Report for the School Curriculum and Standards Authority (SCSA): English as an Additional Language or Dialect Eligibility

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Background to the report (provided by SCSA)

Current situation
The Western Australian Year 11 and 12 EAL/D courses are provided for students who speak English as an additional language or dialect, and whose use of Standard Australian English (SAE) is restricted. There are three separate EAL/D courses available to students:

- EAL/D ATAR prepares students for tertiary study and the attainment of an ATAR score
- EAL/D General prepares students for a range of post-secondary destinations in further education, training and the workplace
- EAL/D Foundation provides support for the development of functional literacy and numeracy skills essential for students to meet the WACE standard of literacy and numeracy.

Currently, enrolment into EAL/D ATAR as a Year 12 student occurs with approval by the Authority. An online application must be completed by the student. EAL/D eligibility status is determined on a case-by-case basis.

Current eligibility criteria

1. Applicant will be a final-year student whose first language is not English. He/she/they will not have been a resident in Australia or another predominantly English-speaking country for a total period of more than seven years prior to 1 January of the year that he/she/they will be a final year student. The applicant will declare that English has not been the main medium of course delivery* for a total period of more than seven years prior to the year that he/she/they will be a final-year student at the school/s attended.
2. Applicant will be a final-year student who is deaf or hard-of-hearing and communicates using signing such as Auslan as their first language.
3. Applicant will be a final-year student who is Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, or from Cocos Island or Christmas Island, for whom Standard Australian English (SAE) has been the medium of instruction, but for whom SAE is an additional language/dialect, and whose exposure to SAE is primarily within the school context.

**Delivery is defined as the language in which the course is taught and assessed and includes the language used for unit outlines/programs and textbooks and the production and completion of homework tasks, assessments, tests and exams. Delivery is not limited to the language that a teacher uses to communicate in a classroom.*

Note: in situations where a language other than English is used in a classroom to support communication, the official language of delivery is still the current basis for determining eligibility.

Most students applying for eligibility to enrol in Year 12 ATAR EAL/D apply under the first criterion.

Section 1 of the Report
Eligibility as a requirement for students to enroll in the Year 12 EAL/D ATAR course

1.1 Historical record of the eligibility policy for enrolment in Western Australian Year 12 EAL/D courses

Looking back throughout the history of the EAL/D course, it is important to note that EAL/D has not always been available for students to study. *English for ESL Students* (EESL) was the first formal course introduced for Years 11 and 12 in 1989, after international students had significant failure rates in Year 12 English in previous years. This course, introduced by the then West Australian Secondary Education Authority (SEA), had a strong emphasis on reading, comprehension, and writing about texts, and was essentially a watered-down version of the Year 11 and 12 English course, with an additional focus on language development. It contained a spoken component that was not formally externally assessed, with a formal external speaking assessment only included once the EAL/D course was introduced. During the period of the EESL course, the eligibility criteria had a limit of five years of schooling in English. It is unclear where this time limit came from, or when the eligibility changed from five years to seven; however, it is unlikely that the five year criterion was sufficient for students intending to study at the tertiary level. There were also issues relating to the eligibility of students from countries that state that English is one of their official national languages, yet may have students who were not proficient in English. Some examples included the SEA denying the eligibility of students from countries such as Singapore and the Philippines, even though students from both of those countries sometimes, or often, had low levels of English proficiency.

For students to access the EESL course, from 1989, the school submitted lists of students to the SEA. The schools did the vetting, both in Western Australia and overseas, and it was assumed that if the student was residing overseas then they would be eligible, depending on the country's official national languages policy. Ultimately, the schools would do the work with the applications, and then these would be submitted and checked by staff at the SEA. Lists of student names and their countries of origin were sent to the SEA from schools, and a small team of the syllabus committee would do a first assessment of the submissions, according to the SEA criteria. From this, the SEA would decide which students were eligible to take the course, which students needed to provide more information, and which students were ineligible for the course. The policy regarding EESL eligibility was strictly applied, with extremely rare exceptions. At school level the criteria were well understood; appeals were virtually non-existent as schools did not apply for entry to EESL for students from countries stating English was one of their national languages. In addition, as the final ranked score for EESL did not contribute to a student's overall Year 12 achievement for university entry, the course had little pressure on enrolments.

The name of the EESL course was changed to *English as a Second Language* (ESL) in the late 1990s. In the latter years of the ESL course the eligibility criterion limit of five years of instruction in the medium of English was changed to a limit of seven years. The seven year limit was in line with academic research suggesting that this was the minimum period needed for acquisition of English language literacy for the purpose of tertiary studies.

In 2007, the new course *English as an Additional Language or Dialect* (EAL/D) was introduced, replacing the ESL course. EAL/D became a scoring course, which gave students credit for what they achieved in their studies. In the past, the student had to get at least 65 in ESL to pass, and it was just a pass mark where the student was awarded a 'Y' for literacy for university. Essentially, through ESL the student ticked the box for successful completion, but there was no score that could be counted in the student's overall Tertiary Entrance Rank (TER).

An EAL/D eligibility application form was developed by, what was then known as, the Curriculum Council, requiring students to detail their language background. This included statements about their first language, a table showing the school attended year by year, and the language which was the medium of instruction. Both students and school principals were required to sign the applications as true statements. These were submitted to the Council in hard copy form for review. If the review by the Council officer indicated that further evidence was required for an individual student to show that their language background met the eligibility criteria, the officer contacted the school to request this.

The change from a course demonstrating only literacy for tertiary purposes to an ATAR scoring course created extra pressure to ensure that only eligible students were accepted into the course. Schools, which were dealing with pressure to get good results, were keen to advantage their students by getting them into the EAL/D course, and in some cases may not have had a good understanding of the eligibility criteria. As a result, schools may have attempted to enrol EAL/D students who had an international background (as do many Australian students) but who, due to their language background, did not meet the eligibility criteria for the course. There were also occasionally times where angry parents would call the Curriculum Council/SCSA and ask why their child could not do the EAL/D course due to, for example, having a linguistically diverse parent, despite the fact that the child was born and lived in Australia. Another issue that occurred was that many parents argued about the eligibility criteria in place for students to undertake language courses. The point that a lot of parents used was that eligibility is not in place for subjects such as music or physical education, so why was language different? Some parents also pointed out the difference in eligibility requirements between Australian States and complained about the unfairness of this.

Following 2007, more and more documentation as evidence to support the individual application for eligibility, was required, including school reports and other documents. The EAL/D eligibility appeals process also began to come into more frequent use. To keep the appeals process apolitical, fair, and representative across the different systems and sectors, three people experienced in EAL/D education, one from a government school, one from Catholic education, and one from the independent school sector, would be asked to meet and review the appeal. This panel would review the documentation provided for the previous assessment, look at the additional evidence (which may have included recent written work samples by the applicant completed in a timed test environment without notes), and aim to see the reasons why the student or school believed that they met the criteria. The panel would then decide whether to overturn or accept the appeal, and inform the EAL/D Principal Consultant of their decision, and the reasons for it, in writing. It was a long process to ensure that the decisions made were fair.

One of the biggest differences with SCSA's operations now is that there has been a move towards online applications. This has streamlined the application process and has given the students more responsibility to submit the form and reflect on what documentation is required, rather than heavily relying on teacher guidance. What is more likely to happen now is that the students will be able to view and edit their online application as required, and then the teacher will review what the student plans to submit and sign off on the document. While the move to the online platform was arduous, it has ultimately meant that the process has become less burdensome for teachers, and is more transparent for the students. The beginnings of this occurred in 2013, when a SCSA intern studying a Masters of Information Technology developed an online portal for students to submit their applications, which was presented to senior management. It was not implemented at the time, but it did expose the need for it, and it was eventually implemented. However, one potential issue that may have arisen from the online submission system is a problem with authenticating documents.

Prior to the online applications, the students and the schools would have to send large envelopes full of copies of documentation to SCSA, which not only was time-consuming to collect at school level and to process at SCSA, but also the amount of paperwork became a significant issue. The curriculum officers would do the first check of the paperwork, but if the application was difficult to judge then an independent observer would review it. If an application was rejected, then these judgements could be appealed, and then, in that case, an external panel would come in and review the application (as described previously). EAL/D set a strong precedent for moving forward, as it was the first to move online and seemed to have a clear set of rules for students and schools to understand and follow. Some applications were easy to process, but, as more and more external schools included the course in their suite of senior schooling options, it became harder to make fair decisions. Decisions were especially difficult in cases where an overseas school's policy was that a certain amount of schooling should be conducted in English, but it was not necessarily the medium of instruction in reality. This became more common with the internationalisation of English as a language. In those cases, the medium of instruction for students became very dependent on the staff that the school employed, and if those teachers had limited English, but were expected to teach/instruct in that language, then the communication that occurred in the classroom could be very diverse.

Historically, one of the most difficult aspects of the EAL/D curriculum, and moderation role at the SCSA, was establishing student eligibility for the course and setting up appeals panels when required. With regard to the EAL/D eligibility criteria, the aim was to be as fair as possible to the individual applicant while also being fair to the cohort as a whole, which included not putting genuine EAL/D students up against an unfair level of competition that is, enrolling all students without any eligibility criteria. Therefore, the difficulty was in creating eligibility that was fair, but that also ensured that students who needed English language or dialect instruction were eligible.

One emerging issue is that the more students who are accepted, and the more schools that offer the EAL/D courses, the more complicated it becomes to establish eligibility. Historically, it was not such a concern for SCSA that students who needed the EAL/D course might not be getting accepted; however, this may be more of an issue now, potentially due to the rising number of EAL/D students wishing to take the Year 11 and 12 ATAR EAL/D course, particularly overseas.

Regarding the criteria that are in place and how they came about, the SCSA attempted to get the criteria right and fair for every student from every country, which made it very difficult. The factors involve the aspect of residency, and whether the student has had a maximum of seven years of speaking English (this can often be difficult to establish, but can be worked through). Another aspect is defining the linguistic medium of instruction throughout the student's schooling, which can be difficult to define due to school medium of instruction policies at times conflicting with what medium of instruction is used in practice. In addition, another factor is the communication that is used outside the classroom. While there were these elements, that involved the physical and environmental aspects of the student and the school, there was also a lot of discussion around physiological factors, such as the time that the student acquired English (for example, were they acquiring English during the **critical period** or after this), and whether SCSA should be placing more emphasis on those early years of English learning compared with later years. There were many examples of students' English exposure, and documentation of this, which were less straightforward. For example, if a student takes a year away from schooling in Malaysia and spends a year in London, what are the estimates of how much English language acquisition was happening in that one year? Due to situations such as these, it can be easy for application assessors to begin to feel less confident about their ability to judge student eligibility across the board.

The incorporation of ATAR examinations, which included a formal practical oral examination, was another aspect in the evolution of EAL/D and student eligibility. This added another layer of complexity, particularly to the practical side of the external exam. Examiners would sometimes identify students during their practical exam whom they deemed not really to be EAL/D students, due to their high level of English oral fluency. These final examinations were a good reference point to see how well and fairly SCSA's processes were operating, especially to see whether the examiners were picking up students who perhaps should not have been given eligibility. The examiners would make notes during the practical exam, and get together after the practical exam and compare notes and discuss students about whom they were concerned. After this, there was the written exam, and they might put the results together to form a broader picture of the student's overall level across the four language skills of Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing, and then that may have gone to a panel to examine the results if necessary. If there was a debate about the fluency of a student, then the student would still receive their exam result, but may not be awarded the EAL/D prize. These instances also provided feedback about how the student had managed to slip through using the eligibility criteria, and set a benchmark for SCSA about how the criteria were working and whether they were fair. This has been an issue that has concerned SCSA – that a student would be deemed eligible for EAL/D, but then it would be identified during the external examination process that they did not meet the EAL/D eligibility criteria. On the other hand, it is expected that there will be a wide spread of results at the end of the EAL/D senior schooling course, and that the most capable and hardworking students will excel, achieving outstanding results worthy of formal acknowledgement.

Another historical factor in the development of the Western Australian EAL/D course was the inclusion of 'dialect' into the course and the exam, which occurred around 2007. There was a considerable push to get the 'D' in EAL/D included so that Aboriginal students who spoke Australian Aboriginal English could be automatically accepted into the course. Getting 'dialect' added only came about after considerable argument. This came in with the Australian Curriculum, with the dialect aspect starting to be considered when ACARA started developing national

syllabuses for Years 11 and 12. One potential issue that has arisen from the inclusion of dialect is that overseas students who may be rejected as EAL students may instead claim that they speak an English dialect (e.g. how can Indian English be distinguished from, or categorized differently to, Aboriginal English?), although if students were to be accepted in this manner, the syllabus would most likely need to be changed. It also raises questions regarding what a dialect is in relation to Standard Australian English, and what this type of English constitutes. It was around this time that other States, such as Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia became quite strong on EAL/D, with South Australia in particular taking the lead in the dialect department, having researched Aboriginal Englishes in the greatest depth. Those three States discussed EAL/D the most and are the States with which WA generally wants to be the most in alignment. However, WA's course could be considered more encompassing when compared with other states such as Victoria, which has an EAL/D course, but is essentially a version of the English course with a few less demands placed on it. Victoria's justification for this is that by this stage of the students' schooling, the focus is less on language acquisition. This has meant that WA has been more aligned with South Australia, with both States more focussed on teaching English as a language or dialect. Representatives of SCSA had conference calls with other States to try and develop common eligibility requirements, but they could not reach agreement.

When the EAL/D course was introduced in WA, the dialect aspect was limited to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander learners with the justification that Australia's colonial history meant there is an onus on the WA education system to work to right past wrongs, supporting users of Aboriginal English and students who have one or more Indigenous languages as their first language, to become bi-dialectal and bi-cultural. Today, that dialect is solely for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students may be difficult to defend; however, the 2007 criteria for the WA EAL/D course does clearly state that dialect is for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. An interesting point regarding this is that when that criterion was put in place, some Aboriginal students were not necessarily enthusiastic to enrol in the EAL/D course, perhaps because they did not want to be seen as different. One example was a regional teacher with a large number of Aboriginal students, who reported that her students were initially reluctant to enrol in the course, because they 'speak English' and would rather do the 'real' English course. Another issue can be that there are large divisions between the education of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. For example, in some regional towns Aboriginal students attend one school set up for them, while the non-Aboriginal students attend another school. In these separate schooling situations enrolment in EAL/D was readily accepted. A similar enrolment issue may also exist for hearing impaired students using AUSLAN, who may be reluctant to take the EAL/D course due to fears of further marginalisation in doing a separate course, similar to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in regional areas.

1.2 Reasons why an eligibility policy for enrolment in the Year 12 EAL/D ATAR course is required

It would seem that the necessity for an eligibility policy for enrolment in the Year 12 EAL/D ATAR course is based on the following premises:

1. As used to happen with Languages Other Than English (LOTE) courses, allowing students into the EAL/D course who were more proficient in English, and possibly had English as

their first language (**L1**), with no gate keeping, would make it difficult to teach students with lower English language proficiency in the same group. This particular problem has been recognized by courses such as Chinese language in which 'heritage speakers' are now separated out from Chinese as an Additional Language speakers to address this problem.

2. Allowing students with high proficiency English, or having English as a first language, to enter the course might mean that they use the EAL/D ATAR course as an easier pathway to gain entry to their preferred course at universities. The EAL/D ATAR is recognized in the same way as the mainstream English subject by universities in Western Australia unlike in some states where students receive a penalty of 10% deduction on their EAL/D subject as a way of discouraging proficient speakers of English from taking the easier option. However, other validated gatekeeping language assessment instruments such as the International English Language Testing Scheme (IELTS) have moved from having eligibility criteria for takers of the test to no eligibility criteria over the years except for age criteria and proof of identity. This means that students who speak English as their first language, and who fail Year 12 English, can use a test such as IELTS, which is designed for speakers of English as an Additional Language, as an alternative way of entering university.

However, these criteria are not enforced with students who are users of AUSLAN or who are Aboriginal/Torres Strait islander. Historically, Aileen Hawke, an EAL/D Principal Consultant at SCSA, was instrumental in recognising that the latter students could not be expected to perform in Year 11 and 12 mainstream English courses and examinations alongside students who had English as their first language because they spoke a variety or dialect of English which is not the Standard Australian English (SAE) variety. The word 'dialect' was added to the EAL term (something unique to Australia with the USA adopting English Language Learners (ELLs) and the UK adopting EAL learners), to demonstrate an understanding that speakers of Aboriginal English are also disadvantaged when it comes to units of study and exams conducted wholly in SAE. Similarly, the structure of AUSLAN varies considerably from English, and students using AUSLAN may find it very difficult to write in English, and therefore may want or need to undertake the EAL/D course. Recognising that Aboriginal English is another variety, or dialect of English, is problematic in terms of eligibility criteria, however, because by this definition, speakers of Indian English, Nigerian English, Singaporean English, all varieties or dialects of English, could all claim that they are automatically eligible for the EAL/D course as they are speaking a dialect of English. This issue is also examined later in Section 1.4 in terms of the variety of English that is taught when students learn their subject content through the medium of English for more than 50 percent of their course and are therefore deemed ineligible to take the EAL/D course.

