Adult ESL programs in Australia

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ABSTRACT

Australia has often been called a nation of immigrants and like many countries in the world has experienced major intakes of settlers at various periods of its history. However, among immigrant-receiving nations, Australia is unique in providing newly arrived immigrants and refugees with settlement and second-language programs that have been nationally funded for over 50 years. At the broader level, adult English as a Second Language (ESL) programs have been influenced by Australian Government policies in immigration, language, competitive tendering and labour-market development. At the program level, development has been driven by the institutionalisation of outcomes-based curriculums and the application of sociolinguistic theories to language analysis, classroom delivery and resource development. This article provides an overview of major changes that have occurred to Australian adult ESL programs over the past two decades and what the future may hold.

A settler nation

Since the 1788 British settlement of Australia, or invasion from the perspective of Indigenous Australians, people have come to live in the country from all over the world. The first systematic intake of settlers was in the late 18th century when Britain established penal colonies in Australia. The second large-scale systematic intake of immigrants was after the Second World War.

Immigration has fundamentally shaped the structure and nature of Australian society. There have been several waves of immigration to Australia since 1788, but none has been more dramatic than the large-scale migration to Australia which occurred after the Second World War. (Collins 1988: 1)

This post-war immigration was stimulated by increased foreign investment in Australia and very rapid industrialisation, which was occurring in many countries at this time, including Canada (see Pettis, this issue). Post-war immigrants have come to Australia from over 200 countries, with earlier immigrants coming mainly from Italy, Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Indo-China, and South and Central America, and the most recent groups coming from Russia, China, Korea, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Africa.

Australia’s post-war policies have dictated the numbers of newcomers
to the country through the immigration program and these numbers have increased or decreased according to movements in the national economy and humanitarian crises around the world. Over the past two decades immigrant numbers have been as low as 69,788 in 1993–94 and as high as 145,316 in 1988–89 (Commonwealth of Australia 2007: 8). In recent years Australia, like many industrialised countries, has been experiencing labour shortages and the quotas for various categories of immigrants have been adjusted as a strategy to meet labour-market demands, with the number of people arriving in 2006–07 rising to 140,148 (Commonwealth of Australia 2007: 8).

The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) divides people seeking immigration to Australia into the following broad categories within two main immigration streams – the Migration Program and the Humanitarian Program:

- **Settlers** are people arriving in Australia with permanent visas, New Zealand citizens and people eligible to settle, such as overseas-born children of Australian citizens.

- **Humanitarian entrants** are refugees and humanitarian and special assistance immigrants.

- **Family stream entrants** are people who are sponsored by a relative who is an Australian citizen or a permanent resident of Australia, including spouses, prospective spouses, children, adopted children, special-need relatives and so on.

- **Skilled entrants** apply through the component of the immigration program designed to contribute to Australia’s economic growth. The program consists of a number of categories for prospective immigrants where there is demand in Australia for particular skills.

- **Skilled designated area sponsored entrants** are skilled people sponsored by relatives to designated areas of Australia, particularly rural areas.

- **Employer nomination entrants** are highly skilled people nominated by employers who have been unable to find or train skilled workers in Australia.

- **Business skills entrants** are successful business people, with established skills in business, who are committed to owning and managing a business in Australia.

- **Distinguished talent entrants** are people who have outstanding records of achievement in a profession, occupation, the arts or sport.
Language policies

In 1987 the then Labor federal government released *The national policy on languages* (Lo Bianco 1987), a policy oriented to pluralism, multiculturalism and social equity. However, this document was replaced in 1991 by *Australia’s language: The Australian language and literacy policy* (DEET 1991). The revised government policy promoted an economic agenda emphasising the need to grow a skilled Australian workforce to compete in a globalised economy. This change coincided with national reform of vocational and educational training, which included a move to competency-based training. The main emphases of *Australia’s language: The Australian language and literacy policy* were child and adult literacy and the teaching of selected foreign languages in secondary schools (see Moore 1996).

With the election of the conservative Liberal government in 1996, a document entitled *Literacy for all* (DEETYA 1999) was released. It focused on the need to improve English literacy and introduced literacy benchmarks into schools (Burns and Hammond 1999). What followed was a period of sensationalist media coverage about falling standards in literacy promoted by the then Minister for Education, Dr Kemp. The coverage was based on ‘a set of unvalidated benchmarks [which provided] a cut-off point between those students who were deemed to be achieving at acceptable literacy levels and those who were not’ (Hammond and Derewianka 1999: 25).

