

Language Tangle

Predicting and Facilitating Outcomes

in Language Education

by

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I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

(Signed):

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Thor May". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized 'T' and 'M'.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to the many thousands of students who, over a thirty-three year period, have forced me to rethink my teaching again and again. They came from South Korea, China, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, a dozen far flung island nations of the Pacific, and as immigrants from every corner of the globe. So many stories, such amazing people – they gave far more than I could ever hope to return.

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Abstract

This thesis argues that foreign and second language teaching productivity can only reach its proper potential when it is accorded priority, second only to language learner productivity, amongst the many competing productivities which are always asserted by stakeholders in educational institutions. A theoretical foundation for the research is established by examining the historical concept of productivity, and its more recent manifestation as knowledge worker productivity, especially as applied to teachers. The empirical basis of the thesis is sourced from a chronological series of twenty biographical case studies in language teaching venues in Australia, New Zealand, Oceania and East Asia. The biographical case study methodology, although rare in applied linguistics, is justified by reference to its wide and growing application in other fields of qualitative research. The case studies are analysed for common patterns of productivity, as well as teaching productivity inhibition or failure. It was affirmed across all of the case studies without exception that external parties could not control or even reliably predict what individual students might learn, and how well, from instances of instructed language teaching. This was regardless of the power of institutional players, external resources, curriculums or the teacher. Student belief in the immediate value of what was to be learned in a given lesson, and personal confidence in an ability to learn it were the most critical factors. Teaching productivity was

found to turn, ultimately, on the teacher's ability to influence the probability of student learning. The teacher could best influence learning probability by enhancing student motivation. The most effective environments for teaching productivity were seen to be those where the teacher was professionally equipped and politically enabled to exercise judgements which maximized opportunities for student language learning productivity. A negotiated pact concerning both curriculum and method often proved effective, especially with mature students, and at times required some deception of institutional authorities. Empirically, the encouragement of reciprocal learning relationships between teacher and students was found to be powerfully enabling for language teaching productivity in the case studies. In many venues a small but effective minority of 'intimate learners' were also able to leverage their language learning productivity by forging more personal relationships with the teacher. The wider cultural paradigm within each of the countries represented in the case studies sanctioned different paths and limitations for both language learners and teachers, and hence was seen to influence teaching productivity in critical ways. It was found that under certain conditions, notably (but not exclusively) those prevailing in many East Asian educational institutions, that certification of foreign language skills had a higher cultural, employment and monetary value than the actual ability to exercise foreign language skills. A negative influence on teacher productivity in many of the case studies was an ignorance about language learning and teaching amongst institutional players. The disregard of language teacher professionalism was

fed by a belief that being able to speak a language was all that was necessary to teach it, and reinforced by misinterpreting the meaning of test results. Related to this, an imbalance of power relationships between teachers or students with other institutional interests was consistently found to interfere with teaching and learning productivities. Overall, the model of productivity understood in institutions instanced by the case studies tended to reflect a 19th Century economic paradigm of capital, raw materials (students) and labour (dispensable classroom workers) rather than any more sophisticated grasp of knowledge worker productivity. It was demonstrated in the context of the case studies that productivity, and in particular knowledge worker productivity, is a complex concept whose facets require detailed analysis to arrive at a proper understanding of the role that foreign and second language teachers play in educational institutions.

Section 1: Language Tangle and the productive teacher

This dissertation attempts to trace the actual professional life of a teacher of English as a second or foreign language, and to perceive patterns relevant to language teaching productivity in that life. The scenarios it deals with are real. They were not structured for research as such. In one sense they are unique to that teacher, his circumstances and his personality. At another level they give windows into the adult language teaching profession which go beyond the idealizations normally found in training texts and academic papers. The reference point for the dissertation is teacher productivity, and the thesis to be argued is that teacher productivity can be enhanced by prioritizing it above all other productivities in learning institutions, excepting only the learning productivities of students themselves. In the examples to be studied, this prioritization proves to be exceptional rather than normal.

A number of researchers have pointed out that the training of language teachers is principally based upon the presentation of rationalist models and theory which few trainees find applicable to their later working lives (Ur 1992; Day n.d. and others). Many professions such as law, medicine and engineering

have made increasing use of case studies to help induct their professionals through a more problem based learning approach. It is hoped that the material in this dissertation will contribute towards a corpus of language teaching case studies, and offer some suggestions about the uses to which case studies may be put. In particular, the case studies presented here are interpreted through a focus on productivity. There are of course other possible foci of interpretation, such as the application of second language acquisition theories (Eckman et al 1995), teaching and learning psychology (Johnson 1996, Dornyei 2005), developmental studies (DeKeyser & Larson 2005, Johnson & Newport 1989), teaching methodology (Freeman & Freeman 2001), and so on.

This work argues that language teaching is a tangle of diverse activities and that in large numbers of teaching environments the activity tangle is pragmatically only partly occupied with helping students to learn (teachers generically fulfill multiple roles: Scribner 2003, Fenstermacher 1999). Ideally, the process of making this language tangle explicit to all of the parties involved might help to resolve it in favour of effective learning. Rapport is critical both with the classroom (Nguyen 2007) and within the wider institutional context. However a number of the cases documented here in fact suggest that some powerful institutional actors may not always be interested of effective learning if it competes with other priorities. Some of the case studies demonstrate that to assist effective learning, occasionally the teacher has to be subversive of the interests of various other involved parties. This is

not an outcome normally proposed in text books or academic research. However, the concept of teacher initiated subversion of curriculums (as interpreted by others) has a fairly extensive history in humanities teaching (for example, Illich 1970, Friere 1970, or Downes 2008, Gatto 1991 for more informal discussion).

Note that the specific pedagogical activities of classroom language teaching, as well as the routines and the methodologies behind them, are not the main subject of this particular study, although they receive some attention in Section 3, the analysis of the case studies. These matters have been the topics of many dissertations, books and teacher training manuals (Ellis 1994, Richards & Renandya 2002, Meddings & Thornbury 2009) . Rather the focus in this work is on the overall complex of activities which engage the language teacher's time, and their compound effect on productive teaching and learning.

Writing within the academic context there is some difficulty in negotiating a compromise between a working account of teacher activities and the language of formal research. The language in some of the case studies in this thesis is very direct, reflecting concrete classroom reality rather than academic abstraction. However, even moving to the academic register, there are risks of interpretation. For example, consider a proposition such as the following : *The language teacher's job, by one view, is to help language learners to learn productively. Productive language learning might be that mix of activities in*

the external environment and the student's mind which leads to some level of mastery in the target language in the least time.

There are problems with this proposition. A fundamental problem is that many of the terms mentioned – language teacher, learner, productivity, mastery ... and so on – demand further definition before we can agree about what the paragraph asserts. Such definition is the subject of much academic activity, but this in itself leads to another level of difficulty: namely that the definitions agreed upon tend to involve idealized model constructions. This often becomes a significant source of dissatisfaction for the majority of teacher trainees who merely want to be technicians in the trade of teaching. It is hoped that explicit description in the case studies will help to ground some of this confusion.

There is a trade-off too for the academic researcher. It is probably fair to say that a large part of current research on language teaching and second language acquisition is based upon idealized notions of learners, teachers, and the vast hierarchy of variables involved in language learning (Sridhar 1994, Jordan 2004:90, Romaine 2003:430). To be involved in the academic discourse is often to agree, at least tacitly, with the idealizations implicit in research in the field. Equally, judgments by colleagues are normally based upon the assumption of shared definitions and idealizations. There is a sensible economy of effort in this process, but it does carry fundamental risks. Most

other branches of formal inquiry undergo a similar idealization, and it is usually only when real world consequences intervene in a fairly catastrophic manner that basic assumptions are questioned (for example, Ashley 2001 on the engineering behind the New York World Trade Center Twin Towers collapse). The field of economics is an excellent example of model assumptions shattering in recent history (Munchau 2009). Not coincidentally much that will be discussed in this dissertation draws upon terms and ideas that had their origins in economics.

A significant part of the work which follows is a series of professional biographical case studies of teaching environments in which the author has played a part. The author would like to be able to say that in all of these teaching environments, spanning thirty-three years and seven countries, that his steadfast objective was to optimize student learning productivity. However, a non idealized reflection would have to admit that he was also doing many other things in these environments, not always with mission clarity, and that whatever attempts he did make to optimize student learning productivity were frustrated time and again by his own miscalculations, as well as by the objectives of other players: students, administrators, employers and others, each pursuing some perceived very short-term goal of self-interest, and typically in great ignorance of language learning processes. Taken individually, each of these 'language tangles' could be put down to the exigencies of the moment. Taken over the course of a working life, they lead to the reflection

that both language learning and language teaching productivities are normally in intense competition with a multitude of other priorities, both within the individual and from all of the parties involved in some way with the learning or teaching enterprise (Silver & Skuja 2005 for comment on policy aspects of this).

An academic researcher of teaching or second language acquisition might be inclined to dismiss this extraneous 'noise' as uninteresting to the learning process. A primary point of this thesis is to demonstrate that far from the 'noise' being uninteresting, a failure to cope with it is a major predictor of language learning failure, and language teaching failure. A failure by models of language learning to deal factually with the scale of the 'noise' factor renders them as quaint as the simple models of economic cycles found in freshman economics text books. A failure in teacher training to prepare teachers for the distractive forces they will encounter working against teaching and learning productivity carries the great danger of career frustration and cynical retreat from the basic goals of language teaching itself (Suslu 2006, Tanaka 2005:5).

Productivity

Since notions of productivity are central to the analysis in the thesis, this

section will attempt to trace some of the history of the concept before centering it in actual language teaching and learning.

Productivity is firstly an economic concept, and rests at the heart of modern economic theory. Tracing its application to language learning will take a little effort. The roots of productivity notions go back to Adam Smith's seminal *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Using the now famous analogy of a pin factory, Smith argued that such a factory where each worker specialized in part of the process could produce vastly more pins than one in which each worker produced a pin from start to finish. That is, by specializing, each worker could be more productive. The whole factory would be more productive by extracting a superior output from the same input of labour.

The economic models which were first built upon the pin factory analogy emphasized certain elements while minimizing others. In the age of mass industrial production, the focus was on maximizing productivity in the sense of producing the largest number of widgets for the smallest input cost of labour, capital and materials. Labour was seen as a negative, a cost (Smith 1995:6, Moad 2006). The productivity focus was from an industry perspective, not from a personal perspective. The individual was there to serve the interests of an industry or institution, not vice versa. To this extent the real division between the newly emerged capitalist ideology and collectivist ideologies like communism was that the former consciously employed productivity as a tool

for efficiency (Thompson 1997) whereas the latter did not (*The Economist* 2002). Both kinds of ideologies were built around mass organizations.

The management of mass education is an extremely large enterprise. It is not surprising that managerial bureaucracies in education often adopted the economic rationalist models of institutional productivity. The objective was to graduate the largest number of students for the smallest input of capital resources and teaching labour (Longstreet 1976, Larsen 2005). Teachers were seen as an enterprise cost. Students were an enterprise raw material with associated costs, but with a potential for profitable transformation. It has been the employment experience of at least this researcher that such a model is still common in the thinking of senior educational management.

The focus in this dissertation is on the productivity of teachers as knowledge workers, not the productivity for business investors that is ultimately expressed through financial returns. There would seem to be a natural opposition between these productivity objectives, but real life outcomes are more complex than that. The many players in institutions with conflicting objectives (for example, learning Vs profit) all make net contributions in more than one dimension. The contest between learning and profit is not always a zero sum equation (that is, a higher profit focus does not necessarily mean a worse educational experience, although it may), and there is American evidence that a naked business model can result in lower direct costs for some

students than not-for-profit undertakings:

In the United States for-profits compare favorably in terms of average institutional cost (e.g., \$6,940 for two undergraduate semesters vs. \$17,026 for publics and \$23,063 for private nonprofits). (Hentschke 2004)

This paradox is partly resolved by the fact that American for-profit institutions mostly provide vocational courses to a lower income demographic group while the private nonprofits are catering to a more well-off demographic, with public institutions somewhere in-between. In addition though, the pressure for all kinds of productivity gains as well as “cost structure” tends to be shaped by what the market will bear, regardless of ideology. Private educational providers are rapidly becoming trans-global with a worldwide capitalization of US\$26 billion in 2006 and downstream integration with publishing companies (Spring 2008:88). When it comes to foreign or second language learning access in institutions, the private provider model is putting traditional institutions under increasing challenge, and it may sometimes be that access (often meaning lower fees) is more important than elaborate resources, especially given that teacher quality is so variable at all levels. This is especially pertinent to the Chinese and Korean situations, discussed in some of the case studies to follow.

From the macro viewpoint – that of national policymakers (which is not the main focus in this thesis) – there has been an incoherence common to many

national education systems in coming to terms with the coalescence of outcomes from competing productivity arenas. In this situation, particular educational areas, such as foreign or second language teaching, can easily become collateral damage. The dilemma is well expressed by Ball and Goldman (1997):

Productivity problems cannot be solved as long as policy makers and educational leaders persist in focusing solely on schools and classrooms and ignoring the vast apparatus that has evolved to control and regulate them. When the full education system is examined and substantial changes are made in its structure and organization, schools can increase their productivity to get better results for the \$1.5 billion we spend on education [in America] every school day.

Affecting all of the business, government and education sectors, the foundations of standard economic theory itself have been shaken since the 1970s, although an understanding of these revisions has only slowly penetrated common management practices (Nelson & Winter 1984, Kirman 2009). This turns out to be crucially important for knowledge workers like teachers. To grasp the change, we have to return to the pin factory. A critical element in the story is that each worker becomes deeply knowledgeable about a very specialized activity.

This concept of 'knowledge accumulation' through specialization might have

been implicit in Smith's analogy, but for most economists it has been a very reduced notion of knowledge – something much more like an automated skill. The production line worker who is an expert at taping one spot on a cardboard carton might 'know' a lot about that, but his brain, used to only a fraction of its potential is more likely to atrophy. Just as strikingly, the PhD researcher who 'knows' everything published on some tiny corner of nature might well be an *idiot savant* when called upon to make dynamic judgments in a complex world, as he often is. In the latter case, it is arguable that we need a countervailing concept of 'wisdom accumulation' through wide generalized experience and reading (Smith, Zack 2009, and many others since antiquity).

Recent history has shown us then that industrial and institutional productivity can be extracted at a cost of making the individual less adaptable and capable as an autonomous being. We will see later that this has consequences for language learning.

The paradox of measuring productivity

The notion of productivity is most easily understood when it is grounded in the production or assembly of physical objects. My father was a carpenter, and he frequently complained that most people led useless lives. When he built a

cottage he knew very well how much of his labour was needed over a given period of time to achieve the objective. The cost and quantity of materials were also clearly measurable. The house owner and my father could agree in quite objective terms not only about the quality of his workmanship, but about the productivity of his performance (although, of course, he did not call it that).

The productivity of a preacher is altogether more difficult to measure. Is it in the size of his congregation per sermon delivered? Is it in the rate of diversion from wicked ways amongst his parishioners? Is it in the rate of admission to whatever heaven he is promoting, assuming that such a thing can be measured in this world or the next? These are not trivial questions since a significant part of human activity has always been directed to pursuits analogous in some way to those of the preacher.

Note that discussions about the problem of ‘mental labour’ versus ‘physical labour’ can be traced in Western literature at least back to classical Greece (van de Pijl, 2002) culminating in intense intellectual argument through the 17th to 19th Centuries. In dynastic China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam graduation from the imperial examinations (i.e. a mental work) rendered successful candidates exempt from labour service and corporal punishment, plus guaranteeing government stipends, and admission to upper-gentry status (*chū-jen*) (New World Encyclopedia contributors 2008; Hegel & Carlitz 2009). The present thesis is not directly about concepts of productivity and reward expounded by

philosophers such as Karl Marx or Confucius, but rather modern real world applications of labour in competing states and industries, as rationalized since the 20th Century. Nevertheless, it continues to be widely assumed that non-physical labour requires greater mental talent, and should be accorded greater privileges. The process has become conventionalized through credentialism, sometimes with an initial gateway set by supposedly predictive IQ tests. For example, from 1948 to 1970 American military draft deferments were available to those with a certain IQ and school grades that marked them as 'educable' (Fallows 1985) – something rather similar to the Confucian privileges.

There is a further contemporary complication. Most modern economists have been persuaded to describe productivity in units of a fiat currency, yet the overwhelming evidence from financial activity in nation states, and the phenomenon of inflation itself, is that money is an unstable measure and store of value (Minsky 2008:124; Pride et al 2010:531). Achievement defined by the criteria of textbook economic productivity would have seemed absurd to large portions of medieval European populations, to traditional Australian aborigines and to most of the court of T'ang China at the height of its powers.

Competing metrics of productivity

The unit of productivity is an arbitrary cultural selection. In effect, an activity is productive if some particular group of people state it to be so (for example, *The Economist* 2005 formulating a measurable quality-of-life index as an alternative economic indice). Such a group may be very large and agree to some unit of output value such as a national currency. It may be relatively small, and range from collecting beer bottle labels to the acquisition military decorations, academic diplomas, competence in a second language or any other valued cultural attribute or artifact. The agreed unit of productivity value may be fairly stable, such as gold, or subject to sudden and catastrophic devaluation when external factors cause a rapid modification of values.

Even within the conventional paradigms of economic measurement in nation states, economists themselves are widely dubious about the coherence and consistency of what productivity statistics actually measure:

Most research by economists on productivity growth over time, and across countries, is superficial and to some degree misleading regarding the following matters: the determinants of productivity at the level of the firm and of inter-firm differences; the processes that generate, screen and produce new technologies; the influence of microeconomic conditions and institutions on productivity growth. (Nelson quoted in Bodea 1994: 6)

We live in a complex world, and a part of that complexity is based on competing metrics of productivity within our own lives (Cornell 2008). The successful raising of a child might represent productivity of a high order in one sphere, yet lead to the ruination of a career governed by other values.

Some units of measurement used evaluate productivity are fairly easy to manipulate, whereas others are beyond the control of most individuals. The oligarchic manipulation of fiat currencies, and the creation of financial instruments by merchant bankers is a clear example here. The substitution of, say, virtual sex by computer for the troublesome requirements of physical sex between individuals is open to much more personal control, yet is quite analogous to the other units of measurement used evaluate productivity referred to here. All describe some effort or cost to achieve a desired outcome.

The virtualization of human activities

We can identify a kind of competition between types of productivity which distribute along a scale of virtualization (Zonderman 1996, Yakhlef 2009, Unold 2008, Penny 1997, Lim et al 1997). The production of goods for barter leaves little scope for distortions of agreed value or the effort required to

produce the goods. The criteria of productivity in a theocracy are open to endless manipulation since the 'product' is almost entirely virtualized.

It seems that there is a law of virtualized productivity in that over time cultures show a strong tendency to attach higher value to virtual attributes than harder to manipulate physical units. It may have been no accident that many European populations were satisfied with a subsistence income where piety was the transcendent value. That the Wall Street merchant banker has been valued as more productive than Joe the plumber is entirely consistent with this pattern.

In the field of education similar competing metrics of productivity arise. Teachers tend to be caught between being front agents for a monetary enterprise, dispensers of academic diplomas and mediums for the transmission of knowledge (Ball & Goldman 1997, Buchmann 1985, McVeigh 2001). Similarly, students in formal educational institutions are caught between the genuine effort required to master a body of knowledge or a skill, for example a foreign language, and the acquisition of certifying diplomas which have cultural and monetary value. For both teachers and students it is difficult to gainsay the pressure of credentialing. Neither seriously believe for example that most employers will take the attitude of Steve Ballmer, CEO of Microsoft, when it comes to hiring:

We're looking for programming talent, and the degree is in no way,

shape, or form very important. We ask [job candidates] to send us a program they've written that they're proud of. One of our superstars here is a guy who literally walked in off the street. We talked him out of going to college and he's been here ever since. (Fallows 1985)

Since the diplomas are an invented attribute, a virtualization, there is always pressure to separate their issuance from actual achieved knowledge. In fact, in certain cultural environments that separation is common, as some of the case studies in this thesis demonstrate. Further, while teachers and students are engaged in the actual work of foreign language mastery, administrators, politicians, businessmen and others manipulate the abstractions of test marks, certificates, and marketing reputation: virtualized activities that generally yield superior rewards and decisive power. Fallows (1985) offers an excellent analysis of how this process evolved in late nineteenth century America. Something similar emerges clearly from the contemporary Chinese and South Korean case studies in this thesis.

Knowledge worker productivity

Paul Drucker (1981,1993, 1999) popularized the idea of knowledge worker productivity. Knowledge is hard to quantify, and had therefore been largely ignored in econometric models. However by the time of Drucker's contribution

it was becoming clear in post-industrial societies that normal financial balance sheets were incapable of yielding a proper understanding of investment potential in many enterprises. Huge enterprises were emerging very quickly with minimal fixed assets of the traditional kind. The computer revolution magnified this with 'dot.com' companies becoming the largest in the world, and the dot.com crash at the turn of the 21st century lent urgency to the task of measuring value in knowledge industries (Malhotra 2003).

Drucker (1999:83–84; Stam 2008) claimed that six major factors determine knowledge worker productivity:

1. Knowledge worker productivity requires awareness of the individual contribution. It demands that we keep asking the question 'What is the task?'. This helps knowledge workers to focus on their task and eliminate anything else.
2. It demands that we impose the responsibility for their productivity on the individual knowledge workers themselves. Knowledge workers have to manage themselves. They have to have autonomy.
3. Continuing innovation has to be part of the work, the task and the responsibility of knowledge workers.
4. Knowledge work requires both continuous learning and continuous teaching on the part of the knowledge worker.
5. Productivity of the knowledge worker is not – at least not primarily – a matter of the quantity of output. Quality is at least as

important and depends on the task of the knowledge worker.

6. Knowledge workers should be seen and treated as an 'asset' rather than a 'cost'. Knowledge productivity requires that knowledge workers want to work for the organization in preference to all other opportunities.

In the mass production model of industry, inputs are minimally distinguished in the modeling: capital, labour, raw materials comprise an impersonal equation, and this has frequently been reflected in management practice:

... many British bosses scoffed when Japanese carmakers set up factories in Britain and told their Geordie workers that they had to think as well as rivet, weld and hammer... (Harris, n.d.)

The knowledge industry concept is radically different. The role of the manager is to attract, nurture and facilitate the knowledge worker since without the knowledge worker the enterprise is essentially worthless. Further, as the knowledge worker acquires intellectual capital, he or she is less and less easy to substitute. The concept of productivity has devolved from the enterprise as a conglomerate to co-operating but autonomous knowledge workers. Drucker's work has been picked up and extended by others (Harris n.d. for an evaluation of Drucker), but the type of workplace cultural change it implies may take a generation or more to be seriously implemented in normal management practices (Davenport 2005).

The problem of substitution

In the conventional economic paradigm of productivity, labour is substitutable by capital equipment. Thus:

... in the 18th Century [in the United States], it took 90% of the population to produce enough farm products to feed the nation poorly; today a mere 3% of the population produces unmanageable surpluses of farm products. In turn, rapid growth of productivity in manufacturing is reducing the share of the labour force needed to produce the demand for manufactured goods, and so is driving workers to the services – and predominantly to the information services, not to mere hamburger flipping and dishwashing. (Dougherty 1994:3 quoting Baumol & Wolff 1992).

What is less clear is the extent to which ‘information workers’ in the service economy are substitutable by capital equipment. In some instances the effect of automation is unambiguous and direct. A modern household does not need servants (although human sloth and social pretension lead to their employment regardless). It is equally obvious that automation has not substituted for computer programmers, doctors or teachers. Although these knowledge workers have been increasingly locked into the assistance of technology, that has in many cases multiplied the workforce with technicians to service the equipment. The equipment is claimed to make the knowledge

workers more productive, although that too is often disputed. The consequences of these changes are not necessarily controlled by an 'unseen hand' (in the classical spirit of market capitalism). Management in particular has a need to be aware of whether technology and automation is augmenting the skills of their knowledge workers, or slowly deskilling them (May 1997a). Directing this process towards augmentation is critical for the futures of whole industries (Schrage 2005). The impact of curriculums on language teachers also brings this issue of augmentation Vs deskilling to the fore, as demonstrated in some of the case studies to follow.

A really interesting question is what 'productivity' might actually mean when applied to a knowledge worker. The concept of 'productivity' applied in the move from primary to secondary production is really a different 'productivity' from that involved in the move from secondary to tertiary production. Information theorists call this a change in the 'theory of types'. The first change was from natural to artificial input (e.g. sunshine to electricity, horses to tractors). Concepts such as *power* and *energy* are critical to understanding the primary and secondary phases. However, the critical concepts in tertiary productions are *information* and *intelligence* (Dougherty 1994:5). Productivity applied to information and intelligence is of a radically different type from that applied to power and energy.

Information, after Shannon & Weaver (1949) has been defined in terms of a

selection among a given set of alternatives. For example, a telephone book ordered according to the numbers contains the same data, but different information from a book ordered according to the alphabetical order of surnames. The choice of ordering requires the application of intelligence which draws on other information (e.g. the likelihood of a query about names versus a query about numbers). Implementing the choice may be almost 'costless' in a computing system, in this case, but facilitate vastly improved selection times. However, without the resource of intelligence, it cannot be done. As choices become more and more complex in the tertiary paradigm, the value of intelligence increases proportionately, and it cannot be easily substituted. By contrast, the mechanization of a farm (for example) may involve significant costs in time and money, as well as social displacement, but personnel (i.e. intelligence factors) may be relatively easy to replace. The case studies in this dissertation show that in many instances management at the turn of the 20th Century has regarded teachers as an infinitely replaceable resource, and student productivity as a simple matter of administrative organization. That is, they have been dealing through a misconstrued theory of types.

Dougherty (1994:7) captures the reason that most people have failed to grasp the unique nature of productivity in knowledge industries. He points out that there is a theory of problem types and tasks for workers in the primary and secondary sectors. That is, the problems in farming or fishing are solved by performing a series of tasks, and with mechanization it can be clearly seen

how machines can take over or assist the performance of those tasks, thus raising productivity. Equally, in secondary manufacture, the tasks involved are subject to clear description, and the processes of automation follow those task requirements precisely.

However there is no credible theory of problem types and job tasks for (high level) workers in the tertiary sector. Decision makers often act as if such a credible theory does exist (perhaps drawing uncritically on half remembered college text books). Science has not enabled us to reliably transform information and intelligence into precise job tasks. It follows that there is no clear idea of worker productivity for high level tertiary activity. Dougherty instances this with the telling question of whether a doctor's productivity should be measured by prevention or cure. In health maintenance organizations each patient represents lost income, yet to the private doctor's clinic each patient represents increased income (for example, see Glass & Anderson 2002). He further wonders whether a teacher's productivity is related to class size, individual versus group lessons and so on. These dilemmas infuse most of this thesis, and we will see that the imposed solutions are more often political than technical or scientific. Section 3 of this thesis, the analysis, begins to outline a primitive theory of types for language teaching, based on the salient experiences of one teacher, but concedes that no principled way, beyond fairly broad principles, has been found to constrain the elements of each type in their detailed application.

Because this dissertation deals with historical experience in existing institutions, the productivity solutions arrived at by the main actor (this writer) are constrained by those institutions, even when he partly subverts them. It is useful however to keep in mind that at the forefront of organizational experiment (not only in education) there is an ongoing search for new paradigms, some of which might be more hospitable to productive language teaching and learning than what any teacher has to deal with at present. A good example of this kind of reconceptualization is offered by Gotta (2008):

..it is helpful to divide participation into actions and contributions that are “directed” versus those that are “volunteered”. For purposes of this overview, the illustration below categorizes “work” into four basic participation models and shows a conceptual relationship between the two types of participation:

Process: A process is a structured collection of tasks that are often sequenced in a particular way with workers interacting based on their respective roles and duties within that collection of tasks.

Activities: An activity is a collection of semi-structured tasks that are not rigidly sequenced but are often co-dependent and completed within a certain time period.

Communities: A community is a relationship-based group structure (as opposed to a task-based structure) that forms around a shared interest area (e.g., anyone who is interested in improving customer service) or a shared practice (e.g., all nurses who want to improve patient care).

Networks: A network is a social structure comprised of people that have some inter-connecting bond based on a variety of factors (e.g., personal friendship, similar values, shared relationships, common educational or work experience). Social networks are rarely driven by tasks or activities per se. However, people reach out to their network contacts frequently in response to a process, activity or community event. (Gotta 2008)

Gotta's work is within the context of the Lotus Corporation deliberating effective management designs. However it is also highly relevant to language learning and the participatory roles of the teacher and students. My professional intuition is that enduring and effective language learning (is this what we mean by being productive?) is most likely to occur spontaneously within the 'network' paradigm (as first language learning does), then with a need for increasingly artificial intervention through the paradigms of 'community', 'activity' and 'process'. 'Process' of course is the currently dominant paradigm in mass education, and the one which the thesis has to deal with.

Teachers and students as knowledge workers

a) Language Learners

Learner productivity is often referred to uncritically in advertisements for new

educational technology (for example, the Etaco company (2004) on electronic dictionaries: "Your time is saved and your productivity increased..."). However, it is not a concept that has received a lot of attention or clear definition in studies of language education. Elements which contribute to learner productivity have been studied under various guises such as "study skills", but the unified concept itself has been mostly missing.

A language learner is someone who chooses to, or who is required to, try to acquire some level of competence in a language. Mother tongue acquisition differs in that in general we do not need to self-consciously try to learn. Nevertheless many of us seek to refine knowledge of our first language throughout our lives. In many societies knowledge of more than one language has always been necessary for many or even most speakers (Braunmüller & Ferraresi 2003; Aronin & Singleton 2008, Davidson 2009). The unschooled acquisition of other languages does not seem to have been widely studied. (That was a surprise to this researcher, who has hunted diligently for work in the area). In the fairly recent past, say a century, attempts have been made to teach second languages in formal settings on a mass scale. The efficiency or inefficiency of those attempts sets a background theme to the present study. The mass educational element introduces a whole new set of distractions from productivity, in addition to personal questions of productivity applying to individual habits. With younger learners, schools are often remarkably poor environments for learning anything:

That the average student's day is chaotic and fragmented is more than just the view of Dr. Kralovec. As reported in her book, studies show that during the average high school day, a comparatively small percentage of the day is devoted to actual learning. Large chunks of precious time are squandered on moving between classes, settling into the new class, taking roll call, and the numerous and frequent interruptions from announcements, bells, and other distractions. Furthermore, the time spent 'in class' is not always spent 'on learning'. Even the very nature of that time is examined. Research shows that the current model asks students to engage at hours when they are least able to do so, and then divides their day into ways which make it particularly difficult to focus. Perhaps from a sense of familiarity, perhaps from lack of a clear alternative, we continue to cling to this unproductive model. Kralovec offers an alternative. (from an online review of Kralovec 2003 by a reader, 'Heather')

The question of what language learner productivity actually means receives some attention in this dissertation (e.g. Appendix 2), but mainly within the context of teacher productivity.

b) Language Teachers

Teachers are perhaps the quintessential knowledge workers (Hoxby 2004, Reynard 2008). Most teachers with a career commitment to the profession could easily recognize Drucker's points as an ideal of what they have always

believed their job to be about. Many teacher grievances can be traced to perceived violations of their productivity, role and status by managements only willing to see productivity in the traditional economic frame of mass production. They are therefore likely to be encouraged by the kind of wider societal changes traced by Drucker and other researchers into knowledge productivity.

The table of productivity factors in language teaching, Appendix 3, identifies numerous situations where decision making might be taken from the control of teachers in the name of industrial productivity, and also where the security of teachers themselves might be imperiled by the same rationale. These are exactly the domains where the role of teachers as knowledge workers are best defined relative to institutional managers and other parties. Specific instances of these problems will come up in the case studies, and in the subsequent analysis.

Teachers themselves have not always acted creatively to implement their role in facilitating the productivity of students. In the relatively abstract environment of a training or refresher program, they might idealize about the language teacher's function. In the actual workplace, teachers like their employers have often accepted the paradigm of mass production for student throughput, with little care for facilitating the autonomous choices which students make to maximize their own learning potential. Since students are

moving from a state of not-knowing to a state of knowing, and also vary in sophistication and maturity, the judgments here are complex. This is the dilemma of every mentor, but the bottom line is to yield maximum productivity for the student's learning.

Shortcomings in teacher attention to productivity factors in terms of knowledge worker criteria (as opposed to traditional industrial criteria) can have a number of sources. If the case studies in this thesis are in any way typical of foreign language teaching to adults and young adults, the autonomous judgements that might be expected of, say, professional doctors or lawyers only occasionally and partly apply to the job descriptions of foreign language teachers. To assert standards or values that do not have common currency requires unusual commitment.

In almost any field the majority of individuals will rarely risk sanctions by going against the standard terms of their employment. If they are instructed, for example, that a 'good teacher' will be judged by the certification of student language competence (and many Chinese English teachers have told me just that) then they may decide that their role is overseeing a regime of *pro forma* student classroom behaviour which will guarantee certification rather than the fostering of actual language competence.

Concepts of productivity within educational institutions

Concepts of productivity within the organizational structure of schools have been explored by educational researchers (Odden & Kelley 2002; Walberg 2003, and others). However such analyses have often been motivated by specific management problems such as how to remunerate and promote teachers. For example, here is a rationale for the productivity of a collegiate approach:

Most previous efforts at changing how teachers are paid have focused on individual merit, or incentive pay, strategies that work in only a few private sector organizations and do not work in education or other organizations where the most productive work is characterized by collegial and collaborative interaction. (Odden & Kelley 2002:vii)

The consideration of teacher productivity developed later in this thesis draws on a much wider range of variables. (See Appendix 3, Table of productivity factors in language teaching).

Even from within the relatively narrow perspective of management views of teaching productivity, actual practice may be ruled more by political fashion than by what truly works. This has certainly been the case in parts of America, which has great regional diversity, and in some areas a long history of dysfunctional educational practices (Walberg 2003).

Again taking a management perspective, teacher productivity is sometimes called 'teacher effectiveness' and in the American context at least, often expressed as a function of standardized test scores achieved by students (Goe, Bell & Little 2008). Many of the studies in this thesis relate to situations where there is no formalized testing, and in those where testing is a high stakes criterion, the language learning and teaching processes are almost invariably corrupted to assert credentialism as a higher measure of productivity than actual language learning. Test scores therefore seem to be a poor metric for teacher effectiveness or productivity from a language learning perspective. However the frequent contradictions between learning and credentialing seem to be poorly understood outside of the teaching profession.

Since Australian educational institutions on the whole are controlled by a managerial class rather than teaching professionals, the rhetoric of productivity is often employed when decisions have to be made (Dwyer 1994, Gonczi 2008). There is nothing abstract about this. This writer's experience with the Australian environment as a teacher, coordinator, and at one stage as a union organizer, was that teaching staff could find in a debate confined to economic rationalism that they were deprived of the language they needed to respond with in a more balanced way. It was often a dialogue of the deaf. That is, notions of productivity were narrowly confined to the original industrial formulations of the early twentieth century. Productivity as applied to

knowledge workers, specifically teachers, was beyond conception.

This situation was especially prevalent in the Australian TAFE venues dealt with in the case studies (Case Studies 12, 13, 14), and from my wider professional contacts with personnel from these types of institutions, fairly general. Managements in industrial environments (Case Studies 2, 3 and 4) similarly, and perhaps not surprisingly, also tended to have rather traditional views about what productivity meant. If management in the government funded Adult Migrant Educational Program (Case Study 11) had more sophisticated concepts about teaching and learning productivity, they had little scope for expression in the political environment of the time. The university venues in Australia, PNG and Fiji referred to in the thesis (Case Studies 6, 7, 8, 9,10) were indeed far more collegiate with corresponding scope for optimizing teaching and learning productivities. However in the tertiary teaching environments of East Asia which the study deals with (Case Studies 15,16, 17, 18, 19) productivity of any kind appeared to be an unexamined notion.

In an attempt to communicate across the barriers of imagination just alluded to, I outline below a fairly simple set of examples, placing various kinds of activity in their own contexts of productivity. I then assert that within the context of language teaching institutions, competing domains of productivity must be ordered into a hierarchy of priorities, with primacy given to the productivities of language learners themselves.

Domains of productivity applied to an educational context

a) Productivity is a measure of the resources required to produce a given product. However, “each factor of production requires its own measure of productivity” (Bodea 1994:8). Labour and capital are traditionally seen as factors of production, but neither is unitary. For example, the ownership of capital is often fragmented and highly conflictive (amongst individuals, investment funds, governments and so on). But even more critically for our analysis of educational institutions, labour is layered within institutions and frequently competitive. This has significant consequences for productivity. From a motivational viewpoint, each person involved in an enterprise is the ‘owner’ of their product. That is, their private view of productivity, and hence what drives their effort and planning in real terms (as opposed to public agendas) will be intimately related to their own activity in that enterprise. Hence the economist’s blanket description of ‘labour’ as a unit of productivity is far too generic as a predictor of real outcomes. The individual agents of labour and ownership assert their own priorities. As a result, any attempt to account for or change the collective output of an enterprise must take into account the semi-autonomous, hidden goals of self-productivity amongst the human agents of labour and ownership :

- For a bolt manufacturer the product is an output of bolts.
- For a salesman, the product is sales which are closed.
- For a typist the product is letters typed.
- For an office manager the product is an administrative load dispatched.
- For a teacher the product is the increase in knowledge and skills of a student. (Smith 2009; Schalock et al 2003). Note that Knowledge is distinguished from information here, it is not simply information transfer:

... the reality is that there are several stages in the process of learning that may or may not be facilitated by the teacher. That is, while the initial transfer of information from teacher to student is widely accepted as necessary in the process of learning, stages of ideas sharing and application of the learning, which help to actually build knowledge, are often not included in the process. (Reynard 2008)

- For a student* the product is his/her own increase in knowledge and skills.

*Student product is always value added by applying appropriate resources to the aptitudes, skills and goals which a student brings to a course. (This is my definition of institutional student productivity. There is surprisingly little consensus in the literature about the notion of student productivity, except in the narrow sense of performing certain tasks more quickly).

b) The following do NOT represent any direct or automatic increase in teacher productivity, in the experience of this researcher. Their worth has to be established in each instance. Note that the selection is illustrative rather than exhaustive, but does describe managerial actions which have been fairly often attempted in the environments which case studies in this thesis document:

- increased classroom contact time.
- increased student/teacher ratio.
- increased administrative documentation.
- increased non-teaching duties.
- increased required attendance time.
- increased number or length of meetings.
- reduction in teaching resources
- reduction or fragmentation of teacher preparation time.
- reduction in professional development time or funding.
- frequent timetable changes to fit administrative convenience.
- checklist ticking exercises masquerading as measures of student competence.
- short term contract or sessional work and general insecurity undermining teachers' professional autonomy.

c) The following activities (common, but again illustrative) do NOT represent any direct or automatic increase in student productivity, in the experience of this researcher. Their impact has to be established in each instance.

- increased or decreased classroom time
- experiencing frequent changes of teachers
- filling out modular 'self-paced' learning books with a minimum expenditure of effort
- memorizing pat answers for a couple of days
- cribbing answers off friends
- plagiarizing information
- being assigned module passes on the basis of attendance only.

d) The following DO represents a direct net loss in student productivity. Student counselors and deans in most tertiary, and even many secondary, educational institutions would have little trouble instancing students in these situations:

- articulation to a course unsuitable for the student's aptitudes or abilities
- dropping out of courses that require a some real work.
- dropping out because of dissatisfaction with teaching quality or resources
- dropping out because of problems with language
- dropping out because of problems with child care, finance, cultural disorientation or general psychological distress

e) A college is a complex institution with many layers of personnel fulfilling a multiplicity of roles. All of these personnel will have different criteria for productivity. There are spheres of operation where a productivity increase for one player will mean a productivity decrease for another. A hierarchy of productivities must therefore be established. Although the notions of both 'hierarchy' and 'productivity' have been widely discussed, the task of establishing a prioritized hierarchy of productivities, dependent upon the roles of actors in the educational process, seems to have received little attention.

f) A college differs from most industrial enterprises in that its final product is not inanimate, but is graduates whose own productivity is the measure of the college's ultimate success. The caveat here is that for certain financial stakeholders, who might consider their investment in a college equivalent to any other investment (e.g. in banking, manufacture or trade), the 'product' might be personal profit. The ultimate instance of such a business model would be so-called degree mills. The point of having not-for-profit, or government sponsored educational institutions is that such a profit criteria should not trump the integrity of educational productivity.

g) The productivity of a college is therefore NOT determined in any final sense by its operating 'profit' if the institution is in fact pre-eminently concerned with education. This profit is merely an operational surplus from its subsidized and earned income. It is essential for administrative continuity, but is not the

rationale for the institution's continued existence.

h) In the hierarchy of college productivities, student productivity must be the overriding measure, determinant and control on all other productivities.

Teaching productivity

The predictability of learning

The purpose of teaching is to increase the probability of learning. In the case of foreign or second language study, 'learning' here should (but does not always) mean language acquisition rather than mere academic regurgitation. Teaching is productive to the extent that this goal is met. Teaching is also often directed towards reducing the unpredictability of learning. This can be a positive or a negative influence. Teaching towards predictable failure is obviously not desirable, but it can happen where formal requirements such as adherence to a textbook or curriculum timetable takes precedence over actual student learning (Widdowson 1990:63).

The special case of learning complex systems

Learning to a defined standard per unit of time could be one measure of learning productivity. However, when definition of the standard is elusive or excessively complex, then notions of productivity similarly become elusive.

Where the learning task is precisely defined, uncontroversial and does not exceed a certain level of complexity, the likelihood of any individual successfully learning it may be fairly predictable. Individual differences and contingent events may still distort and prevent learning, but from a planning perspective, the administrator can have some confidence that most students will achieve the learning task. With competent instruction and within a given time frame, it is a reality demonstrated daily that most (but not all) students can learn to drive a car, master a common job routine or pass a test in simple bookkeeping. That is, the administrator, the teacher and the learner can all feel that they have achieved satisfactory levels of productivity within the productive criteria of their own roles. For reasons which will become clear below, this predictability does not generally extend in the same way to language learning tasks. ('Simple' and 'complex' are relative ideas. Teaching a robot to walk for example is a very complex problem from the starting point of a man-made machine. There is a fairly extensive literature on the theoretical relationship between complexity and learning – Bialek et al 2001 for example – but our discussion here is grounded much more directly on learning outcomes for

average human beings).

Normally we do not expect individuals to entirely master the very complex systems of modern technological societies (Kirschner 2006). It is enough if they learn to understand a part of the system, and learn to communicate in formal ways with people who have specialized in understanding or managing other parts of the system. The dynamic of the whole system can then be kept functional. This is true of building skyscrapers, manufacturing motor cars, running a bank or organizing a government department. It is also often true of organized scholarship.

The unique case of learning complex language systems

Language learning is rather special within this paradigm of the predictability of learning. Every natural language is a complex of systems which at best has so far been only partly analysed by specialist researchers for particular purposes (Halliday & Webster:125). We do have a multitude of models of the various sub-systems of natural languages. These models differ in the level of detail, but have the shared property that they are beyond the understanding or interest of most learners and most teachers. Therefore language learning is not an activity which can be undertaken by the informed learner with any confidence that the task is finite and manageable in its entirety. Naive learners of course may not grasp the magnitude of the job. Similarly, informed teachers

know that they cannot teach the whole language. Naïve and/or inexperienced teachers might have no real idea of what they are attempting.

There are cognitive and other congenital factors which do make learning the complex systems of language quite different from learning to manage other complex systems. That is, by design human beings are predisposed to learn languages in ways that they are not predisposed to learn other complex tasks (Chomsky 1981; Pinker 1989). We all learn at least one language in infancy, even though the process is not consciously understood by the infant. It is known that older individuals can learn a second language with some measure of communicative success, even if not perfectly. It is this special inbuilt capacity for language learning which makes the 'teaching' of language possible by individuals who do not really understand what they are teaching. Such 'teaching' by, say, a weapons instructor who didn't thoroughly understand guns would be downright dangerous.

Learning can be stimulated by ill-defined problems (Greenwald 2000). However, beyond a certain point (perhaps related to the "zone of proximal development" suggested by Vygotsky 1978), the more complex and/or ill-defined a system is in its entirety, the less predictable successfully learning to manage that system by any given individual becomes. Even with the special inborn cognitive assistance we all have in language learning, the overall task is so complex and ill-defined that the ultimate learning success of students is

extremely difficult to predict by either informed teachers or informed administrators. There are however very large numbers of teachers and administrators who never come to understand this inherent unpredictability.

Although there is consensus amongst linguists that the task of learning a first or second language is immensely complex, there is at present only limited agreement about the nature of that complexity, and widely divergent models attempting to explain its sources. Amongst researchers into SLA, various elaborations of Noam Chomsky's original proposal (Chomsky 1975) for a language specific language acquisition device (LAD) depending upon an innate universal grammar (UG) common to all human languages has wide currency, but has also been heavily criticized. Some non-nativist approaches to SLA (e.g. Bley-Vroman 1989 and Schacter 1996) prefer to relate innate language learning abilities to developments in a general cognitive domain, an approach they find useful in explaining divergences between first and second language acquisition. Still others are drawn to empiricist explanations that turn on various kinds of statistical accumulation. Connectionist models fit here (e.g. Seidenberg & McClelland 1989). The sheer unpredictability stemming from complexity in many aspects of second language acquisition has also drawn interest in chaos/complexity theory as a possible explanation (Larson-Freeman 1997). There is some further limited discussion of these competing ideas in the analysis section of the thesis. While intriguing for researchers (including this writer) the uncertainties surrounding what actually happens in human

minds when languages are learned is discouraging for ordinary language teachers. None of this, they feel, actually helps to guide them as they decide what to do for productive results in classrooms.

One way to render a complex task apparently manageable is to break it down into simpler parts. Another way is to deny the complexity by redefining it in simpler terms. Both procedures have been basic to language teaching in mass education institutions. Although the parts chosen to teach may not add up to a functioning natural language, curriculum goals can formally be met. Although the complexity may be caricatured in pedagogical texts, teachers and students may at least retain the illusion that they know what they are doing. The saving grace is that the inbuilt cognitive language learning machinery of the students may find the classroom simulation sufficient to stimulate real language acquisition (which is beyond the conscious control of either the learner or the teacher). In many cases of course this simulation is not a sufficient stimulus.

When we talk about the productivity of teaching in terms that administrators understand, it will often refer to having performed classroom activities named in the list of curriculum requirements and to student success in passing tests applying to those named activities. These procedures may seem relatively predictable for class cohorts, although still elusive for individuals. Students may also understand their learning productivity as measured against these curriculum definitions and tests.

Achieving a high standard of functional L2 use out of classroom environments is a much less predictable process, both for students and for those attempting to coach them. Fragmented classroom activities guarantee nothing about holistic language performance. If functional L2 ability is the genuine goal of language study, then the teacher may well use formal curriculums as a rough guide only, and adapt day to day learning activities to the real needs and interests of students (Senior 2006:261). Many of the case studies in this thesis show just such a process in play.

The argument for teacher productivity through de-skilling

The discourse on teacher professionalism and productivity shifted decisively in the post World War 2 period. Ironically this shift was not in line with the developing ideas about the 'knowledge economy', as foreshadowed by the emerging science of information theory in the 1950s, assumed by researchers like Dougherty (1994), and set centrally into economic theory itself by Peter Drucker (1993). Rather it arose from the movement to managerialism, which at a surface level is often presented as a simple claim that management can be practiced as a generic skill, regardless of the industry. However it is clear from its genesis by James Burnham in 1941 that managerialism carried a heavy

ideological load. Burnham himself, an ex-communist, had become fervently anti-communist and deeply influenced the American political class.

The Managerial Revolution [was] a study in which [Burnham] theorized that the world was witnessing the emergence of a new ruling class, “the managers,” who would soon replace the rule of capitalists and communists alike. (Sempa 2000)

The actual transmission of this notion, often through the ubiquitous MBA qualification, picked up on the economic fashions of the late 20th Century and tended to be a crude vehicle for the monetarist school of economics (made popular by Milton Friedman 1956, 1963), a mix generally referred to as Reaganomics, or in Britain, Thatcherism. Stripped to essentials, in labour management managerialism had much in common with both the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' style in communist economies and the so-called 'efficient management' of unvarnished capitalism (Melman 2001). Workers were 'units of production'. It was in fact a reversion to the old paradigm where labour was not seriously distinguished in kind from materials and capital.

Few teachers of course have been fully conscious of the political currents just outlined. They have however been acutely aware of the consequences. One outcome of managerialism for teachers was that their role in curriculum responsibility faded. Lawn (1990, as quoted by Smyth & Shacklock 1998:55) described this situation in England after the Education Reform Act 1988 :

Teaching is to be reduced to 'skills', attending planning meetings, supervising others, preparing courses and reviewing the curriculum. It is to be 'managed' to be more 'effective'. In effect the intention is to depoliticise teaching and turn the teacher into an educational worker. Teaching responsibility now means supervising competencies. (Lawn 1990:388) The [curriculum] policy is constructed in-house, the production process contracted out, and an ad. agency markets it. (Lawn 1990:390)

Smyth and Shacklock identify a particular educational difficulty with repositioning teachers as responsible professionals exercising complex judgments to mere delivery technicians (commonly termed 'instructors' in industry circles) :

This revised image of teachers ... becomes highly problematic because of the fragmentary and additive way in which it regards and promotes the notion of skill. As Ainley (1993) and Polyanyi (1969) have pointed out, 'people do not acquire a skill just by learning to perform its fragments; they must also discover the knack of co-ordinating them effectively.' (p.12) (Smyth & Shacklock 1998:56)

Just as fragmented 'skills acquisition' fails to predict or define actual competence in communicative language performance, the training and evaluation of teachers themselves by metrics of isolated skills in the end really predicts or defines little about their success as classroom teachers. This has long been a significant issue amongst teacher trainers (Gephart & Ayers

1988:145). Case Study 13 in this thesis discusses the collapse of training for automotive mechanics in Australia because of just this dilemma.

The problem of how to 'coordinate the fragments' is particularly acute for both language teachers and language learners. The teacher's conscious and subconscious knowledge of how to help students to achieve coherent language performance (as opposed to drill responses) is probably his main claim to professionalism. It is a canny mixture of 'art' (i.e. actions & reactions too subtle for the teacher himself to analyze consciously) and 'science' (actions & reactions explicit, accessible to reflection, and professionally recognized as useful procedures). However, as the preceding passages suggest, it is often scarcely recognized by others outside of the profession. It is even widely claimed in popular belief that language teaching is not a skilled occupation at all (The U.S. Embassy, Seoul 1997; Qiang & Wolff 2008; Cresswell–Turner 2004; Runté1995). These issues come through strongly in many of the case studies which this thesis showcases.

Teaching productivity mediated through the class

A teacher is concerned with the learning productivity of each student, but at the same time he or she is dealing with a class, and a class as a social entity is

more than the sum of the students in it. A class has a life of its own, its group dynamic, and that dynamic profoundly affects the learning experience of everyone in it (Hadfield 1992). A skilled teacher, in managing the class dynamic as a social reality, is performing both a professional and a social role. Senior (2006:226) analyses the group dynamic of classes in detail, concluding that each class is unique, and that each teacher develops a range of techniques to maintain the feeling of community within language classes. These may include humour, nicknames, judicious teasing, shared activities away from the classroom environment, and so on. There will be an emerging group recognition of relationships, personalities and roles. In some cultures (e.g. China) there may be a careful choice of and loyalty to 'deskmates'. The process also includes the ritualization of the class life cycle until it is brought to formal closure, often by a party, an outing or other activity. These matters have nothing to do with 'instructing' in the argot of corporate managerialism, and cannot be tied to the jargon of curriculums or so-called competencies. The self-identity of a socially successful class rewards its members for participation, not with ticks and crosses but with the acceptance of the members in the group. In immigrant classes the class dynamic plays a major role in socializing students into the new host culture, and not infrequently in burying old cultural stereotypes and enmities (Senior 2006:244). It is at least arguable that the corporate depersonalization of Australian immigrant classes in the 1990s has had negative consequences for the Australian social fabric, although this awaits research.

It is important for the teacher to be a member of the class social group, even if first amongst equals, rather than an intruder. Teachers as a group may understand this better than tertiary lecturers. While classroom language learning is in a sense a simulation of expected life encounters, to the extent that it creates its own social reality, it becomes a venue for genuine communication and hence productive language learning. The socialization of a class depends upon many factors. Some are accidents of personality. However the dynamic can be greatly inhibited by administrative insensitivity, such as arbitrary room assignments, switching teachers, reassigning students mechanically to different classes, or stupid language class sizes (up to 60 students is common in China for example). All of these things can be body blows to group morale, and ultimately to learning.

The preceding argument helps to explain why the productivity of teachers and language learners is subject to variables which are never going to be captured by crude production line specifications of curriculum inputs and examination outputs. It is also why distance education methods have always had a struggle to transmit a satisfying sense of participation to their students, and why the predatory corporate atmosphere in many 'modern' institutions, with staff on short term sessional contracts or hourly rates and students re-branded as 'clients', so often fail dismally to convey a satisfying sense of learning achievement to those in the enterprise.

Learning productivity

Student productivity refers to the efficiency with which a student, or a group of students, achieve their goals. In an educational institution, student productivity should normally have primacy in any competitive hierarchy of productivities amongst members of the institution. That is, at least where student productivity (as conceived by the students) equals learning productivity, the learning productivity of students should take priority over the interests of teachers, administrators and others. Educational institutions exist for the benefit of students. A common point of conflict is that students are often held to be largely ineligible to select their own goals and hence decide their own criteria for productivity. There may be genuine concerns about student maturity, or there may simply be an authoritarian assertion of power. In the end however, private goals are private: they cannot be mandated by anyone but the student, which is to say that students ultimately control their own motivations to learn, and their own metric of success. Although individual differences have been an intensive area of second language acquisition research, the primacy of personal choices often goes unrecognized in the classroom. A constructivist approach to language teaching and learning has been one attempt to compensate for this oversight (Williams & Burden 1997).

Language learning productivity and the productivity of people who are enrolled to learn languages in an institution may be two different things. The teacher might hope that these things are the same, and perhaps typically operates on that assumption. Similarly, academic studies of language learning will normally assume language learning to be the objective of students. However this dissertation revolves around case studies of what actually transpired in a number of teaching situations. Many of the case studies deal with situations where either the students or the sponsors of the classes were not primarily interested in language learning, or in some case were aiming to promote a different kind of language from that officially announced. This puts the teacher in a professionally difficult situation. The difficulty is not unusual, and the preparation of new teachers needs to take account of it so that they can develop appropriate stratagems without cynicism.

Some typical goals of course sponsors, either in addition to or exclusive of general language learning, may be specific language task mastery (e.g. workplace safety language, workplace performance language, job interview language, or the terminology of a profession). Sponsors may even consider classes to be an industrial relations 'reward', a legal requirement, or a sop to trade unions. Stated sponsor goals will usually be structured through the vehicle of a curriculum framework, either specific to a particular class or generic. However, the largest number of language student sponsors are

focused on children and young adults, not courses. These are mostly parents, and they may well have other concerns that outbid actual language acquisition by the student:

I know good oral English is good, but I [cf. my child] need high marks in school much more. It is because my child needs to go to a good high school and later good university in the future, those ask high marks. (Li Shi 2007:5)

Students frequently work by a different set of metrics altogether (Levin 1993). The short term motivations of students are commonly affected by peer relationships, teacher, school or work relationships, and a multitude of personality factors. Stages of personal growth, maturity and inner conflict all shape what the student is prepared to learn. Some common conscious goals of students relate to personal advancement or social reward (e.g. some documentary credential, a qualifying exam, enjoying college life, or finding friends and life partners). Thus real productivity as conceived by either course sponsors or students may be apparently irrelevant to language learning, or even antithetical to it. Language teachers may acquiesce to the surface reality of the situation, ignore it, or try to subvert it to pedagogical ends by working to modify the goals of participating parties, or in some cases practising a kind of deception.