1.3 Current status of research in relation to timelines of language acquisition and challenges that additional language and dialect learners encounter when learning academic language

1.3.1 BICS/CALP and equivalent dimensions

There are many factors to be taken into consideration when assessing the rate of additional language acquisition amongst a particular group of learners. Before looking at these factors, however, it is necessary to differentiate between the types of language that are being learned. The seminal works of Jim Cummins (1979, 1980, 1981a, 1981b, 2000, 2008a) are usually cited when

it comes to distinguishing between language used for *basic interpersonal communicative skills* (**BICS**) and *cognitive academic language proficiency* (**CALP**). The former refers to conversational fluency in the additional language and the latter refers to a "student's ability to understand and express, in both oral and written modes, concepts and ideas that are relevant to success in school" or academic language proficiency (Cummins, 2008a, p. 71). This distinction was suggested as a counter to Oller's (1979) claims that all individual differences in language proficiency could be accounted for by one factor: *global language proficiency.* Cummins' research showed that educators often conflated conversational ability in an additional language with academic ability in that language and this could lead to problems for English as an Additional Language/Dialect (EAL/D) students (1980, 1981b). Children learn their first language from birth through social interaction. Their academic language proficiency separates off from BICS once they reach school. The notion of CALP is, therefore, peculiar to the school context and "the extent to which an individual has access to, and command of, the oral and written academic registers of schooling" (Cummins, 2000, p. 67). The BICS/CALP distinction also reflects the idea that language tasks and activities can be either context-embedded or context-reduced, cognitively undemanding or cognitively demanding (Cummins, 1981a). Of course, what is context-reduced and cognitively demanding for one student may not be for another, depending on factors such as prior knowledge or interest (Coelho, 2004).

Cummins is not the first, or only, theorist, to make this distinction. Earlier on, Bruner (1975) talked about *communicative* and *analytic competence*; Donaldson (1978) talked about *embedded* and *disembedded language* and Olson (1977) made the distinction between *utterance* and *text.* The work of Biber (1986) and Corson (1995), later on, also provided evidence to support this distinction, while Gee's (1990) *primary* and *secondary* discourses were an extension of Cummins' ideas. Gee suggested that primary discourses are acquired at home through face-to-face interactions. They are the language of early and initial socialization. Secondary discourses are the language acquired or learned in social institutions beyond the family (e.g., school, work). They usually require a command of specialized vocabulary (much like a register or genre) and of language appropriate to the setting. They can be oral or written discourses. What all of these distinctions between language use have in common is the extent to which meaning is reliant upon contextual or interpersonal cues (i.e., paralinguistic features of oral interaction such as gestures, facial expressions, and intonation) or supported mainly by linguistic prompts. Academic contexts (e.g., textbooks) have fewer supports to meaning than face-to-face contexts.

The BICS/CALP dichotomy has influenced both policy and practice related to the instruction and assessment of learners of additional languages. Conversation about policy discussions has centred on: 1) how much funding and what period of time should be given to EAL/D students; 2) what instructional support should be given to EAL/D students at the different stages of their language acquisition; 3) whether EAL/D students should be included in national policies across the board or should they be exempt for a number of years after arriving; 4) if they are exempt then for how long should they be exempt? However, the theory of BICS/CALP has also been critiqued by notable researchers in the field such as Scarcella (2003, p. 5) who argues that it "is not useful for understanding the complexities of academic English or the multiple variables affecting its development" because both BICS and CALP are much more complex than the reduced formula might imply. She points to the evidence that many characteristics of BICS are acquired later in life not just in young children while, on the other hand, some features of CALP are acquired by learners

later in life. Moreover, phonemic awareness (knowledge of the sound system in oral language) is related to the development of both BICS and CALP. She is mostly talking about the development of first language rather than an additional language when she makes these claims. Those concerned with *new literacies* also suggest that Cummins' theory reflects an autonomous view of language and literacy that is not compatible with the idea of multiple literacies which depend on the context of the situation, the task, the interactions between participants and their knowledge and experiences (Valdes, 2004). Moreover, such a simplified perspective feeds into the view of most teachers of EAL/D who still hold onto a "technocratic notion of literacy which emphasizes the development of decontextualized skills" (Valdes, 2004, p. 115). In response to this critique, Cummins has pointed out that he is only concerned with one context and that is the context of school (Cummins, 2008a). Furthermore, he recognizes that the BICS/CALP distinction is likely to remain controversial because there is no cross disciplinary consensus on what constitutes language proficiency and its connection to academic language development.

One of the most well-known and adopted legacies of Cummins' theory is his suggestion that CALP can be developed in a certain amount of time. The timeline for language acquisition, along with other impacting factors, is discussed below.

1.3.2 Factors affecting language acquisition and CALP in particular

1.3.2.1 Time

Currently, SCSA use the seven year rule to decide whether or not students are eligible to do the EAL/D ATAR course and exam. This rule is based on Cummins' notion that "it takes at least five years, on the average, for immigrant children who arrive in the host country after the age of six to approach grade norms in L2" (Cummins, 1981a, p. 148) (note that more recently the term L2 has been replaced by the term **LX** or 'additional language' rather than 'second language' in recognition that learners of English may speak many other languages and not just one other language. See Dewaele, 2018) and his more specific observation from his 1981 study that "[c]onversational aspects of proficiency reached peer-appropriate levels usually within about two years of exposure to English but a period of 5-7 years was required, on average, for immigrant students to approach grade norms in academic aspects of English (e.g., vocabulary knowledge)" (Cummins, 2008a, p. 73). He did add a corollary to this, however, and that was that his findings could not be generalized outside of the social context in which he conducted his study, namely Canada, and that even then it may not be generalizable to immigrant groups other than the one he studied (Cummins, 1981a).

Other researchers concurred with Cummins (Saunders & O'Brien, 2006) while some have suggested that oral proficiency takes 3 to 5 years to develop and academic English proficiency can take 4 to 7 years (Hakuta et al., 2000), concurring with Cummins' outer limit seven year rule but differing on the lower limit. The seven year CALP attainment theory has been challenged by Collier (1987, 1995), who suggested that, at best, four to eight years may be required for all ages of LX learners to reach national grade level norms of speakers of English as their first language across all subject areas. This includes language and academic achievement as measured on standardized tests. It could take learners up to ten years to reach the 50th percentile (Gitomer et al., 2005; Hakuta et al., 2000; Lotas, 2012; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002) especially if they are younger learners (Collier & Thomas, 1989; Mitchell et al., 1997) (age of learners on arrival is discussed below). Collier (1987) has warned that we might be tempted to think that standardized

tests taken were not an adequate measure of CALP due to the results reported. They did not measure listening skills or oral production, writing skills or pragmatic aspects of language, strategic reasoning, initiative or creativity in language and relied mostly on multiple choice exercises. Moreover, students' anxiety on timed tests like these can limit their performance. However, the reverse can also be true. Students may perform better on these tests due to the lack of productive skills that need to be demonstrated and chance factors alone and so, the test scores may be higher than their actual language proficiency, indicating that they may, in fact, need even longer to develop CALP. Studies have commonly not looked at the effects of interrupted, or limited, formal schooling (Collier, 1989). We should note here that time spent in the new country is one of the few variables acknowledged as significant in impacting CALP in the current US laws (Lotas, 2012).

1.3.2.2 Context

The place in which a learner learns their additional language (in this case English) can impact their rate of acquisition of CALP. Students who are in language minority situations i.e., they are migrants in another country trying to learn the language of the dominant discourse and studying exclusively in the LX, may take from 7-10 years to reach national norms and indeed may never reach the level at all (Collier, 1987; Collier, 1992; Collier & Thomas, 1988). Language majority students i.e., those who are studying in their home country, both in their own language and the LX, can generally reach national norms on standardized tests after 4-7 years of bilingual schooling (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Swain & Lapkin, 1981).

One variable which seems to impact the rate of LX acquisition is bilingualism. In the early 1950s and 60s, researchers claimed that learners who were learning their L1 and their LX at the same time would end up with 'mental confusion' and 'language handicaps' (Darcy, 1953; Peal & Lambert, 1962). This eventuated in Macnamara's (1966) 'balance effect' hypothesis which suggested that bilingual children suffered in their L1 while developing their LX skills. It is now known that bilingualism can have a positive influence on academic cognitive functioning and linguistic development (Collier & Cummins, 1976; Cummins, 1978). Indeed, Collier and Thomas (1989) claim that children need a minimum of two years of schooling in their L1 in their home country to achieve in their LX. They found that children of 4-7 years old, who had received little or no formal schooling in their L1 before coming to the US (where their study was held), and no opportunity to have schooling in L1 after arrival, were on a trajectory to take up to 10 years to reach the 50th percentile on standardized tests. The most successful long-term achievement of CALP, however, emphasizes cognitive–academic development in both L1 and LX in two-way immersion bilingual programs. These often encourage equal social status relations between minority language and majority language students, making better **affective states** in learners.

Bardovi-Harlig and Bastos (2011) also looked at the influence of context on LX acquisition. They argued that length of stay in a country may have no significant effect on either recognition or production of an LX. The main influencing variable is the intensity of interaction between learners during the stay.

1.3.2.3 Age

One important variable to be considered when deciding on the length of time that a student might take to reach CALP, is age on arrival in the new LX context. In this area, Collier and Thomas

(1988), and Collier (1989), confirmed the findings of Cummins (1981) obtained in Canada. Immigrant children in the USA who arrived at an age between eight and eleven were the fastest to achieve CALP, taking between five and seven years while resident in the USA. These students also achieved above the norms of students whose first language was English on standardized tests of mathematics in English within two years of residence in the USA, exhibiting extensive content transfer from L1 to the LX. They were highly motivated aspirational students wanting to continue their studies at university. Children who arrived between the ages of four and seven were significantly lower in performance level, however. By the sixth year of data collection, they had still not reached the 50th percentile. It would seem that, as mentioned under context above, students need to have had schooling in L1 for at least two years before they can perform well in LX. The four to seven year olds had not had this in their country of origin due to their age and did not receive it either in the new context in which they found themselves (Collier, 1989). Another variable to consider is the increasing difficulty of language tests for immigrant children as they progress through the school years. Students tested at 12 years who had had three years of schooling in English did well. However, when they were tested again between twelve and sixteen, they had the lowest scores of all except in mathematics, indicating the greater difficulty of the tests and the problems associated with losing one to three years of CALP while grappling with subject areas that are examinable. Age of learning studies have shown a robust learning effect of age even after other variables such as length of residence and years of education in the new LX country were controlled, although age of learning has been shown to have a stronger impact on speaking than on things like grammar production. Current findings support the notion of multiple critical/sensitive periods for learning a language (Huang, 2014).

1.3.2.4 Language difficulty

Some researchers have noted that the teachability of a language can also impact on rates of acquisition of that language. This is particularly true for written forms of the language. Not all languages are of the same difficulty for learners of those languages as learning different scripts and tones can be an added burdens for learners who have not experienced these features before. Moreover, certain aspects of learning an additional language are more difficult than others (Marsden et al., 2013). This approach assumes absolute properties of language features that reside in the linguistic makeup of the language i.e., its complexity and that this feature will be difficult for all learners at all times and in all contexts (Housen & Simoens, 2016). Researchers such as Housen and Simoens (2016), however, suggested that difficulty can be viewed as a combination of properties of the target language (i.e., linguistic complexity, frequency and salience; DeKeyser, 2005; N. C. Ellis, 2006) learning conditions or context (e.g., **implicit** or **explicit learning**; De Graaff & Housen, 2009; R. Ellis, 2006) and the individual learner themselves (e.g. attention, memory and language aptitude; Juffs & Harrington, 2011; Wen et al., 2015). Features of the language can be either structurally complex i.e., inherent linguistic properties of the language feature such as the form or cognitively complex requiring a lot of mental resources to be employed in processing the feature i.e., homonymy, ambiguity etc. Learning contexts can be informal or formal and individual learners can have different capacities and abilities. Overall, language difficulty can be seen as feature-related, context-related and learner-related.

A further consideration is that not all language skills are equally easy to master. Lin, Lawrence, Snow and Taylor (2016) have argued that reading comprehension is, in fact, the greatest challenge to literacy in the 21st century. Understanding reading texts at a deep level relies entirely on learners'

CALP. Research has highlighted how even proficient English language learners, who have mastered English at the lower levels, start to fall behind their English as first language peers in reading after the age of about nine years and do not manage to catch up, falling further and further behind in the later levels of school. This seems to correspond with the way that academic texts become less contextualized and more complex (Viadero, 2009). Van der Merwe (2018) suggests that students' lack of success of comprehending deep reading tasks is often due to a lack of academic language proficiency in the teachers who are teaching them. The development of adequate critical thinking skills is also dependent upon this academic language capacity (Grosser & Nel, 2013). A study by Grosser and Nel (2013) of 40 Afrikaans speaking learners and 49 English speaking learners (only six of whom spoke English at home) showed all of them had difficulty on the English Test of Academic Literacy levels (TALL), and an Afrikaans version of the test (Toets vir Akademiiese Geletterheid (TAG)), with the overall result for all students being poor, indicating the difficulty that all students have in developing adequate academic language skills. These first year university students were going to go on to become teachers themselves in schools.

1.3.2.5 Language instruction

A consideration in learners' rates of academic language acquisition is the academic language proficiency of their teachers (Schleppegrell, 2012; Uccelli et al., 2013a) and the level and quality of language instruction they receive as a result. While a high level of teacher academic English language in Australia, amongst so-called 'native speakers', cannot necessarily be guaranteed, the levels of academic language in overseas teachers whose own first language is not English can be guaranteed even less. For example, Van der Merwe (2018), concluded from his study, that teachers in the South African context that he researched, lacked the academic English language proficiency required for teaching in their courses where they needed to be exemplary users of academic language. This situation is common, especially when teachers are not the designated language instructors but rather are simply teaching content and subjects through the medium of English (see section 1.5). The amount and frequency of exposure to the LX in classrooms also impacts the development of language proficiency and, in particular, CALP, as does the concentration of EAL/D students in classes in the host country.

Another factor to be considered when assessing a learner's ability in their new LX is whether or not they have acquired the conventions of use of the target language. While they may be quite competent in linguistic tasks which do not require a high degree of interlanguage pragmatic competence, they may not succeed in contexts where such knowledge is paramount. Barron (2012) divided the area of interlanguage pragmatics into: use and acquisition, pedagogy, social-affective factors, and appropriateness of an LX pragmatic norm for learners. Within use and acquisition, she considered factors such as learners' development of pragmatic competence and the influence of context on this. Under pedagogy she considered pragmatic instruction and how/if this was attempted in teaching. Social-affective factors speaks for itself, as does the last area which considers whether it is even appropriate to teach interlanguage pragmatics when the language is a global language used in many different cultural contexts.

Many families of EAL/D students may be quite transient, moving frequently from school to school or even between regions in one state or country or between countries, due to migratory work or new postings or because of their financial status. These moves disrupt the continuity of learners' education (Garcia, 2000), particularly their language education and can impact negatively on the

academic development and performance of learners who might already be struggling to meet the 50th percentile (Medway, 2002). Factors which can impact the development of the LX and CALP are: length of time in the language program, the type of program they experience, and how they transition of the program (i.e., the testing regime) (Gitomer et al., 2005). Research has reported differences in test scores between students who have had uninterrupted EAL/D instruction and those who experience interruptions (Liu et al., 2000).

1.3.2.6 Heritage languages

When we talk about *heritage languages* we are often talking about languages spoken at home or in any context in the new host country by immigrants and their children (Montrul, 2012). Heritage languages are minority languages and they usually co-exist alongside the majority language or the language that has official status in the wider community. Terms used in Australia and Europe are *ethnic minority languages* and *community languages.* Heritage speakers are usually the children of migrants born in the new host country. In sociolinguistic terms they can be referred to as the second generation (with their parents being the first generation) (Silva-Corvalán, 1994). Some heritage speakers will be *sequential bilinguals*, in other words they lived in a monolingual setting prior to their new setting and then they became bilingual when they started school in the new setting. Others will be *simultaneous bilinguals* in that they grew up speaking the majority language and the heritage language since birth. What they have in common is that their heritage language is limited by the time they reach adulthood. This is in reverse to what happens to children who speak a majority language as their first language and then learn an additional language. To understand heritage speakers, it is necessary to see the situation in terms of language order i.e., first vs second; language function i.e., primary versus secondary; and sociopolitical dimension i.e., minority versus majority language. With heritage speakers, the situation is unusual in that the language they learned first (L1) has only a secondary function and a minority status (Montrul, 2012). Other differences are in: 1) the settings of the L1 and the LX i.e., naturalistic (home) for the heritage language and instructed (classroom) for the LX majority language; 2) the mode i.e., aural for the heritage language and written and aural for the majority LX; 3) amount and frequency i.e., variable for the heritage language and variable for the LX; and 4) quality i.e., restricted to the home environment for heritage languages and the same for the LX.

The field of heritage language acquisition has emerged as a new field (Brinton et al., 2008; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007) but it is in fact an old field that has previously been subsumed under the banner of sociolinguistics. Interest in heritage languages from a second language acquisition viewpoint has been more recent. Extending research from LX acquisition to heritage language acquisition has been beneficial for both sub-categories of Applied Linguistics. It has produced greater understanding of the linguistic knowledge of heritage language speakers (a type of bilingual native speaker) while at the same time allowing more to be learned about the nature of linguistic knowledge in LX learners (and their **metalinguistic** advantages). It is now possible to know about the dimensions on which these two different types of bilinguals are the same or different and the type of knowledge manifested by the two types of learning (Montrul, 2012). This cross-fertilized information can be used to help in policy decisions that need to be in the area of languages and eligibility for different awards and courses.