The unfortunate consequence of the sensationalist media coverage of literacy standards over the past decade or so has led to the ‘literacy wars’ (Snyder 2008). This adversarial approach has stifled reasoned debate about the complexity of teaching and learning language and literacy, with conservative governments and educators promoting a moral panic around literacy and looking for quick fixes. This discord has spilt over into criticism of the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) for failing to enable newly arrived immigrants and refugees to develop adequate spoken and written English skills for the workplace (Robb 2006; Burke 2007).

Adult ESL

The ability to speak English is an important factor in the successful settlement of migrants. In the workplace it enables them to seek better-paid and more congenial work that may be closed to them without some knowledge of the language of the country. It also helps to widen social contacts and break down feelings of loneliness and isolation.


Australia is unique in providing newly arrived immigrants and refugees
with settlement and second-language programs that have been nationally funded for over 50 years (Martin, S. 1998). The AMEP had its roots in the post-war immigration boom of the 1950s and 1960s, when pre-embarkation and shipboard programs were conducted for immigrants in transit to Australia. The program was established in 1949 and provides English-language tuition for newly arrived immigrants and refugees through classroom-based programs, distance learning, a volunteer home-tutor program and community-based programs (see Martin, S. 2000 for a historical overview of the AMEP).

Originally the AMEP was funded by the Australian Government on a triennial basis through Memorandums of Understanding with the State and Territory governments. This provided the program with a ‘continuity and stability’ (Burns 2003: 263) that many similar programs around the world did not have. Since 1998 public and private providers have tendered for the program, initially on a three-year basis, but this has now been extended to five years.

The AMEP is funded by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship and is available to refugees and immigrants but not to those who enter the country as skilled or business immigrants. The baseline entitlement is 510 hours of tuition, with an additional 100 hours available to humanitarian entrants who have suffered torture and trauma or who have barriers to learning. An additional 400 hours is available to humanitarian entrants between the ages of 16 and 24 years who have less than seven years of formal schooling. Despite these entitlements, many participants in the program do not complete their tuition and many providers believe that there should be some obligation placed on AMEP students to use the hours allotted to them.

There are two other major adult language and literacy programs funded by the Australian Government and administered by the Department of Employment, Science and Training. The Language, Literacy and Numeracy Program aims to assist unemployed adults to develop skills to participate in the workplace. The students in this program are obliged to complete the program with requirements for attendance and completion of assessments. The Workplace Language and Literacy Program provides tuition in workplaces, with the government and employers both contributing to the cost of courses, which must be geared to the language and literacy requirements of the workplace or vocational training.

**AMEP curriculum**

Throughout the history of the AMEP the emphasis has been on teaching English for social and work contexts outside the classroom. For example, an
early textbook series published from 1966 through to 1975 for the program by the Australian Government was *Situational English for newcomers to Australia*. This three-part series adopted an aural/oral approach and presented grammatical points ‘situationally in sentence patterns which show their function and meaning and which are arranged in carefully graded teaching order’ (Australian Government 1975: v).

The decade of the 1980s saw enormous advancements in curriculum and teaching in the AMEP. The dominant methodology was communicative language teaching (Brindley 1986; Johnson 1989) and the decentralised, learner-centred and negotiated curriculum (Nunan 1988; Tudor 1996) meant that individual teachers developed courses for their student groups through needs analysis and goal clarification processes. However, in the late 1980s problems were identified with this individualised curricular approach, including lack of continuity and feedback to learners on their progress and uncertainty about syllabus planning and content (Campbell 1986; Nunan 1987; Burton 1998; see also Lindberg and Sandwall this issue).

This situation signalled the need for a centralised curriculum for the program and the first step in this process was the development of the National Curriculum Project Frameworks (Nunan and Burton 1988–91). These frameworks aimed to guide syllabus development for different groups of learners and contexts; for example, *New arrivals – Initial elementary proficiency; Young fast learners – Educational focus; and English in the Workplace*.

The National Curriculum Frameworks were followed by the Learner Pathways Project (Colman 1991; Lipa 1993), which aimed to provide a shared way of describing learner needs and goals and rationalising learning progression. This project coincided with broader national vocational training reforms and a concern that the AMEP should be an integral part of broader settlement programs. The move towards a national system of course accreditation accelerated this development and ‘[c]ourses seeking national accreditation had to meet agreed principles of competency-based training which were defined within the National Framework for the Recognition of Training’ (Hagan 1994: 32).

In 1992 the NSW Adult Migrant English Service accredited the *Certificate in spoken and written English* (CSWE) (NSW AMES 1993) and the Australian Government adopted it as the national AMEP curriculum.

