

**Practitioners, Pedagogies and Professionalism in
English for Academic Purposes (EAP)
The Development of a Contested Field**

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University, nor to any other institution for a degree, diploma or further qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis examines key developments and changes which have taken place within the field of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) from the 1960s until the present day. It critically evaluates the effects that these developments have had on EAP as an academic discipline; on the positioning and status of EAP within the academy; and on the work carried out by EAP practitioners, particularly with regard to conceptualizations of professionalism, and understandings of what constitutes practitioner expertise.

Drawing on qualitative data generated from in-depth semi-structured interviews with 15 internationally-recognised scholars from EAP, the study presents a particular history of the different stages and developments which have occurred in EAP, and maps how these have impacted not only upon EAP as a discipline, but also upon the work of its practitioners.

Grounded in a series of narratives provided by individuals recognized for their key contributions to the field, the analysis utilizes ideas from socio-cultural theories developed by Becher (1989), Bernstein (1971) and Bourdieu (1977) to account for EAP's current status and positioning in the academy. It then draws on theoretical concepts developed by Shulman (1986), Schön (1983), and Lave and Wenger (1991) to suggest ways in which EAP teachers build their knowledge and go about developing their particular professional expertise.

The thesis proposes that EAP has now reached an important crossroads in its development. It argues that factors such as a poor appreciation for and understanding of EAP from within the academy at large; a lack of clarity and consistency around professional standards and teacher development within EAP itself; the current marketization of UK higher education and the resulting influx of private educational providers seriously threaten the longer-term security and future development of EAP within UK university contexts.

Key Words:

EAP, expertise, academic status, professionalism, teacher life histories, academic tribes and territories, classification and framing, the pedagogic code, habitus, field, capital, teacher knowledge, teacher training and professional development, teacher competencies, the reflective practitioner, legitimate peripheral participation, private providers.

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Last but not least, I must say a big thank you to my wife and daughter. Doing a PhD, while also trying to hold down a demanding full-time job is certainly no

easy task, and requires the frequent sacrifice of many evenings and weekends which would otherwise have been spent with family. The impact that my 4 consecutive years of doctoral study has had on them is significant, and perhaps best summed up in a comment made by my five-year-old daughter, Vanessa. When we pulled an after-dinner wishbone together during the Christmas holiday of 2015, for once she was the winner and excitedly made her wish. Later that evening, when I jokingly asked her what she had wished for, she very solemnly told me *'Well, I wished that you can finish your PhD very soon Daddy, then you'll have more time to play with me'*. This was a timely- and necessary- reminder that family members are also a big part of any PhD process and are often forced to make their own significant sacrifices.

Having now finally completed this thesis, I can only hope that my wife and daughter will agree that it was all worth it.

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Acronyms

AWL	Academic Word List
BALEAP	British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes
CELTA	Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults
DELTA	Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults
DTEFLA	Diploma in Teaching English as a Foreign Language to Adults (precursor of the DELTA)
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EGAP	English for General Academic Purposes
ELTJ	English Language Teaching Journal
ESAP	English for Specific Academic Purposes
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
ESPJ	Journal of English for Specific Purposes
EST	English for Science & Technology
JEAP	Journal of English for Academic Purposes
PIM	Professional Interest Meeting (for members of BALEAP)
PgC TEAP	Postgraduate Certificate in Teaching English for Academic Purposes
SELMOUS	Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Students (precursor of BALEAP)
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

CHAPTER 1

Setting the Research in Context

Introduction

- 1.1 A Personal Career Journey**
- 1.2 My Specific Research Questions**
- 1.3 The Nature of the Research**
- 1.4 Thesis Overview**

Introduction

The main purpose of this opening chapter is to set the professional context for my research, and to explain my reasoning behind the particular questions which this thesis attempts to answer.

I begin by describing aspects of my career journey to date, and reflect on how these have influenced and guided my current thinking, particularly with regard to the areas of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) which I believe warrant further investigation.

I then outline the specific questions which this thesis will address, and situate the significance of these within the wider context of EAP today.

I close the chapter by describing the nature of my research in more detail, and then provide a brief overview of what will be covered in each of the chapters which follow.

