Figure 2

```
Culture                          Politics
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 Systems_____/_____/Work
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              Language
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Figure 4

16   17

Factors affecting change

Communication skills projects as much as more concrete ones introducing new technology, building power stations, dams, etc. involve change and innovation. Factors relating to change are thus important. In general change is met by inertia and resistance; successful change processes are those which can minimize resistance effectively. Change has been quite extensively studied within industrial and management contexts. We have been discussing during the seminar the different perceptions that stak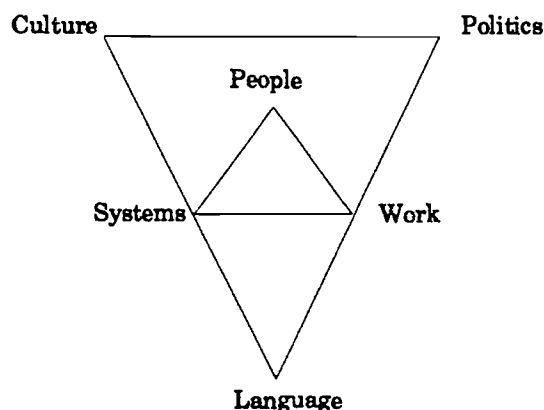eholders in a project may have. I too am at times a stakeholder and am therefore applying particular perspectives. One of the perspectives which has become fundamental for me is that of seeing my work as integrally concerned with the management of change. Of the factors that research has shown to be influential in reducing resistance to change there are six which I have found valuable as an ESP/Communication Skills Consultant. These are

1   degree of ownership
2   perceived benefit
3   participation/involvement
4   understanding
5   innovation champion
6   support from the top

Having outlined some factors which I believe are crucial to our consideration of project choices let me me exemplify the impact of some of them.

Format of external personnel development

One of the major resource provisions within a project is human, i.e. personnel and their expertise and knowledge. There are a number of formats which can be adopted, e.g.

full-time personnel only   full-time + consultants

part-time   consultants/links only
(+ consultants)

full-time means present for the duration of the formal project time

part-time means present for an extended length(s) of time

consultants means those providing short, intensive periods of input

Links means a formal arrangement between two (or more) institutions involving exchanges on both sides (i.e. a two-way process)

Typically we seem to be seeing a shift from full-time personnel only to other formats. It has been recognized that outsiders can play valuable roles; they can operate outside some of the constraints, they can add the weight of shared opinions and approaches, provide impetus and extend the available expertise. We may well be expected to be superpersons fulfilling the roles of managers, teachers, course designers,

materials writers, testers, evaluators, facilitators and counsellors and so it can be a relief to have support and an outside view and even devolve part of the responsibility.

In considering the suitability of these formats in given situations the resistance to change factors listed above are relevant.

By degree of ownership is meant the degree to which those on the ground feel the project belongs to them and that they are making decisions and influencing its direction. This can be easier to establish if there is no full-time external presence: a problem faced by full-time personnel is "how to withdraw". Similarly participation and involvement may have to increase if there is no outsider to whom matters can be left. However, in the absence of full-time personnel it is also possible that understanding will be lower or rather take longer to reach a particular level. The format of the human resource input is not likely to affect the benefits to participation in any particular direction. However, the chances of the emergence of a real local innovation champion (the person(s) who takes risks, pushes for change, encourages others etc.) can be higher if there is no perception of an existing champion. With a full-time presence it is often perceived that that role is already filled.

Sources of teaching material

Inevitably communication skills projects are concerned with teaching materials and three scenarios, or some combination of them, present themselves. The use of existing, published material; adaptation of such material; the development of in-house material. (There was hope a good many years ago of a scheme for collecting the mass of material that is developed around the world through projects but which is never available in published format. Such a system might have enabled us to adapt project or published material rather than continually "re-develop" but that valuable fourth scenario is missing.)

Within the crucial work variable we have a dichotomy between the concepts of local ownership, involvement and participation and potential immediate demands. Thus, often materials are written largely by outsiders in order that something is available at the end of the project.

This is in part a product of the life span of projects as they have been perceived in the past. My visualization of projects, as they take place on the ground, is often of a rectangular box, viz

with a defined start and finish and a period of extreme intensity in between. Projects occur in contexts and within sets of systems that are already in existence

and the visualization I would prefer to see is of a project's beginning and ending as a blending process, e.g.

We should be concerned with establishing processes that both yield a product and are on-going, i.e. with establishing dynamic versus static situations. I think we need a language and a visualization in which what I will now refer to as the formal project stage is only one phase. That phase would in itself also often be more extensive and less intensive, i.e. instead of three-year intensive projects I believe that the processes of change are such that we should be looking at five, seven, ten and more years of involvement but often on a less intensive basis.

This would reduce the pressure to "produce a product" Factors affecting resistance to, and thus the success or otherwise of change tell us that we want courses and materials that have been designed by those on the ground, not by outsiders. This is because of the ownership, participation and involvement, and increased understanding that results. In addition the perceived benefit is much greater if the materials belong to, or are the work of those on the ground rather than outsiders, particularly if publication results, as this raises profile and status. We can only expect good materials to be developed locally during a three year project when the base level of participants is high, and this is rarely the case.

The project format must allow for the acquisition and internalization of new knowledge and processes and then the application of this. These are extensive versus intensive processes, a factor which seems to be ignored or placed too low on the list of crucial determining factors.

Evaluation

Evaluation may have become an integral part of project frameworks but there are a number of aspects that need further thought.

1 The project document details performance indicators but these documents are not distributed to all those on the ground who will actually do the work that provides the results and the data. If we are serious about evaluation, both as an ongoing developmental influence and as a summative assessment then the performance indicators should be made known to all those who are involved in the process of change. Both so that attempts to systematically collect appropriate data can be made and because, if people know what is expected of them they are more likely to reach that point.

2 Communicating the performance indicators is only a first step, what of the indicators themselves? The majority comparison, e.g. "better", "more" etc. and

yet the initial collection of baseline data and its dissemination are not integrally built in to the project start up. The very words "better" and "more" are problematic as they are so general. How much better, how much more is it reasonable to expect? Whose perspective of better and more is to be given weight and credence? Here the environmental factors can affect the answers.

3 When working with groups and individuals involved in change I make considerable use of action plans in which we specify how much we hope to achieve, by when, in what way and with what support. Then we have a real measure, later, of whether we have exceeded expectations, met them or not realized them. In our discussions what is most important is why and how we achieve the results we do, as it is this that will affect future success. Yet the why of evaluation seems to be ignored and only the what built in to the frameworks and indicators that I have seen.

Another crucial consideration is the time period of these evaluations. If we were genuinely serious about evaluation versus "following the book" because it is a good thing we would consider more appropriate time spans.

Let us take the case of communication skills work. Most programmes are taught in the first year of higher education courses. The first students experiencing the early stages of change probably graduate three or four years on, i.e. four or five years after the project began. Yet the project may only be three years in duration. How then can evaluation of its real, applied effect be determined. If we reckon on at least three years being needed for the changes to become really influential on the programmes and thus allow for the students to complete their studies, we are talking of at least seven or eight years before we can assess the impact on graduating students and even longer before the impact on them as contributors to the economy can be considered. In discussing the wider objectives David Clarke has pointed out both the need for evaluating this aspect and some of the problems involved.

Our current approach to project design, time spans and evaluation does not take account of this aspect. The more extensive approach would allow for at least some evaluation of applied effects within the project lifetime.

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Socio-economic roles and their implications

John Burke/Rod Bolitho - College of St Mark & St John

Theme

The theme for the day was "ELT: socio-economic roles and their implications - views from the grassroots". The primary purpose was to look to the socio-economic, and indeed cultural and environmental, aspects of ELT aid for development through the eyes of some of those most directly involved in receiving and providing ELT, including English teachers from other countries, advisers and UK trainers and institutions.

Objectives

The objectives for the day were two-fold

1 to develop an awareness and consensus amongst those present as to the nature of what might be called the "cross-cutting" socio-cultural, economic and environmental framework within which ELT has increasingly to operate

2 to chart possible ways forward for ELT within that framework

The programme

* introduction
* simulation : Universities Research Project based in a developing country in Africa (Appendix 1)
* illustrated talk highlighting main socio-economic issues
* focusing questionnaire to participants (Appendix 1)
* presentation of results from questionnaire on socio-economic issues administered to postgraduate students at the College of St Mark and St John (Appendix 1)
* debate centred round two key articles
* concluding remarks; some issues and outcomes

The simulation centred round the need to prepare the way for the setting up of a language unit in a Polytechnic in Africa involved in training soil scientists within the framework of a massively funded aid project. The simulation gave the participants the opportunity to step outside their own particular position and point of view and to consider the broader issues and consequences of ELT for development.

During the simulation, two of the groups were monitored by neutral observers, one of whom (Hugh Trappes-Lomax) developed a chart to monitor the complex processes in the group. The other observer afterwards transferred his notes to the same matrix. Both charts are reproduced in Appendix 1 for the sake of interest, and in case the idea might be of further value.

The purpose of the illustrated talk was to identify and highlight the main socio-economic issues which now form the inevitable backdrop to any ODA-funded project. Video extracts, one of a primary classroom, the other of a training college methodology class, both in Zambia, were introduced in order to contextualize

aspects of a particular ELT project in action, and to relate them to the major socio-economic issues.

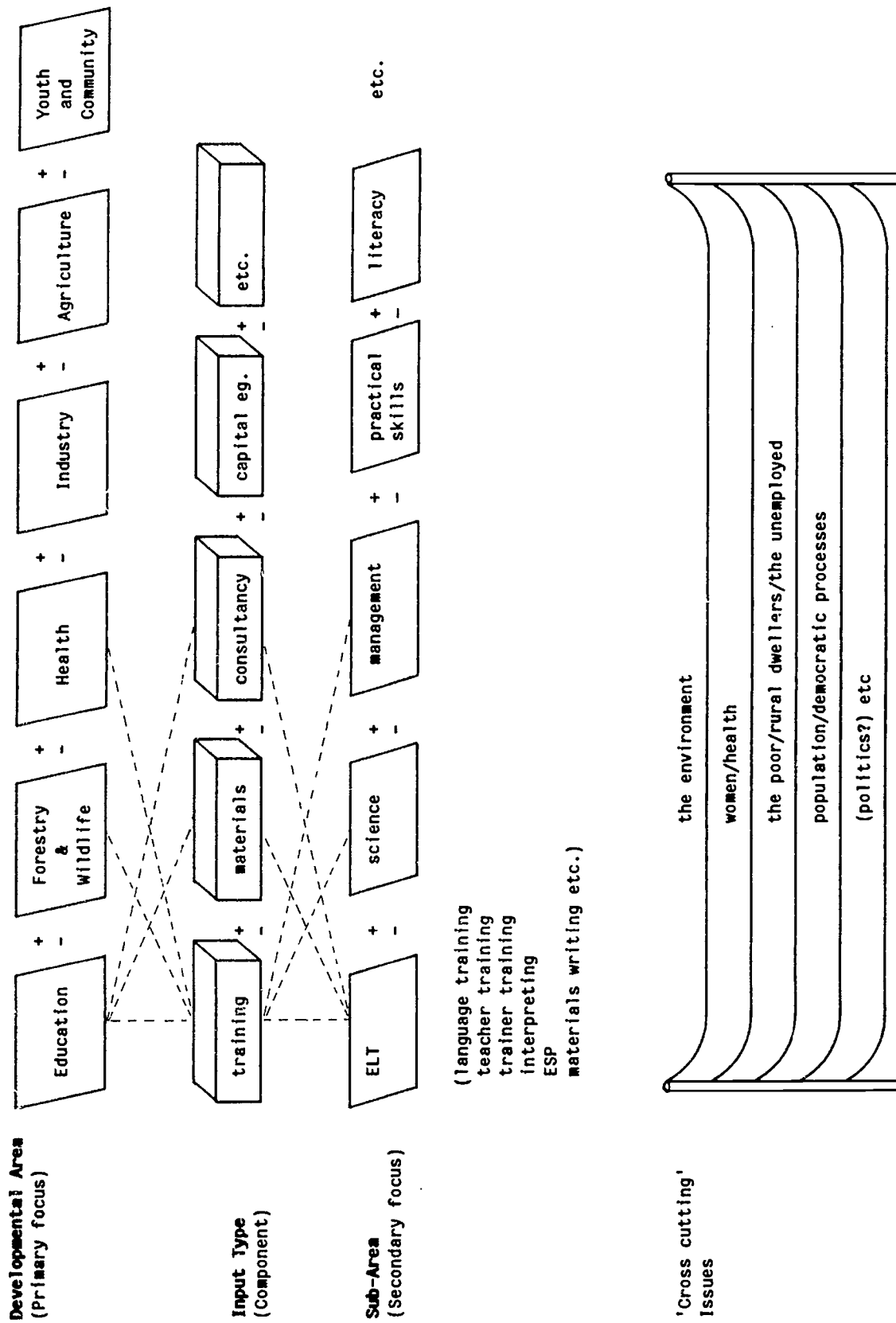The issues, and their relationship to ELT work, are summarized in Figure 1.

Both the student questionnaires and the recorded interview data were introduced in order to show the varying degrees of awareness of wider issues among ELT professionals from a range of developing countries. The obvious question to emerge concerns the content of the courses which we in the UK are providing for such students and their relationship to these wider issues.