1.3.2.7 Social dimensions – sociocultural support, poverty, parental education

Collier (1995) proposed a conceptual model for acquiring language for school which comprised four components: sociocultural processes, language development, academic development and cognitive development (the latter is discussed below in 1.3.2.8). They maintained that central to learning language are the surrounding social and cultural processes occurring in learners' everyday lives in contexts such as the home, school, community, and society, more broadly. This could include the development, or diminishing, of self-esteem, anxiety, and other affective factors within these contexts. In language minority cases this may be due to discrimination or even linguistic racism (De Costa, 2020; Dobinson & Mercieca, 2020; Dovchin, 2020). Such sociocultural factors can strongly influence a student's response to learning a new additional language and therefore much sociocultural support is needed in such an environment. The need for such support may not always be recognized and so may not be forthcoming.

Yorio (1976, as cited in Dixon, 2011) created a classification system for all the different variables that can affect the learning of an additional language. In his system there were over fifty different variables, most of them occurring outside the school context. There are some socio-cultural factors within this that are thought to be particularly impactful (Dixon, 2011). One of these is poverty. Collier (1989) was quick to point out that studies of the timelines of CALP acquisition in LX learners show that it takes a minimum of five to ten years for "the most advantaged limited-English-proficient students" (p. 35) to develop academic language proficiency. Most of these learners have good educational backgrounds in their own L1 and high aspirations for success so they cannot be seen as the norm for all learners. The implication of this is that many students who are from disadvantaged backgrounds will take much longer to achieve CALP. Langdon (2008) described studies with Hispanic language minority students. Unlike majority language speaker parents, the Hispanic language minority parents did not prompt their children to retell events from school and did not pair their activities such as cooking or shopping with verbalization of words or interaction. Thus, the children did not experience the kinds of activities that they might experience in school assessments (Langdon, 2008).

Linked with poverty is parent education. The 2006 National Literacy panel on Language Minority Children and Youth (August & Shanahan, 2008) in the US determined a positive relationship between parental education and literacy outcomes for students, although links with literacy attainment were a little less clear. Researchers have also found a positive link between LX input at home and children's LX abilities at school (Prevoo et al., 2014). Sorenson Duncan and Paradis (2017) investigated whether the source of the LX input at home, that is, who was doing the talking, made a difference and found that older siblings had a greater influence on the development of LX in the home than mothers because they had a lot more exposure to the LX through their own schooling while mothers may not have had that opportunity.

1.3.2.8 Cognitive dimensions

Research has also confirmed the important role of race, gender, sexuality and individual differences on the pace at which learners learn language (Norton & McKinney, 2011). Children show wide individual variation in their rates of learning English due to child-internal differences such as age, L1, cognitive capacity. These 'profile effects' (Oller et al., 2007) mean that children who are not speakers of English as a first language approach monolingual language ability levels

for different linguistic sub-domains at a different pace. Some LX learners will never converge with their monolingual peers in late primary school, or even by adulthood, due to individual differences that impact on their LX learning (Paradis, 2019). These differences may also incorporate disability. Little research has been done on the impact of disability on language learning and acquisition (Dixon, 2011).

Cognitive capacity has also been described more traditionally as ‘intelligence’. According to Ellis (2008), intelligence is more of an affecting factor for the development of CALP than the development of BICS. This was based on Skehan’s earlier distinction between 1) an underlying language capacity which is similar in L1 and LX learning and 2) the capacity to work with decontextualized material, such as that found in academic contexts. (Skehan, 1990). In short, intelligence is more of a factor in explicit language learning such as the development of CALP than implicit language learning which frequently takes place outside of instruction and develops BICS.

Another factor to affect the learning of an additional language is the extent to which learners actively try to hold onto their own linguistic identities. This has been linked with learner motivation and instrumental and integrative motivation (Gardner, 1985, 2001). More recently Dörnyei (2010) conceptualized motivation as being part of the learner’s ‘self-system’, with the motivation to learn an LX being closely associated with the learner’s ideal LX self. Hence, studies have found that when home cultures and languages are seen as valuable learning resources in classrooms, and incorporated into lessons, EAL/D students tend to engage more in learning and also show better academic gains (Langdon & Cheng, 1992). The bolstering of learners’ linguistic and cultural identities through their L1 has a positive effect on their LX learning probably because learners can maintain their L1 while developing their ideal LX self rather than replacing their L1 self.

The effects of trauma, particularly on refugee status learners, have been quite extensively scrutinized. Research in the field of health and psychology has shown high levels of depression, anxiety and other mental disorders amongst refugees with between 30% and 86% of refugees experiencing trauma (Nicoll & Thompson, 2004). Moreover, research in cognitive psychology has proved that traumatic experiences can alter neural pathways in the brain resulting in impaired learning throughout the individual’s lifespan. Even if additional language learners are not refugees but merely migrants, neuroimaging and neurotransmitter studies have demonstrated that when individuals are stressed information is blocked from the brain’s areas of cognitive memory consolidation and storage (Gordon, 2011). Anxiety, and a lack of self-confidence, can be particularly present in refugee and migrant populations, leading to reduced attention in language learning. Individuals who are migrants or refugees in a new country, therefore, may not learn an additional language at the same rate as the advantaged children mentioned in Collier’s (1989) studies above (see 1.3.2.1 Time and 1.3.2.7 Social Dimensions).

1.3.3 Challenges that additional language and dialect learners encounter when learning academic language

Academic language is a specialized form of language due to its use as a tool to describe technical and abstract ideas that are normally not discussed in social settings (Nagy et al., 2012). Academic language goes hand in hand with academic literacy and academic vocabulary to form the larger

domain of academic knowledge (Baumann & Graves, 2010), and is known as the language of school (Snow & Uccelli, 2009). To be proficient in academic language requires competence in using and understanding general and discipline specific vocabulary, as well as the ability to understand and use complicated and specialized grammatical structures. When students have strong academic language proficiency, they can use multiple discourse structures and language functions to describe the topic, to interact regarding the topic, or to acquire new information about the topic – which allows for the effective representation of the message they wish to convey (Snow & Uccelli, 2009).

Academic language tends to become more complex from about grade four onwards (Nagy et al., 2012), and it is around this time that difficulties with academic language can start to show, due to the increasing linguistic and conceptual load of the classroom content (Cummins, 2008b). It is also around this age that some EAL/D students begin engaging in less reading than their L1 English peers, with less reading at this age leading to significant reading decreases in higher grades that can cause further disadvantage (Miller, 2009). It is also around this time when the development of phonemic awareness is a strong indicator of English acquisition (Chiappe & Siegel, 2006), as this awareness assists with listening comprehension (Barnes, 2012). If students fail to understand the elements of academic language in these younger years, this can be the beginning of their difficulty in accessing information, which may then predict academic development in later school years (Snow & Uccelli, 2009).

1.3.3.1 The influence of socialisation and the role of schools

Pedagogical (in-school) and social (out of school) conditions are factors that must be taken into account when academic language proficiency is considered (Uccelli et al., 2013b). EAL/D students may not have had the opportunity to learn academic language at home, which means that support at school is vital for their learning (Schleppegrell, 2012). Their lack of academic language exposure can, unsurprisingly, lead to EAL/D students' difficulty in comprehending academic language (Cummins, 2008b), although the academic language of school presents a challenge not just to EAL/D students – there may also be students from English L1 backgrounds who have not been socialized in how to use academically formatted language either (Schleppegrell, 2012; Uccelli et al., 2013b). However, while this may be a challenge for both L1 and EAL/D students, EAL/D students have the additional challenge of needing to acquire more vocabulary than English L1 speakers if they are to proficiently use and understand language at school (Barnes, 2012). These differences with academic language knowledge can result in the large variability of student academic vocabulary knowledge, both within and across grades (Uccelli et al., 2013b).

If EAL/D learners are not socialized to learn academic language at home, then this can result in academic language being inaccessible to students (Uccelli et al., 2013b), with curricula, textbooks and teachers often not clearly considering the academic language demands of the tasks that students need to know, and teachers often being unaware that these tasks are academically and linguistically complex (Lucero, 2012). As such, teachers must consider themselves to be discipline *and* language specific teachers, who must consciously pass their discipline's specialized language and vocabulary to their students, and in particular make sure that their classroom instructions align with the texts that the students are using (Adoniou & Qing, 2014). Explicit academic language instruction is important for students' long-term vocabulary acquisition, which then provides greater potential for students to achieve academically through stronger decoding and

comprehension of texts (Barnes, 2012; Schleppegrell, 2012). Therefore, it is important that teachers have the necessary academic language proficiency in order to effectively teach students successful comprehension of reading tasks (Van der Merwe, 2018).

1.3.3.2 General and discipline specific academic language

Knowledge of both general academic and discipline specific language is another aspect that is vital to academic success. This can be particularly challenging for EAL/D students to learn (Adoniou & Qing, 2014). One of the obvious aspects of academic language acquisition is vocabulary knowledge, which has been identified by several studies as being a common barrier to student academic success (Snow & Kim, 2007). Academic vocabulary consists of two categories: general academic vocabulary, which is often used in multiple disciplines and with more frequency, and discipline specific vocabulary, which is field specific and used in subjects such as geography, biology, and mathematics (Baumann & Graves, 2010; Hiebert & Lubliner, 2008). Students need to acquire both forms in order to accurately communicate in the classroom (Barnes, 2012). For students to expand their academic vocabulary, the combined aspects of learning word strategies, learning individual words, wide reading, and word consciousness are necessary (Nagy et al., 2012).

An expanded general and disciplinary academic vocabulary assists students in reading comprehension, due to the fact that many academic texts leave no room for redundancy – that is, it is not possible for the student to read the text and fully comprehend it (and therefore, correctly answer the question) if they do not know all of the words in the sentence (Adoniou & Qing, 2014). This issue may be alleviated by increased student exposure to academic language, as well as increased class participation and repeated use of the language using authentic materials (Nagy et al., 2012; Uccelli et al., 2013b). However, despite its clear relevance and importance in learning academic language, academic vocabulary knowledge is not the only aspect of effective learning of academic language proficiency, with other developmental skills such as unpacking complex words, comprehending complex sentences, connecting ideas, tracking themes, organizing argumentative texts, and awareness of academic register, all relevant to school language knowledge and, in particular, the skilled understanding of academic texts (Uccelli et al., 2013b, pp. 1084-1086). In other words, students must be able to master the density, diversity, and precision of words that are in academic content (Baumann & Graves, 2010).

1.3.3.3 Other challenges in academic language acquisition

Specific aspects of academic language in texts that can create challenges for EAL/D students include the increased use of the following: Greek and Latin vocabulary, morphologically complex words, adjectives, nouns, and prepositions, grammatical metaphor and nominalizations, informational density, and abstractness, which require significant time for students to develop, and often begin developing around adolescence (Nagy et al., 2012, p. 93). The low frequency and technical nature of many academic words also means that these words are very rarely used in general conversation, which means these normally are not words that can be learned from peers in social settings (Barnes, 2012). In addition, the difficulty of these highly specific forms of academic language often cannot be mediated through other forms of meaning making, such as gestures and facial expressions (Cummins, 2008b). In discipline specific fields such as mathematics, there can be additional skills to learn, such as technical, symbolic, and formal language (Adoniou & Qing, 2014), with symbols. in particular, potentially having different meanings in different languages (Adams, 2003), which may lead to confusion. Discipline specific language is often centred around

core principles or concepts, which differentiates each discipline from others and contains its own vocabulary, and highly abstracted bodies of knowledge (Jetton & Alexander, 2004). For example, history is centred around geographical areas or time periods, while biology is often centred around systems (Jetton & Alexander, 2004). If students do not gain fluency in these different types of discipline specific language and vocabulary, then it is unlikely that they will be successful in their study of that discipline (Baumann & Graves, 2010).

As students progress through their schooling years, and particularly during their adolescence, part of their language learning requires that they expand their different registers, including their socially based registers like family and friendship conversations, as well as their academic registers – that is, the discursive, grammatical, and lexical features that are involved in using those types of language (Uccelli et al., 2013b). Academic register requires different vocabulary and syntax compared with other, more socially based, registers (Barnes, 2012). Therefore, students require explicit attention for vocabulary expansion if they are to be adequately supported, with word knowledge, task and register all being important aspects to address (Schleppegrell, 2012). Teachers who incorporate English language teaching into the classroom, as well as routinely scaffold tasks, can improve the learning outcomes for their students (Fuchs et al., 2012). These explicit forms of teaching reduce the demand on the students' working memory, which will provide one less roadblock for students who find academic language challenging or new to them (Swanson, 2006). It then allows the students to focus more on the task at hand, rather than on the vocabulary surrounding the task (Adoniou & Qing, 2014).

Education that develops student mastery of academic language is a significant challenge (Snow & Uccelli, 2009). As Snow and Uccelli (2009, pp. 122-123) note, the use of academic language is inherently more complicated than general conversational language: "it is simply more difficult to explain the process by which cells replicate, or the theory of evolution, or the various factors contributing to global warming than it is to negotiate the purchase of onions or respond to an additional problem". As such, the language used to address these concepts is, by requirement, more complicated. However, if this challenge is responded to and understood, EAL/D students can develop their written and oral academic language to promote disciplinary thought, communication, and content (Nagy et al., 2012; Schleppegrell, 2012).

1.4 Current global status of the use of the English language as a medium of course delivery

1.4.1. Overview of EMI past and present

English is used as a medium of instruction (EMI) around the world, and this is on the increase. After decades of expansion of basic education there are millions of children, especially in the Global South, who learn their subjects at primary and secondary schools through the medium of English (Milligan, 2020). The terms Global South and Global North have replaced traditional notions of East and West because it is now recognized that such a divide is vague and meaningless economically. The notions of Global South and Global North are deterritorialized and somewhat disconnected from geography. While Global South mostly refers to peoples in Asia and Africa, it is more about capitalism's externalities and particularly subjugated peoples, even within the borders of wealthier countries. This new binary suggests that there exist economic Souths in the geographic North and economic Norths in the geographic South (Mahler, 2021). We commonly

refer to parts of Asia and Africa as the Global South and it is in these regions that there has been widespread, uncritical EMI adoption (Milligan, 2020).

But what exactly is EMI? English language classrooms around the world can be said to be teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL); Immersion English for Academic Purposes; English for Specific Purposes (ESP); English for Examination Purposes; Content and Language Integrated learning (CLIL); content-based teaching; content-based language teaching etc (Macaro, 2019).

The working definition of EMI for this report, then, is taken from Dearden (2014, p. 2) who, along with Macaro, Walter and Zhao, conducted a study through EMI Oxford (The Centre for Research and Development in English Medium Instruction). In his most recent introduction to a Symposium held at the Department of Education, University of Oxford Macaro defined EMI as:

> The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English (Macaro, 2019 citing Dearden, 2014).

Using this definition, we need to work out where EMI is on the continuum between content-focused objectives and language-focused objectives. If EFL is right at the language end of the continuum then presumably EMI is right at the content end, with CLIL somewhere in the middle. Differentiating between EFL and EMI is not difficult. Deciding whether what is taking place in a classroom is CLIL or EMI is less easy. When the subject teacher (i.e., biology teacher) enters the classroom is she/he focused on teaching the content only or does she/he also intend to improve the students' levels of English language proficiency (Macaro, 2019)? The definition above suggests a conceptual separation between EMI and CLIL. The latter aims to assist the learning of both content and language whereas the former is focused on the learning of the content only with English just being the medium for learning not the objective of the learning. CLIL is also much more contextually situated in Europe and the notion of plurilingualism for European Union citizens. EMI, on the other hand, is not contextually situated in this way. CLIL can mean the learning of any language alongside content whereas EMI is quite clearly the learning of content only through English. This means that EMI has many more geopolitical and sociocultural implications.

EMI has been particularly endorsed in, what Kachru (1985) called, the outer circle countries or countries which were colonized by Britain at some point in their history such as India, large parts of Africa, Asia, the South Pacific, the Middle East, North America, Canada and Australia. Indeed, the British Empire covered almost one quarter of the earth at one point, with colonisation beginning in the sixteenth century. As a result of this, the status of English in the world has waxed and waned according to national language planning policies in different countries, ever changing political views on nationalism and a love hate relationship with the rewards that knowing English brings offset against the perils of language change, language shift and language death. In her study of 2014, Dearden commissioned British Council staff in 54 countries to act as 'informed respondents' for the countries in which they were living and fill in an open-ended questionnaire in which they were asked to provide information about the state of EMI in their country of residence between 2013 and 2014 (Dearden, 2014). The EMI Oxford Centre also collected online survey data from secondary and higher education (HE) teachers. Key findings are reported verbatim below (Macaro, 2019, p. 232):

1. Apart from a few local exceptions, EMI is expanding rapidly especially in the HE sector as a result of a perceived need to internationalize institutions.
2. The private HE sector is putting pressure on the state HE sector to convert their programs to EMI as the latter need to compete for students; in turn, the tertiary sector is putting pressure on the secondary sector to also teach subjects through the medium of English.
3. In many countries the introduction of EMI is not supported by pre-service teacher training or teacher professional development.
4. Not all teachers are equipped linguistically to be able to effectively deliver subject content to students.
5. Where there are concerns about the introduction of EMI, these are to do with its potentially divisive nature: the likelihood that it will either create social elites based on English language proficiency or contribute to already existing social inequalities. Other concerns relate to the deleterious impact that EMI may have on the home language.