The language teacher's job, as per job description as distinct from the

preceding discussion, is to help students to maximize their language learning productivity. To the extent that he can do that a language teacher is productive. Students on the other hand might maximize their language learning productivity with the assistance of teachers, curriculums, and institutional arrangements, or in spite of them. After all, a large part of students' lives are spent outside of classrooms, 92% in the first 18 years of life for American students according to Walberg (2003:1). Both learning gain and learning loss occur outside of classrooms in more or less unpredictable ways. The factors which go into personal success by students are social, psychological, cognitive and may also involve physical well being. There is a great deal of existing research involving all of these matters, for students generally (Monk 1992; Monk, Walberg & Wang 2001; Loeb 2001; Levin 1993) and for actual language learners (Dornyei 2005; Skehan 1989). Research on language learning, not surprisingly perhaps, rarely emphasizes that large numbers of language students may not be primarily aiming to learn a language at all.

After thirty-three years as a professional teacher, the dissertation writer of course also has many well formed ideas about language learning and related teaching techniques. However, the main focus in this particular piece of research is not on student language learning productivity directly, but rather on the productivity of a language teacher operating in environments where there are many competing demands, not all of them relating to language.

Although the thesis is about teaching, not learning productivity, the listing in Appendix 2 may be a useful point of reference where learning productivity is at issue. Note however that this compilation has significant limitations: a) It is not theoretically motivated by the prior published research of others. Rather, it is simply an organized listing of those factors which have made themselves salient in some way during the teaching career of this particular writer; b) The listed elements are not deconstructed in this thesis for further explanation and illustration. That would require another monograph. However, a related factor analysis of language teaching productivity is treated in some detail in Section 3 of the thesis.

General productivity issues arising in the case studies

Each language teaching situation is unique, yet it will also contain a reworking of issues and situations which most professional language teachers will probably recognize. This is true of the case studies under examination here. In this review the most prominent common thread is the persona of the teacher himself. Local situations play out against the characteristics of his personality and professional views, although over time both of these mature too. However the principal focus here is on what aspects professional teaching productivity

are challenged in some way. These too find expression through a variety of channels, some of them isolated but some repetitive, either for this teacher or for teachers as a group.

The reader should be aware that significant learning and teaching matters are scarcely mentioned in the case studies at all, not because they were unimportant but because the range of topics that can be dealt with in a study such as this must be severely constrained. For example, methodology is only dealt with in passing, curriculums are not dealt with in any depth, and the critical part that a choice of learning materials plays in the teaching environment only briefly gets a mention. Since the thesis is about only particular issues related to teacher productivity, the huge range of factors affecting student learning productivity, together with its copious supporting research literature, only receives marginal attention.

Further, at a personal level, the teacher's own limitations receive only selective attention. For example, the writer is well aware that although he has been a conscientious and mostly competent teacher, his performance has not always been brilliant. In the early days sometimes he did not grasp the slow and unpredictable way in which language learning proceeded for many of his students. His own experience as a language learner had been too limited. One adult student in his early years joked that he had the nickname in her class of *el furioso*, and in his naivety he took it as a complement rather than a

culturally coded cry for help. At another level, his taste for creating unique learning materials was a gift for certain types of students in certain types of classes, but other more pedestrian learners at times found it a burden, much preferring the security of published textbooks, regardless of whether they were culturally or linguistically inappropriate.

Another issue was that this teacher, by nature and upbringing, is an unusually candid individual. Again, the trait played well in some cultural settings, but in other environments where cultural norms require views to be expressed more obliquely and controversial matters perhaps avoided altogether, he has at times perplexed or even lost the respect of particular students. There are probably few teachers working across cultures who have not regretted their presentation at some time. That kind of student/teacher divide is bound to have an effect on the learning productivity of students. Sometimes it is worth taking risks where values are confronted because it may help young adults (especially) to grow. More than once the teacher has been thanked in private by students for what had been confronting in public. As the teacher matures and gains experience he learns to make complex judgments not only about pedagogy, but also about matters of cultural style.

The case studies which form the heart of this thesis should be read with the the preceding caveats in mind. For convenience, Appendix 3 also provides a short summary of the teacher-as-knowledge-worker productivity issues which

became salient in the case studies.

What is the model framework for the analysis?

This dissertation examines one kind of knowledge productivity through the mechanism of biographical case studies from the professional life of (mostly) one language teacher over a period of thirty-three years in seven countries. The framework of analysis is therefore a synthesis of three different traditions of research: productivity, biographical case study and second or foreign language teaching. The literature in all three areas has grown rapidly and in the cases of knowledge productivity and biographical case study been applied to a diversity of professions. However, language teaching has not been extensively considered within these other frameworks in a unified way, although case studies of specific practices in isolated classrooms are relatively common.

Teaching practice is informed by more than the formal training that a teacher receives, the course and curriculum, or the students in his classroom. These elements all contribute to his understanding. They are however only a part of his cognition, and therefore cannot fully account for his behaviour of the moment, or his productivity as a teacher. Any attempt to influence teacher behaviour must take into account a much fuller spectrum of influences on the

thinking of teachers. Ellis (2004) makes a useful tripartite distinction between components of thinking.

I ... propose that the following terms are most useful: knowledge, beliefs and insights. Knowledge, after Woods (1996, p. 195) is 'things we 'know' – conventionally accepted 'facts' which we hold to have been demonstrated, or at least to be demonstrable'. For example English has articles whereas Bahasa Indonesia does not. Beliefs, after a modified version of Woods (1996, p. 195) are the 'acceptance of a proposition . . . for which there is accepted disagreement.' For example, ESL students need explicit focus on grammar as well as communicative practice.

The third component is one that incorporates Clandinin and Connelly's (1987, p. 490) 'personal practical knowledge: knowledge which is experiential, embodied, and reconstructed out of the narratives of a teacher's life' and which I term insights. An insight is an understanding gained from personal experience that allows us to see how previously understood realities could be different. It illuminates something previously unseen, makes sense of something previously incomprehensible, or lends a new perspective on something taken for granted. It is the meeting-place of knowledge, beliefs, and experience.

From Ellis' characterization, we can see that insight comes from interpreting experience in the context of personal knowledge and beliefs. However, these elements have reciprocal and emergent rather than linear relationships. For example belief is influenced by both knowledge and experience. All of these elements go well beyond the classroom for both teachers and language learners. This dissertation draws on selected 'narratives from a teacher's life' in

a way which, it is hoped, will contribute to insight for those involved in the enterprise of teaching and learning human languages efficiently.

Biographical case study

Biography in its nature takes a qualitative view of individual behaviour and experience in the life of one individual. Fictional literature does something similar with fewer constraints. Both adopt a narrative format, and under certain conditions are held to have greater explanatory power than more formal quantitative analyses of how cultures work. The explanatory power of storytelling, which biography and fiction embody, derives partly from the ease, even the pleasure, with which their messages are naturally decoded by readers. We seem to be inherently equipped to derive knowledge through narrative, while tending to struggle emotionally and intellectually with formal analytic data.

A second advantage of these narrative modes over analytic data of a quantitative kind is that the latter, by definition, is confined to a narrow set of variables and interpreted in the most conservative way to establish a single fact or hypothesis. Such a narrow focus conveys power to the interpretation, but also fragility. In complex paradigms, cause and effect typically have numerous

expressions, and are usually co-emergent. That is, the affected variable also modifies that which affects it. Life on earth itself derives from such emergent relationships (Varela, Thompson & Rosch 1991; May 1994). As sentient beings, our living relationship with the surrounding world is mediated by 'our story', and we have evolved to interpret experience in the holistic mode that narrative conveys. Our narrative techniques are heuristic, fast, and provide sufficient success to make survival possible. The same level of knowledge conveyed in mathematical equations, or staggeringly complex models of statistical regression, would be beyond any normal, conscious human ability to interpret.

Interpreted 'science' in the modern sense is a constant negotiation and compromise between mathematical meaning and narrative meaning. From the perspective of traditional positivist research, a disadvantage of knowledge obtained through narrative is that its meaning is often subject to far greater ambiguity than the interpretation of apparently objective quantitative data. For this reason, formal research in the modern era has greatly favoured the analysis of quantitative data. In many fields, this quantitative focus has yielded spectacular results. However, as the complexity of issues multiply, the robustness of quantitative solutions tends to diminish proportionately. In matters affecting human behaviour, decisions taken on narrow analytic bases have often been of limited practical value or even or even damaging.

The administration of human activities over the last century (especially) has

seen a constant struggle between 'scientific analysis' and more intuitive judgments based on experience. Economics is a field where the choices have been especially stark, but similar examples can be found in disciplines as divergent as medicine and the law. Research into educational leadership has also shown a strong positivist bias, but recently moved to examine the role that qualitative insights from experience expressed through biography can contribute (Brandon 2002).

Physical sciences where specific problems involve a limited number of variables, most of which can be experimentally controlled, also yield the most robust solutions to analysis. Issues involving human behaviour and learning rarely offer that luxury. Historically, systematic investigation in the social sciences has either involved the study of large sample responses to very narrow questions, or the intensive study of specific situations, essentially through case study. Neither is satisfactory by itself, but taken together each can inform the other. The complimentary practices of sociology and anthropology illustrate this well. Perhaps as a matter of temperament, researchers often have a strong preference for one approach or another, and may miss the benefits of synthesis. They regularly have to defend their own approach, as in this defence by the political scientist, Flyvbjerg:

[My assessment of case study research] should not be interpreted as a rejection of research which focuses on large random samples or entire populations; for example, questionnaire surveys. This type of

research is essential for the development of social science; for example in understanding the degree to which certain phenomena are present in a given group, or how they vary across cases. The advantage of large samples is breadth, while their problem is one of depth. For case studies, the situation is the reverse. Both approaches are necessary for a sound development of social science. (Flyvbjerg 2001:87, quoting himself in Flyvbjerg 2006:57)

However, there is a psychological problem of real life interpretation between the sociological (statistical) and anthropological (narrative) modes by institutional players. Within the normal managerial paradigm, numbers are trusted whereas narrative is not. The numerical values attached to a very narrow question (e.g. what is an average class size in 1000 classrooms?) essentially leave the administrator free to interpret the meaning of the statistic within a wider context (say, the concept of classroom efficiency). This interpretation may be done naively, based on the administrator's preconceptions, but it will appear to have the power of statistical support. By contrast, the intensive but narrative ethnographic case study of a single classroom over time will offer a rich tapestry of issues and relationships relating to (say) classroom size, perhaps forcing the administrator to doubt his simpler preconceptions. However, he finds it relatively easy to dismiss such a case study as an isolated aberration. It is surely no accident that the number of statistically based research studies in education vastly outnumber ethnographic case studies.

The approach taken in this thesis sacrifices some of the depth possible in the intensive analysis of a single case study, and also forgoes the statistical reliability of a large sample base trained on a narrowly defined question. It attempts to make some compensation for both losses by offering twenty case studies based around the teaching biography of a single teacher over a long period of time. The metric of validity here is thus neither in statistics nor in extreme ethnographic detail. Rather it is in focused biographical narrative. The goal however in all three approaches is the most reliable possible insight into processes, in this case into teaching productivity.

Without discounting the value of quantitative analysis, the case has been made in many social science fields that the holistic insights offered by narrative vehicles such as biography and case studies can offer at least tentative guidance in situations where formally analytic solutions remain intractable. Both learning and teaching are fields of inquiry where narrative insight could be of great value. Some researchers have begun to recognize this, and made use of case studies (Sikes 2008), just as legal practice has for centuries. In fact, the application of biographical material has now taken many forms:

A variety of approaches come under the heading of auto/biographical research , where they are often used alongside other methodologies and methods. Norman Denzin gives some idea of just how wide the field is when he notes that it encompasses: life, self, experience, epiphany, case, autobiography, ethnography, auto-ethnography, biography, ethnography, story, discourse, narrative,

narrator, fiction, history, personal history, oral history, case history, case study, writing presence, difference, life history, life story, and personal experience story. (1989:27). To that list might also be added testimonio, performance ethnography, participatory action research, confessional tales, socio-poetics, collective autobiography, diary research – and there are more, each with their own distinctive characteristics, intentions and rationale. (Sikes 2008)

Case studies have also taken a wide variety of forms. In general they share many of the properties of biography, but within a frame restricted by time, topic, purpose, or other variables. Historically case studies and biography have attracted different kinds of practitioners, but the relationship between the two fields has now been increasingly recognized and theorized about (Bullough 1998). Case studies and biographical narrative within education, particularly teacher education and studies of learning experience, can be found over a fairly long period, but have only recently begun to coalesce in any unified sense as a mode of research (Kridel 1998; Brandon 2002; Shearer 2003; Jita 2004). Applied to foreign and second language education, these modes have yet to find many researchers.

What rationale can be given for data inclusion, organization and weighting?

The rationale for inclusion of material for a standard biography would closely relate to the relevance of the material as an illustration of that person's life, and given the story-telling role of biography, the narrative power of the episodes to be explored.

The rationale for inclusion of material in a case study would closely relate to the relevance of the material as an illustration of those factors the case study was supposed to illustrate. That is, a sociological case study (for example) would highlight events rather differently from, say, a medical case study.

The rationale for inclusion of material in a dissertation on teaching productivity would of course include reference to variables and situations bearing on that topic, including the researcher's own investigation and systematic inquiry by others in the field.

The case studies in this particular dissertation are intended to illustrate aspects of teaching and learning productivity, but also within the biographical parameters of one particular teacher's life. In order for others to evaluate the organization and weighting of facts chosen by the biographer, in this case the

autobiographer, it is necessary to make explicit at least an outline of the experiences which shaped the subject as a person. This kind of explication has now been well established in the literature. For example Jita (2004) eloquently reconstructs the formative experiences of his subject, the South African science teacher, Mr Sithole, in order to explain firstly his identity, and secondly, through that identity, Mr Sithole's teaching methodology. That teaching methodology doesn't just 'happen' as a direct challenge to existing orthodoxies. It emerges as a direct product of Mr Sithole's life experiences and his reaction to them. Jita argues that Mr Sithole's experience is, in a sense, an instance of what shapes all teaching, regardless of curriculum designs :

Reformers in South Africa have done a lot to make teachers aware of the changes in the new curriculum through workshops designed to alter beliefs about teaching and learning. Although these efforts are commendable, they will continue to have mixed success primarily because they pay less attention to other critical factors that influence teachers in shaping their practices. In this article, I argue that the construction of a teachers' classroom practice is contingent on more than just what they know or believe about teaching and learning. It also depends on who they are and how they see themselves in relation to the learners, their colleagues and the subject matter. That is to say, it is shaped by their identities. I use the term identity to refer to a person's sense of self, as socially constructed within social settings (Spillane, 2000). Such an identity includes a person's knowledge and beliefs, dispositions, interests and orientation toward work (Drake, Spillane & Hufferd-Ackles, 2001) and also includes notions of how a teacher feels about him/herself professionally, emotionally and politically (Jansen, 2001). Teachers' identities therefore will be shaped within

multiple contexts such as schools, classrooms, subject departments or cultures. (Jita 2004)

The extent to which a dissertation such as this embodies a valid theory of language teaching productivity will be limited or enhanced, as Jita argues, by the individual character the teacher–researcher who gives it expression. Once such a character is understood, the elements of experience described can be extracted and re–examined as templates for the education of others, according to their unique characters. Accordingly, the following account briefly explains some of the formative experiences on Thor May.

Elements in Thor May's character formation*

(*As a stylistic device to gain some perspective, in this thesis, I often refer to myself in the third person)

Thor May emerges from the twenty teaching case studies chosen for illustration in the dissertation as a not altogether typical language teacher, even amongst expatriate foreign language teachers of English who, as a group, tend to be somewhat idiosyncratic. Relevant to these case studies are the properties that:

1. He has not automatically accepted or followed the proscriptions of authorities, and has even tended to be contrarian;
2. In situations where interests or principles collide, historically he has

often forgone safe career solutions of quiet submission, and as a result has sometimes chosen or been forced to leave a teaching engagement;

3. He has often subverted the aims or requirements of employing authorities in order to prioritize what he has seen as teaching and learning productivity;
4. Although on occasion he has rallied teachers in support of a cause (even as a union organizer), in general, external support for his own career has been non-existent because of an unwillingness or inability to cultivate strategic influence.

He never married. He has always been the quintessential outsider, with both the strengths and the limitations which that role implies. Paradoxically, without intensely emotional attachments to a single cultural paradigm, he has usually been able to wear a cloak of 'intercultural personhood' (Shearer 2003) in teaching and personal environments where diverse cultures overlap.

It is arguable that Thor May's character contributed to the productivity issues which arise in the case studies. A more considered interpretation may be that the caste of his character acted as a catalyst to expose forces in the educational paradigm which tend to be overlooked or hidden, but which are nevertheless destructive to the teaching productivity even of more pliable teachers.

Thor May was born a week after the end of World War II in a small country town, but almost immediately moved to the environs of Sydney, Australia, where he grew up. He had a sister about two years younger, and fourteen years later, a second sister. The first eventually became a nurse, and the second a social worker.

Thor's father, who had only a primary school education, was an unskilled discharged serviceman after World War II. He accepted government assistance to train as a carpenter, and then spent the next thirty-five years moving from place to place within a 70 km radius of Sydney. He never accumulated much money, but eventually managed to build his own house, which was sold for a succession of others. A small, muscular man with a loud and dominating personality, he had a visceral dislike of cautious, 'respectable' people. He increasingly spent his spare time in pubs and died at 57. Father and son were never able to share much direct empathy, but Thor did pick up his father's delight in life's cavalcade of wayward characters (pub tales were always peppered with nicknames from Damon Runyon, O'Henry, Henry Lawson, Charles Dickens and even Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*). Both also shared a deep skepticism about finding truth from accepted authority.

Thor's mother, from a Tasmanian rural village teacher's home, never established social roots or friendships in Sydney. She was an instinctively conventional person, honest but not a risk taker or innovator, and socially

inhibited. Reading was fairly popular in the household, but visitors were almost unknown. Both parents had a common interest in gardening, which the son did not share. The strikingly different psychologies of these two parents would be at war within Thor's own personality throughout his life.

Thor turned his attention to study, at which he proved apt, consistently coming near the top of classes, and in the fourth year of high school, dux of his school. These efforts were regarded with some parental incomprehension (the gulf created by educational background would continue to grow). At times his mother had a struggle to obtain even sufficient money for school uniforms, and it took a great deal of argument for the father to support Thor through to high school graduation. From the time of leaving school, there was no financial or other support from his family, although he continued to board at home for a short time.

The day after Thor finished high school in 1961, the whole family undertook a disastrous migration from Sydney to far north Queensland, where there was no work for anybody, and was then forced to retreat to Brisbane with reduced capital. Thor's first job for nine months was in Brisbane as assistant to an accountant, which he hated. This was followed by some labouring work, then a transfer away from home to Canberra as a clerk in the Commonwealth Public Service. There he also briefly became a successful part-time law student at the Australian National University. However the stultifying clerical work and

institutional atmosphere of Public Service life drove him to leave after thirteen months. Thereafter began a decade of short term or part time unskilled jobs, eventually mixed in with university study at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand.

Thor's university study chopped through many subjects in a search for a spiritual home, eventually settling on social anthropology (notably the study of myth) and linguistics, in both of which he was very successful. This study in New Zealand included a break to earn some money and then backpacking overland alone in 1972 through S.E. Asia, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, then through to England. On this trip he realized that there was a living to be made in teaching English as a second language.

Post graduation, he attended secondary teacher's college in Auckland for a year, and taught English and economics for another year in an Auckland high school where 75% of the students were Polynesian. This was followed by bit of taxi driving, a stint of adult migrant teaching in Melbourne, then a move to Newcastle to enrol in a PhD in formal linguistics, and (to his astonishment) lecture part time. He was a foundation executive member, then secretary of the Association of Postgraduate Students, University of Newcastle (now NUPSA).

His thesis in generative linguistics resulted in some serious publication (May 1987, 1990) but was ultimately discontinued as he came to the conclusion that

generative syntactic models of the Chomskyan variety could not in principle account for the phenomena that he was researching. That was a considered decision, but a terrible career move. Later he began a second PhD at the University of Melbourne in cognitive linguistics, wrote around 50,000 words, published some material (May 1994) and began to develop a model that he eventually realized extended far beyond the bounds of a conventional PhD in Australia, so he discontinued enrolment. Cognitive linguistics is still a field of great personal interest.

From an early age Thor was skeptical of authority and accepted wisdom. No doubt this reflected the family's general attitude to the outside world, and its marginal status in the society. He can remember standing in a school playground assembly in elementary school as Kipling's *Recessional* was played daily and muttering 'I don't believe this'. He always sat at the front of the classroom, and constantly challenged teachers which, depending on their character, enraged or engaged them, but did lead to well founded learning. It earned few bonus points with other students, amongst whom he was always regarded as a 'geek'.

Later this skeptical approach to information proved of great assistance in research, but was concomitantly unpopular with employers and authority in general. It has not been a career bonus in any conventional sense, but has given him a degree of spiritual independence as a writer, poet and

commentator. A high school sports master once told Thor that he would never win a foot race, and in typical contrarian fashion he has benefited from distance running ever since. As an adult, he also evolved personally through a long series of teaching engagements, perpetually curious and determined to live an interesting life. The mix of these characteristics has played a large part in his approach to teaching, and mostly earned respect and affection from his own students.

The teacher as language learner – a personal view

Although the full complement of a teacher's biographical experience contributes to classroom behaviour (e.g. Spillane 2000), the teacher's own language learning experience (or lack of it) is likely to be very significant. Non-native language teachers usually enter their profession by design after demonstrating better than usual proficiency in second language learning themselves. In English language teaching they outnumber native English teachers four to one (Snow 2007), but a far smaller percentage have actually lived for any significant time in an English speaking environment: only 10% according to one study (Metgys 1992). For all their formal professionalism, non-native language teachers also suffer significant handicaps which may negatively constrain not only their basic language competence, but also their

teaching styles (Merino 1997).

Native speaking teachers of English as a second or foreign language are often monolingual, and at least on entry to the profession may have little insight into the structure or history of their own language. In fact their choice of teaching work may be a short term diversion of convenience rather than a vocation. Regardless, they tend to quickly form strong opinions about 'proper' language teaching. This lack of lived learning experience by native speaking teachers has attracted some criticism (McDonough 2002; Ellis 2003, 2004, 2006) but played little part in the recruitment of such teachers.

The actual contribution to teacher effectiveness of later life language learning experience by monolinguals, as distinct from lifelong multilinguals, appears to have been little researched (Ellis 2003, 2004). In South Korea I encountered some Korean professors who expressed doubts about the teaching competence of Korean speaking foreigners, as well as those who had been in Korea 'too long'. The Koreans' stated rationale was that these teachers were no longer 'fresh' (i.e. authentic) English speakers. In fact, in the writer's experience there is a common lack of enthusiasm in South Korea about assisting foreigners to learn Korean. A similar view is apparently held in some Japanese circles, including the Japanese Ministry of Education (McCrostie & Spiri 2008). These attitudes are plainly driven by xenophobia or ignorance rather than research, but they do have an influence on teacher employment.

Thor, in the persona of language teacher, has shared some characteristics with both the non-native professionals and the native speaking amateurs. He has always had a strong interest in the English language itself, intending at one point to become a professional journalist and writer. His later linguistic research gave more formal insights into both English and world languages. As a second language learner he has achieved much less depth, in part reflecting the dilemma of choices in a dominantly monolingual Australian community hosting 200 or more languages of immigration. He has always tried to learn language from students in the spirit that reciprocity contributes greatly to effective teaching. At various times he has taken courses in, self-studied, or attempted language exchange in French, German, Spanish, Arabic, Tok Pisin, Hindi, Maori, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean and standard Chinese. Amongst these his best successes were in Indonesian, and more recently (benefiting from experience) in Chinese. He has always found language analysis easy, and some aspects of social language learning hard: a process that is intriguing as well as exasperating. Gradually he has accumulated knowledge for his own purposes of all kinds of techniques and methods, which have also been useful of course to pass on to students. Along the way he has become acutely aware that different learners really do learn in different ways, and also – something often overlooked – that the ideal technique for one stage of language learning is frequently be no means ideal at another stage.

Types of data in the dissertation

The input to this thesis has involved a synthesis of different kinds of data. The data varieties have been taken to both cross-check each other and where concordance is clear, to offer added validity to conclusions.

The primary data in this document is in the form of autobiographical case studies, deriving from a professional knowledge of language learning issues acquired over thirty-three years as a professional language teacher in seven countries, together with training teachers in four of those countries. The adaptation to extremely different systems of learning and culture has in itself created a very special perspective. This kind of data has a status somewhat analogous to the 'participant observer' recording and reflection well-known in ethnographic studies. Its status must be weighed by balancing the advantages of first person insight and experience against the inevitable biases and other limitations of the individual concerned. It also places a premium on the most honest possible reporting by that individual

The second kind of data is that which has come from informal communications from professional colleagues and other stakeholders over thirty-three years. With a couple of exceptions such data is in fact hidden from direct examination

by the reader of this thesis. Rather it is filtered through the views, actions and comments of the principal author. His was not a life lived for the purpose of writing a thesis, but the indirect influences were very real. They cannot however be measured, and cannot easily be claimed as a public cross-check on the writer's conclusions.

These collegiate communications could have the form of unstructured conversations, e-mail exchanges, the working through of operational problems, the co-moderation of courses, in-service activities, mutual participation in industrial and academic conflicts, and more recently the extensive discussions between interested parties which are found on Internet forums.

Again, in terms of traditional academic analysis data of this kind is often seen as problematic for good reasons. Its selection and interpretation (even when explicit) depends a great deal upon the probity and competence of the researcher. On the other hand, it needs to be recognized and acknowledged that other major research institutions in modern societies systematically make extensive and decisive use of material like this. Police investigation and judicial inquiry are clear examples. So too is much market research, investment analysis and policy decision making undertaken by large and small companies.

A third kind of data is journalistic reporting from mass media organizations.

Individual journalistic reports can be thoroughly unreliable, and very often lack perspective. Sometimes they are ideologically skewed. On the positive side from a research perspective, journalistic reporting does provide an unmatched assembly of historical comment when it is analyzed with reference to a particular topic. Often it constitutes the only available report of events and policies. Official reports may be highly selective, or simply unavailable. This has been especially true for this thesis, particularly in dealing with more controversial topics in language education. Much sourcing in this case has been done from north-eastern Asia where local languages have proved a barrier for the researcher.

A fourth kind of data is more traditionally academic. This includes information and referencing from published research by others in applied linguistics and other academic fields. It also includes some official statistical data, mostly from governmental institutions. It embraces a large pilot study I did in Fiji in 1987–90 (see Appendix 4) which has not been published elsewhere, has not been superseded by other studies, and has a useful contribution to make to the issues in this thesis.

Teaching validation

If the totality of daily experiences in the teaching environment shape the

learning opportunities that a teacher offers to students, then clearly it is worthwhile for the teacher to try to make those experiences explicit, obtain some reflective distance from them, and consider how they might be enhanced or ameliorated. For the individual teacher there is his own professional and personal history which he brings to bear on a current situation. There are the immediate influences of his contemporary teaching situation. Finally there is the validation he can obtain by examining the experiences of others in similar situations. The biographical case studies in this thesis can contribute to the process of self-validation by other teachers. It is not particularly that the case studies are role models. They might very well be rejected as poor solutions to particular situations. However, they provide an explicit frame with reference to which others can shape their own responses.

How else do teachers validate their own responses to particular teaching situations? Their professional interaction with other teachers will contribute here, and is the main reason for activities such as in-service days and conferences. For some teachers in some situations these established processes work rather well. For others in more socially or physically isolated situations, and these may be the majority, they are of little help. Professional journals also provide some venue for teacher self-validation, but again they only influence a small fraction of the profession, and their own reviewing standards tend to preclude many of the apparently extraneous factors (for example, employer relations) which play such a large part in the pragmatic teaching enterprise. It

is also true that published research on teaching practices has an inherently unreliability (Senior 2006:248). The teachers participating as subjects are often not representative of their cohort, being both more confident and more articulate than the average, which is undoubtedly true of the writer of case studies in this thesis also. Any reflective activity also carries the risk of post rationalization, and also of sanitization. Reputations are at stake. Again this has been a danger in the present work. The writer has attempted to remain factual and dispassionate, but others will have to make their own assessments of that.

Arguably the largest change which has come in the self-validation paradigm over the last decade derives from Internet forums. The participants commonly operate behind pseudonyms, so that contributions are more risk-free and candid than more formal channels. The range of teaching discussion on Internet forums is very wide indeed, and ranges from particular teaching issues, to employment recommendations for particular schools, to the analysis of complete national teaching systems. The role of online forums in teacher education and behaviour appears to be little researched at the moment. The following comments are therefore impressionistic. Firstly it is possible to find an opinion on almost any issue instantaneously. This is of huge and influential value. Some sources of information and opinion are outstanding. Unfortunately the naive inquirer is equally likely to be led astray by biased, uninformed or partial information. This is especially the case for those teaching English in foreign

countries for the simple reasons that a) most of the other posters are not professional teachers; b) most of them have very limited classroom experience; and c) most of them are going through the 'road rage' of learning to cope in radically different cultures about which they typically know very little. Thus it is relatively easy for a group of new teacher netizens to arrive at some consensus which is actually destructive to the best learning interests of their students. Since the Internet is democracy at its most unconstrained, there is no simple antidote to misinformation. However, over time the persistent inquirer is likely to become more alert and discriminating, just as we become educated about advertising. This dissertation will refer to online forum resources from time to time since, although most of them are not approved by 'peer review', they often do contain information which is not generally accessible elsewhere.

Section 2: Personal case studies in issues affecting language teaching productivity

Introduction

The accounts which follow in chronological order selectively trace the writer's engagement with foreign or second language education, as well as linguistics

and teacher training, over a thirty-three year period in Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Indonesia, South Korea and China. With some minor exceptions the experiences recorded here have been with the education of adults.

I have tried to recount these engagements without prejudice. Of course it would be as pathological for me to devalue my own genuine interpretations of events as it would be dishonest to gild the facts. Readers will properly discount my explanations where they detect special pleading. The more important question is whether the patterns which emerge from these accounts can be generalized in any way as an illustration of educational principle, particularly principles affecting language learning and teaching.

It is probably true that the second language education of adults follows more variable paths than that of younger learners. The older the adult, the more autonomy he or she normally has in choosing a method or provider for language learning. To some extent institutional arrangements reflect this idiosyncrasy. On the other hand, the college and university teaching of young adults, which a number of these case studies treat, has much more in common with the schooling arrangements for children.

The guiding concept throughout the case studies has been to review the environments within which educational productivity can find expression. There

are many kinds of productivity, and Section 3 of the thesis deals with just what this term can capture as a metric of human activity. Suffice to say here that teaching productivity and learning productivity are repeatedly shown throughout the case studies to be hostage to competing measures of productivity, or deeply affected by them. In fact the impacts of these other variables are so pervasive that teaching and learning productivity are arguably only idealized concepts in much the same way that economic productivity as measured in a monetary base is an idealized concept for model building. We have learned that such economic models are often poor predictors of real behaviour in the marketplace. We might become equally wary in extrapolating theories of teaching and learning productivity to particular educational undertakings.

Case Study 1: Tangaroa Junior Secondary College, 1976

Location : East Tamaki, Auckland, New Zealand

Productivity Issues : Enculturation of a newly trained teacher into managing teenage female psychology; enculturation of foreign teenagers into a radically different learning and social environment.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 1, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Outcome : Stabilization of the learning environment; a lesson for the teacher in behavioural and hence productive learning management.

Stakeholders :

Teenage student immigrants from Pacific Island cultures; local teenage students accommodating the incomers; a newly trained junior high school teacher; school administration; student parents and the local community

Program objectives :

Successful completion of the New Zealand junior secondary school syllabus in English and economics; successful adaptation by immigrant Polynesian students to an English speaking learning environment without formal ESL assistance or funding.

Student profiles :

This was a freshly settled district of low income housing in outer Auckland. The students were 25% *pakeha* (the Maori term for 'white man'), 75% Polynesian. The Polynesians themselves were split between indigenous Maori students and recent immigrants from a number of small Pacific Island states such as Samoa, Tonga, Tokalau, Tuvalu, Fiji etc. The students were cheerfully racist about this in the playground. Islanders were derided as 'coconuts'.

Polynesian Island cultures have highly divergent characteristics, but there are also common features. Hierarchy in most is strict and hereditary. Discipline is both social and physical. The public social mores are conservative, and now expressed through the lenses of (often competing) Christian sects. The main use of literacy is often bible reading. The popular romantic Western stereotypes of Polynesian cultures as carefree and sexually libertarian was utterly at variance with my experience of the reality (i.e. the stereotypes deriving from films such as the classic musical *South Pacific*, and *Mutiny on the Bounty*, the paintings of Paul Gauguin, James A. Michener novels, and the notoriously controversial *Coming of Age in Samoa* by the anthropologist Margaret Mead).

New Zealand culture is pluralist, reflecting its many source communities, but the dominant values at the time of the case study were British with a local flavour. Auckland is New Zealand's largest city. In 1976 it had a vibrant, sometimes raffish atmosphere. The Polynesian immigrants found themselves on the lowest level of the social ladder, and struggling linguistically. At the same time, their conservative Island values were under constant assault. For the teenage Island immigrant students the cultural turmoil was highly stressful. The messages from their parents' homes, from their age peers, from the school, and from the surrounding city clashed violently. Not surprisingly, their own reactions were at times violent too.

Fourteen years of age is a tough time for many young people. In countries like Australia it is when reading age peaks and then for most declines. Sex begins to be important, and peer attitudes are critical. The New Zealand school curriculum pushed students far beyond anything that would be needed in most Island cultures. For the Polynesian girls at Tangaroa these internal conflicts often translated into extreme swings of mood and behaviour. The cooperative, demure and sweet girl at the back of the class could suddenly become profane and violent.

The teachers :

Tangaroa College opened the year that I arrived. The headmaster, a somewhat idealistic man at the end of his career, did his best to choose staff who would be sensitive to the special needs of its student population. I was hired straight from teacher's college, perhaps because my previous Bachelor degree had co-majors in linguistics and social anthropology. Indeed having already worked through about thirty unskilled jobs in three countries, and having backpacked the hard way across S.E., South and Central Asia to England, I wasn't too worried about the prospect of handling a bunch of teenagers. That is, I was extremely naive.

The teaching program :

The teaching program on paper was the standard NZ junior high school curriculum for English and economics. For the *pakeha* children it wasn't bad,

and for the Maori children it was within the realm of understanding, depending upon their urban or rural background. For many of the Island children it was a minefield of the linguistically incomprehensible and the culturally arcane. For the newly trained teacher it was a juggling act where content, classroom control and actually persuading students to learn something were only tenuously managed.

The crisis:

New teachers truly need professional mentors. The attrition rate from the profession is terrible and wasteful (Patrick 2008; DeAngelis & Presley 2007) . I was pretty much on my own, and getting by, not brilliantly but sufficiently. Things were bound to be a bit rough for me and the students from time to time. The crisis when it came took me by surprise. There was some trivial incident of asking for attention from a student, a Samoan girl of about 14. 'Fuck you teacher!' she screamed, heaving a chair in my general direction. A couple of her friends joined the chorus. I took a deep breath and asked them to stay back during the play break time. The class finished. I was left with small group of girls barricaded behind desks at the back of the room, snarling abuse and totally unapproachable. I didn't have a clue what to do next.

At this point the deputy headmistress decided to make an entrance from the book room next door, where she had apparently been listening. She was an athletic woman in her forties, a disciplinarian both feared and respected by the

students. She briskly told my group of rebels to leave the room, and they filed out rather sheepishly. I was the problem that had to be fixed. She gave me some of the best advice I have ever received. 'Thor', she said, 'you are an adult. You can afford to lose this. They are children. Emotionally, they can't afford to lose.'

Once I had learned the fine art of losing small battles from time to time, of swallowing my pride and making strategic retreats when necessary, we began to win the war. It is always 'we' because a teacher never creates success alone. He persuades a class to work with him towards the learning goal, and success when it comes is a shared triumph. Until those social conditions are established, it is a fight between personalities, not a struggle to gain new understanding, and learning productivity will be low.

Case Study 2: The Chiko Roll Factory, 1977

Location : Melbourne outer suburbs, Australia.

Productivity Issue : Competing curriculum objectives.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 2, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Outcome : Compromise and deception to achieve teaching and learning

productivity.

Stakeholders :

Immigrant migrant women; factory management; industrial English teacher;
Adult Migrant English Program officials.

Program objectives :

Official : knowledge of industrial and safety language to boost factory productivity.

Unofficial : community survival English.

Student profiles :

Immigrant women, 25 to 50 years of age, mostly from Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Southern & Central Europe.

The teacher :

I was hired on an hourly rate by the Adult Migrant Education Service to teach English at industrial sites around Melbourne. The upside was almost complete autonomy in constructing an appropriate language program in each venue. The downside was that vehicle costs (my own car) and commuting time were my own problem. As each negotiated 35 hour teaching segment came to a close, so did my income.

The teaching program :

Factory managements were prepared to allow their immigrant workers some language study facility under varying conditions. Sometimes there was a direct

grant of time, sometimes workers were allowed time in lieu of overtime, and occasionally trade unions forced the issue. Student selection by managers often involved some kind of favouritism or implied obligation. In the case discussed here, classes were arranged immediately prior to and after work shifts in the students' own time. The factory made a meeting room available for the class.

Factory managements were normally sold the idea of allowing classes by the argument that it would boost their industrial productivity. An educated worker, able to understand instructions and fully aware of safety procedures is a more profitable asset than a deaf and dumb body, ignorant of procedures and guided into simple actions only by mime. (In Melbourne at this time, management at the Ford Motor Company famously claimed the opposite, and refused to allow classes. The argument: 'If they can talk to each other, they'll make trouble').

Prior to commencing a program I would try to spend time with a floor manager or supervisor in action, listening carefully to all the language, finding out what had to be done and why. Most of these people were articulate and eager to explain production operations. It was their life. They were generally not unsympathetic to production line workers, but tended to know little about their lives or backgrounds.

The women in the Chiko Roll Factory were enthusiastic about taking part in the English classes. For them, the study was an oxygen shot to the brain after the stultifying routines of production line work. They came from a variety of backgrounds, but most had too much education and intelligence to be comfortable with the work they were doing. They were there purely to support their families. I quickly realized that they had negligible interest in anything to do with the factory, its objectives or its routines. The curriculum of practical workplace language that I had carefully negotiated with management held no excitement for them. On the other hand, they were avid for knowledge on how to communicate with their children's teachers, how to deal with hospitals and pharmacies, and even on how to talk about fashion with shop assistants.

My teaching dilemma was clear, but not unfamiliar. The students wanted one thing, the sponsors another. Attempts to achieve a useful outcome as understood by management would only yield unproductive resistance by the learners. This paradigm in many guises would present itself throughout my teaching career. In the present case, I knew that any effort to renegotiate with management for the student objectives would be wasted. The factory management had only a marginal interest in the whole exercise, and would simply refuse to sponsor a community language class. The students on the other hand did have something to lose, so I put the problem to them directly.

In a sense the students and the teacher entered into a conspiracy to deceive

the management. From the teaching viewpoint, I achieved a working compromise. Once the women grasped that we had to meet the factory's minimum language objectives, it was in their interest to master these as swiftly and economically as possible. In return, I undertook to use whatever time we gained to meet their needs for help with functional community English.

Conclusions:

1. Official or published curriculums and records of language programs are, in my experience, frequently unreliable. If applied literally they would presage a diminution of actual language learning productivity. The number of teachers who are as subversive as I am with these things is an open, empirical question and data of course is unlikely to be freely available.

2. Teachers almost always serve at least two sets of clientele: the language learners and the employing authority. Sometimes these stakeholders agree about what they consider to be productive language learning, and about desirable outcomes generally. Often they do not. Where there is disagreement, overt or covert, then the teacher must make a choice to prioritize the interests of one party above those of the other. Often he cannot be candid about this prioritization. In my own case, I try to put student learning and student objectives first, but this is not always easy and more than once has cost me a job.

Case Study 3: Scallop Fishermen, 1977

Location: Melbourne Port, Victoria, Australia.

Productivity issues:

Political determinants of the learning task; adult language learning by compulsion; language requirements designed for entrapment; students initially hostile to the learning task coaxed by reciprocation.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 3, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The students :

Scallop fishermen of Greek & Italian origin, most twenty years or more in Australia with a perfectly adequate level of English for their normal life needs.

The learning situation:

Port Philip Bay is a large body of shallow water rich in marine life and heavily fished by commercial fishermen. However there is (or was) a simmering enmity between the Anglo Australian fishermen and the Greek/Italian boats. At the time of this teaching program the Anglo Australians had persuaded the Victorian legislature that all trawlermen should pass an examination on the Maritime International Collision Regulations. That was reasonable on the face of it. Some of the boats were worth a million dollars or more, and the marine traffic on the bay is heavy. The catch was that the written examination had to

be in English, and it was fairly dense legalese. There was to be a heavy fine each day for any skipper who took his boat out without the collision test certification. The Greek/Italian skippers rightly perceived that this was a scheme to set them up. They were extremely experienced navigators and knew the collision regulations perfectly well, but they figured that there was no way they could handle the legal language in English. I was the token teacher pawn sent to transform these thoroughly hostile men into legally literate sailors.

In conventional teaching terms this was an impossible situation. Children are captive learners in schools, but they will tolerate instruction because they are children, and fundamentally they usually want to learn something. An adult who is actively hostile to learning some skill, and doesn't believe that they can do it anyway, has a very low likelihood of succeeding.

I decided that before any teaching could proceed certain learning conditions had to be created. Firstly it was essential to establish my own credentials in terms which these men could respect. Secondly I had to show that I was a friend, not an enemy infiltrator. I had to agree with them vehemently that they were victims of a scam, and conspire with them to find a way to beat the other bastards.

People are often eager to teach what they know if they believe that the student is apt. As it happened I had experience sailing, and a few years before had

even attended a course on coastal small boat navigation run by an old sea captain. These men were immensely proud of their boats. It wasn't too long before they had me aboard to show off the latest gadgetry and teach me what they knew.

Once a base of mutual trust had been established we could develop some learning reciprocity. Clause by clause I digested the collision regulations into direct, plain English and worked through it with the men, always seeking their interpretation of real events out on the bay. They gradually became quite motivated to beat the Anglo-Australian fishermen and their fancy legal friends at their own game. In the end they pretty well succeeded. It was after all a finite task. Once it was shown to be doable they were able to apply the necessary energy and attention to master it.

Summary:

1. Language can be used to discriminate and exclude. This is common socially, but it may occasionally be institutionalized, as in this case study. When this happens, different institutional agencies may work at cross purposes. I was hired to neutralize a language barrier that had been deliberately but deceptively erected in the name of the law. Legal practice has a long history of such exclusion of course, and eventually that gave rise to the plain English movement (Tiersma, 1999). A prime reason for legal obfuscation was (and is) that it is financially 'productive' for lawyers. The mechanism sought by the

Anglo–Australian fishermen was similar in principle to that.

Australia also had a long history of institutional racial discrimination stemming from the White Australia Policy, one of the first acts of the new federal parliament in 1901. 'Dictations' in random languages were administered to justify deportation of non–white would–be immigrants, a farce sanctified by the *Commonwealth of Australia Immigration Restriction Act* 1901. Most such overt discrimination had been eliminated in Australia by the early 1970s, but as this case study shows, the pressure for it survived (and doubtless survives) in certain interest groups. Australia has been by no means unique in this respect. From a language learning point of view, language discrimination, whether individual or institutional tends to create an intense motivation to learn amongst those discriminated against, or where acceptance seems impossible, explosive political radicalization.

2. This study highlighted the importance of teaching/learning reciprocity in securing the cooperation of students. It is a principle which comes up a number of times in this dissertation, and it has been one of the constants in my own teaching career. Interestingly, it appears to be little discussed in teaching literature. By contrast the literature of social anthropology takes reciprocity as one of the basic principles of social organization. My early training in this field has probably influenced my attitude. The rationale which follows in this section is a personal view, founded in experience, but also I

think quite testable.

Ethnographic studies almost always show elaborate rules and cycles for reciprocal obligation, ritual exchange of material and non-material objects, and a moral order closely tied to these reciprocal patterns. Similarly, the myths and oral histories of human groups worldwide are based on clear cycles of reciprocity (Levi Strauss 1958, 1969). This patterning is not accidental. It seems to be deeply embedded in human psychology, and ignored at peril. The phenomenal social and technological upheavals since the Enlightenment have frequently upset these cyclical balances. Much of the anomie seen in modern urban environments comes from the perceived loss by people of engagement in cycles of reciprocal giving and receiving which they feel to be personally credible. Concepts such as 'the economy', 'the government' (of millions, not a village), retail chains and large employing organizations are not engaged easily in the cycles of personal reciprocity which give most individuals a sense of balance and belonging.

Mass educational institutions where children, and then adults, are asked to sit for years on end to receive information to which they have no immediate personal commitment are environments where indifference, anomie and ultimately hostility are common. The individual is asked to be grateful for knowledge, but intrinsically diminished as an 'empty vessel' with nothing of genuine worth to contribute. The instructor and lecturer roles stress this

imbalance. A wise teacher will also seek to be a learner and hence diminish the imbalance. A specialized project such as the one with the scallop fishermen is almost fortunate in allowing the students to teach the teacher so much.

The equation is less well defined in a general language class, and the teacher may have to search a little for contributions which students can feel they are making to the teacher's growth. It can be especially difficult with children, and in cultures where students have been trained to be entirely passive participants. However, I have found that with a little imagination even the most imbalanced learning/teaching situations can be brought into a more balanced state. A language teacher can always learn much about the students' L1 from those students, and it is likely that they can also contribute much to his cultural understanding. Engaging students in such reciprocity adds hugely to their commitment, and with commitment comes greater learning productivity for the students themselves.

Case Study 4: Government Aircraft Factory, 1977

Location: South Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

Productivity issues:

The teacher cast as surrogate industrial relations mediator; public relations Vs

language education;

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 4, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The students :

The students were adult men, left wing political refugees from Pinochet's right wing dictatorship in Chile. They were of above average intelligence, and highly politicized. These men were employed as sheet metal workers at GAF.

The learning situation:

The Government Aircraft Factory in South Melbourne was a high security operation manufacturing fighter aircraft under licence. The teacher required a security clearance to enter the area. The GAF appeared to lack the commercial drive found in private enterprise, but was performing an essentially similar manufacturing role. The management was intensely hierarchical and believed in minimal communication or fraternization with the factory floor workforce. Managers ate in a private dining room with a white linen and silver service. Industrial English classes seem to have been implemented entirely under trade union pressure. As the teacher I was unable to elicit either interest or support from management personnel in designing a suitable program. Their attitude to the workforce was abrupt to the point of disdain, feelings richly reciprocated by the workers themselves. Indeed, worker-management communication was so sparse that I found myself gradually inveigled into the role of shuttle diplomacy on entirely industrial matters between the hostile camps. On a

couple of occasions when external commitments prevented me from running a scheduled class, I learned later that the workers had staged wildcat strikes, fearing that their English class concession had been withdrawn.

Conclusions:

This was an extraordinary environment in which to be teaching English, but in many ways represented an extreme example of a fairly common industrial learning pattern. The teacher in schools and colleges is located in a purpose built environment, conceived to facilitate learning. Although educational management personnel, as well as more remote political forces, may distort the learning process, the criteria of achievement are finally educational. The parties to workplace learning on the other hand may have radically different agendas. In the GAF case the actual classes were built around the workers' wishes for basic workplace language skills and general social facility. They were good students and did well. Management's sole interest in the process was industrial peace, together with a class photograph for the departmental journal to prove that they had been following enlightened policies. Management's sheer neglect made a kind of learning productivity possible, but provided no basis for future enhancement.

Case Study 5: Vietnamese Refugees, 1979

Location : Newcastle, Australia

Productivity issues : Social cohesion, obligation, trust and status validating language guidance; dilution of the learning environment in regular classes.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 5, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Stakeholders :

Vietnamese refugees (young men); voluntary teacher; the Australian Red Cross; Hunter TAFE college; NSW police and vehicle licensing officials; the state government.

Program objectives :

Survival English; enculturation into the Australian community; management of officialdom and its documentary requirements by NES refugees.

Outcome : Intense personal commitment to learn English within the group, fading as the program was moved to a general migrant class.

Student profiles :

The students were mostly young fishermen from the town of Phan Thet in

South Vietnam. Their educational and literacy levels were low in any language.

These young fishermen had escaped from communist Vietnam with very little reflection, mostly by hijacking boats at gunpoint. Now they were struggling in many ways. Their girlfriends, or in a couple of cases, their wives, were thousands of kilometres away with little hope of reunion. They were lonely, isolated, afraid, unemployed, and utterly without any understanding of Australian culture or the English language. Their anchor in Newcastle was a slightly older man in his thirties, Dau Kim Ahn and his wife. This couple were wonderful, and far wiser than me.

The teacher :

In 1979 I was working part time on a PhD thesis in theoretical linguistics at the University of Newcastle. A research scholarship and some income from part time linguistics lecturing provided just enough to live on. However, I also missed the emotional satisfaction that comes from successful language teaching. I approached the Newcastle Red Cross to inquire about voluntary refugee teaching. They knew of a young Vietnamese man who had asked for help with English, so one evening I went to an old tenement expecting to do a little one-to-one coaching. I was astounded to find twelve men sitting around a table.

From that moment I was 'the teacher'. I only later came to understand the

special status that teachers have in traditional Vietnamese society. I taught this group for nine months without any kind of payment.

The teaching program :

The Adult Migrant Education Program in Australia, for whom I had worked, has much accumulated experience with teaching survival English. It was not difficult for me to construct a basic teaching plan to work through. In practice, the teaching plan became a fall-back reserve after more important matters had been put to rest. The minutiae of daily interaction which we take for granted in our home culture become major obstacles when you don't know what bits of paper mean, you don't know who performs which role, you don't know whom you are permitted to ask for assistance, and you can't talk to them anyway without the words to do it with. On the way to teaching the language, I found myself as the only trusted cultural advisor on dealing with everything from rent to hospitals, to (eventually) marriage formalities.

My voluntary students felt under intense obligation to meet my teaching demands. This was satisfying in some ways, and sometimes alarming. To get real rewards from the language, ultimately they would need a broader motivation than personal loyalty. This came into relief when I unwittingly betrayed their trust.

I was approached by another, older Vietnamese man, an ex-officer from a

parachute regiment who was understandably something of a hero for the young men. He was worried. Some of the local Vietnamese men were causing a disproportionate number of road smashes, and they always turned out to be uninsured. A prime reason, he revealed confidentially, was that they were buying licences from a corrupt official in Sydney's main vehicle registration centre. This was normal procedure in Vietnam (and still is; also in China 2009). He asked me to approach the appropriate authorities discreetly, to put a stop to it. He especially asked that any police questioning should be discreet and non-threatening.

At that time I still believed naively (probably like most Australians) in the general probity and common sense of the government and the police. I wrote to the state Premier, passing on the Vietnamese officer's request and stressing the need for discretion in a fragile situation. A couple of weeks later there were late night raids on a number of houses in Newcastle, and heavy police interrogations. The small Vietnamese community was deeply shaken. I received a letter from the Premier stating that no evidence has been found of corruption in the vehicle registration centre.

All of this activity did draw attention from the local media. My class was 'discovered', and a local television station asked to film it. The next day I received a call from a rather embarrassed local TAFE manager saying that the state could actually pay me for the teaching. Shortly I was asked to integrate

the students into a general immigrant class at the TAFE college.

Sooner or later it would have been necessary for my group to merge into general community migrant English classes anyway. Historically these classes have been one of the most effective ways for immigrants to come to direct personal terms with Australia's multicultural character. Often lifelong friendships are forged. There was no question though that the nature of my relationship with the young Vietnamese men changed, and with it their attitude to the language learning.

I was no longer the revered, almost sacred, teacher to whom they owed unquestioning dedication and labour. They were no longer unique, and uniquely catered for. Increasingly they came to see themselves as the general community saw them: undereducated, unemployed, scruffy and potentially dangerous young men from a war-torn country. Some drifted into unskilled labouring work in the local steel factory. A few transcended their origins. Years later it was moving to meet one, now a graduate in electronics with fluent English, about to be seconded by Australia Telecom to Vietnam as a technical expert.

Conclusions:

1. The relationship between the teacher and the language learner can profoundly affect the motivation to learn. The less socially and intellectually

autonomous a student is in a host culture, the more critical this relationship may become.

2. Language learning productivity is not necessarily stable, even with the same teacher and an essentially similar curriculum. A change in personal relationships, or a change in student self-perception can radically alter the dynamics of the language learning process.

Case Study 6: English for Special Purposes in Papua New Guinea, 1983 & 1985

Location : PNG University of Technology, Lae, PNG

Productivity Issues :

Student status in the eyes of subject lecturers; English as a vehicle for learning productivity in technical study; adapting cognitive and discourse styles.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 6, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Outcome :

Elevated perception of student ability by subject lecturers; validation for students of their achievements; improved skills in student editing and discourse organization.

Stakeholders :

Papua New Guinea engineering students; expatriate engineering lecturers; English for special purposes expatriate lecturers; PNG teaching staff; Unitech administration; tribes sponsoring the students.

Program objectives :

Assistance to students in presenting acceptable written assignments to their subject lecturers, and (less emphasized) practice in oral English presentation for professional purposes. The departmental program covered students in life sciences (notably biology), surveying, plus electrical, mechanical and civil engineering. I was mostly involved with surveying and civil engineering, discussed here.

Student profiles :

The students in my classes were almost entirely male, from tribal groups throughout Papua New Guinea. In a country where only a miniscule proportion of young people receive university education (or even graduate from high school), these students had exceptional status in their communities, and were also under exceptional community pressure to succeed. They had been sponsored as the rising stars of their respective tribal groups. English was their third or fourth language.

The special situation of Papua New Guinea must be understood to make sense of its learning culture. Half of the very large island of New Guinea was subject to Dutch colonial control, until it was ceded to Indonesian control under still disputed circumstances in 1961. Of the remaining half of the island, some 1700km in length running east-west, the northern segment was claimed by the German imperial power prior to World War I, and then in a defensive move the southern segment came under British control. After World War I the Australian government rather reluctantly accepted a League of Nations mandate to administer both the German and British territories. In 1975 Australia granted independence to the new state of Papua New Guinea, but has continued to provide administrative assistance and large aid grants. Governance in the country is currently (2009) in a parlous state.

Geographically PNG has fairly narrow coastal plains, and extensive densely populated highland areas within mountainous plateaux, with some mountains reaching 6000 metres. It has frequent earthquakes, lush tropical vegetation, highland grasslands, and extensive wildlife. Many parts of the country are incredibly beautiful, and at some future time will be a wonderful tourist destination with many opportunities for local employment.

The peoples of Papua New Guinea divide between light skinned and slightly built Papuans, and much heavier, darker people from the highlands. The Papuans have long had casual trading relations with other Pacific Islanders and

Indonesian peoples. They fear the highlanders, who are physically and socially more aggressive. It is thought that the highlands people had no contact with the outside world for 4000 years before a couple of Australian prospectors stumbled upon them in the 1930s. Although PNG has a population of only 4 million, it is fragmented into roughly 800 language based tribal groups. A link language, Tok Pisin, shades from a basic pidgin to a fairly well developed creole, depending on the speakers, and is understood by about 30% of the population. English is the province of a small elite.