The two key articles by Rogers (1982) and Abbott (1984) present differing views of, and perspectives on, the role of ELT in developing countries. Seminar participants were asked to read them and to state (in a secret ballot) whose side they were on. Surprisingly, perhaps, twelve sided with Abbott and nine with Rogers. The subsequent debate highlighted both the confusion felt by participants over many of the issues and the emotive nature of some of them. Numerous points for development and further consideration emerged. These were summarized in the conclusion, and included the following

* the need to recognize that ELT had to provide clear and identifiable socio-economic, cultural and environmental benefits. Simply to assert its relevance was no longer acceptable. "Cross-cutting" issues such as the environment, women, poverty, employment, population, democratic processes and so on applied as much to ELT as to any other aspect of aid for development

* within that, the need to see ELT as part of education and as a service subject

* the importance of fine-tuning ELT provision to particular contexts to enable cross-cutting socio-economic issues to be accommodated (recognizing that there are wide-reaching implications of this for ELT course design, for training patterns, project design, and so on)

* the need to demonstrate links between ELT and the various socio-economic and cultural issues and to establish measuring instruments and evaluation measures of those links, (recognizing that this will require ELT specialists to work closely with specialists from other fields)

* the recognition of the urgent need for ELT to look beyond its now traditional areas of interest to focuses and activities which may more readily help it meet socio-economic demands. These focuses and activities may well include some of the following

    * literacy (in English and in the L1)
    * language across the curriculum
    * translation and interpretation
    * broader educational contexts for ELT
    * narrow-focus ESP
    * approaches to managing change
    * approaches to (and extensive application of) classroom and other relevant research

Figure 1

ELT as a sub-sector service

Developmental Area (Primary focus)

Education | Forestry & Wildlife | Health | Industry | Agriculture | Youth and Community

Input Type (Component)

training | materials | consultancy | capital eg. | etc.

Sub-Area (Secondary focus)

ELT | science | management | practical skills | literacy | etc.

(language training
teacher training
trainer training
interpreting
ESP
materials writing etc.)

'Cross cutting' Issues

the environment

women/health

the poor/rural dwellers/the unemployed

population/democratic processes

(politics?) etc

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Perceptions of impact

Hywel Coleman, University of Leeds

Introduction

The Leeds Group used its day to explore a range of topics which fall under the rubric "Perceptions of impact", as one aspect of the broader theme of "The social and economic impact of ELT in development". The topics dealt with included

- interpretations of impact

- parameters of impact

- stakeholders and impact

- managing for effective impact

The objective of the discussion was the generation of a framework for reconciling perceptions of impact. This, it is argued, can be achieved through exploration of the ways in which all the constituencies involved in an ELT project may perceive impact differently.

1 Metaphors

Images - and the metaphors that help identify them - are a powerful - perhaps the most powerful - force for change, and should be of critical interest to those whose business is educational change. For a start, any innovation that fails to take account of the images of those affected by it is likely to fail, or, at best, sit uncomfortably on the shoulders of its stakeholders.

Thornbury (1991:197)

Taking our cue from Thornbury's thought-provoking and useful article, we can see that the title of the week's seminar, "The social and economic impact of ELT in development", itself contains at least two metaphors **impact** and **development**.

Dictionary definitions of **impact** include the following

1. collision; 2. strong impression or effect; 3. force exerted by one object when striking against another

whilst definitions of **development** include

1. gradual unfolding, fuller working out; 2. growth, evolution; 3. stage of advancement

how can these metaphors be interpreted in the context of "The social and economic impact of ELT in development"?

The three definitions of **development**, for example, all have their own implications. A "gradual unfolding", on the analogy of a blossoming flower, implies a certain self-sufficient inevitability about the shape of the final outcome. A rose will always look like a rose once it has finished unfolding, and outside influences (perhaps in the form of pruning and fertilising) will influence only the luxuriance of the bloom. The rose will never become a potato. "Evolution", on the other hand, suggests an element of unpredictability; no observer who happened to be around at the time could have predicted that ostriches, university lecturers and tortoises would all ultimately develop from the primitive protozoa which first inhabited the primordial oceans, simply because that observer could not have predicted the infinitely complicated sequence of environmental conditions to which the organisms have had to respond in their evolutionary development. "Stage of advancement", finally, implies the comparison of one entity against an external and pre-determined sequence already achieved by another entity; it therefore carries with it an element of judgemental evaluation.

Which one of these interpretations of **development** do we secretly harbour within us when we approach our work in ELT? Can we even be sure that everyone with whom we come into contact in our professional lives shares the same interpretation?

The definitions of **impact** also have their own subtly different but important implications. "Strong impression or effect" suggests a relatively benign relationship, in which the impressed body first seeks out opportunities to be impressed and then allows or tolerates the impression - just as a sophisticated audience deliberately goes to a theatre and then, perhaps, acknowledges that a drama has had a certain impact upon it. "Force exerted by one object when striking against another", on the other hand, brings to mind a picture of one moving object coming into contact - with some violence - with a fixed object. In this case, the moving object is likely to be moving towards the stationary object with some volition (either its own or that of an external agent), but the fixed object is very unlikely to have any volition at all - just as a mallet being swung by a worker has an impact upon a wooden post. Unlike the theatre audience, the wooden post has no choice as to whether it is going to experience impact or not. A "collision", finally, suggests a violent crash between two equal bodies which have different destinations and which, therefore, are travelling in different directions. This sort of contact is unplanned and is not desired by either of the bodies involved.

Which of these interpretations of **impact** do we have in mind when we talk of the impact of ELT in development? Have we taken it upon ourselves to beat a largely inert and docile body, in the hope that we can knock it into shape and so help it to catch up with other similar but much more advanced bodies? Or are we talking about chucking some manure on to roses which have not flowered yet? Or are we merely aiming to entertain and mildly stimulate an extremely complex and dynamic entity which is exposed to a wide range of other environmental influences?

Perhaps this question of metaphors has been laboured. Nevertheless, what this exercise demonstrates is the difficulty which is involved, when talking about the "impact" of ELT in "development", in trying to use language which is absolutely neutral and

non-ideological. This, in turn, warns us of the need to clarify interpretations and check that they are mutually understood.

2 Parameters of impact, the 5Ds

It is possible to identify at least five sets of parameters for the discussion of impact. These are domain, direction, delay, duration and dimension.

Domain of impact

The domain in which impact is experienced indicates the level at which it is felt. There are three principal domains: individual, institutional and national.

Direction of impact

The direction in which impact is experienced indicates whether it is felt by the "donee" (the recipient) or by the donor. In fact, as we know from basic physics, if there is any contact at all then both bodies are bound to experience some impact. Both donee and donor may be affected in all three domains (individual, institutional and national).

Delay of impact

Delay of impact indicates the time when the impact is first felt. It may, therefore, be immediate or delayed.

Duration of impact

The duration of impact indicates the time over which the impact is experienced, it may be short-term or long-term. Whether felt immediately or not, the element of duration needs to be taken into consideration.

Dimension of impact

The dimension of impact refers to its essential quality. In other words, impact may be positive (that is to say, desirable), neutral (= zero), or negative, (i.e. undesirable). All dimensions of impact may be experienced for different durations, (i.e. short-term or long-term) and at different points in the history of a project, (i.e. immediately or after some delay). For example, when a project is first set up then, for a short period, it may have no noticeable impact, (i.e. impact is immediate, short-term and neutral), but there may then be a positive and long-lasting influence at some point in the future (in which case it is delayed, long-term and positive).

These five sets of parameters allow us to construct a matrix for the analysis of impact (see Figure 1). Four case studies which illustrate some of the parameters are given in Appendix 2.

The value of the matrix lies in its ability to uncover both the **complexity** of impact, and the **dynamic** nature of impact. (On the complex and dynamic nature of change within institutions, see Coleman 1988.)

Complexity of impact

A project may have a profound influence upon certain individuals (such as Mohammed in Case study one). We can probably assume that if a project does have impact at the national level then, inevitably, it must also be having impact upon institutions and individuals. However, it is not so clear whether there is automatically a similar relationship in the other direction. Can we be sure, for example, that simply because one teacher is influenced by an external project then his or her institution necessarily undergoes some change? Furthermore, even if one institution is affected, can we then be sure that the influence of that change will be felt more widely?

This aspect is similar to the "levels of effect" identified by Chambers and Erith (1990). The difference lies in the fact that the matrix of parameters allows for the possibility of impact being felt both by recipient and by donor (illustrated by Case study four).

Dynamic nature of impact

The dynamic nature of projects (and the consequent difficulty of carrying out non-dynamic project evaluations) has been discussed by Coleman (1992). The matrix which is proposed here allows a project's changing nature to be charted.

An example follows. At the national level, the immediate impact of a project, for both donee and donor, may not be felt at all; that is to say, it is neutral. At the individual level, however, the immediate impact may be negative, in terms of disruption both for the donor-country personnel moving into the project and for the recipient-country counterparts. As the project develops, its impact may become positive at the individual level (professionally stimulating for the project personnel, for instance), and then at the institutional level. The project's influence may never reach the national domain, however, even after considerable delay.

This is just one possible scenario. The total number of possible combinations of parameters which could be accommodated by the matrix is clearly very large. Impact, then, is both **complex** and **dynamic**.

3 Stakeholders

The importance of identifying stakeholders has been emphasised by Morrison (1991a) and by Henderson (1991). However, for the purpose of measuring impact, we wish to extend the concept of stakeholder beyond Mackay's definition (used by Morrison 1991b:71) which restricts it to "those people in a project whose commitment is crucial to its success". Rather, we wish to consider the following as stakeholders

• all those people upon whom a project may have an impact at the individual level

Figure 1

Delay/ Duration/ Dimension	Domain/Direction					
	National Donee Donor		**Institutional** Donee Donor		**Individual** Donee Donor	
Immediate						
Short-term						
positive						
neutral						
negative						
Long-term						
positive						
neutral						
negative						
Delayed						
Short-term						
positive						
neutral						
negative						
Long-term						
positive						
neutral						
negative						

Matrix showing five parameters for the analysis of impact

2ö

- all those people who represent institutions upon which a project may have an impact at the institutional level

- all those people who represent nations upon which a project may have an impact at the national level

The list of possible stakeholders, therefore, becomes extremely long. It includes not only ELTOs and their counterparts, but also host country ministry officials, ODA education advisers, host country professionals who participate in project activities, British VSO volunteers, and even project drivers (of Case study one).

In order to achieve a thorough evaluation of the impact of a project, therefore, we would need to

- identify the different perceptions of impact held by a wide range of stakeholders

- identify the differences between these perceptions

- identify the likely causes of such differences

If we can identify the probable sources of stakeholders' differing perceptions of impact, it should be possible to begin thinking about the characteristics of a potentially successful project.

4 Managing for effective impact

So far, we have argued that stakeholders' perceptions constitute an extremely important - indeed crucial - element of the impact which a development project has. It has also been suggested that the range of stakeholders may be more extensive than is often thought. Consequently there may be a very complicated network of potential clashes of perception associated with a particular project.

It would seem, therefore, that even if all or most of the stakeholders could have access to an agreed project document, then it would not be surprising if the varying perspectives of the stakeholders were to lead to the same document being interpreted differentially.

It is likely that the following factors may contribute to the appearance of differing interpretations of a project or even of an explicit project document

- lack of negotiation of the contents of the document at appropriate levels

- lack of equilibrium in the "ownership" of the project and its document

- incomplete specification of the desired impact (in both directions and in all domains, in the short-term and long-term, with both immediate and delayed effect, on all stakeholders)

- rigidity in the project framework

- ambiguous phrasing in the project document

We can now turn these around and convert the causes of problems into criteria for successful impact. A provisional list follows, although there is considerable overlap between the successive items in this list

- engage in negotiation at **all appropriate levels** while the project is being set up, so taking account of the complex nature of project impact

- continue to engage in negotiation at all appropriate levels while the project is running, so taking account of the dynamic nature of project impact

- incorporate into the project framework scope for the continuing renegotiation of the project. (See Coleman 1992 for an argument for flexibility and continuing reinterpretation in project design)

- identify networks for communication between different stakeholders

- ensure widely shared ownership of projects

- specify desired or predicted impact, for all potential stakeholders, in both directions (i.e. for recipients and donors) in all domains, both immediately and with delayed effect, for short periods of time and for longer periods

- edit project documents for potential ambiguity from the perspective of a range of stakeholders

In connection with the last of these points (the editing of project documents) the following questions may be found useful

- to what extent does the document probably already reflect or accommodate the requirements of a range of stakeholders?

- to what extent does the document set up mechanisms for the continuing renegotiation of perspectives and objectives?

- what further questions would you wish to ask in order to disambiguate this document? Who would be able to provide answers to your questions?

- who would need to talk to whom in order to make this into a workable document?

5 Conclusion and postscript

In conclusion, we have been arguing for a heightened awareness of the existence of varying perceptions of impact. We believe that the sharing of perceptions in fact contributes to the achievement of maximum impact in projects.

Nevertheless, there are still some awkward issues which require attention. We end with two of these

Issue 1

There is a possibility that a particular impact, even when originally perceived by all stakeholders to be desirable, may ultimately turn out not to be relevant. (See Coleman forthcoming for a discussion of this issue.)