It is clear that a lot more work needs to be done on understanding the aims and purposes of EMI and that it has largely been a 'top-down' driven phenomenon introduced by government, policy makers and managers rather than through consultation with stake holders such as students, teachers, parents, employers etc (Dearden, 2014, p. 2). Of particular note for this study are findings 3 and 4. When students are disqualified from taking the EAL/D course and exam because they have learned their studies through the medium of English, with more than 50% of the content delivered in English, there is no guarantee that their teachers have managed to teach content using English only and by not resorting to their L1. Nor is there any assurance that teachers have had sufficient professional development to manage EMI situations effectively. Moreover, in line with findings 3 and 4 above, we need to ask the questions: What levels of English proficiency do EMI teachers/professors need to have in order to provide quality instruction for their EMI students in their respective academic subjects? What variety of English is being used in EMI and does this matter?

In this next section, the EMI situations in different countries are discussed briefly, especially those countries who are currently delivering the West Australian EAL/D curriculum or who are coming on board with it or hoping to gain entry to it. Before looking at individual countries, however, it is important to recognize that EMI is not always instituted deliberately in countries. It is most often a consequence of other policy decisions by organisations such as the OECD or EU, which then 'trickle down' to national and international levels (Hultgren 2014; Ljosland 2014; Piller & Cho 2013; Saarinen 2014). These policies are based on neoliberal ideas such as knowledge-based economy, human capital, competition, innovation and internationalisation (Holborow, 2013) and they, in turn, lead to performance indicators such rankings and excellence frameworks. Within this, language policy is covert (Piller & Cho, 2013), but there can be no doubt that the higher the aggregated ranking of a country's universities, the greater the use of EMI and the same goes for secondary institutions (Hultgren, 2019). This means that it is common for EMI to be enforced from on high with little consultation, preparation or compensation (Hamid & Nguyen, 2016) and with no real planning or consideration of implications.

1.4.2 EMI globally

At the beginning of his paper entitled The rise of EMI: Challenges for Asia in *EMI: Global Views* (Macaro et al., 2019), Andy Kirkpatrick asks a series of questions which are relevant to this research project and which overlap, to some extent, with those points already mentioned above (Kirkpatrick, 2019, p. 237):

- To what extent does a coherent national and/or institutional EMI policy exist? How aware are staff of these policies? What are the attitudes of staff towards the move to increased EMI?
- Does the move to EMI affect students and staff for whom English is an additional language; and, if so, in what ways? What have been the major challenges for students and staff in the implementation of EMI?
- Do staff receive any training/professional development to prepare them for teaching in EMI and, if so, what is the nature of this professional development?
- What variety of English does the 'E' in EMI refer to? Is it a native-speaking variety of English, such as British or American, or does the university recognize the use of English as a lingua franca?

All of these questions need to be asked if students who are requesting entry to the WA EAL/D course come from contexts in which English is the medium of instruction. Currently the WA EAL/D curriculum is being delivered in China, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Singapore and Vietnam. Thailand, Sri Lanka and India are coming on board soon. Students also apply from Mauritius, Maldives, Bhutan and Uganda, places in which the status of English is much less easy to ascertain (along with India, Sri Lanka, Kenya and Nigeria). The following is a brief summary of key points relevant to this study made by authors about EMI in these countries as well as other countries that may be potential markets.

China
In 2008 Osnos wrote about China:

> A vast national appetite has elevated English to something more than a language: it is not simply a tool but a defining measure of life's potential. China today is divided by class, opportunity and power, but one of its few unifying beliefs …is the power of English…English has become an ideology, a force strong enough to remake your resume, attract a spouse, or catapult you out of a village.

This trajectory has been maintained. In China, English is taught predominantly as a foreign language rather then used as a medium of instruction, therefore students coming from China generally do not present any issues for eligibility into WA EAL/D courses. However, there are some schools which use EMI to teach Science and Maths. In 2014, Kirkpatrick pointed out that the assumption that there were enough qualified and linguistically proficient Chinese teachers to teach English was unrealistic, never mind the serious shortage of Maths and Science teachers who were up to the job of teaching their subject in English. While there is an increasing parental demand for children to be learning subjects through the medium of English in wealthy urban settings, such as Shanghai and Xian, content classes are taught by teachers who deliver less than satisfactory

results (Hoare, 2010). The same concerns about the use of EMI in China are evident in the research from most of the other countries using this approach. Currently, EMI has been written about mostly in the Chinese universities though and does not present as an issue for secondary school children yet because of its limited presence in these schools except for very elite private schools.

Malaysia

Malaysia is a complex source country for WA EAL/D courses. In 2013, Darmi and Albion described Malaysia as one of the countries that had been adopting bilingual education. English is the L2 after Bahasa Malaysia (Gill, 2002) and English is taught as an additional language in the education system and a compulsory language at all levels of education. It is used in "speaking and intranational outstanding, sometimes official functions, as the language of politics, the media, jurisdiction, higher education, and other such domains" (Thirusanku & Melor, 2012, p. 2). However, according to Darmi and Albion (2013), competence in English has been on the decline since 1970 when the language policy changed from English to Bahasa Malaysia. More recently, this policy was once again reformed (2003) with a move back to more English language in Malaysia's education system. English was made a medium of instruction for teaching Mathematics and Science where previously these subjects were taught in Bahasa Malaysia. The aim of this reform was not necessarily to improve Malaysian students' mastery of the English language but more to give them the opportunity to learn Mathematics and Science through the most significant lingua franca in Malaysia and Asia and to give them a competitive edge in the globalized world. This should improve the standard of human capital in the country (Rashid et al, 2017). Ali (2013b) reported that teachers in Malaysia struggle because EMI policy is often not communicated in a written form, so teachers interpret it in different ways and implement different pedagogic actions as a result. Ali points out that teachers complain about conceptual imprecisions in the EMI policies and overall vagueness. The policy has had a knock-on effect on English language teaching generally, putting pressure on English language teachers charged with getting students to a particular level of proficiency for them to be able to cope with their Mathematics and Science classes. The recently implemented MBMMBI policy, makes ELT even more challenging for teachers. The policy mandates an extension of contact hours for 106 Policy Futures in Education 15(1) English from 240 minutes to 270 minutes a week. It also makes English a must-pass subject in SPM, consequently increasing teachers' workloads. Teachers are under a lot of pressure to improve the standards of their own English skills, particularly as the Ministry of Education considers that teachers' lack of English proficiency is the main cause of students' poor command of the language (Talib, 2013). As evidence of this, they tested 61,000 English language teachers in 2012 using the Cambridge Placement Test online. It was reported that 40,666 teachers (about two-thirds) failed this test (Jalleh, 2013). In their defence, teachers complained that the problematic online medium of the test hindered their ability to complete the questions in time and that these results were not a true representation of their English language abilities (Upset Over English Test, 2014).

Bangladesh

Bangla language is the official language of Bangladesh. English education in Bangladesh can be English as a subject or English as a medium of instruction. Bangladesh is facing many challenges in terms of language policies, language curriculum and syllabuses, choice of pedagogies, types of materials and approaches to assessment, all of which seem to be developed with no consideration for what is happening on the ground in Bangladesh and the 'contextual realities' of this setting

(Sultana et al., 2021). In recent decades elite private English-Medium schools in Bangladesh, which have high tuition fees, have proliferated (Mousumi & Kusakabe, 2017). This means that there is a two-tiered system of public Bangla schools and private EMI schools where there is English (as a subject) plus Bangla in the public schools and a policy of English only in the private schools. Teachers in Bangladesh have a reasonable understanding of EMI policy, according to Hamid et al (2013), but teaching and learning in English is impacted negatively by students' and teachers' limited English language proficiency and the inadequacy of the English-only policy. Students reported their content learning would have been better in L1. Al-Quaderi & Al Mahmud (2010, p. 223) wrote:

> The mushrooming of English-medium schools in the last 20 or so years has meant that many of these schools do not have the requisite educational standard. At this point the government can intervene and not promote the setting up of sub-standard English-medium schools which are bound with extraterritorial 'international' educational bodies, which may act in a way as part of the neo-colonial network of control, pacification and cultural hegemony. Rather the government, if it values English, should promote schools following the national curriculum in English.

Indonesia

English is mostly taught as a foreign language subject in Indonesia and therefore does not present many challenges in terms of students qualifying for WA EAL/D courses. Indonesia remains the sole Asian nation which has not made English a compulsory subject at school, nor does it have English as a medium of instruction across all schools. In 2013, Zacharius reported English language proficiency issues in the Indonesian classroom. In bilingual schools where EMI has been implemented it has met with limited success, according to Dupree's (2017) study. She observed that Indonesian teachers found it necessary to translanguage a lot of the time because they experienced feelings of inadequacy otherwise and in order to meet the comprehension needs of their students who had varying levels of English proficiency and were on track to take the Indonesian national exams. Students primarily chose to speak Bahasa Indonesia in content classes. Even when teachers spoke to them in English, they would predominantly reply in their L1. Overall, Dupree reports English being used by teachers 63% of the time (which is not that much) while students spoke English only 26% of the time, indicating an urgent need for concurrent English language support. Of course, further research would need to document qualitatively what kind of English language was being spoken by the students and the teachers i.e., single word answers, short phrases, full sentences, academic language or social language, to give a fuller picture of the situation. Another study reported shortages of teachers who could use EMI due to minimal competence in the language and lack of training in how to teach subject content in English. EMI practices significantly burdened and troubled teachers creating bigger workloads, with teachers preparing scripts for conversations and disrupting practices (Sandusiyah, 2019).

Singapore

Singapore does not present any problems for SCSA in terms of eligibility of students to take the EAL/D course; they simply will not qualify as English is one of their official languages and most people have English as their first language. They use the English Language Curriculum and take GCE O and A level courses in line with the UK. English has been overtly the dominant language since Singapore's independence in 1965. This is followed closely by Mandarin among the Chinese

community. After 1983 enrolments showed less than 1% in Chinese medium schools and no enrolments in Malay and Tamil-medium schools. The Ministry of Education announced that all schooling would be in English and their official heritage languages would be Mandarin Chinese, Tamil or Malay and only taken as second languages (Wong, 1999). By 1990 the entire education system (kindergarten to university) had adopted English as the L1. The language policy that has evolved in post-independence Singapore has been called "pragmatic multilingualism," by Rubdy (2015, p. 56). Although it is multilingualism, it is actually dominated by English. Singapore's multilingual model presents the country's population as comprising four major ethnic blocs: Chinese, Malay, Indian and 'Others'. Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English are the respective official languages. However, Singaporeans and also people like Angel Lin (2015) from Hong Kong, are now questioning how bilingual education models can break free from the clutches of monolingual immersion models and introduce "plurilingual and trans-semiotizing strategies into the repertoire of bilingual education curriculum resources" (p. 31). In other words, how can translanguaging and the utilisation of students' translingual repertoires be encouraged in bilingual classrooms and what might be the implications of such moves for things like eligibility to take EAL/D courses like those offered by WA SCSA?

Vietnam

Although English language is still largely taught as a subject in Vietnam (English as a Foreign Language), the number of EMI programs in Vietnam has risen significantly in the last few decades, mostly in the tertiary sector, due to top-down government policies as well as bottom-up initiatives (Truong et al., 2020). National 2020 English Initiatives in Vietnam aim to ensure that all primary school graduates achieve a level of English equivalent to the Common European Framework of Reference scales of A1 or A2 (Hung & Duzdik, 2010). According to Vu (2020) delivering content using EMI can be hampered by the following challenges reported by Vietnamese teachers in their study:

1. Identifying a balance between objectives connected with developing language and content is difficult for teachers in the planning stage. Moreover, some students totally ignore the language objectives relying on translation instead. Teachers similarly neglect the language objectives when planning the lessons.
2. Collaborating on lessons is difficult when Vietnamese teachers all have different levels of English language proficiency.
3. There are problems with instruction and feedback, particularly when it comes to appropriate word choices in English. In Vu's (2020) study, teachers gave as an example the fact that they had taught 'making babies or seeds' instead of using the word 'reproduce'.
4. Lack of EMI course books specifically designed for this kind of teaching make it difficult to find suitable materials.

Thailand

English is taught as a foreign language subject in Thailand. Currently, Thailand does not have a national policy of EMI in schools and any EMI that does take place is largely in the universities and in private schools. National policy dictates that Thai be used as the principal medium of instruction, but schools can also offer English-medium programs, often at an extra charge (Widiawati & Savski, 2020). Research that has been done in the EMI universities, has shown a propensity for translanguaging in classrooms with teachers and students moving between English and L1. One study showed lecturers using 80% Thai and as little as 20% English (Sameephet,

2019). Similarly, research conducted in primary classrooms showed a mismatch between school policies of EMI and the reality of the classroom where Thai, or other nationality teachers, resorted to using Thai in order to coax responses to questions delivered in English as a last resort, with students who were unable to follow fully monolingual English lessons (Widiawati & Savski, 2020).

Sri Lanka

Local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, were re-introduced as languages of instruction into Sri Lanka even before Britain departed its shores in 1948. Primary schools saw these languages used as mediums of instruction from 1945 onwards and secondary schools from 1953 (Brock-Utne, 2016). Universities followed in 1960. Local educationists argue that this return to subjects being studied in the mother tongue led to the remarkable development of the country and a literacy rate of 91% which is the highest in South Asia and one of the best in developing countries. It also led to 100% participation rates in primary education (Brock-Utne, 2016). However, in 2001 English was re-introduced as the medium of instruction for science classes at the collegiate level in selected government schools in order to improve English language competence and because there was little confidence in the ability of the teachers to teach English as a subject. Most of the teachers in these classes, however, resorted to speaking in Sinhala or Tamil because their English was not good enough to be able to properly explain their subject (Wedikkarage, 2006). According to Brock-Utne (2016), many students subjected to EMI found that they could not effectively study their subjects and sought permission to return to using their mother tongue in schools. Besides this, students were sometimes forced to return to using their home languages because teachers lacked the competence to be able to teach high level subjects in English (Navas, 2021). This is corroborated by students' low English scores as described by Navas (2021, p. 1883):

> Of the students who sat for the GCE O/L in 2019 as school candidates, only around 62% passed the English Language examination. This percentage includes 25% 'S' passes (the lowest pass grade in the scale of A, B, C and S) (Department of examination, 2019). Similarly, in the year 2020 out of the 260,000 students who sat for the GCE A/L, 54% passed the General English language examination which includes 25% of the students who got 'S' passes.

India

There are 1652 languages spoken in India with only 22 of these officially recognized. Article 350A of the Constitution of India requires local authorities to ensure that students are taught their 'mother tongues' in schools, however, only 43 languages are used as mediums of instruction nationally. English is taught as a school subject. It is also used as a medium of instruction in private schools. Education at the primary level is dominated by the government schools (British Council, 2014). However, at higher levels the private schools have a greater share of the enrolment. In 2014 the percentage of students enrolled in private schools was 35% K-12 even though the private schools made up only 22% of the schools in India (British Council, 2014). There are private aided and unaided schools. The aided schools are virtually the same as government schools as pupil fees are low and enrolments are about the same. Teacher salaries in the private aided schools are lower than the government schools, however, and they cannot transfer to other schools unlike in the public school system (Kingdon, 2017). This has implications for the quality of instruction in the English medium schools. Analysis of teaching contexts, pedagogies, textbook approaches and

learning practices have made it clear that English-medium instruction in some of the smaller poorer private Indian schools has not only impeded English language acquisition but also impacted negatively on students' ability to succeed in their subject areas (Bhattacharya, 2013) with low socio-economic status children, who enrolled in these schools in order to get ahead, doubly disadvantaged.

Mauritius

Mauritius is an unusual example in terms of language policy and practices. There is no official language and schooling can be conducted in whatever language people choose in the first three years of primary education. However, from Year 1 onwards all textbooks are in English despite the main spoken languages being Creole and French. French is not the medium of instruction. It remains just a subject at school but, regardless of this, the general level of proficiency in French is higher than English. This could, perhaps, be because French is closer to Creole linguistically and therefore easier to acquire. French is also the language of the media whereas English is the language of the government, civil service, education, formal and official transactions.

From the fourth year onwards English is the official medium of instruction but how this is handled differs a lot between schools. Research has not been able to ascertain the extent to which EMI is used because both students and teachers are reluctant to admit if they use Creole or French instead of English and observations of classes usually cause everyone to use English in the presence of 'official' outsiders. A recent research trip to Curtin University's Mauritius campus (Charles Telfair University) to collect digitally recorded data for a research project entitled: *Investigating the visibility of diverse languages and cultures on Curtin campuses* revealed that even when lecturers addressed students in English during workshops and tutorials, the students conducted their group discussions and tasks in either Creole or French. If the lecturer spoke only English to the students, however (i.e., mostly the Hindi community), then students would make more of an effort to conduct classroom tasks in English. In some classrooms the lecturers also reverted entirely to French to speak to the students or translanguaged between English, French and Creole.

Maldives

The Maldivian National Institute of Education National Curriculum Framework stipulates that students can learn subjects in their own language of Dhivehi in the foundation years up until primary school (so in pre-school and before) but that after that all instruction must be in the medium of English (or Arabic in specialist schools). Despite this, schools are discouraged from fully immersing students in English, however, recognising that some L1 will need to be spoken at least in the early years. Schools are asked to gradually move to a full English medium of instruction model with some Dhivehi spoken alongside English (The National Institute of Education, n.d.).