In most senses, PNG is not yet a nation. Individual loyalties are almost invariably tribal. Marriage is also tribally mandated, even amongst university graduates. Individual Papua New Guineans I came to know were gentle and thoughtful people. However the level of community violence is extremely high. Young men come down from the highlands to the coastal cities, where there is no work, become socially disoriented and form violent 'rascal' gangs. Rape and physical assault are endemic. During my stay, police went around in groups of eight for safety.

Traditional highland tribal wars have been a path to status for generations, since in Melanesian cultures, as opposed to Polynesian cultures, authority is not inherited. It has to be won. However, ritual stone axes and bows have now been substituted by deadly firearms. It was not unknown for my students to arrive after unexplained absences, wounded and bandaged from tribal fighting.

Intellectually they knew it was insane, but practically they told me that they would lose all land and marriage rights if they declined to participate. After all, the pressure to 'sign up' for military service during wartime in our own cultures is also intense.

The teachers :

The University of Technology is in PNG's second city, Lae, and was one of only two universities in the country. Its budget was equivalent to PNG's entire budget for primary education, not because it was excessive but because general education is so under-funded. The funding, administration and academic staffing of the university was almost totally expatriate, mainly Australian, with a thin patina of local graduates being groomed for local control. That was a difficult process. The indigenous Vice Chancellor was indicted for sodomizing a female student shortly after I left. The two local lecturers in our language department, Masters degree graduates, spent their days deciding whether to train to become airline pilots, or look for some soft berth in the government. They had no interest in language teaching. Nevertheless, they deeply resented the foreign presence.

The language department was small but highly professional. It was staffed mostly by British expatriates, with a couple of Australians. These people had done their time in Africa or the Middle East. They were at the tail end of a long tradition of British colonial career adventurers, and whatever their personal

quirks, I have not met better language teachers before or since. It was a privilege to learn from them.

The engineering lecturers were also British and Australian. They were excellent engineers, but they were by no means anthropologists. For them the erratic English of the students, the student refusal to use English outside the classroom, the apparently ineducable lack of engineering common sense in many students, and their puzzling illogicalities added up to an often hopeless professional situation. Like generations of colonial administrators, probably going back to Julius Caesar, they were privately sure that the locals just weren't up to it.

The teaching program :

Left alone at that stage in my career, I would have been a bit lost. My British colleagues however knew exactly how to handle the colonial teacher's dilemma. We could have run a standard ESP book-based language program. It would have been dull and worthy without changing anything much for the students or their content lecturers.

Instead we made a point of socializing whenever possible with the engineering professors. We learned their complaints, and finally secured agreement to run a joint credit program. The deal was that students would hand their engineering assignments to us before passing them on to the engineers. In

that way we could have a positive input understood by both the engineers and the students. It did require getting on top of the engineering syllabus sufficiently ourselves to maintain credibility. I welcomed that, and even took part in a competition to build a model bridge.

When it came down to specifics, the crux of the language problem for the students was not 'grammar' as the engineers complained. The students did make a significant number of local errors in their written work, but global errors that undermined understanding were relatively rare. My solution with the local errors was simply to put a circle in the margin whenever a local error occurred. I would add up the circles, and subtract that number from the essay mark. Students could retrieve the marks if they fixed the errors within a week. I didn't care how they did it or who they asked. By forcing responsibility for mistakes back onto the students, they had a chance to learn, and an incentive to edit future writing. It worked remarkably well.

The real problem for these students however was above sentence level. It was discourse organization. They did not know how to structure their writing into the kind of organized argumentation which was expected by British trained lecturers. The discourse organization of argument in local cultures simply did not take the British form. We worked through this explicitly, taking essays apart and restructuring them into the expected format. Once students got the knack of that we saw a remarkable turnaround in the program.

The engineers were impressed. The students, they said, seemed to have hugely improved 'grammar', and their intelligence had made a quantum leap. They began to show a grudging respect for student abilities. The terrible dissonance for students between the adulation of their home communities and the casual contempt of foreign engineers for their capacities was greatly reduced. The downward spiral of student learning productivity had been reversed.

Conclusions :

1. Language learning is more than language learning. It is also cultural learning. A discourse structured in forms that the receiver does not expect or understand is no discourse at all. 'Discourse' extends well above word and sentence grammar.
2. The language teacher is a mediator and interpreter of cultures. In some situations he is not easily dispensed with. In the PNG case, intellectual lectures on Melanesian cultural patterns would have cut little ice with the engineers. However, once they could see changed outcomes in student writing they were impressed. Similarly the student interest was entirely pragmatic: they wanted better marks. The language teacher was able to show students how to achieve that by arranging their ideas in a different cultural pattern.
3. Students do not always have an intrinsic interest in language learning. The

language teacher who is able to engage the real interests and professional goals of students directly (e.g. tertiary subject content such as engineering) has a much greater chance of success.

4. A formal EAP curriculum applied without insight into the PNG situation would have had little meaning. The changes in learning productivity and improved evaluation outcomes came out of the intangible management of human relationships between two cultural groups (students and content lecturers) by skilled language mediators.

Case Study 7: Banjalang* Language Rescue, 1984

[* Banjalang has been spelled in a variety of ways : Bundjalung, Bunjalung, Badjalang, Banjalung & Bandjalang]

Location: Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education (now Southern Cross University), Lismore NSW

Productivity issues:

Community expectations matched against the reality of language revival; creating a program for unmet students; making a learning program in an unfamiliar language; doing something useful in minimally available time; ethical dilemmas.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 7,

See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Stakeholders :

Un-named and unconsulted indigenous students from northern NSW; a Banjalang language informant; a linguistics lecturer; Northern Rivers CAE general administration and staff; the CAE's Aboriginal Outreach Unit; the Commonwealth Department of Education.

The teacher:

This was my first full time appointment as a lecturer in linguistics. It was a one year contract only to replace a lecturer on leave, and was primarily concerned with introductory linguistics and child language acquisition for students who would mainly go on to become primary school teachers in monolingual schools. I was extremely busy. Nevertheless, the director of the CAE's Aboriginal outreach unit approached me as someone trained in linguistics to develop an introductory course in Banjalang. Banjalang is a generic name for a local group of aboriginal dialects. He was able to use special Commonwealth grant funds to buy some of my timetabled hours from the college.

The students :

The prospective students were an imaginary, idealized group. I was never able to meet them in any numbers, or to identify their true characteristics. They were described to me as teens to young adults with some Aboriginal heritage

(most came from mixed ethnic backgrounds). Their search for identity, the college proposed, might include tracing their roots, and making some attempt to learn Banjalang.

The social context for learning:

The Northern Rivers District of New South Wales is agriculturally one of Australia's richest regions. Before coming to live there I knew little about its social profile. There had been a long and fraught history between the original Aboriginal owners and the invading community of European farmers. There was no ambiguity about who had won. My impression was that the dominant local white community had become wealthy, conservative and some of its members enthusiastic about promoting a version of Christian values. I was to learn that this conservative Christian ethic was deeply embedded in the college's life, and there were active attempts to proselytize me from the time of my arrival. There were close analogies with America's deep south, and unfortunately racism was also an integral part of the social fabric.

It is a well documented psychological characteristic to denigrate the losers as something less than human in cultural conflict, thereby justifying inhuman treatment (Mead 2008:335; Verkuyten 2004:116). At the time of my arrival in Lismore, the Aboriginal community no longer posed a competitive threat to anybody. The last scattered handful of native Banjalang speakers would shortly die, and excepting for the odd phrase, even these people had not used the

language actively for years. The sole human legacy was a small community of socially marginal youths from mixed families. Most of these, like their parents, could only look forward to unemployment or casual work. An imagined past when their ancestors were masters of the land would naturally hold appeal. Language identity was obviously a key to claiming any such heritage, yet at best (I was told) they knew a few fragmented expressions from the old language. It was the bright idea of the college outreach director that I could give these disoriented young people something more.

In spite of the very minor surviving Aboriginal presence in Lismore and the surrounding regions, the tradition of racial denigration maintained its potency in elements of the white community. I has blundered into this scene with no agenda but my own academic survival as a young lecturer. I had always found cross cultural environments fascinating, and would spend much of my life as an 'ethnic minority member' myself. Discrimination is integral with that status almost everywhere. Often it has worked in my favour, but when it cuts the other way the taste is bitter. The Northern Rivers scene had its own microculture which I had no plan to either attack or evangelize. The problem was to maintain my own integrity without alienating colleagues and the larger community. I only partly succeeded.

The CAE community had a paradoxical problem. A socially progressive administration in Canberra was asking why the CAE had not done more to help

the local indigenous community. The money was there, with demands that it be spent. I attended a departmental meeting on the topic, and was asked to take the minutes. The air was blue with acid comments about Canberra do-gooders wasting money on hopeless blacks. The open racial vituperation in a formal meeting was a new experience for me. My argument for toleration had just one ally in the room, although everyone was determined to spend the money in the most cynical way possible. Causes like this are not won in a day. My protest in the end was simply to record everything said in the minutes, minutely, adjectives included (they never burdened me with that duty again).

Meetings like the above set the academic context for what I had been asked to do with Banjalang. From a purely linguistic point of view it was difficult to be optimistic about the project. Language revival does not have a happy history. Hebrew is one of the few languages to have been successfully brought back to life, and the Banjalang environment had nothing in common with that. Banjalang hadn't even been a written language. The linguists Terry Crowley and Margaret Sharpe had left almost the only credible records of a couple of the Banjalang dialects (Crowley 1978; Sharpe 1978). It turned out that my informant was to be an old man who had done some language work previously with an Aboriginal educator from Victoria. When I met him a couple of things quickly became evident. At least as far as the informant revealed himself to me, he was a very ordinary working man with low literacy and little discernible imagination. In any culture I felt he would have been just that. Secondly and

sadly, I had the impression that his main interest in the exercise was to corner a few of those Canberra dollars (there wasn't a cent in it for me). Perhaps there was an injustice in my interpretation here, but ultimately in ethnographic research one has to judge the worth of evidence on personal impressions. Thirdly, like everyone else the informant had almost abandoned the language and his memory of Banjalang was shaky at best.

Whatever came out of the Banjalang experience in the very limited available time would not and could not be a linguistic treatise. The audience, if there was ever to be one, would be linguistically naive individuals searching for ways to express their uniqueness and salvage a measure of self-respect. There was no way that the informant could serve them up a comprehensive language course through the medium of what he offered me. I decided that the only viable option was a kind of phrase book with some limited dialogue.

The expressive modes of Banjalang would be entirely different from English but it proved impossible to coax the informant into yielding up anything that hadn't been put to him in English first. The syntactic patterns he offered looked suspiciously like direct English transliterations. I borrowed from Crowley's work for a brief guide to the phonology, and Margaret Sharpe kindly corrected the orthography and made a few suggestions. The small book which came out of the exercise was duly lodged in the college library, and a copy may be found on my website (May 1983). The informant was amazed to see his

words given literary form in this way. I fear this phrase book is Banjalang as it was never spoken. It is often said that history is written by the winners. This was effectively a language reinvented through the code of the conquerors, but as with written history it might be a record acted upon if anyone did care about recalling a lost tongue.

Conclusions :

1. Language revival is not a casual undertaking. Nor is the preservation of Australian Aboriginal languages, even when there are a substantial number of surviving speakers. A good deal of impressive academic work has been done in this field now by several generations of Australian linguists, and in a number of cases there have been well-funded attempts to develop formal teaching programs. Fortunately my little exercise at Northern Rivers was not representative of the genre. Nevertheless it did bring into sharp relief some of the pitfalls of such an undertaking.

2. The funding trail led from an anonymous department in Canberra, through the local college administration to the Aboriginal Outreach Unit, to the informant, perhaps to some prospective students, and finally tied me in as a voluntary catalyst. The personnel involved at each point in the trail had their own agendas, and their own concept of what might be a productive use of the funding. None of them appeared to grasp the actual linguistic and learning implications of trying to revive Banjalang. For the Canberra bureaucrat it was

money spent with good intentions and signed off on trust. For the college administration it was money spent with some cynicism and little interest in an educational objective. If the informant had been articulate, he might have called it reparations for a destroyed culture. The prospective students had no voice at all, and to the best of my knowledge were not offered an organized course in the language. Learning productivity was therefore hardly relevant.

3. Although Banjalang is at the absolute opposite end of the spectrum of world languages in demand to English, features of the funding trail and its involved personnel resonate strongly in my experience with both languages. The other case studies in this thesis will help to show that.

4. There could be an ethical argument that I should have declined involvement in the Banjalung exercise at all. From time to time some Aboriginal individuals have adopted the position that the languages are 'owned', and should not be intruded upon by outsiders. I do not personally accept this proposition.

There is a more credible argument that uninformed individuals, even linguists, have no business creating language courses in ignorance of the language. Although the Banjalang Coursebook does not appear to have done any damage (thanks to neglect perhaps), I do have sympathy for this argument. For example, both China and South Korea are awash with text books and examination scripts written by non-native speakers of English. They almost

invariably contain mistakes, which hapless students are dragooned into learning and repeating on pain of academic failure.

Case Study 8: Solomon Islands Project, 1984

Location: Northern Rivers CAE, Lismore, NSW (now Southern Cross University)

Productivity Issues:

Parachuting concepts of Western education into a pre-industrial society; misreading linguistic and cultural signals; materials creation for an imaginary audience; the power of project focus; productivity in a project environment versus the productivity of sustainable development.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 8, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The students:

This was a special short term federally funded project to assist Solomons Islands primary school teachers. These were village teachers, who had been brought as a group to Lismore, which is really a large country town. It was felt that they would be more comfortable in this environment than in a big city like Brisbane. They were all men in their 30s and 40s, an important social detail since primary teachers in the experience of the CAE lecturers (and also worldwide) were and are overwhelmingly women, with consequences for the learning cultures of young children (Bawden 2007; Garner 2008). English was

the third or fourth language of these men, whereas the CAE staff were entirely monolingual. In the Solomons home environments English would be little used, and written material extremely rare. Given this, their social English was remarkably adequate. However it was difficult for the CAE lecturers to grasp the limits of that English competency. The village teaching scene would involve students of varying ages in a single room for morning classes. In the afternoon the teacher would work in his garden to feed his family.

The teachers :

The lecturers for the Solomon Islands teachers were all monolingual male primary education trainers from a range of specializations as varied as craft work, language arts and child psychology. I was the only person with training in linguistics, and was an outsider on a one year contract to stand in for a regular lecturer.

These teacher trainers were enthusiastic about the project. It offered them a taste of international glamour rare in their own relatively isolated college. They put a lot of work into preparation. At the same time, it was difficult for them to grasp or even acknowledge the multilingualism of the Solomons teachers. Their own trainee teachers typically taught in the rich, white monolingual farming communities of northern NSW. I did my best to raise awareness, but I don't think the reality truly hit them until the first project field trip to the Solomons.

I too was handicapped in some ways. The theories of language acquisition were familiar enough to me, but close encounters with the real thing is essential grounding. Early childhood education was a new area for me, so I had been working hard to get a grip on the classroom reality, including visits to my Australian students out on practicum. On the other hand, fresh from a year in PNG (with another year to follow in 1985) I was at ease with Melanesian cultures and spoke some Pidgin. The Solomons teachers generally found it comfortable to associate with me.

The Program:

The Solomons, like PNG, has a large number of unwritten languages. I worked with the Solomons teachers to analyse the phonology of their respective village languages and develop credible orthographies so that they could introduce literacy to their children through a first language rather than an utterly unreal second language. This was a new idea for the teachers and they were deeply interested. We also worked on ways to develop local learning materials for L1 and L2. My efforts would have had added credibility if I had been allowed to work with the children themselves, but as an outsider the college felt it was not proper for me to have the 'perk' of an overseas trip.

Project grants have pluses and minuses. On the positive side, constrained objectives and a finite duration encourage focus and activity. The novelty of

the Solomons exercise greatly energized the CAE teacher trainers in Lismore. There was no time for cynicism to set in, and they had not yet been forced to grapple personally with the contradictions of values and consequences of miscommunication which inevitably arise in cross cultural environments. Less favourably, short term engagements by novices (in culture, language or profession) lead to much loss of productivity as individuals slip and slide on the greasy pole of a learning curve. For example, a good deal of what came out of the teacher trainers' enthusiastic suggestions could not be brought to fruition in villages without electricity, or even easy access to paper: places where books or paper or pens could not be afforded and tropical bugs would rapidly mulch books which were donated.

The book issue came into sharp relief in the context of another flaw in the 'fix it quickly' paradigm of the one off grant. A well intentioned component of the project was a fixed amount for the purchase of suitable children's books. The Internet was in its infancy at that stage, and Lismore certainly had no credible bookshop for the purpose. A Brisbane publishing company therefore despatched a large van full of brightly coloured volumes and we were instructed to 'choose'. Most of the material was wildly unsuitable for Solomon Islands village children, but the money was duly spent. Travesties like this are a regular feature of aid projects worldwide, not only in education. The sad thing is that the same amount of money spent on local resources in the local Solomons environment might have set a base for sustainable literacy and

language development, something that is a foundation for any viable modern nation state. Political developments in the Solomon Islands since 1984 have made it palpably clear that no such basis for a unified state yet exists (United States Department of State profile 2008).

Case Study 9: University of the South Pacific, Suva 1987–1990

Location: Suva, Fiji

Productivity Issues:

Finding the linguistic and academic levels appropriate for tertiary students of widely diverse backgrounds; satisfying the aspirations of students from both scholarly and non-literate cultures simultaneously; negotiating a turbulent political environment and keeping students focused.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 9, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The students:

The University of the South Pacific draws its students from twelve or more micro states : small island groups scattered across thousands of kilometers of the Pacific Ocean. Although nominally Polynesian (plus small numbers of Melanesians) the cultures represented vary widely in their values and practices, as well as the available opportunities for making use of a tertiary

education. Available literature in the islands has been generally rudimentary (the Bible is often the only reading material) and electronic communication similarly rudimentary. However the largest number of students are from the islands of Fiji itself. They are divided tribally amongst the ethnic Fijians, and racially between ethnic Fijians and Indians.

The Indians are also a mix. There are the children of poor cane farmers of Tamil origin who have been in Fiji for generations and who tend to mix easily with Fijians, although they rarely intermarried. Although numerically fewer in the population and much more recent arrivals (from the 1950s), urban Indian classes, mostly Gujarati, were heavily represented in the student population and amongst the staff when I arrived in 1987. They were also the major local funding contributors to education (much of the remaining budget came from Australian aid). For historical and cultural reasons these Indian students had an entirely different study ethic from many of the Polynesians, and this showed up in academic outcomes. It was a matter of nurture rather than nature: the Polynesians were the brightest representatives of their communities.

By the time I left Fiji in 1990 the Indian student population had dropped from 50% of the total to 15%. A coup led by the ethnic Fijian military establishment occurred in 1987, and this had profound consequences for the whole learning environment.

The teachers:

In Fiji I was hired as a lecturer in linguistics rather than an English teacher. Since only about 10% of students had English as mother tongue, the language learning factor had to be an important consideration in all academic work.

This was a language and literature department, dominated on the Suva campus by the literature people who did their best to ignore the L2 aspect but did pay a lot of attention to encouraging local literary talent. There was a small separate unit dedicated to second language assistance and counselling. The only other linguist on this campus was an elderly Sri Lankan professor who had set up the programs, and was dedicated to training the students in British RP. The main language work was done in Vanuatu where Jeff Siegel and Frances Mugler produced an outstanding series of distance learning materials adapted for Pacific cultures. At that time they had almost nothing to do with me or the metropolitan campus.

The program :

My task was to lecture Year 2 and Year 3 linguistics to students who would mostly become teachers. The courses were child language acquisition, sociolinguistics and phonology. Both the students and I found the phonology a bit strange since it had been set up as previously explained to improve their diction which was already perfectly adequate with a nice Island lilt. They were

supposed to sweat out a textbook full of exercises in a language laboratory. We got a bit subversive and used the lab experience to explore the phonological properties of the several mother tongues in the room and compare them to English. There were insights to be had there which could help later as they came to teach children in their remote home communities.

The sociolinguistics became a vehicle for a rather large pilot language survey of the local community. That is dealt with in Case Study 10 and Appendix 5.

Running these programs was one of the busiest times of my life. The classes were large and there was no assistance with tutorials. Students had to do substantial assignments, as tertiary students have to in Australia. Years later I was to learn that other places like Korean and Chinese universities often allowed students to graduate with no significant experience of investigation, extended reading or essay writing. I tried to give better value than that. All of my lectures were transcribed and put on reserve in the library. The real difficulty though was striking a balance between fairness and the preservation of something like an international standard. A single measure of productive teaching or learning was just not possible. On the one hand there were Indian and some urban Fijian students with a native standard of English, and who had been coached from an early age. We could expect these students to become a local professional elite, or quite likely to emigrate. On the other hand we had students, equally bright, from tiny Island nations like Kirabati, whose capital

had a population of 4000. These outlanders were unfairly forced to struggle at every level. The social pecking order is as brutal in the Pacific as anywhere else, and students who had never seen a traffic light before they came to Suva were bound to suffer.

University life and the existing pattern of student diversity were severely affected by a military coup from 1987. From time to time army spies sat anonymously at the back of the lecture hall with cameras and recorders to check for supposedly subversive ideas. An irascible Irish colleague was beaten on the campus with a soldier's rifle butt. Several times I stayed overnight in the apartment of an Indian colleague who had repeatedly been threatened in the middle of the night in front of his wife and children. (It improved the odds if an Australian like me answered the door). A little later he was arrested and forced to march up and down sewerage trenches. Given all of these tensions which were tearing the country apart, it was remarkable that students cooperated well on a daily basis. I had some hope that our fieldwork in sociolinguistics (especially) could help them to gain perspective.

Nevertheless, over three years the community bitterness deepened. Ethnic Indian enrolment plummeted and threats to the university's independence gradually became evident. I renewed my contract at end of three years, then reflected and cancelled it. There was a cultural stalemate in Fiji that would take a generation to resolve, and with that stalemate much of the hope for

productive language teaching was also handicapped. The institutions which could make it possible were being undermined and rapidly losing skilled staff to emigration. The mood of ethnic chauvinism in the major language communities at the same time meant that the will for multilingual competence was in decline except amongst a small elite who were already in the process of leaving the country, and amongst the most marginal of minorities, the urban squatter camp dwellers who lacked any other means for social advancement. It seemed better for a citizen of the world like me to deploy his skills elsewhere.

Case Study 10 : Fijian Language Survey , 1990

Reference: Appendix 5

Location: University of the South Pacific and Suva city, Fiji

Productivity Issues: The effect of supplementing classroom learning by live fieldwork; local cultural orientation in the midst of cultural turmoil; student motivation from the discovery of local linguistic and cultural diversity; the 'aha' experience of connecting observation with theory.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 10, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The students and the teacher: See Case Study 9 for details.

The learning context of the language survey:

This case study differs from the others in its design and purpose. Whereas the other case studies (with the exception of Study 20) focus on some of the dynamics affecting teacher productivity in particular institutions, the purpose of including reference to the Fiji language survey (May 1990–2009) is to demonstrate how a teacher initiative can sometimes transcend all the normal institutional bounds to provide learners with unique motivation and experience.

The language survey was a transformational experience for many of the students involved in it. These were third year linguistics students in the multinational University of the South Pacific (USP), Suva, Fiji. They were a mix of ethnic Fijians and ethnic Indian Fijians, together with a range of mostly Polynesian students from a collection of scattered Pacific Island micro states. Pacific Island peoples show great cultural and linguistic diversity which can be exploited for divisive ends (important in the context of this study), but also have a wealth of collective experience to bring them together in a common Pacific identity. The academic experience at USP was not an obvious part of such unifying experience at first. For example, Island societies have been essentially oral cultures. For all kinds of logistic and other reasons the habits of literacy have not had a strong penetration, and on many islands the Bible has been almost the only reading matter. (More recently electronic communications have taken some of the edge off this isolation). The students were following an essentially Australian curriculum from Western textbooks,

and at times had trouble connecting the academic content to the reality of their own Pacific Islands experience. The lecturer on the other hand, with the eyes of an outsider, could grasp that the city in which they were living was an unexplored linguistic playground. He set out to challenge students to see and understand what was all around them.

What began for these students as a rather large and worrying class assignment took them beyond the bounds of the institution and their course, and in doing so brought issues of language learning, linguistics, sociolinguistics and class divisions vividly into their lives. This was education at its most productive and meaningful. It occurred in a society which was being torn apart by the very racial and linguistic divisions that the students were exploring.

The linguistic context of the survey – laying the groundwork for language planning:

When it comes to planning language outcomes, one of the very useful but frequently unrecognized contributions that professional linguists can make is to map the existing sociolinguistic behaviours of speech communities. That is, if language use is to be changed or managed somehow, more than the impressionistic opinion of political activists is needed. Objective surveys of language use are not always easy to make. People often say what they think the researcher wants to hear. However, even pilot studies can give a broad outline of the situation, and suggest foci for more sophisticated inquiry.

Community leaders can be quite surprised to learn the extent of existing linguistic resources in a culture, as well as being empowered to offer incentives where underdeveloped potentials are encountered. Closely related to this kind of sociolinguistic research and an ideal foundation for its construction is sound ethnolinguistic research. A fascinating contemporary example of the latter is Kerim Friedman's thesis on Taiwanese language communities (Friedman 2005).

Almost any language community in the world can be used as a case study to explore the phenomena of language domains and registers. It is surprising perhaps that this is rarely done in a way which connects with informed language planning and management, including language education. The possible scope such of language mapping is suggested by the survey discussed here, which USP linguistics students undertook with my guidance in 1987–89 amongst the population of Suva, an urban Pacific language community in Fiji.

The political context:

At the time of the survey, urban migration from rural villages had generated a tectonic change in the indigenous political landscape, and allowed more or less progressive Fijian forces to overcome rural tribal conservatism for the first time. A new government was freshly elected, due to a switch in loyalties by rural-to-urban migrants and a growing ethnic Fijian middle class. Many of the urban migrants were intensely ambitious, and saw a rejection of the old

hierarchies as the best way to advance their own interests. Lacking both money and education, the acquisition of marketable language skills was one of the few avenues open to them. At the same time, existing power elites recognized that they were threatened, without really understanding the dynamics.

The Fijian tribal elites particularly feared any risk to their financial security. Foreigners investing in Fiji were routinely required form 'silent partnerships' with such powerful local figures. Their reaction to political change was a military coup, disguised as a move to preserve the privileges of indigenous Fijians against the long term immigrant sector of Indian labourers, farmers, merchants and professionals (who together comprise about 40% of the population). That is, by means of a coup urban Fijians were temporarily split off from a nascent coalition with the ethnic Indian population. The underlying potential for reconciliation remains as part of the drift away from tribal village life, and there have been suggestions that conscious language engineering by mutual education in Fijian and Fijian Hindi could play a part in this (Subramani 2000; Shameem 2002).

If progressive forces had been allowed to prevail in Fiji, the new government would have been greatly assisted in overcoming emerging conflicts by understanding the dynamics of language use and language change in the community, not just from anecdotal impressions, but by a clear demographic mapping to show where resources could be best distributed. They could, for

example, have done much to empower the new urban migrants by finding ways for them to optimize their new language achievements, and articulate them into general education and skilled employment programs. As it is currently, 21 years later (2009), the situation is still in stalemate, although paradoxically the army command switched and at the end of 2006 instituted another coup to prevent the old Eastern tribal elites from reimposing their agenda.

The learning experience:

With the help of a demographer, the city of Suva was divided up into wards, then streets for survey. The students were randomly assigned to interview districts, and worked in pairs. They were heavily briefed on the pitfalls of survey work, but otherwise allowed to proceed without further supervision. This would probably have been much more difficult to arrange in other legal jurisdictions such as Australia, but the whole of Fijian civil society was in flux as it was, which was part of the point of the survey. As it happened, no risks to student welfare arose from the interview procedures.

The in-class debriefing from these interviews was one of the most heartening aspects of the survey. Outside of class, students had become deeply enmeshed in the dynamics of the interviews and their varying experiences. They were more than willing to share them in a group setting. One reason for the random assignment of interview locales had been to minimize any risk of reinforcing in

the minds of particular students those prejudices which were potent in the surrounding society. Some students initially felt some apprehension about proceeding into socially unknown territories, which their own social group had assumed to be hostile.

The lecturer was not surprised by some of the informal observations, but others were linguistically very interesting. It was a common experience that those who interviewed in relatively well-off districts received the least courteous welcome, and in some cases were verbally abused. Those who went to visit poor squatter settlements on the margins of the city were amazed by the warmth of their greeting, particularly since the students as a group tended to come from the more privileged sectors of the society themselves. The marginal rural to urban migrants, living hand to mouth in shanties, invariably offered the students food and water. These marginal dwellers were also intensely interested in linguistic diversity and language learning. Although they had no hope of entering formal learning institutions themselves, they saw the acquisition of community and international languages as one of the few ways to lever their social and economic positions. They were avid learners. The students returned from these encounters not only with a renewed appreciation of their own privileges, but acute questions about where and how people could best learn new skills, including languages. Did it really require multi-million dollar institutions? When students begin to actively query the productivities of teaching and learning, then their education is surely on a creative trajectory.

Case Study 11: Myer House Adult Migrant Education

Program*, 1990 to 1993

* This thesis sometimes refers to AMES (the Adult Migrant Education Service), and sometimes to AMEP (the Adult Migrant Education Program, which was sourced from the Service). Until roughly the time of the events referred to in this case study the two acronyms were almost interchangeable. Thereafter, much teaching of the adult migrant program was contracted out to TAFEs and private providers on a commercial tender basis.

Location : Melbourne CBD, Victoria, Australia

Productivity issues :

The politically driven imposition of a curriculum against the wishes of teachers and local management; the elimination of dissenting viewpoints; conflicting teacher incentives; pro-forma metrics of productivity; the validity of task based grading criteria; the interpretation of task based grading criteria by untrained stakeholders

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 11, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The teacher:

Like the majority of teachers in the Adult Migrant Education Program, I was a part time teacher on casual hourly rates. The AMEP had operated in this way since its inception in 1947, and the casual status of most teachers is an important factor in evaluating the curriculum innovations which will be referred

to in this account.

My own case was slightly unusual. I had worked for various AMEP venues casually and intermittently since 1977, which gave me a fairly long perspective on developments. Secondly, during most of those engagements I had been involved in postgraduate (PhD) research, initially in syntax, and by 1990 in cognitive linguistics. (Ultimately I was to withdraw from two PhD candidatures before completion, while retaining a deep interest in the cognitive aspects of language formation). Thus while I was not focused on 'applied linguistics' itself, I inevitably observed student learning, curriculum innovations, and my own development as a teacher with a linguist's eye. At times this critical perspective made supervisors uneasy or even resentful, and I had learned to make even casual comments with a certain degree of discretion.

The AMEP philosophy:

The AMEP was historically designed as a community resource which could be accessed by adult migrants at any time they felt a need to upgrade their English skills. It was free, and operated both full-time day classes as well as very popular evening programs. Students from extraordinarily varied backgrounds learned to mix in a low pressure environment, and the classes themselves became an informal enculturation into Australian ways.

The free, open, non-judgemental nature of the AMEP contributed greatly to its

popularity amongst immigrants, and it is probably fair to say that for the first three decades from its inception this program played a large part in successfully moving Australia from a parochial monoculture into an open multicultural society with a minimum of friction. However this unpublicized success of the AMEP was not widely understood in the general population, and as events were to prove, it was not understood by the political class.

Immigration is a potent political issue in most countries, and language facility in a national language is never far from judgements on the issue. The AMEP was born out of the equation of immigration and English language mastery. It grew into a multi-million dollar enterprise. Whether that enterprise was a cost or an investment was also a political judgement. In the English speaking world, the 1990s saw a tidal wave of political popularity for an ideological form of economic rationalism, characterized as Thatcherism in Britain and Reaganism in the United States. It eventually manifested in Australia at both state and federal levels. The Victorian expression of economic rationalism came through strongly in the Kennett government, and that set the scene for radical changes in the Victorian AMEP mission. The economic rationalists saw the AMEP as a cost. They were determined to quantify that cost in ways they understood, and to shift its burden to a 'user pays' philosophy.

Earlier AMEP curriculums:

By the early 1990s the AMEP had moved on from its earlier structurally based

Situational English curriculum, published in three volumes by the government printer and officially taught chapter by chapter by some 500 AMEP teachers Australia wide (Australian Commonwealth Office of Education 1966, 1970). There had been some dabbling with the European Union sourced functional notional syllabus (language of apology, language of inquiry ... etc.: van Ek & Trim 1990, updated), but the program eventually evolved (some would say dissolved) into the American favoured 'communicative English' approach. That is, the official objective was communicative English, as opposed to, for example, academic English, and the methodology was de facto eclectic. The official objective of the AMEP had always been communicative, so what actually happened was a de-emphasizing of explicit grammar teaching and a different sourcing of text books. In some ways it was an official return to an ancient tradition (although most modern text book authors and teachers would not be aware of this). In 1483 English was a minor language with little more than three million speakers when William Caxton published a dual English–French learning manual, probably reworked from a thirteenth century Flemish book. Caxton's book formed a model for many to follow, and was essentially designed with practical dialogues for merchants. Its content in fact is hard to distinguish from many 'modern' communicative English texts. The methodology in turn drew upon very down to earth student manuals of Latin for English learners, using the question and answer technique of catechism:

The best known example of a Latin–teaching dialogue, or colloquy

as they were usually called, is one by Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham, written in the eleventh century, before the Norman Conquest. The Latin text, which is accompanied by interlinear translation in Anglo-Saxon, consists of a series of questions and answers relating to topics and activities of everyday rural life, farming, hunting, trading, and so on. These were familiar to the youngsters who were being trained in elementary Latin before moving onto higher studies in grammar and rhetoric. (Widdowson and Howatt 2004: 11).

In practice good, trained teachers in the AMEP continued to do pretty well what they had always done, sometimes by subversion. However, the AMEP employed large numbers of part time teachers, many of whom had not been ESL professionals. The old Situational English materials had given them a kind of structured guidance and even an education. Communicative English materials on the other hand came in every imaginable kind of publication, and sometimes ignored any systematic approach to language acquisition at all. Untrained teachers could become similarly haphazard, and certain students moving from teacher to teacher were apt to express unhappiness at having yet another lesson on 'introductions', or 'going to the pharmacy'.

Given this situation, there was some need for well thought out curriculum reform which would give systematic guidance to part-time, often non-professional teachers, as well as offering students a sense of progression for which many felt a need. At the same time it was important not destroy the effectiveness in coaching communicative skills, a role which had underpinned the program even in its most formally structured periods.

Earlier AMEP processes of evaluation:

The AMEP had never awarded diplomas. Student progress was broadly evaluated on a scale of 1 to 5 in speaking, listening, reading and writing (the ASLPR scale; Ingram & Wylie 1999), and with moderation teachers achieved a credible amount of agreement. The ASLPR was primarily a tool for assigning students to appropriate classes, but to some extent it also became an informal wider community tool for describing the English level of immigrants in employment etc.

It was common enough for professional AMEP teachers to give diagnostic tests, and also to use testing in a mild way to focus the minds of students on the task at hand. For reasons like this I would give small tests or quizzes about once a week. They were non-threatening to the students and generally appreciated. At the same time they were a useful teaching check on my intuitive sense of what the students had been able to absorb. Tests of this kind were never passed on to the administration.

The measurement of language learning was an elusive metric in the economic rationalist model, where it was considered necessary to convert all human undertakings into a dollar cost/benefit analysis and charge the beneficiaries according to their assumed economic gains. With hindsight, perhaps it was not surprising that economic rationalist reformers of the language curriculum

would attempt to quantify their idea of language learning gains with a more detailed kind of evaluation than the ASLPR made possible.

The AMEP competency curriculum:

Myer House was the Victorian headquarters for AMES, and thus the incubus for any innovations in the program. Early in 1993 AMES teachers were called to a series of consultation meetings. In fact, there was no consultation. The teachers were presented with the *fait accompli* of a new curriculum and a new process of evaluation (Australian Education Council 1992; Australian National Training Authority 1995, 1997; Australian Curriculum Corporation 2006). It was called a competency curriculum, and it came with a plethora of forms to be filled in on a continuing basis. The forms were a teacher's certification that each student had mastered some particular competency which a lesson was designed to explicate and practice. The management professed to be unexcited about the competency curriculum and its forms, but explained that the whole package had been handed down from above and was non-negotiable. We were advised not to fight it.

All change invites a degree of opposition, so it was predictable that teachers would express some resistance to the competency curriculum. It was clear however that in this case the unhappiness went beyond the normal reaction of challenged habits. Personally my primary attention was directed elsewhere, at getting my own, untested model of cognitive linguistics under control for a

PhD thesis. I did not need the distraction of an institutional fight. However, just as the flaws in the existing AMEP were perfectly clear to me from long experience, it took me little time to see potentially fatal fractures in the new competency curriculum as it had been presented to us. I felt some duty to bring the intuitive uneasiness of my fellow teachers into focus with a coherent statement of the issues. I therefore circulated a couple of short discussion papers. The first elicited a heavy warning from the management. It also resulted in a large teacher meeting, called by management and intended to rebut the propositions I raised. In fact most teachers vocally supported my arguments. This does not necessarily mean that the arguments were all valid, but the rebuttals were unpersuasive. The second discussion paper got me fired without discussion. Several other very experienced teachers went the same way. I was unofficially black-banned from AMEP centres throughout Victoria and lost around \$10,000 in income. The Myer House manager's parting comment was an embittered 'you think you are better than us'.

Teachers of course are concerned with some form of educational productivity in their classrooms. Curriculums in general are intended enhance the efficiency of teachers, to enhance the learning productivity of students, and give a degree of structured predictability to the whole undertaking. They are also documents which help outsiders, such as administrators, to make sense of what is supposed to be going on in the classroom. However a flawed curriculum imposed by fiat in the face of fierce opposition is not an ideal

vehicle for promoting any of these objectives. In the case of the new competency curriculum it was clear that even from a management perspective the process was not about productivity at all. It was about the assertion of ideology and power (May 1996d).

Politics apart, the crux of the new curriculum problem was not the general notion of competency itself. We all aspire to competency, and our duty as language teachers was to assist students towards credible competence in the English language. The real problems were firstly the system of incentives the program set up, and secondly the redefinition of 'competence' in terms of the fuzzy aims of the curriculum. In brief, the curriculum set out a myriad of specific social behaviour objectives such as 'can fill in an employment form', or 'can negotiate a transaction'. These objectives, structured into language tasks, could be as simple or complex as the teacher cared to make them. Since the pressure was on teachers, class by class, to sign each student off on task mastery, the incentive path for the teacher clearly lay in maximally simple task construction, and a form ticking exercise which wouldn't cause negative evaluation of the teacher herself. Teachers have to eat too, and most were paid by the hour on short term contracts. In other words, the pedagogical undertaking was almost guaranteed to be less than ideal, and the evaluation procedures in many cases were pure humbug (May 1996c). There is no space here to explore the full dimensions of this issue. Curriculum design and implementation in foreign and second language teaching is a very large subject

which can be only partially analysed in a case study like this.

Case Study 12: Saudis at Western Metropolitan TAFE, 1993–1994

Location: Western Metropolitan TAFE, Melbourne

Productivity issues:

Competing agendas; the ideological and cultural environment detracting from learning; the contract provider as 'client', versus the students as clients;

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 12, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The general teaching context :

Like many TAFE teachers at this time I was hired on a casual sessional basis to teach particular programs. For the TAFEs, some programs held a promise of continuity if the tendering was right. Some were one-off exercises. The tendering process was in accordance with the contemporary political notions of economic rationalism. Competition would weed out the weak institutions and maximize economic productivity for the government. From an educational perspective, deep flaws in this philosophy quickly became manifest. TAFE middle managers who should have been facilitating the work of teachers spent a large amount of time preparing elaborate tenders. The overriding objective

was to win the tender, so however fantastic the tender specifications (they were often ambit claims), the tendering managers exercised little compunction in asserting that their institution was perfectly equipped to do it. They regularly claimed staff expertise which didn't exist, confident that anyone necessary could be hired at short notice. Similarly, student admission standards were often winked at if it meant winning a contract. One hapless Pakistani student I met had obtained 35% for maths in the Pakistan high school leaving certificate and was hustled by Western Metropolitan TAFE into a course for computer programmers.

The teachers hired in these programs were sometimes excellent, but just as likely, anyone available. Hired for a few weeks at a time on an hourly rate, their commitment to student learning productivity was obviously limited. 'Client' was a much used word, but teachers were encouraged, like the middle managers, to see the party providing the contract as the client, not the student. Productivity referred to students only insofar as students could influence contract renewal. Other factors unrelated to student language learning could easily have a greater influence on contract renewal. For example, supposedly 'completing' a curriculum regardless of real learning might be critical to contract renewal, so the middle manager would pressure the teacher to meet this requirement. In a credit course, a certain pass level could be critical for contract renewal, so again there could be pressure to structure assessment tasks at a low enough standard to guarantee the required number of passing

students.

The Saudi contract :

The contract tendering and outcome requirements took an unusual turn the case of a group of Saudi students I was asked to teach. Their progress was closely monitored, but the party reporting to the contractor in this instance was primarily a religious adviser who sat in on the class, appeared not to speak English, and was constantly alert to the ideological contamination of his view of Islam, as well as the susceptibility of the teacher to religious conversion. Language learning success appeared to be strictly secondary, although the reports the monitor filed with his superior might have been superficially couched in terms of language learning.

These students posed a particular problem which was new in my teaching career. It was easy enough to decline with a smile the videos proffered daily for religious conversion. The students, all men in their mid twenties, were radiology technicians from a Saudi hospital. I could sympathize when they complained that the people of Melbourne, Australia automatically assumed that they had come straight off camels in the desert, or in their words were 'no better than monkeys'. They assured me that Saudi cities had shopping malls as good as the world's best. They found it extremely hard to make local social contacts, which was not surprising given the omnipresent religious guardian. Naturally this isolation did nothing for their language acquisition, which was

frozen at lower intermediate level.

The great difficulty I had was with the social immaturity, and particularly the sexual immaturity of these students. They were utterly obsessed with sex in the most juvenile way. I am a fairly open minded and easy going individual, but these students relentlessly turned every spoken exchange into a sexual reference, with special attention to white Australian girls – apparently the unrequited ambition of every Saudi gent. They were like twelve year old schoolboys. As far as I could tell, their religious guardian remained innocent of the English exchanges. Well motivated interest in something is a great tool for language teaching, and at first I made some fairly light hearted attempt to turn their girl-obsession to some productive learning end. However, even humour was a difficult take with these men. After a couple of weeks I was becoming somewhat worn down by the whole charade, and one day after some especially exasperating attempts to steer them towards actual learning progress I went to a supermarket and bought a packet of condoms. They seemed never to have heard of condoms, and the religious guardian's eyes grew wide when I blew one up like a balloon in the classroom. They didn't crack a smile, but hopefully learned something about safe sex, if not about English.

In some ways it was a sad isolation for these young men, released briefly for the first time into another culture but unable to make contact with it. Soon they would be whisked back again into the closed Saudi environment. Once

they held a party in their shared apartment, and invited me as the only foreigner. It seemed a great opportunity to get past the religious rhetoric, and the sexual infantilism, and to engage directly with the best that Saudi culture had to offer. Even this proved difficult though. It is hard to remain entirely nonchalant when you are standing around in a small room with a group of men who have their hands inside their unzipped trousers absent-mindedly scratching their genitals. I don't quite know what memories the Saudi students took back to their country, but for me and a couple of other teachers hired to bridge the language and cultural divide, it was not one of our more successful engagements. No doubt the language learning specifications were duly reported to have been met by the TAFE management and the religious adviser, but in truth language learning productivity was never on the personal agenda of the students. They were too busy trying to grow up between two worlds with utterly dissonant values.

Case Study 13: English for Mechanics, 1993–1998

Location : Batman Automotive TAFE College (now part of Kangan Batman TAFE), Melbourne, Australia.

Productivity Issues :

Confused institutional notions of productivity; cultural determinants of knowledge recognition, knowledge creation and knowledge transfer; the subordination of teaching objectives to political objectives; the impermanence of innovation

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 13, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Outcome :

Cyclical: Negative to positive returning to negative

Stakeholders :

Non English speaking mechanics from all over the world; English teacher-coordinator with a specialized knowledge of automotive mechanics; director of English programs; professional TAFE automotive mechanics trainers; TAFE administration; government of the State of Victoria; Victorian automotive trade associations (e.g. repair shop owners); apprentice indenture holders (i.e. registered mechanical workshop owners).

Program objectives :

Develop NES mechanics' knowledge of technical English to a level sufficient to operate in an English speaking repair shop environment, read repair manuals when necessary, talk to customers, understand the legal conditions attaching to employment in the industry and be able to secure jobs.

Student profiles :

These were adult students from all over the world, ranging in age from early twenties to late fifties. Some from Europe (Poland, Yugoslavia) were quite literate. Others, such as from Ethiopia, could scarcely read and write. Some had worked on a wide range of vehicles, some on buses only (Sri Lankans), some almost exclusively on armoured military vehicles (Iraq, China). Some had well developed though fossilized social English, while others were new immigrants. Most tended to dislike purely classroom bookwork. All shared a strong interest and knowledge in solving practical mechanical problems, especially on the old cars which they owned. Few were formally qualified for certification in Victoria, and the certifying body was reticent about accommodating mature foreign men, notwithstanding a state-wide shortage of mechanics.

The teachers :

The automotive industry is overwhelmingly male dominated. This was reflected both in the students and the mechanics trainers. The interests, the language and the interactive styles were those found in single-sex male environments. Women were not unwelcome, but they had to adapt.

The ESL industry in Australia is overwhelmingly female dominated. Male teachers such as myself normally have to adapt to female leadership, female social priorities, cultural styles and so on. The small language department at

Batman was thus mostly female, and female led, but these women found themselves in the ambivalent position of dealing with a dominantly male college environment. Some female teachers adapted well, but with even the best will often found it difficult to share (for example) the men's interest in taking apart some old engine. They were much more interested in and successful at coping with programs to retrain immigrant women displaced from local textile factory closures.

I was unusual in this environment. Few male (let alone female) English teachers are knowledgeable about engineering. I have a passion about understanding how things work. I have a good informal knowledge of mechanics, and can take an engine apart. Not surprisingly the English manager was eager for me to take over the difficult foreign mechanics.

The teaching program :

The foreign mechanics were encouraged into a fairly low pressure engineering training program to upgrade their skills and adapt them to an Australian environment. This had essentially fallen into two parts: instruction in mechanics, and instruction in English.

The Australian mechanics instructors, all highly skilled, by and large had little experience in teaching across cultures to men with fractured English. Their own language tended to be rough, and some of the female teachers found

them incorrigible. Their male code was understood well enough by the foreign mechanics however, and with the mediation of shared mechanical knowledge the men developed a workable patois and progressed steadily towards their technical objectives.

The English instruction was classroom based, with women mostly teaching from generic 'English for occupational purposes' booklets. Any mechanics material tended to be childishly elementary. The men were insulted by this kind of stuff, and found it hard to take the women seriously (sometimes also for ethnic cultural reasons). On the other hand they felt intimidated by the formal English. It was not a happy mix.

My insertion into this program changed the mix, making possible a level of learning productivity that the cultural paradigm had previously precluded. It was not an instantaneous change. I did plenty of bad teaching on the way to becoming a good teacher. However, both the students and the Australian mechanics instructors were prepared to teach me. In retrospect, that was the key to success.

In the role of English teacher, to pose as a technical (mechanics) expert amongst experts would invite derision, notwithstanding that we had to learn technical English. On the other hand, to approach the task as one congenitally clueless about technical matters (as they saw most of the women) would

relegate the English teaching to irrelevance. I therefore arrived as the intrigued learner, apparently feeding in English as a facilitating afterthought amongst a group of men speaking ten or more different languages.

How did it happen? Here is a typical scenario:

Yesterday Conny bought another wreck at the car auctions. The basics actually aren't bad, but he can't quite get the engine tuning right. He has told us about this in the coffee break, so we wander out to have a look. In no time the guys are stripping the carby (carburettor) down and I'm asking why dual barrel carbies are such a problem. There is an old manual in the glove box, so I go through that with a couple of fellows looking over my shoulder. They find the words for 'seals' and 'jets'. Then we get onto volumetric pressure in the venturi. This is a new idea for Ali from Ethiopia, but he picks it up quickly... Later back in the classroom they help me to reconstruct what we did on the whiteboard.

The larger context:

The training of mechanics is an area to which an outsider might think extreme Taylorism was ideally suited. It doesn't work out that way. Some of the Batman mechanics trainers were wizards at their craft, and they were in despair at the the mechanics 'competencies curriculum' which was imposed on them. Each student (whether from my special group, or normal apprentices) had a 'self-

paced' workbook containing a multitude of tasks, each of which was supposed to fit them for some 'competency'. This busy work occupied all of the available teaching time. The trainers would duly tick the boxes, but as one put it to me, 'most of the poor buggers are clueless when somebody turns up with a f**ked engine'. In other words, the parts, as expressed in competencies, in no way produced a whole tradesman, and in fact almost precluded the possibility of producing really competent tradesmen. Not satisfied with that, Victorian politicians 'rationalized' the whole process to save money, supposedly, by making most training on-the-job in little automotive garages all over Victoria where large numbers of garage owners not only lacked essential skills themselves, but frequently cared nothing about the students. They would tick the self-learning guides to collect their training subsidies (May 1997a, 1997b).

Sisyphus and institutional memory:

As a pedagogical enterprise for language and enculturation, the English for Mechanics program became highly successful. The students were able to maximise their learning productivity. I also self-published a book, *English for Mechanics* (May 1995) and eventually sold a site licence to the college for its use in international projects. Ultimately however the program was not a success that other administrative levels of the college could be troubled to grasp. They had no concept of learning productivity, and since it came with no instant dollar return or promotional opportunity, they were not interested in acquiring that insight.

The manager of the English department had been supportive. She retired. The director of the college itself, reportedly mired in scandal, was hastily retired by merging the college with the much larger Kangan TAFE. The political environment of the state of Victoria at this time was highly charged (the Kennett government) with an ideology of energetic economic rationalism and a fiercely anti-union agenda (the college was highly unionized). The new TAFE director designated each segment of the college as a 'profit centre', and she required them to compete to promote 'efficiency'. Thus cross-departmental co-operation was disincentivized. The English department had to 'buy' time from the engineering department to teach the foreign mechanics. The English for Mechanics program then became a 'net cost' and as a liability in the newly invented environment of imaginary economics, it was vulnerable to disbandment. I was re-interviewed for employment, and in the final words of the new English department manager told that I had 'nothing to contribute'. I went to China in disgust.

Everyone is the hero in their own movie. My fate is irrelevant in the context of this thesis. The important point for analysis here is that learning productivity is always at risk in an institution. If we take a cross-section of educational institutions at any point in time, we will find islands of high learning productivity, and large tracts of teaching activity which are sub-optimal in one way or another. Teaching personnel change, but above all managerial

personnel change, as does the wider political environment. Gains are made, and then rolled back. There are few permanent solutions.

Case Study 14: Koba Tin Mining Company & John Batman College of TAFE, 1996

Location : Pulau Banka, Indonesia

Productivity issues :

Commercial misrepresentation by an educational sales team of language learning needs, resources and personnel skills; absolute ignorance at college managerial levels of second language acquisition and how to shape a language training program with a reasonable chance for successful learning outcomes; concomitant ignorance by a commercial client of the preceding matters; the misuse of copyrighted materials; competing language learning priorities between learners and the sponsoring authority.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 14, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Program objectives :

To advise on and establish a technical English training program for Indonesian mechanics at the Koba tin mine in Indonesia.

Outcomes :

The project reports are available online (May 1996a, 1996b).

1. The language consultant established a pilot technical English training program;
2. The consultant selected and began to train a local trainer;
3. The consultant established criteria for student selection;
4. The consultant provided seed teaching resources for the training program;
5. The consultant advised on the development of local resources;
6. The consultant made recommendations for the further training of an Indonesian trainer;
7. The consultant wrote detailed reports on requirements, resource choices, and training choices pertaining to a viable technical English program;
8. The consultant made recommendations about the translation of training materials;
9. The consultant made vigorous attempts to educate both his own employing management team and the client management team in the realities of language education. This effort was not entirely welcomed.

Stakeholders :

Indonesian mechanics; Indonesian administrative staff; mining company

management; Indonesian English language trainer; Indonesian technical high school staff; Australian technical English consultant; Australian engineering training program consultant; Australian TAFE management and sales team.

The technical English language consultant :

I had been teaching a technical English for Mechanics program for several years to non English speaking mechanics from around the world at the John Batman TAFE campus in Melbourne. I had also written and self-published a course book of 90 units called *English for Mechanics*, suitable for this kind of program. JBT was active in SE Asia and China marketing its training programs in heavy vehicle maintenance. I suggested that technical English consultancy was a natural partner to this international marketing effort. Eventually the suggestion was taken up by the director of the college, although he did not consult me in any way. In 1996 I was asked to undertake a one month technical English consultancy to the Koba Tin Mining Company in Indonesia.

Student profiles :

Prior to the consultancy the students were understood by the technical language consultant to have lower intermediate English language skills. This assumption was made since the mining company had purchased from the international arm of John Batman College of TAFE the modules in English for a heavy vehicle mechanics training program, with no provision for translation.

Once on site the English language consultant established that the students had negligible English language skills. The students were Indonesian mechanics employed to maintain heavy American and Japanese bulldozers, trucks and related equipment in a large alluvial tin mining operation. These mechanics were unable to read the heavy vehicle maintenance manuals, or to communicate in English with the Australian site mechanical engineer. He had insisted that they required English language training to keep the mining operation functional.

The teaching program :

The mining operation was on the island of Pulau Banka, adjacent to Sumatra in Indonesia. There were a large number of tin mines on the island. The Koba mine managed a substantial land concession on the coast, and the mining involved dredging a shallow river to extract the ore. There was heavy wear and tear on the equipment, so the maintenance mechanics were critical to the operation, and were only spared reluctantly for any teaching time.

Koba was a fairly high security operation. A small team of Australian engineers oversaw a mainly Indonesian administrative staff, and about 1400 Indonesian mine workers. The social organization of the site clearly reflected this hierarchy, but appeared to be well managed. The administrative staff quickly made it known that they would like English classes, but that was not viable within the terms of the consultancy.

On arrival for this consultancy I became aware of an number of worrying factors.

1. The JBT director, who had sold the program himself, had assured the clients that I was fluent in Indonesian. This was pure invention, and it took some fancy footwork to avoid undermining the project at the outset.
2. The JBT director had persuaded the Koba management that I could somehow convey all the necessary English language skills to the Indonesian mechanics within a month. This of course was a fantastic proposition. It did demonstrate not only the wishful thinking of the client, but the willful ignorance of the TAFE management about anything to do with language learning. This level of managerial ignorance in educational institutions has been made clear to me many times throughout my career.
3. The hapless Indonesian mechanics had also been persuaded that by some magic they would read and speak fluent English within a month.
4. The JBT director had apparently sold a module course of technical English to support the consultancy. Upon investigation, I found this to be my own book. I later invited the director to discuss this in court, and he settled by paying me a \$500 site licence fee for use of the material.

I investigated the learning environment for a technical English program as thoroughly as I could, and put a series of options before the Koba executive. For a language specialist the options were fairly clear (see the reference to the consultancy reports above). They were also clear to the mine management, once expressed in plain language, but they were rather taken aback by the realities since they had paid a large amount of money for a magic solution from the consultancy. If they wanted optimum engineering productivity from the mechanics, then they had to prioritize language learning productivity. In the real world, that too would hold some surprises for the management. When I did establish a pilot technical English class I found that the Indonesian mechanics were desperate to acquire some skills in social English. Reading technical manuals was low on their list of personal priorities.