Issue 2

There is a possibility that changes in classroom practice may have a fundamental and unpredictable impact on roles in society outside the classroom. Alternatively, there is a possibility that a particular impact, even when originally perceived by all stakeholders to be desirable, may not be achievable without far-reaching social changes. (See Shamim forthcoming for a case study.)

Note

The members of the Leeds team were Hywel Coleman, Fauzia Shamim (University of Karachi, currently undertaking large classes research at Leeds), and Anne Wiseman. Jenny Jarvis, Jaynee Moon and David Taylor were also involved in the planning of the Leeds contribution. This report was prepared by Hywel Coleman.

We are particularly grateful to David Crabbe, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, who was a Visiting Fellow in the Overseas Education Unit at Leeds at the time when the "Leeds Day" was being planned. He participated in all our planning meetings and contributed many very useful insights.

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Linguistic imperialism

Robert Phillipson

My recent work (Phillipson 1992) attempts to place issues of language and power, language and dominance, the ethics of aid, ELT professionalism, and the overt technical agenda and the covert political agenda of global ELT within an explicit theoretical framework. This links up the macro level of English as a world language to the micro level of the pedagogic and linguistic principles which underlie ELT professionalism. Such a theory can hopefully help to reduce the subjectivity of much evaluative analysis, and might help to clarify the "cross-cutting" of ELT with other dimensions of "development". It presupposes a coherent trans-disciplinary approach drawing on many traditions in the social sciences and the humanities.

A key concept is **linguicism**, which is defined as ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language. Linguicism is affirmed in similar ways to racism. In linguicist discourse the dominant language is glorified, dominated languages are stigmatized, and the relationship between dominant and dominated is rationalized, always to the advantage of the dominant.

This was the pattern in colonial education, which had the following characteristics

* the low status of local languages

* local educational traditions being ignored

* stress on the civilizing properties of the master language

* western-oriented, bookish education

* from secondary level upwards, a copying of European education, which was monolingual

* education playing a key role in introducing "science" and "civilization"

The rationalization of the linguistic hierarchy was implicit in the colonial power structure, and explicit in many policy papers on colonial education.

This pattern of linguicism was also imposed domestically, vis-a-vis dominated indigenous languages (Welsh, Breton, Navajo, etc.) and is currently being asserted vis-a-vis immigrant languages.

The linguicist characteristics also apply very generally in postcolonial societies, i.e. most "Third World" countries have perpetuated colonialist language policies. World Bank studies of education neglect the language issue. IMF structural adjustment policies involve a continued emphasis on the learning of the former colonial language.

What rights should all languages ideally enjoy? A great deal of effort is being put into determining and codifying linguistic human rights, at Unesco, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and in applied linguistic circles (FIPLV, AILA) (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson forthcoming). Existing international covenants and most national constitutions do not guarantee the rights of minority language speakers to learn the mother tongue fully, as well as the dominant language, to identify with the mother tongue(s), and use this in dealings with officialdom. There is an increasing awareness that such matters are inalienable human rights, and that according such rights to minority language speakers does not represent a threat to dominate languages. A proposed linguistic charter for Africa (Dalby 1985) proclaims the equal linguistic rights of every individual, literacy in all African languages, granting these the status of national languages, and giving one African language the status of official language in each country, to replace or be used alongside the existing "foreign" official language.

The reason that the speakers of few languages in former colonies enjoy such rights is that the educational and linguistic policies of such countries are locked in a structure which has replaced the colonial one, and which can be called imperialist.

Imperialism can be conceptualized as a structural relationship whereby one society of collectivity can dominate another. The key mechanisms are exploitation, penetration, fragmentation and marginalization. There are six interlocking types of imperialism: economic, political, military, social, communicative, and cultural. The principal sub-types of cultural imperialism are media, educational, scientific, and linguistic imperialism. English linguistic imperialism can be defined as the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. Characteristics of ELT in this structure are the following

* Anglocentricity
* professionalism
* political disconnection
* narrowly technical training

An example of ELT operating in a linguicist way at the macro level is the way arguments are marshalled in a language planning policy paper for Namibia. The variables selected gave far greater prominence to European languages than any Namibian languages, and placed excessive emphasis on the use of language for international purposes rather than for intranational purposes.

An example of ELT operating in a linguicist way at the Micro level is the tenets which served as pillars of the rising ELT profession and which were given a seal of approval at a key conference at Makerere in 1961. There were five tenets

* English is best taught monolingually

* the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker

- the earlier English is introduced, the better the results

- the more English is taught, the better the results

- if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop

All five are scientifically false, and can be better labelled as

- the monolingual fallacy
- the native speaker fallacy
- the early start fallacy
- the maximum exposure fallacy
- the subtractive fallacy

Adhering to these tenets has had major consequences, structural and ideological, for the entire ELT operation in aid contexts.

There is a clear need for more empirical studies to test the theoretical apparatus in a variety of contexts and refine it.

Linguistic hierarchies have been successfully challenged in minority education in several parts of the world (see examples, and theoretical analysis, in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988). There is a challenge for ELT to reconnect politically and work out anti-linguicist strategies which can empower speakers of dominated languages.

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ELT and development: projects and power

Roger Bowers, British Council

Introduction

Unlike others here this week I am not at present personally involved in a curriculum innovation project or programme which will allow me to report current activity and research, though I shall be referring to several projects which have been reported elsewhere (Bowers 1987: Celani et al 1988). My primary concern nevertheless is with curriculum innovation in which there is interaction between a "host" group or institution and an external agency or advisers, and in particular with the hundred or so projects in English language teaching currently managed by the British Council on behalf of Britain's Overseas Development Administration: but I am conscious (and this is a point of substance to which we might return in discussion) that some of my comments on insider/outsider roles and power relations can apply to any innovation context including curriculum development initiated, funded and conducted wholly within a national education system.

My recurrent reference point today will be Robert Phillipson's (1990) study of *English Language Teaching and Imperialism*, for though I profoundly disagree with much of Phillipson's thesis there is no doubt that the issues which he discussed are relevant and deserve debate. "Language pedagogy", he says (1990:29), "must attempt to place its activities in a macro-societal theoretical perspective and analyze the historical, political and intellectual roots of the profession". I agree.

Much of this week's discussions will, I presume, have concerned the agenda for change itself: in what directions curriculum innovation proceeds, with what intentions and results, and by what processes. Our concern this morning is with two prior questions

- *Who is empowered to set the agenda for change?*

- *On what grounds do they exercise this authority?*

Linguicism

Phillipson's central concern is defined as follows (1990:41):

> English linguistic imperialism is one example of **Linguicism**, which is defined as "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language".

It will come as no surprise that I reject the argument that the work of agencies such as the British Council and its bilateral and multilateral analogues in the areas of educational development and promotion of the English language is appropriately thus described. There is an issue here nevertheless which is central to the diffusion of innovation, and it is one to which I

hope you will be able to contribute and compare experience and opinions during the discussion session.

A central problem which I encounter in pursuing the argument may be illustrated by a further and final quotation from Phillipson (1990:7):

> In language pedagogy the connections between English language and political, economic and military power are seldom pursued. Language pedagogy, the theory and practice of language teaching and language learning, tends to focus on what goes on in the classroom, and related organizational and methodological matters. In professional English teaching circles, English tends to be regarded as an incontrovertible boon, as does language policy and pedagogy emanating from the core-English countries. It is felt that while English was imposed by force in colonial times, contemporary language policies are determined by the state of the market ("demand") and the force of argument (rational planning in the light of the available "facts"). The discourse accompanying and legitimating the export of English to the rest of the world has been so persuasive that English has been equated with progress and prosperity. In the view of the Ford Foundation's language projects officer, "English as a Second Language (ESL) was believed to be a vital key to development by both the United States and by countries like Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, India, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Nigeria, Colombia, and Peru" (Fox 1975: 36). The arguments in favour of English are intuitively commonsensical, but only in the Gramscian sense of beliefs which reflect the dominant ideology (Gramsci 1971).

My concern is not with earlier parts of this passage, though there are a number of elements which I would disagree with. My problem is with the last sentence. Not only does it remove any obligation on the part of those on the other side of the argument to listen to my views, since I am in the chosen terminology a representative of the "Centre". It provides a pretext upon which any proponent from the "Periphery" of similar views could also be rejected, on the grounds that their perceptions have been distorted by subjection to precisely the process of intellectual hegemony which is at issue. I cannot accept that restriction of debate.

But let me turn away for the time being from Phillipson with the observation that his concern with the political and cultural aspects of the promotion of English language and international involvement in educational development is a well placed concern. I cannot claim that bilateral and multilateral aid is directed solely towards the developmental interests of the "recipient" with no attention to the interests of the "donor" (terms whose semantics we do not have the time to discuss here). In my work and that of parts of my Division - though not, I may say, the units which support our aid programmes - there is regular reference to the "export market", and there is no doubt that terms such as promotion, market, investment, long term return are a part of the rhetoric of cultural relations and indeed of education and development. If there is a

single lexical item which sums up the tension between interests it is perhaps the word **demand**; for demand can be both stimulated and satisfied, and it is the extent to which we believe we are doing the first or the second of these when we engage in international programmes for curriculum innovation that places us on one side or the other of the linguicism debate. (The same, I may say, goes for much of our more commercially oriented activity too: publishers, for example, would resist the accusation that they were in it solely for the money without regard for educational, cultural and international values.)

So who sets the agenda?

Inevitably our personal experience of engagement in educational innovation is likely to colour our views on this issue. My own long term experience (I have been involved more tangentially in a number of countries) has been in Ghana, India and Egypt. It is on this last context that I primarily draw.

Georgie Hyde's (1978) study *Education in Modern Egypt* reports President Anwar El-Sadat's summary of the major concerns of educational policy in post revolutionary Egypt under five headings: national integration, secularization, education of the masses, revival of Arabic, and modernization (this last term being widely defined). She reports also the recognition within Egypt of the role which the import of educational ideas, of science and technology, and of language (primarily English) would play in the pursuit of these aims. It is interesting to note, if we are prepared to accept Hyde's observations, that **at least at the policy level** no conflict was felt between the revival of Arabic and the promotion of English and other "international" languages. The import of ideas and a medium from outside was seen as a part of the revolutionary process, not as repression of it. In the Egyptian context, my own observation suggests, ideas and processes drawn in from outside were not seen as threatening: whereas foreign ownership of those ideas, and foreign influence over the decisions which ideas and processes should be accepted and indigenised, certainly would have been. (President Mubarak's shopping list this week will be a long one, but he will in terms of his own ideology and personal authority be giving no political or cultural ground in presenting it.) In the Egypt of my experience there was never in fact any danger that the fundamental decisions regarding education policy and language policy would be outside the control of national politicians and administrat_ s: far from it. The boundaries between local policy and external professional advice were firmly drawn, and the advisory role itself tightly circumscribed. To suggest otherwise would have been to insult those to whom and with whom we worked.

Even so, in a major aid environment such as Egypt has been over twenty or more years, there are tensions. Some of them, for our area of focus, are exemplified in ELT Documents 125 (1987) which describes a range of teacher education programmes at the Centre for developing English Language Teaching, Ain Shams University, Cairo, an Egyptian/American/British project with which I was closely connected over five years from 1979. The questions concern both the content and the process of curriculum innovation, and I can best resummarize them as follows.

Appropriate methodology

As I have pointed out at a previous Dunford, all innovation involves a measure of mediation, of matching ideas to contexts and hypotheses to reality. In the context of curriculum innovation this requires the development and implementation of a two-fold methodology which we may label M1/M2.

M1 methodology is a set of principles for *the management of the classroom*, informed by a desired approach to language teaching and learning. M2 methodology is a set of principles for *the management of change*, informed by an approach to social development in general and curriculum development in particular. Both M1 and M2 need to be appropriate in terms of four features - two "internal" and two "external"

Internal

Approach

Is the methodology consistent with a set of beliefs about education which are both in principle valid for the local context and in practice held by those involved in and accountable for a methodological innovation?	Is the methodology consistent with a set of developmental aims which are both in principle valid for the local context and in practice ascribed to by those involved in and accountable for the development?

Techniques

Is the methodology realizable through a set of techniques which are in principle feasible for those responsible for implementation and in practice performed by them?	Is the project methodology attainable through a set of techniques which are both in principle feasible for those responsible for implementation and in practice performed by them?

External

Resources

Can the methodology be implemented within the resources locally available, and does it make the best use of them?	Can the development be implemented within the resources locally available, and does it make best use of them?

Curriculum

Is the methodology compatible with other components of the curriculum, and does it maximize the effect of the curriculum as a whole?

Is the development compatible with other components of the development curriculum (i.e. the aims and processes of the total developmental agenda), and does it maximize the effect of the development programme as a whole?

For a programme of innovation, in our case of curriculum innovation, it has to be appropriate in terms of both M1 and M2. To be appropriate it has to be valued within the set of aims and beliefs held by those locally responsible for endorsing the innovation. Failure to achieve that endorsement, through disagreement or default, sets the programme as a whole on a course to failure, and may well earn accusations of attempted linguistic or pedagogic imperialism.

Let me turn to my second example. The Brazilian ESP Project reported in Celani et al (1988) incorporates a detailed and well documented description of how a project was initiated in order to ensure from the outset maximum participation in framing the objectives and in agreeing and enacting the processes of the curriculum project. In general, Celani reports (1988:7)

> The main characteristic of the Project is perhaps its participatory quality. It derived from the needs of practising teachers and these same teachers have been closely linked with most of the operations involved in implementing the project. This collaborative feature ensured active participation from the start and influenced the design of the evaluation of work carried out in Phase II. The Project is a loose federation of interested parties, not a rigid structure imposed by a Ministry or an outside agency.