1.1 A Personal Career Journey

At the time of writing, my professional career involvement within the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) spans some 28 years. By far the largest portion of this period, at least 20 consecutive years now, has

been spent employed in the sub-field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), with a particular focus on teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP), the area with which this thesis will be most directly concerned.

First as a teacher, then as a senior academic manager, for the past two decades I have been extensively involved in the establishment and delivery of a wide variety of EAP programmes. These have been offered at both public and private-sector universities, and in geographical locations as diverse as the United Kingdom, Japan, Turkey, China, the United States and now Australia. In my various managerial roles as a Head of Subject Area, a Head of Section, a Head of Centre and now a Head of School, I have been responsible for the hiring (and occasional firing) of EAP teachers; the design and delivery of EAP curricula, materials and assessments; the training and professional development of EAP teaching staff; and the setting and maintenance of institutional standards around the quality of EAP provision and academic practice. Although my institutional and geographical contexts have frequently changed, what the wearing of these different workplace 'hats' has cumulatively and consistently given me, is a deep and abiding research interest in those aspects of EAP which focus squarely on the EAP practitioner.

As both a researcher and as an EAP practitioner, I am interested in understanding how and why people decide to begin careers in EAP; the different routes which they follow in gaining entry to the profession; the trajectories which their careers typically then take; the ways in which EAP practitioners understand, develop and profess their professional expertise, and finally, the ways in which institutions offering EAP courses might most effectively establish and maintain appropriate professional standards. Underpinning each of these areas is an interest in how EAP as an academic discipline has developed and indeed continues to develop, and the effect that this has had and still

continues to have on the work of those directly involved in EAP teaching. My research interests are thus firmly grounded in, and informed by, the real-world, everyday concerns which confront EAP practitioners and their managers as they attempt to carry out their daily duties in the academic workplace.

I should perhaps clarify that these research interests have developed steadily over a considerable period of time, and have gradually become more focused and refined. At the start of my career in EAP teaching, I suspect that like the majority of EAP professionals, and as I believe continues to be reflected in the bulk of the mainstream research literature on EAP today, I was probably more pre-occupied with the ‘*what*’ of EAP, i.e. particular academic genres and styles of writing with linguistic analyses of how the application of these might prove to be distinctive across different academic disciplines. As I acknowledge in Chapter 2, the activity I am now describing, and which most EAP practitioners would immediately recognize and identify as genre analysis, has undoubtedly played, and indeed continues to play, a very important role in helping us to understand more precisely how academic language operates, and I would certainly not wish to be accused of decrying or belittling its contributions to the field of EAP as a whole.

However, as I have moved more into EAP management, and, as a consequence of this, have become more directly responsible for the recruitment of EAP practitioners; the first hand observation of their classroom practices; and the management of their training and professional development needs, it strikes me that while EAP as a discipline undeniably and unashamedly owes much to genre analysis for shedding an informed and very clinical light on what EAP means in terms of a final linguistic product, the ‘*what*’ of EAP as I have chosen to term it, there is still in fact a sizeable gap in our professional knowledge of what I would class as the ‘*who*’ and the ‘*how*’ of EAP i.e. there has

been comparatively very little published research on the nature of EAP teachers and how they go about developing the requisite knowledge, skills and expertise which then enable them to do what they do. In conducting my research, and in writing this current thesis, my intention has been to try and re-dress this balance, and in so doing, gain a better and more finely-grained understanding of who has been involved in the shaping of EAP as a discipline, how the field itself has developed, and how each of these has then impacted upon the work of EAP practitioners. I strongly believe that the answers to these questions are critical for the next stages in EAP's historical development and will have very important ramifications for the directions in which EAP may find itself travelling in the future.

Maintaining for now my focus on the present, however, by any reckoning, it must be said that EAP is still a very young field. Certainly within the UK context, EAP has only been in existence for about 60 years, and has only been formally named and recognized as an academic discipline for a little over half that time. I believe this point is central to any consideration of EAP's developmental trajectory, because it means that the field as a whole is still young enough to have practices and procedures which are likely to remain strongly contested. As this thesis will show, even the entry pathways into EAP as a career are not yet as clearly defined, regulated nor widely recognized as they are in many other academic disciplines, even within the parent discipline of ELT in general. As I will argue however, EAP has nonetheless been shaped by a number of key factors and individuals, and it is in uncovering and exploring these particular stories that this current study will be most directly concerned.