There was a short cut to the English learning dilemma: translate the small number of critical equipment technical manuals into Indonesian. Koba management seemed a little crestfallen about the simplicity of the idea. With a few Australian professionals and 1400 Indonesians, it also seemed more productive to have the Australians learn Indonesian. They weren't excited by that suggestion, citing limited available time.

The main game for JBT and the Koba management was not my consultancy. Neither had been focused on language requirements. The engineers from both sides did understand mechanical engineering training, and that was what JBT

had marketed across Asia. Remarkably, with English speakers talking to English speakers neither had grasped that the mechanical engineering modules were essentially unusable since they too were in English. The sales pitch talked vaguely about having an assistant interpreter standing by. Attempts by monolingual Australian trainers to actually teach the engineering modules to Indonesians quickly brought this sales talk down to ground. Koba management had to soberly concur with my suggestion to have the main JBT modules translated into Indonesian. That did imply a major translation project. They were not at all pleased to be faced with this unavoidable, slow and expensive procedure with which JBT was entirely unequipped to assist.

Conclusions:

1. Language education programs are predicated upon an assumption that the stakeholders comprehend what is involved in learning a language. Teachers may know, and students soon learn. However, decision makers from the management of both educational institutions and client companies tend to have no idea. Those from essentially monolingual cultures like the Anglo–Australian are often aggressively ignorant about the subject until faced with real failure. The Koba consultancy was unusual only in laying bare the naivety of the principals so quickly and unambiguously.
2. The contracting principals to a language learning program will be unable to

evaluate learning productivity until they comprehend the nature of the task to be undertaken.

3. The consultant or teacher who brings the contracting principals to some real understanding of language learning requirements will not necessarily be thanked. The bearer of ill-tidings is rarely popular. I happen to be candid. Other consultants in similar situations might well find it profitable to obfuscate and perpetuate unproductive pedagogical situations.
4. Upon departure for Indonesia, the main advice I was given by management was to 'make more money for JBT'. Given the prevailing ideology in educational management at the time, and perhaps currently, that was to be expected. In fact, by doing the best possible job as a language consultant I gave the client a reality check, and did not bring in more money. For JBT it was all too difficult, and they never attempted another language consultancy.

Case Study 15: Wuhan Technical University of Surveying and Mapping, 1998

Location:

Wuhan, Hubei Province, Central China. Hubei province has a population of around 90 million. Wuhan, the capital of Hubei, is on the Changjiang (Yangze River) and has about seven million people with over fifty institutions of higher learning.

Productivity issues :

Low expectation for language learning; credentialism versus language achievement; the foreign teacher as a display trophy rather than professional; the nearly complete absence of a service ethic in post-Mao China at this time, including in education; widespread plagiarism and bribery for professional advancement amongst Chinese staff; minimal governmental expenditure on educational resources.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 15, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The learning environment:

The students in my program at WTUSM were all Masters and PhD research candidates. In spite of this, the 'conversation classes' as they were called all contained about sixty students crammed behind long rows of ancient desks

bolted to the floor. There was no way to arrange any kind of flexible group work by moving people around, so activities were more or less confined to pair work with the adjacent partners. The plus side was that these were relatively mature students (mid to late twenties), highly intelligent and well-motivated. The real handicaps were institutional contempt for student needs at any level, and my own learning curve in adapting to Chinese conditions and expectations.

The cultural environment:

From 1966 to 1976 all Chinese tertiary institutions were closed down and often looted or desecrated. Professors were sent to 'work in the countryside' if they were lucky, or tortured and hounded to death if they were less fortunate. This was the culmination of erratic, often murderous government practices from the PRC's foundation in 1949:

This is a terrible government [but] ...there has been big progress in political reform and [particularly] in the protection of human rights ...So many people were killed because of having different views. Every year, even every day, many, many people were killed. I estimate 50 million people were killed by the Government. Every day they killed 5000. But these days the Government even has trouble killing one person. (Mao Yushi, designated a 'national treasure' by *The Economic Observer*, a state-owned Beijing newspaper, for his role in China's modernization. Interview by John Garnaut, 2009).

In the madness of the Cultural Revolution much of China's four thousand year accumulation of writing, scholarship and cultural artefacts was lost forever (Chang & Halliday 2006).

When I arrived twelve years after the restoration of tertiary education, the cultural revolution was no more than a childhood memory for my postgraduate students. Nevertheless, it had touched almost every family since one of Mao Zedong's aims had been to destroy the family unit as a core transmitter of Chinese culture. He had failed, more or less, but the scars were deep, and open discussion of the period, especially with a foreigner, was often taboo.

The level of terrorism which had engulfed the Chinese heartlands had abated, but many of the culturally conditioned personal characteristics which had enabled the terror to become epidemic were still present. In particular, there was a deeply ingrained preference for group action, as opposed to individual action (May 2001), an unquestioning acceptance of hierarchy, an aversion to taking responsibility or initiative of any kind, an expectation that authority could be enforced with violence if necessary, and a marked lack of conscience about pursuing personal gain when rules could be evaded. These negative traits were compensated by a strong ethic of reciprocity and a loyalty to friends. This patterning is still general, although not universal, amongst mainland Chinese peoples to this day (2009).

Of course, middle aged to senior academics at WTUSM in 1998 had been directly embroiled in the cultural revolution. Some had undoubtedly been amongst the feared red guards, though I never found one who admitted to it. Crucially, their own education and development had been shattered, and many older teachers were visibly handicapped in any academic encounter with younger, better educated colleagues (CERNET 2003). This was very evident in language education. I might be having a social exchange with some younger Chinese colleague in more or less fluent English, but as soon as an older teacher entered the room it would stutter to an embarrassed silence to save the face of the senior person who almost inevitably had poor English.

Memories of persecution were still fresh enough for most textbooks to have no acknowledged author. Instead they were 'compiled' by this university or that. This anonymity had some unfortunate side effects. No one admitted to or accepted responsibility for anything. Plagiarism was rampant amongst academic staff. The regulations at WTUSM stated that promotion to professorship required the publication of eight books, and to my direct knowledge in the language teaching field, these publications were often, almost routinely, lifted from the chapters of foreign books. It was mildly amusing to find a 'Chinese' book on say business English with one chapter in American English, and the next chapter whose style and content was obviously British.

Language learning productivity or credentialism?

Coming from Australia with its abysmal lack of second language learning in the general population, I am always astonished at the level of functional English which can be attained by students with no native speaker exposure and, often, extreme institutional handicaps. So it was at WUTSM. A significant proportion of the students had indeed achieved useful learning in English. Unfortunately, they were less likely to be rewarded for such an accomplishment than for gaming the system. WUTSM, like so many East Asian institutions, was all about credentialism.

The often dubious quality of academic practices and publications naturally set a terrible example for my postgraduate students. It was one thing to understand the historical context and the reasons for the problems, but that made it no easier to persuade these very bright young people to recalibrate to more normal international expectations. It didn't help that I only gradually became aware of discrepancies myself.

The most alarming injustice occurred as I was stepping into the official black limousine to depart at the end of my contract. Somebody expressed disappointment that I had failed so many students. Upon enquiry I learned with great alarm that the 'pass' level was not 50%, but something like 75%. In other words, grades were another face game (by no means confined to China as I was to learn later). Part of this game was for the teacher to recalibrate scores

from a genuine judgement at 50% pass or fail, so that 50% read in this case as 75%. Then the institution could boast of its high standards while students were able to pass in at least the same numbers that they always had without becoming any cleverer. In the WTUSM case I politely wrote to the president of the university suggesting that the papers be re-marked to avoid spoiling the careers of a number of young postgraduates who after all wanted to be nuclear physicists or engineers, not English teachers. I heard later that the president was furious at this direct address as an outrageous violation of Chinese hierarchical protocol by a foreigner, and the implicit exposure of normal grading manipulation that an official re-marking would entail. I was only to learn much later that it was standard throughout the country for Chinese staff to re-grade foreigner's teaching results to fit local cultural requirements of face, and/or according to the whims of influence and bribery.

Case Study 16: Central China Normal University, 1999–2000

Location: Wuhan, Hubei Province, China

Productivity issues:

Teaching in a foreign cultural milieu; accidental employment; ambiguous relationship with the administration; vagueness of the teaching program relative to the overall teacher training program; highly selected and motivated

students; dependence on own resources.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 16, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The teachers :

This was my second Chinese university teaching position, and the appointment was of a special Chinese kind involving *guanxi* (relationships). A Chinese friend with close connections in the Communist hierarchy simply said 'choose which of Wuhan's fifty-two tertiary institutions you would like to work in'. The chairman of the department at CCNU later informed me resignedly 'they told me I had to hire you'. He didn't expect a professional contribution from a foreigner. Still, hiring me couldn't have been too much of a hardship since English speakers who were also trained teachers were exceedingly rare. The employment process did highlight a fundamental problem with Chinese institutions: all hiring and firing was controlled by the Party. In the case of this department, the party secretary was academic baggage, widely disliked privately but with a stranglehold on everyone's welfare. That said, the level of professionalism was markedly higher than amongst Chinese colleagues at my previous venue, Wuhan Technical University of Surveying and Mapping. There were also several retired Americans, not trained teachers, come to do good work in the name of their god. They were cooperative, and happy to seek my guidance. I was asked to act as kind of program coordinator: a short lived role for reasons outlined below.

The students:

The first group of students I briefly dealt with as 'coordinator' were the familiar freshman non-English majors getting their compulsory dose of foreign language. Shortly I was moved from this to teacher trainees for secondary schools. They were highly selected, majoring in English, overwhelmingly female, and some of the best motivated students I have ever taught. Their English was at intermediate level.

The program:

The first brief interlude will be outlined because it illustrates how entirely extraneous matters so often interfere with teaching productivity. My small team was assigned one computer, Internet connected, in our staffroom which was always to be locked when not in use. This was early days both for general computer access and the Internet in China. We were therefore privileged. Unfortunately the computer constantly malfunctioned. I quickly diagnosed and eliminated a number of viruses. Each morning they would reappear. I investigated the history cache, and found that someone was regularly spending long night hours on pornography sites. Well I am not the moral police, but this was obviously the virus source. I sought advice from my immediate Chinese superior. He listened gravely. Two days later I was suddenly removed from the program for 'personal incompatibility problems'. The Americans were aghast. Clearly I had unmasked the pornography fan himself, but I let it pass. After all, he had to make a future here. I was just a travelling scholar.

Moving into an entirely solo role with the teacher trainees was professionally rewarding. They loved role play and drama, both prepared and impromptu. These were students I could send away with instructions to develop a skit, then expect something of a high standard within a few days. Considering their lack of contact with native speakers, their English was remarkable, and a vindication of just how productive language teaching can be with the right students in a pedagogically encouraging environment.

The high motivation of these students as a group could be traced to a combination of historical, political and personal circumstances. The Communist regime had wrought huge changes in the personal lives of citizens since it came to power in 1949. There were terrible periods of man made catastrophe. Tens of millions perished of starvation in the grotesquely misnamed Great Leap Forward beginning in 1957, and countless others grew up with stunted physical and cognitive development for the same reason. More millions perished in the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, and during this period the education system was deliberately destroyed. The PRC's per capita spending on education had consistently been amongst the lowest in the OECD. Education is a hot issue with the Chinese public, but even as late as 2005 overall Chinese public per capita funding for education was unimpressive by world standards: officially 3.3% of per capita GNP as against a world average for 53 countries of 3.8% (UNDP 2005). However the Chinese tertiary education

system has recently expanded explosively to become the largest in the world (Daniel 2007). By the time I encountered the the CCNU students, life expectancy had risen from 35 years (1949) to 72 years and everyone anticipated an improved quality of life. However, there remained vast inequalities in education. In some districts of Hubei Province (population 90 million) where I was teaching, village school teachers were being paid in cigarettes by corrupt officials who pocketed the payrolls. At the same time so-called 'user pays' education had begun in a big way from kindergarten to postgraduate courses (May 2003). This opened the door to unbounded corruption in education much of which continues to this day as the country morphs into one of the most income-unequal societies in the world (UNDP 2005).

There were also undreamed of new opportunities however. Teaching in prestigious city schools could offer a secure and respectable, even lucrative future, especially for students who were the first generation in their families to obtain a tertiary education. My students had therefore survived fierce competition to make it into a fairly prestigious university, and many would have also had a degree of *guanxi* exercised on their behalves by influential connections, just as I had. It was a paradigm for education which the official records would inevitably obscure.

One consequence of systemic corruption and privilege is often a loss of

commitment. Perhaps recent history was too stark in the family memories of my 1998 CCNU students for that. Contemporary students in South Korea and rich areas of China often seem spoiled by comparison, with teachers informally reporting low levels of language achievement.

Conclusions:

1. Professional considerations in the appointment of a foreign language teacher can often be accidental, especially in countries like China. In the case of CCNU, I could have been anybody off the street with the right connections. My exit from the first CCNU program was similarly erratic. Over a ten year period in China and South Korea I have found similar irregular, highly personalized tendencies in employment. Influence and personal relations are critical.

Where the applicant is unknown, prejudice and preconception may play a major role and trump formal qualifications. White skin is a major plus, as is being a female under thirty (the hiring parties are almost invariably male). More than minimal qualifications can actually count against a candidate, since they may pose a threat to the face of local professors or teachers. Some research in South Korea has recently documented such tendencies ('Korea Jim' 2007), but it is no news to experienced teachers in the field. In short, where there is competition for a position, influence, sex-appeal or even bribery are typical controlling factors, not experience and qualifications. Where the

position is unsought (and there are currently around 18,000 unfilled English language teaching positions for foreigners in China), anybody who speaks English will do, but they shouldn't look for genuine respect.

This kind of thing can and does have consequences for teaching productivity. It can severely discourage professional development and notions of a career. However, as with so much else in the field, it does not usually advertise itself for formal reporting.

2. Gifted, highly motivated language students will thrive with good teaching, but also survive and learn in less than optimal conditions. I have no reason to suppose that my Chinese colleagues at CCNU were not excellent at their jobs in their own way. The CCNU language teacher trainees had achieved a great deal towards L2 competence by the time I arrived. Faced with new techniques of role play, dramatic performance and impromptu innovation they seized the opportunity.

In other times and countries I have seen apparently similar students who were privileged with superior material conditions, but who reacted with indifference and a total lack of imagination to the kinds of open learning opportunities afforded to the CCNU students. In such cases far more structured teaching has been required. In other words, the most powerful factors for learning productivity (or lack of it) are within the students themselves.

Case Study 17: Sungsim College of Foreign Language Studies, 2000 – 2003

Location : Busan, South Korea. Merged with Youngsan University 2003.

Productivity issues : College objectives; non-educational student objectives; role and reward of the foreign teacher; the idiosyncrasy of private institutional ownership.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 17, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The cultural environment :

An interpretation of the teaching environment at Sungsim College is not possible without reference to certain dominant characteristics of contemporary South Korean society. Relative to, say, general Australian values, South Koreans as a group are obsessed by displays of status. The status concerns are historically embedded in traditional values such as 'face' (*chemyeon*). Although the underlying Confucian ethic places a strong emphasis on ritual modesty, actual behavioural norms reflect a need for status display through material wealth, ascribed position and whatever public awards are available for dispensation. In this status mix, educational diplomas are more or less mandatory and certified foreign language skills have great value. With the world's highest investment of GDP in education (7.1%: Schleicher 2003),

Koreans also have the highest tertiary enrolment (over 80%) of youths in the OECD (OECD 2007; Park 2002). The OECD, and other organizations following their lead, often cite such figures to demonstrate that South Korean educational practices lead the world. However, the institutional expenditure per student is only 60% of the OECD average (Deutsche Bank Research 2008). There are serious issues of quality, which will become evident in this and two subsequent case studies.

The hunger for peer and public recognition fuels an intensely competitive society, where personal attitudes rarely seem to be leavened by irony, self-humour, or any ability to strike a distance from 'the rat race'. Rather, there is a pervasive sense of victimhood, which is celebrated in the national literature as '*han*' and given all kinds of historical justification (Park Kyong-ni in Kroman 2000). In reality, and as with psycho-social patterns in all societies, its roots will trace to child raising practices. Even long term foreign residents of South Korea often struggle to make sense of apparently mercurial day to day changes in Korean attitudes to personal relationships, as well as to difficult undertakings such as language learning. At bottom, the learning environment seems to have much to do with a toxic mixture of desperation to acquire face, and resentment at the humiliating sacrifices that often requires, the whole overlain by a degree of expected public charm.

The teaching environment:

Sungsim College was consciously founded in a spirit of public Buddhist beneficence by a textile magnate. Coincidentally it was a shrewd business undertaking, drawing upon opportunities which arise out of the Korean cultural needs just described. Although most modern Koreans crave the face which an academic diploma bestows (quite apart from its value as a ticket to employment), clearly not everyone is academically gifted, or for that matter, gifted for the easy acquisition of a foreign language. Precisely because of the importance of form over substance in the status stakes, the founder of Sungsim College perceived a rich vein of business opportunity. In fact, many of the private colleges and universities in South Korea have been established to exploit the same opportunity. The market in question involves millions of students and billions of won in profits.

The deal was and is that students pay a substantial premium over the costs of education in a public national university. For this contribution they are admitted to an institution which offers all the pomp and circumstance of a traditional university education. Entry qualifications are freely manipulated, and once enrolled, privately nobody actually expects a commitment to study (although remarkably, a small percentage of students do try to study seriously). After two to four years of having a good time, forming friendships and bonds to ease the path into working life, and probably finding a marriage partner, all students are more or less guaranteed to graduate with the required

qualification.

The teachers:

Sungsim College taught a range of foreign languages from Vietnamese to Indonesian to Russian to French. Nevertheless, English teachers formed the largest teaching contingent since all students had to study English. In some respects the English teachers (overwhelmingly American) were more privileged than other nation's teachers, including in salary and benefits. This partly reflected one of the twists of racism that are sometimes artlessly on display in South Korea, and on at least one occasion led to an outraged resignation with international repercussions.

The foreign language teacher in the cultural environment just described finds himself in a peculiar position, at least if he approaches the appointment with any notions of professional performance. The employment of foreigners adds lustre to an institution's reputation, and amounts to a marketing requirement. Making use of their skills is another matter.

My observation was that the non-English foreign teachers were indeed professionals and did attempt serious programs, usually against heavy odds. The (north American) English foreign teachers were usually not professional teachers, although having evolved one textbook routine or another were generally convinced of their own competence. As a group they were aiming at a

more relaxed, even dissolute life that would not be possible at home. In some cases there was level of sexism, such as displaying women's vaginas as screensavers on staffroom computers, which would have led to arrests in the United States. That sort of thing did nothing for intercultural stereotypes. In retrospect and by contrast, the Korean professors in this college were more open minded and accommodating than most others I was to encounter in the succeeding seven years in the country.

The Sungsim students:

The Sungsim students posed a special challenge. Only a very small percentage had more than an elementary grasp of English, and few were prepared to put in the time required for effective language learning

A large percentage of the students arrived daily in their own late model cars, high school 'graduation gifts'. Excepting for a small number of poorer scholarship entrants, they were at Sungsim exactly because they were not too sharp academically, and had naturally chosen to direct their values in other directions. Mostly that meant an admiration of clothing fashion, hairstyle fashion, pop music fashion, beauty fashion, and whatever else was 'hot'. They were the first generation of South Koreans living in air conditioned city apartment blocks with wall to wall electronics. Their world began and ended today. Instant gratification was the only kind that counted. Of Korea's past, let alone world affairs, they knew nothing and cared nothing. Their employment

future, if they had bothered to investigate it, was likely to be bleak. It may have been a blessing that they remained oblivious.

Adaptation of a teaching program:

Effective teaching requires dealing with any group of students on their own terms. It was pointless to regret what Sungsim students appeared to lack. The most valid agenda seemed to be to take them from where they were as language learners (usually very elementary) to some slightly more advanced level of competence, and to cultivate a legacy of good feelings towards the English language. At times an otherwise dissolute American with a guitar and zero preparation could achieve more here than a 'rigorous' academic approach. On the other hand, the hypocrisies of the Korean face game demanded (and especially the administration demanded) all the outward behaviours and platitudes of 'academic behaviour', right down to gowns on graduation day. A profile of the academic teaching in this college, and many others like it, would therefore show strange inconsistencies as the 'professors' veered between populism and pedantry, according to mood and personality.

I was not a natural fit at Sungsim. I relish battles of ideas and dislike pretensions. It took a while to adapt. Ultimately I got more respect from the Korean faculty than most of my foreign contemporaries. It was harder to persuade nineteen year old academic dropouts that a fifty-five year old foreigner had anything to offer. The secret in the end was to get past their

pervasive but unspoken sense of failure. Korean secondary education with its relentless waves of examinations, and wearisome cram schools to 10pm every evening, is brutal about labelling the rejects. The giddy worship of hot fashion amongst my students was a consolation prize to substitute for the real respect they craved.

The productive use of time for a Sungsim student came down to a) the development and maintenance of peer social relationships; b) the development and maintenance of whatever personal qualities would assist in a); c) the acquisition of some academic document which might assist in finding employment.

Foreign language competence was not seriously anticipated by most students. Therefore language study was not a significant undertaking unless it related to a), b) or c) above. The administration also did not expect most students to acquire foreign language competence, but its business model did require the issuance of documents certifying such competence. Thus the students and the administration both had an interest in certification rather than language competence. The productive foreign teacher was one who kept the customers happy and did not interfere in the certification process (by, for example, failing students). I was to learn that this was a common East Asian pattern.

As a professional language teacher, I have notions of teaching productivity

which transcend particular institutions. Sometimes those notions mesh with employment environments but just as often (in my experience) they have conflicted in some particular way. The options then are to leave, or to apply a level of professionalism by stealth and subversion. In the Sungsim case, the students knew very well that they couldn't fail. Foreign teachers throughout East Asia routinely have their gradings rewritten by administrations. With some success however, I did subvert the Korean paradigm by tricking students into thinking they could achieve a degree of useful learning.

My method essentially was to form a bond of responsibility and respect between each individual student and the teacher. That may be the ideal in all classes, but the reality in most classrooms is a relationship between the teacher and a group. Not many students feel a personal obligation to the man or woman who is standing in front of forty other students. Nor do they feel much personal care from that teacher, especially if the teacher has many classes. Perhaps in rare cases a charismatic leader can create the illusion of such a bond. Mob appeal is not my forte. Instead, I went to each student in turn, eye to eye, class after class, while all the students were standing up to learn dialogues. It was remarkably effective, and is described in more detail in another paper (May 2005b). These students were persuaded to accept a notion of productivity beyond their normal sphere of interests.

Case Study 18: Pusan University of Foreign Studies, 2003 – 2004

Location : Busan, South Korea

Productivity issues :

Matching joint venture standards with an American university at Masters degree level; institutional fraud and academic fraud; the preparation and expectations of Korean graduates; complicity of Korean government organs in illegal practice; the powerlessness of an English speaking academic in a Korean speaking environment; the profit motive mediating credentialism and academic learning.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 18, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The institutional setting:

In 2003 Pusan University of Foreign Studies advertised that it had established a joint venture program with the University of Southern California, San Jose, to prepare South Korean graduate teachers for the completion of a TESOL Masters program in the United States. The Korean component was guaranteed a cross-credit of 9 to 12 units towards the Masters, and there were tentative agreements with a number of other prominent American universities. A Canadian academic, Dr Brian King, and myself were hired to initiate this program, develop the teaching content, lecture it, and certify that the students

had indeed met international standards of academic achievement. The employment contract was absolutely explicit on these points. I was extremely pleased to be teaching something like linguistics again, and to a cohort of students who promised to be bright and well-motivated. The joint venture was widely advertised in the Korean media. The pedigree of the American link allowed the Korean institution to charge higher fees than any comparable course in South Korea.

As Dr King and I sought to develop this program, a series of disturbing facts began to be exposed. Although our contracts were signed by the university president, it emerged that the entire program was a private venture by a Korean businessman. Apparently he had persuaded the university to act as a front to enrol students and employ the lecturers, both undertakings which would have been illegal for him as an unlicensed individual. We heard that he was to collect all fees personally, pay our salaries and keep 98% of the profit for two years, at which time the program would be handed over to the university as a going concern. For its part, the university administration made it absolutely clear that it considered neither the students, nor Dr King and myself to be any part of the institution. I had to engage in a major struggle to secure my graduate students library cards, and eventually to get my own salary paid through the university. The businessman styled himself as a PhD and ex-faculty member of another well known Korean university. He claimed to have established a number of such programs. We quickly realized that he knew

nothing about TESOL (the program was advertised as PUFs TESOL), and perhaps worse, he was absolutely incompetent at any kind of administration. He was first and last a salesman.

I had naturally wasted no time in making scholarly contact with USC, San Jose, and thereby apparently unleashed some unexpected developments. Two weeks into the program USC not only 'withdrew', but threatened legal action if its name was further used in any way. Our Korean businessman then undertook a rapid tour of less illustrious American universities and returned eventually with some kind of joint venture agreement, he said, with Troy State University. This is an Alabama based institution which apparently specializes in providing distance education to active American military personnel. I was unable to determine at that time that it had any credible TESOL program of its own. The English version of the PUFs TESOL website was stolen wholesale from other sites, right down to course descriptions, so for the businessman the change was simply a matter of changing the USC label to Troy State University. Content did not matter.

The students:

Our students were graduates who had received their first degrees from universities all over South Korea. Most were currently employed as primary or secondary school teachers, or were working in *hagwons* (cram schools) while pursuing that objective. A few were actually running their own *hagwons*. They

were overwhelmingly female. South Korea actually has a surplus of trained teachers since teaching is seen as a relatively stable source of employment, and so the competition for places is strong. Although I saw no official language scores, I estimate that most would have rated in an IELTS band at around 5.5 (native speaker level being 9). A few were much better, and some were weaker. I was to learn later that the 'admission test' administered by our Korean businessman was rather easily trumped by the admission fee. It also emerged that only a handful actually planned to go on to America. It was the kudos attaching to an international joint venture program which counted. I have since come to understand that this pattern in educational joint ventures is widespread throughout East Asia.

Nevertheless the majority of these students approached the course with good motivation and were prepared to work hard. The teaching challenge for Dr King and myself came a) from presenting academic material at a language level suitable for the students, and b) in retraining them for the kind of work they would have to do in a Western university. For example, we discovered that most had never written a serious essay in the whole of their undergraduate lives. Their undergraduate training had essentially been based on multiple choice tests. Given this background it would have been a disaster to have entirely essay based assessment. Instead I required one major project at the end of the course, and each Monday ran a graded quiz of five open ended questions based on the previous week's lectures. They complained at first that

this was tough, but by the end of the course most admitted that they had learned a great deal more than in any previous course. They were quite proud of their achievement.

The PUFS TESOL program:

The PUFS TESOL program ran through two cycles in the year that I was there. We doubled enrolments, and from an academic perspective it was quite successful. I put an immense amount of work into developing a program that would both meet international graduate standards and accommodate the kind of preparation that our students had already received. Trouble when it arose came not from the students but from the Korean businessman, and ultimately from the university.

A couple of weeks into the course, the businessman began to demand that all students be graded with at least a B+ pass, this being the minimum required for articulation to the American program. Apparently he saw this as a good marketing stratagem for the next intake of students. The businessman was following a common South Korean practice, which is, however, clearly illegal even in South Korea:

One well-known phenomenon is private schools giving artificially inflated results to students. This situation is prevalent in Korea, especially in the university sphere, where foreign teachers are required to pass all students with varying levels of a pass grade. The

case of Donohue clearly shows that schools or universities who persist in this practice of manipulating grades can leave themselves open to an action whereby the student sues the University or school if the student fails to show a reasonable level of proficiency in the L2, where a pass grade has been awarded, and provided other factors support the action. (Jung & Robertson 2006).

Of course Dr King and I were anxious for our students to achieve the best earned score possible, but we could make no such guarantee. In fact such a guarantee would be in direct violation of our contractual obligations as well as a violation of PUFs' international agreements. Nevertheless, the demands became more and more insistent. Eventually the director of the university faculty nominally responsible for the program delivered us a letter setting out a fixed grading schedule which added up to 105% and limited failures to a maximum of 5%.

From an early stage Dr King and myself were troubled with how to maintain the integrity of a graduate program within an environment which was obviously corrupt, and frequently incompetent. Sometimes that was difficult. For example, at the end of the first cycle while I was on vacation in Australia, the businessman sent an email to say he had forgotten to order the textbook for the grammar course. He had therefore chosen and ordered another book. On return, I found this book to be rather unsuitable and too difficult for the students, but we had to use it anyway.

Very soon after commencing, anticipating trouble, I also began to keep meticulous records of all communications and documents associated with the businessman and the university administration. By Australian norms, they amounted to a damning indictment, but this was a very different environment. As our annual contracts drew to a close, we learned that they would not be renewed. Instead it was planned to hire new staff at salaries some 30% cheaper. In a final twist, the businessman cheated me out of several thousand dollars of accrued severance pay.

A fixed term contract is just that, and employer cheating is so common in South Korea that by one account some 30% of foreigners suffer serious legal entanglements during their teaching sojourn (Davidson 2006), and these are normally resolved in favour of the employer. Nevertheless, I felt professionally affronted. I had put a great effort into the program, made it viable, and earned the appreciation of the students. None of that counted for anything.

I run a large website. In the end I wrote a dispassionate account of the whole PUFs TESOL episode, carefully linked to scans of the relevant evidence. There was sufficient evidence posted for several South Korean government departments to prosecute the university and the businessman, if they had wished to do so. This would have no influence on potential Korean students, who only read English when required to. However, it immediately came to the

top of Google search engine requests on PUFs, and would discourage international participation. The Korean businessman raged and threatened, then wept in the office of my new head of department in another university. He paid the monies due and begged forgiveness on his knees. It was a rather surreal experience. At that point, I made a serious cultural error by declining to remove the article. I had hoped that it would act as a discouragement to similar shady operations in Korean education.

Two years after leaving the PUFs TESOL program I received notice that the Korean businessman was lodging a complaint for criminal defamation. In South Korea defamation is a criminal, not a civil action. I immediately put all of the accumulated evidence onto CDs and mailed them with a request for advice to the South Korean Public Prosecutor and the South Korean Police Department. Since I had no wish to violate Korean law in any way, I asked what material if any I should modify or withdraw. Neither department acknowledged receipt of the documentation. Several months later I was called for interview by the 'intellectual crimes' division of Chungju police station.

The interviewing police officer spoke no English, and had obviously not reviewed the evidence which was all in English. The casually hired interpreter for the day knew nothing and cared nothing about the case. It was not a true investigation. Rather I was formally informed of the defamation charge, and a second fabricated charge claiming that my academic qualifications were

fraudulent. The policeman declared that I was obviously guilty, but that the businessman had generously offered to withdraw the complaint if I removed the offending material from the Internet. Well, this was South Korea. I agreed to withdraw the material, and later (naively) signed an agreement with one of the businessman's agents to that effect. I did remove the article and its accompanying evidence from the Internet.

A couple of months after the police interview, a bailiff appeared at my door with a document in dense Korean legalese. I took it to a dentist with whom I was involved in a language exchange. I had been tried by a court without my knowledge, and convicted of criminal defamation in my absence. The penalty was two million won (about US\$2000) in lieu of forty days in prison. The dentist rang his friend, a lawyer. The lawyer rang his friend who had been the presiding judge. They had a cheerful three way conversation. Apparently I was entitled to see the judge in chambers, but the case was 'closed'. If I asked the businessman through the court, the judge said, the businessman might possibly agree to forgo the two million won in damages. The man was surely a humorist. I paid the fine. More damage had been done however. My new employing university declined to renew my contract since I was now a convicted criminal. As I applied for new positions around the country, it became evident that I was unemployable. South Korea was closed.

This has been an account of a single unhappy case. Sadly however it is

representative of a great deal more than a single case. Above all it illustrates the outsider status of the English speaking professional in a Korean speaking environment. In any conflict the whole institutional power of South Korean society will coalesce behind the Korean speaking national, especially an employer. The foreigner is powerless against the slander and libel which will engulf discussion of his case in the Korean language. Evidence which is in a foreign language is effectively irrelevant.

I had set out to give good professional value, and my students had found the experience to be educationally productive. However those were not the ruling values by which either the businessman or the university operated. That TESOL program has continued to turn over foreign academic staff on an annual basis, each new recruit naively hoping to be a productive educator. Similar programs have sprung up in universities all over South Korea, many paying non-professional salaries and offering to hire 'lecturers' who are little more than native speakers with a couple of years experience in Korean schools. The institutional forces against educational productivity are extreme where there is any temptation of immediate profit. Educational institutions are microcosms of the societies in which they are embedded. In this sense, South Korea does have a uniquely challenging environment:

In every country there are crimes that uniquely reflect its society. National Intelligence Service director-designate Kim Seung-kyu, in a lecture he gave late in May when he was justice minister, said: 'The

three representative crimes of our country are perjury, libel and fraud.' In simple comparison, not taking into account population ratio, South Korea saw 16 times as many perjury cases in 2003 than Japan, 39 times as many libel cases and 26 times as many instances of fraud. That is extraordinarily high given Japan's population is three times our own. (Kim Dae-joong 2005).

Case Study 19: Chungju National University, 2004–2007

Location : Chungju, South Korea

Productivity issues :

Learning productivity versus certification; institutional indifference to the learning process; Korean professors' pursuit of private status objectives and refusal to use English; cultural contempt for the foreign language teacher.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 19, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Outcome :

Production line certification, regardless of language learning; student and teacher demoralization; huge personal and national financial losses in futile attempts to 'buy' English skills; embitterment at the pragmatic need to accommodate foreign languages at all.

Stakeholders :

Korean undergraduates; foreign English 'professors'; Korean English professors; departmental office manager (in practical control of foreign teachers); the university administration; the South Korean community.

Program objectives :

Formally. Enhancement of general English speaking and listening skills;

Covertly. Certification of language skills regardless of ability in order to meet Korean academic, cultural and employment requirements.

Student profiles :

The university, although billed as an engineering university was in fact an upgraded polytechnic, and this was the academic profile of the students. Courses were designed to train technicians. Academic depth was not expected and not catered for. The library resources were negligible. A small percentage of students were genuinely interested in language learning. Others had a degree of instrumental motivation related to employment. For the majority the English learning requirement was an unwelcome intrusion on their lives.

The institutional environment:

CJNU is referred to here because I was personally engaged with it. However it is representative of a great many universities throughout the country. The learning culture of CJNU can not be understood without grasping some Korean

cultural history. Korea has had Confucian institutes since at least the 3rd Century AD, and public universities since 960 AD. A certain tradition of scholarship is therefore deeply embedded in Korean culture. Technical training has also been catered for historically, and especially since the *Sirhak* (Practical Learning) movement of the 18th Century (Seongho Yi Ik & Jeong Yak-yong 2008).

However Korea is an intensely hierarchical society, and the most powerful motivator is the drive for status. Explosive modernization since the 1960s has opened educational opportunity to almost everyone for the first time. Paradoxical within the hierarchical social context is a powerful parallel sentiment for equal opportunity (*minjung* or proletarian sentiment). One consequence is that almost everyone has come to feel entitled to the status of certification by a university degree, more or less regardless of academic achievement. As noted in Case Study 17, South Korea has the world's highest tertiary participation rate (over 80% of the relevant age cohorts).

There are of course any number of extremely able Koreans, but large numbers of institutions (many private) of dubious academic status now cater for the insatiable demand for qualifications for everybody. All the form and ritual is there, the professorial ranks, the impressive course titles, and so on. Evaluation however is often unrelated to mastery. There is a kind of conspiracy between the teachers and the taught that in return for attendance (hence

assured institutional funding) certification will be guaranteed. This pattern is especially prevalent in foreign language programs where the teaching conditions almost preclude useful progress in learning (unless it is achieved elsewhere).

The teachers :

With a couple of exceptions, the Korean English professors at CJNU did not consider themselves to be language teachers. They were required to do some language teaching, but tended to find it academically demeaning and also a lost cause given the general student profile. They had the titles and the focus normal to English language & literature departments in prestige universities: the specialists in modern literature, poetry, syntax, semantics, phonology and so on. Very few CJNU students had an orientation or aptitude in these directions, but token classes were constructed anyway. The classes were invariably delivered in Korean, with English 'examples' quoted. One of the Korean professors was elected in rotation to be in charge of 'practical English', meaning formal responsibility for the foreign teachers. The role was not welcomed. During my tenure the two nominal professors-in-charge I had to deal with had an extremely tenuous grasp of English, and aggressively refused to discuss anything to do with the students or the language teaching program.

The actual management and indeed the employment of foreign teachers and control of their program at CJNU was delegated to the departmental

administrative manager. This is common in South Korea. This CJNU office person had some competence in English, but no knowledge of language acquisition or pedagogy. He was not trained to evaluate whether programs were succeeding or failing, or whether teachers were competent or not. Nevertheless he was the person who made the effective decisions, to be rubber-stamped if necessary by the nominal professor-in-charge. In general, he would favour the foreign teacher prepared to do the most overtime hours, teach summer camps (lucrative for the institution) and undertake unscheduled activities with the fewest complaints.

To obtain employment in a Korean university department, a foreigner is legally required to hold Masters degree (E1 visa) or a Bachelor's degree (E2 visa). Although employment advertisements often stress a high level of qualifications and experience, the pattern of institutional preference is similar to that in China (Case Study 16), although higher salaries on offer mean that the Koreans can be more choosy. That is, some recent research (Korea Jim survey 2007) has confirmed what many foreigners had intuited: the most preferred candidate is 22 years old, blue eyed, blonde and female. The likelihood of selection diminishes with age, but above all with qualifications. A more senior foreign male with a PhD is the least likely to be offered a position in many institutions. The reasons for this kind of bias are undoubtedly complex, but a couple of factors stand out. Korean academic staff may be insecure with international peers. In this hierarchical society they are more comfortable with junior and

hopefully pliable foreigners. Secondly, the nature of the language programs as they are constructed amount to pro-forma process work, which a foreign professional might well challenge.

Why would a foreign language professional choose to work in the South Korean environment? Many do choose not to. The publicity is bad. The American Embassy website in Seoul strongly advises Americans not to even think about it. On the plus side, Korean salaries and allowances for language teaching relative to the cost of living are amongst the highest in the world. CJNU offered 22 weeks of paid vacation a year, although there was some pressure to teach summer programs. In my own case this left scope for writing and research which would have been difficult to achieve elsewhere.

The teaching program :

Every student at CJNU was required to achieve basic English certification before being allowed to graduate. Experimentally during one semester I was there, the English program was made elective and the teaching atmosphere improved markedly. However, the language department panicked, fearing a loss of revenue, and managed to have the compulsory requirement reinstated.

The actual English requirement was two semesters (2x15 weeks) of training. To get it out of the way of the real business of technical education, English was normally scheduled within the freshman year of enrolment. Within this

program, each student was allotted two hours per week of 'foreign teacher conversation classes'. 'Conversation' in a packed room with 45 students struggling to manage even basic English greeting language is a misnomer. I would normally see any given student for 15 weeks, or 30 hours of instruction for one period per week. The classes were large. At one point I had 600 students to meet weekly.

Content was at the discretion of the teacher, though the office manager felt safest if a teacher chose to plough through some standard textbook, as most teachers did. Two hours a week per student with large classes of restless, not particularly smart 19 year olds who don't want to be there offers limited scope for innovation. Cooperation with technical subject teachers was unwelcome and off the table in this environment. In the end I found it most productive to work with bilingual dialogues, preferably with a bit of humour in them.

In any language learning environment, the learner must see the task as achievable to stay motivated. One of the keys to some kind of success in Chungju was pitching for extremely limited learning objectives. For example, mastering spoken English number recognition (a relatively closed set) with some extension to measurements, volumes etc. was seen by the students to be useful. They quite liked a little practice in informal interpretation, a need that can easily crop up in the workplace. Even learning to read and write Korean in Latin script as opposed to the indigenous Hangeul script was a novel but

useful experience since any visiting foreigners they encountered would not be able to read names and addresses etc. written down in Hangeul.

In the end the CJNU English classes could not be a rewarding experience for most of the students most of the time. It wasn't simply the limited available time in large classes. It was the environment in which English Korean professors had no faith in the students' ability to learn English, and refused to use English with them themselves. Indeed the non use of English by Korean English teachers is endemic throughout the whole South Korean system. The Department of Education itself claims that:

...only 60 percent of public school English teachers said [in a survey] that they can conduct classes in English. With the language training, the office hopes to raise the figure to 100 percent. Currently only 40 percent of elementary schools, 23 percent of middle schools and 17 percent of high schools in [Seoul] conduct English classes in English. (Lee Won-jean 2009)

The Korean English professors were uninterested in providing resources or in discussing ways to improve the situation at CJNU. The indifference extended to evaluation. If I caught students copying from crib sheets in exams – a common practice – or even paying stand-ins to do the exams for them, sanctions such as giving 0% were seen as 'causing trouble'. For the foreign teacher who actually cared about teaching and learning it was a soul-destroying

environment.

In the public domain, South Korean society almost has a psychosis about learning English. It is seen as a prerequisite not only to preferred employment, but as a status symbol for admission to the upper echelons of society. At the same time many elements of Korean society are nationalistic, even xenophobic, and English language use is a direct challenge to these tendencies. As a result, the language is never used in public between Koreans themselves, even for practice purposes. Korean families spend a significant part of their disposable income on private English lessons for their children and themselves, but will not use English for fear of losing face with peers.

The outcome of this cultural gridlock is that the English status token is expressed through the award of diplomas, not the live ability read, write, speak and understand the English language. The allotment of universal, but very brief curriculum hours in public schooling and universities, as well as the extensive private coaching are primarily to assist with this certification. Language learning productivity is rendered irrelevant.

Case Study 20: The Intimate Learner

Note: Individuals referred to in this section are identified by pseudonyms unless otherwise indicated.

Productivity issues:

Productive personal relationships as a boost to productive language acquisition; the failure of language acquisition where genuine exchange fails; the emotional quotient in language acquisition; perceived communicative necessity and language learning productivity; the potency of interpersonal learning as opposed to institutional learning and purchased teaching.

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 20, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

Reflection:

The institutional view of education and learning is necessarily impersonal. There is much rhetoric about individual needs and abilities, but on the whole it remains rhetoric. Rhetoric, uses word tokens to flourish emotional ideas often, but the essence is depersonalized. Direct address is far more potent. Friends and lovers are not preachers, but they make the most memorable teachers. These truths capture something important about language learning productivity. It is almost a cliché that the fastest way to learn a language is to find a lover. If we substitute 'intimate friend' for 'lover' we can come closer to the truth.

As an expatriate for much of my adult life I have met numerous couples in mixed marriages. The dynamics of who learns who's language in a marriage comes from a complex interplay of power, solidarity and educational interest. My informal observation has been that foreign teachers in a foreign country who marry a local woman quite often strive to learn the local language. If they give up that attempt (not uncommon), it is the woman who is more likely to adapt. For men marriage is so often a power relationship defined by sex. For women it more commonly seems to be about intimate communication. They are the ones who tend to persist and learn the other's language.

Informal observations beg for substantiation by systematic research. I am unaware of academic literature relating to actual language learning as an initiator in intimate relationships. There has been a small amount of research on language maintenance and language shift in mixed language marriages (Pavlenko 2001; Pauwels 1986 ; Castonguay 1979,1982; Fishman 1978, 1980, 1983; deFrancisco 1989, 1991). Much of the research has been based around questionnaires, a method that is a useful prelude to more objective studies, but liable to all kinds of distortions from question formats, interviewer–interviewee relations and other variables. Pauwels (1986) found from questionnaire results that Dutch speakers in Australia maintained their L1 less well in intermarried than intramarried situations, but both groups continued some code switching. Fishman (1979, 1980, 1983) and deSanfrancisco (1989,

1991) recorded dinner table conversations of American couples and found that overwhelmingly the woman had to work to initiate and maintain conversations, which seemed to carry strong implications for language learning. Pavlenko (2001) working with German–English couples, had them record interviews on the topic with each other. It emerged that the woman was generally expected to surrender her cultural identity and tended to do so, a situation widely enshrined in national laws (some recently reformed), again with implications for language use.

For research purposes, the role of language in all of these studies is contaminated as a variable by the complexity of the reasons for its selection. For example, Piller (2000) has argued that language choice between intercultural couples is constructed from a fairly unpredictable mix of personal and local factors. The community language of the wider communication environment has great influence, but a man and a woman may override that through entirely personal relationship bargains. The secondary facilitating role of language when it mediates between lovers contrasts with the intimate learners considered in this dissertation. Language drives the intimate learner relationship (at least until it matures into something less pragmatic). The language choices in that case are explicit and negotiated.

It is the lot of a language teacher to deal with large numbers of learners as equally as possible, regardless of their learning talents. However it is

impossible to get through a teaching career without encountering individual students who seek a more personal level of contact. In my personal experience they are overwhelmingly women, and again in my experience the interest only occasionally has an obvious sexual component. (For obvious reasons the teacher has to deflect any sexual interest in a formal student-teacher relationship). I call students who seek out this kind of closer relationship 'intimate learners'. As a young teacher I was perhaps excessively wary of them. With experience I have become more tolerant, and even a bit regretful that I had lacked the social courage to make better use of the mode myself.

The characteristic of the intimate learner is that she seeks out opportunities for one to one communication. If the teacher has a regular office hour she will regularly turn up with some 'problem' to discuss. Typically her English improves faster than most other students, so the halting questions of the elementary intimate learner have a way of morphing into extended utterance. Often she will search for an avenue to justify the relationship by providing a service. Most basically this may be the teacher's pet role, the snitch opening which leads in with 'the students are saying XYZ about your class'. This needs to be treated with great caution, not least because the slaves everywhere always take a dim view of anyone who snitches to the boss. Feedback on teaching is essential of course, but most classes contain a diversity of views.

More healthily, the intimate learner for the teacher in a foreign country is

always the one who is there to help him bargain for a pair of shoes, make a medical appointment, or assist finding that thing which you can buy anywhere in Sydney but apparently nowhere in central China. The advanced intimate learner can offer lively debate from the perspective of another culture, and perhaps become a long term friend. I recall one extremely intelligent young woman of almost intimidating beauty in Wuhan in 1999. She knew it was a ten minute walk to my apartment from the classroom. Ambushing me at the end of each class, she would plunge into passionate social and political debate as we walked, then courteously excuse herself each time as we came to my home.

My present position in central China involves teaching mainly young women of about 19 years of age. Predictably a small number of intimate learners have emerged. Not all of them are the most advanced students, but they are maximizing their chances of getting onto the fast track. The most persistent I will call Mei Ling (a pseudonym). Mei Ling has the best English of all the students. She turns up daily, ostensibly to teach me Chinese, and often asks to come along when I go for a walk, No request for help is too much trouble for Mei Ling. In the process of being a willing helper she gets unequalled exposure to English. Is this fair? No it is not. In a nation of 1.3 billion people, a large proportion of them desperately poor, very little is fair. Perhaps in the end we can only be gracious about being unfair. However in the hothouse environment of a college full of 19 year old girls it has to be absolutely explicit that there is no classroom favouritism, and of course no suggestion of romance. At 63

years of age that is easier than it used to be.

In Zhengzhou Railway Vocational & Technical College, my current location for an Australian joint venture, there is one married couple and only two other unattached foreign teachers, both women, in a city with very few foreigners indeed. Both of these teachers also have their “intimate learners”. Mary's case is less usual in that her shadow is a young man. She calls him “boy”, a private joke. Mary (a pseudonym) is Ghanaian, and the kindest of people. Chinese entrepreneurs are the new colonial buccaneers in Africa, and “boy” has a bright future. For him, Mary offers the most valuable language and cultural experience imaginable.

The intimate learner by accident or design instinctively maximizes her own language productivity. Her relationship with the teacher is never going to be a mainstream experience. Perhaps the nearest that schools come to accepting this kind of closeness formally would be in primary education. The dilemma for the teacher is that inviting a strong personal dimension into teaching risks strong personal rejection as well as strong bonding. The latter will boost learning while the former may forestall it. Some teachers rely heavily on personal charm while others adopt the doctor's ethic of professional distance. I try to strike a balance.

Also of course, with some student groups, personal empathy is easier than

with others. Chinese culture has a strong pattern of seeking out “*guanxi*” or relationships, while the patterns in some other cultures show more reserve. In East Asia local teachers are heavily constrained in public by convention (although anecdotally one hears accounts of Chinese male teacher to female student liaisons fairly often). In general it is expected that foreigners may be a little crazy, and so long as they feel safe, young adult and child students often welcome some eccentricity. That is still not intimate learning but it does leave scope for a warmer engagement with the English language and foreign culture. Inexperienced 'backpacker teachers' sometimes misinterpret the signals in this game and strike serious trouble.

Perhaps related to the intimate learner phenomenon is the informal mechanism of language exchange. This may arise out of unsolicited social encounters, or from deliberate choice through a medium such as the Internet. It may also involve school age learners, sometimes encouraged by their institutions to make international contact. Language exchanges can range from e-mail to Internet chat to personal meetings. Some are no doubt highly successful. My own experience with this medium has been less successful, and that may have been related to the Korean cultural environment where I attempted it. In South Korea I was approached a number of times, sometimes by complete strangers, to initiate a language exchange. However, when it came down to real practice, in every instance the Korean was unable or unwilling to offer more than token assistance with his or her native language. In fact there was a disbelief than

any foreigner could seriously want to learn Korean. Invariably it turned into 95% English conversation practice. This experience is almost a cliché amongst foreigners in South Korea. In one house I was encouraged to visit I found eight children sitting on the floor expecting an English lesson. A dentist with whom I agreed to have a family dinner twice a week would pull out his son's English homework when it came time to switch to Korean, or excuse himself on business. And so it went. My Chinese experience has been very different, and not surprisingly I have made real progress in the language.

Because intimate learning has apparently been little researched, I thought it would be useful to seek out the views other teachers with direct experience of it. What follows is one of those reports verbatim from Jeff Summers, an American of forty years with experience in Germany, Japan and South Korea (personal communication, quoted with permission). Note however, that in Jeff Summer's account, as with the studies of married couples, language learning is a vehicle to facilitate relationships rather than the reverse.

I am not sure this is as much about genetics as it is about economics. For a woman in China, Indonesia or any of the other relatively impoverished countries we find ourselves in from time to time, marriage to a foreigner is an interesting and relatively easy way to a (perceived) better life.

Because of the perception (reality?) that Eastern men are more sexist than their western counterparts, and because they are generally less successful financially, a marriage or relationship with a foreigner is

not usually an option for most Asian men.

I have been in three very significant relationships with people not from my culture. In one, my partner spoke fluent English. Because she did and we were always together, I had no need to learn Japanese, either to get into her pants or to get along in Japanese society. As a result, I failed miserably in my attempts to learn Japanese.

In another, my partner's English was only slightly better than my German. I found that, because we were always speaking both languages, both of our language skills improved dramatically.

My third relationship was with Hye-Gyo [*a pseudonym. ed*] here in Korea. Her English was significantly better than my Korean, but she was by no stretch of the imagination fluent. I was very interested in furthering our relationship, and I knew the best way to achieve that was to acquire some language proficiency (and I did much more successfully than my counterparts who were not in significant relationships with Koreans).

I believe that language acquisition is almost entirely dependent on motivation. Intimate learners are tangibly rewarded. They are rewarded by interesting relationships and they can see that all of their hard work has paid off – they are able to successfully communicate in another language which is a thoroughly fun thing to be able to do.

In Cambodia, an extremely poor country with a correspondingly poor education system, I was amazed by the English abilities of many of the children peddling souvenirs on the street. This is because the rewards for them (a sale) are much more tangible and real than the high TOEIC score, the A or the potential for a better job at some point in the future are to so many Korean students.

But I am in total agreement that intimate contact with a native speaker is the surest way to language acquisition. I am also in total agreement that those students who seek out intimate contact are the ones who most surely excel.

However, I am currently teaching at an engineering and agricultural University that is predominantly male. And there is no shortage of intimate learners here. I often have male students trying to talk to me outside of class and showing up in my office.

I am also in total agreement that there is definitely a sexual dynamic to the relationship when the learner and teacher are of opposite genders. I, personally, am always much more delighted to sit down with an attractive, young female than with a male. And there is always a very definite flirty quality to the interactions.

It is refreshing to have someone openly state that such a dynamic exists, because--though some may believe it is unscholarly to say it--it surely does.

– Jeff

Section 3 – Analysis

Part 1 – Productivity factor analysis

Productivity was defined in section one of the thesis, in “Domains of Productivity Applied to an Educational Context”, as a measure of the resources required to produce a given product. For a teacher the final product is the increase in knowledge and skills of a student. Preliminary to a discussion of productivity factors, it will be useful here to repeat the conditions attaching to that basic definition of productivity since “each factor of production requires its own measure of productivity” (Bodea 1994:8).

Labour and capital are traditionally seen as factors of production, but neither is unitary. For example, the ownership of capital is often fragmented and highly conflictive (amongst individuals, investment funds, governments and so on). But even more critically for our analysis of educational institutions, labour is layered within institutions and frequently competitive. This has significant consequences for productivity. From a motivational viewpoint, each person involved in an enterprise is the ‘owner’ of their product. That is, their private view of productivity, and hence what drives their effort and planning in real terms (as opposed to public agendas) will be intimately related to their own activity in that enterprise. Hence the economist’s blanket description of ‘labour’ as a unit of productivity is far too generic as a predictor of real

outcomes. The individual agents of labour and ownership assert their own priorities. As a result, any attempt to account for or change the collective output of an enterprise must take into account the semi-autonomous, hidden goals of self-productivity amongst the human agents of labour and ownership. (refer, "Domains of Productivity", this thesis page 47)

From the above it can be seen that an institutional report, for example, which describes the general productivity of an enterprise, subsumes a host of contributing factors under 'productivity' (even if it is productivity in the classical economic sense). There is rarely a principled analysis of how those contributing factors are to be identified, nor of their undoubtedly co-emergent influence on each other. Rather, the whole concept is typically concealed by some gross measure of financial outcomes. A similar 'productivity analysis' in terms of educational results is likely to entail some gross measure of student performance, notably test results. While this kind of productivity reporting has its political and administrative uses, it is in fact of little value to those tasked with actually producing the outcomes. For these players – students, teachers and others – a multitude of interacting variables in their daily lives contribute to their behaviours, their understanding, and their motivations. It is this minutiae of live influences which this section, together with two appendices, attempts to identify at least partly. The attempt to identify main contributing elements to teacher productivity is worthwhile because although the listing can never be precise or exhaustive, and is always open to challenge, the very act of

trying to make the compilation explicit will help teachers to organize their own behaviour rationally, and explain it to others (including untrained teachers) who may have no coherent idea of what is really involved in the process of professional language teaching.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a *productivity factor* is an identifiable contributing component to an ultimate criterion of net productivity. That ultimate criterion is a cultural choice by the actors in a particular human enterprise. Thus a professional football player's net accountable productivity might be goals scored in a season, or whatever is assessed to be significant by the coach, the sponsor, and so on, but a multitude of subsidiary factors will contribute to that goal scoring. A company's accountable productivity might (for example) be evaluated by shareholders as its net profit relative to investment, but net profit does not emerge from a vacuum. To really understand the productivity figure, and its predictive power for continuing investment, the wise investor will make a detailed study of how the profit came about. Similarly, a school's accountable productivity might be evaluated by its position in a league table of other schools in terms of graduates, employment outcomes, or whatever. The case studies of this thesis have shown that a language teacher's productivity, either measured by graduation diplomas in the language, or by genuine student language acquisition, has a host of positive and negative contributing factors. Many of those factors might be beyond the control of the teacher, or appear to have little direct relevance to

the task of teaching and learning. Nevertheless their influence, unless entirely random, means that they need to be factored into the equation of teacher productivity, and into any attempt to predict or model future productivity.