>
> Another characteristic is the allowance made for preserving local features. Teachers who work with students of tourism will thus teach oral skills, while the majority concentrate on reading only. Some teachers feel the need to put more emphasis on structural aspects of language than others do. There is a consensus tempered with variety. The decision not to produce a Project textbook contributed to this atmosphere.

Approaches to innovation

This notion of *consensus tempered by variety* captures well one of the approaches outlined by Straker Cook in assessing the Egyptian project mentioned above (Bowers 1988:18)

> Reviewing the literature on educational innovation, Nicholls (1983) reduces a number of approaches to three basic models

Model 1 research - development - diffusion

In this model, an active researcher-theoretician, as innovator, perceives a problem and presents his solution to a passive receiver. However, he takes no part in the implementation process.

Model 2 social interaction

This has essentially the same ingredients as Model 1, but focuses rather on the means of diffusion. The innovator determines both who the receiver shall be and what his needs are. The receiver is seen as active, in that he may provide feedback to the innovator, but the innovator has no role in the implementation of the innovation nor in any subsequent modifications.

Model 3 problem-solving

In this model, users' needs are paramount, and innovation emerges spontaneously from discussions and transactions between users. In effect, the users are at the same time the (collective) innovator and the recipients. Innovation thus becomes a non-directive process, and the outcome is unpredictable.

There are several comments to be made. The first two models are variants of the same basic approach: innovation is conceived as a product, an artefact to be sold to the recipient. There is a high degree of control over design, but little or none over implementation. The feedback allowed for in Model 2 does not amount to evaluation, since there is no mechanism for systematic adjustment of the innovation to the system or of the system to the innovation.

Model 3 is superficially more attractive: it treats innovation rather more as a process, or at least as the sum total of changes wrought on the system of spontaneous perturbation. However, it denies the role of an instigator, either among the users or operating on the group from outside: and one wonders therefore just how the innovation is generated. Changes may indeed occur spontaneously, but it is less likely that genuine innovations would. For who are the users, if they are not teachers and educators within the system. Hierarchical structures such as educational institutions have an inherent stability and engender ingrained staff attitudes. These surely exert a powerful inhibiting influence on innovators operating from within.

Straker Cook goes on to analyze the components of an innovating environment and to set out his own categorization of strategies for diffusion (*co-operative; inertial; self-adaptive; multi-level; precedence*): but this is not the place to go into them. Let us return to the Celani example, where the general characterization of the project as a "Model 2" approach is supported by detailed evaluation results. One of the questions asked, to a population of over 100 teachers and over 200 students, concerned their attitudes to the introduction by the project of an ESP approach. Here are the findings (Celani 1988:33):

Table 5.1a

Learning ESP seems to you to be

	ESP Teachers (1)	(2)	Students	Ex-students
• preparation to suit the interests of the consumer society	8%	6%	12%	13%
• a means of spreading the imperialist domination of other peoples	5%	0%	8%	7%
• a way of knowing other peoples	20%	15%	16%	10%
• access to specific bibliography	75%	71%	49%	66%
• access to any bibliography	85%	91%	60%	46%
• useful for getting a job	20%	18%	10%	12%
• other	5%	6%	3%	2%
(N)	(84)	(34)	(2008)	(224)

It does not seem to me that these findings support charges of linguicism or (dare I mint the term?) pedagogicism. The approach which a programme of innovation adopts affects from the outset the ownership of the project, the decision-making powers of the participants in it. The Celani example may not be representative of all such projects, or even of such projects as are supported by British agencies: but it is unreasonable to assume that such projects are not, by and large, sensitive to the issues which Phillipson raises and guided by procedures for identification, design and implementation which ensure that the "donor" is employed in roles which are defined by the "recipient".

We may ask therefore about the extent to which the "recipient" is equipped to assume the role of authority which a participative model requires. And it will be surprising if in answering this question we do not find ourselves employing some of the models and terminology discussed by Straker Cook above: we immediately confront issues of "top-down" and "bottom-up", of pre-planned and organic growth, of the "external" and "internal" initiation and management of change.

The role of training

Change involves choice; and choice involves both displacement (distancing from what is) and discernment (awareness of what might be). It seems to be that a part of the solution to the dilemma which Straker Cook defines comes through the provision, either in preparation for a proposed innovation or as the undirected cause of it, of what we may term *developmental* training. This is conducted through programmes which incorporate the following features (Richards & Nunan 1990:xii) - for "teachers" read also "trainers", "inspectors", "materials writers", "curriculum developers" etc.

• a movement away from a "training" perspective to an "education" perspective and recognition that effective teaching involves higher level cognitive processes, which cannot be taught directly

• the need for teachers and student teachers to adopt a research orientation to their own classrooms and their own teaching

• less emphasis on prescriptions and top-down directives and more emphasis on an inquiry-based and discovery-oriented approach to learning (bottom-up)

• a focus on devising experiences that require the student teacher to generate theories and hypotheses and to reflect critically on teaching

• less dependence on linguistics and language theory as a source discipline for second language teacher education, and more of an attempt to integrate sound, educationally based approaches

• use of procedures that involve teachers in gathering and analyzing data about teaching

I have no answer to the dilemma that might arise where, in order to train a recipient group out of over-dependence on an authoritative external group, we attempt to train them in an independence of authority which is itself not a part of their cultural set. But perhaps such a context is never more than superficially apparent. In practice, I repeat, there are clear procedures in the identification and design of projects for engaging local authority, making project aims and processes subject to local constraint, and ensuring through both training and structural means the local ownership and sustainability of a project.

What kind of training?

Supposing that we accept the need to avoid providing training which creates rather than diminishes dependence by the "Periphery" on the "Centre" (another of Phillipson's concerns), what features might such training display? I approach this question from two angles.

The first approach is, like Phillipson, to draw upon Kachru (1986) in recognising four basic areas in which the power of English might manifest itself - linguistic, literary, attitudinal and pedagogic - and to ask in what ways training might address these. I leave this question for later discussion to address if it interests you.

The second approach is to consider the management of change, not with respect specifically to education and ELT but in relation to change in general, in any

organization. I draw here on Hunt (1986: 255-6) who identifies these components

- *data-collection* what is the evidence of the problem? What are the symptoms?

- *definition of the problem* what precisely is the problem?

- *diagnosis and identification of the cause(s)* what is causing the problem?

- *the plan* what shall we do?

- *the action* implementation of the plan of action to correct the deviation (intervention)

- *consolidation* stabilization

- *evaluation*

Although Hunt goes on to argue that much change is not so rationally initiated and conducted, nevertheless a part of the process of ensuring that authority for change - that is, the answer to my two initial questions *Who sets the agenda for change, and on what grounds?* - rests with those likely to be most affected by it must be to ensure that a reasonable number of them are individually empowered by training and experience to ask these questions, within whatever ideological or institutional framework they choose or are required to operate in. And if this proposition is in itself a perpetuation of linguistic or pedagogic imperialism, then the denial of the proposition and the withholding of training is more damagingly so.

Interestingly, therefore, in continuing to dispute Phillipson's premises, I find myself agreeing with some of his conclusions. For it may be that a part of the process of empowering those who should be so empowered to take decisions regarding curriculum innovation in ELT must take us outside the technical concerns of ELT, beyond language and education, into the areas of decision-making and the management of change in general. The place of management training for educational administrators and policy formulators deserves attention, and it is significant that management training is coming to the fore in a number of professional courses in Great Britain - including courses designed primarily for the overseas student, teacher and researcher.

I have to end though on a cautionary note which leads me to profess some sympathy with Phillipson's underlying concerns, though at a level which he does not, I believe, address - the level of the individual. Though training may be a large part of my answer to accusations of unworthy and ongoing influence, that training too must be sensitively deployed and conducted, and **seen from the viewpoint of the recipient.** A forthcoming article by Martin Parrott, the text of which I will make available for the discussion groups, has graphic descriptions of cases where according to his reports this has not been the case and the process of training has damaged individuals and thereby the educational programmes and contexts in which they operated.

But even here, within the life of projects, I have to say that at the end of the day the responsibility for ensuring that projects and project components do **not** preserve and enhance inequality but rather improve access to opportunity is one which as with all aspects of project planning and performance is a **shared** responsibility. It is an odd argument which, in seeking to increase the respect for our recipient colleagues and to enhance their rights and authority, does not pay them the respect of assuming that they **will** display the authority vested in them by their local standing, knowledge, sensitivity and continuity of being there. In the best projects that is exactly what they do: and in doing so they, with us, must carry the can if a project fails to meet its appropriate objectives or succeeds in achieving the wrong ones.

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Republic of Yemen

Case study - ELT Project in Sana'a University

Case study leaders: Veronica Daly and Claudia Cooper

Project background

British Council/ODA support for ELT in Sana'a University dates back to 1982/3. The Project has two distinct branches

* ESP/EAP materials development, teaching and testing in Sana'a University Language Centre (SULC), in the Faculties of Medicine, Science, Engineering and Agriculture

* Materials development and language improvement in the Faculties of Education in Sana'a, Taiz, and Hodeida

Task

Stage 1

Participants were asked to consider the Project objectives, structure and ODA/BC/SULC input, set in the context of the SULC/Yemen background, and to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Project.

Stage 2

Participants were asked to consider the following

If this Project were to be continued after July 1992 into a new phase, what might be

* its immediate objectives?
* its wider objectives?
* the indicators of achievement?
* any revised input from the BC/ODA and SULC?

Recommendations

The group considered Yemen to be very different from the other countries represented at this year's Dunford Seminar. To appreciate the problems faced by the Project, and to evaluate its achievements, it was necessary for participants and case-study leaders to spend some time discussing and clarifying the more unusual features of Yemen's development problems, the cultural and educational background, and the combination of personalities/stakeholders' interests that have contributed to the history of the SULC Project. The particular changes and challenges facing Yemen and the Project in 1990/91 as a result of the Gulf Crisis also had to be considered in some detail.

Stage 1

Looking at the two branches of the Project, participants considered the ESP/EAP materials writing area to be potentially the most successful, in terms of identifiable needs, as well as immediate and assessable impact. It was felt that the ELTO presence and other inputs into the Faculties of Education were too limited to achieve the aims of the Project. Above all, the inclusion of two very distinct branches under one Project heading was seen as a potential weakness.

The Case-study leaders then supplied further information on specific constraints that had become evident during the course of the Project, and outlined the achievements of the Project to date.

The group identified the lack of Yemeni teachers and potential counterparts as being a major drawback, and the complete lack of a career structure within SULC was felt to be the chief cause, along with a long history of reliance on foreign nationals. It was agreed that this has implications for the design of future project frameworks in Yemen, and in any language centre-based ELT project.

Stage 2

It was agreed that many lessons could be learned from the history of the Project to date. During the discussions a clear case emerged for a new phase of project, targeted specifically at fulfilling the University's need for Yemeni teachers of English at tertiary level. This need is particularly acute at the present time, due to recent events that have resulted in a severe shortage of foreign currency (needed to pay foreign national teachers), together with the continuing exponential rise in student numbers.

The objectives of a new project would therefore focus on the setting up of a postgraduate/Masters Degree programme in English language studies, to be offered by SULC. The immediate impact would be to supply qualified ESP/EAP Yemeni teachers to replace foreign nationals in the classroom, in accordance with the Government policy of Yemenization. The establishment of a postgraduate degree programme in SULC would, in itself, resolve the problem of the lack of a career structure: the best-qualified Yemeni teachers could then have the possibility of further career advancement and incentives, by lecturing on the MA programme and conducting research within SULC.

Conclusions

The Case-study leaders were encouraged to find that, after considering the history of the Project, the Country background and the current needs of the University, the participants had come up with a proposal for a future project phase which corresponds to that already proposed by the Head of Project, and now under consideration by the University and the ODA.

Annex 1

Project constraints

Two unrelated projects in one. The major input has been in EAP while the input for the Faculty of Education has come to be inadequate. There has been no possibility of ELTO influence on the Faculty of Education syllabus.

Job descriptions

The original job descriptions for ELTOs in the middle phase of the Project did not fit the requirements of the Project. The need for further materials development had been underestimated.

Local perceptions

the developmental role of ELTOs was not appreciated. SULC expected ELTOs to

- have heavy undergraduate teaching loads

- carry out routine low level administrative duties

- as in many countries, the University stipulates that certain key subjects (e.g. Methodology) should be the preserve of PhD holders

Yemenization

- no Yemeni counterparts: SULC has no career structure/incentives for Yemeni staff

- a history of foreign nationals who imported their education system to Yemen - paid in hard currency (or partly). Yemenis dependent upon them for most of their teaching

Personalities

inflexible attitudes and vested interests

Slowness of communication and decision making

both within Yemen and in London

Budget

- no funding has been received for ELTOs in Taiz and Hodeidah to attend meetings which are essential to Project or for secretarial support for Head of Project or for consumables

- poor communication and lack of follow-up to ensure local contribution to Project running costs

Annex 2

Project achievements and positive developments

Materials writing project on target

In the "important" faculties as far as ESP/EAP is concerned, i.e. Engineering, Medicine and Science, piloting is already underway.