1.2 My Specific Research Questions

This thesis seeks to investigate two particular questions in relation to the field of EAP:

- How has the pedagogic field of EAP developed and changed over time?
- How has the work of EAP practitioners developed alongside this?

As I have already described, my ongoing 28-year involvement to date in various aspects of English Language Teaching (ELT), with the last 18 of those years having been spent working directly in university contexts, has given me a strong and abiding interest, both personal and professional, in EAP as an academic discipline. While the main thrust of this interest most probably originally stemmed from my practical, 'chalk-face' perspectives as a classroom-based EAP practitioner, in more recent years, perhaps as a reflection of changes to my personal workplace roles, it has expanded to cover the more holistic perspectives of those responsible for establishing and then managing EAP programmes. I would argue, therefore, that my research questions are highly applicable to the perspectives from each of these camps. The matter of EAP's historical development; the particular changes and trends which have occurred within the discipline itself; and the impact that these have subsequently had on the work of EAP practitioners are each of vital importance, not only to EAP practitioners grappling with the daily pragmatic concerns of their classrooms, but also to members of senior academic management, involved as they usually are with the wider strategic decisions around EAP's role and placement within university hierarchies at large.

In research terms, it is thus my strong contention that there needs to be a much more direct and explicit focus on the people who choose to become involved in teaching EAP in the first place, and how they then conceptualize and carry out the various dimensions of their profession. As an integral part of this 'how' of EAP, I also believe that there needs to be a greater understanding of how the field itself has developed, and the ways in which it has been positioned within academia,

particularly with regard to the more specific matter of how EAP might now lay claim to a wider recognition and appreciation of its professional status.

1.3 The Nature of the Research

Spanning more than four different decades- from the 1960s through to the present day- my research has been built around a series of in-depth, open-ended interviews with 15 internationally-recognized academics who have been actively involved in the teaching of ESP/EAP, and whose names are now linked with particular aspects of the field's development. In choosing this qualitative form of research methodology and in adopting this particular approach over others, my intention has been to capture a broad range of narratives from those who have historically been most deeply involved in shaping EAP and in mapping its territory. In so doing, I hope to demonstrate how the field itself has been structured by the agency of those key individuals most committed to it.

1.4 Thesis Overview

The thesis itself has been divided into 7 chapters. Having now attempted, in this opening chapter, to set the scene for my research interests, and explain how these have grown alongside my personal career trajectory, the following chapter, Chapter 2, presents a comprehensive review of the relevant academic literature. This chapter draws principally on the following themes:

- i) The emergence of EAP, its early history, the reasons for its subsequent development and the ways in which it differs from mainstream ELT.
- ii) Key themes, trends and developments in the history of EAP.

- iii) The impact of all of the above on the work of EAP practitioners.

Chapter 3 then focuses on my research methodology and explains the rationale behind the various methodological decisions which have been taken during the course of the study. I also examine the theoretical frameworks which have underpinned my approach and discuss some of the limitations, while attempting to examine the research process itself more holistically, particularly in terms of ethical considerations and reflexivity.

Chapters 4 and 5 each report on the data which was generated during the face-to-face interviews with my informants. In Chapter 4, the interview data is dealt with decade by decade and individual by individual, and the main focus is therefore on charting the informants' professional histories and their early career development in ELT and EAP. By contrast, in Chapter 5, the emphasis switches to reporting on what I have identified as the main emerging theme; this chapter thus aims to compare and contrast results more holistically across the four decades and fifteen respondents.

Chapter 6 seeks to bring all of the previous chapters together and, in so doing, set the research findings within a broader, overarching theoretical analysis, while the final chapter, Chapter 7, outlines some implications for practice and makes a set of final recommendations for the field.