Mohamed (2013) critiqued the full scale adoption of English as a medium of instruction in schools in the Maldives for many reasons. Some of these are not really the direct concern of this study but, in many ways, they have implications for the study and, therefore, are worth mentioning. He states that the EMI policy is in conflict with the curriculum in that a whole nation has based its education system on a language in which "a considerable number of its students and teachers struggle to be fully competent" and that the "curriculum has failed to address" this (p. 200). There is also much disparity between the policy and the desired outcome in that the curriculum focuses on developing students who have a strong sense of identity and culture and yet the language policy mitigates

against this. A third point that he makes is that the teaching of content suffers when teachers are forced to use EMI. Their discourse is much richer, and classroom interaction is more animated, in their L1. Teachers express discomfort about having to teach in English at a level at which they are not proficient (Menken & García, 2010) and being too frightened to translanguage between L1 and LX in case they are seen to be going against policy. The effectiveness of their teaching is therefore questionable and the capacity for students' English to improve in such situations is even more doubtful. As Kaplan et al. (2011) pointed out, when teachers cannot meet the requirements of the language policy then problems in implementation are bound to develop.

Uganda

Questions of language are complex in Uganda. Heugh and Mulumba (2014) tell us that there are three major languages present in the linguistic ecology of Uganda: Bantu, Nilotic and Central Sudanic. English is also a second or additional language used in political, economic, educational forums and is a product of colonial rule. Instruction in English began in 1901 in the missionary schools. Later, in the 1920s, The Phelps-Stokes Commissions in West and East Africa suggested that students use their mother tongue in the first few years of primary school. The Kajubi Report in 1989 made recommendations endorsing this. Parents, however, believe using a local language may be a hindrance to accessing English and urban schools are much more likely to be using EMI through students' education. There are high attrition rates amongst students studying their subjects through the medium of English (Mohanty, 2012) because they do not understand their lessons and teachers are not able to teach effectively in English. Reading materials in English are not readily available and students may not be able to take resources outside the classroom. There are insufficient resources generally to assist teachers and learners. Bilingual programs have proven much more effective (Heugh & Mulumba, 2014) as a result.

Bhutan

Recent literature researching English communicative ability in Bhutan has pointed out that, although EMI has been used for over five decades in this country, the majority of Bhutanese students have been found to have very low communicative abilities in English (Dendup & Onthanee, 2020). English is the primary language of instruction, and all subjects are taught in English except the national language classes (Dzongkha is the national language) (Biddah & Thinley, 2010). Wangmo (2019) has suggested that teacher-centred instruction rather than collaborative learning in Bhutan has led to students having poor English language skills and if students do not have a high level of English proficiency, then using EMI becomes problematic (LaPrairie, 2014).

Myanmar

In Myanmar, government policy dictates that all institutes of HE use EMI. This is particularly problematic as levels of staff and student English proficiency are not nearly good enough to allow effective teaching of content through English. A recent survey of staff across a number of universities in Myanmar (Thant, 2016) reported that they preferred using bilingual education because it was impossible for them to teach their students solely in English. Another study (Htut, 2016) showed that a high percentage of English language teachers in Myanmar scored A0 (the lowest possible level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) bands) when they were tested on their English-speaking skills. The greater majority only scored

A2 which is still very low. When asked, the teachers admitted that they could not use EMI, as their own levels of English were so poor.

Drinan (2013) reported the serious impact of a weak English Language curriculum on language proficiency for both teachers and students in Myanmar. Another issue is the problem of teachers' fossilisation of language which means that they rarely develop further than the grade they are teaching and cannot provide students with current vocabulary and expression. More worrying is that teachers are not even at the level that they are teaching, as many have just memorized the textbooks for the course, according to Drinan (2013). Likewise, students' proficiency levels remain very low – possibly reaching pre-intermediate by Grade 11 but most leaving school with elementary English.

Conclusion

In her article, cited earlier in this section, and entitled, *Towards a social and epistemic justice approach for exploring the injustices of English as a Medium of Instruction in basic education,* Milligan (2020) explores, critiques and summarizes issues related to the implementation of EMI, particularly in the Global South and especially in Rwanda and Cameroon where her research is based. The points she raises provide us with a fairly generic snapshot of EMI in the Global South, particularly Africa and parts of Asia, where it is most common. She points out that, on the whole, decisions to adopt EMI are partly based on claims that the best way to learn a language is through immersion (Johnstone, 2019) and policy decisions driven by the conviction that the best way to engage with, and compete in, global markets is by being fluent in English (Erling & Seargent, 2013). English has also become known as a lingua franca for many and seen to be a politically neutral language in countries which have much linguistic diversity (Kuchah, 2009). Overall, decisions to use EMI are usually made with little regard for theories of learning and with even less regard for the challenges that EMI presents. This drive has resulted in a boom in low-cost private schooling in the medium of English in places like India and Africa (Milligan, 2020) with no guarantees of the quality of the learning in these schools or an increase in English language proficiency. Milligan et al. (2020) point out that, on the whole, EMI can be associated with low learning outcomes, failure, repetition, high dropout rates and low self-esteem. The majority of the learners have an English ability which is too low for them to be able to use effectively in the classroom and as a result students spend a large amount of time not understanding what the teacher is saying and doing very little talking in English in the classroom. This is particularly acute in lower socio-economic groups and more rural and remote areas (Yi & Adamson, 2019) where learners have no access to English outside the classroom.

In Milligan's own qualitative study of students in EMI schools in Cameroon, her team found that translation was the most widely used learning strategy with children asking more proficient peers to translate what the teacher was saying. Observation of the lessons showed children more concentrated on working out English vocabulary than engaging with the content of the lesson. As a result of this, sustained group work seemed to be avoided and the teacher resorted to 'safe talk' and note-writing on the board to convey content. Children had limited opportunities to develop their English in class and only those who could afford it had access to additional language support resources. In Rwanda, the shift from French to English (because English is now seen as the

language of development) is a decision rooted in a post-conflict political landscape according to Sibomana (2020, pp. 2-3) who noted:

> the decision seems not to have considered the starkness of the teaching and learning dilemma: learners attempting to grasp concepts through a language unknown to most of them and in which most teachers lacked the necessary proficiency.

Across the literature it soon becomes evident that, on the whole, curricular language demands far surpass learners' English language ability with vocabulary and sentence structures etc being much more challenging than in comparable texts used in the same year levels in places like the UK (Clegg & Czornowol, 2015). This situation can be made worse by overambitious content, lack of teacher confidence and language ability and student absenteeism due to diminished motivation to attend classes in which they find it difficult to understand and keep up and in which translation is the main strategy (this can be done at home especially with written texts).

Overall, when considering the implications of all of this for this project, it could be said that assuming a student has a superior grasp of English because they have conducted their content studies in English is probably a false assumption. While it is probably true that students from certain countries and certain schools may have been advantaged by EMI, it cannot be taken as a given that all students will have a good level of English because they have come through this route. Moreover, the question of the variety of English they have acquired is also an issue to be considered. The WA EAL/D course administrators mandate that students should not be proficient in SAE in order to be eligible to take the course and exam. Students from EMI situations may well have a good level of English, but it may also be in a variety which is not SAE i.e., Indian English. This brings us back to the fact that students with a variety or dialect which is not SAE could technically be eligible to take a course which says it is for people with English as an additional language or dialect (variety), as in the case of the eligibility criteria for deaf or hard of hearing students or Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander students.

Section 2 of the report
Common issues arising from the Authority's current EAL/D eligibility policy

2.1 The procedures required by the Authority to administer the current EAL/D eligibility policy

EAL/D students should be identified as EAL/D upon their enrolment at school. However, this does not always occur, as there is no lower school EAL/D curriculum for students, so there may be no obvious signposts for students to then be moved towards senior secondary EAL/D curriculum later on; this can result in some students slipping through unnoticed. Currently, students who are aware of the course, and the need for eligibility approval and are interested in applying can log in online in the student portal of the Student Records Management System (SRMS) of SCSA to submit their application. They may be directed there by their teacher, who has identified the student as potentially eligible to enrol in the EAL/D course, and they may guide the students to the SCSA website where there is an EAL/D page that contains a guide/booklet with instructions on how to complete the application. Preferably the school allocates these students, although sometimes parents also intervene.

There is a reliance on the teachers' and admin staff's knowledge of how to identify EAL/D students, and that they know that the EAL/D course exists. This reliance can lead to potential problems, where EAL/D students who would benefit from doing the course are potentially not identified. The other issue is that EAL/D students may not have a teacher to teach them the course, as only some schools run the EAL/D course due to student numbers. If there is only one student, then they may be sent to another senior secondary English course, for example ATAR English or General English. This may limit pathway options for students if ATAR English is too difficult, as EAL/D students often have to take a General pathway. For students who do not have EAL/D access at their school, the School of Isolated and Distance Education (SIDE) now run online classes. This means that EAL/D students, particularly if it is just one student who cannot be catered for at their regular school, can do their normal schooling, and then do an English course with SIDE online. They are then able to sit their ATAR, but for English they can opt to do the EAL/D course rather than ATAR English or ATAR Literature.

ATAR EAL/D is of the same level of difficulty as ATAR English and ATAR Literature. All three courses in the ATAR pathway of the senior secondary English learning area can be used to meet the English language competency requirements for university entry. The three courses are designed for different audiences, and therefore the general perception of EAL/D is that it is an 'easier' course making it a potentially attractive option for students who do not fit EAL/D requirements. This situation is different to other states in Australia that have deterrents for doing EAL/D which is not the case in Western Australia.

There is no eligibility requirement for enrolment in Year 11 ATAR EAL/D, however, schools generally counsel students about the most appropriate course based on the likely outcome of the submission of an eligibility application. For approval to study Year 12 ATAR EAL/D students may submit an application at any time from Year 9, and they must be deemed eligible in order to enrol in, and complete, the course in Year 12. The EAL/D eligibility policy could be removed completely, but then highly fluent English speaking or local Australian students could apply for the EAL/D course, which universities would probably view unfavourably. This could potentially

result in universities restricting their entry requirements; for example, it may result in newly enforced rules that students do ATAR English or ATAR Literature.

2.2 The procedures required by students and schools to implement the current EAL/D eligibility policy

One of the issues with getting EAL/D students into the EAL/D course is the process of submitting the application, which involves the applicants understanding the language of the application as well as knowing the correct documents to submit. Approaching this with no prior knowledge of how to do it is likely to lead to confusion, as the requirements of how to submit can be very specific. One example is when SCSA requests that students provide a school report from when they lived and studied overseas as evidence that they spoke and learned in a language other than English. The students may misunderstand the reason behind SCSA's request, and instead provide a local school report which does not demonstrate any evidence that they previously studied a curriculum with a different language of course delivery. Therefore, as the students may not understand why the requirements are in place, they may upload the wrong documents to the SRMS platform.

Another documentation issue can be when students are asked to provide evidence of their date of arrival to Australia. Instead of providing a document that shows the specific date that they came, they may upload visa applications or grants that state that they can enter the country before a certain date, which is not specific enough for SCSA to use as evidence. It is the same issue if students submit a copy of a boarding pass, as boarding passes do not show the year of arrival. Therefore, if the students do not understand the reasoning behind why the evidence is important, they may submit the wrong document. Essentially, applicants for the EAL/D course need to prove that there was a period where applicants did not speak English, and rather than trying to prove that they have competence in English through their local school reports, what SCSA actually wants is evidence that their exposure to English has been limited.

Teachers who are assisting the students with their application may also misunderstand the requirements, which may indicate that there is a mismatch between what SCSA wants and what the applicants, whether teachers or students, think they want. Generally speaking, teachers at schools in WA know and understand SCSA's requirements. However, there are some schools, particularly some international schools, where there have been occasions in which SCSA has received falsified documents from teachers (for example, false school reports), due to the perception that this will help the student in their application. Figuring out whether these documents/reports are authentic can be time consuming.

There is also the difficulty that students may have in completing these applications, particularly as they are from EAL/D backgrounds, as well as the knowledge of where to access the appropriate information and application. It is helpful if the student's school provides students with support, however, this can depend on factors such as the school's SES, and whether the school has a high number of EAL/D students and therefore has familiarity with situations such as this. If the school has good resources, and reasonable knowledge and experience regarding EAL/D students, then they are usually in a position to better assist EAL/D students in their application. SCSA also offers support in this aspect by providing documents that are translated into 14 different languages, which can assist EAL/D students with their comprehension if they are literate in their L1.

2.3 How students are required to demonstrate eligibility to enroll in the Year 12 EAL/D ATAR course

There are three aspects to the eligibility policy. To prove that their first language is not English, students are asked to provide the country of birth of both parents and languages spoken at home. No further evidence is generally requested to confirm this information.

The most demonstrable eligibility criteria are whether EAL/D students have been a resident of an English-speaking country for less than seven years and have spent less than seven years of learning using an English curriculum. However, at times this rule can be almost impossible to interpret or verify. For example, one student who applied for the EAL/D course had parents from the Democratic Republic of Congo, who moved to Kenya as refugees and then enrolled him as a student there. Officially, English is the medium of course delivery for schools in Kenya, and the official Kenyan policy documents for education state that all classes are in English. However, the student put on his application that at his school, English was only used around 30 percent of the time, with lessons mostly conducted in Swahili. Therefore, there is a mismatch between the student's experience and the official government claim. There are similar examples in other countries, such as Malaysia, where schools deliver the Malaysian national curriculum in English, however, Malaysian students are eligible for SCSA's EAL/D course. This is despite the fact that they may have had 11 years of classes using English as a medium of instruction (as the national curriculum at English medium schools should include 50% Malay course delivery), because the evidence submitted indicates they have studied the national curriculum. They would only be deemed ineligible if they had done an international curriculum where English is the medium of course delivery.

Other difficult cases provided by Louise Dodman are outlined below verbatim:

Case 1

> A student was born in France to parents who were both born in Australia. She listed the languages spoken at home in order of frequency as English, then French. The student lived in France from birth until age 11, and 6 years of schooling were completed in France. She then moved to Australia and completed 5 years of schooling in Australia before Year 12. The student was found ineligible for EAL/D as, with both parents being Australian, English was deemed to be the first language acquired. She requested a review of her application, stating:
> *'Although my parents are both Australia i was born in France and bought up by my care giver who was french and only spoke to us in french. My first language is french as i started school at a very early age and was only taught french so i wouldn't fall behind. I spoke french at home and at school as i attended a french school. My mother would only allow me to speak french to her and not english. At the age of 11 when i moved to Australia i improved on my english.'*
> Although the student stated that she was brought up by a French speaking carer, no evidence of this was provided. The student provided evidence of some difficulties in her studies at school; however this related mostly to the French language and there was no specific reference to studying or learning English as an additional language, or her progress in English. Therefore, the original decision of ineligibility was upheld.

Case 2

> A student was born in France to an Australian mother and French father. The student listed the languages spoken at home in order of frequency as French, then English. He lived in France for 3 years then moved to Australia for 5 ½ years and attended school for 4 ½ of those years. He then moved back to France and attended school for 6 years before returning to Australia for another 2 ½ years. As the student had lived in Australia for a total of 8 years before Year 12, he was found ineligible for Year 12 ATAR EAL/D.

In summary, the current criteria may disqualify those students who might otherwise benefit from doing the EAL/D course and exam. The seven year rule treats the amount of time learning or being immersed in English as cumulative rather than sequential i.e., seven years in total rather than seven years in a row and does not necessarily stipulate Standard Australian English or academic English. The criteria also do not allow for cases where applicants have lived overseas for part of their life i.e., the French example where the first six years was spent in Australia but then the next ten were spent in France.

2.4 Common issues encountered by students who do not meet the criteria of the EAL/D eligibility policy

Following on from the above issues, schools in different countries may have quite changeable curricula. For example, in the Philippines, schools may offer subject specific courses in English (such as English, maths, and science), and then other courses will be offered in the local language. There is some uncertainty surrounding whether these students are eligible to apply for the EAL/D course, but on paper, because the government states that more than 50 percent of the school subjects will be delivered in the local language, that is the policy that SCSA follows; therefore, these students are eligible to do the EAL/D course. It is likely that these students have had a high level of exposure to English, but they still may not feel confident using English.

There is a similar situation in India, where lessons can be taught in three languages, Hindi, Punjabi, or English, and in certain regions other languages (for example, Gujarati), can also be taught as well. In this situation, the school has the discretion regarding what language is delivered to the students, which means that according to the official line, it is quite uncertain; it also does not help that all the documentation that SCSA can access is in English.

2.5 Common issues encountered by the Authority through application of the EAL/D eligibility policy

Equitable treatment of students is one issue that regularly arises, as some students may qualify as EAL/D who are not really EAL/D, while others do not qualify but really should. Therefore, the only real way to deal with this problem and be fair is to be consistent with the policy, as leading from instinct can lead to trouble and inconsistency. Another big issue involves the amount of paperwork involved and the difficulty that both the students and SCSA can have in negotiating these documents. The main objective regarding the documentation is for the students to provide

the appropriate evidence about their linguistic background. It can require significant negotiating, where SCSA may make requests from the student to provide more information and more documents. It is not uncommon for SCSA to ask a student for a particular document, for example a school report from 2017, and the student uploads the wrong document, at which point SCSA asks again for the appropriate document and the student again does not provide the correct document. This may be due to the student's lack of understanding or reading comprehension; however, some difficulty may also lie with the SRMS requirements. What is most helpful is when a mentor, for example a teacher, helps the student complete the application in chunks. Support from schools in WA that have experience in EAL/D is generally good and helpful to the students, and established overseas schools are generally also helpful with providing the documents that SCSA need.