In effect, the CSWE was introduced as a result of policies from a reformist federal government in a climate of economic restructuring where competency-based training focused on outcomes was seen as a way of making education more responsive to the changing demands of labour markets and more
accountable to funding authorities. This centralised and outcomes-driven approach contrasted sharply with previous curriculum development practices in the AMEP whereby teachers were free to design and deliver programs to meet the needs of individual learners with little or no accountability. (Burns 2003: 264)

The CSWE described learning outcomes at four stages of learning, with outcomes written in terms of language competencies; for example, *Can write a written report/Can participate in casual conversation*. The curriculum provided a higher-level generic framework within which teachers developed individual syllabuses based on student needs and goals (see Feez 2002). For example, the curriculum might specify that students should be able to read a procedural text, but the teacher decided whether this would be a set of instructions for a ticket-vending machine or a set of safety instructions for work. The competency descriptions for each stage were divided into four domains: knowledge and learning competencies, oral competencies, reading competencies and writing competencies. These competencies were described in terms of the essential linguistic components of texts, the minimal performance required to achieve the competency, the variables that set out the boundaries of the performance and sample assessment texts and tasks.

Since 1992 the curriculum has been implemented in other educational sectors including Indigenous education, high school ESL programs, corrective services training programs and English-language programs for overseas students. It has been re-accredited a number of times after seeking feedback from end-users, including curriculum personnel, teacher educators, teachers and assessors.

The latest version of the CSWE will be implemented in the first half of 2008. It provides a five-level framework – *Certificates I, II, III and IV in Spoken and Written English* (NSW AMES 2008) and a pre-CSWE level for students from non-literate backgrounds and with low levels of schooling. There are two separate strands at Certificate IV level – Employment and Further Study. Achievement is stated in terms of learning outcomes. Table 1 sets out the learning outcomes within the modular structure of the curriculum framework and the requirements to achieve a credential at Certificate II level. It is still a generic curriculum framework within which teachers contextualise the learning outcomes according to the goals of the students.
### Table I: Learning outcomes and requirements for Certificate II in Spoken and Written English (NSW AMES 2008)

**Certificate II in Spoken and Written English**

Successful completion of *Certificate II in Spoken and Written English* requires successful completion of 7 modules:

- 1 compulsory module
- 6 elective modules

Elective modules must include:

- 2 modules from the listening and speaking skills electives
- 2 modules from the reading and writing skills electives

The 2 remaining modules can be selected from any of the elective modules, including numeracy.

Students who do not achieve the full credential can be awarded a Statement of Attainment for successful completion of modules and providers can also issue a Record of Achievement to record achievement of individual learning outcomes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module number</th>
<th>Module name</th>
<th>Nominal hours</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compulsory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II A</td>
<td>Post-beginner learning strategies</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Listening and speaking skills electives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II B</td>
<td>Post-beginner listening and speaking skills for casual conversations</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II C</td>
<td>Post-beginner listening and speaking skills for transactional exchanges</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSWE II D</td>
<td>Post-beginner listening and speaking skills for information texts</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II E</td>
<td>Post-beginner listening and speaking skills for telephone exchanges</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSWE II F</td>
<td>Post-beginner listening and speaking skills for instructions</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II G</td>
<td>Post-beginner listening and speaking skills for interviews</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Reading and writing skills electives</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II H</td>
<td>Post-beginner writing skills for formatted texts</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II I</td>
<td>Post-beginner reading skills for information texts and instructions</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II J</td>
<td>Post-beginner reading and writing skills for informal texts</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II K</td>
<td>Post-beginner reading and writing skills for story texts</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II L</td>
<td>Post-beginner reading and writing skills for information reports</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II M</td>
<td>Post-beginner reading and writing skills for opinion texts</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Numeracy skills electives</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II N</td>
<td>Post-beginner numeracy skills for dealing with basic calculations and measurements in familiar contexts</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSWE II O</td>
<td>Post-beginner numeracy skills for working with space and shapes in familiar context</td>
<td>45</td>
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</table>
Linguistic influences on pedagogy

Since the late 1980s there has been growing dissatisfaction with communicative language teaching as an underpinning methodology. Students continue to express concern about communicative approaches used in the AMEP that ‘are not always transparent to learners, particularly those who are newly arrived and enrolling for the first time in English classes’ (Burns and de Silva Joyce 2008). Students express surprise, and sometimes confusion, with the less hierarchical roles of teachers and learners in AMEP classrooms, the expectation that they take some responsibility for their own learning, activities that focus on communication and language use rather than language form and grammar, the integration of activities across the macro skills and the lack of a textbook.

In response to these concerns, ESL curriculum developers and teachers have begun to explore notions of a ‘visible pedagogy’ (Bernstein 1990: 73). Systematic considerations of what visible pedagogy means in language and literacy education are associated in Australia with systemic functional linguistic theory and genre pedagogy developed through the work of the Sydney School and based on the linguistic concepts and theories of Michael Halliday, the founding Professor of Linguistics at Sydney University from late 1975.