Are there irreducible productivity factors? Perhaps not. We need to note carefully that just as 'labour', 'capital' and 'materials' are not irreducible factors, but rather that each is an amalgam of many elements, so the 'productivity factors' discussed in the following sections are not atomic either. Rather they represent a particular gradient of description, adequate for a teacher, but perhaps susceptible to even finer grained decomposition by some researcher at a future date.

The purpose of the productivity factor analysis is to detail a variety of variables which impinge upon the productivity of second and foreign language teachers. A fully competent language teacher will have some awareness of these factors, and may devise stratagems to deal with them. It is unlikely that he or she will be aware of them in the organized way set out in Appendix 3. An advantage of this kind of tabulation is that it can enable teachers and other interested parties to make conscious decisions about confining or enabling effects from different hierarchies of competing productivities. From a teacher's career perspective, productivity factor analysis can help to establish that an optimally functioning foreign language teacher is not merely a migratory unskilled labourer, peripheral to educational institutions, and disposable without cost to

the educational productivity of students. He or she is a skilled knowledge worker, managing and attempting to optimise the integration of a multitude of demands and requirements. Such skills take time and ability to establish. If the whole language educational enterprise is to prosper in the long run, the knowledge worker we call a foreign language teacher must be nurtured, rewarded, and given a level of decisive, organic authority within educational institutions. None of this can come about with insecure, transient workers on short term contracts, which is the existing pattern in most venues world-wide, especially for native speaking teachers of English language.

It is also important to be clear about what the tabulation in Appendix 3 does not attempt to do. It is not comprehensive, and perhaps cannot be comprehensive. The particular factors described below have been suggested by the experience of only one teacher in many venues over a long period of time. It is clear that some elements of productivity are seriously under-represented in these case studies. For example, information technology resources now play a large and increasing role in both teacher and student productivity in many venues, but they scarcely impact upon the particular case studies in the thesis. The occupation of language teaching employs vast numbers of people in multitudes of institutions all over the world. There will be types of experience which have not fallen within the purview of this writer. Nevertheless, there is no reason that the kind of factor analysis developed here to map productivity effects cannot be extended to examine any teaching environment.

For researchers familiar with the terminology of factor analysis in other contexts, it will be useful to disambiguate its usage in this thesis. In the present context, the chosen task is certainly not statistical in the sense of formal multivariate factor analysis. Formal multivariate factor analysis is an extremely common statistical procedure in both physical and social sciences.

[Essentially ..] Factor analysis is a collection of methods used to examine how underlying constructs influence the responses on a number of measured variables. There are basically two types of factor analysis: exploratory and confirmatory. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) attempts to discover the nature of the constructs influencing a set of responses. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) tests whether a specified set of constructs is influencing re-sponses in a predicted way. (DeCoster 1998:1)

Why is DeCoster's definition not applicable in the present context? The thesis seeks to avoid some common fallacies in social science research. As with any statistical procedure, the validity of calculated outcomes is only as good as the validity of inputs. Unfortunately a great deal of social science research arrives at published conclusions which are dubious or insignificant. The reasons are partly that the impinging variables on many questions in the social sciences are too numerous or too tendentious to measure with any certainty, and partly (unfortunately) that many social science researchers themselves are not statisticians and use the mathematics with little true insight. A simple example (from innumerable possible examples) would be a study by Haynes (2008:3) on productivity in office environments. This applies standard statistical factor

analysis to a list of variables. The list is clearly compiled from elements in an (unspecified) office environment which might distract workers, perhaps on the basis of Haynes' intuition and experience (we don't know). A weighting is then attached to each variable according to a 1 to 5 scaling by 996 respondents in 26 offices. The respondents' answers are sourced from a questionnaire asking "In your opinion, in your current office environment, what effect do the following elements have on your personal productivity?" A questionnaire such as this might be useful as a pilot study (as the language questionnaire to Fiji residents is in Appendix 5 of this thesis is). However it is entirely misleading to attach any claim of statistical significance to it. We don't know, for example, what interpretations those many untutored respondents would place on the term "personal productivity". This thesis, after all, has required extensive explanation to (attempt to) specify what teaching productivity might be. By citing the Haynes example, there is no intention of course to absolutely discount the value of quantitative studies using multivariate factor analysis in social science research. For example, a fairly credible attempt to do just that would be Colbeck (2007) investigating the epistemological beliefs of students prior to study (which could certainly be relevant to language learning productivity). It is notable that Colbeck chooses to apply statistical instruments to only a very small set of variables.

Considering the kind of problem just outlined, it was clear to this researcher from the outset that any attempt at a formal statistical analysis of factors

affecting teaching productivity in the case studies was out of the question, at least within the very limited bounds of a dissertation. Quite apart from issues of factor weighting, the sheer mechanics of computation would require an arbitrary delimitation on the number of factors to be relationally analysed, and then some kind of principled criterion for that delimitation. The case studies are too various, and the number of impinging issues too numerous to allow for any credible delimitation of productivity factors in the present study. Rather, it seemed more useful to reflect on and list all of those factors relevant to teaching productivity which had come to the attention of the researcher in the course of his long career. This is a retrospective study. Later researchers might find it useful to choose more selectively from this menu of productivity factors, or propose others, in much more constrained research contexts. The methodological discussion in Section 1 of the thesis made the point that the preponderance of existing research, including that on productivity, is in fact quantitative (e.g. Paik 2004 on educational productivity). This thesis however is not a quantitative study, and does not contain any significant statistical analysis. The factor listing is neither constrained by any statistical consideration, nor by any attempt to control variables. The term 'factor analysis' as used in this dissertation does not meet DeCosta's (1998) statistical criteria for either exploratory factor analysis or confirmatory factor analysis. Rather it is a *narrative factor analysis*, both imprecise and incomplete, but encompassing much lived experience which hopefully will yield a degree of insight to readers, just as the case studies are intended to.

Table 1 in Appendix 3 refers each productivity influence to specific case studies. It can be read together with Appendix 4 which lists each case study together with all of the listed factors affecting it. However neither listing indicates the relative significance of particular factors in particular case studies. In studies of past or present practice, It is not easy to see how a principled way of weighting such effects could be developed with any consistency as a general methodology. Their importance can sometimes fluctuate from day to day, and from class to class, exerting an influence on decisions which might be simply irrelevant in slightly changed circumstances. Nevertheless, some factors do become thematic in particular engagements. That is what the individual case studies try to capture in a more narrative way.

It is a cliché that the price of forgetting history is to relive the mistakes of the past. Any historical study such as the present one does serve as a model of what has and has not worked in particular past situations. One loose analogy with this kind of analysis might be the procedural methodology used in many complex legal judgements in British based common law. As the jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes noted in 1897 , "The law embodies the story of a nation's development through many centuries, and it cannot be dealt with as if it contained only the axioms and corollaries of a book of mathematics." Nor can the evolution of a teacher's professional judgements be reduced to only mathematical axioms. Nevertheless, Section 1 of the thesis did propose that a

hierarchy of productivity factor priorities needed to be developed in educational institutions, with the highest productive priority accorded to students (since they are the ostensible reason for the existence of these institutions), and with a priority of teacher productivity factors coming a close second, since teachers are the people most intimately involved in promoting learning productivity amongst students. If this principle were to be applied in management practice, then the narrative factor analysis to follow would serve as a good starting point for thinking about the issues. In such a predictive application it would then be necessary, of course, to justify and weight what were considered to be the most significant language learning and teaching productivity factors for management of the particular institution. Such an exercise is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Following is an explication of each of the terms used in Appendix 3, with some illustration by reference to particular case studies. Again, the references to case studies for illustration should not be taken as comprehensive in any sense. It would be a huge undertaking beyond the scope of a thesis to discuss each factor in detail in the context of each case study.

The choice of productivity factors for anecdotal productivity factor analysis

Occasionally economists themselves have recognized that their narrow focus on a few factors to measure economic productivity has mathematical convenience, but amounts to real world fantasy:

Productivity is determined by a multiplicity of economic, cultural, psychic and political factors. Moreover, all these factors contribute significantly to the changing productivity rates. Therefore, those who seek to explain these rates must deal with this multiplicity of factors -- and their interaction -- rather than limit their analysis to one discipline. (Etzioni 1980: 3)

Statistical factor analysis necessarily works with a small number of factors, preferably selected in an environment where other variables are constrained or neutralised so that conclusions drawn from the calculation can be properly replicated and confirmed or challenged in following studies. The environments dealt with in the case studies are radically different from any such research determined ideal. The data set in this thesis is established in the first instance by the biographical criterion of historical occurrence in the classroom of one teacher (the writer). It cannot in principle be replicated, only compared by analogy to patterns of occurrence in the classrooms of other teachers. Any patterns of teaching productivity evident to this researcher in the present study are derived from reflection rather than the execution of experimental design.

Such productivity patterns emerged in daily teaching practice from the shifting interaction of large numbers of factors. For this reason the analysis did not seem susceptible to credible probing by statistical method. Rather, it is a guided anecdotal analysis based on the writer's view of how elements which he identifies as teaching productivity factors have interacted to produce particular outcomes.

The choice of productivity factors for anecdotal factor analysis in foreign language teaching has not been random even though it is not exhaustive, nor was the choice particular to the idiosyncrasies of the writer's personality. Any kind of productivity statement is a description of the efficiency with which specific inputs generate a desired output. The general output sought by a foreign language teacher is the successful acquisition by his students of the language he is teaching, as they study in his classroom. Resources, recurrent events, institutional conditions, the physical environment, motivation, interpersonal relations ... or any other element which contributes to or inhibits student learning in that teaching environment *ipso facto* becomes a factor affecting teaching and learning productivity. Nevertheless, from a potentially unlimited number of factors which might affect teaching and learning, the researcher has clearly made a selection. Certain general guidelines have informed that selection. These guidelines have not been borrowed from elsewhere, and are open to challenge, but the researcher considered that they were sufficiently selective to meet the needs of this study:

1. Did the candidate productivity factor have a significant influence, in the view of the researcher, on teaching and learning in one or more of the case studies under review?
2. Was the candidate productivity factor specific to only the case study under review, or in the experience of the researcher had it been a recurrent factor in other teaching situations, and was it likely to be significant in the experience of other teachers?
3. Was the candidate productivity factor specific to a particular kind of teaching situation (for example, a methodology) or did it bear on the total teaching environment?
4. Was the candidate productivity factor within the power of an institutional or societal actor to modify, at least in principle? This question is sometimes difficult to answer, but in general the present analysis has not addressed some intractable issues such as the differing backgrounds of students (for example) which can have a potent effect on individual learning productivity and life achievement (Etzioni 1980:11). However institutional power relationships have been selected as a productivity factor since they can be modified in principle, even though this might not have occurred during the period of the case

studies.

5. Was the candidate productivity factor likely to have a significant impact on teacher or student morale? This is a very important consideration since a) morale colours the whole teaching and learning environment; b) morale is usually a predictor of both teacher effectiveness and student learning (Mackenzie 2007, Valentic 2005). The teacher–student relationship in terms of morale is one of reciprocal co–dependence (this is not only in language teaching).

"Teachers clearly identified students as the primary and central factor that has an impact on both their professional enthusiasm and discouragement.... Teachers almost universally treasure student responsiveness and enthusiasm as a vital factor in their own enthusiasm, and conversely list low motivation in students as a discourager" (Stenlund 1995 as quoted by Lumsden 1998).

One implication here is that if external factors negatively or positively affect either party, they might influence the whole classroom atmosphere, even amplify the mood, and thus affect both teaching and learning productivity. In other words, classroom relations are a kind of catalytic medium to learning, where all kinds of impinging events can acquire significance, sometimes out of proportion to their original value. (For example, in one venue not treated in the case studies, a rumour that the college was to be downgraded seriously demoralized students,

led to a student strike, and greatly affected student commitment to study until the teacher was able to clarify the situation). Judgements about morale and motivation are multifaceted, and often a test of a teacher's general ability to manage expectations (see Lundin *et al*/2000, Lauren 2008 and Vroom 1982 on the critical role of expectations on morale, motivation and productivity in the workplace).

Explication of productivity factors

The productivity influences listed in Appendix 3 are broadly divided into categories defined as 'relationships', 'cooperation', 'power', 'resources' and 'teaching expertise'. Obviously these are not mutually exclusive, and nor are the subcategories. It is more a matter of sorting out strands of influence for emphasis.

1.1.1 Political relationships: In some sense, all human relationships are political. However the effects referred to in this study are more about the imposition of goals, methods and mechanisms by power groups external to the occupation of foreign language teaching. The controlling decisions in these instances tend to be impersonal in their application to individual teachers, but frequently emanate from the ideological positions of dominant individuals at the national, regional or senior institutional level. Political decisions create

institutions, and even whole categories of employment. Just as often, they undermine teaching and learning productivity.

Political effects stemming from essentially ideological decisions by state level players on curriculums and employment conditions in Australia had a direct impact on teaching productivity, and also on learning productivity in Case Studies 11 (AMES, Victoria) and 13 (Batman TAFE), and slightly more indirect effects in Case Study 12 (Western Metropolitan TAFE). The Fiji military coups beginning in 1987 had direct negative effects on students and staff at the University of the South Pacific, Case Studies 9 and 10. The exacerbation of ethnic and linguistic divisions was especially damaging. Reverberations continue to this day. As a general productivity factor in the analysis, the inclusion of political effects was justified by all five of the selection criteria. The broad impacts of political change and political directives are sometimes difficult quantify, partly because the effects often take time to become manifest, and partly because there are strong leadership incentives to conceal negative political effects and exaggerate positive changes.

The political environments of all the nation states covered in the case studies set bounds in one way or another on what was likely to be studied in institutions, and/or how it was to be studied. For example while English language skills are often promoted as a national objective in both China and South Korea, the organizational paradigms for teaching them are rather

different. South Korea, with over 50 Ministers of Education since its founding as a modern state in 1945, has seen a never-ending list of new top-down foreign language policy initiatives which rarely get a chance to reach proper potential at the classroom interface. For example, primary school teachers with no credible English skills may suddenly be told that an hour or two of English is part of the weekly curriculum. This is certainly not a pattern for optimal teaching productivity. Recently, hundreds of millions of won in public money have been thrown at poorly planned, haphazardly staffed, so-called immersion 'English villages' for students which have proved to be generally unproductive for reasons ranging from untrained teachers facing a revolving door of short term students, to students refusing to use English in these supposedly English speaking environments. In short, a political directive in South Korea is not enough to cause language learning. Ultimately, the English villages rarely work as planned since apparently few Koreans actually want to speak English (as opposed to obtaining diplomas). Even the Prime Minister's Department now complains that 21 such publicly funded English villages, built to win votes, are losing money (*Joong Ang Ilbo*, 6 September 2008).

Since 1978 China has become recognized internationally for its vibrant pursuit of capitalist style production. It is often overlooked that the whole Communist Party superstructure, with a claimed 74.2 million members (*The Economist* 2009), still reaches deep into every workplace including schools, influencing relationships as well as affecting what can be said and done. Vigorous pressure

is applied to tertiary students to induct them into the Party thought patterns and these carry over in varying ways into institutional and classroom behaviour, reference Case Studies 15 and 16, as well as my existing position at a joint venture in Zhengzhou, Henan, China. As a ubiquitous presence, the Chinese Communist Party does indeed have a potential to require both personal and institutional responses, rather as religious forces can do in some other countries. It was Party influence that got me a job at China Central Normal University (Case Study 16), yet one of the best language teachers I have met in China was hounded to give up her career and position as dean at a foreign trade school because she refused to join the Party. Not infrequently the Party is effective in encouraging certain actions, and at an institutional level this can include a commitment to language learning as well as funding the necessary resources. Thus the Party in this society can be a positive force for productivity, particularly when it successfully infuses a nationalistic vision for progress, but equally through ignorance, opportunism, or the private antagonism that political hectoring often induces, the Party's representatives can also inhibit productive language learning (not to mention other kinds of productive activity). It is not hard to find examples in China of political actions impacting on language teaching. Modern Chinese history is littered with such events. In 2008, the Olympic year, at one stage all things French were pilloried. Those students and teachers involved with French (an elite minority) would have their morale undermined by these political actions. Ten years ago one of my American colleagues arrived in his classroom in Wuhan to find 'fascist pig'

written all over the black board: hardly an incentive to productive teaching. (A Chinese national had been killed in Belgrade when the Americans accidentally bombed the Chinese embassy, sparking nationalistic outrage). Famously in 1960 all Russian advisors left China, and Chinese teachers of Russian were suddenly required to teach English instead. In such situations efforts at teaching productivity are reduced to farce.

1.1.2 Relationships with commercial clients: As a productivity factor this is directly relevant to only certain categories of language teaching (reference, selective criterion #2). Some instances are given by case study references below. In those instances the teaching productivity effects were marked (reference, selective criterion #1). Where it did intrude, the commercial imperative imposed a strong pressure to modify curriculums (reference, selective criterion #3). Commercial participation in language teaching, either directly or through the proxy of political action, is never accidental (reference, selective criterion #4). In the best cases, it can be a stimulus to needed reform, or to new programs. In the worst, like general political action, it can be driven by simplistic assumptions, ideology, and outright errors about teaching and learning psychologies. In the case studies, the impact of negative commercial factors was sometimes ameliorated by this particular teacher, but taken across the field with more compliant teachers at times has caused a significant degradation of teaching productivity (reference, selective criterion #5).

The motivation to learn a language is usually complex. Successful learners typically feel a real sense of achievement, and this gives them an affective bond with the target language which can survive employment loss or other instrumental reasons for learning. Nevertheless political decisions to implement classes are often driven by the demands of the commercial community. Indeed, business interests were widely behind the restructuring of the Australian Adult Migrant English Program from the mid-1990s into a commercially driven venture with free voluntary classes slashed, the unemployed forced to attend classes to collect benefits, curriculums structured around 'employment skills', and the programs themselves tendered out in sessional packages to the lowest bidder. Case study 11 records the beginnings of that process. While the supporting rhetoric cited a productive use of resources as the rationale, the core concept was traditional industrial productivity, not true teaching and learning productivity which the initiators were perhaps not equipped to evaluate. This all came with a big budget for slick advertising. The net outcome, in this writer's view, has been a loss for productive language learning and a loss for successful immigrant enculturation (partly because enrolment now is so often under duress, not a free choice).

Sometimes enterprises hope to win worker loyalty by funding language programs directly. From a language learning perspective, the outcomes of commercially driven courses examined in the case studies here have been mixed. Although the commercial sponsors in Case Studies 2 (The Chiko Roll

Factory) and 4 (The Government Aircraft Factory) were probably not altogether conscious of what was gained, their worker productivity undoubtedly improved and the Australian community acquired more functional citizens. On the other hand, motor industry associations, actually controlled by a small, very conservative group of businessmen, played a dubious role in undermining automotive apprentice and immigrant mechanics' training in Victoria by forcing students away from professional engineering and language help in colleges, and out into small workshops (May 1997), reference Case Study 13.

1.1.3 Teacher employment as an actual or potential risk factor: The degree to which employment security effects teaching productivity is quite variable amongst individual teachers (reference, selective criteria #1, #2). This particular teacher has always put commitment to a professional standard ahead of the interests of any employer (not infrequently at real personal cost). However, looking across the whole industry, it is clear that labour insecurity has had a major impact on teacher productivity: see more discussion below, and May (1996d). Since employment security is an existential issue, where it does effect morale and productivity the consequences will be tend to be general to all of a teacher's activities (reference, selective criterion #3). Foreign and second language teacher employment security is generally beyond the power of individual teachers to control, but is highly susceptible to regulation (this tends to be poorly implemented worldwide), and sometimes industrial action although this is undercut by the low entry bar (reference, selective

criterion #4). Where teachers are career oriented and professional, then employment insecurity does of course affect their productivity (reference, selective criterion #5). Where the teacher is merely a backpacker making holiday money, the high staff turnover in small, indiscriminating language schools may actually be welcomed.

The knowledge that you are to be shot at dawn is held in folk law to focus the mind wonderfully. It is true that absolutely secure employment conditions, like absolutely guaranteed custom for a business, tends to be bad for quality service or efficient production. Communist regimes of the twentieth century illustrated this truth vividly, and sweetheart deals between labour and the holders of capital in many Western environments have also repeatedly shown the cost of eliminating competition.

Significant labour insecurity, like its inverse of guaranteed employment, also has costs. The calibre of people who are attracted into a profession, and the ability of the profession to retain their services, is closely related to their community status, remuneration and general security. It is no accident that Finland, often lauded as having one of the most effective foreign language teaching professions in the world (Alvarez 2004), is a place where teachers have real status and employment security. Conversely, where these incentives are lacking, teacher quality and ultimately language learning outcomes by students are bound to be eroded. Sadly, this is a common state in most of the

Anglophone world. The anarchic industry of foreign language schools worldwide generally offers neither security nor credible professional remuneration. It is not surprising that the industry gets what it pays for in terms of teachers and commitment. Overall, genuine language teaching and learning productivity in these places is extremely low, notwithstanding that a small core of students invariably force some success from even the least promising environments. The case studies in this thesis broadly reflect the preceding discussion.

1.1.4 Community influences on teacher productivity: Community expectations tend to have an indirect influence on teacher productivity, and this was mostly the situation in the case studies under review (reference, selective criterion #1). These expectations play a large part in whether there are extensive second or foreign language classes at all (for example, compare Anglophone countries with those of East Asia) and also whether the language class activity is valued for its potential to produce competent L2 speakers (say, in North Western Europe) or merely award a diploma (sometimes in East Asia).

Community influences tend to be a constant background noise for the teacher, rather than influencing specific classroom activities (reference, selective criterion #2). However, for language teachers of children in small private colleges, teachers may be under constant parental surveillance and quickly lose their jobs if they don't conform to what mothers think their children

should be doing (reference, selective criterion #3). In many educational markets, children constitute by far the largest number of foreign language learners. Their parents wield proportionately great influence not only on public school foreign language learning, but on the creation of coaching colleges, their curriculums, and the type of teaching which is considered appropriate. It is often a very conservative influence, so the education of parents in the kinds of productivity issues discussed here assumes great importance.

Note that with the exception of the first study, the case studies in this thesis are concerned with the language education of young adults and older adults, not children. Individual teachers can do little to quickly change community expectations and pressures (reference, selective criterion #4), except for the occasional entrepreneur teacher who attains rock star status with a “new super method” (especially for passing high stakes exams). This latter phenomenon is prominent in South Korea and China (for example *Korea Times* 30 January 2010). Students are the products of their community culture, and it is common for foreign language teachers to have their methodology questioned in a different culture, which can affect morale a great deal (reference, selective criterion #5). This requires some mature adjustment by both parties, and sometimes a patient re-education of students in unfamiliar learning techniques.

For foreign language learners, as opposed to second language learners, the

community does not usually provide immersion for the target language. An exception would be students and expatriate workers residing temporarily in the country whose language is being learned. Nevertheless, not all communities are equally hospitable to foreign language learning. General community values and ambitions play a large part both in the motivation of students and the provision of resources such as language learning books. Anglophone communities for example are often indifferent to language learning by their members. Foreign language resources may be relatively scarce (although the Internet is changing this), and citizens may not be expected to learn another language. In Papua New Guinea, a country with around 800 languages, it is difficult to be functional beyond village level without knowing two or three languages, but in general they are learned orally, without written resources at all. South Korea, with a public obsession for learning English, has endless published and media resources available to help, but a strict social prohibition on actually using the language. Where a language like English becomes widely known in a community, and even fractional knowledge can be significant (May 2007), then that community offers a kind of pooled resource and environment for new learners. I call this cultural linguistic latency (CLL). Germany, for example, has a very high cultural linguistic latency for English, but most countries outside of central Europe have a very low CLL for German. It is likely that the relationship between CLL and teaching and learning productivities is a complex one. That is, even superior resources will not lead to significant teaching or learning productivity where the will to

activate the language is missing (South Korea), yet advanced CLL could enhance other productive activity where true L2 usage is expected (the Netherlands, Denmark). There is scope in this topic for useful future research.

1.1.5 Institutional relationships : Institutional relationships are often at the heart of language teacher productivity because they are inextricably linked to power, and hence to the teacher's ability to implement procedures and decisions which will optimise the learning productivities of his students (reference, selective criterion #4). These relationships may have formal definition, but under stress they are likely to be effective only when more personal bonds exist between the actors. The failures recorded in a number of the case studies are traceable to either a lack of personal loyalties within the managerial shells with their hollow 'mission statements', or in East Asia, the exclusion of the foreign teacher from close bonding in the local cultural paradigm (reference, selective criterion #1). In Case Studies 2, 3 and 4 (industrial language teaching) the teacher had cordial relations with his employer, but was essentially a free agent at independent locations. That freedom at least left some scope for the teacher to exercise professional judgements to enhance productivity (reference, selective criteria #2, 5). In Case Studies 6, 8 and 9 the controlling influences in the institutions were collegiate and worked excellently (reference, selective criterion #4). This was especially notable in Case Studies 6 and 9 (PNG and Fiji) where societal instability and extreme cultural differences could have aborted productive teaching and

learning relationships altogether. In Case Studies 11, 12, 13 and 14 (Australian AMES and TAFES) managerialism was rampant and the concept of teachers as knowledge workers was simply not acknowledged. Management productivity concepts related strongly to classical economic notions, and came with the idea that managers, not teachers exercising professional judgement, were the proper controllers of all curriculum input. At least in the view of this teacher, the approach had real, negative consequences for teaching and learning productivity (reference, selective criterion #3). It was notable in these locales that a constant sense of insecurity, and often resentment, amongst teaching staff (at least at the time of the case studies) tended to diminish their sense of professional identity. Working on hourly rates (Case Studies 11 and 12) it was especially difficult to take a long term view of productive student development in the target language, or to even argue persuasively for curriculum modifications (reference, selective criterion #4).

In Case Studies 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 (China and South Korea) foreigner status and traditional hierarchical patterns precluded the teacher from influencing decisions beyond the classroom at all, again with grave consequences for teaching and learning productivity (reference, selective criterion #4) . That is, in the East Asian venues, foreign language teachers might or might not try to engage the students in a productive and professional manner. That was a matter of indifference to management, and frequently also to untrained teaching colleagues. Without any institutional support, and with no prospect of

institutional reward for commitment, the teacher had to rely entirely on personal charisma and persuasion to guide large numbers of reluctant young adults into productive learning (reference, selective criterion #5). Of course, many of the untrained foreign teachers, the majority, had no concept of teaching and learning productivity. In that environment they were unlikely to acquire it. South Korea ranks near the bottom in international TOEFL and IELTS scores for a range of reasons, including the situation just described.

1.1.6 Colleagues : The effect of colleagues on teaching productivity is quite variable. It depends partly upon the personalities involved, and partly upon the actual program to be implemented. In any venue colleagues, their skills and attitudes are a given that can only sometimes be influenced within the scope of one teaching program (reference, selective criterion #4). Many teachers, like people in general, need a positive collegiate environment to maintain their morale, provide advice and support (reference, selective criterion #5), and to develop professionally. In a number of the case studies, the active support of colleagues has been critical. This was the case in the English for Special Purposes program with engineers in Papua New Guinea, Case Study 6. Similarly, the English for Mechanics program, Case Study 13, would not have been possible without close liaison with master mechanics in the engineering college (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 3). In matters of student evaluation, moderation sessions with other teachers who have at least some professional competence can be important in establishing credible standards. This was a

common feature of Australian adult migrant English programs, Case Study 11 (reference, selective criterion #2). On the other hand, the relative independence of this writer has provided a buffer in environments where the teaching staff were incompetent, indifferent, demoralized or occasionally hostile. The decision to leave secondary teaching after one year as a novice teacher, Case Study 1, was strongly influenced by the perception that secondary school staff rooms in general tended to be discouraging places where often the only animated topic of conversation was punishment and control (reference, selective criterion #5). In very foreign East Asian environments expatriates absolutely need each other sometimes to remain functional, especially in emergencies. However the same environments sometimes attract rather dubious individuals who have to be treated with caution (e.g. Case Study 17, Sungsim College).

In many foreign language teaching venues, the transient and temporary nature of teaching staff render professional associations and trade unions almost non-viable. Only a small percentage of language teachers are members of associations like KOTESOL (Korean Association for Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), whose main function is to sponsor conferences for professional development. Unions especially may even be illegal in some countries. In Australia teaching unions provided some buffer against the predations of ideological political decisions, but had to be kept in a balance of power themselves. Indeed, a significant problem for teacher unions in

promoting concepts such as knowledge worker productivity has been that, like all political organisations, they are seen as inherently partisan regardless of the value of their arguments. Also, even in Australia, there was not much a teaching union could or would do to support the needs of sessionally employed language teachers, a factor in Case Studies 11, 12 and 13 (reference, selective criteria #4, 5).

1.1.7 Relationships concerned with the formal disposition of students: All teaching institutions have to deal with students outside of the classroom as well as in it. There are inevitably matters to resolve of administration, student health and welfare, libraries and other resources, sometimes other government departments, sometimes employers, and so on. The teacher's involvement in these extra curricular issues is often a measure of just how much influence he can exert to optimise the learning productivity of his students. In a small number of the case studies, that influence was significant. For example, collegiate meetings and decisions at the University of the South Pacific, Case Studies 9 and 10, decided both the direction of the institution and the fate of individual students (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4, 5). It was exemplary. However a majority of the case studies illustrate situations where the teacher at best had a *pro forma* role in delivering some 'results'. Even grades in East Asia were typically modified by administrators without his consent or involvement. Student assignments to classes, class sizes, publicly stated

curriculums, matters of student welfare, and so on were all considered to be none of the business of language teachers in many venues, regardless that such things are critical to teacher and student productivity (reference, selective criteria #4, 5). The teacher was a day labourer. Under such circumstances it is contradictory to complain about a lack of teacher commitment.

1.1.8 The mutual teacher/class relationship: The emotional rewards of this relationship are probably why most long term teachers (not only language teachers) stay in the occupation (reference, selective criteria #1, 4, 5). The emotional punishment in the relationship for failed teachers is also an important reason why those who do not find teaching a vocation leave. There has been a huge amount written on teacher–student relationships and teacher class relationships, both formally and informally. Partly for that reason the case studies in this thesis have somewhat limited the depth of comment on particular situations. Also, to have done otherwise, to have exhaustively discussed the many dimensions of encounter between the teacher and classes, would have been to leave no space to explore the other issues affecting teacher productivity. Nevertheless, it remains almost axiomatic that where teacher–student relationships are stressed, effective teaching is greatly handicapped, and student learning is much more likely to be inhibited unless the students are unusually mature and independent (Oxford and Levine 1992).

A number of the case studies do highlight situations where teacher–student

relationships were almost a prerequisite for productive learning. The clearest instance perhaps is Case Study 5, in which young Vietnamese men transferred their traditional concept of a Vietnamese teacher into a kind of social contract with the voluntary Australian teacher (reference, selective criteria #1, 3). In Case Study 3 the teacher had to consciously develop a relationship with hostile fishermen before learning could proceed at all, while in Case Study 4 the teacher's role as an industrial interlocutor between workers and management was inseparable from his role as a productive language teacher (reference, selective criteria #1, 3). In Case Study 12, the barriers of culture, religion and a lack of shared objectives sabotaged any serious attempt at a mutually productive relationship, and resulted in little learning (reference, selective criterion #4). At the extreme of depersonalisation, in Case Study 19 (Chungju National University) the teacher had considerable difficulty in developing the reciprocal commitment which is so critical to effective teaching and learning. The problem in that instance was a tsunami of six hundred new South Korean students per semester, poorly motivated and with low language aptitude, unsupported by the institution, with only brief teacher encounters at a personal student level (reference, selective criterion #5). Indeed, reciprocation in learning is generally not understood by administrations (reference, selective criterion #4). They tend to favour the term 'instructor', yet that very description seems to preclude any notion of reciprocation, and in the view of this writer, without some implicit contract of reciprocation between teacher and student the job has no heart, is not worth doing, and is unlikely to be of much

productive assistance to the language learner.

1.1.9 Individual students: The case studies in this thesis are not primarily concerned with individual student language learners. It is a whole area of research in itself. Of course, the relationship between a teacher and an individual student is critical to teacher effectiveness in that instance, and if the student exerts much peer influence, he or she can act as a catalyst (for better or for worse) on overall teacher–class morale (reference, selective criterion #5). in Appendix 2 does contain an unexpanded notional outline of *learning* productivity factors. One of the difficulties with mass foreign language education, especially with younger learners as captive students, is the difficulty of persuading many class members to accept personal responsibility for their own learning (reference, selective criterion #5). That is why it is so critical for the language teacher to form a personal bond of some kind with each class member. Sometimes extra curricular activity helps with this, but again large numbers can easily defeat the purpose. The final case study, number 20, extracts teacher and student from the institutional setting altogether, to show that 'intimate learners' generate a productivity paradigm that is far more potent than anything on offer from mass education. Unfortunately, this kind of relationship is not scaleable to large numbers of students (reference, selective criterion #2). Even on–line chat relationships (a promising area for productive language learning) are not really scaleable to the huge numbers of students learning English as a foreign language, matched against relatively limited

interest in the mother tongues of these learners.

1.2 Cooperation: The second major category of teacher productivity in this analysis is centred around the notion of cooperation. Some learners, even foreign language learners, can achieve a level of productive success without much human cooperation (especially if they are interested in literary rather than oral skills). However cooperation is implicit in the notion of teaching. A failure of a student or students to cooperate is probably within every professional teacher's experience, and at least temporarily teaching productively becomes impossible (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 3,4, 5) . Sometimes there is a simple misunderstanding, and sometimes there are events beyond the classroom which enrage students (for example, industrial trouble as in Case Studies 3 and 4, or political upheaval as in Case Study 9). However, much more commonly it is an individual or small group of friends with some personal problem (Case Study 1) which a skilled teacher will quickly identify and handle tactfully. While a certain kind of mechanical cooperation can be coerced sometimes (and that is very bad practice!), ultimately nobody can be forced to learn a foreign language. Therefore, the teacher who can elicit no student cooperation chronically has no productive language teaching function, although he may issue diplomas, a pattern the writer observed with some native Korean professors. As a member of an organization, the teacher also depends upon the cooperation of other organizational players, and failure in this can greatly inhibit teaching productivity (reference, selective criterion

#4). When teachers have only marginal employment status and no professional recognition in the organizational hierarchy, they may find it difficult to elicit cooperation even from clerical service staff. The writer found this to be an issue from time to time in Australian TAFEs.

1.2.1 Service: Teaching is a 'service' industry, but as with the huge array of other service occupations from medicine to shop assistants, service is typically a purchased commodity. However, much teacher disaffection occurs when their service is treated only as a purchased commodity by insensitive institutional players or politicians who perhaps judge others by their own motives. One possible teacher reaction (not uncommon) is to become entirely cynical in the style apparently expected, and offer their students no more than the prescribed minimum. This approach is deadly to true teaching and learning productivity. It does not figure in the case studies, which document only one teacher's activities, but the writer has witnessed it in many teaching venues (reference, selective criteria #1, 2).

The level of payment for foreign language teachers is generally not the most critical element (which is why they are not selling real estate instead), and entirely voluntary activity is fairly common. Case study 5 with Vietnamese refugees described unpaid voluntary work in this sense, and the concomitant obligation on students influenced their cooperation and learning. Case study 7 is a rather different situation where the linguist agreed to attempt to construct

a language course with help from an Aboriginal informant (reference, selective criteria #1, 2). His motivation there was a sense of obligation to the general Australian community, particularly its indigenous members. The productive value of that exercise for putative students remained unclear. Again, in Case Study 10, the Fijian language survey involved a huge amount of work beyond normal course requirements, but held promise as a community service and greatly benefited students (reference, selective criteria #4, 5). Unpaid service activities in their nature cannot easily be quantified as formally 'productive' by traditional economic standards, but in fact they frequently create the bonds of human cooperation which make both learning productivity and financial enterprise possible. This is also true in general society. For example highly personal missionary activity in the era of European colonial empires frequently counterpoised and even made possible later impersonal commercial exploitation. The Chinese concept of *guanxi* (relationships, crudely translated), in many ways the core of that culture, implies at its best a strong element of freely given service to other individuals. Once established, *guanxi* is the foundation and glue for much more extensive and formal undertakings. It cements trust. I have gradually learned that this is critical to language teaching productivity in Chinese institutions, including my current joint venture engagement in Zhengzhou. Interestingly one also sees in China that the ruthless violation of *guanxi* values by apparatchiks (including demands for bribes and invented fees) has a poisonous effect on student commitment.

1.2.2 Shared objectives: Human beings may cooperate without sharing many objectives beyond survival. Money as a medium of exchange has the exact property of eliciting cooperation between parties with radically differing agendas. Also, cooperation may be coerced. Hopefully, one thing the case studies in this thesis demonstrate is that where there is a measure of formal cooperation, yet few genuinely shared objectives, then teaching and learning productivity will suffer (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 3, 4, 5). It follows that the case studies that are most interesting in this respect are the ones where shared objectives are deficient. Where teachers and students can agree about the learning objectives they may, if necessary, conspire to maximise productivity in this domain even if it requires deceiving the course sponsor, as it did in Case Study 2, the Chiko Roll factory (reference, selective criterion #3). Where students frankly have other priorities ahead of language learning, starkly the case with the Saudi students in Case Study 12, then both teaching and learning productivities are bound to suffer. Where students and the administration have credentialing as a priority objective but the teacher persists with language learning as a priority objective, of course productivity in one or both objectives may falter. This was an issue in Case Studies 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, all East Asian venues (reference, selective criteria #4,5).

1.2.2.4 Program Viability: This refers in this analysis not to financial status but to the long term prospects for teaching and learning productivity in a program as it is affected by cooperation or the lack of it. In Case Study 6 a struggling

undergraduate engineering program in PNG was given enduring viability by close cooperation between language specialists and engineering lecturers (reference, selective criteria #1, 3). On the other hand, in Case Study 9 the fracturing of societal trust and cooperation by a military coup in Fiji and its aftermath called into question the long term prospects for productive teaching in some programs, and in fact caused the loss of many students (reference, selective criterion #4). In Case Study 11, the Victorian AMES program, the forced introduction of an unpopular curriculum seemed a threat to the long term effectiveness of relatively successful migrant English programs (reference, selective criterion #5). In Case Study 13 at Batman TAFE, the forcible termination of cooperation between college departments of language and automotive engineering undermined then terminated a successful ongoing language program (reference, selective criterion #4). In Case Study 18 at Pusan University of Foreign Studies the forced introduction of fraudulent grading for a Masters foundation TESOL program undermined international academic cooperation and destroyed the reputation of the program (reference, selective criterion #4). By the second cycle of the program spreading knowledge of this situation took a significant toll on student commitment and productivity (reference, selective criterion #5). Problems appeared to continue at the institution after this writer's departure and affected parties had little scope for legal recourse, a situation endemic in the TESOL training industry (Davidson 2008).

1.2.3 Process explicitness: 1.2.4 negotiation; 1.2.5 reciprocity; 1.2.6 deception: These factors are part of a family of behaviours which reveal much about both the productivity of the teaching relationship and the quality of cooperation between a teacher and his institution (reference, selective criterion #4). They are also factors common to almost all management situations. Within the classroom context, the teacher is a kind of manager, while within the institutional context he is subject to decisions by administrative managers. Executive staff in training may be exposed to enlightened concepts of management philosophy. As with all philosophies, they go in and out of fashion (Jackson 2001). Some of these proposals indeed emphasise a non-hierarchical paradigm and the free flow of information in all directions, which is by far the best environment for both teaching and learning. In the workplace, a proportion of both managers and teachers give lip service to such ideas, but in the experience of this researcher, a far smaller proportion apply their minds to implementing them. For so-called leaders at every level, it is almost a law of nature that ascribed authority sucks in information but yields it up only strategically to enhance personal objectives. That is, incentives to secrecy and to deception or at least obfuscation are built into most institutional environments. They become at once necessary for local productivity, and often an overall handicap to true institutional productivity.

For example, in the ideal of industrial language teaching, the teacher can engage in pre-course analysis with the sponsoring industry to make needs

quite explicit, then negotiate for what is achievable within a time frame. The case studies in this analysis with a direct industrial component, numbers 2 (the Chikko Roll Factory), 3 (the Scallop Fishermen), 4 (the Government Aircraft Factory), 14 (the Pulau Banka language consultancy), and to some extent 13 (the English for Mechanics program) all revealed characteristics where the ideals of explicitness and negotiation were compromised in some way (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). The most constant gap here was between what an industrial sponsor thought was needed and what actual students wanted or were capable of achieving. The teacher was then forced into a position of choosing between student and industry objectives and either deceiving or antagonizing one of the parties (reference, selective criterion #5). In every instance, the power differential between employers and employees made reciprocal compromise unlikely unless it was forced, which the teacher had no power to effect (reference, selective criterion #4).

Large enterprises sometimes have training managers, people who should at least be able to grasp the need to achieve sensible teaching and learning productivities. Again, in the writer's experience this was often not the case. At one company, a Melbourne tyre factory (not cited as a case study) the training manager insisted that each language student buy a wholly unsuitable American motivational guide. In that case, the students, all middle aged immigrant factory foremen in this grimy factory, down-to-earth and exasperated by the unreal, abstract talk of upstairs management, demanded that I enter into an

elaborate deception to mislead the training manager (difficult since he dropped in sometimes) and focus on language skills which they knew they really needed (reference, selective criteria #1,2,5).

This teacher normally made the professional choice of establishing reciprocal cooperation with students as a necessary prelude to productive teaching and learning (Danforth & Smith 2004:99 discuss resolving this situation with children. Adults are no different) . If unavoidable, the industrial sponsor and the teacher's own employing organization were misled a little to keep them happy. In Case Study 14 at the Pulau Banka mine in Indonesia, the language consultant's candour necessarily made the industrial sponsor somewhat unhappy (reference, selective criterion #4).

Foreign language teaching within a school is somewhat different from the industrial scenarios just described. School learning is a simulation for imagined needs in later life, and the school's administration becomes a proxy representative for imagined players in industry, academia or life generally who may later engage the skills of the language learner. A simple needs analysis is generally not possible for these imagined futures. From the administrative viewpoint it is replaced by the proscription of a syllabus. If the syllabus actually describes student objectives then the teacher has a clear task ahead. However, as in the industrial situation, a syllabus quite often does not describe what students really want (if they have articulate wishes), or what the teacher thinks

they need. For example, the Competencies Movement referred to in Case Study 11 went well beyond language teaching or learning concerns and was a classic case of an externally imposed management fad (Jones and Moore 1995). Once again therefore a teacher may have to make difficult professional choices about who to be explicit with, where to attempt negotiation, and perhaps who to deceive. Candour is often unwelcome (reference, selective criteria #4,5). In Case Study 11, the Adult Migrant English administrators did not like to be told in reference to an impossible form, 'I'm quite happy to lie on this form, just so long as you know that I am lying'. They were satisfied when more compliant teachers lied with nobody talking about it: an instance of 'don't ask, don't tell'.

In East Asian cultures, Case Studies 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, where face is more important than truth (and I have checked this explicitly with many East Asians), let alone productivity, the 'don't ask, don't tell' rule is pervasive. This teacher normally put student learning productivity, and thus his own teaching productivity, at a higher priority than official demands (reference, selective criteria #4, 5). On occasion that caused friction, such as bluntly refusing the dean's demand to evacuate a room for building workers in the middle of an exam at Wuhan University of Surveying and Mapping. More often it was a matter of gentle deceit. For example, in Wuhan in 1998 foreign teachers were issued with a little green book by the Chinese Public Security Bureau. Besides listing forbidden behaviour (e.g. no sleeping with Chinese women), it had a collection of forbidden classroom discussion topics: politics, national &

international affairs, sex, religion etc. In fact, it was a catalogue of what intelligent, mentally alert young adults might want to talk about with a foreigner. I would simply tell the students coyly that I wasn't allowed to express an opinion about these things, which was like putting an X rating on a film. There was no surer way to stimulate a productive oral language lesson (reference, selective criterion #5). However, amongst the untrained and/or employment-insecure teachers who dominate English foreign and second language teaching, the value of such irreverent choices might normally not be within their awareness. They simply instruct from a prescribed textbook.

1.2.7 Authority: In the context of cooperation, authority here refers to the teacher's ability to implement decisions bearing on his professional productivity (Terry n.d.). For example, he might not have authority to negotiate or ignore certain institutional clerical demands although it would be more pedagogically productive to spend the time assisting students (reference, selective criterion #4). In most of the case studies, the marginal institutional status of the teacher in fact minimized this kind of distraction, although the micro curriculum reporting demanded in Case Study 11 (the AMES program, Melbourne) posed a threat, dealt with by many teachers through rapid fictional box ticking (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4).

The critical venue for a teacher's authority is of course the classroom. Classroom authority can be ascribed by the job title, or it can emerge from

genuine student respect. Either kind may be lost quickly if abused, and with that loss usually goes a loss of teaching productivity (reference, selective criterion #5). Students, depending upon their backgrounds and expectations tend to have firm ideas about what constitutes teacher competence. Without perceived competence there is not much authority (reference, selective criterion #3). This can be a difficult proposition when the students in one class come from a smorgasbord of cultures, such as in the Australian adult migrant programs (Case Study 11). Some for example might equate an authoritarian mode with competence, at least initially. Some may view language learning games or even allowing unstructured student discussion as a sign of teacher incompetence, or some might demand them. Given time, these things can usually be negotiated (reference, selective criterion #4). It is also foolish for any teacher to pretend to omniscience, or fail to be frank about mistakes. Some of my current students in Zhengzhou delight in telling me (in private) about the pompous insistence of various Chinese English teachers that this or that meaning/ pronunciation/ sentence etc. was right when half the class knows that they made an error. In this case there is something of a generational clash of changing cultural values. One huge benefit from my habit of reciprocal teaching and learning in the classroom is that students quickly acquire the confidence to pick up my own slips, to mutual amusement (reference, selective criterion #5). An older Chinese person would never do that. Such ease of interaction doesn't diminish respect, it enhances it.

With the exception of Case Study 1, a new teacher on a steep learning curve in a New Zealand junior high school, classroom authority has not often been an issue for the teacher in these case studies. One reason is that he learned from the first disaster that a productive relationship with students depended upon negotiating shared objectives, and where possible developing some kind of reciprocal exchange, as just described. In other words, if both parties have something to lose from breakdown, then the classroom social system tends to be self regulating (reference, selective criterion #5). The hardest classes to teach have invariably been those where captive students had no personal faith in their ability to learn. Some late teenage technical college groups from South Korea (the venues for Case Studies 17 and 19) would be examples of that, as well as various apprentice classes experienced in Australia (undocumented here). In such environments the teacher is faced with a constant, sometimes exhausting job of salesmanship before productive content teaching and learning can proceed at all (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4).

The main institutional challenge to a teacher's classroom authority tends to arise around questions of evaluation and grading. In some of the thesis case studies, grading was not relevant. In others, grading levels were prerequisites for graduation. Where grading stakes were significant, notably in East Asia, the teacher found repeatedly that his own grading authority was minimal (reference, selective criterion #4). Teacher marks were simply collected by administrations and fictionalised, with a clear negative washback effect on

student classroom motivation. That is, administrations undermined true student productivity, and undermined teacher authority in the eyes of students by openly devaluing teacher judgements (reference, selective criterion #5). This situation is widespread in East Asia:

Ubiquitous anecdotal evidence suggests that poor and failing grades assigned by foreign oral English teachers are routinely “reassessed” by university department heads as a matter of course. (Mavrides, n.d.)

1.3 Power: Human power is the ability an actor has to to enact his or her sentient will. That ability may be delivered through ascribed authority, through persuasion, or force, or charm, or seduction, or a myriad collection of other instruments. Power pervades human relationships, and at a fundamental psychological level is undoubtedly embedded in sexuality. The effect of exercising power is frequently narcotic in the most literal manner. This has been endlessly documented in literature and observation throughout recorded history (Nakken 1988; Mahoney 2004), from the Talmud's 'the possession of power buries him who wields it' (Rodkinson & Wise 1916:138) to Tolkien's archetypal account in *Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien 1954). The ways in which the actors in educational institutions engage with power relationships will deeply affect what is done and what is learned in those institutions. For some actors the prerogative to exercise power is their primary motivation and need (reference, selective criterion #4). Some cultures sanctify that value. Observing

behaviour in an Indonesian high school at the end of the Suharto era, the writer was struck by its military format, where teachers assumed that mindless obedience and conformity to a controlling power was the height of virtue, and presumably of productive learning. As it happens, there are limited aspects of language learning in a classroom environment, such as rote memorization, which respond rather well to this kind of obedient effort. Political authorities in China and even South Korea attempt something similar to the Indonesian model, but struggle with the contradiction of needing citizens who are conditioned to adapting rapidly in a torrent of social change. These matters are not irrelevant to language teaching and learning anywhere. Every educational institution is a microcosm of the society which is its home. At the same time, in even the most liberal of societies, the narcotic of exercising power will show its influence wherever there is a hierarchy. For example, the financial managerial paradigm tends to devalue both teachers and learners as power players (reference, selective criterion #4). Correspondingly, the productivities of learning and teaching will in practice be likely to assume a lesser importance to those in an administration able to freely exert their own prerogatives of power, which in the educational context are general associated with directives, formalisms, respect rituals, and bestowing diplomas.

Teachers themselves, even if they are mindful of learning productivity, may be somewhat constrained in breaking traditional behaviour patterns. That is they may conform to an authoritarian approach regardless of the fact that the

unilateral exercise of teacher authority is likely to incite passive resistance and inhibit student learning (especially where new generations of students have come to expect more equality), whatever outward compliance there seems to be with classroom busy-work. The countless foreign-language-mute graduates from authoritarian Korean and Chinese classrooms are a testimony to this process (reference, selective criteria #2, 4).

1.3.1 Institutional Power: Examples of the exercise of institutional power affecting teaching productivity pervade this thesis (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 3, 4, 5). It has been argued that the productive activities of all players in an educational institution should be ordered into a hierarchy, with learning, then teaching productivities taking precedence since they are the reason for the existence of such institutions. The players in all organizations must of course take a multitude of decisions every day. The suggestion is that such decisions should be viewed a) as a service activity rather than primarily (for example) as a profit seeking activity, and certainly not as a personal territorial claim to power, and b) decisions which bear on learning and teaching should be taken with the knowledge and advice of the affected professionals (reference, selective criterion #4). The world of course does not work according to 'should', and one point of the case studies has been to examine what happens in real language teaching environments.

As a teacher, coordinator, and sometimes as a union organizer, from time to

time I did explicitly put points a) and b) above to TAFE middle managements (Case Studies 12 and 13) (reference, selective criterion #4). The responses were usually incredulity or scorn, an accusation of unreality, which perhaps indicates how far those institutions had travelled from their originating mission. A teacher union perspective on teacher deskilling, casualization and the destruction of the Australian TAFE mission (including the work of language teachers) has been cogently argued by Pat Forward (2007):

By the end of the 1990s, the TAFE sector was one of the most casualized education sectors, with more than 50% of teachers nationally employed on a casual basis. In one large state, the number of casually employed TAFE teachers is greater than 70%.

A casual or short term teacher is in no position to influence policy, and may not even have personal contact with institutional decision makers. Untrained teachers, so common amongst teachers of English as a foreign language, are in no position to expect consultation on anything. When the employers are for-profit enterprises, often small businesses when it comes to private language schools worldwide, or in Australia so-called private providers tendering for government teaching contracts, then the principals are naturally going to exercise their decisions in commercial, not educational terms. Commercial programs do not always have poor outcomes for true learning productivity. It depends a great deal upon the incentive structures. However, where those incentives are for pro-forma compliance to government contracts bid for on short cycles, then real student learning productivity may be sacrificed. The 'client' becomes the contract granter, not students who are considered mere

place holders on classroom seats. A teacher in this environment has little professional authority to negotiate with students about their needs (reference, selective criteria #4, 5). Note that the case studies mostly deal with large institutions which have a public service role. A strong argument can be made that the casualization of teachers in these environments not only disempowers teachers themselves, but has the long term detrimental effect of preventing teacher knowledge workers from shaping the decision making in educational institutions, and hence aborting the emergence of a culture of optimal teacher and learner productivity.

Since institutions employ a multitude of personnel in different roles, and are themselves usually subject to directives from external authorities, institutional power itself is rarely uniform or entirely consistent in its effects on teachers and learners. Where power is valued for its own sake, there may be blockages to teaching productivity from unexpected sources, depending upon the personalities involved. For example, at an extreme of apparent trivia, the Arts Faculty at the University of the South Pacific, Fiji (Case Study 9) was almost brought to a standstill by a hyper-territorial clerk who had the sole certificate and authority to use the building's photocopy machine. It was depressing how many intelligent people accepted this sabotage. I undertook a little guerrilla warfare. More often the obstruction, interference and misdirection perpetrated by institutional players on teaching and learning activity stems from their attempts to interpret what they believe to be the wishes of external authorities.

For example, the politically correct attitude of the hour was obvious to every leader and middle manager in Australian educational institutions in the 1990s, so they hastened to give shape to the environments outlined in Case Studies 11, 12 and 13 (reference, selective criterion #4). These same careerists at the inception of the Kangan Report to the Australian Federal Parliament in 1974 would have quoted it in respectful terms as a new approach to technical and further education which

... abandons the narrow and rigid concept that technical colleges exist simply to meet the manpower needs of industry, and adopts a broader concept that they exist to meet the needs of people as individuals. ... The report also takes a long step in the direction of lifelong education and of opportunities for re-entry to education. It recommends unrestricted access for adults to vocationally oriented education. (Beazley, as cited in Goozee, 2001, p.26)

The relevance of examples like this for teaching and learning productivity in foreign language education is that the kind of opportunism just described is universal in institutions. The administrators in South Korean institutions (Case Studies 17, 18,19), for example, were equally attuned to the whims of college owners, or the favoured political mood of the day. Administrators tend to be careerists for rent, rather than principled professional educators. Unless and until teachers have genuine status and quality as professional educators, backed by legislated collegiate authority and some assurance of continuing employment, then teaching and learning productivities are unlikely to have institutional primacy.

1.3.2 Hiring control; 1.3.4 Dispensability of the teacher: Except for the self-employed, the power of an employer to hire and fire is of course present in almost every language teaching engagement, but the extent to which it affects teacher productivity varies. If the teacher has a reasonably long term contract or continuing employment, then he is likely to feel relatively free to assert professional judgements (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). In the Case Studies, 6 (PNG), 9, 10 (Fii) and slightly less so in studies 7 and 8 (Lismore, NSW), the writer had university lecturing contracts which more or less guaranteed his independence. Linguistics lecturers are also held to be a rarer species than foreign language teachers, and thus a little less casually disposable. If the teacher is sufficiently mobile and in demand enough not to worry about losing employment, he will also be more willing to evade unreasonable institutional demands. This was certainly the situation in Case Studies 2, 3 and 4, the industrial English teaching venues (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). Where the teacher has external commitments to support, in this writer's case funding academic research, then biting the hand that feeds is more difficult. Thus, in Case Studies 11, 12, 13, and 14 (Australian AMES and TAFES) asserting professional judgements in the face of administrative power holders was perhaps foolhardy, but done anyway, and punishment exacted.