CHAPTER 2

Review of Academic Literature

Introduction

2.1 EAP: Definition & Scope

2.2 EAP: Birth & Early Development

2.3 EAP: Differences from ELT

2.4 EAP: Core Developments, Issues & Debates

2.4i *The Early Days, 1960s-1970s*

- a. Register Analysis
- b. Rhetorical or Discourse Analysis
- c. Needs Analysis
- d. Authenticity

2.4ii *The Middle Period, 1980s-1990s*

- a. Do ESP and EAP Teachers Need Specialized Content Knowledge?
- b. Textbooks, Programme Descriptions & Teacher Training
- c. Skills-based Approaches & the Rise of Study Skills
- d. Learning-centred Approaches
- e. Wide-angle & Narrow-angle Approaches to ESP and EAP
- f. Content-based Instruction, Collaboration & Team-Teaching
- g. Genre Analysis
- h. Corpora & Concordancing
- i. English as *Tyrannosaurus Rex*, or English as a *Lingua Franca*?
- j. Pragmatic or Critical EAP?

2.4iii *The Modern Period, 2000- the Present Day*

- a. A Revived Interest in Lexis & the Development of the AWL
- b. Critical Thinking
- c. Contrastive Rhetoric
- d. Academic Literacies
- e. A Growing Sense of Community
- f. New Technologies; New Genres
- g. Industry-based Concerns
- h. Professionalism, Teacher Education, & Professional Development
- i. Miscellaneous Developments

Chapter Summary

Introduction

By way of background to my research questions- how has the pedagogic field of EAP developed and changed over time? and how has the work of EAP practitioners developed alongside this?- the main aim of this chapter is to provide a survey of what the relevant

academic literature has identified as being the key issues and developments in EAP during the period since its birth until the present day.

The chapter begins by defining the scope and parameters of EAP as an academic discipline, and then moves to a discussion of the various factors which have generally been considered to be responsible for EAP's emergence and subsequent growth.

The key features which make EAP distinct from other forms of English Language Teaching are then considered, before the chapter turns to specific developments and themes in the course and conduct of EAP's history. For ease of reference, these different stages of EAP's historical development have been categorized and grouped under three particular chronological timeframes: the early days, 1960s-1970s; the middle period, 1980s-1990s; and finally the modern period, 2000 until the present day.

Within each timeframe, the specific developments themselves are dealt with under a series of individually named headings and sub-headings.

2.1 EAP: Definition and Scope

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has been defined as the teaching of English language and communication skills required for study (ETIC, 1975; Jordan, 1997). What this has meant in practice, is that EAP has principally been concerned with the Higher Education environment (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002; Charles, 2013). While it is true that in more recent years, there has been a growing interest in EAP at the pre-HE level, for example in secondary schools (Bunch, 2006; Cruickshank, 2009), and that EAP preparatory courses are also now sometimes offered by private language schools (Hamp-Lyons, 2011b), it must be said that when considering the EAP industry as a whole, such practices

are still relatively small-scale. For the most part, therefore, EAP remains a tertiary-level, university or college-based practice.

Since its original inception, however, for some, the definition of EAP above has been widened to include the language and skills for carrying out research and teaching, as well as just studying (e.g. Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001), while others have also started to place more emphasis on EAP's cognitive and social elements (e.g. Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002). In their survey of developments in ESP, Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) arguably went a step further than other writers had attempted up to that point in providing a taxonomy of possible EAP courses, claiming that tertiary-level EAP can in fact take place in four quite different situations:

Situation 1 e.g. UK, USA, Australia	Students come from another country to study in a foreign system; for them both general and academic culture may be different; everything around them operates in English.
Situation 2 e.g. Zimbabwe	Education at all levels has been mainly in English; the Civil Service uses English, but people mostly use their first language (L1) in everyday life.
Situation 3 e.g. Jordan	In tertiary education some subjects are taught in L1 but others, such as medicine, engineering and science, are taught in English.
Situation 4 e.g. Brazil	All tertiary education is taught in the L1; English is an auxiliary language.

(Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998, p35)

For continuity of reference, and to keep the current discussion and analysis within manageable boundaries, what Dudley-Evans and St John have identified as Situation 1 will form the working definition of EAP that is being used in this thesis.