Design and piloting of the new testing format

In the faculties of Medicine and Science the introduction of objective tests where they have not been used previously.

Exemption test

The notion of an exemption test has been introduced to the university and a pilot test has been successfully implemented in the Faculty of Medicine.

Appointment of a Head of Project

This has drawn the project together by improving morale and re-emphasizing needs. It occured after a visit and recommendation by a representative from ELD.

Realization of the ELTO developmental role by SULC

As indicated by the off-loading of teaching hours and the fact that ELTOs are no longer required to be course co-ordinators and thus no longer having to spend time on humdrum administration.

Job descriptions

New descriptions drawn up to match the needs of the project.

Annex 3

SULC

The Sana'a University Language Centre was established
in 1982/3, following the recommendations of a British
Council/ODA consultancy. Its function is to service
the language teaching requirements of other Faculties.
The English Unit is the largest; Arabic, Russian and
French Units have also been established. At present
SULC does not offer its own degree courses or
facilities for postgraduate research.

Staff

The Dean of SULC is a Yemeni with a PhD in Applied
Linguistics from the United States. The Head of
English is an Indian PhD-holder. Until 1990 most EFL
teachers were native-speakers from Britain and America
on Kuwait-funded contracts, and Peace Corps volunteers,
as well as nationals of other countries. At present,
because of the shortage of hard currency, it is not
possible to recruit native-speaker teachers; since
qualified Yemeni teachers are few, the University has
taken on a number of non-native speaker foreign
nationals, most of whom hold PhDs in English
Literature, to teach in SULC. In addition, several
qualified and experienced Yemeni EFL teachers from Aden
University have transferred up to SULC in 1990/91.

Facilities

SULC does not have its own classrooms; teachers teach
in the rooms of the Faculties to which they are
assigned. Office and staff-room space is severely
limited in SULC itself; ELTOs, including Head of
Project, have to carry out most of their developmental
work (materials writing, etc.) from home. Reprographic
facilities are limited. Some equipment provided under
the British Council/ODA project is under-used because
of lack of space, and lack of funding for consumables.

Annex 4

Yemen: country background and ELT profile

Population approximately 12-13 million, of whom 50 per cent are under the age of fifteen. Per capita GNP $600 (1988). Illiteracy rate 70 per cent (50 per cent among males, 90 per cent among females).

The Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) became one country, the Republic of Yemen, in May 1990.

Economic and political background

The local economy is predominantly rural and agricultural, with some light industry. Significant oil reserves are being discovered and exploited; this oil should assure fuel self-sufficiency and an export income, but is not expected to make the Country as rich as its neighbours.

Until 1990/91 North Yemen was a major recipient of aid from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, as well as from the West and from the Eastern Bloc. The dollar remittances of 1½-2 million emigrant Yemenis also boosted the economy. This picture changed radically in 1990/91 as a result both of Unification and the Gulf Crisis. The ending of Kuwaiti aid, the drastic reduction in Saudi funding, and the forced return of 1½ million Yemeni workers from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf have all led to an acute and unprecedented shortage of hard currency, as well as an unemployment crisis.

Recent Government policies promote training, Yemenization, oil exploitation and exports, and the development of a Freeport and new industrial zone in Aden. Liberalising reforms introduced in 1990/91 include improved press freedom (a remarkable diversity of newspapers and journals have begun publication, and bookshops are well-stocked; this should have implications for adult literacy), and plans for multi-party parliamentary elections.

Education

Until the revolution of 1962, Yemen was effectively cut off from the outside world, and educational opportunities existed only for a tiny elite. The present educational system was set up in the 1960s following the Egyptian model, and from the beginning Yemen has had to rely on foreign nationals (chiefly Egyptians) as teachers at all levels from primary to tertiary. Priority has been given to the training of Yemeni teachers, but there have been problems in achieving and maintaining standards, particularly in ELT.

English is the first foreign language in Yemen, but it is only mastered and used by a small minority at present. English is a compulsory subject throughout six years of preparatory and secondary schooling, and in the first years of most University degree courses. The Ministry of Education stresses the value of English as a preparation for higher studies, as a language of international communication, and as a "window" on science and technology. English is the medium of communication between Yemenis and non-Yemenis, for example in Dutch and German aid projects. Competence in English is widely seen as a marketable skill, as Yemen opens up to the outside world.

Côte d'Ivoire

Case study - National ESP Project

Case study leader: Gerry Greenall

This case study used the results of a survey into the use of English in a francophone economy (Côte d'Ivoire) to suggest an improved project framework for the Ivorian National ESP Project. The lack of overt relevance of the objectives to wider socio-economic issues in the existing project framework was noted, these, together with their indicators of achievement and progress, being expressed purely in terms of narrow educational aims and of internal project statistics while taking it for granted that ELT/ESP was useful developmentally.

The survey looked at the use of English made by forty-nine graduates of the Institut National Supérieur de l'Enseignement Technique (INSET in this document), mainly from the year 1988. Twenty-nine were graduates of the three-year bi-lingual secretarial school, fourteen from the five-year commercial studies college, and five from the five-year engineering college. These graduates were employed in a wide range of organizations, mainly international agencies and multinationals. These are listed herewith with part of the results of the survey.

The summary table, an extract from the results of the survey, shows the approximate percentage of time spent "using" English in the various organizations by each interviewee, and whether English was "required", "essential", "useful", or "not necessary", both for their current activities and for their personal promotion.

The table demonstrates that English is essential at least for the vast majority of those leaving the top end of the Ivorian educational system. A major point emerging was that mastery of English enhanced the employability of the graduates, as either an English test was given in the case of some institutions, or it was taken for granted that English was known in the case of others.

The list of organizations shows Abidjan is a centre for international agencies (e.g. UN), and a number of multinationals are also established there. One attraction of Abidjan may be the availability of well-educated local staff with, amongst other things, good linguistic skills. One contribution of ELT to the local economy may therefore be increasing the competitiveness of Abidjan, as a regional base despite its being francophone, vis-a-vis other West African capitals.

There is a delicate balance to be made between simply meeting an existing need, which is perhaps rather shortsighted, and providing an educated labour pool as fertile ground for development, although this could lead to social unrest through over-qualification and unemployment. To this end project objectives should incorporate a feedback mechanism to enable fine-tuning of educational outputs (at least as far as English training is concerned) to needs, actual or potential.

As it is in the long-term interests of international agencies and multinationals to have English-speaking personnel on site in Abidjan, improvement of English skills through the public education system, as at present supported by ODA, should be regarded as priming only.

Sustained English training ought eventually to become the responsibility of the organizations themselves, and therefore project objectives should envisage the possibility and desirability of the financial burden of such training being shifted over to these organizations.

The development of self-financing or cost-recovery systems should therefore be incorporated into project objectives to facilitate real economic sustainability of English language training in the long term.

The existing project framework as incorporated into the latest project report is attached and also a suggested revised project framework taking the above factors into account.

4 1

Percentage of time "using" English and importance of English now (= /-/)
and for advancement/promotion (= /-)

Required (R)   Essential (E)   Useful (U)   Not necessary (N)

	ISS	ESCA	ENSIA
Afribache (tarpaulins etc.)	50%/R/R	---	---
African Development Bank	70%/R/R	---	---
Asia Auto Parts	10%/R/R	---	---
Axis (computers, software)	---	10%/R/R	---
BHP UTAH (gold prospecting)	80%/R/R	---	---
British Council	75%/R/R	---	---
Centrages (agriculture)	---	10%/U/E	---
CDCI (Unilever - distribution	---	10%/E/E	---
Chamber of Industry	40%/R/R	---	---
Citibank (US)	90%/R/R	---	---
Coca Cola	40%/R/R	---	---
Coopers & Lybrand (auditing)	50%/R/R		---
Ernst & Young (auditing)	---	20%/U/E	---
Esso CI	---	10%/R/R	---
Food & Agriculture Organization	30%/R/R	---	---
IBM	---	30%/R/R	15%/R/R
International Community School	90%/R/R	---	---
International Labour Organization	1. 50%/R/R	---	---
	2. 50%/R/R	---	---
	3. 50%/R/R	---	---
	4. 90%/R/R	---	---
Ivoire-Systemes (software)	---	5%/E/R	---
Mecanembal (Unilever)	---	20%/E/R	---
Ordre des Pharmaciens	2%/N/U	---	---
Pioneer Overseas Co-op (seeds)	80%/R/R	---	---
Price Waterhouse (auditing)	---	30%/R/R	---
SAPH (rubber)	---	5%/U/U	--
Schlumberger (oil extraction)	80%/R/R	---	---
SGBCI (banking)	---	10%/U/E	---
SIR (oil refining)	1. ---	5%/U/E	---
	2. ---	40%/E/E	---
	3. ---	---	30%/R/R
	4. ---	---	25%/E/U
	5. ---	---	40%/U/U
Socopao (transit agents)	10%/U/R	---	---
Star Auto (Mercedes Trucks)	---	---	10%/R/R
Total CI	---	4%/N/E	---
UN Development Programme (UNDP)	1. 30%/R/R	---	---
	2. 0%/N/R	---	---
	3. 60%/R/R	---	---
	4. 60%/R/R	---	---
UN High Commission for Refugees	75%/R/R	---	---
US AID	95%/R/R	---	---
World Bank	1. 90%/R/R	---	---
	2. 80%/R/R	---	---
	3. 65%/R/R	---	---
	4. 60%/R/R	---	---

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Present project structure and indicators - National ESP Project sub-project a, Cote d'Ivoire

Project structure	Indicators of achievement	Progress towards objectives
Outputs		
1 By October 1989, INSET English Department will be fully Ivorianized with a structure for in-service staff development	No visits required by ELTO; development of materials with no regular ELTO involvement	Achieved. In-service staff development pursued through TCT. There are however no INSET teachers doing the EDIP course at the moment
2 Development of materials by teachers as ongoing part of teaching	Presence of bank of materials in INSET Resource Centre	Recent interviews with teachers indicate this is going on
3 By 1990, all teachers will be familiar with CERESP	Attendance at seminars; use of resources	All 105 teachers have been contacted. 86 of them face-to-face
4 Increased use of published ESP material	Increased demand for ESP material; allocation of budgets by target institutions; classroom observation	In present economic climate, target institution budgets are likely to be negligible. CERESP resources are used
5 By 1991, national ESP centre established	Opening; status agreed; records records	Achieved ahead of schedule
6 By July each year, schedule of project priorities will be drawn up	ELTO post report	In hand for 1991/92
7 By July each year a number of visits and seminars will have taken place	Increased demand; attendance records	Achieved. Forty-two teachers observed ninety seminar contact hours; 148 teacher/seminar attendances
8 By July 1989, procedures for "accessory" resources and advice established	ELTO post report	Achieved and put into effect
9 By 1991, a number of target institutions will have benefited from sustained project input	Centre records; classroom observation; improved ESP course design	Twenty-seven out of thirty-eight institutions so far benefited from at least one of following: classroom visits, BPP, TCTD, seminar attendances
Immediate objectives		
1 To assist in the Ivorianization of INSET English Department	Smoothly functioning department under Ivorian head; development of materials by teachers with a structure for in-service staff development	Achieved. In-service staff development through TCTD. Materials development progressing
2 To contribute to development of infrastructure for supporting teachers of English in vocational & technical lycées & the grandes ecoles	Familiarization with Centre of English teachers in METFP and increased use of published ESP material. Opening of CERESP	Achieved, although use of material difficult to monitor
3 Feasible schedule of ESP advisory activities to grandes ecoles	Increased demand and attendance, classroom observation, improved course	Not yet fully achieved. Certain GEs not yet approached. Not all were targeted in the period to mid-1991

4 ?

**Proposed wider objectives and indicators of National ESP Project
sub-project a**

Objectives	Indicators of achievement
1 To help provide a pool of appropriate manpower for companies in CI requiring the use of English	Absorption of graduates into companies in appropriate posts
2 To enhance the attractiveness of CI as a base for companies and agencies requiring English	Increase in economic and other activities in such bodies
3 To encourage close links between such companies, the chambers of industry, commerce and agriculture, and institutions providing training by providing a mechanism for constant updating of a) course content & methodology and b) manpower requirements in response to company needs	Establishment and operation of a mechanism for involvement of companies in planning and delivery
4 To ensure continuity of the programmes through self-financing mechanisms negotiated with the client companies	Initiation and implementation of a developing self-financing process (target 40 per cent after five years)

Kenya

Case study - Kenyatta University English Project

Case study leader: Andrew Thomas

Task

In the light of the recently concluded Kenyatta University English Project, to propose a method to investigate the desirability, feasibility and possible design of a new nationwide (outreach) four-university project for pre-service graduate teacher education, through a BEd English, indicating social and economic impact.

Kenyatta University English Project (KUEP) main features

Curriculum Development for BEd English to supply secondary graduate English teachers for Kenya, with associated staff development, mainly through a Kenyatta University MA English (staff development for the latter at PhD level done in UK).

Report on the task

The four universities of Kenya are Kenyatta University (KU) Nairobi University (NU) Edgerton University (EU) and Moi University (MU). KU is the only one with an established BEd English, but the others would like to have/are planning to have one.

Two questions, intra-university and inter-university. Intra-university: How best to achieve the right combination of language and methods in a particular university. Inter-university: How many universities should have the BEd English and how should they be related?

Pre-project analysis

* does Kenya need more graduate English teachers?