In the case of East Asian contracts, Case Studies 15,16,17,18,19, the teacher's foreigner status and traditional patterns of hierarchy generally rendered it unthinkable for administrative power holders to take teaching and learning

productivities into their calculus (reference, selective criterion #4). The educational costs of that were all too clear, but national cultural and political paradigms made real change difficult to envisage. For example, in my first China contract (Case Study 15) that lesson had not been properly learned. The university president, normally an invisible and omnipotent figure in the Chinese context, at one point sent a sudden message to leave my classroom and appear as a trophy foreigner for photographs with visiting dignitaries. Student learning needs were not on the agenda (reference, selective criterion #5). I declined, thereby causing him a loss of face. Later he personally intervened to prevent my contract renewal. There was a desperate shortage of foreign language teachers, but that was irrelevant. There is a slowly growing awareness of this kind of cultural dissonance in some quarters. A few South Korean universities have partly dealt with the cultural problem of hiring short contract foreign teachers by assigning a foreign manager to deal with it. That is, the foreigners are expected to develop their own small employment ecosystem which is quarantined from the main body of university decision making. A great deal turns upon the quality of the foreign manager. The extent to which this initiative has improved teacher productivity is an open empirical question.

1.3.3 Independent consultant / contractor status: A good deal of foreign language teaching is done on a one-to-one basis through private coaching, often in violation of visa conditions. With a competent teacher and a

committed student, one-to-one coaching can be amongst the most productive of all teaching engagements, and is perhaps the oldest kind of systematic foreign language teaching. The case studies in this thesis do not treat this situation since the writer has rarely attempted it. A similar teaching contact from the motivational viewpoint would be the intimate learners referred to in Case Study 20. The power in such contractual relationships is strictly reciprocal, based on the teacher's special knowledge and the student's willingness to pay and/or participate. Case study 14 is both more institutional and more professional, dealing with the situation of a language consultant sent to Indonesia on behalf of an Australian college. The 'productivity equation' was rather different from that applying to the other case studies, although consultancy itself is a well established activity (reference, selective criteria #2, 3). In this instance there was a triangulation of power amongst the contracting mining company (who did not really understand what they had paid for), the college management (who had no proper understanding of what they had sold), and the language consultant who had the job of satisfying both while giving credible professional advice at the same time. From the consultant's point of view, he spent an extremely productive month aligning disparate variables into a comprehensive report which amounted to a blueprint for customised industrial language teaching (May 1996a, 1996b). He also established a pilot teaching program, and gave initial teacher training to a local mine employee. However, the sale and purchase by the principals had been for magic, not language teaching (reference, selective criterion #4). As it

happened, honest advice was not compatible with the illusions of either group of administrative personnel, who exercised the sanction of forgoing future language consultancies.

1.3.5 Professional status; 1.3.6 Subject knowledge status: The lecturing positions excepted, professional and subject knowledge status turned out to be of little genuine interest to employing institutions described in the case studies, whether in Australia or beyond. Such status, if it existed, certainly conveyed no institutional power. Legal and visa employment requirements, and in some cases the marketing pitch to attract enrolments, gave the professional status of the language teacher some temporary value as a decoration, but that was as far as it went. In fact, this institutional indifference eloquently described the real power accorded to teaching and learning productivities in any competitive hierarchy (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). Relationships with students were another matter. In language learning, student expectations play a large part in success (reference, selective criterion #5). If students believe that a teacher is excellently qualified and experienced, it is easier for them to accept guidance, especially that which contradicts their earlier patterns of schooling. This kind of authoritative power is a temporary advantage which can rapidly dissipate if students become discouraged or feel that the teacher is not truly working towards their objectives. This writer has usually managed to retain that advantage of student respect, but he has sometimes seen other teachers spiral from a good start into completely unproductive teacher–student

relationships. Students may also be less interested in formal qualifications than teacher adaptability and aptitude for a discourse on their terms. I could engage with the scallop fishermen (Case Study 3) because I understood small boat navigation. I had some credibility with the mechanics (Case Study 13) because they knew I could take an engine to pieces.

1.3.7 Enrolment control: The language teacher who exerts at least partial control over student enrolment has a greatly improved chance of setting up productive teaching and learning relationships (reference, selective criteria #4, 5). The permission for students to enrol in a language program can anticipate much about their likely success. There are issues of language level, aptitude, uses expected of the target language, and student numbers, as well as motivation. For some administrators, the deciding factor may be ability to pay. Otherwise, the administrative criterion is normally some kind of certification, probably unrelated to language learning at all (for example, a high school graduation diploma). A language teaching program is a kind of contract between the teacher and the student, as well as a student and an institution. If a teacher realizes as a matter of professional judgement that the contractual conditions cannot be met, or can only be approximated poorly within the framework of the program, then there is an element of fraud in making any such commitment. Ideally, the student too needs to evaluate the program and the teacher (which often happens with adult students in private institutes, but rarely in public mass education). Enrolment judgements are rarely black and

white issues, but teachers are vastly better equipped than administrators to choose students who are likely to be successful. Enrolment practices in the ESL/EFL field only occasionally reflect that imperative for optimum productivity (reference, selective criterion #2).

In one-off industrial contracts, such as Case Studies 2, 3, 4, 14, enrolment selection was a prerogative of the contracting client, apparently based more on local favouritism, or even industrial relations manoeuvring, than any knowledge of language needs or ability. In the original adult migrant English programs in Australia, related to Case Study 11, which were non-credit courses, students were articulated from class to class based on teacher judgements of their readiness to move on. This was generally fairly productive and successful. In the Australian TAFE Case Studies 12 and 13, selection was largely a matter of financial sponsorship for the student, by a contractor or government agency. The teacher had no say. In fact many TAFE ESL students were not so much selected as *required* by the government to attend on pain of losing unemployment benefits. This tended to build resentment into the system and was terrible for a productive commitment to learning. I encountered students with sheafs of completion certificates who showed little evidence of real language learning (reference, selective criteria #1, 5).

In the East Asian case studies it was held improper for the foreign teacher to even express an opinion about student selection (reference, selective criterion

#4). The exception to this was the postgraduate TESOL teacher program at Pusan University of Foreign Studies, Case Study 18, where Dr King and myself were asked to pre-interview students to check that they would be able to handle a full English language lecturing program. This procedure was one of the early indications of impending fraud. Several students who were clearly out of their language depth were declined, but later turned up in classes anyway. The controlling businessman had passed them on a 'written test', he said (we never saw it), clearly having decided that their three million won enrolment fee was the critical factor. These students were set up for failure, in fact defrauded, and did prove unable to cope (reference, selective criterion #1). One withdrew. The others were duly given their B+ grades by the administration regardless. The university and the businessman met their notion of credentialing productivity. The lecturers were criticised by the university for attempting to fail the students.

1.3.8 Timetabling control: Timetabling can usually be handled in a reasonable way by administrations unless they are completely out of touch with teaching and learning needs. Sadly, this turned out to be the case fairly often at CJNU, Case Study 19, where large classes of unmotivated freshman language students were regularly timetabled to meet in two hour blocks finishing at 11pm. These late hour arrivals often came from factory shift jobs and were in a poor state to be productive language learners. It is also characteristic in East Asian university language classes for some or all of the students to vanish for

various periods without warning or explanation to the foreign teacher. He is entirely exiled from the administrative communication loop (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4).

1.3.9 Teaching resources control: The selection and use of teacher resources and student texts has been largely a matter of teacher choice in the case studies of this thesis. This has been one fortunate side effect for the writer of institutional disengagement from the classroom environment. More is said about actual resources in section 1.4 below.

Case study 1, a regular high school class, was built around standard government issued text books, and that is the normal pattern for children's classes in most countries. Unfortunately, where governments are corrupt or negligent, textbook procurement can be a rich source of scandal which teachers are powerless to combat. In Case Study 8, the aid funded allocation of inappropriate text books to Solomon Islands teachers came very close to this situation (reference, selective criteria #1, 4). In Fiji, Case Study 9, I had a losing clash with a professor who also happened to be Fiji's Minister for Trade. For \$100,000 he had purchased the distribution rights from the South Pacific Commission to a textbook series, the *Gloria Tate System* (Tate 1974, 1976), which had been the only teaching resource in many very poor South Pacific Island states. It was a terrible series which I had heavily criticized to linguistics students from those states, and which they would now be forced to continue

using unproductively as teachers (reference, selective criteria #1, 5). It was a cash cow. Political power trumped learning productivity utterly (reference, selective criterion #4). This is not unusual in a global context.

In 2004 the World Bank completely suspended a major textbook aid project in Indonesia because of intractable political interference and corruption (Santoso 2004). Throughout East Asia there are now large chains of private English coaching schools whose dubious claims to efficiency often turn upon forcing their teachers to use in-house publications which might or might not be useful. They are sold in sets to students at a premium price. In the many thousands of small coaching schools (*hagwons* in Korea, *busibans* in China and Taiwan) it is common for directors to accept outright bribes from publishing companies to use particular texts (reference, selective criterion #4). In parts of the United States, textbook publishing companies themselves, through political lobbying, have brought about procurement oligopolies, creating complex webs of obligation and requirement in educational bureaucracies where teaching and learning productivity, the voices of teachers and students, ultimately play almost no part (Ansary 2004; Ellis 2007). In that case, it is a situation in many respects like the military-industrial complex of armaments manufacture and national defence departments.

Creative, imaginative teachers can often turn even bad text books to productive use by being selective, editing ruthlessly, or even satirizing content.

I have done it often, with student complicity (reference, selective criterion #5). However this is not what typically happens at the hands of linguistically insecure non-native teachers of the target language, or native speaking foreigners who are essentially not teachers at all.

1.3.10 Sanctions control: Ideally students learn a language because they want to learn a language. Ideally, students are in a classroom because they want to learn in a classroom. It is not an ideal world. Children are mostly in a classroom because they are required to be there. The very young may like it. Middle school students often hate it (reference Case Study 1 in New Zealand), and many high schools worldwide are depressingly like military camps with layers of punishment for the uncooperative (review against selective criterion #5). By contrast, a certain kind of student empowerment, usually with slightly older students, is found in commercially driven operations at both state and private institutions where 'student evaluations' may strongly determine contract renewals for the teacher. Again, in an ideal world students should certainly have the power to exit a teacher who is unable to leverage their language learning productivity, although the meaning of student evaluations is always controversial (Ryan 1998; Agger 2005). The difficulty in this situation comes when credentialing without language mastery, not learning, is the student objective, and particularly when the institution's management shares the same credentialing objective. In such an environment, the teacher is essentially hired as a stage prop. He has no credible authority as a source of

knowledge or technique, and his power to encourage learning is often reduced to vaudeville. Teaching product as such is irrelevant (reference, selective criterion #4). The next layer of distortion comes when student evaluations themselves are tampered with. In Case Study 17 at Sungsim College, South Korea, it became evident in successive years that these evaluations were manipulated to always score Korean professors above foreigners (which we knew to be untrue), and to calibrate favours in a carefully manipulated hierarchy. So much for teaching and learning productivity. Case Studies 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 in East Asia all had strong elements of this educational design (reference, selective criterion #2).

Late teenagers to young adults often don't know what they want in any articulate way when it comes to long term objectives. For most students foreign languages are not easy to learn, and they are poorly learned under duress without the immediate communicative feedback of real life environments. All of this can easily add up to a lose-lose situation in terms of language teaching and learning productivity (review against selective criterion #5). The misuse of arbitrary power can make things much worse, yet the absence of any possible sanction for misbehaviour by younger learners especially can also lead to a class spiralling out of control, with everyone ultimately unhappy all around.

This writer's solution, already discussed, has been to negotiate shared

objectives, and if possible persuade students to offer the teacher reciprocal language teaching, local knowledge, or some other intangible to balance up the psychological scales (reference, selective criterion #5). With large, unmotivated groups that can be a hard sell, with constant follow-up persuasion needed. It has usually worked, but there have been individuals or occasionally groups who wanted no part of any social contract. The situation in Case Study 19, Chungju National University, was perhaps the most intractable. If the institution itself offers the teacher no support, it can be very difficult. In Korean universities I have glanced into classrooms sometimes to see students asleep en masse, or playing with their mobiles while a Korean professor drones on regardless. There are times when a student might become temporarily withdrawn for intensely personal reasons, and that requires tactful teacher judgement and sensitivity. However, I don't allow regular non-participants in a language class. What is the point? They destroy morale. If necessary they are asked to leave.

1.3.11 Curriculum control; 1.3.12 Lesson planning control: The whole point of curriculums, properly conceived, is to increase teaching productivity by guaranteeing a certain kind of structured learning experience for students. When learners will thrive on a structured learning experience (at a their stage of language acquisition), and when the available curriculum structure does indeed fit their needs, then the teacher's most productive option is to fit lesson planning to the official curriculum. In practice, this confluence of factors

between student needs and official curriculums is only sometimes present. If it is not, then the teacher may be forced to either secretly collude with students against the requirements of authority (reference, selective criterion #5), or impose institutional requirements on reluctant students, which usually entails a loss of teaching and learning productivity (consider selective criterion #4).

Curriculums come in many forms (the term 'syllabus' is often interchangeable). They may be broad brush policy directives,, a list of grammatical and vocabulary requirements, the table of contents from a textbook, a statement of mastery criteria which may be Delphic (e.g. "*uses language in a sophisticated manner*") or banal (e.g. "*can fill in an employment application*"), or at an extreme, a lock-step minutiae of specifications for classroom activity day by day. Curriculums may be sourced from the ideology of politicians, as filtered through bureaucracies, and institutions themselves may have an ideological agenda (for example, a significant number of South Korean universities will only employ 'committed Christians' as lecturers, whatever that means). The teacher may construct his own curriculum, or he may negotiate one with students. Where the real objective is to pass some external, more or less incorruptible examination such as TOEFL or IELTS, then the actual agenda will be set by backwash from that examination, regardless of what any official curriculum states.

Power distribution in relation to curriculums, as found in the case studies,

followed the pattern evident with most other factors in the analysis: where the stakes were significant – passing an external examination, graduation or college admission, employment, and so on – then the open control exercised by the teacher or student over the design or implementation of official curriculums was minimal (consider selective criteria #4, 5). It is important however that the teacher, as the agent who finally implements a curriculum, always has the power to reinterpret or subvert it. The students who suffer or enjoy the fruits of meeting curriculum requirements always have the power to resist it, at a certain price. Since the teacher is the key curriculum agent, and since teachers are so varied, the net effect of any particular curriculum requirement is never uniform across institutions or countries (reference, selective criteria #1, 2). Historically, public curriculums which have gone beyond a particular class program have had compliance cycles (rather like the much researched phenomenon of fashions in management: Jackson 2001) – initial enthusiasm or resistance from teacher opinion leaders –> majority outward compliance –> increasingly authoritative criticism –> (and if the curriculum proves professionally obnoxious) quiet teacher abandonment or subversion. Sometimes the energy which institutions put into forcing curriculum compliance may lower the productivity of the student–teacher relationship (for example, by requiring extensive administrative documentation) (reference, selective criterion #5).

In short, curriculums may enhance language teaching and learning productivity

where they clarify and organize the path to learning in a way that is acceptable to the teacher and the learners. Conversely, they may, distort, detract from or entirely undermine productive language learning.

In the industrial scenarios of Case Studies 2 and 4, a broad notional curriculum existed for the public record of the Adult Migrant Education Service and the sponsoring client. The real curriculum was negotiated between the teachers and the students (reference, selective criterion #5). That is, institutional power was acknowledged, but the real power of choice was exercised by stealth and true learning outcomes never recorded. In Case Study 3, the scallop fishermen, there was a single strategic goal of managing a test in legal English, so that set the effective curriculum (reference, selective criteria #1, 3). In Case Study 6 in PNG, the language goal was also strategic – in that case to bridge a language and cultural gap between engineering students and their engineering professors. Engineering term essays therefore set the content of the teaching, but stratagem was a matter for teacher judgement (reference, selective criteria #1, 3, 4). In straight lecturing situations, as with the linguistics students at USP, Fiji, Case Study 9, an outline content curriculum was written by the lecturer and published in the university calendar after consultation with colleagues. The strategic details of bringing it to fulfilment for students with a broad range of L2 English abilities were also in the hands of the lecturer. In other words, he was exercising the full power of his professional position (reference, selective criteria #1, 3, 4). This was a very different situation from

Case Study 11, the Adult Migrant Education Program, where there was a deliberate agenda of withdrawing prerogatives of curriculum design and judgement from the hand of teachers in favour of a remotely determined and politically tainted set of objectives. The language of productivity employed as a rationale there had little to do with the productivity of skilled knowledge workers. Of course, that met with a degree of resistance (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 3, 4). The kinds of brief sessional teaching contracts exemplified by Case Study 12, the Saudi students, would have specified some suitably impressive curriculum outline in a sales pitch to the sponsoring client, but this was rarely communicated to teachers once a sale was made. The transient teacher would assess the situation as best as possible, and try to devise a suitable teaching program for the actual students (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 5). In Case Study 13, the English for mechanics program, the teacher on one year renewable contracts had some scope to develop a credibly productive curriculum. In that case, language department managers lacked engineering knowledge, while engineering departments lacked language knowledge. There was no credentialing outcome sought, so the teacher had a fairly free hand and eventually wrote a book (May 1995), *English for Mechanics*, which became a de facto curriculum guide (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 5). The East Asian Case Studies, 15,16,17,19, presented a different paradigm altogether. Whatever official curriculums existed (and they always do) were constructed in the Chinese and Korean languages, entirely fictional, and considered none of the business of the foreign teacher. The foreign teacher's job was therefore to

officially certify that students had attended, and to 'pass' students with a test designed to produce a perfect normal distribution curve of grades, preferably with no failures. This latter would be adjusted by the administration if necessary. The rest could either be child minding, or whatever the learning activities the teacher could persuade students to participate in. Thus formal curriculums were irrelevant to teaching productivity and teaching productivity in the sense of enhancing student language learning was irrelevant to administrations (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 3, 4).

1.3.13 Evaluation control: The exercise of power in relation to class-external evaluation control usually correlates closely with who controls curriculums. The comments in the preceding section therefore also largely apply to external evaluation. Of course, a professional language teacher will be making diagnostic evaluations of various kinds throughout a teaching program. Diagnostic evaluation is an essential tool for maximizing teaching productivity (reference, selective criteria #2, 3). In Case Study 11, the Adult Migrant Education Program situation, a good deal of the trouble stemmed from trying to introduce a kind of external evaluation where none had formally existed before. This was expressed in terms of financial and educational 'accountability'. It is a paradox of language teaching programs that the metrics of 'accountability' create a backwash that influences what is taught and how it is taught. That would be fine if the backwash had a positive effect on teaching and learning productivities. My own empirical observation has been that the

influence has most often been negative (reference, selective criterion #1). Some of the most successful classes I have ever seen and taught have been evening adult programs where people simply wanted to learn a language for their own purposes. Sometimes they were free to the students (especially pre-1990s migrant classes in Australia), and sometimes a fee was paid for the teacher's time, such as some evening classes I taught in central China (not documented in a case study here). There was no need for dubious certificates, and accountability was to the students themselves who were perfectly well able to decide if their time had been well spent (reference, selective criteria #1, 3, 5).

The most professionally nauseating situations arose in the practices at South Korean universities. I have regularly caught students cheating with cribs in examinations, or sending stand-ins to do the test, then been abused by administrations for 'making trouble' by disqualifying the testees. It is hard to imagine an action more damaging to teacher status and teaching productivity (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). In the South Korean environment, unfortunately this is not an isolated problem in particular institutions. It is almost a cultural pathology. In 2009 for example 90% of regional education offices misreported standardized exam results for primary and secondary students to the South Korean Ministry of Education, essentially to boost local reputation or *chemyeon* ('face') (Kang Shin-who 2009). Something similar sometimes occurs worldwide of course, when lecturers intercept plagiarism by

tertiary students in fee-paying courses (Thompson & Smith 2004; Edwards 2006; Agence France Press 2006; Lee Hyo-sik 2006).

1.4 Resources availability and distribution: The resources which a language teacher brings to bear on his task are both personal and material. They will be directed primarily towards enhancing the learning productivity of his students in classrooms (reference, selective criterion #5), but may also have to engage other levels of the institution (reference, selective criterion #4). Personal resources are partly dealt with in section 1.5, while section 1.3 discussed the teacher's power to actually deploy any kind of resource within the institution.

Actual buildings also constitute a kind of educational resource, especially in their power to affect morale when students find themselves in an environment which reinforces negative perceptions of self-image (IASB 2002 for a summary of references on this topic in American schools). However, the students in the case studies examined in this thesis did not seem to be seriously impacted by problems of physical habitation in the schools. My present Zhengzhou location (not a case study topic) is different. Dormitory and personal study resources are rudimentary, leaving many students resentful and ashamed at being so poor in an unlovely place. Higher fee colleges are known to have far better resources. This kind of thing could be an explosive issue in China's future, and definitely influence teaching & learning productivity, as it already does in Chinese rural schools.

1.4.2 Time: Time is integral to the concept of productivity in organized environments like schools. It is therefore inseparable from teaching productivity (reference, selective criterion #2). Time is always the most finite of all resources, both in terms of the length of teaching programs and the daily duties of the teacher. In this respect teachers, like many professionals, have demands on their time which must be managed carefully. One of the more striking productivity differences is between professionals and unskilled stand-ins who work strictly to contract teaching hours and enter classrooms unprepared (reference, selective criterion #2). Tertiary lecturing is even more demanding in this respect, and the busiest times for this writer were undoubtedly the situations in Case Studies 7, 8, 9, 10 and 18. The time cycles in lecturing and teaching are fundamentally different. Although the lecturer plans his opening, body and conclusion, the teacher plans time not only for himself but for his students. The less mature or able those students are, the more closely the teacher will plan the time distribution of student activities, while always being ready to adjust to contingent needs. This is one teacher contribution to student learning productivity which large numbers of students find hard to replicate in non-classroom environments and distance education. On teacher evaluation forms students may indicate that the teacher planned time poorly. In some cases this is absolutely right, particularly with untrained teachers. In other instances there may be a problem of cultural expectations. Chinese students, and to a lesser extent South Korean students, may have had

their activities time allotments pre-planned for them from waking to sleep all their lives. For those who later study overseas, the withdrawal of this external organization is a major reason for their failure (*Chosun Ilbo* 12 October 2009).

1.4.3 Professional motivation; 1.4.4 Teaching competence; 1.4.5 Teaching knowledge & experience; 1.4.6 Goodwill capital with classes: In a productive language teaching environment the first three elements should work together to generate and maintain the fourth (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4, 5). The case studies document many instances where it has not worked quite that way. In Case Study 1, the New Zealand junior high school, there was a clear deficiency in the teacher's knowledge and experience which led to breakdown and a loss of student learning productivity. Other case studies have been more about recording situations where the teacher was not able to exercise all of his personal professional teaching resources. The problem has only occasionally been with students. In retrospect, the goodwill capital maintained with most students was remarkable. Mature students are more tolerant in this respect than younger learners, especially if they are voluntary learners. However, where younger learners have a 'crush' on the teacher their learning productivity can be surprising. For all my inexperience in the Case Study 1 scenario, there were some teenage girls amongst whom this kind of enthusiasm was quite evident. Young students in Korean summer camps display the same kind of partisan commitment.

The more common brake on productivity has been institutional players who were ignorant of or indifferent to the teacher's personal potential and resources, and sadly that theme has run through the case studies in this thesis with only a few exceptions (reference, selective criterion #4). The analysis also has already discussed a number of instances. The greater a teacher's commitment of skill, care and time to teaching productively, the more demoralizing it is to have none of that register with the controlling institution. The most personally shocking example for me was perhaps Case Study 18 at Pusan University of Foreign Studies. There is a risk of narcissism here, but in defence, the malaise is not a situation particular to this writer. It has been a common discussion point amongst expatriate teachers throughout my career, and echoes in many online blogs and forums.

1.4.7 Set text books, teacher reference books etc.; 1.4.8 Teacher created materials: The contribution of pre-constructed materials like text books to teacher productivity is a pervasive issue, but very individual in its application (reference, selective criteria #1, 2). Material resources may be sourced from the teacher himself, but for most teachers will be an institutional contribution, or commercial materials which students have to buy.

The following comments on English teaching in the East Asian environment come from personal observation and interpretation through the cultural filter of an Australian mind. East Asian teachers themselves might put a different

slant on it. In this writer's view then, in the case of teaching English as a foreign language by East Asian school teachers, the prescribed government texts tend to be used mechanically, so that millions of children learn to do the same set exercises (mostly multiple choice and fill-in-the-blanks), and parrot set replies to the same set questions. This trained monkey procedure is also perfected by the teachers who are often loath to address students in English beyond the textbook context, and may (understandably) be deeply uncomfortable in a native speaker encounter. They are therefore not always eager to view teaching productivity in complex knowledge worker terms. The industrial model is less challenging. However, in public forums such as professional teaching conferences, the preceding is almost never the image presented. In this sense, many 'progressive' conference papers may be a form of polite fiction. There are exceptions to this pattern, and some signs that the situation may be improving. One of the more popular commercial products for example is a serial set of publications called "Crazy English", a deliberate challenge to the school orthodoxy. Classroom availability of the Internet could play a significant role in ameliorating the situation, although I have seen this prohibited even where the technology is available. As it stands, rigid administrative reporting requirements on covering chapters, sections and even pages make it difficult for non native English speaking local teachers to deviate from the norm . That is, they are enslaved but also protected from embarrassment by industrial notions of productivity. They are in any case powerless to challenge authority (reference, selective criterion #4). The

untrained native English speakers who proliferate in East Asia are also likely to use any available textbook mechanically, without even the insight that might come from some training in applied linguistics. Not surprisingly, many find such 'English teaching' extremely boring, and of course unproductive. Some, without any particular plan, do clown a bit in cram schools and are much appreciated by young learners (reference, selective criterion #5), if not their mothers.

From early in his career the writer of these case studies has attempted to write his own teaching materials wherever possible, and has been fortunate in being allowed by (often indifferent) administrations to use them. The motivation was partly selfish. A little creativity just made the job more interesting. The immediacy of the materials usually gave them greater relevance for particular classes than regular text books, and they could be easily modified with student feedback (reference, selective criterion #5). The dialogues were certainly more authentic than those in most text books. On the other hand, various aspects of their quality control and supporting printed glossaries etc. might not have matched the commercial texts, which some students would find important.

One of the spin-offs of a thirty-three year teaching career has been to notice that this year's collection of language learning text books is not necessarily better than last year's. Nor has there been any credible evidence that each year's cohort of students has learned better or faster from the latest texts than

cohorts from previous years. It is curious that these metrics seem to be nowhere recorded in the literature. Perhaps tracking teaching and learning productivity across the entirety of such a vast and dispersed industry is too challenging. If the bulk of published language learning text books are an index of the contribution of applied linguistics and claimed advances in methodology over a generation, then the prognosis for academic leadership in productive language teaching is grim. On the other hand, the writer has accumulated a thin collection of texts** that he has found invaluable to adapt in a multitude of situations. There is a saying amongst automotive engineers that a vehicle is 80% driver and 20% engineering. Something like that is undoubtedly true between teachers and their text books as well. The short list below is of course only indicative of personal style and preference. Every professional teacher will have his favourite resources (reference, selective criteria #1, 2) .

****note:** Missing from the following brief annotated bibliography is a) a good collection of role play activities, and b) an inspired collection of task-based learning activities. This is partly because I have always had fun inventing this kind of thing myself. For example, a current class of nursing trainees has been enthusiastic about workshopping a series of demonstrations on first aid procedures.

Carrier, Michael (1980) *Take 5: Games and Activities for the Language Learner*. London: Harrap. There are many books of English teaching games. I always pack this one because of its clear organization and variety.

Fletcher, Mark & David Birt (1983) *Storylines*. UK: Longman. Like J.B. Heaton's book (below), this is a superb example of the very rare genre of language teaching books that tell stories, or give information, through picture panels. This one is for grown-ups. It is precious, productive, and loved by students.

Heaton, J.B. (1968) *Composition Through Pictures*. London: Longman. This is a collection of droll stories told through picture panel sketches. Supposedly for children, and supposedly for writing, I have found this book an all-time winner in getting students at any level to talk. Other wordless story picture books are extremely hard to find.

Hill, L.A. (1965) *Advanced Stories for Reproduction*. Oxford: OUP. Utterly dated stories, except for the Nasreddin tales (= Hoja = Affanti), which are timeless and never fail. The teacher tells with drama=> the students retell to each other=> the teacher tells again=> the students write from memory. This procedure is a student favourite, and highly effective for learning.

Kennedy, Judith & Susan Hunston (1982) *Patterns of Fact : Practice in reading and writing English for academic purposes*. London: Edward Arnold. There are other books in this genre, but this one remains masterful for its variety of projects which make the connection between diagrams or tables and written description.

O'Neill, R (1970) *English in Situations*. London: OUP. This book is brilliant for focused listening and precise oral response to English grammatical patterns. Like many British books, and unlike many American books, a slightly whimsical tone adds to its appeal.

Seal, Bernard (1987) *Vocabulary Builder 1*. UK: Longman. A precursor of similar books which put important vocabulary into short, interesting stories, then follow up with some reinforcing exercises. Memorable, if done in the right way. This sort of thing should have both an oral and a written teaching component.

Spencer, D.H. (1967) *Guided Composition Exercises*. London: Longman. A deceptively simple little book of brief story patterns of increasing complexity. This has proved invaluable in getting writing-phobic students onto the path of written construction. It should be used with a light touch as a temporary crutch.

Stannard Allen, W (1954) *Living English Speech*. UK: Longman. A compendium of short practice exercises in the intonation of English, organized by musical patterns. I have never found a class at any level which didn't enjoy doing a little of this in a fun way on a daily basis.

1.4.9 CAL; 1.4.10 Electronic devices (MP3 etc) & recordings; 1.4.11 Movies, DVD, music; 1.4.12 Library resources; 1.4.13 Internet resources; 1.4.14 Visitors / experts / colleagues : The electronic elements referred to here have a potential for increasing learning productivity that is only beginning to be realized in the kinds of language learning venues outlined in the case studies. In the future, they may also drastically effect what language teachers need to do to be optimally productive. However, in most of the studies discussed in the thesis there was little scope for added resources of this kind, although the teacher himself has been using computers intensively since 1981. Internet resources, both free and commercial, are developing explosively for language learning and are already a major venue for those who wish to self-instruct. Classroom Internet access simply wasn't there for the case study classes, but this is sure to change in the future. The issue will be teaching both teachers and students to use the available online resources productively, as a group, with remote contacts, and individually (reference, selective criterion #5). However, as with so many other issues in teaching and learning productivity, this is going to be a battle with administrations (reference, selective criterion #4). For example, Internet access is at risk on college student computers in my current teaching locale on the grounds that students will multiply download costs, access unsuitable material ('waste time') and infect machines with viruses. In this case, the near absence of library or software resources on-site in the college does not enter into the administrator's equation.

The tail end of the audio–lingual method with its endless recorded drills was just fading away as my teaching career came into focus, and most venues from the case studies made little serious use of such equipment. Legacy language laboratories I saw in East Asian universities sometimes had the standard glass booths for students, but no facility in each booth to run a separate tape for the student's own learning pace, and no way for the student to record. Learners simply had to listen to the tape on a master console, which they could have done through a loudspeaker. No doubt the glass booths looked good in publicity material but as teaching and learning productivity tools these devices were laughable.

Tape recordings, and later CDs or DVDs have historically been standard equipment for language teachers, and in this writer's observation they have been frequently misused (reference, selective criterion #3). Most course texts books now come with an obligatory CD. Any recording is only as good as its matching to a particular class (linguistically and culturally), and the quality of the original production. Although there has been some excellent audio material produced, its availability is usually an accidental by–product of using this textbook or that.

In a current EAP nursing program I am planning to use *Oxford English for Careers Series: Nursing 1* by Tony Grice (2007), which has completely convincing vocational dialogues in a variety of English dialects. However, it is

hard not to be depressed by just how wooden and unnatural much commercially recorded teaching dialogue continues to be. Non-native speaking teachers of the target language have some good reason to cling to textbook recordings. Native speakers have fewer excuses, yet it seems to be a relatively rare teacher who does not demand a portable player as essential classroom equipment. I rarely use the things, finding it much more fun, much more productive, and much more memorable for the students to ham act transcripts myself. It is usually possible to get a laugh out of character switches, especially across genders. This gives seamless control of repeats, speed, loudness, pitch and varied intonation, all the time keeping an eye on student comprehension (reference, selective criterion #5).

The text book written to support spoken material rather than vice versa is rare indeed. As a learner of Chinese I have become acutely aware of this need, and been partly rescued by the new innovation of podcasts with supporting transcripts. Electronic language flashcard systems sourced in audio rather than text are almost non existent. (Text with audio support is a different proposition). Of the countless MP3 players on the market not a single one appears to have been custom designed for language learning (for example, supporting a Leitner system of spaced learning), although the potential demand must run into hundreds of millions of learners. Handicaps to language learning productivity, such as those just alluded to, remain essentially invisible to language teachers unless they also happen to be language learners. Indeed

such individualized technology with its huge scope for improved learning productivity is not within the awareness of run-of-the-mill institutional language programs and teachers in the kinds of environments that I have encountered (consider selective criteria #2, 3) .

Up until recently it hasn't usually been viable to have students make recordings or videos themselves. Currently in oral classes however, all my students submit dialogues or other spoken productions, usually in pairs, in weekly assignments. They record on mobile phones or MP3 players, then transfer the content to a computer for collection and format adjustment. This is highly productive for both teaching and learning (reference, selective criteria #1, 5). There is guaranteed participation by everybody and speaking progress is permanently available for review by both the students and the teacher. After several coaching sessions, even the slowest language students manage this process as a matter of course. Will the average foreign language teacher adapt? Sometimes it is hard to be optimistic. Recently I had to pass my programs to two other teachers for a couple of weeks. Both found the MP3 collection 'too technical' and quietly dropped it (reference, selective criterion #2).

Australian institutions – TAFES, universities, and even the Adult Migrant Education Program venues – have long paid attention to libraries and resource centres both for independent learning and teacher assisted use. The best of them have trained media officers to further help students. The University of

Technology in Lae, PNG (Case Study 6), and the University of the South Pacific, Fiji, similarly had excellent libraries on the Australian model (and in fact mostly Australian funded). I put all my linguistics lecture notes on closed reserve in the USP library to assist students unable to keep up with spoken English lectures (reference, selective criterion #5). Thus, for those students who were willing to leverage their productivity and use such resources in addition to classroom time, they were available in the venues applying to Case Studies 6 (PNG), 7, 8 (Lismore), 9, 10 (Fiji), 11 (AMES), 12 and 13 (TAFEs). China and South Korea were another matter, with different core values applying. The university libraries at Wuhan University of Surveying and Mapping (Case Study 15) and Central China Normal University (Case Study 16) were derisory affairs, especially for English language content, with no trained assistance available (reference, selective criterion #4). All Chinese universities claim large collections, but the WUTSM effort (for example) was substantially uncatalogued mouldering piles from Soviet era cooperation in the 1950s. Chungju National University Library (Case Study 19) was the saddest of all, thinly stocked, and barely patronized by students or staff. Curiously, the private Sungsim College (Case Study 17) did have a credible library, and an excellent new multimedia centre eagerly used by the small minority of students who actually did want to learn a language. The private Pusan University of Foreign Studies (Case Study 18) also had a useful library. The problem there was that it took weeks, and a major bureaucratic battle to secure library cards for my postgraduate students who were amazingly considered 'not part of the institution'. Although

postgraduates, they were also unaccustomed to even elementary research, which at that academic level was a serious brake on both teaching and learning productivity (reference, selective criteria #4, 5).

CALL, computer assisted language learning, has not been part of the available environment for the case studies recorded here, with the exception of some computer skills courses in TAFES (learning to type, use a word processor or spreadsheet etc). It probably would not have helped much. Computer games that teach real language skills are quite imaginable and truly needed. They have some potential for breaking the classic classroom bottleneck on immediate language feedback to learners (one teacher, many students), which so inhibits learning productivity (reference, selective criterion #5). Up until now though there rarely seems to have been a successful marriage between skilled programmers and skilled language teachers. Most existing computer programs I am aware of lack both the flair and the underlying insights into language learning to be of much value (May 2005).

Movies and other videos have potential with careful planning, but in the haphazard context of much foreign language teaching are more often misused. One of the easier cop-outs for backpacking foreign English teachers in Asia is to simply anaesthetize classes by playing movies with no preparation, no follow up, no discussion, no role play etc. This is fairly common, and of course hardly productive. Managers who are aware of this syndrome may become

suspicious of such media in the classroom even when a professional does use it productively (reference, selective criterion #4). On the other hand, in both China and South Korea the English transcripts of many movies are published rather cheaply. I have seen Chinese teacher trainees mount major full-costume re-enactments of popular movie extracts very convincingly. That takes a lot of time and commitment, but is a memorable and intrinsically rewarding form of language learning (reference, selective criterion #5) .

Target language human resources – visitors, experts, colleagues – are an obvious way to add authenticity and memorability to the artificial language environment of classrooms. In community immersion situations, like the Australian Adult Migrant English Program, it has always been a fairly common and productive teaching practice to send students out on small missions (*'go to a travel agent and find out ...'*), undertake occasional excursions, have students call employment agencies, and so on (reference, selective criterion #5). At one time a travelling ESL drama troupe toured ESL classes in Australia, creating dramatic environments both to convey English skills and to probe core social topics from the host community. These were brief but highly productive encounters.

Such options are rarely available in foreign language teaching contexts. The 'visiting expert' can pique interest, but it is not enough to simply speak English. Eyes glaze over amongst not only students but also polite non native

English speaking professors and teachers, as each eminent foreign guest launches into his favourite theme with a full flow of colloquial English (reference, selective criterion #2). The wiser of them make available ahead of time a small selection of topics on which they can usefully talk, realizing that in most such encounters the audience is not seeking conversion to a superior way of life, but rather needs a little productive preparation time for some advanced English listening. Seminars for colleagues who are non-native English speakers fall into the same category. They require cultural adjustment to be productive even socially, and may be scarcely understood as a debate about ideas or an innovation workshop. In the East Asian context, visiting speakers or seminar givers are rarely questioned critically, or indeed at all. It is viewed as a face-giving rather than face-risking occasion, with the actual content being of secondary importance (consider selective criterion #5). If I really want to gather other viewpoints in these situations, I have learned to ask specific individuals in the audience or class to express an opinion before I give the talk. Similarly, directly asking for questions is usually fruitless. It usually works far better to have an audience or class member nominated as a spokesperson who will probe the audience or class for queries (maybe in their mother tongue), then “consult” me for a response, which I then address to the ether, not to a questioner. Thus nobody risks loss of face.

1.5 Teaching Expertise; 1.5.1 Curriculum management; 1.5.2 Planning : A rationale assessment of the productivity of language teachers would have to

put teaching expertise high on the list of prerequisites, once the complex notion of teaching expertise itself had been teased out. However, in the real world of the historical case studies recorded in this thesis, the value of teaching expertise in its many facets has been widely discounted by most of those outside of the classroom, and quite often by those within the classroom as well (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). The metrics on this are quite clear and rather simple if we take monetary reward to be the value that societies place upon particular activities. Even with permanent employment in so-called post industrial countries like Australia, second and foreign language teachers receive only modest incomes. In the sprawling world of large and small foreign language schools across the globe, employing huge numbers of teachers to instruct tens of millions of students, expatriate foreign language teachers are overwhelmingly paid only subsistence incomes, have no security, and are not seriously expected to have many professional skills (reference, selective criterion #4). By and large, these teachers are in it as a temporary way to live in foreign countries and have a bit of adventure before returning to normal lives in their home countries. There is an elite of expatriates who are indeed professionally experienced, and who may have qualifications up to and including PhDs. It is an elite in self-perception only. Their experience and their qualifications normally count for nothing when it comes to employment. Indeed, they may be actively discriminated against (Korea Jim survey 2007). In any case they will receive exactly the same salary and be accorded the same social and professional recognition as those who are totally inexperienced.

That status is generally low. To say as a foreigner that you are an English teacher in East Asia is often to court private comments among the locals that you are 'white trash'. (Since face is so important in these cultures, one is rarely confronted with it openly). There are also large numbers of private industry sector expatriates in these countries now on incomparably higher salaries. This then is the starting point in any real world assessment of the value of teaching expertise and therefore of the kind of teaching productivity one should expect to flow from it.

The linguistics lecturing positions, Case Studies 7, 8, 9, 10 (as well as years of part time linguistics lecturing at the University of Newcastle, NSW) did require of this writer special knowledge which not just any native English speaker could manage (reference, selective criterion #1). The PNG appointment in English for Special Purposes, Case Study 6, also carried this expectation. The Indonesian language consultancy, Case Study 14, could not have been managed without it, and the mining company assumed it, although the management at Batman TAFE neither knew nor cared about such matters. Subject knowledge does not of course presuppose teaching expertise, as many a suffering university student knows. However, in specialist areas like linguistics, teaching expertise can't really be sustained without the subject knowledge. In the other case study environments of straight foreign language teaching, the writer's presence was accidental, and would have been happily substituted by employers for almost any English speaker walking in off the

street (reference, selective criterion #4). That the teacher brought his own particular skills to bear in these situations was generally valued by the students (reference, selective criterion #5) but a matter of indifference, sometimes even resentment, by other institutional players who by and large had no credible value set relating to teaching productivity. Whenever the subject of teacher evaluation comes up, the productivity assumed from teaching expertise is what is on the table for that moment, but the empirical evidence from this writer's career has been that the subject was rarely taken seriously where he happened to teach.

1.5.3.1 Alert to... cultural presuppositions; 1.5.3.2 ... culturally based responses; 1.5.3.3 ... interpersonal dynamics: These cultural and interpersonal properties have been central to teaching and learning productivity in every language class that the writer has ever taught (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 5). Although sensitivities have deepened with the experience of teaching, none of them are particular to teaching. The ability of language teachers, trained or untrained, to adapt to cultural and interpersonal nuances will play a large part in their ability to sustain productive teaching and learning environments. In this thesis I have stressed the hard won experience that productive language teaching is a cooperative enterprise, not a matter of delivering wisdom from a giver to a taker (reference, selective criterion #5). If the back channels of cultural meaning are blocked, the teacher will be of little value to language students. Sensitivity does not mean abandoning personal

cultural values. Sometimes students are open to persuasion into a different mindset, whether that is about political events, or whether plagiarism is acceptable, or the best way to acquire a large working vocabulary in the target language. However such persuasion is generally a gradual cumulative process, and it is not unusual for it to work in both directions. Each time I return to my Australian cultural roots, I look at the Australian landscape a little more quizzically.

The most misleading cues in enculturation for teachers and students stem from the disjunction between overt values and covert values. Incomprehension of this phenomenon is extremely common, even amongst long term expatriate teachers, and a major handicap to productive teaching and learning relationships (reference, selective criteria #2, 5). If you ask nearly anyone to describe the core values of their native culture, they will paint you a picture, not maliciously but naively. Australians may give you a tale about mateship, fairness, equality and so on. Koreans and Chinese are likely to give you some variation on Confucian virtues. Fijians will emphasize the unique qualities of their humanity and friendliness. Cultural guide books for foreigners are usually full of this kind of claimed insight. As you begin to encounter actual social patterns outside of your own, there may be nagging attacks of 'road rage' since not only your own values are assaulted, but the supposed virtues of the other cultures are violated by their owners on a daily basis. Case Study 12, the Saudi students, was perhaps one of the more raw expressions of this paradox, where

the guardian presence of a non English speaking Muslim spiritual advisor and his presumed embodiment of religious purity was mocked by the openly juvenile sexual obsessions of his students, who were ultimately even confronting to more tolerant Australian values. However, this kind of dialectic of values seems to be almost universal. The more powerfully a cultural ideal is publicly enforced, the stronger the private reaction. Hypocrisy is the bandage on the wound. A significant part of teaching productively across cultures does depend upon having a diplomat's ability to negotiate what is negotiable, finding a common human quotient of shared daily interaction, and putting aside the residue of cultural exceptionalism which will ever divide us. Students of course vary greatly in their willingness to make similar concessions (reference, selective criterion #5).

Once again, Korean society is a potent example of overt and covert values disjunction. (Inevitably, the writer here deals in the very patterning or stereotyping which he notes as a danger for teachers, both personally and professionally. Innumerable Koreans of course fit no such stereotypes, and display great sophistication in negotiating value clashes amongst both Korean and varied international players. As in all cultures though, there are indeed significant typical behaviours). Public expressions of respect are built into Korean body language (the *insa* or bow), and onto every verb ending. Above all, the young must respect the old. A somewhat devastating survey a few years ago found that amongst the youth of Asian countries, young Koreans in

fact had the least respect for age. Similarly, lying, cheating and dishonesty are abhorrent to traditional Confucian virtue. All are endemic in Korean and Chinese societies. The clash between Confucian ideals and the compromises of daily life has been going on for centuries (Kim Sungmoon 2009). A Korean dentist, a PhD from the best university in South Korea, once asked in amazement if I had never cheated. He explained that his contemporaries really understood cheating as a kind of liberation, a defiant expression of freedom in a society where everyone felt constantly harried and controlled.

The emergence of sociolinguistics in the 1970s (Labov 1972, and others) brought a quick recognition of the power of covert values in the maintenance of non-standard language. There is similar potential for research into the influence that covert values play in explaining failures of foreign language teaching and learning productivity, the substitution of credentialing for actual language performance, and the inversion of hierarchies of productivity to discount language learning which are found in many of the case studies (reference, selective criteria #1, 2, 4). The pressure of covert values on behaviour also helps to explain why remedies to failures in language learning productivity in institutions are often so hard to come by. It is in the nature of covert values that they are rarely acknowledged in public discourse. Until a problem is candidly identified it is unlikely to be solved.

1.5.3.4 Attention level of individuals; 1.5.3.5 Pacing; 1.5.3.6 Language

confusion: The case studies did not deal with classroom dynamics in any detail since there were so many other factors impinging upon teaching and learning productivity from the outside. Nevertheless student attention, pacing and language confusion are always core business for a productive language teacher (reference, selective criteria #1, 3). In a typical two hour language class there will be times when the whole dynamic is teacher centred, and other times when activity devolves to groups, pairs or individuals. Each requires a different kind of monitoring and a shifting adaptation to classroom dynamics (reference, selective criterion #5).

Extended teacher L2 monolingual discourse and complex verbal instructions are usually not very productive to comprehension or productive learning in foreign language teaching, especially below intermediate level. An exception might be certain kinds of simple story-telling. Classroom interaction need not be limited to the relentless oral drills of the audio-lingual era, but cross-lingual discourse often does need extra scaffolding (consider selective criterion #5). Whiteboard written support or actual demonstration are very important. This is one of the great deceivers for inexperienced teachers, including this writer in earlier times. Students, in fact second language users generally, become expert at giving all of the body language and eye contact that signals understanding. I do the same thing struggling to understand Chinese socially. The listener's understanding however may be anything from 10% of the literal meaning up, and will be filtered through the cultural presuppositions of the

listener, not the speaker. It is only when actions follow words in strange ways, or not at all, that the teacher finally grasps that his message wasn't read. Sometimes it is faster to go from small group to small group to give instructions, since many lower level students tune out of whole classroom discourse altogether. This type of miscommunication is also a constant source of friction between expatriates and host managements flailing in each other's languages (reference, selective criterion #4). Paranoia can set in quickly.

In one of the 1970s industrial English classes (not documented in a case study) a group of Croatian railway workers in Victoria asked me to explain the upcoming Australian elections. I did my best in simple English, trying to be impartial. In the closing ceremony at the course's end, with flash bulbs popping and a beaming management looking on, one of the Croats suddenly jumped onto a chair and began to jab his finger. He shouted angrily, 'Thor May communist man!!' This was news to me, but the truly sad thing was that the class had been nursing such a grievance, a hidden barrier to trust and learning productivity. It is a scene repeated, although rarely with such drama, wherever foreign languages are taught (reference, selective criterion #2).

1.5.4 Resources deployment; 1.5.5 Motivating students; 1.5.6 Assisting students; 1.5.7 Advising students; 1.5.8 Task assignment; 1.5.9 Task explanation; 1.5.10 Task modelling ; 1.5.11 Task practice oversight; 1.5.12 Task performance oversight; 1.5.13 Task assessment: This is a further catalogue of classroom teacher responsibilities that are only referred to obliquely in the case studies, but without which most language learning classrooms will cease to function. Teaching productivity in the classroom turns upon deploying such resources both with student engagement (consider selective criterion #5) and proportionately with respect to the each other factor. That is, it is deceptively easy for a harried or inexperienced teacher overstress one factor (for example, task assessment) while failing to adequately prepare for another (for example, student motivation, or task explanation) (reference, selective criterion #2). A group of mature, very intelligent, linguistically experienced students may be prepared to use the language teacher purely as a resource person and advisor. They can be self organizing. For the majority of classes dealt with in the case studies this was simply not the situation. For one reason or another, including cultural conditioning, most of these students expected the teacher to be a cross between a circus ring master and a benevolent dictator. Many teachers succumb to these expectations, and even under ideal conditions often one can only withdraw from the commanding spotlight gradually. With large, poorly motivated groups of not especially clever young adults (say Case Study 19, Chungju National University) it can be exceptionally challenging (reference,

selective criterion #1).

Democratic political systems co-opt consent and forestall revolt by offering a small menu of choices to the populace. With even the most difficult classes language teachers can eventually do the same (Fujioka 1998; Kraft & Tutuianu n.d.). At the outset of course planning students can be offered a menu of topics, and perhaps negotiate alternatives, assuming that administrations haven't imposed their own notion of 'efficient' curriculum content (reference, selective criterion #5).. Something like that happened in Case Study 2 with the Chiko Roll factory students, and something like that ultimately emerged with the scallop fishermen in Case Study 3. In Case Study 13 with the automotive mechanics there was a constant process of negotiation and adjustment. This is empowering for students, and greatly contributes to their likelihood of participation. Within daily programs similarly there can be choices about ways to achieve a particular objective, the order in which things are to be done, or the learning tools to be used. All such negotiation takes time, and it often needs a process of enculturation to gain acceptance. At first students may perceive an offer of options as 'weak' confusion by a poor teacher. However, negotiation itself is language use and practising choice is a set of skills worth attaining. Ultimately it opens up new avenues for teaching and learning productivity. A psychological weakness of the tertiary lecturing model in universities is that the heavy information load makes student participation in presentation choice much more difficult (consider selective criteria #4, 5).

The use of the term 'task' as a category above has been deliberate. It has acquired a specialized meaning in the context of now favoured 'task based learning approaches' where students seek communicative tools to achieve particular defined goals in problem scenarios (Ellis 1994: 596). However, presented in the right way, a great deal of classroom teacher and student activity can be packaged as a finite 'task', or an interlocking series of tasks (reference, selective criterion #2). The finite or 'closed' task is probably more likely to result in a focused use of language and other resources than open ended classroom activity (Long 1989:16). This is rather similar to some contemporary theories of military and financial planning which insist on an 'exit strategy' before an operation is undertaken (Orend 2008; Kuepper 2004). Indeed, in the institutional mind, language courses themselves are finite with an exit strategy (reference, selective criterion #4).

The difference between such macro plans imposed externally and the internal micro activity plan in the classroom is that the latter can be a product of democratic choice and subject to renegotiation (reference, selective criterion #5). This is absolutely critical to productivity since real language learning in student minds is not a tidy package. Although every provisional package 'leaks' (requires dynamic adjustment as it proceeds), the conceptualisation of a finite set of activities at the outset does mean that resources can be allocated more efficiently, and achievement can be evaluated by both the teacher and

students. Retrospectively, the teaching and learning effort involved can then be assessed for the efficiency with which the task is mastered. That is, the productivities of the undertaking can be subjected to evaluation. This is not a matter of formal examinations. Nor does it grow organically out of minutely detailed fixed curriculums sourced from some administration. It is more like the teacher putting a project or a learning goal to the class and suggesting, 'well, last time we tried something like this, X, Y and Z happened. How can we do it better?' (reference, selective criterion #5). Where the students have specialist knowledge which exceeds that of the teacher (for example, with the mechanics in Case Study 13) it is only a naïve teacher who proceeds unilaterally with unexamined input (reference, selective criterion #1). In another example, I am currently working with Chinese technical college level nursing students towards Australian visa entry. They find the specific language skills and abstract vocabulary required for IELTS band 6 mastery daunting and discouraging. Our first step is to recognize the exact nature of the problem, then break it down into workable elements, then negotiate on a weekly basis the best activities, procedures and stratagems to overcome the challenge (reference, selective criterion #5). As we proceed, as learners they develop much clearer notions of what works for them than I could guess as a teacher. We need each other in order to achieve the target outcome.

Summary of Productivity Factor Analysis

The preceding narrative analysis of factors affecting teaching productivity was based upon explanation and example. The factor choices themselves were intended to have wide relevance, but were ultimately drawn from the experience and observation of one teacher. Some selective filtering of relevant factors was applied, but given the multitude and variety of factors impinging upon teaching productivity, the filtering too was tentative rather than definitive. Any conclusions drawn from such a resource might be contentious. In order to obtain value from this material, researchers, teachers and others therefore need to put it in the historical context of human research and study, of which there is a wide spectrum. The power of experimental natural science has been to arrive at defensible conclusions by manipulating a small set of variables while holding other variables constant. The value of conclusions in social sciences has depended upon acknowledging an inability to constrain large numbers of variables, but to claim that useful conclusions can be drawn by assigning a proportional weight to variables based upon their statistical significance. In another arena, enforced legal decisions, which play a large part in maintaining the daily predictability and order upon which societies are based, draw only selectively upon the contributions of the natural and social sciences. The law, especially in the common law, has mostly claimed to be coherent by classifying human actions and their consequences over long

periods, and insisting upon a consistent response to them. Anthropological studies, certain kinds of case studies, literary and biographical accounts have all claimed to make a valid contribution to human understanding by giving narrative accounts of past behaviours and their causes, thus making them accessible as future guides to human action. The narrative analysis found in this dissertation, together with the teaching case studies, clearly falls away from that end of the research spectrum associated with natural science research, or even the bulk of social science research. It has aimed to make a selection of the influences which impact on teacher productivity available for consideration within the context of one teacher's professional career. That teacher's evaluation of those productivity factors has evolved with his career, and the conclusion of this thesis amounts to a conclusion to that evaluative process. To that extent it may be a model for others. The strands of influence he has drawn out will be examined, taken up or abandoned by other teachers and researchers as they seek to interpret the baffling interface between teacher productivity and student language learning.

Part 2 : Analysis of case study trends, patterns and implications

The teaching persona emerges from these case studies as a knowledge worker

managing multiple role requirements. He has of course a primary teaching role, with its own web of demands for skills, insight, interpretation and adaptability. However, in many circumstances he cannot function simply within the circumscribed role of teacher-to-student relationships. For that role to be engaged at all, he must frequently manage complementary roles with his employer, the contracting sponsor of particular classes, and sometimes with the agents of political forces which transcend educational activity altogether. These other parties, singly, in competition, or in collusion make possible productive institutional language teaching activity, but just as often distort it, impose non language learning priorities, or destroy the teaching environment altogether. The teacher may accept these events passively, or he may try to negate or otherwise influence them. He may employ arguments from professional standing, although these tend to have little currency with parties outside of the profession. He may attempt to mediate competing interests. At times he may employ guile or even deception to enhance his productive teaching role. And at times he may become a sacrificial pawn to forces which have little to do with teaching or learning.

The social and professional equations within which the teacher is situated are not static. They vary with person and time and place. The wandering classroom worker so characteristic of much foreign language teaching may be more likely to learn the sly skills of a concrete jungle survivor than the principled decency of an educator. Those teachers in more stable environments may indeed see

the battles for professional productivity in a broader outline and better understand the forces arrayed against their interests, but they are also more captive to bureaucratic sanction, and their struggles may be bitter, like the year long 1985 teacher strike in England (Lawn 1996:89).

Role ambiguity and productivity

The maker of widgets on a production line will have his productivity in that context measured by his output of widgets per unit of time relative to his hourly wage. There may be good arguments to challenge even this metric of economic productivity, but at least the factors can be measured within a single equation with some credibility.