The method and criteria that SCSA asks of applicants is not particularly clear, and the onus for policy enactment was put on Louise Dodman when she first began working at SCSA. Her solution was to apply and enforce the existing policy, which may have caused issues at some of the schools, as they would try to send students' work samples as evidence. Louise does not deem this form of documentation applicable due to its difficulty to verify as genuine or to verify the conditions under which the work was done. One example that demonstrates this regards a school that had submitted student work as evidence, and one of the students who had submitted a work sample spoke with an Australian accent. Her application showed that her mother was born in Malaysia and her father in Australia, that she spoke Mandarin at home, and had spent a chunk of her schooling in Malaysia, which was delivered in Mandarin. However, after her application was approved, work samples provided for moderation by the school indicated that she was proficient in English and was actually a proficient bilingual, speaking English at home with her father. She did not indicate on her application that English was a language that she spoke at home. One possible resolution to issues where student work samples may not truly reflect applicants linguistic abilities could be to take a standardized test that could more clearly demonstrate the student's abilities.

2.6 Common issues encountered by the EAL/D Eligibility Appeal Panel when students appeal a decision of ineligibility

An interesting point to make regarding eligibility appeals is that despite EAL/D containing the aspect of speaking English as a dialect, students have never appealed a decision on the grounds that they speak an English dialect. This is a legitimate claim for students who come from countries such as India, Malaysia, and Singapore, particularly as students using AUSLAN or Aboriginal English have direct entry to the course. Dialect is quite a grey area when it comes to student eligibility on the EAL/D course, particularly as dialect (and the similar term, variety) is quite a flexible term.

On the other hand, one issue that regularly occurs as part of the appeals process is regarding the experience of members who are on the Eligibility Appeal Panel. Because the employees of SCSA do significant work with the eligibility applications and are very familiar with the policy, there can be differences of opinion when they are discussing the process of appeals with people who have experience with language acquisition and/or are EAL/D teachers. These people are familiar with the language learning process, but not the policies and procedures of SCSA, which at times can result in SCSA being pressured by these individuals to just allow the EAL/D students to be

accepted. One example occurred during the last appeals process, where people on the appeals panel, who may not have had the appropriate experience and expertise in making decisions on appeals for the EAL/D course, granted three student appeals, despite none of the three meeting the eligibility criteria based on the evidence they provided. Despite all panel members individually deciding that they were all ineligible, these three students were approved at the panel meeting after the impact of COVID was discussed and used as justification. The issue with this is its unfairness and the contradictory and inconsistent application of this justification, as all students who applied could have been approved using that reasoning.

There are many students who do not appeal their decision because they accept it or do not know how to appeal, but appeals like the above made by the board sets a precedent that the applicant will be successful, so therefore schools are more likely to push for an appeal in the future. For example, where an appeal was perhaps appropriate was when one student did not provide the correct evidence initially and only provided the appropriate evidence at the appeals stage, so she was able to be accepted. However, for the two other appeals it was arguably unfair, as the policy was applied at the start and at the review, but then it was not applied during the appeals process. Therefore, it is important to get the right people with the appropriate expertise, and provide the effective training for the appeal panel to undertake the appeals process properly so that there are not discrepancies. That is something that needs to be discussed with the SCSA manager and is additionally difficult because what SCSA does is so niche.

Section 3 of the report
Research and EAL/D eligibility practices of other Australian jurisdictions

3.1 The general development of EAL courses throughout Australia

According to the Australian constitution, states and territories are responsible for funding and standardizing education, which has led to all states and territories having their own specialist EAL/D frameworks, policies, and procedures (ACARA, 2014; Carey & Robertson, 2015). Each state and territory use similar strategies to ascertain the needs of their students. This can include establishing the students' linguistic background and competencies during enrolment and class periods, and providing specialized EAL courses in upper secondary schooling to prepare EAL/D students for life after school, including for study at tertiary institutions.

While the needs of EAL/D students are considered now, they have not always been, with this consideration only beginning in the late 1960s (Carder, 2008). Before then, the underlying assumption existed that EAL children would naturally assimilate, both culturally and linguistically, into Australian society (Carder, 2008). Children were treated in the exact same way in the classroom regardless of their linguistic needs (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1980), resulting in very little accommodation of EAL/D students transitioning into mainstream schooling (Oliver et al., 2017). This began to be addressed in the 1970s, with previous assimilative policy changing in 1971 with the establishment of the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) (Carder, 2008), which was the first attempt at addressing the needs of school aged EAL students (Lo Bianco, 2002). This federally funded program recognized the expertise of EAL teachers, as well as the cultural contribution that migrants made, and recognized Australia's responsibility for the language education of newly arrived migrants (Oliver et al., 2017). However, it took over a decade for the successful initiation of professional programs, with a lack of professional training and deficit perspectives of EAL students abounding during this time (Carder, 2008).

In 1978, language and immigration policies were influenced by the Report on Post Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Oliver et al., 2017). From 1978 until the 1980s, teaching programs such as the New Arrivals program and the Multicultural Education Program were introduced, at which point EAL student needs were addressed, albeit from a deficit perspective rather than through celebration of difference or acknowledging the advantages of their bi/multilingualism (Oliver et al., 2017). During this period, EAL eligibility was granted to students who were born overseas in non-English speaking countries, or who had at least one parent born in a non-English speaking country, with the eligibility usually being determined by the school (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1980). However, funding for this program ceased in 1986, with federal budget cuts, leading to greater state and territory responsibility in 1986 (Cahill, 1996), and resulting in greater mainstreaming of EAL students in the classroom from 1988-89; differing from the previous focus of withdrawing EAL students from the classroom for lessons (Bayly, 2011). As withdrawal methods became less popular, language and content integrative methods were increasingly encouraged, using justifications surrounding the efficiency of integrated content and language in providing simultaneous learning in two areas, the strong influence of communicative forms of language teaching that emerged at that time, and the length of time it takes for EAL students to gain both BICS and CALP English proficiency; however, these arguments require further research to establish their validity (Carder, 2008).

After 1986, the focus on teaching techniques shifted to being more needs based and learner centred, often incorporating techniques such as communicative language teaching, and there was an increased focus on students developing communicative competence (Ingram, 2003). In 1991, further revisions occurred (including drastic funding cuts), and the National Policy on Languages was renamed as the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (Dawkins, 1992). This policy emphasized the teaching of English as a second or foreign language, and also recognized linguistically diverse Aboriginal students (Oliver et al., 2017).

In 1998, support for EAL students was also changed, and saw an increased emphasis on text and genre-based approaches (Mickan, 2004). It was in the late 90s that the development of ESL Bandscales occurred, which was done in collaboration with EAL educators (Oliver et al., 2017). The year 1997 saw federal funding for mainstream ESL programs in schools end after 28 years (Moore, 2005), with support and funding shifted to the state governments (Oliver et al., 2017). It also led to the common occurrence of responsibility being placed on individual schools to accommodate EAL students, which potentially led to many migrant and refugee children slipping through the cracks (McNeilage, 2014; Oliver et al., 2017).

There has been an increase in the 2000s to use forms of pedagogy such as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Content-Based Instruction (CBI), which are designed to support EAL/D students in both their language and content development (Oliver et al., 2017). One broad drawback of Australian schooling is that little encouragement is given to students to maintain their first language, with languages other than English often being seen as a problem instead of a resource (Carder, 2008). When this is considered in light of the cognitive benefits of bi/multilingualism, such as stronger metalinguistic awareness, abstract and symbolic representation skills, working memory and attentional control (Adesope et al., 2010; Dewaele & Li, 2012), this is a resource that is wasted. One step in combating this is the recognition of the linguistic competence of students who already know one or multiple languages, as acknowledged by the recent move toward the use of the term *EAL/D* (Oliver et al., 2017). Considering that recent statistics show that 21 percent of Australians speak a language other than English at home (ABS, 2018), well-funded EAL instruction that meets the linguistic needs of EAL/D students throughout Australia is still very much needed.

The following sections will more specifically describe the current Year 11 and 12 EAL/D policies for each state and territory in Australia, and how each state and territory attempt to meet the linguistic needs of EAL/D students.

3.2 The EAL/D eligibility policies in New South Wales and how they were developed.

One requirement for students in New South Wales to receive their Higher School Certificate (HSC) is the completion of an English HSC unit (NESA, 2021a). For EAL/D students, the English EAL/D Year 11 and 12 Stage 6 course is likely to be the most relevant course to fulfill this requirement. The Year 11 course offers two units of three modules to assist in the acquisition, development, and use of English, while the Year 12 course offers two units of four modules that focus on analysis, exploration, synthesizing, making meaning, considering audiences, and written development (NESA, 2021b). This course is open to EAL/D students who have been educated overseas or in an Australian educational setting, where they have received instruction in English for five years or

less before the commencement of the Year 11 EAL course, and whose first language is a language other than English (NESA, 2021c). Eligible students also include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students whose first language is a language other than English, including creoles, and who did not receive schooling in English (NESA, 2021c). The NSW Education Standards Authority (NESA) also state that this course is for students who meet this criteria but still require additional support in their English language development (NESA, 2021d).

3.2.1 The procedures required to administer these EAL/D eligibility policies

If students wish to enrol in the EAL/D course, they must apply and demonstrate their eligibility for the course. It is the student's responsibility to provide evidence of their previous schooling background, with the principal verifying the main language of instruction at these previous schools (NESA, 2021c). The school and the student then make an eligibility declaration on the "English as an additional language or dialect (EAL/D) Eligibility Declaration" form, which is kept by the principal (NESA, 2021c). The form requires the student to provide the name of the school(s) they previously attended, what grade they studied, the country in which it was located, and the languages of instruction (NESA, n.d.). At this point, a teacher or the principal then provides a school/institute statement, outlining why the student should be enrolled in the Stage 6 EAL/D course. The form is then signed by the teacher and the principal, with copies of supporting documents to be attached. If the principal is unsure about the eligibility of the student, they can then approach NESA for further clarification (NESA, n.d.).

3.2 2 Common issues encountered in the administration of the policies

There are potential exceptions for some EAL/D students that may need to be taken into consideration, such as if the student has had a significantly interrupted education (NESA, 2021c). In this case, the principal may seek approval from NESA to extend the period of instruction in English eligibility to six years or less. This requires the principal completing a declaration form that contains evidence of the student's circumstances (NESA, 2021c). Another factor requiring extra consideration is EAL/D for rural and regional school students. A student based rurally is eligible to enrol in EAL/D Distance Education if they have been educated in English for five years or less before commencing Year 11, or they have had interrupted schooling, or are of refugee background (NSW School of Languages, n.d.). The student is also eligible if they have reached Phase 2 level EAL/D, or have received instruction for at least one year in English with support from an EAL/D teacher, or have completed the New Arrivals Program (NSW School of Languages, n.d.).

3.3 The EAL/D eligibility policies in Victoria and how they were developed.

Victoria offers the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) English as an Additional Language (EAL) to students who meet the eligibility criteria who have an EAL background, are hearing impaired, or are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders whose first language is not English (DET, 2021). The course contains four units, with Units 1-2 completed during Year 11, and Units 3-4 completed sequentially in Year 12, with each unit involving 50 hours of classroom instruction (VCAA, n.d. a). For students to successfully complete their VCE, they must satisfactorily complete at least three English units, including the Year 12 Units 3-4 (VCAA, n.d. b). If these units are satisfactorily completed, students then have the opportunity to access tertiary studies (VCAA, n.d.

b). The VCE EAL course is the same English course as its non-EAL English counterpart; however, the assessment criteria and achievement of outcomes differ. For example, non-EAL students may be expected to submit a written assessment of around 900-1200 words and an oral presentation of 4-6 minutes, while an EAL student is expected to submit a written response of around 800-1000 words and an oral presentation of 3-5 minutes (VCAA, 2014b). In addition, EAL students have a supplemental listening assessment as part of their Unit 3 module.

For Units 1-2, the school decides whether to make EAL provisions for the student, and there is no eligibility criteria required for the students to fulfill; this may be suitable for students who have had interrupted education, limited English learning environment exposure, and for EAL students who need support in building English language skills and knowledge (VCAA, 2014a). For students who wish to study the Year 12 Units 3-4, they are not automatically considered eligible by the school. Students must apply to enrol in these units in order to be accepted, providing information that meets the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA) eligibility criteria (VCAA, 2014b). Students who are seeking EAL status are generally considered eligible to study Units 3-4 if they have been a resident in Australia or another country that is predominantly English speaking for no more than seven years, which is calculated cumulatively over the student's entire life (VCAA, 2021). This criteria is applicable from the first day of the academic year, and schools must sight overseas school reports as confirmation that English was not the language of instruction for that period (VCAA, 2020). The criteria also states that eligibility is for students who have had English as their major language of class instruction for a total of no more than seven years over the entirety of their education (VCAA, 2020). EAL status is available for Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander students whose first language is not English (VCAA, 2020).

The criteria of how to classify an EAL student has been debated in Victoria since the 1970s, with discussions regarding whether students had to be born overseas in a non-English speaking country or whether Australian born children also counted. This has led to confusion and some schools not recognising the linguistic needs of their students (Bayly, 2011). As approximately 25 percent of students at this time were from migrant backgrounds, this was a significant issue, and it led to the recognition and awareness that EAL students had learning issues that needed to be addressed, adequately catered for, and properly investigated (Bayly, 2011). One finding was that the Higher School Certificate examination requirements of the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board (VUSEB) for EAL students were too difficult, resulting in high failure rates (Bayly, 2011). It was a 1971-72 report by the Education Department that expressed the need for special arrangements to be considered for students who needed help with the English subject, that could enable them to pursue studies at university and elsewhere. In 1978, the alternative examination was changed to become "HSC English as a Second Language" (Bayly, 2011).

Since then, funding has been more heavily weighted towards EAL students in secondary schools, particularly in upper secondary. The justification used is that the language demands in senior secondary school for EAL students are greater than for EAL students at lower grade levels; they also have less time to acquire English before completing their schooling (Bayly, 2011). It is worth noting that until 2005, EAL students received funding for seven years after their enrolment; however, from 2006 this funding was reduced to five years, with additional weighting given to support EAL students who had additional learning needs (Bayly, 2011).

3.3.1 The procedures required to administer these EAL/D eligibility policies

School staff in Victoria are encouraged to learn about the student's learning history, through establishing whether the student has attended a new arrivals program, finding out about their cultural, linguistic and educational background, whether the student speaks English as their main language at home, the number of years of schooling the student has had, if their schooling has been disrupted, and when they arrived in Australia (DET, 2019). This information is normally collected upon the student's enrolment. In addition, interviews with the student and their parents, as well as previous school reports, can provide further information for the school and can allow for the construction of a sociolinguistic profile of the student that can assist in establishing their learning needs (DET, 2019).

While the above is a general guide to schools in learning about the sociolinguistic profiles of their students, there are specific procedures involved if students wish to take the VCE EAL Units 3 and 4. Students must apply to enrol in the course using the "Application for Enrolment in English as an Additional Language Units 3 and 4" form, and provide evidence of their eligibility, including copies of documents that prove their residence such as passports or visas, and overseas educational documents such as school reports. Students must provide information about the first and additional languages they speak apart from English, and provide detailed information about their educational background, including the year attended, the country, the name of the school, and academic grade studied, the language of instruction, and the number of hours studying in English per week (VCAA, 2021). This is submitted to their school for review, and if the student is eligible, and they have submitted the appropriate documentation that meets the eligibility criteria, they are endorsed by the principal and granted enrolment (VCAA, 2020). The student can then be enrolled in VCE EAL, and the application is kept on file at the school (VCAA, 2020).

In straightforward cases, there is no need for the principal to send the application to the VCAA (VCAA, 2020). These forms may be audited in the future by the VCAA, for the purpose of monitoring how the school undertakes its procedures, monitoring the documentation of each student's application, for maintaining standards, and ensuring that students are appropriately enrolled in the courses most relevant to them (VCAA, n.d. c). There are two occasions where the principal may seek VCAA approval of student enrolment. The first is if the principal is unsure of the eligibility of the student, in which case they can approach the VCAA with the form and the evidence submitted by the student for further clarification and determination of eligibility (VCAA, 2021). The second is regarding students from India and Singapore, whose applications are considered solely by the VCAA, and the student must provide further evidence of the language of instruction of the school they attended in that country, as well as evidence of their international movement (VCAA, 2021).

3.3.2 Common issues encountered in the administration of the policies

While these eligibility policies are in place, there may be acknowledged exceptional circumstances that affect the administration of the policies and whether students are accepted as having eligible EAL status. These include:

- Little to no primary school education

- Significant schooling interruptions, especially if the language of instruction changed between schools
- Significant interruptions to schooling after the student arrived in Australia (VCAA, 2020).

If the principal believes a student has exceptional circumstances that mean they should be able to enrol in an EAL/D course despite not clearly satisfying the criteria, then they can make an application that outlines the student's circumstances, providing appropriate documentation, and send this application to the Student Records and Results Unit for consideration (VCAA, n.d.). However, VCAA outline that there are some features that EAL students have that are not considered exceptional circumstances for EAL status, which include:

- The language the student speaks at home
- The standard of the student's written and spoken English
- The school failing to provide EAL assistance to the student (VCAA, 2020).

There are also exceptions for hearing impaired students, who can also seek EAL status. They must provide evidence of a hearing test that was taken no more than two years before Unit 3-4 enrolment, and have been deemed eligible for assistance by the Visiting Teacher Service or enrolled in a school for the hearing impaired (VCAA, 2020).

3.4 The EAL/D eligibility policies in Queensland and how they were developed.

Queensland defines EAL/D students by using ACARA's definition of "those whose first language is a language or dialect other than English and who require additional support to assist them to develop proficiency in English" (ACARA, 2014, p. 9). Queensland includes the 'dialect' aspect in EAL/D to ensure that students with backgrounds of historical language contact, such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, are included. In addition, this also allows for the acknowledgement of migrant and refugee students who may speak an English-based creole, pidgin or dialect as one of their home languages (Department of Education, 2018).