Halliday’s idea was to bring together linguists and educators to forge educational linguistics into a transdisciplinary, rather than simply an interdisciplinary field … Linguistics must begin working with teachers and teachers in turn would begin to see linguistics as a practical, rather than an esoteric tool which they could use in their everyday work.

(Cope and Kalantzis 1993: 231)

The initial analysis of elemental genres or text types that were fundamental in primary schools (Martin, J. R. 1993; Rothery 1996) led to further analysis of genres in secondary school and adult social and work contexts. Genres are defined as ‘staged, goal-oriented social processes’ (Martin, J. R. and Rothery 1980–81) with identifiable and distinctive lexicogrammatical patterns characterising various stages of each genre. The genre-based approach to language and literacy education, which developed from this linguistic analysis, was a reaction to the progressivist and process-based classroom methodologies that were dominant in the 1970s and early 1980s. These methodologies were criticised for providing inexplicit roles for teachers and learners and little direct intervention in language and literacy development (Bourne 2003).

In the early 1990s a cycle of teaching and learning was developed for use in the primary classroom. This was influenced by the work of the Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner’s (1986) interpretation of
Vygotsky’s work as *scaffolded* instruction (Rothery 1996; Christie and Martin, J. R. 1997). This teaching–learning cycle was expanded and adapted to adult language and literacy contexts (Cornish 1992; Hammond et al 1992; Burns, Joyce and Gollin 1996; Feez with Joyce 1998) and became the pedagogic basis for the outcomes-based CSWE curriculum. The expanded model is shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: The teaching–learning cycle (Burns and Joyce 1991)**

The syllabuses that teachers design within the overall framework of the CSWE maintain a text-based approach (Feez with Joyce 1998), as underpinned by the text-based outcomes of the curriculum framework, which identifies ‘the key language features of the text type to be studied … organised, using Halliday’s stratified language model, into features relating to the whole text, lexical and grammatical features, and the phonological or graphological features’ (Feez 2002: 61).

Considerable effort in terms of research, professional development, classroom materials and resources has gone into the progressive implementation of the CSWE (go to www.ames.edu.au to see the catalogue of teaching and learning resources developed by one AMEP provider). The National Centre for English Language and Research, which includes the AMEP Research Centre, has conducted a major annual research program.
during this period with AMEP educators nationally, while projects at State and program delivery level have also flourished.

The stable base provided by government funding has meant that a great deal of research has been undertaken in relation to teaching and assessment within the CSWE framework. This has included numerous action research projects with researchers and teachers working together to explore aspects of teaching and learning in the classroom (Burns and de Silva Joyce 1999, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2008; Burns and Hood 1995, 1997, 1998; de Silva Joyce 2000). These ongoing cycles of national, collaborative action research have provided teachers with interstate contact and techniques for researching, reflecting on and documenting their practice. Ongoing research has also been undertaken on CSWE assessment issues, including inter-rater reliability (Claire 1995), moderation practices (Claire 2000), assessment task difficulty (Brindley 2000; Wigglesworth 2000), assessment of language gains (Ross 1998), and the effects of CSWE assessments on teaching and learning (Burrows 1998).

**Future directions**

The tendering of the AMEP has made it less stable in terms of providers being assured of continued funding beyond contract periods and has led to increased casualisation of teaching staff. The commitment to a national research base for the program is in question beyond the current contract for the AMEP Research Centre to 2009, and even if a research program is maintained, it is doubtful whether this will include action classroom-based research. It is more likely that the government will tender for research to support policy directions.

The main change indicated for the program over the next few years is for it to become more vocationally oriented. Although the program has always integrated language for job-seeking and language for work into programs, providers will be required to develop programs that deliver more direct vocational outcomes. The CSWE, as a generic curriculum, can support a diverse range of approaches to vocational language and literacy but the newly elected Labor government has indicated a more radical reworking of the AMEP to build pathways to employment. This includes a lifting of the entitlement caps, an introduction of Traineeships in English and Work Readiness, more emphasis on vocational English, and strong relationships between AMEP providers and employment agencies (Burke 2007).

The AMEP has responded to changing government policies over the years. As the articles in this special issue confirm, it has also been recognised internationally and modelled by other major immigrant-receiving countries (see, for example, Pettis, and Roach and Roskvist, this issue). It is to be hoped
that the incoming government will recognise that this unique program and all it has achieved over its long history provides a strong basis for the new directions it plans for the program.

REFERENCES