The multi-faceted teacher-as-knowledge-worker described in this thesis is much harder to encapsulate in any single economic measure, or for that matter in other foci which might prioritise his language teaching influence on students, his impact as a cultural agent, his role in enabling the institution to function, and a dozen other measures. As the case studies hint, what happens in practice is that he is judged at different times by different people and according to any salient criterion of the moment, and only sometimes with reference to some metric of productivity. Occasionally these narrowly conceived judgements might be fatal to his interests, or those of his students.

The professionalising of teaching

It is not too difficult to argue that crude production line models of productivity are not particularly useful when applied to complex and varied work involving skilled judgements – that is, work which is usually described as being professional. In this sense a properly functioning language teacher is surely professional, yet the work is widely considered to be non professional, which is reflected in its remuneration, and this probably contributes to the frequent treatment of teachers by institutional managements as dispensable extras. It also licences uninformed interference in their work without consultation, in the name of economic 'productivity'. True community recognition as 'professionals' is therefore of more than passing interest to language teachers. However, the pursuit of the legal branding of foreign language teaching as a profession may be a misplaced ambition. (Note that other groups marginal in the vocational social hierarchy, such as nurses, are also zealous in pursuing the professional label).

The idea of being professional is alluring, powerful in prejudice, but generally undefined in any serious way in Western cultures. Like others I use it in argument, and immodestly apply it to the application of my own skill base (as I have in the preceding sections) perhaps in the hope of eliciting some respect.

It is an especially tender subject for foreign and second language teachers who have spent years acquiring qualifications and mastering skills, with no hope of greater employment recognition or reward than any drop-in native English speaker who will go back to flipping hamburgers when his year or two in foreign parts is up.

Traditional definitions of professional status are usefully critiqued by Runté (1995) who discusses the two dominant theories of what it may mean : 'trait based models of professionalism' and 'the structural-functional model of professionalism'. He identifies common elements in trait based models of professionalism as:

- (1) skill based on abstract knowledge
- (2) provision for training and education, usually associated with a university
- (3) certification based on competency testing
- (4) formal organization
- (5) adherence to a code of conduct
- (6) altruistic service.

Runté points out that the traits have no theoretical basis, being chosen merely because they seemed to describe medicine and law, which were 'known' to be professions. Yet there was nothing to say that these were typical professions,

and since most lawyers today are employees in large corporate offices, are they any less professionals? On the other hand many workers commonly considered to be technicians follow occupations in areas like information technology, consultancies, and a multitude of others, fulfilling most of the above conditions.

The structural–functional view of professionalism, as viewed by Runté, was a 1970s elaboration of the 1950s–1960s trait based definitions of professionalism. The structural–functionalists argued for an organic link between the traits. For example, the provision for advanced training followed naturally from skills based on abstract knowledge. Above all, the ethical code was a necessary adjunct for a specialized group of people holding a monopoly in an area of knowledge whose misuse could cause great damage (doctors could kill people). Runté argues that this analysis had descriptive value, but lacked explanatory value, especially since actual worldly conditions have rapidly eroded notions such as a monopoly of knowledge. The respect of intelligent people for groups such as doctors and lawyers has plummeted in direct proportion to alternative sources of knowledge such as the Internet. Nor may it be irrelevant that doctors and lawyers, especially, have come under heavy ethical critique. For example, the American medical profession has been analysed as the third leading cause of death in that country (Starfield 2000; Mercola 2007). Even these professional groups have become 'proletarianized' as they move into large organizations, become subject to bureaucratic control,

and have the routine bulk of their activities taken over by computers and assistants.

In the Runté analysis, teachers as late starters in the professional prestige stakes, and whose employment futures in mass education have always been tied to usually large institutions, have no hope of escaping the deskilling that is affecting all recognized professions and trades (May 1996, 1997). Migrant English education in Australia in the mid-1990s saw energetic attempts to micro-control curriculums and tie language teaching values into corporate bureaucratic models of assessment (Case Studies 11, 12, 13). This would seem to confirm the deskilling analysis. In the short term it does. However, while an organization has the power to eject rebellious teachers, or doctors, or lawyers, or motor mechanics, in the end the 'products' that these skilled workers produce will be the true measure of success or failure. Sometimes there is a bonfire of the vanities. It took a short seven years for the cavalier disbandment of responsible trades training in Australia to bite back with a trades 'skill shortage' (May 1997, Horin 2004). Regardless of a loss of public awe in the skills of lawyers and doctors, there have been no signs of a decline in their remunerations. So much for definitions of professionalism. However, the status, the vocational independence, the security and the remuneration of career-dedicated foreign and second language teachers has not improved. While countless relatively unskilled individuals are employed as English language teachers, the corporatization of their activity in large teaching chains

throughout Japan, South Korea and now China, has seen no concomitant rise in learning productivity amongst students there. Apparently it takes more than a smear of smooth advertising to make a teacher.

Amongst teachers generally (not simply language teachers) research has long suggested that the teacher does make a difference to student learning (Rivkin, Hanushek & Kain 2000, 2005; Sanders & Horn 1994; Loeb 2001).

Rivkin et. al. attributed at least 7% of the total variance in test score gains to differences in teachers Sanders and Rivers (1996) found that the difference between attending classes taught by high-quality teachers (the highest quartile grouping) and attending classes taught by low-quality teachers (the lowest quartile grouping) for three years in a row is huge, approximately 50% in the distribution of student achievement. (Rivkin 2000, quoted by Loeb 2001:101)

A modest comparison along these lines has been possible in my current institution. In 2007 a cohort of sixty four nursing trainees was arbitrarily split into two classes, one to be taught by myself and one to be taught by an ex-social worker, popular with the students but not a trained teacher. After one year, both classes reverted to my care. The first twelve months of the program was general English, and the final semester was IELTS coaching where regular assessment was appropriate. The target was IELTS band 6. When I taught both classes in the final semester it became clear that there was a differential across all skills of about 0.5 to 1 on the nine point IELTS scale in favour of the group

which had been under my professional direction for 18 months.

Productive, skilled language teachers are no less needed now than they have ever been, but nor are they any closer as a group to asserting the priority of their skills in educational institutions. Perhaps something else is going on.

Negotiating language teaching through the narrative spaces of institutions

Although professionalism is one of the vectors by which teacher identity can be constructed, there are others, sometimes more revealing. One model that can be adapted to role construction is that of conceptual narrative spaces, very ably explored by Peverelli (2006) in his attempt to understand the forces shaping Chinese corporate identities. Formally, he employs Weik's organizational theory of double-interact (Wheeler, 2007; Weik 1996). Peverelli's aim was to understand the evolution of Chinese joint ventures with Western companies. These operations often spin out of the control of the Western partner, or take on new forms which are baffling to outsiders. However, by understanding the full Chinese narrative (rarely anticipated by the Western company), the local history, the web of *guanxi* (relationships), and the competing power centres (for example, local, provincial and central

government agencies), as well as regional loyalties, Peverelli manages to make sense of the murky Chinese dairy industry. The point of interest for the analysis in this thesis is that he does it by creating a web of conceptual spaces within which salient, but normally hidden influences become clear.

What do the theories of Peverelli and Weik have to do with foreign language teachers, and specifically the language teacher profiled through the case studies in this thesis? The case studies document a number of language teaching successes, but they also reveal fractured organizations and mission failures. There are multiple individual reasons for cases where teaching productivity is less than optimal, or is circumscribed altogether. However there are also systemic factors at work. The primary systemic factor is that the institutional environments within which the case studies are acted out tend to be formal structures without cohesive substance. That is, in spite of being formally defined organizations, their participating actors in so many cases share no unifying narrative. The role performances of actors, from the school accountant, to the college president, to the regional politician, to the contracting clients, to the teacher himself, and ultimately his students, ... all of these actors may use terms like 'language learning' in common, but the word tokens are applied to a multiplicity of meanings and objectives. Above all, the teacher, who is considered dispensable by the organizational hierarchy, and the students, who are transitional in the view of the organization, have only minimal influence on the success or failure of the organization. Their failures

are not mission critical. The 'intimate learner' profiled in Case Study 20 instinctively realises that the organizational shell of formal educational institutions is a likely impediment to her objective of productive language learning. She constructs instead a far more potent private narrative with the teacher himself.

The reason that Peverelli's Chinese company entities survive and thrive as organizations where all the external signals (as read by foreigners) indicate failure is that they are sustained by hidden networks of communicative relationships between the actors, sometimes stretching back to being childhood classmates. They are also bracketed by overarching principles, such as the determination of a municipal Communist Party (whose representatives are also embedded in the company) to ensure local public order through avoiding the dismissal of employees. The foreign joint venture company by contrast is needed in no such way. Nor is it sustained by any network of personal bonds and obligations. It can be 'failed' without pain, and is.

The writer's current employment venue (2009) is a Chinese–Australian joint venture educational undertaking in the city of Zhengzhou, Henan province. There is contractual restriction on discussing it fully, but some of the relevant elements can be outlined. At a commercial level it is possible (and fascinating) to see the kinds of communicative networks that Peverelli identified in play. Although there is much misunderstanding of second language acquisition

processes evident amongst the Chinese teaching staff, and also rather inflexible understandings of what teaching can be about, they are genuinely focused on teaching language. With a certain status conveyed as the representative of the Australian joint venture partner, the foreign teacher here has had some chance to assert teaching and learning priorities in a way that Chinese teachers cannot. For example, if there is an institutional intrusion of teaching or administrative requirements which are irrelevant or destructive of teaching or learning productivity, there is often a way to work around the matter.

However, the Chinese structure also has its assets. Importantly, the typically Chinese multiple bonding of communication networks at a very personal level carries over into the classroom. All students have a 'desk mate', as well as 'dormitory mates' with whom they live and intimately share responsibilities, meals, fun, perhaps fights, and study for four years. Within each class is a different monitor for each contacting teacher, and these monitors have clearly defined organizational duties. There is a 'class leader' as well, not to speak of a Communist Youth League spokesperson. All of these link in different ways on a daily basis to various people in the college staff, who are also embedded in an intense network of relationships. The Chinese networking down to student level means that the foreign teacher discovers, sometimes to his amazement, that Chinese teaching and administrative staff know exactly what he has been doing at all times, although barriers of language, protocol and hierarchy choke

communication on the return channel. It is also likely of course that these displaced information collectors will often not know why the foreign teacher is acting in particular ways.

By political and cultural design Chinese society is top-down for decision making of any kind. Initiative is discouraged, and often punished. Public group-thinking is the accepted mode. It is slightly unnerving to see the whole class and college mood swing in unison, like a school of fish. Of course, beneath the surface current many individuals chafe at the enforced unanimity, with later adult attitudes which can vary from subversive to being completely cynical. Nevertheless, within a language class of Chinese 19 year olds at a given time, if the 'correct attitude' is that 'we must work hard to learn English', then there tends to be an observable positive effect on student cooperation and learning productivity.

The study pressures in the Zhengzhou environment bifurcate in an interesting way. Precisely because of the intimate interlinking by networks of communication and obligation amongst staff, students and Communist Party operatives, in the final analysis students will not be allowed to officially fail their courses, including language, regardless of learning. This pattern mirrors what Peverelli found in the Chinese dairy companies.

On the other hand, the public objective of the joint educational venture is to

equip nursing and logistics students to go on for further study in Australia. To do this, they must pass an internationally administered IELTS test at level 6. In that task they can certainly fail. In fact, since IELTS is essentially designed for university level students, and these technical college students have lower academic aptitudes, their task is extremely difficult. They must compensate with high motivation. The language learning mission in Zhengzhou is subject to all of the usual confusions, and staffing limitations. However it also has a persistence that relates to the social networks just alluded to, and these have been harnessed by the extra motivation. At a raw intellectual level, the students in this Chinese college are very similar to the Sungsim and CJNU students documented in the case studies. However, their language learning has been notably more productive, although not necessarily to a sufficient level to meet the IELTS challenge within the allotted time frame.

Unasked questions and untrodden paths

This thesis has been a retrospective journey from the eye-level view of a classroom teacher. It has made little attempt to delve into the conundrums of second language acquisition and the many theories addressing it. This has been a deliberate choice for a number of reasons, not least that an insistence on any model tends to shape the data to fit the hypothesis. The autobiographical nature of the teacher case studies makes the presentation of

evidence tendentious enough, but at least readers can discount the writer's more open idiosyncrasies where they have formed some view of his personality, and I have tried to make that as accessible as possible without being gratuitous.

The discussion in the thesis however has left many fundamental theoretical questions unresolved (as it had to given their controversial nature), yet the particular meaning attached to them bears greatly on any conclusions that might be drawn from the evidence presented.

For example, in the writer's observation the relationship between teaching and learning is understood in an extremely naïve manner not only by the general public and large numbers of educational administrators, but by the bulk of teachers themselves. Learning is a cognitive process whose real dimensions have just not been available to common understanding. It follows that any assertions about productive teaching are bound to be interpreted in contentious and inconsistent ways. Equally, experiments and trials within institutions to establish environments for productive language teaching may arrive at some pragmatic consensus about the best format to be adopted without any clear understanding of why it seems to work best. This may be satisfactory for a specific location, yet fail for unknown reasons when transferred elsewhere, or scaled to a larger population of students and teachers. The issues raised in this paragraph need another monograph to be

properly explicated. Here I will just concur with Larsen–Freeman's observation (1997:162) that teaching does not cause learning. Teaching may influence learning in a multitude of ways, positive and negative, but it is not a linear effect, and in the instance of any particular student, it is unpredictable, although a moderately predictable effect may be observed across whole student populations. In other words, learning, notably language learning, demonstrates many of the properties associated with chaos/complexity theory (Gleik 1987, Kauffmann 1992, May 1994, Rae 2003, Larsen–Freeman 2004).

The manner in which a second language is actually learned, again as opposed to naïve views by teachers and others about how it is learned, will make sense or nonsense of what happens in classrooms, and to the meaning of what language is assessed to have been learned. Even where a teaching program (or a teacher) appears to be successful, the reasons for that success can and probably will be entirely misinterpreted because one of the few certainties is that nobody has fully understood the cognitive processes which lead to language acquisition.

Although I have forgone inserting a theoretical linguistic perspective into the body of the thesis, a brief statement of my own general position may be in order here. Throughout the period of the case studies I was operating in two dimensions, on the one hand as a normal classroom teacher, but on the other as an individual trained in linguistics, with a special interest in theoretical and

cognitive linguistics. Some university venues excepted, these worlds scarcely overlapped, and indeed my common experience has been that most attempts to initiate a more reflective discussion amongst classroom teaching colleagues (and teacher trainees) have been rebuffed, even resented. In fact the state of knowledge in cognitive linguistics and SLA research has been too fluid to appeal to classroom technicians who tend to prefer statements of certainty and clear rules drawn from respectable authority. My own views have been far more nuanced, and remain so. This has led to a certain skepticism about the existing formats for mass foreign language education, and the kinds of evaluation which are applied to it. Nevertheless, of course I have had to live in the teaching world as it exists.

In 1978 I began higher degree research on grammatical agency, working within the standard Chomskyan models of the time (Chomsky 1957, 1981). I was attracted by the questions which Chomsky asked about the cognitive function in language creation, though often less persuaded by the generative models proposed. The rigid separation of competence (Chomsky's sense) and performance seemed dubious from the outset. The attempts to deny the relevance of semantic diversity or capture it with deep structure formalisms seemed fragile, and the original proposal for UG (universal grammar), while superficially appealing, posed at least as many questions as it claimed to resolve. None of this was strictly irrelevant to language teaching since in spite of Chomsky's own protestations, simplified versions of generative grammars

quickly became extensively used in language teacher education courses, and Chomsky's views on language acquisition came to be considered an essential point of reference for many SLA research studies of the time.

By 1983 I had concluded that generative grammars, in spite of their recursive provisions, were essentially linear descriptions of language data, unable in principle to account for the emergent production of language or the inner cognitive development of natural linguistic systems in the apparently parallel processing systems of human brains. The model base of my first PhD candidature thus evaporated and I eventually withdrew. It was less easy to see what could truly account for cognitive linguistic development. Various connectionist models seemed to hold some promise (e.g. Rumelhart & McClelland 1986) but were also open to serious critique.

One difficulty for both Chomsky's universal grammar (UG) and connectionism was that a mature language system in a human mind is clearly not only more extensive than that of an infant (or a learner in L2) but intrinsically more sophisticated. The whole is more than a multiplication of parts, which appears to contradict entropy. Another shortcoming of at least early connectionist models as well as UG, was that neither seemed to convincingly explain the backsliding before further progress which is so obvious in language acquisition. That is, rules and content which appear to be mastered can suddenly be replaced by less adequate non-standard language before final

reversion to some approximation of the standard.

In the early 1990s I began doctoral work at the University of Melbourne. There I approached issues related to the preceding matters by studying the many and surprisingly varied kinds of formulaism found above word level in sentences, in both native speaker and L2 learner language. This research drew my attention to behaviour in language use which not only made no sense in traditional generative terms, but was hard to account for by any simple connectionist paradigm. Intuitively, the most promising avenue for investigation seemed to lie in the direction of complex/chaotic systems and emergent development patterns. Some researchers (e.g. Larsen–Freeman 1997) have made tentative suggestions in the same direction, but a fully defensible account of chaos/complexity theory as applied to cognitive linguistics and language learning phenomena has yet to emerge. For example, one of the significant difficulties of applying chaos/complexity theory to language is in fact its very stability both in populations and individuals over long periods of time in spite of the infinite local variations suggestive of strange attractors. Similarly, steady language acquisition by infants to a narrow speech community standard is almost guaranteed. On casual observation, both language change and infant language acquisition hardly seem susceptible to rapid, unpredictable, extreme divergences from small differences in initial conditions (the 'butterfly effect': Gleik 1987), that is, to the catastrophic unpredictability of chaotic states. These matters may be explicable. The project continues to intrigue me. (At the

time of this research, 1991–1994, most linguistic investigation by faculty and postgraduates at the University of Melbourne had primary commitments in other directions. Lacking much collegiate discourse, I eventually let work on the second PhD lapse).

The theory of second language acquisition which seems to appeal to language teachers most, insofar as they are interested in theories at all, is Krashen's monitor model (Krashen 1982). This is not surprising. Krashen's model appeals to common sense. Everyone can grasp the idea of comprehensible input, and an 'affective monitor' accords well with daily experience. We all reject and try to forget things we don't like. These are phenomena over which teachers feel that they can exert some influence, if not control. However, to confront a teacher with chaos/complexity theory, connectionism, UG, or some combination of such propositions, is to tell the teacher that when he or she enters a classroom they are at best on a fishing expedition. It is telling them that the most advanced current research hasn't determined what is really happening when someone learns a language, and further, even if we did know there probably wouldn't be much we could do to shape it. This is not a welcome message. Krashen's ideas, even if they amount in real cognitive processing terms to little more than an extended metaphor, give the teacher some way of aiming for teaching and learning productivity, whereas the other notions do not. Thus my own interests in cognitive processing were unlikely to win kudos in the teaching arena.

The relevance of my own personal intellectual journey to the case studies, and to the discussion of teaching productivity is that in particular respects I have been a non-typical foreign language teacher. Linguistic inquiry has given me a certain distance from the assumptions of colleagues and students. In pragmatic terms this was not always helpful. It does mean however that various aspects of the mass education paradigm applied to language teaching have seemed to me to be inherently dubious or even counterproductive to the enterprise of foreign language teaching. No doubt this has encouraged some personal tendency to question the existing order, as expressed through the case studies.

For example, almost all educational institutions are predicated on the assumption that teaching causes learning. I have already questioned that. Further, as a matter of practical organization, almost all educational institutions work from a model that treats language learning as a linear cumulative process. Students are tested for their progress, this rule or that is said to be mastered, this competency or that is said to be 'mastered', this text book or that is said to be 'finished'. Yet we know as language learners that what seems to be grasped today is often lost tomorrow, and recovered when we least expect it. We know as experienced language teachers that some students who appear to be getting nowhere can under different circumstances or at unexpected times in the future make a rush of observable progress which

could never have been predicted from visible classroom activities. Worse, we know as experienced teachers that students are issued diplomas or 'failed' but that all too often this is scarcely indicative of their cognitive stage of language acquisition, or for that matter of their future facility for making practical use of the language. Therefore at best language certification is an extremely crude exercise, and in some of the case studies (especially those applying to East Asia) acquired a prominence which was actually counterproductive to language teaching and learning productivities. In short, when it comes to foreign language education, institutions often seem to have been more a part of the problem than a part of the solution.

What is to be done? This dissertation cannot of course offer a solution to that dilemma, especially since language learning itself is such a diverse process, occurring under a multitude of circumstances for people of all ages, abilities and backgrounds. However, looking back specifically to the case studies we can ponder broadly some conditions which might have offered more educationally productive outcomes.

At the institutional level the practical empowerment of teaching and learning productivity would seem to depend on some way of constraining the natural careerist tendencies of administrative personnel, up to and including senior management, without of course demoralizing or alienating them. That is a difficult suggestion, but perhaps not entirely impossible. It would turn upon

changing the ethic and ambition of these personnel from one of 'management' to one of service. Given the nature of the human need for incentive, reward and respect, that change of ethic might partly depend upon keeping the remuneration, conditions, security and expected professionalism of teachers at a level where their choice of career could not be characterised by the sneer that 'those who can do, and those who can't teach'.

Such a change in the institutional paradigm might most easily come about where institutions were on a small enough scale for all members to be able to feel part of a common enterprise. Some economies of scale might be preserved by having networks of these smaller institutions share staff training activities, exchange resources and, and perhaps access common resource hubs, rather as some libraries already do. The seed for such devolved institutions has long existed in some places, such as the original Australian Adult Migrant Education Centres. If devolution along the lines suggested was effective, there would also need to be some strategy in reserve to preserve what was working from the predations of the next ambitious politician out to build a personal reputation by enforcing 'efficiencies of centralized management', demanding standardized curriculums and imposing punishment by economic strangulation.

While teaching productivities are to some extent dependent upon institutional patterns, language learning productivity can be sourced in a much wider range of environments and for hugely diverse groups of learners as well as

individuals. Although this topic is beyond the scope of the present thesis, there is enough incidental evidence here to suggest that many societies, whether in Oceania or East Asia or elsewhere could leverage their human resources by taking careful stock of the ways in which people best learn languages individually, or in groups, or with technological assistance. There seems to be a great potential for language gain by rethinking current paradigms and maximizing the flexibility with which learners young and old can access learning facilities and be rewarded for adventurous multilingual achievement.

Summary of case study patterns

This sub section attempted to provide some perspective on the complex persona of a productive language teacher within the frameworks of both institutional organization and the actual nature of his professional task as he tries to influence student foreign language acquisition. Firstly, it was observed that for a foreign language teacher, productivity factors influencing output are constantly shifting in relative importance, constantly being re-balanced between the interests of administrations and the class, and are also quite variable from teacher to teacher. Next the identity of language teachers as professionals was considered, since status plays an important part both in attracting quality teachers and in enabling them to assert productive priorities.

It was noted that legalistic notions of professionalism in fact now contribute little to this kind of authority. As an alternative model for identifying the real sources of productive decision making, Peverelli's (2006) notion of the "narrative spaces in institutions" was considered. This was found to have strong explanatory power in accounting for the kind of systemic institutional weaknesses which have aborted full language teaching productivity in many of the case studies.

Part of the task in this subsection was to help reconcile the personal professional experiences of the writer with general issues of productivity facing the language teaching profession. Since this dissertation is a autobiographical account there is an inherent danger for both the writer and readers in generalizing from the recorded experiences to those of all foreign language teachers. In order to minimize this risk, and to give readers perspective on the interpretations of the writer, he has attempted where relevant to provide some background personal information. In this subsection it was felt appropriate to extend an account of the writer's background to include a brief description of other research interests in cognitive linguistics. This has relevance to teacher productivity analysis since he was to some extent atypical in the teaching community. The subsection explains why much of the conventional wisdom amongst language teachers, and even amongst second language researchers, is vulnerable to serious challenge. It goes to the heart of dilemmas about what productive language teaching actually amounts to.

Finally this sub section attempted to take a more holistic view of the many competing productivity types in language teaching institutions and asked “what is to be done”? The thesis has argued consistently for the need to reassert the productive priorities, firstly of students, and then of teachers as their immediate mentors. It was recognized however that institutions have their own political dynamic, partly related to the relative permanence of administrative staff (who thereby accumulate decisive power), and partly to the scale of institutions which, as they become larger, more and more tend to take on the hierarchical characteristics of large commercial or governmental organizations, as opposed to educational environments. It was proposed that constant, well informed attention needs to be paid to the quality, security and status of foreign language teachers, so that they are properly equipped to reassert the priorities of teaching and learning productivities within such institutions. It was also tentatively suggested that this professionalism would be best preserved in smaller institutions that enjoyed a degree of real autonomy.

Conclusions

The repair of unproductive educational institutions

The fragmented inner spaces of many mass educational organizations – the gaps in communication and intent among players – can inhibit or destroy language teaching productivity. That is demonstrable. In most cases it is less easy to see how they can be pragmatically repaired to assist language teaching productivity. Working in the abstract the theorist can say this thing or that should be changed. Taking each of the case studies in this thesis in the context of its own real world at the time, intruding non-educational variables were often beyond control, at least without serious risk. The factory manager in the Chiko Roll factory would have closed the class down if he had known how teaching had been hijacked to give the students what they wanted to learn. The lecturer at USP could see that his Indian students were scared to death by military monitors sitting at the back of the lecture hall, and understood why they didn't re-enrol. There wasn't a thing he could do about it. The victimised teacher at Myer House migrant centre could see the fear in his employers of a political steamroller, even as they fired him. The foreign 'grass professor' going through the motions of teaching English in Korean universities could see very well how the cultural paradigm precluded learning,

yet there was little that the Korean administrators would feel empowered to change, even if they had wanted to.

The limits of the thesis expounded in this document are therefore located in a multitude of workplaces and communities. That is, the limits of optimizing teacher productivity are frequently set by the human ambitions and powers of non teachers, and also by their ignorance. Therefore, the only powers of this dissertation are those of illustration, explanation and persuasion. Where all the players in an educational institution can be brought to some understanding of the full set of narratives in the enterprise of teaching and learning languages, then perhaps there is hope that teachers may be allowed to productively exercise and fully coordinate the dimensions of their knowledge worker roles.

Empirical findings and the potential for further research

This thesis argued that foreign and second language teaching productivity can only reach its proper potential when it is accorded priority, second only to language learner productivity, amongst the many competing productivities which are always asserted by stakeholders in educational institutions.

Such a proposition may have seemed uninteresting, almost self-evident, until

tested. If the empirical evidence of the case studies represent situations which are unique, or rare, or special only to the particular teacher whose biography they convey, then the original thesis may indeed be trivial. It is the contention of the writer that the twenty case studies, despite their undoubtedly unique elements, highlight patterns of productivity, as well as productivity distorted, that were and are widespread in foreign and second language teaching. Some of those patterns are more marked in particular cultures, while others are general to foreign and second language teaching in institutions.

It is in the nature of qualitative research such as biographical case study that the generality of findings is a matter of judgment for each reader, or of consensus amongst a group of practitioners. This sits uncomfortably with the strong evidential proofs sought in the traditions of positivist science. Social sciences often seek to emulate the evidential power of mathematical or physical proof which is possible by controlling a small number of variables in the hard sciences. The tool typically used is statistical. The methodological section of this thesis argued the limits of that approach in social sciences, and proposed that qualitative evidence could have significant power if there was some consensus about its generality. The value of this thesis therefore rests upon the emergence of some consensus about the generality of its findings. The thesis alone cannot establish such a consensus, but it can establish itself as a model for similar case studies whose accumulation will tend to prove or disprove the generality of patterns outlined in *Language Tangle*.

Some patterns which did emerge empirically from the case studies were the following:

1. Students ultimately control learning, but are sensitive to immediate reward

It was affirmed across all of the case studies without exception that external parties could not control or even reliably predict what individual students might learn, and how well, from instances of instructed language teaching. This was regardless of the power of institutional players, external resources, curriculums or the teacher. Student belief in the immediate value of what was to be learned in a given lesson, and personal confidence in an ability to learn it were the most critical factors. If a student was persuaded that language learning was vital, interesting and immediately rewarding then it was highly likely that he or she would learn useful skills in the foreign or second language. The second language skills informally and successfully transmitted to most members of the language community in countries such as Papua New Guinea and Fiji, as highlighted in this thesis, are living proof that institutional instructed language teaching is not always essential to the second language learning process.

2. The primary (but not the only) role of any successful foreign or second language teacher is to leverage student motivation.

Sometimes it is easy to motivate students, and the teacher can concentrate on acting as a guide and resource provider. More often, if the case studies in the thesis are typical of second and foreign language teaching, student motivation has been crushed by institutional or personal factors, or has not existed for language learning in the first place. Therefore to be productive the teacher has a major, and often continuing job of persuasion to do. In the case studies, that persuasion was often obstructed by institutional requirements, power plays by other actors, cultural patterns, or the straight-jacketing of misconceived curriculum requirements.

3. Teaching productivity turns, ultimately, on the teacher's ability to influence the probability of student learning.

The most effective environments for teaching productivity were seen to be those where the teacher was professionally equipped and politically enabled to exercise judgements which maximized opportunities for student language learning productivity. Being 'professionally equipped' is a combination of

relevant language teacher training and accumulated experience. Stable professional environments can assist young teachers to overcome the experience gap with appropriate mentoring. This was occasionally available to the writer in the case studies, such as the intervention in the New Zealand high school (Case Study 1) and the collegiate insights shared in Papua New Guinea (Case Study 6). However, these instances were rare examples from a highly fragmented and unstable language teaching industry. Most of the case studies illustrated situations where teachers (and of course students) were transitory while administrative and managerial personnel remained constant. This inevitably implied an accumulation of decisive authority away from teachers, and a consequent loss in their recognized right to exercise judgements most beneficial for student learning productivity.

4. Curriculum and method are best negotiated with students rather than with institutions

As a matter of effective classroom practice, the teacher often found it productive to attempt entering into a pact with the learners concerning both curriculum and method. This implied a degree of negotiation and compromise. Sometimes the pact involved a minor conspiracy against external forces (e.g. employer intentions) which would otherwise detract from motivation and learning. Such social contracts were generally most successful with mature

students who were clear about what they needed, for example those located in industrial language learning environments. Younger students, including young adults straight out of high school, were more likely to expect to be told what to do, and less likely to know clearly what they wanted. In such cases there was productive value in helping them to 'realize' personal communication needs, then in assisting to meet those needs. It was very similar to marketing. Generic external curriculums could be seriously obstructive to this process.

5. The phenomenon of the 'intimate learner' demonstrates a potent, although minority alternative to mass language education

In a significant number of the case study situations some individual students were able to short circuit the natural limitations of mass language instruction by seeking to form a personal bond with the teacher outside of the classroom context. This bond was typically in the form of service or friendship. The researcher termed this an 'intimate learner' style. The pattern could never be scaled to advantage the bulk of learners, but for those involved it effectively leveraged their language learning opportunities and motivation.

6. Teacher–student learning reciprocation is among the most important of all motivational tools

The psychological mechanism of reciprocation, where students were persuaded to offer knowledge of value to the teacher in exchange for knowledge about the target language, was perhaps the most important motivational tool identified by the writer over the course of his teaching career. Reciprocation, much studied in anthropological literature but little discussed in language teaching, is a powerful tool of empowerment. That is, the giver has a kind of power while the receiver is constrained to exercise grace, both of which are exchanged in the process of reciprocation. The researcher found that even in situations of suppressed resentment or outright rebellion, the opportunity for a relationship with the teacher based on reciprocation almost always led to a more authentic involvement by students in language learning. This was true even when the direct terms of exchange were not obviously language for language: for example, imparting coastwise navigation skills (Case Study 3), advising the teacher on how to deal with a local cultural problem, or more prosaically allowing students to instruct the teacher (who may have feigned ignorance) on rules for a classroom game.

7. Certification may outrank actual language learning as a student and institutional goal under certain cultural conditions

It was found that under certain conditions, notably (but not exclusively) those prevailing in many East Asian educational institutions, that certification of foreign language skills had a higher cultural, employment and monetary value than the actual ability to exercise foreign language skills. In fact, there was sometimes a cultural prohibition on the latter. In this situation language learning productivity, and consequently language teaching productivity, were of subsidiary concern to both students and institutions. It was absolutely required that students be issued certificates of language competency, regardless of their foreign language ability. The supreme cultural value of face (*mianzi*, *chemyeon*) in these societies cemented this pattern. The foreign language teacher was engaged to act out a role in which true language teaching and learning were covertly expected to play little part, but in which the participants were overtly required to follow proper academic practice.

8. Institutional players are not always interested in student language learning productivity, and tend to be poorly equipped to evaluate it

Overall the case studies tended to show that institutions, or those who control them, are only sometimes genuinely interested in successful foreign language

learning by students. Concepts of learning productivity were mostly unknown to them, as was any consideration of a hierarchy of productivities. There were a variety of reasons for this situation. Employees at any level tend to prioritize their own interests. Ordinary administrative officers might also assume that certification actually did equate with language competence. In jurisdictions where certificates were culturally more important than real language competence, senior academic staff might admit to the true learning situation, but cite financial or political pressures for not properly meeting the real language learning needs of students. In East Asia the sheer logistic impossibility of providing intensive tuition in foreign languages to tens of millions of students led to a token number of curriculum mandated study hours, often in grossly oversized classes, tended by semi-skilled teachers. Further, by a wide margin, a majority of institutional actors represented in the case studies were handicapped by extreme ignorance about the nature of language learning, and the conditions required for the implementation of successful language teaching. This ignorance tended to be fed by a belief that being able to speak a language was all the skill needed to teach it well, and reinforced by regularly misinterpreting the meaning of classroom language test results.

9. A significant proportion of language teachers remain ignorant about language learning and effective language teaching

Sadly, a high proportion of teachers contemporary in institutions where the case studies were played out were as ignorant as their institutional employers about language learning and effective language teaching. This latter was broadly a consequence of employment conditions prevailing in the occupation, and hence the level of commitment which could be found in it for career development. The teaching of English as both a second and a foreign language is characterized by the large number of 'classroom workers' without significant training in either professional teaching or second language acquisition. The writer found in many of the case study venues that these people, based on narrow experience, had formed strong views on the 'proper' way to teach English, although most were themselves monolingual. They could generally establish a consensus amongst the like minded in staffrooms and might resist suggestions for change. The situation was further complicated by very variable quality of foreign language teacher training available worldwide for those who did seek further qualifications.

10. The understanding and practice of knowledge worker productivity remains weakly developed in language teaching institutions

There was remarkably little evidence in the institutions studied of either an understanding or practice of developing knowledge worker productivity as defined by Drucker (1981,1993,1999), Stam (2008) and others. Productivity, although often referred to by managements, was conceptually firmly rooted in a 19th Century economic model of capital, labour (dispensable classroom workers), and raw materials (students). This model was re-expressed in a terminology to justify the managerial hierarchies of institutions, which were tasked to control the allocation of resources (hence the term 'managerialism'), and generally remained impermeable to any attempt to assert the productive primacies of learning and teaching. Without explicit education in the ramifications of a concept or model, and without its demonstrated application to a particular venue, most people from executives to administrative officers to teachers themselves are perhaps likely to attach their own 'common sense' meaning to words like 'productivity', where they use them at all. This 'common sense' is both reflected in and fed by journalistic usage, and filtered from earlier generations of elementary text books. Like 'productivity', the term 'knowledge worker' has become fairly common in journalistic usage, but remains equally unanalysed in popular imagination. The kind of specific analysis of teaching and learning productivities explored in this thesis may take a generation to penetrate daily institutional understanding and practice.

The complexity and potentials of productivity concepts

While the preceding points are rather specific, there is also an over-arching conclusion to be drawn from this thesis. It was demonstrated in the context of the case studies, but is certainly generalizable, that productivity, and in particular knowledge worker productivity, is a complex concept whose facets require detailed analysis to arrive at a proper understanding of the role that foreign and second language teachers play in educational institutions. It is proposed as a matter for further research that such a detailed analysis of language teaching productivity factors could lay the foundation for both an acceptance of teacher professionalism and the optimization of language teaching productivity where there are competing productivities asserted by other institutional players.

~~ end ~~

Appendix 1: Summaries of Case Studies

Case Study 1 synopsis: 1976, Tangaroa College, New Zealand

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 1, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The first case study deals with Thor May's first appointment as a professional full time teacher in 1976. It was a newly opened junior high school in a low income area of Auckland city, New Zealand, where 75% of the student population was Polynesian. From a teaching and learning perspective there were important second language matters to be negotiated from the outset. However, the theme of this case study treats explosive cross-cultural and teenage maturational problems that had to be addressed before learning could proceed at all. Above all, there was the challenge for the new teacher of acculturating himself to be functional in this new environment.

Case Study 2 synopsis: 1977, Chiko Roll Factory, Melbourne

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 2, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The second case study involved an industrial language teaching contract. Workplace language teaching to immigrants has some distinctive characteristics. One factor is that such programs have to be sold to managements in terms that they understand, notably that worker productivity of a quite traditional economic kind will be enhanced. The argument runs that a worker who can understand safety issues and communicate with others effectively is going to produce more widgets more reliably. However, faced with a class of such workers, the teacher frequently finds that students are uninterested in management notions of productivity, but extremely anxious to enhance their own life language skills for other purposes. The solution in the instance studied was a compromise curriculum, a conspiracy with learners, and a conscious deception of both the factory management and the teacher's own employer.

Case Study 3 synopsis: 1977, Scallop Fishermen, Melbourne

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 3, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The third case study involves a language requirement imposed on Greek trawler fishermen in Melbourne, Australia. The language requirement was politically designed for racial discrimination and entrapment. The teacher faced an absolutely hostile student body of adult, male trawler skippers who had no

intention of learning a swathe of English legal language. With no possibility of language learning from the outset, the teacher switched roles to become an interested learner of navigational skills. When trust and familiarity had been established, it became possible to reciprocate and undertake collaborative learning and teaching of the necessary language content. The value of reciprocation in setting a base for language learning productivity has been a recurring theme in this teacher's career.

Case Study 4 synopsis: 1977, Government Aircraft Factory, Melbourne

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 4, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The fourth case study also concerned industrial language teaching, this time in an aircraft factory. In this situation the students were perfectly willing to learn appropriate industrial English, and when allowed to proceed the teaching and learning was highly productive as an educational exercise. The intrusive productivity issue in this venue was that the whole operation depended upon a fragile industrial relations situation between management and unions. The management was fundamentally hostile to the workers, ignorant of their needs, and had no interest in language teaching. They were forced into providing classes under union and governmental pressure, and treated class

completions purely as a publicity stunt. The teacher's status and access often depended upon mediating between warring camps.

Case Study 5 synopsis: 1979, Vietnamese Refugees, NSW

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 5, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The fifth case study is of a voluntary refugee class for Vietnamese refugee fishermen in Australia in a private home. It began under Red Cross auspices but immediately became an intensely personal relationship structured in terms of traditional Vietnamese social values and expectations, entirely new to the teacher. Learner productivity derived from the absolute obedience and obligation felt by the students – uneducated young men who had seized boats at gunpoint. The teacher, in reciprocation, had to accept the role of leader, moral guide, advisor and social worker. When officialdom moved this group to a regular migrant class with other students, all of these bonds dissolved, and with them much of the commitment to learning.

Case Study 6 synopsis: 1983, PNG Engineering Students

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 6, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The sixth case study moves to an English for special purposes program in a

Papua New Guinea tertiary institution. The students, an elite of selected representatives from their tribal groups, carried a heavy burden of expectations and duties, to the point of participating in tribal wars. English was their third language, never used outside of the classroom. Their expatriate engineering lecturers thought them primitive and illogical. With skillful mediation across both cultures, a small team of language professionals was able to bring the students to an understanding of the engineering requirements, and the engineers to an appreciation of the students' true qualities. Here, reciprocation, diplomacy and an insight into the anthropological and cognitive dimensions of language use were prerequisites not only to language learning productivity, but to a professional engineering education.

Case Study 7 synopsis: 1984, Banjalong Language Revival, Lismore NSW

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 7, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The seventh case study is located in an Australian rural institution, Northern Rivers CAE (now Southern Cross University) where Thor May as the temporary resident lecturer in linguistics was caught up in a project to rescue reportedly marginalized Aboriginal youths by resurrecting an effectively dead language

through the medium of a language learning textbook, which he was to write. The learners were never met, the language informant had forgotten the language, and the funding was filtered through a racist environment of local academics and administrators. There were significant ethical dilemmas. The question is put of what could be a productive outcome to this equation, where the possibility of productive language learning seemed to be precluded. The researcher draws some wry parallels with the marketing of English as a world language.

Case Study 8 synopsis: 1984, Solomon Islands Aid Project, Lismore NSW

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 8, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The eighth case study, in the same venue as number seven, deals with the English language teaching preparation and resourcing of a group of Solomon Islands village school headmasters. They were brought to Australia on a short term international project, for training by a group of tertiary early childhood education lecturers. The linguist, with some background in Melanesian cultures, was able to develop an empathetic and productive relationship with the Solomon Islanders. The Australian lecturers, with only domestic experience, were enthused by the novelty of their role, but perplexed.

Productivity issues arose around parachuting concepts of Western education into a pre-industrial society, misreading linguistic and cultural signals, materials creation for an imaginary audience, the power of project focus, and productivity in a project environment versus the productivity of sustainable development.

Case Study 9 synopsis: 1987–90 USP (a), Fiji and a Military Coup

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 9, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The ninth case study is set in the University of the South Pacific, Fiji. It examines the dilemma of a linguistics lecturer trying to find a productive balance of linguistic and academic levels appropriate for tertiary students from widely diverse Pacific Islands cultures and environments, some literate and some overwhelmingly non literate. The study is set against a backdrop of the most academically adjusted students disappearing under military coup and martial law conditions, and the persecution of academic colleagues. It discusses negotiating a turbulent political environment where learning can become secondary, and how students were kept productively focused.

Case Study 10 synopsis: 1990 USP (b), Fiji: the Suva language

Survey

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 10, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The tenth case study is a departure from the previous situational analyses. Still at the University of the South Pacific, it examines in detail a specific project in field research which embraced a whole cohort of third year linguistics students and changed their lives. In an environment where racial and linguistic differences were being manipulated to divide Fiji, this project sent linguistics students systematically into every corner and strata of Suva society, including squatter camps, to interview 834 residents about their language usage. The project forced students to confront their own stereotypes about social groups, and the subsequent analysis demonstrated great potential benefits from informed language planning. This was 'applied linguistics' in the field, an undertaking that by its own process created an environment of learning productivity which could not be matched in any classroom.

Case Study 11 synopsis: 1993, AMEP, Myer House, Melbourne

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 11, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The eleventh case study is set in Myer House, Melbourne, centre to Victoria's Adult Migrant Education Program. The environment here was one where the

Victorian political pendulum had swung to an ideological extreme of economic rationalism and sought to assert changes to ensure accountability for the productive use of public funds. The drive for apparently financially productive activity took poor account of real teaching and learning productivities in a system that had been working reasonably well. This resulted in the politically driven imposition of a curriculum against the wishes of teachers and local management, followed by the elimination of dissenting viewpoints by dismissal. The new CBT curriculum was characterized by conflicting teacher incentives, pro-forma metrics of productivity, the dubious validity of narrowly task based grading criteria, and the misinterpretation of task based grading criteria by untrained stakeholders.

Case Study 12 synopsis: 1993, Western Metropolitan TAFE, Melbourne

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 12, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The twelfth case study is centered on Western Metropolitan TAFE in Melbourne at a time when productivity had been conceived of as the winning of teaching contracts in the open market. It was put to teachers that the contract provider was the 'client', as opposed to students being the 'clients'. This paradigm took a strange turn when the client was a Saudi organization, which sent its own non-English speaking religious inspector to sit in with the students as a guardian. The public curriculum of lower intermediate English instruction

became a holding pen to facilitate the attempted religious conversion of the teacher, while the students themselves, young men, were wholly absorbed in their search for sexual development to the exclusion of any serious interest in language learning or study. This was one tangle of contradictions which all of the teacher's pedagogical and mediating skills never managed to bridge. Teaching productivity was stalemated almost entirely.

Case Study 13 synopsis: 1993–98, English for Mechanics, Batman TAFE, Melbourne

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 13, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The thirteenth case study condenses salient issues of productivity from a long engagement at Batman Automotive Engineering College (later merged into Kangan Batman TAFE). Here the teacher developed a special program in technical English for immigrant mechanics, with students from widely diverse learning traditions. Challenges that arose included cultural determinants of knowledge recognition, knowledge transfer and knowledge creation. This successful program was grounded in close practical cooperation with master mechanics trainers. It was eventually destroyed as collateral damage in a college merger, driven by the dominant political ideology, and implemented through a spurious economic paradigm which created 'profit centres' within

the college, effectively outlawing departmental and collegiate cooperation. In this instance, educational productivity was entirely subordinated to managerialism and an illusionary metric of corporate productivity. This case study encapsulates the impermanence of innovation in teaching environments.

Case Study 14 synopsis: 1996, Consultancy, Pulau Banka, Indonesia

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 14, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The fourteenth case study concerns a technical English teaching consultancy to the Koba Tin Mining Company in Indonesia. The brief was to advise on teaching specific language skills to Indonesian heavy equipment mechanics who could not communicate with the Australian supervising engineer, or read repair manuals. The consultancy was marketed through Batman Automotive Engineering College. The consultant produced a comprehensive report and established pilot classes to be taken over by an Indonesian employee of the mine. However, the consultancy also threw up a host of language teaching productivity issues. There was commercial misrepresentation by the educational sales team of language learning needs, resources and personnel skills. In parody of the contractual provisions, there proved to be absolute ignorance at college managerial levels of second language acquisition and how

to shape a language training program with a reasonable chance for successful learning outcomes. There was concomitant ignorance by the commercial client of the preceding matters. There was attempted misuse of copyrighted materials. Finally, as is so common in commercial environments, there turned out to be competing language learning priorities between the sponsoring authority and the actual learners, who had been officially described as intermediate level English learners but who actually knew no English at all.

Case Study 15 synopsis: 1998, WUTSM, Wuhan, central China

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 15, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The fifteenth case study moves to a middle ranking university in central China, Wuhan Technical University of Surveying and Mapping (now absorbed into Wuhan University). This environment still reverberated with post-trauma from the entire destruction of educational and social institutions during China's Cultural Revolution (when millions died). Productivity of any kind was not a notion discussed, even in official propaganda. The issue for everybody was personal and professional survival. A foreign language teacher presence was mandated in Chinese universities by government regulation, but teachers were often unavailable. There was no coherent plan to make productive use of foreign teachers (who typically were and are untrained native speakers). Rather, the foreign teacher, grandly called a 'foreign expert', was more of a

display trophy, in practice assigned to 'conversation classes' of up to sixty students. Formal language teaching was frequently grammar translation under the direction of Chinese professors who may have had little personal competence in English. More able younger teachers were appearing, but remained stifled by the social hierarchy. The educational ethic was seriously undermined by widespread plagiarism and bribery for professional advancement amongst Chinese staff. Expectations for real language learning in the institution were quite low, although the students in this case were postgraduates, and some were surprisingly able in English. However, the awarding of credentials by whatever means had absolute priority over genuine measures of language learning productivity and language competence.

Case Study 16 synopsis: 2000 ,Central China Normal University, Wuhan

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 16, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The sixteenth case study relates to Central China Normal University in Wuhan. This institution was somewhat more upmarket than the Surveying & Mapping University, with a better standard of language staff, together with students who were extremely motivated and willing to experiment. As a teaching and learning environment it turned out to be one of the success stories amongst these productivity surveys. Nevertheless, many of the factors bearing on

foreign language teacher success or failure in China were evident. In this culture, so absolutely different from Western experience, the successful teacher was one who could accept major and minor administrative changes which came without warning or explanation, tune in to students who shared few of his presuppositions, and be prepared to provide almost all of his own teaching resources. Employment was accidental and in the hands of a Communist party functionary rather than the language department. The teacher's relationship with his employers was highly ambiguous. The students were known to be trainee teachers, but the actual design of their teacher training remained unclear, and could therefore be only notionally related to the foreigner's aim of a productive English language teaching program.

Case Study 17 synopsis: 2000, Sungsim College of Foreign Languages, Busan, South Korea

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 17, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The seventeenth case study moves to Sungsim College of Foreign Languages, South Korea (later merged with Youngsan University). Sungsim was a private institution, with a carefully crafted business model catering to the very large number of young South Koreans who needed tertiary certification for cultural and employment reasons, but who lacked sufficient academic aptitude for

genuine tertiary study. This being a 'face' culture, everyone understood that the rituals of academic life must be demonstrated, but that college fees entitled the students to graduation. Accordingly the measure of teaching productivity, without being cynical about it, was credentialing and remaining popular, not language accomplishment. For the native English speaking 'professors', few of them with teaching qualifications, this invited a certain bucolic lifestyle. For the teaching professional bent on trying to encourage productive language learning, it posed distinct challenges.

Case Study 18 Synopsis: 2004, Pusan University of Foreign Studies, Busan, South Korea

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 18, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The eighteenth case study is concerned with the preparation of Korean graduate teachers at Pusan University of Foreign Studies for Masters education programs in the United States. Since this was a genuine lecturing role with contractually defined criteria for student graduation at international standards, the metric of teaching productivity seemed straightforward. Thor May and a Canadian professor, Dr Brian King, designed and initiated an appropriate academic program which was valued by the students and doubled enrolment on the second cycle. However, the genuine academic core was undermined and ultimately destroyed by institutional fraud. Nominally a joint venture between

PUFS and an American university, it turned out to be a commercial shell operated by an independent Korean businessman who insisted on awarding a minimum of B+ passes to everyone. The many legal irregularities culminated in financially cheating the founding lecturers, and academically cheating the genuinely able students. Attempts at exposure resulted in the complicity of Korean government organs in illegal practice, and the judicial punishment of this writer as a foreigner. Teaching and learning productivity were irrelevant in the context of business interests and Korean xenophobia.

Case Study 19 synopsis: 2004–2007, Chungju National University, South Korea

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 19, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The nineteenth case study is located at Chungju National University, South Korea, a government institution with a technological focus. Admission to Korean national universities is governed by examination, which conveys some status. However, many regional institutions such as CJNU have little pulling power and their standards are low. CJNU was a glorified polytechnic whose students were academically similar to Sungsim, but poorer. By legislation, English language certification was required for graduation, but language competence was of little interest. All freshman were exposed to an English

native speaker for two hours weekly over two terms. The classes were large, restless and unmotivated. The language level was basic. This teacher at one stage was seeing six hundred students per week. Pedagogically the only viable approach was to aim for very limited and specific language goals. The measures of productivity were credentialing, remaining tolerable to the students, and pliable for the administration and Korean professoriate, both of which were indifferent to learning. The Korean professors generally refused to use English with students, and taught 'practical English' under sufferance. They assembled sparsely enrolled courses in English literature, syntax, semantics and other traditionally academic subjects. Their values revolved almost entirely around status and appearances. CJNU is typical of large numbers of South Korean universities.

Case Study 20 synopsis: The Intimate Learner

For detailed factors which had some bearing on teacher productivity in Case Study 20, See Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Section 3 of the thesis, Analysis.

The twentieth 'case study' does not deal with any particular physical locale, although examples are quoted. Rather it reviews the largely unstudied but very common phenomenon of students whom I have called 'intimate learners'. These students, always a small minority, are institutional entrepreneurs who evade the normal structures and controls of standard mass education and attempt to form close personal bonds with the teacher. In popular imagination, this is expected to be a sexual liaison, but it need not be. Rather the intimate

learner sets out to expose himself or herself (women seem to predominate) to maximum interaction with the target language holder by performing services. With the foreign teacher in a foreign culture, the intimate learner is often his mediator with the host culture in a myriad of daily survival tasks. She at once enhances his efficiency and maximizes her own learning productivity. Above all the intimate learner reaffirms the potency of interpersonal reciprocal learning as opposed to institutional learning and purchased teaching.

Appendix 2: Listing of productivity factors affecting institutional language learners

This thesis is concerned with the productivity of language teachers. Learner productivity is critical to that, but is not the locus of analysis. The listing below is therefore not expanded in the body of the thesis and should be treated here merely as a (non exhaustive) check list.

Appendix 2, Table 1 : productivity factors for learners

*numbers in the listing are just sequential reference; **the listing is not comprehensive.

1 Language Learners	
1.1 power	1.2.9 text books
1.1.1 enrolment fee	1.2.10 library resources
1.1.2 teacher evaluation	1.2.11 other books etc.
1.1.3 protest	1.2.12 school CAL resources
1.1.4 non~ / cooperation	1.2.13 electronic devices (MP3 etc)
1.1.5 judge school reputation	1.2.14 movies, DVD, music
1.2 resources	1.2.15 Internet resources
1.2.1 personal aptitude	1.2.16 visitors / experts / strangers
1.2.2 language learning experience	1.2.17 self-constructed material
1.2.3 available time	1.2.17.1 workbooks
1.2.4 motivation	1.2.17.2 vocabulary books etc
1.2.5 language partner	1.2.17.3 recordings etc.
1.2.6 language exchange	1.3 metrics of success
1.2.7 in-country immersion	1.3.1 functional language mastery
1.2.8 teacher	1.3.1.1 of all skills
	1.3.1.2 fractional language mastery

1.3.1.3	single skill use (e.g. reading)	1.4.7.1	to choose what to learn
1.3.1.4	simple task completion	1.4.8 ability	
1.3.1.5	information access (e.g. signs)	1.4.8.1	ability to plan
1.3.2	in-school grading	1.4.8.1.1	time management
1.3.3	college graduation	1.4.8.1.2	sequencing
1.3.4	certification	1.4.8.1.3	review
1.3.5	higher level enrolment access	1.4.8.2	ability to self evaluate
1.3.6	employability	1.4.8.3	ability to use resources effectively
1.3.7	migration qualification	1.4.8.4	ability to maintain motivation
1.3.8	social status	1.4.8.5	ability to manage assigned tasks
1.3.9	peer approval	1.4.8.6	ability to learn how to learn
1.4	Productivity mechanisms	1.4.8.7	ability to benefit from assessments
1.4.1	cooperation	1.4.8.8	ability to benefit from implicit correction (recasts)
1.4.2	<u>shared objectives</u>	1.4.8.9	to manage the target language registers of the course e.g IELTS academic language
1.4.3	duty as a motivator	1.4.9 willingness	
1.4.3.1	to the community	1.4.9.1	willingness to assist other students
1.4.3.2	to the institution	1.4.9.2	willingness to seek explanations
1.4.3.3	to parents / sponsors	1.4.9.3	willingness to tolerate ambiguity
1.4.3.4	to the teacher	1.4.9.4	willingness to tolerate challenges to cultural assumptions
1.4.4	negotiation	1.4.9.5	willingness to seek practice outside the classroom
1.4.4.1	with the teacher		
1.4.4.2	with fellow students		
1.4.5	reciprocity		
1.4.5.1	with the teacher		
1.4.5.2	with fellow students		
1.4.5.3	with other target language speakers		
1.4.6	deception (a +/- influence)		
1.4.6.1	of the institution		
1.4.6.2	of parents / sponsors		
1.4.6.3	of the teacher		
1.4.7	authority		

1.4.9.6 willingness to treat
language learning as a
communicative activity

1.4.9.7 willingness to initiate
language use in the target
language

Appendix 2, Table 1 : productivity factors for learners (cont.)