Once EAL/D students reach Years 11 and 12, the course English as an Additional Language is available for students to study. This course is specifically designed for EAL/D students whose first or home language is not English. It aims for students to produce spoken and written texts for a range of contexts, purposes, and audiences (QCAA, 2019). The English as an Additional Language course, of which there are four units each consisting of 55 hours of teaching and learning (two units for Year 11, and two units for Year 12), are designed to fulfil academic English structure and grammar requirements that would allow passing students to study at a tertiary level (QCAA, 2016).

For students wishing to enrol in Year 11 and 12 English as an Additional Language subject, the Queensland Curriculum and Assessment Authority (QCAA) deems the schools as being the best placed to identify EAL/D students and confirm their eligibility for this subject (QCAA, 2019). They define EAL/D students as students who do not speak English as their first or home language. This can include:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students who do not speak Standard Australian English (SAE) as their first or home language/dialect
- Students born in Australia or who have lived in Australia for a number of years but still need substantial help in learning English as an Additional Language
- Students entering senior schooling who have not had more than five years of full-time English medium schooling (in total)
- Students who have had more than five years full-time English medium schooling in total, but have a restricted knowledge of English
- Students who have varying exposure to English, but have had disrupted education, either overseas or within Australia
- Students who may have had some formal English language exposure and significant formal education in languages other than English before their arrival in Australia (QCAA, 2019).

It can also include Australian born students who have returned from living overseas and had schooling in a language other than English, and children of deaf adults who use AUSLAN as their first language (Department of Education, 2018).

3.4.1 The procedures required to administer these EAL/D eligibility policies

According to the QCAA (2019), schools are the best placed to identify and confirm the eligibility of students wishing to study English as an Additional Language. It is expected that EAL/D students are identified upon their enrolment, as the enrolment form asks for the linguistic background of the student; either that, or they will be identified during their enrolment interview (Department of Education, 2018). At this point, the school will attempt to obtain as much relevant information as possible about the linguistic background and proficiencies of the student (Queensland Government, 2018). If they are not identified at this stage, then they will be identified in class by the teacher after observation of their learning behaviours and language use, with their level of English proficiency being established through using tailored 'bandscales' (Department of Education, 2018). To further establish the student's English ability, the student's work samples, test results, writing responses, and interviews with the student may also be collected as evidence (Queensland Government, 2018). The student's EAL/D status and bandscale level will be recorded in the 'OneSchool' system, at which point the appropriate support system will be considered for the student. After six months, the student's status will be reviewed (Department of Education, 2018).

3.4.2 Common issues encountered in the administration of the policies.

Student enrolment into the Year 11 and 12 English as an Additional Language course is left to the schools to decide (QCAA, 2016). This is after students are mainstreamed in English from F-10, which has the risk of rendering the needs of EAL/D students as largely invisible (Alford & Jetnikoff, 2011). There is also the issue of how to cater for EAL/D students who are not eligible for the course, who may have been here longer than five years. These students may be disadvantaged when attempting to take other mainstreamed Year 11 and 12 English courses, and may be, by all initial appearances, fluent and unaccented English speakers (i.e., fluent in BICS) but still have difficulties with academic English (i.e. issues with CALP) (Alford & Jetnikoff, 2011).

3.5 The EAL/D eligibility policies in South Australia and the Northern Territory and how they were developed.

South Australia and the Northern Territory offer English as an Additional Language subjects, with Stage 1 being offered for Year 11, and Stage 2 offered for Year 12 (SACE, 2021a). The Year 11 EAL subject can be offered as a 10 credit subject (a one semester/half year subject that requires the completion of 60 hours of learning time and four assessments) or a 20 credit subject (a one year, 120 hour course requiring the completion of eight assessments), while Year 12 EAL is a 20 credit course of 120 hours. The course is designed "for students for whom English is a second language or an additional language or dialect" (SACE, 2021a, p. 1). The EAL courses are part of the South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE), the certification of which is consistent with the Australian Qualifications Framework for senior secondary certificates (SACE, 2018).

EAL eligibility needs to be determined for student enrollment into Stage 1 EAL and Stage 2 EAL (SACE, n.d.). The eligibility criteria states that a student is eligible to enrol in the EAL course if they are an English as an additional language or dialect student who has had:

- no more than five years of full-time schooling where the medium of instruction was English, or
- more than five years of full-time schooling where the medium of instruction was English, and whose English language proficiency is restricted, or who is a resident and studying in an overseas country where English is not the primary or official language (SACE, n.d.).

If a student is operating above a Level 11 in Stage 1 and above Level 12 in Stage 2, they are deemed as ineligible to enrol in the Stage 1 or Stage 2 EAL courses; this is according to the language and literacy levels in the *English as an additional language or dialect program* (SACE, n.d.).

For students to apply for the EAL course, they must fill out a form to be verified by the school principal before the student is enrolled in the subject. As part of the eligibility, the form the students fill out asks whether the students are of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander background, the applicant's country of birth, the date of arrival in Australia, age of arrival in Australia, the first language that the student speaks at home, the language that the student currently speaks the most at home, and what languages the student can speak confidently other than English (SACE, n.d.). The student (or the student's parent if the student is underage) then must make a declaration that the information they have provided is correct. At this point, an EAL teacher will verify if the student has had more than five years of full-time schooling with English as the medium of instruction, but still has restricted English language proficiency (this may be according to criteria in a learning progression measurement) (SACE, n.d.). The teacher must provide documentation that verifies the student's restricted English, which can include samples of the student's work that were used to assess the student's English language proficiency, and the student's school assessment record (SACE, n.d.). Then, the principal will review the student's eligibility by verifying documents that show the student's period of residence in Australia, such as the student's visa documents or passport (SACE, n.d.). The principal will also verify the student's educational history, through reviewing school reports. It is the school's responsibility to collect and verify the

student's documentation, and copies of these documents will be held at the school for two years in case of an audit by the SACE Board (SACE, n.d.).

3.5.1 The procedures required to administer these EAL/D eligibility policies

EAL Stage 1 and Stage 2 subjects are designed for EAL/D students, "whose English language proficiency is restricted" (SACE, 2021a, p. 1). Students who want to apply for the EAL subject must do so through their school, which will then determine the eligibility of the students according to the set criteria (SACE, n.d.). To be eligible, students must meet the eligibility criteria for the EAL course at the time of enrolment (SACE, n.d.). Students who are approved to study for Stage 1 do not have to apply again for Stage 2 EAL enrolment; however, students who did not study the Stage 1 course and wish to study Stage 2 have to apply for the Stage 2 course (SACE, n.d.). Students must fill in the application Form 6, with eligibility determined by the EAL teacher, which will then be verified by the school principal or the principal's delegate before the student can be enrolled. It is the school's responsibility to collect and verify the student's documentation for the application, and may include evidence of the student's English proficiency such as the student's work. However, if eligibility is difficult to determine, the school can seek advice from the SACE board (SACE, n.d.). The principal will then advise the student on the outcome of the application in writing, and the application form and supporting documents will be kept at the school and potentially requested by the SACE Board during an audit (SACE, n.d.). SACE also notes that "the enrolment of a student in English as an Additional Language is deemed confirmation that the principal or the principal's delegate has verified that the student meets the eligibility criteria" (SACE, n.d.).

3.5.2 Common issues encountered in the administration of the policies.

If a student believes that their application for eligibility to enrol in the EAL course was not appropriately assessed by their school, they can make a written appeal to the SACE Board. Conversely, if students provide information for their eligibility application that is incorrect, misleading, or incomplete, they may be withdrawn from the EAL subject or have their result in the subject removed from official SACE Board records (SACE, n.d.).

A student may be able to obtain a special provision for their assessments if they are able to prove personal circumstances have inhibited them – for example, their schooling was interrupted due to family responsibilities or cultural obligations; however, students are not eligible for special provisions because of unfamiliarity with the English language (SACE, 2021b).

3.6 The EAL/D eligibility policies in Tasmania and how they were developed.

Tasmania offers EAL/D Level 1, 2 and 3 courses for eligible students. Level 1 is the preceding course before students undertake senior secondary courses such as Level 2 and Level 3, and is of general equivalence to an AQF Certificate I (TASC, 2021a). The Year 11 equivalent is EAL/D Level 2, and serves as a foundation course for Level 3 (TASC, 2021b). Level 3 completion is of a standard that enables students to enter tertiary study (TASC, 2021c).

The Tasmanian Department of Education commits to providing EAL support to learners it defines as having:

- had interrupted, little or no formal schooling in any country
- begun school with little or no English exposure
- attended schooling in a country outside of Australia and have a schooling level equivalent to that of their peers (Department of Education, n.d. a).

The Department also describes the difference between BICS and CALP acquisition, making the point that while it may take a student 2-3 years to acquire BICS, it may take students up to ten years to reach the CALP equivalency of first language English speakers (Department of Education, n.d. b). They provide the following eligibility criteria for the provision of EAL support to assist in their CALP development:

- the student does not speak English as the main language at home
- the student has had less than five years of schooling using English as the medium of instruction
- the student is unable to independently undertake the mainstream curriculum as a result of their English proficiency (Department of Education, n.d. c).

However, it is important to note that the Department's above criteria does not fully match with the Office of Tasmanian Assessment, Standards and Certification's (TASC) criteria, which lists the eligibility criteria for EAL/D course access as the following:

- the student speaks English as an additional language or dialect
- the student has not had more than a total of *six* years of formal education at a school where English is the major medium of instruction
- the student has been a resident in Australia for no more than six calendar years before the course is taken (TASC, 2021d).

These criteria have been updated from previous TASC policy, which previously allowed for no more than five years of formal education in English and residence in Australia (2016). The TASC criteria is also what is listed in the course outlines for Levels 1, 2, and 3.

3.6.1 The procedures required to administer these EAL/D eligibility policies

In order for students to access the EAL/D courses, they are required to fill out the "Application to access English as an Additional Language or Dialect Courses" form, which is submitted via the student's profile in the TRACS database before commencement of study (TASC, 2021d). If it is obvious to the principal that the student meets the eligibility criteria to enrol in one of the EAL/D courses, then the principal can grant the request, with the decision, along with the copies of the supporting documentation, kept on file at the school (TASC, 2021d). Schools should only enrol the student in an EAL/D course if they have verified that the student meets the relevant criteria (TASC, 2021e).

As part of their application, the student must include their personal details, the EAL/D course they want to study, whether they have previously studied a TASC EAL/D course, whether they are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and if not, where they were born and when they arrived in Australia, including their date of arrival. They are also asked the number of years they have spoken

English, as well as the other languages the student can speak (TASC, 2021f). The student then signs the form to authorize the application process (TASC, 2021f). Once the form is submitted, a decision will be made within 21 days (TASC, 2021f). A failure of the student to provide relevant documentation that would assist in determining the outcome of the application will result in the application not being processed (TASC, 2021f).

3.6.2 Common issues encountered in the administration of the policies.

There may be exceptional circumstances where EAL/D students are provided with a partial relaxation of the eligibility criteria, assessed on a case-by-case basis. These circumstances may include:

- the student being a humanitarian migrant; and/or
- the student having little to no primary school education; and/or
- the student having had severely interrupted schooling; and/or
- the student having had experiences that might impact on their ability to access TASC courses other than EAL/D (for example, traumatic experiences that have resulted in memory impairment such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder); and/or
- the student would benefit from the EAL/D course as a result of any of the above circumstances (TASC, 2021d).

In cases such as these, a support person may assist in helping the student to apply to TASC by submitting an application with evidence such as NAPLAN results (or NAPLAN exemptions), visa information, learning plans, a school based diagnostic test, or psychological reports, and sign off on the document (TASC, 2021e). The application must be submitted in TRACS by the end of Term 3 of the year preceding study, or at the start of Term 1 of the year of study (TASC, 2021e). In these situations, it is TASC that makes the determination of student eligibility.

3.7 The EAL/D eligibility policies in the Australian Capital Territory and how they were developed.

The ACT Government defines EAL/D students as:

- requiring specific support to develop English proficiency
- students who speak a language other than English at home
- Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander students who speak a language other than English at home, such as Aboriginal English, creoles, or traditional languages (ACT Government, 2017).

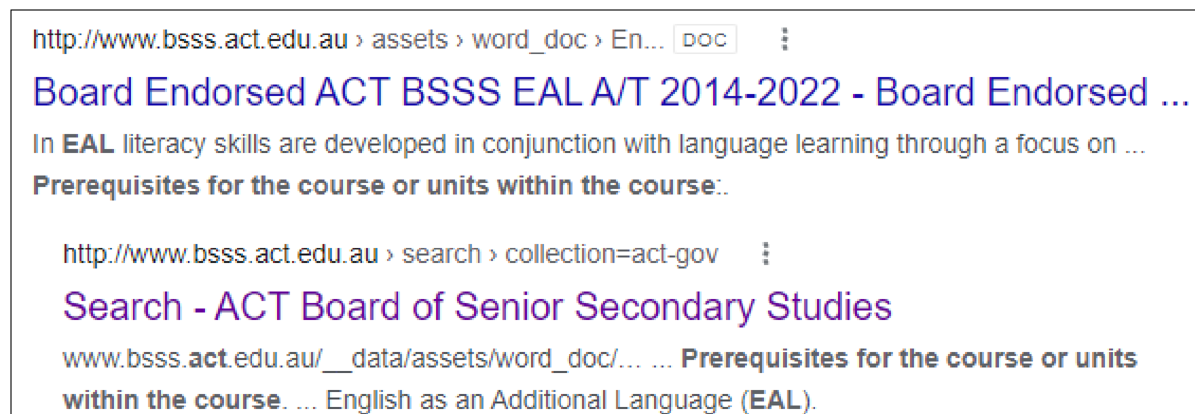
The ACT Board of Senior Secondary Studies (BSSS) is the group that provides information about Year 11 and 12 EAL/D courses. The BSSS offers EAL courses, with each course consisting of at least 55 hours. For students to complete a minor course, it requires the completion of a minimum of two units, while a major course completion requires a minimum completion of 3.5 units (BSSS, 2021a).

Unfortunately, further searches of the BSSS could not uncover any more detail about specific eligibility policies, and attempts to verify the existing documentation that SCSA has regarding the

prerequisites of the EAL course were unsuccessful. The below existing SCSA documentation could not be verified:

> **Prerequisites for the course or units within the course**
> Students whose first language is not English, with a language performance level below that of average native English speakers for that year level are eligible to enrol in the course. Entry to the course will be determined by assessment of the student's level of English.
>
> **Arrangements for students who are continuing to study a course in this subject**
> Students continuing this course from Year 11 or who studied the previous course in Year 11 are able to take units in Year 12 under the new course.

Also, while updated versions were shown upon an initial search, when they were opened, they displayed as "404" and "page not found":



The only additional information that BSSS provided is regarding assessment. The BSSS supplies criteria for the identification of linguistically diverse students when these students are doing the ACT Scaling Test (AST). These students are defined as linguistically diverse if:

- the school's principal judges that the AST will not accurately assess the student's aptitude because of English difficulty. This must be based on documented evidence; and
- the student has had less than four years of education in English before starting their Year 11 studies; and
- the student has been a resident for less than six years, just before starting their senior secondary studies, in a country were English is the language. (BSSS, 2021b).

The BSSS also state that any student who can obtain a B grade average or higher in English or Literature should not be considered eligible (BSSS, 2021b). Students who meet the criteria are granted additional time to complete AST assessment tasks (20 minutes for Short Response, 25 minutes for Multiple Choice, and 25 minutes for Writing), and they are assessed using the common marking criteria (BSSS, 2021b).

3.7.1 The procedures required to administer these EAL/D eligibility policies

According to the ACT Government, school principals are responsible for maintaining school practices consistent with the implemented policies and procedures. They are also responsible for

meeting the language acquisition needs of EAL/D learners at their school (ACT Government, 2017). The education Support Office is responsible for the consistency of EAL/D practices, policies and procedures, as well as the monitoring and reporting on implementation of the policies and procedures (ACT Government, 2017).

3.7.2 Common issues encountered in the administration of the policies

There is insufficient information to outline the common issues encountered in the administration of EAL/D policies in the ACT. However, the ACT Board of Senior Secondary Studies (BSSS) has written a report looking at the eligibility criteria of broader language subjects (LOTE) in the ACT, which outlines the lack of clarity surrounding language eligibility criteria. The recommendation is that the BSSS use the Western Australia Certificate of Education (WACE) "Application for permission to enrol" as a basis for the BSSS eligibility criteria (BSSS, 2016). The BSSS also suggest that a working party should be established to develop a new BSSS language eligibility criteria (BSSS, 2016).

Section 4 of the report
Summary of findings and advice for consideration in regards to the Authority's EAL/D eligibility policy

4.1. Summary of findings

Overall, the question of eligibility for EAL/D students to enter the SCSA Year 11 and 12 ATAR EAL/D courses and exams is extremely complex and nuanced. The points to be considered are summarized from the main body of the report and are presented below:

4.1.1 Historical backdrop

Key points

- *EAL/D ATAR as a scoring course-* As soon as the EAL/D course became a scoring course, which gave students credit for what they achieved in their studies, the pressure to admit students began. Previously students who got 65% or more received a pass grade. When this changed, this created extra pressure to ensure that only eligible students were accepted into the course, as schools saw they could advantage their students in their ATAR scores by entering students with good English language levels into the EAL/D course. Allowing students with high proficiency English or English as a first language to enter the course, therefore, might mean that students use the EAL/D ATAR course as an easier pathway to gain entry to their preferred course at universities.