* do students want to enrol for BEd English in sufficient numbers?

* what intra- and inter-university models would Ministry prefer?

* what intra- and inter-university models would institutions prefer?

* would the Government of Kenya control the structures?

* how feasible are the different models?

An investigative procedure for the intra-university questions

1 Look at KU experience, through in-depth institutional evaluation

* evidence of inter-department cooperation

* evidence of integration (language and methods) in courses

* evidence of collaborative inputs from different departments, into design and teaching

* evidence of collaboration in supervision and assessment of teaching practice and agreement on criteria

2 Look at departmental structures of NU, EU, MU, through in depth institutional appraisal. Actual structures, and cooperative potential

3 Would one want to do it the same way as at KU, if one had the chance?

would it be possible to do the same in NU, EU, MU?

do the structures of NU, EU, MU lend themselves to an alternative approach?

Inter-university options

* four separate programmes

* KU leading the other three

* central body for four universities

possible to have one MA programme feeding all the BEd programmes with staff

An investigative procedure for the inter-university question may be a similar in-depth appraisal to determine the desirability and feasibility of

a one, two, three or four BEd programmes (i.e. KU only, KU plus one, two or three other universities)

b replicating the KU model in other universities and

c collaborating between different universities

Once a) settled, b) and c) may be considered in the form of a matrix of possibilities

	Collaboration	Replication
Feasibility		
Desirability		

Uganda

Case study - Makerere University, School of Education Development Project

Case study leader: Barry Sesnan

Proposition

That ELTOs on arrival at post may conclude that the project framework should be altered to have a more effective impact.

Consider the information given and the Uganda project framework at two levels

* minor alterations

* major changes within the wider objectives

Advise how the project framework could have been pre-designed to allow alterations and changes to be made while the Project is under way.

Information provided

* background (profile of population, recent history, education system, current economic situation)

* project framework

* project memorandum

Background

The people

Uganda has 16.2 million people (1991), a birth rate of at least three per cent per annum, a subsistence and cash agriculture economy. There is little industry but trading is a growing sector of the urban economy. Most physical plant, buildings and other infrastructure decayed during the 1974-85 period (Amin and Obote) when the currency became valueless, investment shrank to zero and those who could get out did so. Added to that were many deaths from state terrorism, two civil conflicts, the collapse of medical services and the subsequent rise of AIDS.

Individual institutions were occasionally damaged by fighting (but Makerere was not) but more often by gradual looting by their own staff to survive on the worthless salaries. The flight of trained personnel has continued mainly to Southern Africa.

The University

Makerere University has decayed both physically and academically since its days of glory in the 1960s. In part this was inevitable: it no longer has a unique position in East Africa, its costs per student were unreasonably high, it had costly buildings to maintain and a staff bloated in some (non-marketable) subjects but very scarce in others.

The School of Education (then the Faculty of Education)

was supported by a large ODA project in the 1960s part of which was the Teachers for East Africa Programme.

The British Council

The British Council has been in Uganda continuously (apart from a few years of Amin) since before independence. The ELTO post has normally been held by a British supplemented lecturer (such as John Bright).

There is no ELO. There is another Project in the Institute of Teacher Education/National Teacher Colleges system with an experienced ELTO.

The secondary schools

500 government/300 private and "Third World"; all do O-level, perhaps half do A-level (Uganda Certificate). There are very few technical/vocational options. The government capitation in boarding may be as little as ten per cent; the parents pay the rest. Inevitably good schools with a "good" set of parents get better.

There is no problem in getting a place in a school somewhere if you have money to pay the fees. This applies even to quite good schools.

The students

The ultimate customer, the student, is not mentioned in the documentation for this post. There is a huge number of students both those from well-off families who are the correct age for their class and those who have had many hitches (war, lack of money for fees etc.) who are older and tend to be in the "Third World" schools.

Individual students may have to raise their own fees as parents' salaries are rarely big enough. This discourages girls, who cannot do the labouring/guarding/hawking jobs.

Four students

Mary, at Gayaza the best girls' School. Her parents struggle to keep her there (even at the very high fees and book charges) as classes are small, discipline is strict and the success rate at university entry is phenomenal. Her mother attended Gayaza also and her father went to one of the best equivalent boys' schools. Her daughters will also go to Gayaza. Gayaza has a powerful PTA determined to keep the School among the best.

John, at the nearby "Third World" School is helped by an uncle to pay the fees but it is never sure at the beginning of each term whether he will be able to start school. The classes are crowded; the School has an "instant" cash flow - fees to staff salaries. Little is left over (after the owner has taken his profit) to buy equipment or maintain the buildings. The PTA contributes reluctantly at a fund-raising once a year. John can rarely afford books.

Monday, a newspaper vendor had already dropped out before the end of primary school when he was displaced

by the civil war. He and his sister support four other younger children. He wants to go back to school but is too old to sit with children in a primary. There is no provision for him to go to school in the afternoons so he can continue to sell in the mornings.

Halima, at an urban government school will drop out this year as the soaring fees mean her family cannot afford to keep her there as well as pay the boys' fees (though Ugandans do try hard to educate the girls). She has an alternative to raise fees by "befriending" a sugar daddy.... but with AIDS this may be certain death.

The teachers

Teachers receive £8 a month as their salary. In a good school the PTA will increase this to £40 and lunches will be provided. The ideal posting is to a "famous" boarding school where accommodation will also be given. The next best is to an urban school where extensive "coaching" can be given.

The training system produces very few teachers compared to the need. Makerere will produce thirty-six teachers this year in English (PGDE + BA Ed). The NTCs may produce a hundred or so.

The trainers

The National Teachers Colleges (Diploma), Institute of Education (two-year BA post Diploma), Makerere.

The parents

Virtually every Ugandan is the "parent" of someone younger. School fees, typically £40 per term, exceed most government salaries.

The ELTO's problem

Working in a department producing only thirty-six teachers a year seems not to be the most efficient way for the ELTO to work; he decided that outreach to the schools and the existing teachers was important. The project framework as drafted did not allow for much of this. Could the project framework have had flexibility built in to it to allow him to make adjustments to his work based on a professional assessment of the situation (and with the consent of the Makerere department)?

The discussion

At first it was pointed out that this was not an uncommon situation, probably more common than was realised. Often the ELTO went ahead and did the necessary work in response to the situation he/she found on arrival. However, if the framework was to mean anything and the changes were to be formalised the changes could be incorporated either as flexibility in the original document or by changing the document at the next convenient point (e.g. renewal of agreement).

The discussion centred on the **flexibility of the original document.** It was pointed out that in the Uganda study the wider objective

to secure a higher level of English language competence of secondary school graduates through improvements in the quality of secondary teachers of English

would permit the kind of outreach work seen to be necessary. It was agreed that flexibility, if the framework was to have any meaning, would have to be within the wider objectives. Otherwise, the framework would have to be totally rewritten.

The wider objectives should have a socio-economic validity especially when considered with their assumptions and risks.

If major changes took place in the system (such as prolonged closure or a sudden change in medium of instruction) these would affect the ability to carry out the wider objectives and may require the whole framework to be rewritten (or cancelled).

As for changing the immediate objectives, it was recommended that the ELTO should establish the host institution's agreement to the recommended changes, then seek advice both within the representation and, if necessary, as part of a process of review by ODA or other consultant. Survey and other preparation work could go ahead.

It was further considered that the immediate objectives be deliberately written with wider options to allow the ELTO to advise and alter on arrival, especially if the ELTO has relevant experience.

The consensus was that the problem was probably not a major one: the wider objectives should reflect the society accurately enough to allow the best work to be done; within the period of one contract, sufficient slight and/or preparatory changes could be made; the next contract could reflect the desired new work.

Peru

Case study - ESS Project in materials writing and INSET

Case study leader: Isobel Rainey

The project

ESS Project 1990-1993, this is the second stage of a project which started in 1984.

This stage of the Project has three main aims

* the consolidation and development of the in-service training of Peruvian secondary school teachers of English, initiated during the first stage of the Project

* the revision and rewriting of a set of five EFL coursebooks - one book for each of the five years of secondary school. These books were also written during the first stage of the Project

* the training of a small team of teacher trainers (four to six in all), who will be mainly responsible for sustaining and developing the Project when the ELTO leaves

Achievements in first stage of Project

Five books of acceptable quality, given the aims and the budget, written and published in extremely difficult circumstances: no ELTO at post; British expert visited Lima twice a year only to supervise materials writing; some writing and supervision also carried out in London while a few project teachers were taking INSET courses there.

A small but enthusiastic group of teachers from Lima-Callao and five provincial capitals were trained in using the materials and had expressed interest in continuing to use them.

Five teachers were sent to Britain for language improvement and methodology courses.

Developments in project August 1990 - July 1991

* ELTO at post in late August 1990. Well-equipped Project office organized and functioning by late November within the main Ministry of Education building

* three author teams identified for materials writing. By April 1991, Team One had been trained in WP skills and had completed revision of Books One and Two and accompanying teacher's guides. All four books now available to teachers

* three INSET seminars had been given in Lima-Callao and two in the provinces with the result that the number of teachers involved in the project tripled

* two members of Team One sent to Britain in July for a six-month INSET courses

* Team Two trained in WP skills and now revising and re-writing Book Three

* potential Project trainers identified

* a very unsuitable Counterpart replaced in May 1991 by a keen, competent person

* permanent secretarial support finally secured after a ten-month period (September to end of June) during which a Secretary was available during three months only

* after three changes of the ME directors who are supposed to oversee and support the Project, the ELTO and the Peruvian Counterpart can now count on their pleasant and efficient co-operation

* seven more project teachers will be going to Britain for INSET courses in January 1992

Current problems and difficulties

Owing to the dire economic situation in Peru, the ESS teachers have been on strike since April. (Their average wage is around £40 a month and Lima is currently rated the third most expensive city in the world.) It is not possible/wise to organize seminars during teachers' strikes so the five seminars programmed for the period July-December cannot be taught. Teachers can, however, be invited to Project meetings.

The system for printing and publishing the coursebooks is very time-consuming and inefficient - no one involved in the project has been trained to use all the equipment provided by ODA. (The ELTO had hoped to take a course in April in the use of Pagemaker, Windows and the electronic scanner, but this proved impossible as the then Counterpart could not be relied on to supervise the Project during her absence.) Currently, the production stage of the materials writing is contracted out to a company of systems engineers, who after putting the materials on to Pagemaker and lifting the drawings with the scanner, produce the masters on a laser printer. The masters are then transferred to electronic stencils and subsequently taken to another part of Lima for the actual mimeographing process. This means that the materials are being "produced" in three different places in Lima; as a result it is very difficult to detect design or text errors. These problems are compounded by the fact that the equipment provided by ODA is not entirely compatible with Pagemaker; nor is the scanner totally compatible with the IBM computer.

Case study

* discuss the best way to use the teacher training time available between now and end of December, bearing in mind that seminars per se cannot be run but that current levels of interest and participation should at all costs be sustained

* consider ways in which the printing of the materials can be made less labour intensive, more efficient, and error proof

- discuss ways of directing (harnessing and channelling), in order to maximize impact and minimize chaos, all the energy and ideas with which scholars will return to Peru in January and April 1992

Conclusions

During the remainder of the strike, project teachers should be called to meetings at which there could be some kind of academic/vocational input. Initially, those teachers who have already had training in the UK and/or who have been identified as potential teacher trainers would be responsible for the input. Subsequently, all the teachers should have a chance to lead the meetings. Topics to be addressed could vary from areas of language in need of improvement to a revision and development of the methodology component of the INSET seminars, which all the teachers have attended. Officially it will not be possible to award credits/ certificates for attending the meetings, but in the February and March 1992 seminars, before the start of the next school year when it should be possible to organize seminars again, one of the components or modules could cover the content already dealt with at these meetings. Thus, during the actual seminar, only a little time would be spent on recapping and revising this content. In the seminar certificates, however, the duration of the seminar would be expressed in terms of the total number of hours the teachers spent on covering all the content, including that of the meetings held between September and December 1991.

The question of compatibility of equipment and programmes should be addressed as soon as possible. The real problem has been caused by the fact that an Apple Macintosh computer should have been ordered instead of an IBM. (The IBM, although powerful, is a very "inflexible" machine. When working with an electronic scanner and Pagemaker, production is excruciatingly complicated and slow. The Apple Mackintosh, on the other hand, is completely compatible with the scanner and Pagemaker and the actual design and production of the masters should be both fast and reasonably easy. It was suggested, therefore, that for the production stage of the materials an Apple Mackintosh should be bought or hired. If this proved impossible for financial reasons, then some kind of exchange should be arranged with the IBM computer.) In the meantime, a person from the Project or from the Ministry of Education should be trained in the use of all the equipment and programmes.

All those teachers who receive INSET in Britain should be asked to work very closely and intensively with the "Departamentales" in the provinces. Each teacher would first be responsible for informing the specialist of the aims of the project and for organizing, with his/her help, INSET seminars for EFL teachers in the schools which fall under the jurisdiction of his/her USE/ Departmental. So that they would not be working alone when carrying out their tasks in the USE's, each teacher would also select and train as assistant trainers, prior to the decentralized seminars, one or two teachers from those project members who have not

been to Britain. Thus the teachers trained in Britain would be sharing their training with three different groups: the language specialist in the USE/Departmental, at least one fellow project member and a large number of ESS teachers in their respective USE's/Departamentales.