Appendix 3: Table of productivity factors in language teaching

Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching	
1. Language teachers affected by ...	Case Study References
note: *Study 21, current in Zhengzhou 2009, is not written up as a case study for contractual reasons, but is partially referred to in the analysis	note : Brackets () indicate minor influence
1.1. relationships	
1.1.1. political	
1.1.1.1. affecting sectors; eg education	7,8,9,10,11,12,13
1.1.1.2. affecting skills; e.g. language learning & lx planning	3,6,7,8,9,10,11,13
1.1.1.3. affecting professions; e.g language teachers	3,8,9,10,11,13
1.1.1.4. affecting institutions; e.g. funding TAFEs	7,9,10,11,13,17,18
1.1.1.5. affecting persons; e.g. union members; foreign teachers	2,3,4,5,7,9,11,13,15,17,18
1.1.2. commercial clients	
1.1.2.1. industry lobbies	3,13
1.1.2.2. directly contracting with a college	2,3,4,12,14,18
1.1.2.3. employing a student	2,3,4,13,14
1.1.3. teacher employment, actual & potential risk factor	11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.1.4. community	
1.1.4.1. broad public opinion	(1),(3),4,5,6,9,10

Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching (cont.)	
1.1.4.2. community learning resources & assistance	6,10
Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching (cont.)	
1.1.4.3. student sponsors; e.g. parents	(1),6,12
1.1.5. institutional	
1.1.5.1. administrative	(1),7,8,10,11,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.1.5.2. cooperating departments	4,6,8,(9),10,13,14
1.1.5.3. groups & associations	
1.1.5.4. committees & meetings	(6),7,8,11,14
1.1.6. colleagues	
1.1.6.1. on-site	1,6,7,8,10,11,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.1.6.2. off-site	6,13,17
1.1.6.3. unions & professional associations	13
1.1.7. student related elements, formal	
1.1.7.1. employers	4,11,13,14
1.1.7.2. government bodies	3,4,7,8,11,13
1.1.7.3. welfare	(1),(2),5,7,(9),13,20
1.1.7.4. library & resources	9,14
1.1.7.5. academic	(1),6,7,8,10,11,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.1.8. classes	
1.1.8.1. in-class relationships	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.1.8.2. extra curricular relationships	3,5,8,12,20
1.1.9. individual students	
1.1.9.1. private coaching	5 (unpaid voluntary work)
1.1.9.2. language exchange	19
1.1.9.3. intimate learner	16,20
1.2. cooperation	
1.2.1 service	

Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching (cont.)	
1.2.1.1 to the community	5,7,10
1.2.2 shared objectives	
1.2.2.1 with the community	1,5,7,10
1.2.2.2 with the institution	6,13,14
1.2.2.3 with students	(1),2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13, 14, 15,16,17,18,19,(1),20
1.2.2.4 for program viability	6,8,9,11,13,14,18
1.2.2.5 for competent outcomes	1,(2),3,6,7,8,9,10,11, 12,13,14,15,16,17,18
1.2.3 process explicitness	
1.2.3.1 with institutional players	1,2,8,10,11,14,15,16
1.2.3.2 with students	(1),2,3,8,9,10,18,20
1.2.4 negotiation	
1.2.4.1 with institutional players	4,6,11,13,14
1.2.4.2 with students	1,2,3,4,5,8,10,12,15,18,20
1.2.5 reciprocity	
1.2.5.1 with institutional players	6,15
1.2.5.2 with students	(1),2,3,5,6,8,10,12,15,18,20
1.2.6 deception	
1.2.6.1 with institutional players	2,3,12,14,17,18,19
1.2.6.2 with students	18
1.2.7 authority	
1.2.7.1 to apply decisions	(1),(2), (3),4,5,6,8,10,12,13,14, 15,16,17,18,19
1.3. power	
1.3.1. institutional power	1,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16, 17,18,19
1.3.2. hiring control	(2),10,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.3.3. independent consultant / contractor status	11,15,16,17,18
1.3.4. dispensability of teacher	(2),(3),4,5,12,13,(15),18,19
1.3.5. professional status	5,5,6,7,8,(9),10,11,18,19
1.3.6. subject knowledge status	(1),(2),3,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,14, (15)18
1.3.7. enrolment control	(2),5,18,20

Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching (cont.)	
1.3.8. timetabling control	5,13,20
1.3.9. teaching resources control	(2),8,10,11,12,13,14,18
1.3.10. sanctions control	1,3,4,11,18,19
1.3.11. curriculum control	
1.3.11.1. politically driven	3,4,8,11
1.3.11.2. commercially driven	(2),3,8,12,14,18
1.3.11.3. contracting client	(2),12,14
1.3.11.4. access driven: e.g. job, university; visa	13,18
1.3.11.5. test driven e.g. IELTS	18,[21]
1.3.11.6. award driven: e.g. graduation	3,(9),15,16,17,18,19
1.3.11.7. institutionally driven	(1),6,8,(9),19
1.3.11.8. teacher choice	5,6,7,8,(9),10,12,,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20
1.3.11.9. student choice	2,4,5,13,20
1.3.12. lesson planning control	(1),3,8,9,11,18
1.3.13. evaluation control	
1.3.13.1. [as for curriculum control]	(1),8,9,10,11,12,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.4. resources	
1.4.2. time	1,6,7,8,9,10,18
1.4.3. professional motivation	(1),(2),(3),(4),(5),6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.4.4. teaching competence	1,(2),(3),6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.4.5. teaching knowlege/experience	1,(2),3,4,5,6,7,8, 9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.4.6. goodwill capital with classes	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,12,13,15,16,17,18,19
1.4.7. set text books, teacher reference materials etc	1,(2),(3),(4),(6),8,(9),(11),(12)(13),(16),17,18,19,20
1.4.8. teacher created materials	2,3,4,5,7,8,10,12,3,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.4.9. CALL (computer assisted lx learning)	20,[21]*

Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching (cont.)	
1.4.10. electronic devices (MP3 etc)	18,20,[21]
1.4.11. movies, DVD, music	18
1.4.12. library resources	18
1.4.13. Internet resources	20
1.4.14. visitors / experts / colleagues	6,10,13,14
1.5. teaching expertise	
1.5.1. curriculum management	
1.5.1.1. subject knowledge	(1),(2),,6,7,8,9,10,13,14,16,17,18,19
1.5.1.2. method selection	(1),(2),3,6,7,8,9,10,13,14,18
1.5.1.3. content selection	(1),2,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,14,18
1.5.1.4. content sacrifice	(1),6,7,9,13,14,18
1.5.1.5. content ordering	(1),(2),6,7,9,13,14,18
1.5.1.6. content editing	(1),6,7,8,9,13,14,18,20
1.5.1.7. matching presentation to students	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19
1.5.2. planning	
1.5.2.1. time management	1,(2),6,7,9,10,11,14,16,18
1.5.2.2. sequencing	1,6,11,16,18
1.5.2.3. review	1,6,16,18
1.5.2.4. evaluation	1,6,9,11,12,15,18
1.5.2.5. lesson & record keeping	1,10,11,14
1.5.3. alert to	
1.5.3.1. cultural presuppositions	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20
1.5.3.2. culturally based responses	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20
1.5.3.3. interpersonal dynamics	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20
1.5.3.4. attention level of individuals	1,(2),3,5,12,(13),(15),(16),17,18,19
1.5.3.5. pacing	1,(2),6,(12),(13),15,16,17,18,19,20
1.5.3.6. language confusion	1,(2),3,6,7,8,9,(12),(13),14,(15),(16),17,18,19,20

Appendix 3, Table 1: Productivity factors in teaching (cont.)	
1.5.4. resources deployment	(1),3,6,7,9,11,13,14,15,17,18,19
1.5.5. motivating students	1,2,3,5,6,8,9,10,12,13,14,17,18,19
1.5.6. assisting students	1,2,3,5,6,8,9,10,12,13,14,15,(16),17,18,19,20
1.5.7. advising students	1,(2),3,4,5,6,8,9,10,12,13,14,15,(16),17,18,20
1.5.8. task assignment	1,6,9,10,11,13,14,(15),16,17,18
1.5.9. task explanation	1,3,6,13,14,(15),16,17,18
1.5.10. task modelling	1,(3),6,13,14,(15),16,17,18
1.5.11. task practice oversight	1,6,10,13,14,(15),16,17,18
1.5.12. task performance oversight	1,6,13,14,(15),16,17,18
1.5.13. task assessment	1,6,9,10,11,(13),14,15,16,18,19

Appendix 4: Productivity factor listing for the case studies

The factor listing below refers the productivity listings in Appendix 3 to each of the case studies. It does not explicate each reference since that would require another monograph. The main value of the factor listing in the context of this thesis will be to assist readers to broadly evaluate my perception of the overall relevance of particular factors to teaching productivity in each case study. The factor listing could also establish a starting point for future research and comparison.

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities

Case Study 1 productivity factor listing: 1.1.4.1, 1.1.4.3, 1.1.5.1, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.7.3, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.1, 1.2.3.2, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.6, 1.3.10, 1.3.11.7, 1.3.12, 1.3.13.1, 1.3.1, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.3, 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.5, 1.5.1.6, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.2.1, 1.5.2.2, 1.5.2.3, 1.5.2.4, 1.5.2.5, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7, 1.5.8, 1.5.9, 1.5.10, 1.5.11, 1.5.12, 1.5.13.

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

Case Study 2 productivity factor listing: 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.3, 1.1.7.3, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.1, 1.2.3.2, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2, 1.3.4, 1.3.6, 1.3.7, 1.3.9, 1.3.11.3, 1.3.11.9, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.3, 1.5.1.5, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.2.1, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7.

Case Study 3 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.5, 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.3, 1.1.4.1, 1.1.7.2, 1.1.8.1, 1.1.8.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.2, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.4, 1.3.6, 1.3.10, 1.3.11.1, 1.3.11.2, 1.3.11.6, 1.3.12, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7, 1.5.9, 1.5.10.

Case Study 4 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.5, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.3, 1.1.5.2, 1.1.7.1, 1.1.7.2, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.4.1, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.4, 1.3.10, 1.3.11., 1.3.11., 1.4.3, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.7.

Case Study 5 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.5, 1.1.4.1, 1.1.7.3, 1.1.8.1, 1.1.8.2, 1.1.9.1, 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.4, 1.3.5,

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

1.3.6 , 1.3.7 , 1.3.8 , 1.3.11.8 , 1.3.11.9 , 1.4.3, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.8,
1.5.1.7, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7.

Case Study 6 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.4 , 1.1.4.1 , 1.1.4.3 , 1.1.5.2 ,
1.1.5.4 , 1.1.6.1 , 1.1.6.2 , 1.1.7.5 , 1.1.8.1 , 1.2.2.2 , 1.2.2.3 , 1.2.2.4 ,
1.2.2.5 , 1.2.4.1 , 1.2.5.1 , 1.2.5.2 , 1.2.7.1 , 1.3.5, 1.3.6, 1.3.9, 1.3.11.7 ,
1.3.11.8 , 1.3.1 , 1.4.3 , 1.4.4 , 1.4.5 , 1.4.6 , 1.4.7 , 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2,
1.5.1.3, 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.5, 1.5.1.6, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.2.1, 1.5.2.2, 1.5.2.3,
1.5.2.4, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4 , 1.5.5 , 1.5.6 ,
1.5.7 , 1.5.8 , 1.5.9 , 1.5.10 , 1.5.11 , 1.5.12 , 1.5.13 .

Case Study 7 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.4, 1.1.1.5,
1.1.4.1, 1.1.4.2, 1.1.5.1, 1.1.5.4, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.7.2, 1.1.7.3, 1.1.7.5,
1.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.5, 1.3.5 , 1.3.6 , 1.3.11.8, 1.3.1 , 1.4.2 , 1.4.3 ,
1.4.5 , 1.4.8 , 1.4.14, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.3, 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.5, 1.5.1.6,
1.5.2.1, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4.

Case Study 8 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1 , 1.1.1.2 , 1.1.1.3 , 1.1.5.1 ,
1.1.5.2 , 1.1.5.4 , 1.1.6.1 , 1.1.7.2 , 1.1.7.5 , 1.1.8.1 , 1.1.8.2 , 1.2.2.3 ,
1.2.2.4 , 1.2.2.5 , 1.2.3.1 , 1.2.3.2 , 1.2.4.2 , 1.2.5.2 , 1.2.7.1 , 1.3.5 ,
1.3.6 , 1.3.9 , 1.3.11.1, 1.3.11.2, 1.3.11.7, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.12, 1.3.1 , 1.4.2 ,

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

1.4.3 , 1.4.4 , 1.4.5 , 1.4.6 , 1.4.7 , 1.4.8 , 1.5.1.1 , 1.5.1.2 , 1.5.1.3 ,
1.5.1.6 , 1.5.1.7 , 1.5.3.1 , 1.5.3.2 , 1.5.3.3 , 1.5.3.6 , 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7.

Case Study 9 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.4,
1.1.1.5, 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.3, 1.1.3 , 1.1.4.1, 1.1.4.2, 1.1.4.3, 1.1.5,
1.1.5.1, 1.1.5.2, 1.1.5.4, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.6.2, 1.1.6.3, 1.1.7.1, 1.1.7.2, 1.1.7.3,
1.1.7.4, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.1.8.2, 1.1.9.2, 1.1.9.3, 1.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.2,
1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.1, 1.2.3.2, 1.2.4.1, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.1,
1.2.5.2, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1,

1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.4, 1.3.5, 1.3.6, 1.3.7, 1.3.8, 1.3.9, 1.3.10, 1.3.11.1 ,
1.3.11.2 , 1.3.11.3 , 1.3.11.4 , 1.3.11.5 , 1.3.11.6 , 1.3.11.7 , 1.3.11.8 ,
1.3.11.9 , 1.3.12, 1.3.13.1 X, 1.3.1, 1.4.2, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6,
1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.4.9, 1.4.10, 1.4.11, 1.4.12, 1.4.13, 1.4.14, 1.5.1.1 ,
1.5.1.2 , 1.5.1.3 , 1.5.1.4 , 1.5.1.5 , 1.5.1.6 , 1.5.1.7 , 1.5.2.1 , 1.5.2.2 ,
1.5.2.3 , 1.5.2.4 , 1.5.2.5 , 1.5.3.1 , 1.5.3.2 , 1.5.3.3 , 1.5.3.4 , 1.5.3.5 ,
1.5.3.6 , 1.5.4, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7, 1.5.8, 1.5.9, 1.5.10, 1.5.11, 1.5.12,
1.5.13.

Case Study 10 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1 , 1.1.1.2 , 1.1.1.3 , 1.1.1.4 ,
1.1.4.1 , 1.1.4.2 , 1.1.5.1 , 1.1.5.2 , 1.1.6.1 , 1.1.7.5 , 1.1.8.1 , 1.2.1.1 ,

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

1.2.2.1 , 1.2.2.3 , 1.2.2.5 , 1.2.3.1 , 1.2.3.2 , 1.2.4.2 , 1.2.7.1 , 1.3.5,
1.3.6, 1.3.9, 1.3.11.8 , 1.3.13.1 , 1.3.1, 1.4.2, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.8 , 1.4.14,
1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.3, 1.5.2.1, 1.5.2.5, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.5 ,
1.5.6 , 1.5.7 , 1.5.8 , 1.5.11, 1.5.13.

Case Study 11 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.4,
1.1.1.5, 1.1.3, 1.1.5.1, 1.1.5.4 , 1.1.6.1 , 1.1.7.1 , 1.1.7.2 , 1.1.7.5 ,
1.1.8.1 , 1.2.2.3 , 1.2.2.4 , 1.2.2.5 , 1.2.3.1 , 1.2.4.1 , 1.2.7.1 , 1.3.2,
1.3.5, 1.3.6, 1.3.9, 1.3.10, 1.3.11.1, 1.3.12, 1.3.13.1, 1.3.1 , 1.4.3 , 1.4.4
, 1.4.5 , 1.4.7 , 1.5.2.1, 1.5.2.2, 1.5.2.4, 1.5.2.5, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3,
1.5.4, 1.5.8, 1.5.13.

Case Study 12 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.3, 1.1.4.1 ,
1.1.4.3 , 1.1.8.1 , 1.1.8.2 , 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.6.1,
1.3.3, 1.3.4, 1.3.9, 1.3.11.2, 1.3.11.3, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.13.1, 1.3.1 , 1.4.3 ,
1.4.4 , 1.4.5 , 1.4.6 , 1.4.7 , 1.4.8 , 1.5.1.3 , 1.5.1.7 , 1.5.2.4 , 1.5.3.1 ,
1.5.3.2 , 1.5.3.3 , 1.5.3.4 , 1.5.3.5 , 1.5.3.6 , 1.5.5 , 1.5.6 , 1.5.7.

Case Study 13 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.4,
1.1.1.5, 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.3, 1.1.3, 1.1.5.1, 1.1.5.2, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.6.2, 1.1.6.3,
1.1.7.1, 1.1.7.2, 1.1.7.3, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4,

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

1.2.2.5, 1.2.4.1, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2, 1.3.4, 1.3.5, 1.3.6, 1.3.8, 1.3.9,
1.3.11.4, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.11.9, 1.3.1, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.8,
1.4.14, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.3, 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.5, 1.5.1.6, 1.5.1.7,
1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.4 , 1.5.5 , 1.5.6 , 1.5.7 , 1.5.8 ,
1.5.9 , 1.5.10 , 1.5.11 , 1.5.12 , 1.5.13 .

Case Study 14 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.4 , 1.1.2.2 , 1.1.2.3 , 1.1.3,
1.1.5.1, 1.1.5.2, 1.1.5.4, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.7.1, 1.1.7.4, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1,
1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.1, 1.2.4.1, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2,
1.3.5, 1.3.6, 1.3.9, 1.3.11.2 , 1.3.11.3 , 1.3.11.8 , 1.3.13.1 , 1.3.1, 1.4.3,
1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.8, 1.4.14, 1.5.1.1 , 1.5.1.2 , 1.5.1.3 , 1.5.1.4 , 1.5.1.5 ,
1.5.1.6 , 1.5.1.7 , 1.5.2.1 , 1.5.2.5 , 1.5.3.1 , 1.5.3.2 , 1.5.3.3 , 1.5.3.6 ,
1.5.4 , 1.5.5 , 1.5.6 , 1.5.7 , 1.5.8 , 1.5.9 , 1.5.10, 1.5.11, 1.5.12, 1.5.13.

Case Study 15 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.4,
1.1.1.5, 1.1.3 , 1.1.5.1, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.1,
1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.1, 1.2.5.2, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.4, 1.3.5, 1.3.6,
1.3.11.6 , 1.3.11.8 , 1.3.13.1 , 1.3.1 , 1.4.3 , 1.4.4 , 1.4.5 , 1.4.6 , 1.4.8 ,
1.5.1.7, 1.5.2.4, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4,
1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7, 1.5.8, 1.5.9, 1.5.10, 1.5.11, 1.5.12, 1.5.13.

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

Case Study 16 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.1 , 1.1.1.2 , 1.1.1.3 , 1.1.1.4 , 1.1.1.5 , 1.1.3, 1.1.5.1 , 1.1.6.1 , 1.1.7.5 , 1.1.8.1 , 1.1.9.3 , 1.2.2.3 , 1.2.2.5 , 1.2.3.1 , 1.2.5.2 , 1.2.7.1 , 1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.5, 1.3.11.6, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.13.1, 1.3.1, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.2.1, 1.5.2.2, 1.5.2.3, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4 , 1.5.5 , 1.5.6 , 1.5.7 , 1.5.8 , 1.5.9 , 1.5.10, 1.5.11, 1.5.12, 1.5.13.

Case Study 17 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.5, 1.1.3, 1.1.4.1, 1.1.5.1, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.6.2, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.5, 1.3.11.6 , 1.3.11.8 , 1.3.13.1 , 1.3.1, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.8, 1.5.9, 1.5.10, 1.5.11, 1.5.12.

Case Study 18 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.5, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.3, 1.1.5.1, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.3.2, 1.2.4.2, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.4, 1.3.5, 1.3.6, 1.3.7, 1.3.9, 1.3.10, 1.3.11.2, 1.3.11.4, 1.3.11.5, 1.3.11.6, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.12, 1.3.13.1 , 1.3.1 , 1.4.2 , 1.4.3 , 1.4.4 , 1.4.5 , 1.4.6 , 1.4.7 , 1.4.8 , 1.4.10, 1.4.11, 1.4.12, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.2, 1.5.1.3, 1.5.1.4, 1.5.1.5, 1.5.1.6, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.2.1, 1.5.2.2,

Appendix 4, listing 1: case study productivities (cont.)

1.5.2.3, 1.5.2.4, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4,
1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.7, 1.5.8, 1.5.9, 1.5.10,
1.5.11, 1.5.12, 1.5.13.

Case Study 19 productivity factor listing: 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.5, 1.1.3, 1.1.5,
1.1.5.1, 1.1.6.1, 1.1.7.5, 1.1.8.1, 1.1.9.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.6.1, 1.2.7.1, 1.3.2 ,
1.3.4 , 1.3.5 , 1.3.10 , 1.3.11.6, 1.3.11.7, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.13.1, 1.3.1, 1.4.3,
1.4.4, 1.4.5, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.7, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3,
1.5.3.4, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6, 1.5.4, 1.5.5, 1.5.6, 1.5.13.

Case Study 20 productivity factor listing: 1.1.7.3, 1.1.8.2, 1.1.9.3, 1.2.3.2,
1.2.4.2, 1.2.5.2, 1.3.7, 1.3.8, 1.3.11.8, 1.3.11.9, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8,
1.4.10, 1.4.13, 1.5.1.1, 1.5.1.6, 1.5.3.1, 1.5.3.2, 1.5.3.3, 1.5.3.5, 1.5.3.6,
1.5.6, 1.5.7.

Appendix 5 : Sociolinguistic Survey: Language in Suva – language use and literacy in an urban Pacific population¹

Rationale

The results of the Suva language survey are included in this thesis on language teaching productivity because, as with the case study on intimate learners, the language situation in Fiji provides a reality check on instructed language learning.

¹ The survey discussed in this appendix was first delivered in its present form to a conference of the Australian Linguistics Society at Macquarie University in Sydney, NSW, 1990. However, it has not been published elsewhere. The material for the study was gathered in a pilot survey in Suva, Fiji, while the writer was a lecturer in linguistics at the University of the South Pacific. The project would not have been possible without the enthusiastic co-operation of linguistics students at the University of the South Pacific. They had the social access as well as the multilingual skills to question respondents in a way that no outsider could hope to emulate. If there is material of value in this research, then the credit is theirs. Generous advice on the demographic planning of the survey came from Martinus Bakker of the Population Studies Programme at USP, and from the Government of Fiji Census Office. Clerical assistance was funded from a grant by the Research Committee in the School of Humanities, University of the South Pacific.

Although English medium education is available in Fiji (there is a transition from mother tongue to English medium as education advances), the survey tends to show that it is not the quality of instructed foreign language education which has led to a trans-generational shift to English language competence. This is evident because the least privileged members of Fiji's urban population, rural to urban migrants with no financial resources and little significant access to formal educational institutions have shared in the shift to English language competence. Further, the professional quality of primary and secondary education in Fiji is less than spectacular, and material resources are scarce.

Rather, the engine for acquiring foreign language competence has been the post colonial role of English as a link language in an otherwise linguistically and culturally divided set of communities. There is a ready social acceptance of English language usage in daily and professional life. There is no stigma in using English across a wide range of domains, although mother tongues are retained for solidarity in particular settings. The spread of the language has therefore been unplanned, self-generating with a snowball effect, and highly efficient. The pattern of language shift has been sustained even under the stress of racially based politically coups to displace democratically selected governments. Contrast this with the South Korean situation where billions of won in foreign language educational investment, countless hours spent by millions of children and adults in classrooms, bookshops full of English

learning textbooks, and what amounts to a national psychosis about certification in the language, have all led to minimal competence in English usage by Koreans. The death knell for English language competence in South Korea is simply that there is a social prohibition on speaking the language. Thus true language learning productivity is aborted where the social conditions for language acceptance and use do not exist.

The survey

The sociolinguistic survey was conducted with students in 1987–89 and recorded the beliefs of 834 permanent residents of Suva, Fiji about their own language and literacy skills. The actual survey questions are given in Addendum I.

The survey was not an objective measure of language abilities. To that extent it was more sociological than linguistic. The data reported here has not been subject to statistical analysis. Its purpose was to be suggestive for more formal research. Nevertheless, taken in conjunction with other studies (e.g. Kumar 2001; Shameem 2002; Crowl 2002) the outlines of the Fijian sociolinguistic situation can be seen. Apart from its experiential value to the linguistics students doing the survey interviews, the study was considered worthwhile for a number of reasons :

1. Beliefs about language are critical in shaping behaviour in personal, social, political and educational environments.
2. By acquiring some kind of 'map' of a community's beliefs about its own language activities we can find the realistic limits of language policy and language planning, if that is our purpose.
3. Reported language use by different age, gender, occupational and educational groups can help to confirm hypotheses about language change, or even predict where change is likely to occur.
4. We can get ideas for the detailed, objective further analysis of particular linguistic features.

Demography

Suva city is the largest urban centre between Auckland and Honolulu. At the time of the survey it had an official population of around 70,000, but the conurbation extending out to the satellite town of Nasinu increased that considerably. Like most cities in the developing world, it was a magnet for the poor and the ambitious. It had parallel economies for different

economic/cultural groups, and accommodated an amazing variety of sub-cultures in a ferment of change.

Interview Subjects

The interview subjects were selected from five census enumeration districts with populations ranging from 430 to 1200, and chosen for having a roughly equal ethnic composition of Fijians and Indo-Fijians. Such a residential balance is not typical, so the measures of bilingualism in the sample could conceivably be slanted. (However, each urban enumeration district comprised only two or three streets). One census district was comprised almost entirely of a squatter camp, while the others reflected different levels of local affluence.

The aim of interviewers was to obtain the most representative possible coverage in each area. It was felt that the selection of restricted districts in this manner would make replication of and comparisons with the study much more reliable.

Interviewers were asked to aim for a rough balance of males and females, and a good spread of age groups. They were also asked to select subjects in an approximate proportion of 4 ethnic Fijian, 4 Indo-Fijian and 2 (or fewer) 'other' per ten questionnaires: that is, about the national population balance. There was no actual question about race, since I preferred to let cultural affinities

emerge from the linguistic information.

Interviewers

The interviewers were linguistics students at the University of the South Pacific. All of them, bar about five out of ninety-eight individuals, were at least bilingual. They were able to make contact in a way which I as a 'European' foreigner simply could not have done. Each student was asked to conduct ten structured interviews, using a provided questionnaire. They were coached intensively in the pitfalls of interview technique.

The Data

The following material contains a lot of statistics. It is important to remember that the apparent precision of the numbers is illusory. They represent broad patterns only. For example, references to languages such as English, Fijian and Hindi do not take account of dialect divisions, although many respondents were quite clear in specifying, say, Nadronga dialect as opposed to standard Fijian. These differences are very important within the linguistic community. The analysis also ignores the more or less diglossic situation which exists between standard Hindi and Fiji Baat (the local Hindi dialect). The respondents themselves talk in a blanket manner about their skill in English, whereas a visiting linguist might be apt to perceive a dialect continuum of 'Englishes'.

Further, little qualitative investigation was attempted of the actual degree to which the various languages were used in their domains. The aims then were quite modest.

Languages spoken at work/school and at home (Q6 & Q7)

About 20% of the sample was primary, secondary or tertiary students. 65% of respondents were in some kind of paid employment, and the balance of 15% was housewives, unemployed or retired.

LANGUAGE USE	WORK/ SCHOOL		HOME	
Total number of informants 834	Responses 708		Responses 834	
Some English	85%	602	33%	278
Some Fijian	44%	311	48%	401
Some Hindi	36%	256	43%	362
Only English	28%	198	7.5%	34
Only Fijian	7.5%	54	34.5%	289
Only Hindi	7%	48	28.5%	239
At least 2 Ls	57%	402	29%	244
At least 3 Ls	12%	83	2.8%	23

Table A: Suva language domains

Multilingual usage

85% of workplaces required some English, from which we can infer that those workplaces catered to all kinds of citizens. Roughly reflecting the population balance, 44% of workplaces required some Fijian and 36% of workplaces required some Hindi. Rates of bilingualism at work and at home were similar for Fijian and Hindi. However, English home bilingualism dropped to 33%, which was still three times the number of so-called general electors (not Fijians or Indians). This may be explained by the next table which shows a major increase in English use across generations. Those using at least two languages came to 57% at work and 29% at home. Those using at least three languages came to 12% at work and 2.8 % at home. The very small number of home trilinguals reflected the minimal number of mixed marriages.

Monolingual usage

28% of workplaces required monolingual English, 7.5% of workplaces required monolingual Fijian, and 7% of workplaces required monolingual Hindi. Many occupational monolinguals might have been house-girls (servants). These figures were reversed in the home situation. Only 7.5% of homes used monolingual English, but 34.5% of homes used monolingual Fijian and 28.5% of homes used monolingual Hindi.

As the table suggests, multilingualism crossed all class and cultural boundaries. This is quite different to many other nations. There were some differences in the social application of that multilingualism. For example, many Fijians aggressively used Fijian even in mixed company, such as at the University of the South Pacific campus, which draws students from twelve island nations. Some Western Fijians preferred English since it was more likely to give them social equality with Eastern Fijians (the ruling tribal group). Nevertheless, these widely available language competencies carried an important message which had been obscured by the racial rhetoric of public debate that came with political upheaval. English was universally seen as the 'link language'. After the 1987 military coup by conservative Fijian elements, there was some post-coup linguistic chauvinism in the public service. However, there was no serious threat to advancing English usage.

Languages across the generations (Q8 & Q9)

When we turn to the languages spoken by the parents and children of respondents (Table B), some really interesting patterns begin to emerge.

LANGUAGE	PARENTS of S		RESPONDENTS		CHILDREN of S	
Total number of informants 834	Responses 793		Responses 834		Responses 471	
Some English	18%	145	33%	278	48%	471
Some Fijian	47.5%	377	48%	401	47%	221
Some Hindi	42.5%	337	43%	362	44.5%	209
Only English	8%	66	7.5%	34	8%	38
Only Fijian	41.5%	328	34.5%	289	30.5%	143
Only Hindi	35%	276	28.5%	239	20.5%	96
At least 2 Ls	15.5%	123	29%	244	41%	194
At least 3 LS	1.9%	15	2.8%	23	3.2%	15

Table B: Languages across the generations in Suva

The table shows a very marked generational shift to English bilingualism. At the current rate, most families in the city could be bilingual in their homes within three generations. This must be of great significance for language education, as well as for the whole social and political dynamic of the nation. There was and is obviously scope here for some enlightened language planning. Whether that might follow a Singapore-type pattern is an open

question. What the data here could not show however was the widening gap between urban and rural populations.

Although Suva is the largest city between Auckland and Honolulu, in absolute terms it was and is still small with limited industry. Village populations are likely to remain very significant in the country. There the cash economy was restricted, literacy except for bible reading was minimal and print media penetration remained peripheral. 30% of the nation had no electricity grid and 40% of the remainder had only intermittent access (Republic of the Fiji Islands official statistics, 2006). However, a television network did begin to operate in 1994, mostly with international programming, and this is bound to affect worldviews. Rural radio services were important, and under indigenous control. In other words, the bilingual shift was unlikely to be matched quickly in rural contexts, although the wish for education and wider horizons would continue to draw young people to the towns (or for an important group of young Fijian men, into the army).

Multilingualism at home

33% of respondents claimed to use some English at home. Only 18% of their parents did so, but the figure rose to 48% for their children.

48% of respondents reported using some Fijian at home, over six times the

workplace usage level. However, in this case there was virtually no generational change, with 47.5% of parents using some Fijian at home, and 47% of children using some Fijian.

The Fijian language situation was almost matched by Hindi (Fiji Baat) usage, with 43% of respondents claiming some Hindi usage, while 42.5% of parents and 44.5% of children did the same.

From this we can see that most of the plurilingualism can be attributed to English. 29% of respondents claimed to speak two languages at home, while 15.5% of their parents did, and 41% of children did. The small number of home trilinguals also showed a relatively large shift over three generations. 2.8% of respondents spoke three or more languages at home, while 1.9% of their parents did, and 3.2% of their children.

Monolingualism at home

Monolingual behaviour in this urban population appears to have remained relatively static for original English speakers, but diminished noticeably across three generations for Fijian and Hindi speakers.

English monolinguals were 8% of respondents, while 7.5% of their parents were also monolingual, and 8.4% of their children. This group represented the

European and mixed race population who were relatively well off, and considering themselves an elite, saw little need to become plurilingual.

Those speaking only Fijian at home represented 34.5% of Fijians, 41.5% of their parents and 30.5% of children. A proportion of this group might be actively hostile to the urban multilingual character of Suva, but others would simply lack education. The 15% drop in monolingualism across three generations showed a lot of aspirational pressure amongst a group which claimed political and historical dominance in the society, but had lost out badly in the cash and professional economies.

Monolingual Hindi speakers represented 28.5% of respondents, 35% of parents and 20.5% of children. The generational 15% drop in monolingualism matched that of the ethnic Fijians, but the dynamic was somewhat different. The Indian population had historically been more interested than Fijians in educational, professional and career advancement, although there was a marked split between urban Gujurati immigrants (more recent arrivals) and the original poor south Indian cane farmers. Although Fiji Baat is a rather reduced patois of standard Hindi, and many Fiji Indians were embarrassed about their poor Hindi literacy, there was extensive access to Hindi videos, now supplemented (for the richer elements) by Hindi satellite television. These factors would encourage Hindi retention. However, post the 1987 coup, there was a new dynamic. Many Fiji Indians no longer felt welcome in Fiji, so English bilingualism and higher

education was one of their few avenues for possible emigration.

Notes

1. Nationalism, education and the media can all affect trends to bilingualism. There was no TV in Fiji at the time of the survey (1990). As noted above, that has changed. In 2009 Fiji TV advertises programming almost exclusively in English. There is some Hindi satellite TV for those who can afford it. The only Fijian television is a weekly news summary. English and Hindi videos are widespread. Fijian language visual media production is negligible. However, radio does remain the prime vehicle for Fiji language transmission across the country, especially given the relatively low rate of literacy and actual reading in rural areas. It is even used for personal messages.

2. As a lecturer in linguistics at the University of the South Pacific, I was often asked by anxious parents if using English exclusively in the home would increase their children's life chances. Such aspirational behaviour by 'wannabes' is derided in public, but copied in private. Bilingualism then may not always be seen as an ideal (of the kind rather wistfully promoted in Australian 'multicultural' political circles), but as a way-station in the search for a more marketable primary language.

3. A caution: the data does not objectively analyse the quantity or quality of

bilingual usage. Much more research is needed on shifting domain and register usage, as well as the actual competence of speakers in various languages. When one language starts to claim part of the domain of another one, then the linguistic repertoire of the first language may very well decline. In fact, in another part of this survey there is some indirect evidence for such a loss of L1 competence amongst Fijian and Hindi speakers.

Qualitative Measures: language skill levels (Question 18)

The most complex query in this survey was question 18, where I tried to get at some qualitative aspects of language competence by asking respondents what they thought their level of competence was in different languages.

In Q.18 I attempted to convey the concept of four different levels of language competence. This is a hard enough thing to do with, say, professional teachers. To ask the general public to make that kind of judgment is an extremely tricky exercise for a number of reasons. Firstly, understanding the idea itself is difficult for many people. Secondly individuals vary tremendously in the criteria they apply to self-evaluation, for reasons of personality, life-experience and enculturation. There was some suggestion, for example, that women in Fiji may have had a lower level of self-esteem than men when they considered their own language competence.

Life experience is critical in language self-evaluation. A person's judgment of linguistic competence has to be influenced by the demands which have been made upon their language in the past. Thus, when we look at the students who came to USP, at first arrival they were the *crème de la crème* of the secondary system. They had a very high opinion of their competence in English. Many then discovered to their horror that their language was suddenly 'primitive' in this new environment.

However, even taking into account all of these limiting factors, I believe that some interesting patterns emerged from the data. They are patterns that are worth investigating further because a sample size of 864 is large enough for many of the idiosyncratic effects to cancel out. We can get an idea of the balance of competence which people felt existed in the community.

Language	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1	Sum All Levels	Level 1+2	Level 3+4
English	53.5	29.9	9.0	6.0	98.3	15.0	83.3
Fijian	42.9	18.6	10.1	15.2	86.8	25.3	61.5
Hindi	37.2	12.8	8.9	15.3	74.2	24.2	50.0
Urdu	1.9	1.0	1.3	4.4	8.6	5.8	2.9
Rotuman	2.0	2.2	1.2	7.9	13.3	9.1	4.2
Kiribati	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.6	0.6
Samoan	0.7	0.1	0.1	1.0	1.9	1.1	0.8
Mandarin	0.5	0.2	0.6	1.0	2.3	1.6	0.7
Arabic	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.5	1.4	1.0	0.5
French	0.0	0.4	0.7	0.8	1.9	1.6	0.4
minor languages	2.2	1.6	0.8	3.0	7.6	3.8	3.7

Table C1: Number of Speakers at Skill Levels as a percentage of the total sample (834)

Language	Percentage for each language claiming skill at Level 4 (maximum level)
English	54.4
Fijian	49.4
Hindi	50.1

Table C2: The percentage of speakers claiming maximal competence in major languages

In Tables C1 and C2 the top skill level represents what I call level 4, this being the point at which a speaker feels competent to handle any required social or profession demand in a language. In fact about half of users in all three major languages felt themselves competent to level 4. A substantial part of the remaining respondents in each case considered themselves to be at least at level 3, which is where the individual does not have optimal competence but is functional in many practical situations.

83.3% felt competent for most purposes in English (levels 3 & 4). This changed for students coming to university! 61.5% of respondents felt adequately competent in Fijian, a figure which exceeded the ethnic population balance by over 10%, showing a degree of Fijian/Hindi bilingualism. A larger percentage claimed some mutual bilingualism at levels 1 and 2. 52.9% felt adequately competent in Hindi/Urdu; (the Urdu component is very small). Technically, Hindi and Urdu are really dialects of one language. Note that in this survey a few mother tongue speakers even identified themselves as operating at level 3 in that MT, which seemed to show rather low self-esteem.

This kind of data becomes much more interesting when one correlates it with major sociological categories like age, sex and occupation. For our purposes here I have selected out two occupational groups: unskilled manual workers and skilled service workers, which embraced the range of aspiration for most ordinary people in Fiji.

Language	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1	Sum All Levels	Level 1+2	Level 3+4
English	36.2	37.1	12.4	11.4	97.1	23.8	73.3
Fijian	52.4	10.5	8.6	13.3	84.8	21.9	62.9
Hindi	36.2	13.3	9.5	13.3	72.4	22.9	49.5
Urdu	1.9	1.0	1.9	2.9	7.6	4.8	2.9
Rotuman	1.0	1.0	0.0	3.8	5.7	3.8	1.9
Kiribati	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
Samoan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mandarin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Arabic	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.9	1.0	1.0
French	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
minor languages	2.9	2.9	0.0	1.9	7.6	1.9	5.7

Table D: Language Levels of Unskilled Manual Workers: 105 subjects (12.6% of total sample)

Language	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1	Sum All Levels	Level 1+2	Level 3+4
English	79.6	16.8	2.7	1.8	100.9	4.4	96.5
Fijian	43.4	24.8	9.7	15.0	92.9	24.8	68.1
Hindi	30.1	21.2	9.7	17.7	78.8	27.4	51.3
Urdu	0.9	0.0	1.8	4.4	7.1	6.2	0.9
Rotuman	3.5	4.4	3.5	9.7	21.2	13.3	8.0
Kiribati	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.9
Samoan	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.9	2.7	0.9	1.8
Mandarin	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.9	1.8	0.9	0.9
Arabic	0.0	0.9	0.9	2.7	4.4	3.5	0.9
French	0.0	1.8	0.9	1.8	4.4	2.7	1.8
minor languages	1.8	1.8	3.5	2.7	9.7	6.2	3.5

Table E: Language Levels of Skilled Service Workers: 113 subjects (14% of Sample)

73.3% of unskilled manual workers felt competent for most purposes in English (levels 3 & 4). 62.9% felt adequately competent in Fijian, which again exceeds the ethnic population balance, showing bilingualism. 52.4% felt adequately competent in Hindi/Urdu.

96.5% of skilled service workers felt competent for most purposes in English

(levels 3 & 4). 68.1% felt adequately competent in Fijian. 52% felt adequately competent in Hindi/Urdu.

The two tables show some striking differences between these occupational groups. It is not so much in the claimed aggregate of language knowledge. Almost every occupational respondent claimed to make some use of English. However, the confidence that the skilled service workers had in their own English skills was much higher than that of the unskilled manual workers. Perhaps this was to be expected. After all, skilled service works are usually required to demonstrate advanced English competence as a job requirement, particularly if they deal directly with the general public. Typically these people would also have secondary or even tertiary education. Note however that an English requirement does not even exist in many unskilled occupations. The interviewers were struck by the regard which squatter camp dwellers had for multilingualism as one of the few saleable assets which they could hope to acquire.

The unskilled workers claimed slightly higher competence in Fijian than the skilled service workers. How well this belief was reflected in objective competence needs to be investigated. It could easily be a misplaced judgement, or it may reflect that unskilled workers were using Fijian for a wider range of domains than skilled workers. For example the Fijian military (a major employer) contained very few Indo Fijians (but it did make extensive use

of English as a contributor to international peacekeeping operations). Official statistics for workers in employment (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 1999) did not show large differences between the numbers of ethnic Fijians and Fiji Indians in most skilled or unskilled categories.

Unlike native Fijians, speakers of Fiji Baat (Fiji Hindi) were well aware that their dialect is a reduced version of a much richer standard, which many of them felt unable to handle. There was a marked reluctance amongst many Indo-Fijians to use standard Hindi in anything which looked like a formal situation, even where the cultural loading was very high (such as at a wedding). In such situations they would prefer English.

2.3.14 Respondent age distribution correlated with language skill levels

We have already seen that the respondents had quite definite views about the change in language skills across generations (Table B). It was therefore interesting to look at self-judgments of their own language competence according to age. The interview subjects ranged from six to ninety-two with a mean of around twenty-nine. What I have done is to break the data into six age categories :: 6–11, 12–17, 18–30, 31–45, 46–60 and 61–92.

Age	% Level 4	% Level 3	% Level 2	% Level 1
6 to 11 y.o.	22.6	45.2	22.6	9.7
12 to 17 y.o.	45.2	43.5	8.7	2.6
18 to 30 y.o.	67.7	23.6	6.3	2.4
31 to 45 y.o.	51.8	33.3	8.1	6.8
46 to 60 y.o.	42.9	28.6	15.3	13.3
61 to 92 y.o.	29.2	20.8	16.7	33.3

Table F1: Relative skill levels of English speakers by age

Age	% Level 4	% Level 3	% Level 2	% Level 1
6 to 11 y.o.	22.2	38.9	11.1	27.8
12 to 17 y.o.	53.0	21.0	9.0	17.0
18 to 30 y.o.	45.8	20.5	14.2	19.4
31 to 45 y.o.	52.9	22.0	8.9	16.2
46 to 60 y.o.	57.3	20.8	10.4	11.5
61 to 92 y.o.	48.1	22.2	18.5	11.1

Table F2: Relative skill levels of Fijian speakers by age

Age	% Level 4	% Level 3	% Level 2	% Level 1
6 to 11 y.o.	27.8	27.8	22.2	22.2
12 to 17 y.o.	47.2	13.9	11.1	27.8
18 to 30 y.o.	50.2	18.0	13.3	18.4
31 to 45 y.o.	51.8	15.5	9.5	23.2
46 to 60 y.o.	54.9	17.1	12.2	15.9
61 to 92 y.o.	52.9	29.4	11.8	5.9

Table F3: Relative skill levels of Hindi speakers by age

The meaning of these age distribution tables becomes clearer when the results are graphed:

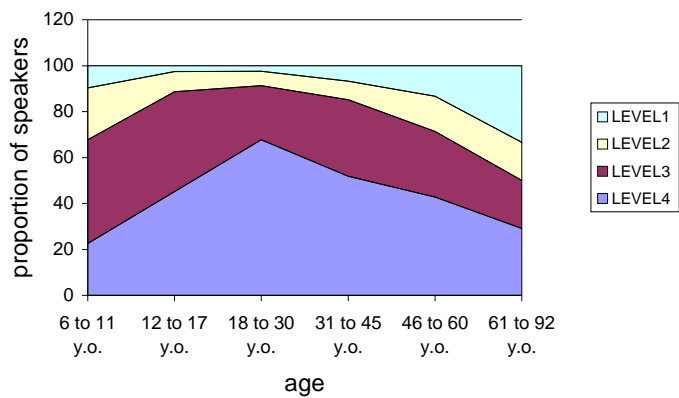


Diagram 2a: Relative skill levels of English speakers by age

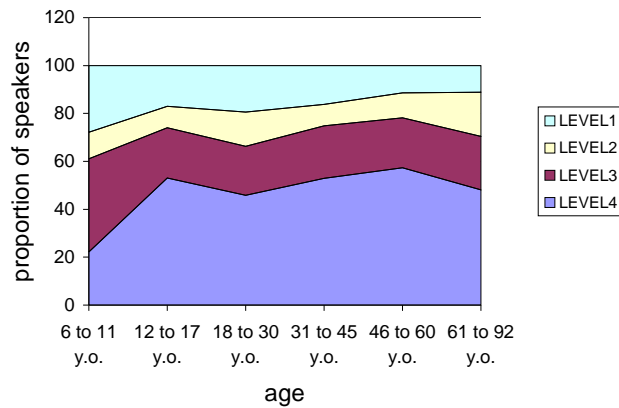


Diagram 2b: Relative skill levels of Fijian speakers by age

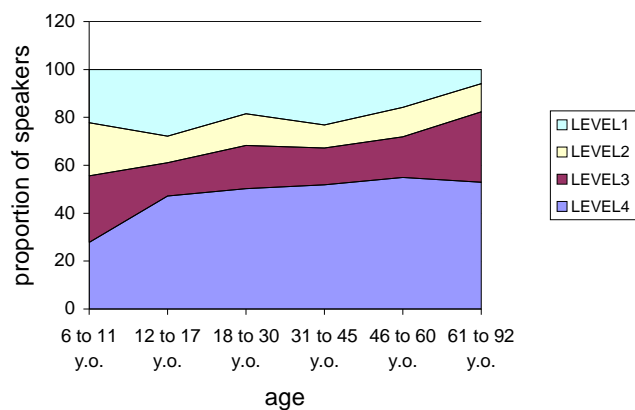


Diagram 2c: Relative skill levels of Hindi speakers by age

The data combines results from both native speakers in each language and those who learned it as a second language. This is possibly reflected in the different curves for initial acquisition with Fijian and Hindi speakers showing a high level of confidence in their ability by the 12 to 17 year old age band. The combined group of English speakers on the other hand shows a continuing steep increase in skills until the 18 to 30 age band.

The Fijian and Hindi speaker groups, having achieved maximum skills by 12 to 17, show little change in the later age cohorts, although there is some indication that more older speakers of Hindi learned the language than younger speakers. There may be good historical reasons for this. For example, rural to urban migration had a marked effect on the economic value of different languages.

The continued steep increase in English skills until the 18 to 30 age band was probably a reflection of the fact that only a small proportion of the national population were native English speakers (less than 10%). The equally steep decline in English skill levels in the older age cohorts is a clear indication of the rapid change that Fiji had undergone.

The older respondents in the survey had experienced traumatic changes in their social, cultural and occupational environments. Suva had moved from being a very racially stratified colonial society through political independence, into an emerging urban industrial community. Education had spread from the primary level teaching of literacy to a few lucky natives, to something approaching a universal secondary system with a large cap of tertiary level training too. Skilled occupations had shifted from being the prerogative of colonial expatriates to being the normal aspiration of able individuals in the local community. Large numbers of soldiers had rotated into international

peace keeping forces. It could be argued that the 18–30 age group represented the first fruits of the post-colonial situation where, ironically, the rewards for mastery of the colonial language became maximized.

Gender and Language Skills

Almost 100% of both sexes claimed to use some English, but in all three major languages there was a smallish yet quite consistent difference between genders. Men rated themselves more highly. The difference is difficult to interpret. I don't know whether we are seeing a culturally induced expression of lower self-esteem by the women, or whether it reflected their more restricted linguistic opportunities. I doubt the second suggestion for oral language. Even if women's English speaking opportunities were more restricted (and I am not persuaded of that) their exposure to Hindi or Fijian is not in question. Besides, language is one skill at which women are supposed to be better than men. However there is a distinct likelihood that the literacy level of women was a bit lower in this society. There is a clear need here for objective investigation.

Language	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1	Sum All Levels	Level 1+2	Level 3+4
English	59.9	28.5	7.1	1.3	96.7	8.3	88.4
Fijian	45.3	20.9	10.8	12.1	89.2	22.9	66.2
Hindi	39.5	12.6	19.4	13.1	84.6	32.5	52.1
Urdu	2.0	1.3	1.8	4.0	9.1	5.8	3.3
Rotuman	2.3	1.8	1.5	9.8	15.4	11.3	4.0
Kiribati	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.8	0.5	1.3
Samoan	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.5	1.8	0.8	1.0
Mandarin	0.3	0.0	0.5	1.0	1.8	1.5	0.3
Arabic	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.8	3.3	1.5	1.8
French	0.0	0.5	1.5	0.8	2.8	2.3	0.5
Minor languages	1.8	1.8	1.3	3.5	8.3	4.8	3.5

Table G: Male Language Skills

Number of Speakers at Skill Levels as a Percentage of the Male Sample (397 Subjects)

Language	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1	Sum All Levels	Level 1+2	Level 3+4
English	47.4	31.1	10.8	8.0	97.3	10.8	78.5
Fijian	40.7	16.5	9.4	17.8	84.4	9.4	57.2
Hindi	35.0	10.8	8.5	17.4	71.6	8.5	45.8
Urdu	2.1	0.7	0.9	4.8	8.5	0.9	2.7
Rotuman	2.3	2.5	0.9	6.2	11.9	0.9	4.8
Kiribati	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.2
Samoan	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.8	0.0	0.7
Mandarin	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.9	2.5	0.9	0.9
Arabic	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.0
French	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.4	0.2	0.2
minor languages	2.5	1.1	0.5	2.5	6.6	0.9	3.7

Table H: Female Language Skills

Number of Speakers at Skill Levels as a Percentage of the Female Sample (437 Subjects)

Languages of Literacy in Suva (834 Respondents)

Language	Language Code	Number of Users	Percentage of Users
not literate	0	27	3.2
English only	1	125	15
Fijian only	2	36	4.3
Hindi only	3	28	3.4
	1+2	321	38.5
	1+3	207	24.8
	1+2+3	26	3.1
+ Rotuman	1+2+8	11	1.3
	1+8	9	1
Other		44	5.3

Table I: Language of Literacy in Suva (834 respondents)

Literacy is a notoriously elusive collection of skills to quantify in any useful way. Measures such as the widely quoted UNESCO figures on national literacy often conceal more than they reveal. Aptitudes apart, people have very different needs depending upon their occupations, opportunities and tastes. Moreover, with proliferating media they have different ways of meeting those needs. The tabulation above, like the survey overall, suggests paths for further inquiry.

A few comments may help to set the context. Contemporary Fijian and Fijian Indian communities at the time of the survey were not cultures with a strong tradition of reading or writing. Traditional Fijian village life is a tropical, subsistence communal environment. Reading and writing tend to be inherently individualistic activities which go against the grain of such communal living. Language skills were and are valued, but in the manner of oral storytelling and sophisticated personal interaction. The new generation of urban Fijians was of course a little more drawn to literary activities, but this was recent and not deeply ingrained.

The ethnic Indian community divided into sugar cane farmers, whose ancestors came as poor indentured labourers from both north and south India (mostly the south), and a rather more recent influx who were typically Gujarati and formed the core of the new professional class of doctors, academics and shopkeepers (Gillian 1973, Lal 1997, Mugler & Mamtara 2004). The professional classes exited Fiji in large numbers from 1987, following a series of military coups.

There has long been a social and professional divide between the different Fiji-Indian groups. The cane farmers soon dispensed with the caste system, intermarried freely with each other (although rarely with ethnic Fijians) and adopted a patois called Fiji baat. They tend to have a relaxed social

relationship with ethnic Fijians. Gujuratis however have aroused resentment by dominating the retail trade, maintaining their caste system, and regularly returning to India to seek brides.

The urge to seek advancement through education in these Indian communities is generally stronger than amongst the Fijians, but it is usually a utilitarian interest with little widespread enthusiasm in reading for pleasure. There are of course individual exceptions to this, and some fine local writers. Both the climate and limited resources of Island life also militate against literary activity. Schools and villages have very little reading material available.

Of the 15% recorded as literate only in English, those who were not native speakers may have been Indian. Hindi requires learning another script whereas Fijian does not. The schooling system is a vehicle for latin script rather than devanagari based literacy.

Survey Conclusion

The Suva language use survey discussed in this appendix is only a pilot study. Nevertheless it does begin to sketch the shadowy outline of a community undergoing great social change. The emerging patterns of language use across generations indicated a convergence of Indian and Fijian communities rather

than the violent separation which the surface froth of contemporary politics has imposed.

If knowledge of this convergence had been widespread and used constructively by the ruling elite, much of the bitterness and cultural despair of the last twenty years could have been mitigated. Moderate voices would have had more confidence about expressing a cooperative future, against the supposedly populist exploitation of divisions by ruthless politicians. Sound, non-ideological research by linguists in Fiji could be a counsel for hope.

There are many other parts of the world where insightful work by sociolinguists could be of similar benefit. As the Fijian instance illustrates however, it is not enough merely to do the research. The knowledge has to be carried over into public understanding and policy implementation. The participation by the linguistics students was especially promising in this regard. They were part of a very small educated elite and in a few years would have the opportunity to translate their new insights into policy.

Addendum 1: Questionnaire for the residents of Suva City, Fiji

University Of The South Pacific
Department Of Literature & Language
LANGUAGES IN THE PACIFIC, 1990

Instructions

1. We are trying to learn what languages ordinary people know and use in the South Pacific. True information about this can help communities to plan education and activities which people really want.
2. Please say what you actually think. Don't just try to please the questioner!
3. Please try to answer every question, even if the answer is "nothing" or "nil".

Thank you for your help,

Thor May, Lecturer

Questions

Have you answered this question sheet before? -> Yes/No

A. Personal

1. Age (approx.):....
2. Sex:....
3. Years of Schooling:.....
4. Job:.....
5. Nationality:.....

B. What Language Where?

- 6. What language(s) do you use at work or school?.....
- 7. What language do you speak at home?.....
- 8. What language do your parents speak at home?.....
- 9. What language do your children (if any) speak at home?.....

C. Writing (It is OK to say "none" for any of these questions)

- 10. How many letters a year do you write (guess)?.....
- 11. What language(s) do you write the letters in?.....
- 12. What else do you write?.....

D. Reading (It is OK to say "none" for any of these questions)

- 13. What languages can you read & write in?.....
- 14. How many newspapers do you read a week?.....
- 15. What languages are the papers written in?.....
- 16. What magazines do you read? (please name):.....
- 17. What else do you read?.....

E. Speaking

- 18. What can you do with these languages?

(tick the highest level for each)

Language	Nil	LEVEL 1 exchange greetings	LEVEL 2 buy goods in a shop	LEVEL 3 talk about family, friends etc.	LEVEL 4 discuss difficult ideas like, religion, politics, technology etc.
English	x	x	x	x	x
Fijian	x	x	x	x	x
Rotumans	x	x	x	x	x
Hindi	x	x	x	x	x
Urdu	x	x	x	x	x
Other Languages (please name)	x	x	x	x	x

19. How did you learn these languages?

(tick both columns if you wish).

Language	English	Fijian	Rotuman	Hindi	Urdu	Others (please name)
by talking to people	x	x	x	x	x	x
by school or study (number of years?)	x	x	x	x	x	x

20. What languages (if any) would you like to improve in?

21. What new languages (if any) would you like to learn?

Thank you again for your help

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