- *Fairness and equity-*Mixing students with high level proficiency in English with those of low proficiency in English would be damaging to both groups. There has to be some criteria to keep it fair for EAL/D students of low level proficiency. This particular problem has been recognized by courses such as Chinese language in which 'heritage speakers' are now separated out from Chinese as an Additional Language speakers to address this problem.

- *Implications for the pedagogical approach-* Allowing students into the EAL/D course who were more proficient in English, and possibly had English as their first language, would make it difficult for teachers to teach students with lower English language proficiency in the same group at the same pace.

4.1.2 Acquiring academic language

Key points

- *Time-*Cummins estimated that students needed five to seven years to acquire academic English. Collier suggested that 10 years is more realistic and even then that might be optimistic. Moreover, whether the time learning is interrupted or uninterrupted will also impact rate of learning. The seven year rule by SCSA treats the amount of time learning, or being immersed in English, as cumulative rather than sequential i.e., seven years in total rather than seven years sequentially. Moreover, the rule does not stipulate whether students are using Standard Australian English or academic English during that time. The criteria

also do not allow for cases where applicants have lived overseas for part of their life i.e., the French example where the first six years were spent in Australia but then the next ten were spent in France. Basically there is no simple answer to the question 'how long does it take?'

- *Context*-The length of stay in a country may not be significant for either recognition or production of an LX. The main influencing variable is the intensity of interaction between learners during this time. Maintaining bilingualism has a positive effect.

- *Age*-Some periods for learning an additional language are more effective than others. Currently, based on observation of migrant children, it is thought that a greater rate of learning takes place between 8 and 11 years of age with speaking especially being affected. However, there may also be multiple critical periods for language learning.

- *Difficulty of language*-How difficult a language is will be related to features of that language, the context in which it is encountered, and factors related to the individual learner. All students have difficulty in developing adequate academic language skills.

- *Instruction*-A consideration in learners' rates of academic language acquisition is the academic language proficiency of their teachers. Low level English language proficiency will impact negatively on students.

- *Heritage languages*-Observations, experiences, information and policy in the LOTE area can inform policy decisions in the area of English languages and eligibility for different awards and courses.

- *Social dimensions*-Students who have good educational backgrounds and high aspirations for success may achieve CALP in 5-7 years but students who are from disadvantaged backgrounds will take much longer to achieve CALP. Basically, poverty, sociocultural support and parental education all impact on the acquisition of CALP.

- *Cognitive dimensions*-There is wide individual variation in the rates of learning English due to child-internal differences including first language and cognitive capacity. Some LX learners will never converge with their monolingual peers due to individual differences that impact on their learning, including disability, motivation and intelligence.

- *Challenges*-Academic language is a specialized form of language which is used as a tool to describe technical and abstract ideas that are normally not discussed in social settings or at home. Academic register requires different vocabulary and syntax compared with other, more socially based, registers and this language needs to be explicitly taught; it cannot easily be just implicitly 'picked up' in an immersive setting.

Overall, current theories of second/additional language acquisition point to a much more complex process than the current EAL/D eligibility criteria recognize. Substantial research over the past 30 years suggests the potential impact of multiple cultural, social, economic, and educational factors on learners' development of an additional language. The development of academic language

(CALP) is even more complex. The question: 'How long does it for take for children whose first language is not English to catch up with their monolingual peers?' cannot be answered easily. Notions that there are ways of ensuring quick and effortless language acquisition which will lead to uniform outcomes for all learners are naïve and do not consider the factors outlined above. As Lotas (2012, p. 43) suggested, "recommended practice consistently supports the need to consider the whole child as a context for educational decision making, but actual practice is often left without specific guidance on how this should be done".

4.1.3 English as a medium of instruction (EMI)

Key points

- *Teacher English language proficiency*-Not all teachers are equipped linguistically to be able to effectively deliver subject content to students in contexts/countries where English is the medium of instruction. This situation is common especially when teachers are not the designated language instructors but rather are simply teaching content and subjects through the medium of English. What levels of English proficiency do EMI teachers/professors need to have in order to provide quality instruction for their EMI students in their respective academic subjects?

- *Teacher education*-In many countries the introduction of EMI is not supported by pre-service teacher training or teacher professional development. There is no assurance that teachers have had sufficient professional development to manage EMI situations effectively.

- *Variety of English*-What variety of English is being used in EMI and how does this impact students who are being judged to be proficient in Standard Australian English having received their content in a local variety of English?

- *Lived experience versus school policy*-When students have learned their studies through the medium of English (according to school policy), with more than 50% of the content delivered in English, there is no guarantee that their teachers have managed to teach content using English only and by not resorting to their L1. Assuming that students have a superior grasp of English because they have conducted their content studies in English is probably a false assumption.

Overall, it cannot be assumed that students who have gone through a course of instruction which is delivered in English will be proficient in Standard Australian English or academic English because of the factors mentioned above.

4.1.4 Common issues with current EAL/D eligibility policy

Key points

- *Identification* -EAL/D students are not always identified upon enrolment at school because there is no lower school EAL/D curriculum so there may be no obvious signpost for

students to then be moved towards EAL/D curriculum later on. Students who need EAL/D instruction may, therefore, slip through the net. There is a reliance on teachers and administrative staff to identify EAL/D students.

- *University entry*-ATAR EAL/D currently is on the same level as ATAR English and English Literature, making it a potentially attractive option for students who do not fit EAL/D requirements. This situation is different to other states in Australia that have deterrents for doing EAL/D which is not the case in Western Australia.
- *Submitting an application*-This involves EAL/D students (and their parents) knowing enough English to be able to complete the application successfully and also understanding which accompanying documents need to be submitted. This also applies to the teachers. Falsification of documents in certain countries is not uncommon.
- *Mismatches*-These can occur between students' actual lived language experience and official government policies (e.g., EMI policies).
- *Difficult cases*-Many applications do not fit the criteria neatly e.g., a student born in a French speaking country to Australian parents who arrives in Australia after being schooled in France from birth to age 11 then completes 5 years of schooling in Australia before applying for EAL/D status is a difficult case.
- *Contested curricula*-In the Philippines English, Maths and Science are taught in English and the remainder of the course is in Tagalog but the government claims that over 50% of the course is in local language and therefore, students from the Philippines are eligible to take the WA Year 11 and 12 EAL/D course. This is similar to India.
- *Fairness and equity*-As with the historical situation already discussed, the current situation regularly gives rise to issues of inequity and unfairness.
- *Policy enactment*-The enforcement of policy normally falls on the shoulders of the EAL/D Consultant at SCSA which is a heavy responsibility.
- *Work samples*-These may not reflect students' linguistic abilities accurately.
- *Englishes as dialects*- Students from India, Malaysia and Singapore could claim that they speak dialects (varieties) of English i.e., Indian English, Malaysian English and Singlish. Speakers of Aboriginal English currently have direct entry based on the fact that they speak a dialect or variety of English which is not Standard Australian English, therefore, it would be difficult to justify rejecting an appeal from other dialect speakers and remain credible unless historical disadvantages of Aboriginal people is the justification.
- *Appeals*- Panellists may not always be coming from the same perspective or have the same level of expertise in the area i.e., EAL/D teachers, SLA academics and SCSA employees. Consensus may be difficult to reach, therefore, or biased decisions may be made which are not consistent.

Overall, current policy is fraught with inconsistencies and problems which can probably only get worse as numbers of applications increase and the linguistic contexts of the applicants become more complex in a world of global Englishes, English as a lingua franca and dynamic English language policies.

4.1.5 EAL/D eligibility practices of other Australian jurisdictions

Key points

- *Lack of standardisation-* All Australian states and territories have their own specialist EAL or EAL/D frameworks, policies, and procedures. In some states students receive a penalty of 10% deduction on their EAL/D subject as a way of discouraging proficient speakers of English from taking the easier option (note this information was given by SCSA personnel but we have been unable to verify which states or how many).

  *NSW***-** Eligibility is defined as: students who have been educated overseas or in an Australian educational setting, where they have received instruction in English for five years or less before the commencement of the Year 11 EAL course, and whose first language is a language other than English. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students are also eligible.

  *Victoria***-** Eligibility is defined as: students who have an EAL background, are hearing impaired, or are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders whose first language is not English. The criteria also states that eligibility is for students who have had English as their major language of class instruction for a total of no more than seven years over the entirety of their education.

  Queensland- Eligibility is defined as: "those whose first language is a language or dialect other than English and who require additional support to assist them to develop proficiency in English" (ACARA, 2014, p. 9). Queensland includes the 'dialect' aspect in EAL/D. Migrant and refugee students who may speak an English-based creole, pidgin or dialect as one of their home languages are acknowledged. Eligibility is determined by the schools. Queensland includes the following in the criteria as well:
  - Students born in Australia or who have lived in Australia for a number of years but still need substantial help in learning English as an Additional Language
  - Students entering senior schooling who have not had more than five years of full-time English medium schooling (in total)
  - Students who have had more than five years full-time English medium schooling in total, but have a restricted knowledge of English
  - Students who have varying exposure to English, but have had disrupted education, either overseas or within Australia
  - Students who may have had some formal English language exposure and significant formal education in languages other than English before their arrival in Australia.

  South Australia and Northern Territory- Eligibility is defined as:
  - no more than five years of full-time schooling where the medium of instruction was English, or
  - more than five years of full-time schooling where the medium of instruction was English, and whose English language proficiency is restricted, or who is a resident and studying in an overseas country where English is not the primary or official language.

  If a student is operating above a Level 11 in Stage 1 and above Level 12 in Stage 2, they are deemed as ineligible to enrol in the Stage 1 or Stage 2 EAL courses; this is according to the language and literacy levels in the *English as an additional language or dialect program.*

*Tasmania***-** Eligibility is defined by the Tasmanian Dept of Education as:

- interrupted, little or no formal schooling in any country
- beginning school with little or no English exposure
- attended schooling in a country outside of Australia and have a schooling level equivalent to that of their peers.
- the student does not speak English as the main language at home
- the student has had less than five years of schooling using English as the medium of instruction
- the student is unable to independently undertake the mainstream curriculum as a result of their English proficiency.

The Department also discriminates between BICS and CALP saying it may take a student two to three years to acquire BICS but up to 10 years to achieve CALP. The Office of Tasmanian Assessment, Standards and Certification's (TASC) criteria do not fully match the Departments' criteria with the length of time of schooling in English jumping from five years to six years:

- the student speaks English as an additional language or dialect
- the student has not had more than a total of six years of formal education at a school where English is the major medium of instruction
- the student has been a resident in Australia for no more than six calendar years before the course is taken

Australian Capital Territory- Eligibility is defined as: students whose first language is not English, with a language performance level below that of an average native English speaker for that year level. Entry to the course will be determined by assessment of the student's level of English.

An updated version was indicated in an initial google search but the pages did not open. The Board of Senior Secondary Studies also added that students would been deemed eligible if:

- the school's principal judges that the AST (ACT Scaling Test) will not accurately assess the student's aptitude because of English difficulty. This must be based on documented evidence; and
- the student has had less than four years of education in English before starting their Year 11 studies; and
- the student has been a resident for less than six years, just before starting their senior secondary studies, in a country were English is the language.

4.2 Advice for consideration

It can be seen from all of the previous fifty pages or so of discussion about students' EAL/D eligibility and the criteria used to determine successful acquisition of CALP, that there is no simple set of rules that can be applied without being substantially reductionist. The following is a list of possible considerations in light of what has been discussed above, however.

4.2.1 Test of language proficiency

When asked about his thoughts on the EAL/D eligibility conundrum, Professor Rod Ellis, an internationally recognised SLA expert and John Curtin Distinguished Professor at Curtin University, immediately suggested having a short online language test for all applicants. On the face of it this would seem an equitable and transparent solution to assessing English language proficiency and CALP, in particular, in EAL/D course applicants. However, there are several problems with this: 1) it is expensive and time consuming to administer and standardize even online; and 2) it assumes that we are trying to see students at their best, when, in fact, students who want to get into the EAL/D course want to be seen at their worst. As such, there would be nothing to stop students deliberately performing poorly on such a test in order to gain entry to the EAL/D course.

4.2.2 Work samples

It would seem that a much better way to assess students' English language ability is to collect assessed student work samples from teachers. Assessed students would have been trying their hardest to get good marks to pass the unit of study and so the best examples of their writing would be put forward. Teachers would be trusted to be give accurate reports about students' ability in the additional language. This use of work samples is currently used when there are applicants who do not meet the current criteria easily or clearly. The downside of this is that it is very time and labour intensive for the EAL/D Consultant and teachers in the schools. It may also be a conflict of interest for teachers who may be keen to get their students into EAL/D courses at all costs, particularly, in Australia where ATAR scores can be substantially affected by high scores in one subject.

4.2.3 No entry criteria

The EAL/D eligibility criteria could be removed altogether. The IELTS testing scheme used to have many criteria for people taking their test but now anyone can apply providing they are over 16 years old and have a passport. Ultimately, it could be argued that overseas students would not take the EAL/D course as their first option if they could do the 'normal' English subject which carries more status. Parents, in particular, would probably encourage their children to take the English subject option rather than the EAL/D option and entry into tertiary institutions would probably favour having passed the English subject rather than done well in the EAL/D subject. In other words, overseas students would probably deselect themselves from the EAL/D course if no entry criteria existed. However, in Australia, a highly fluent English speaking or local Australian student could apply for the EAL/D course in order to boost their ATAR score. Universities would, therefore, probably view a lack of any entry criteria unfavourably. This could potentially result in universities restricting their entry requirements; for example, it may result in newly enforced rules that students do ATAR English or English Literature. A way around students rorting the system would be to penalize students who take the EAL/D course, like in other Australian states. The EAL/D ATAR is recognized in the same way as the mainstream English subject by universities in Western Australia unlike in some other states where students receive a penalty of 10% deduction on their EAL/D subject as a way of discouraging proficient speakers of English from taking the easier option (note this information was provided by key SCSA personnel but we have not managed to verify which states or how many). However, imposing a penalty paints EAL/D, and the students who take this subject, in a deficit light taking EAL/D back to notions of inferiority that we hoped we had left behind.

4.2.4 Extend time frame

Western Australia currently operates with the seven year rule, but this is arbitrary as Cummins says five to seven years for the acquisition of CALP. Other states have the five year rule and one says on its website that it may take students up to 10 years to acquire CALP but their eligibility cut off rule is six years. Gitomer, Andal & Davison (2005), Hakuta, Goto Butler and Witt (2000), Lotas (2012), Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002) and Collier (1995) believe that it takes EAL/D students at least 10 years to get anywhere near the language proficiency level of their English as a first language peers. Collier (1989) showed that it takes a minimum of five to ten years for "the most advantaged limited-English-proficient students" (p. 35) to develop academic language proficiency, never mind those from modest or poor economic backgrounds. English language learners are not a homogenous population (Lotas, 2012) and yet SCSA's seven year rule treats them as such.

4.2.5 Make concessions

Queensland has criteria for EAL/D eligibility which is less straight forward and reductionist. It allows for students who have had more than five years full-time English medium schooling in total, but have a restricted knowledge of English, and students who have had varying exposure to English, but have had disrupted education, either overseas or within Australia, to still be eligible to take their course. Perhaps formalising more mediating criteria into the policy is the way to go. For example, perhaps there could be concessions written in for students applying from refugee or low socio-economic status backgrounds on the basis that we know that poverty and mental trauma will have impacted the ability of these students (and that of the parents) to learn English no matter what their record of attendance in English language courses or EMI classrooms. There could be concessions given to students suffering from PTSD or trauma. In Tasmania they have a concession for this with students judged on a case-by-case basis. Of course, the numbers in WA may be far greater than Tasmania, being in the Asia-Pacific region and with students from all over Asia taking the EAL/D ATAR course. Similarly, maybe there could be more concessions given to international students who are supposedly studying in EMI contexts given what we know about the lived experiences versus the reality of the use and level of English language in these contexts. While all of these concessions would take up time and energy, with a growing market overseas there is more money coming in and, therefore, more staff able to be employed to do the job. This would be a better strategy than trying to reduce criteria even further to make the job easier for one individual and, thereby, running the risk of being reductionist, inequitable and preventing students from flourishing in a subject that is right for them.

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Glossary of terms

Affect/affective states – The feelings, emotions, or mood of a person. An affective state is the emotional state of a person/learner.

BICS – Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills – conversational fluency in the additional language.

CALP – Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency – the understanding and expression of oral and written modes, concepts and ideas that are relevant to success in school.

Critical period – a hypothesis that states that there is a critical age period in childhood where language develops most readily. The critical period is hypothesized to occur approximately between the age of five and puberty, but may be particularly effective during the ages of 8-11. However, there may be multiple critical periods for learning a language.

EAL – abbreviation for English as an Additional Language (may also be written as EAL/D, with the 'D' standing for 'dialect').

Explicit learning – where teachers guide or show students a topic, using step-by-step instructions on what to do, and how to do it. This is a conscious form of learning.

Implicit learning – when knowledge is acquired in a process that occurs naturally and without conscious thought or awareness.

L1 – abbreviation for 'first language'

LX – updated term to describe learners who speak an 'additional language' (the previous term was 'second language', which was abbreviated to 'L2'. L2 been phased out due to the recognition that English learners may speak multiple languages).

Metalinguistic awareness – the conscious reflection and awareness of language and the systems and patterns it has.

Translanguaging – when a speaker moves between languages fluidly. This is a dynamic practice that transcends boundaries between named languages, with the aim of maximising and more effectively communicating.