Malaysia

Case study - ITC Language Proficiency Project

Case study leader: Ray Brown

Background

The background is that of a country in rapid economic development. It is also a country in which English has not been emphasized in education for over twenty years due to the development and spread of the national language (Bahasa Malaysia, or, commonly, "Bahasa"). Formerly much education was in the medium of English. Numbers were low and standards high. But numbers in education have increased greatly and English has become a subject rather than a medium (since 1969 in schools, 1983 in universities).

The result is a greater number of schoolchildren with a poor command of English. This is perceived as a drop in standards. With the rapid economic expansion of the country the need for English is making itself more and more felt. The economy is essentially private-sector led and has moved from being a commodity-based economy to a manufacturing-based economy with large exports. The PM's aim is development by the year 2020. The Government has recently expressed its concern about the standard of English teaching and is giving much greater priority to the subject. The Government's policy could be described as "functional bilingualism", i.e. Bahasa for all/English for all. Bahasa is now well established and secure as the national language though it is not the first language of Chinese and Indians. The objective of "English for all" is however far from being attained.

There are a number of problems in the ELT field. Exam pass rates are low and appear to be getting lower. There is a shortage of teachers. There are serious imbalances between the quality of teaching in urban areas and the quality in rural areas, or between the developed west coast and the less developed east coast of the peninsula, or between the west coast and the two states of East Malaysia, Sarawak and Sabah. The number of teachers, their quality, the lack of English in the environment and the motivation of learners are all problems in the rural areas

The MoE are taking steps to remedy these problems. A number of young Malaysians are being trained as teachers in UK and a further extensive programme of UK training is presently in preparation. There are plans to increase the numbers of teachers in training and plans to make the SPM (O-level) pass in English compulsory as soon as it is feasible to do so. The ODA/British Council have been active in the following areas

* the Sabah Rural Primary English Project, 1981-91

* an ELTO post in Schools Division in MoE, working principally on the development of the secondary school curriculum

* an ELTO post in Teacher Education Division of MoE, developing a national level self access programme in

twenty-eight teachers' colleges to improve the level of English of future English teachers

* UPM/University of Warwick link: an academic link programme between Warwick University and two Malaysian universities (UM and UPM) which will help upgrade English teacher training and service courses

* TCTD programme: a limited number of awards per year for ELT

* exchanges and visits

Task

How might British ELT aid to Malaysia be best integrated with other inputs, British and Malaysian, to improve ELT in order to maximize social and economic development?

The investigation should cover

* how best can Malaysia go about achieving its goal of functional bilingualism?

* how can ODA/BC best contribute to this?

the study will obviously bear in mind ODA's commitment to development and how our inputs can ease problems such as urban/rural gaps, deprivation, male/female gaps, employment opportunities, human resources development and educational imbalances. The report should suggest ways in which contributions to these areas could be measured.

A "Bridge Programme" was proposed to recruit and train teachers from less privileged areas with a view to getting them to return to their local areas and, as well as teaching English, participate in community development and rural development. The purpose of the one year's intensive bridging programme between school and teacher training is to bring them up to the level of trainees from the more privileged areas and to provide training in community and rural development.

One year bridging progamme

Wider objectives

1 To overcome the urban/rural imbalance in education

2 To overcome the east/west geographical imbalance in education

3 To develop rural communities in the East Coast States and in Eastern Malaysia

Immediate objectives

1 To raise educational standards of selected youth to the level required for entry to TTCs, or BEds in Universities (Malaysia or UK)

2 To raise awareness of issues in rural development with a view to making the selected youth not only teachers of English but catalysts of socio-economic development

Content of the bridging programme

- SPM subjects - maths, science, Bahasa Malaysia, intensive English

- issues and techniques in rural development

Staffing and staff/materials development

- staff are quality teachers of SPM subjects from urban schools

- INSET programme particularly for issues in rural development through materials development

Location, number and type of centres

- urban (staff are urban)
- one per participating state
- residential

Proposed British inputs

- six-monthly consultancy visits for INSET through materials development for three years in the first instance
- UK or third country training

Indicators of achievement

1 Numbers returning to their rural areas

2 Improvement in quality and effectiveness of teaching

3 Extent of contribution of returning teachers to rural development in the community

Cameroon

Case study - Secondary INSET Project

Case study leaders: Colin Davis/Patrick Samba

Background

Cameroon lies between West and Central Africa on the Gulf of Guinea and is bounded on the north, west, south and south east respectively by Chad, Nigeria, the Atlantic Ocean, Gabon and the Congo. A German Territory from 1884 to 1914, Cameroon was divided, after the defeat of Germany in the First World War, into two parts. One part, a fifth of the country and population, was administered by Britain and the rest by France. Today, Cameroon is a bilingual and bi-cultural country. Because Cameroon has had three different colonial masters its history and education are chequered and this, above everything else, accounts for the very slow pace of reforms because of each group's varying interests and their attachment to their former colonial heritage.

All education in Cameroon is state controlled and although the State gives permission to mission bodies (voluntary agencies) and to individuals (lay private) to run schools, the curricula, syllabuses, timetables, examinations and certification as well as the general supervision of instructional programmes, are the prerogative of the State and those who do not conform to the many texts and decrees regulating to education are sanctioned sometimes by the closure of the establishments or by the withdrawal of subventions. Voluntary agencies and lay private institutions reapply every year for permission to reopen.

Like the public administration of the country, Cameroon's formal educational system and practices are very highly centralized. What ever is taught at any level is decreed by the Government. Of the ten administrative provinces in the country two are English-speaking. The anglophone provinces run a seven-five-two years system respectively of primary, secondary and high school courses while the francophone sector runs a six-four-three years system. There is no difference in university education although the only one University is very French-oriented. Both sectors have a two years pre-school system called the nursery school. This is available only for those living in the cities. Education is not compulsory; thus many children in the rural areas do not attend school. The examination system is still different between the anglophone and francophone systems and attempts have been made since 1960 to harmonize the school syllabuses without much success. The multicultural heritage of our curricula is considered by some people in authority as a weakness rather than as a strength and, because of well-founded suspicions, attempts at subtle assimilation by the majority are being resisted by the anglophone minority even where the reforms may be for the better. Apart from technical education which was the first casualty of subtle assimilation, both sectors more or less maintain their own system each of which is based on their colonial heritage. French is taught in the English medium schools beginning from Class Four (ages eight and nine) and English is used as a language of instruction for all subjects from the age of four while French is a language of instruction in the Francophone sector and English is taught from Class Four (ages eight and nine).

It is against this background of problems and unease in the education system and the background of other issues such as the dramatic shortage and/or the presence of a large number of unqualified staff, the almost total lack of instructional materials, equipment and logistics, the high demand for education even in the rural areas in the face of a population explosion and the creation of more schools for political expediency, that the British INSET Project in this part of the country could not have come at a better time. Like the American Project-Support to Primary Education, which was terminated prematurely, the British INSET Project provides a very cherished momentum in seminars, in-service, and pre-service workshops in English, maths and physics in addition to the dynamic experiment of the joint project in the three subject areas.

The decision by the Cameroon Government to create "an Anglo-Saxon-type University" in Buea, if and when it does begin to operate, will show the full force and necessity of this Project with its potential for expansion and replication, which is what is now happening!

The French Technical Assistance Programme has already started studies to introduce a similar scheme in francophone Cameroon.

Sri Lanka

Case study - ELT Testing and Evaluation Project

Case study leader: Richard Webber

Background

The Sri Lankan Testing and Evaluation Project (ELTP) was established in 1987 in order to set up a GCE O-Level English language examination to test the ODA funded secondary school materials "English Every Day". The ODA funding for this Project and for the concomitant Materials Development Project was occasioned by a change in Government of Sri Lanka educational policy further to the election of a new government in 1977 and the publication of a White Paper in 1981. The new policy departed from previous thinking by looking upon English as a tool in the development of a newly outward-looking economy in which English would be of great importance in international trade and in the development of a modern service sector. The Project is currently scheduled to be completed on 30 June 1992 and the majority of its goals in terms of staff training, equipment supply and the creation of an administrative infrastructure have been completed. Specifically, the O-Level has now been successfully administered three times despite considerable disruption caused by war in the North and East and by an insurrection in the south. Candidacy at the last sitting was 335,000 and candidacy in December 1991 is expected to approach its maximum at c.400,000.

Economic considerations

The group considered the impact of the Project on the national economy in various ways.

Firstly, the group considered sectors of the economy which would seem to be most likely to be affected by an improvement in the English language skills of the school leaver workforce. The sectors that were considered were: hotels, tourism, trade, public sector, teaching and remittances from overseas workers. Whilst the group agreed that the generally beneficial effect of the sectors on the economy of Sri Lanka could not be wholly attributed to improved English language achievement at O-Level, it was agreed that this enhancement was economically significant in the short term and potentially more so in the long term.

Secondly the group considered the impact of the Project on the big foreign currency earning sectors of the Sri Lankan economy, i.e. tea, tourism, garments, remittances and gemming/diamond cutting. The group felt that the picture here was somewhat mixed with, for instance, garments, tea and gemming being virtually unaffected by any human capital enhancement created by improved English language skills while tourism and remittances were more likely to benefit. However, even in the cases of garments, tea and gemming, whilst the vast majority of workers required no English language skills the group pointed out that all these workers were dependent on a few EL-able individuals to negotiate and monitor trading contracts.

Thirdly, the group considered the impact of the Project on the Sri Lankan domestic economy. It was felt that the importance of EL skills in agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, mining and construction was minimal but that its importance in both private and public sector services was considerable.

Social considerations

The Project was seen by the group as being of considerable social significance because of the very large number of youths that were certificated each year by the GCE O-Level English. The group thus considered that the involvement of society in education was in itself of great importance in investigating how well society might be functioning. Thus, the fact that the new GCE O-Level was being effectively administered, was being perceived to be so administered and was generally accepted by society, after a vigorous publicity campaign, as a worthwhile and fair testing instrument was agreed to be a significant benefit to the whole of Sri Lankan society.

The group considered the social impact of the Project in terms of ODA's six "cross-cutting issues" i.e. women, population, environment, forestry, poorest of the poor and good governance. Regarding the last of these the group heard that English language skills were peceived by the Sri Lankan people as the key to good modern sector jobs and that a common perception among rural youth that this key was not being made available to them had led at various times to civil disturbance and vast loss of life. The group therefore felt that the Sri Lankan ELTP was of major importance in assisting Government of Sri Lanka in good governance of the nation by assisting it in maintaining a perception of well being in the populace and in preventing interruptions to the smooth development of the economy by civil unrest. The group also learnt that more females sit the GCE O-Level English Language and that their success rates were greater than those of men. Further, the group learnt that despite war in the north and east the Tamil ethnic minority achieved markedly higher pass rates at GCE O-Level English than the Sinhalese majority. The group therefore concluded that the skills enhancement of females and of the major ethnic minority would be of great value in the development of the economy of Sri Lanka as peace is restored to the north and east and female participation rates in the workforce increase.

Appendix 1

Socio-economic roles and their implications

John Burke/Rod Bolitho · College of St Mark & St John

Socio-economic aspects of ELT: questionnaire responses

All teachers/teacher trainers in ELT - mixed nationality - all volunteers

1   **Number of Participants:** 34

2   **Average Age:** 36

3   **Sex:** M - 23; F - 13

4   **Countries:** Ethiopia/Ghana/Niger/Cote d'Ivoire/Zaire/Tanzania/Lesotho/Mozambique/
Sudan/Madagascar/Colombia/Malaysia/Pakistan

5   **Average number of languages able to use fluently:** 2.9

6   **Number of different languages represented:** 27

7	**The participant's view of their own socio-economic status**	"advantaged"/"middle-class" = 34

8	**The socio-economic groups in their country needing attention**	**In order of priority** a rural dwellers, b the poor c women d youth e the unemployed

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9	**The main socio-economic issues in their countries**	**The top 6 given.** The need for a economic stability, growth and employment b the development of democratic processes c increased literacy d better relationships with other countries e ethnic integration and national unity f population control (Other items included health/housing improvements corruption control improved agriculture transport/communications)

10	**The reason English is taught in their country**	**In order of priority** a international communication b trade/business/tourism c science/technology d education e employment f for pleasure (2 respondents had no real reason why English was taught)

5

| 11 | The socio-economic groups who benefit   a   most and,   b   least from the availability of English | most | a | the education/advantaged young people cultural minorities the "displace."" |
| | | least | b | rural dwellers the poor the handicapped women |

12	The links between socio-economic groups and issues, and the availability of English in the country	a	English provides access to opportunities for employment
		b	it assists educational and personal improvement (for employment)
		c	it helps develop the economy and improves employment opportunities
		d	it provides access to world knowledge and knowledge about health/population etc
		e	it helps develop/maintain national unity

13	The degree of recognition of English and support for English given by the government	Government support is	
		enthusiastic	3
		supportive	26
		indifferent	5
		negative	0

14	What the participant's main purpose/aim is in being on a course in UK	In order of priority	
		a	career enhancement
		b	to be better able to assist in the socio-economic development of their country
		c	the development of personal interests and understanding

15	The participant's view of his/her main role on return home in relation to socio-economic issues .	In order of priority	
		a	to help fellow teachers teach more effectively; and so, learners to learn more effectively and gain access to general knowledge, technology, opportunities for self-improvement
		b	to help educate the community through literacy programmes, community education, adult education
		c	to produce teaching materials to help teachers/learners learn effectively

| 16 | Those aspects of training the participants feel meet the requirements of their future roles | a | course learning processes - organising, planning, evaluating, observing, interacting with others, leading seminars, designing materials |
| | | b | course topics, including methodology, materials, course design, language awareness, issues in education and development |

17	The relationship between English and education in the participant's country	**In order of priority** a English is essential for educational productivity b English assists educational mobility c modern English teaching provides a model for other subjects d English is **not** important for educational development
18	The consequences of English ceasing to be taught in the participant's country	**In order of priority** a national isolation b extreme difficulty in obtaining higher education abroad c great decline in job opportunities at home and overseas d development, trade and economic decline e ethnic and national disorder and administrative collapse f no educational materials or education g decline in number of doctors, engineers, scientists and agriculturalists (and frustrated youth unable to listen to pop songs)
19	What the participant would spend money on in supporting English	**In order of priority** a teacher training and education b teaching materials c resource centres and libraries d improving general education and tackling illiteracy e ESP training

Grid used for observation of Universities Research Project "simulation" meeting

	Chair (BC Assistant Director)	Dean of Arts	Ministry of Education Official	Head of English	ELT Adviser
Personalities 1	Mollifying tactful but firm	Acerbic, defensive	Sleepy	Anxious, rather insecure	Altruistic, concerned
Patches 2	BC (ELT) role in country	The University including the Language Centre	All major education decisions, especially literacy	"English" as a relevant University discipline	Advice role
Pay-Offs 3	Opportunity for BC role in important national project	Reduce Universities Research Project; boost Language Centre	Preserve decision-making role	Increase perceived relevance of Department of English	Advice seen to be effective
Processes 4	- Phatic - Elicitation - Action - Decision	Negative then positive	Delay	Questioning, suggesting	Responding to queries; proposing
Project(s) 5	Action plan to be drafted immediately after meeting	Larger field for project - development of Language Centre	Link with literacy programme	ESP element - staff in English Department	INSET programme

Link to environmental issues

1   Apparent personality traits which seem likely to affect the course of events in the meeting

2   Interests/areas of responsibility or influence which the holder will want to defend

3   Looked-for outcomes in the interest of this person

4   Stages/strategies in the development of the meeting (as perceived/pursued by the various participants

5   The different perceptions of the essential nature of the project as/in so far as agreed by the end of the meeting

Grid designed by Hugh Trappes-Lomax, Institute for Applied Language Studies, University of Edinburgh

Observer's feedback on Universities Research Project "simulation" meeting

	Chair	Dean	MoE	Head of Dept	ELT
Personalities	Concerned/ diplomatic	Anxious/ pushable	Concerned/ defensive	Self seeking	Pushy
Patches	BC/ influence	The rural poor/ Poly. Dept	The national benefit	Status of Dept	Status with ODA/ELT role
Pay-Offs	Position vis a vis the Government of client country	Avoiding harm to rural poor/ Dept	Political Kudos	Promotion/ UK visits	Kudos with ODA
Processes	Facilitator/ harmoniser	Objecter, later crushed	Objecter, later adapts and negotiates	Enthusiastic support	Pushes ELT view relentlessly
Project(s)	To produce a harmonious document	To accommodate the rural poor	Embracing other languages	Materials and training for dept	INSET/ ELTOs

Appendix 2

Perceptions of impact

Hywel Coleman, University of Leeds

Parameters of impact: case studies

The four case studies illustrate some of the parameters
of impact discussed in section 2 of Perceptions of
impact. The first three case studies are authentic,
but names have been changed or removed. The fourth
case study, though invented, contains a considerable
element of authenticity.

Case study one

Mohammed completed his secondary school education in
1975. He had done well at school, but he was one of a
large family and there was no question of his being
able to pursue his education any further. For three
years he helped his father to work the family's rice
field. However, in 1976, like many young people from
his village, he moved 500 miles to the capital city in
search of employment and a regular wage which could
then be used to support the education of his younger
brothers back in the village.

For the first couple of years Mohammed had a succession
of labouring and casual jobs. In 1980, though, he
began to work as the servant and driver for a
foreigner. One of his tasks was to clean the
bookshelves in the foreigner's study. Mohammed found
that the books on the shelves fell into three or four
categories: novels in his own language, novels in
English, books about his own culture and country, and
books to do with English language teaching.
(Apparently the foreigner was working in a British
Council project in a local university.) Mohammed asked
if he could borrow some of these books and the
foreigner agreed. Over the next two years Mohammed
read voraciously and he rapidly broadened his
perceptions of his own country and the wider world.
His English improved a lot as well.

The foreigner for whom he worked was intrigued to see
how Mohammed responded to the books in the study and so
offered to help him take up education again, as a
part-time student at a private university. The
foreigner left the country in 1984, but by that time
Mohammed was well into a four-year progamme in
education. He graduated in 1986 and immediately began
work as an English language teacher in a state
secondary school.

In 1989 Mohammed moved to the language centre of a
government ministry and again found himself working
with somebody associated with the British Council - but
this time as a counterpart to an ELTO. In October 1991
he will be coming to Britain with an ODA scholarship
for counterpart training, to do a masters degree in
EFL.

Case study two

The University Grants Commission in a developing
country initiated a national-level project to provide
in-service training in ELT to college and university
teachers. This was in collaboration with a department
in a British university. Although the programme was
affiliated to a local university for accreditation
purposes, it was decided that selected candidates
should be sent to the partner university in Britain for
a one-year masters programme in TESOL after
successfully concluding the local in-service training
course.

Two members of a three-person team from the British
university arrived to undertake initial planning and
organization of the in-service training course. The
third team member - designated as Director of Studies
(DoS) - arrived a few days before the first course
began. Incidentally, this man had had no previous
experience of working in developing countries. Soon
after the first course started, the local counterpart -
who had actually initiated the whole Project - went on
long leave, so leaving the foreign DoS to fend for
himself. The DoS had considerable difficulties
understanding the workings and the system of the host
institution. This led to mutual mistrust and
resentment between himself and the authorities in the
host institution. The conflict culminated when, at the
end of the course, the DoS flew back to Britain without
handing over the final examination papers to the local
university authorities, arguing that he could not trust
anyone locally to mark the papers fairly.

The conflict seriously affected the Proje t and no
further courses could be offered for the next two
years.

Case study three

This case study is set in the same country and the same
University Grants Commission project as that discussed
in Case study two. Two years after the difficulties
described in the earlier case study, a new British DoS
was appointed, along with a full-time counterpart.

The in-service training course started up again, and
the project is now in its seventh year and is running
very successfully. Almost 180 teachers from different
universities and colleges from all over the country
have been trained. A number of these have also
completed masters degree programmes in linguistics and
ELT at different universities in Britain.

A majority of the graduates of the course are teacher
trainers, working at a variety of levels throughout the
country. Some of the graduates have since been
promoted to senior positions in their own institutions,
and a number of them are now members of national and
provincial curriculum committees and are also involved
in textbook writing. Curriculum changes have been
introduced recently in several institutions and many of
these can be attributed to the influence of the
graduates of the UGC in-service programme. Regular
masters programmes in ELT are also being instituted in
some universities in the country.

Case study four

The University of Plaistow used to have a well
established Department of International Education. The

Department existed for over twenty years and, during
that time, it developed strong links with various parts
of the world, but especially with countries in the
Erehwon region. Expertise was thus built up in the
field of education in relation to Erehwon countries in
particular.

Students from numerous Erehwon countries were sent to
Plaistow's Department of International Education in
order to benefit from this accumulated expertise. They
generally participated in the regular diploma and
masters programmes. In addition, the Department was
frequently asked by funding agencies to design
tailor-made courses for specialist educators from
various Erehwon countries.

Consequently, the Department tended to recruit only
staff who had had substantial experience in these
countries. The Department became increasingly
well-known for its expertise in Erehwon education and
staff often served as consultants to various agencies.

However, in 1985 the attention of funding bodies began
to move away from Erehwon and was directed more and
more towards Utopia. British aid to Erehwon was cut
substantially and was transferred to Utopia. The
funding agencies therefore began to seek out university
departments which could offer courses suitable for
Utopian educators. Not surprisingly, the Department at
Plaistow was perceived as having relatively little to
offer in the field of Utopian education. In
consequence, the number of students sent to the
department by the aid agencies dropped considerably
over the next few years.

These developments coincided with changes in government
policy towards the funding of universities.
Increasingly, university departments were required to
go through an accounting process which revealed whether
they were making a loss, breaking even, or making a
profit. As the number of students entering the
Department of International Education dropped, so the
income of the Department fell. As a result, all the
staff on fixed-term contracts had to be released
gradually. (Ironically, most of them are now teaching
in different parts of Utopia.) The single member of
the Department with a tenured position was transferred
to the Department of the Philosophy of Education, and
so the Department of International Education at the
University of Plaistow closed its doors for the last
time in July 1991.

Appendix 3

Seminar programme

Dunford House Seminar 1991

22-27 July 1991

Theme: The social and economic impact of ELT in development

Monday 22 July

1100   Participants arrive

1130   Welcome to Dunford House - Dr Denis Pain, Director, Dunford House

1135   General introduction to seminar - David Clarke, Rex Berridge, English Language Division, British Council

1145   Keynote speech - Dr Roger Iredale, Chief Education Advisor, Overseas Department Administration

1300   Lunch

1400   Dr Desmond Nuttall, Director for Educational Research, Paul Redfern, London School of Economics

1445   Discussion

1545   English language teaching in Eastern Europe - Roy Cross, English Language Division, British Council

1630   Discussion

1715   Session ends

Tuesday 23 July

Day organized by University of Leeds, Overseas Education Unit. Presented by Hywel Coleman, Ann Wiseman and Fauzia Shamim

Theme: Perceptions of impact

Wednesday 24 July

0900   Communication skills projects in development - David Clarke, Maggie Jo St John

0945   Gender and development - Sarah Ladbury

1045   Discussion: gender and English language teaching (ELT) in development

1130   Introduction to case studies

1300   Lunch

1400   Case studies
      Yemen   - Claudia Cooper/Veronica Daly
      Cote d'Ivoire - Gerry Greenall
      Kenya   - Andrew Thomas
      Uganda   - Barry Sesnan

1800   Session ends

Thursday 25 July

Day organized by College of St Mark & St John. Presented by John Burke and Rod Bolitho.

Theme: Socio-economic roles and their implications - views from the grass roots

Friday 26 July

0900   English and imperialism - Dr Robert Phillipson

0945   ELT and development - Dr Roger Bowers, Director, English Language Division, British Councl

1045   Group discussion

1130   Introduction to case studies

1300   Lunch

1400   Case studies:
      Peru   - Isobel Rainey
      Malaysia   - Ray Brown
      Cameroon   - Colin Davis/Patrick Mbunwe-Samba
      Sri Lanka   - Richard Webber

1800   Session ends

Saturday 27 July

0900   Action plans:
      Justifying and evaluating ELT aid strategies for ELT aid

1045   Action plans continued

1145   Seminar evaluation

1230   Seminar closes

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Dunford 1991 participants

UK participants

Martin Cortazzi - School of Education
University of Leicester

Cyril Weir - Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Reading

James Morrison - Moray House College of Education

Thelma Henderson - Centre for English Language Teaching
University of Warwick

Hugh Trappes-Lomax - Institute for Applied Language
Studies, University of Edinburgh

John Naysmith - TESOL Unit, West Sussex Institute of
Higher Education

Michael Connelly - English Department
St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill

John Clegg - Department of English Language
Training, Ealing College of Higher
Education

Roger Flavell - Institute of Education
University of London

Adrian Holliday - Department of Language Studies
Christchurch College Canterbury

Overseas participants

Olayinka Quadri - Nigeria - National Universities
Commission

Fauzia Shamim - Pakistan - Study Fellow at
University of Leeds

Mary Muchuri - Kenya - Study Fellow at University
of Lancaster

Patrick Mbunwe-Samba - Cameroon - Inspector

UK Collaborating Institutions

Hywel Coleman - Overseas Education Unit
University of Leeds

Ann Wiseman - Overseas Education Unit
University of Leeds

John Burke - International Education Centre
College of St Mark & St John

Rod Bolitho - International Education Centre
College of St Mark & St John

British Council - Overseas

Richard Webber - British Council Sri Lanka

Andrew Thomas- British Council Kenya

ELTOs

Claudia Cooper - Yemen - San'a University Language
Centre Project

Veronica Daly - Yemen - Sana'a University Language
Centre Project

Isobel Rainey - Peru - English for Secondary Schools
Project

Colin Davis - Cameroon - Anglophone Cameroon
Secondary INSET Project

Barry Sesnan - Uganda - Makere University, School
of Education Development Project

Gerry Greenall - Cote d'Ivoire - National ESP Project

Ray Brown - Malaysia - TTC Language Proficiency
Project

Brian Bamber - Pakistan - ELT Centre, University of
Mehran, Hyderabad

Seminar staff (British Council)

David Clarke - Course Director

Rex Berridge - Course Organizer

Marcelle Organ - Assistant Course Organizer

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