In defining the scope and parameters of EAP, however, it is also necessary to acknowledge from the outset that it is a practice which

has traditionally been viewed as being a component of the much broader discipline of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). For example, in his state-of-the-art survey of EAP for the periodical *Language Teaching* (1989), Jordan categorized EAP as being one of two possible sub-disciplines belonging to ESP. On the one hand, it can be said that ESP embraces English for the world of work, or English for Occupational Purposes (EOP) - sometimes also referred to English for Vocational Purposes (EVP)- whereas on the other, it covers English for the purposes of education and study i.e. EAP (Jordan, 1989; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001). While EAP can thus be considered to be a sub-branch of ESP, in turn, ESP itself can be considered to be a sub-branch of English Language Teaching (ELT) in general (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987). This means that EAP as a discipline has been influenced by, and has also had an influence on, at least two other types of English language teaching (Hyland, 2006c; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b; de Chazal, 2013a).

Hamp-Lyons (2011b) has also argued that while the traditionally accepted view of EAP as a sub-discipline of ESP remains pervasive, in practice, this categorization is largely dependent on the subjective aims and intentions of individual writers. For Hamp-Lyons, it is evidently also possible to see EAP as belonging to the broader field of education:

‘EAP is differentiated from ESP by [its] focus on academic contexts, but among the applied linguistics and English language teaching field more widely the view of EAP as a sub-discipline within ESP still holds. Indeed, both these views are valid, as the histories of ESP and EAP do not distinguish between a view of them as parent to child, or as sister fields. It is not unusual to find articles with an EAP focus in the pages of the English for Specific Purposes Journal, but EAP work also appears in all the applied linguistics and English language teaching (ELT) journals from time to time. Differentiation depends more on the interests and concerns of the researcher than on the kind of data being discussed... Similarly, it is possible, indeed reasonable, to view EAP as a branch within education, or at least within language education: this is a view I hold myself.’

(Hamp-Lyons, 2011b, p89)

As is common when one sub-discipline has been heavily influenced by another, the effects of ESP on EAP can be seen to have had both positive and negative aspects. This point has been highlighted by Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002), who see EAP as inheriting certain strengths from ESP, such as an emphasis on interdisciplinary research and linguistic analysis; an awareness of contextual relevance; and the application in the classroom of what they term '*community-specific communicative events*' (2002, p2), but they also cite some weaknesses: for example, a lack of critical engagement with the students' cultures; a poor awareness of what they have termed, '*the values of institutional goals and practices*' (2002, p3); and a propensity for working *for* subject specialists instead of working *with* them (2002, p3). This latter question of whether or not EAP should be viewed as a 'service industry', or as a discipline of equal standing with other academic subject areas has become an important issue for EAP practitioners, and is a theme which will be returned to later in this chapter.

When considering the influences on EAP, it must also be noted that ELT in general has had a significant effect, not least because most EAP practitioners are likely to have started their teaching careers in teaching General English, and to have taken their first professional qualifications in training for that field (de Chazal, 2013a). As de Chazal points out, the influence of ELT on EAP can perhaps most readily be felt when considering shared teaching methodologies and pedagogic approaches, although not everyone would agree that these influences have always been very helpful (e.g. Bell, 2013). The specifics of the relationship between ELT and EAP, as well as the consequences that these can have on EAP pedagogy and on perceptions of what constitutes good practice, will also be discussed in greater detail in later sections and chapters of this thesis.

2.2 EAP: Birth & Early Development

In surveying what the academic literature has had to say about the birth and early development of EAP, one immediate difficulty facing researchers is in distinguishing between events that belong solely to the history of EAP, and those that pertain to the history of ESP more broadly. There is somewhat of a paradox here, in that while the majority of the early ESP work was university-based and therefore self-evidently academic in nature, such activity was nonetheless labelled and categorized as being ESP rather than EAP, a blurring of boundaries which has occasionally still persisted (e.g. Hewings, 2001). In seeking to unpick the specifics of EAP's birth and early development, it is appropriate, therefore, to start with a history of ESP in general.

There is strong agreement from the various writers who have commented on the birth and subsequent development of ESP (e.g. Mackay and Mountford, 1978; Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991; Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Swales, 2000; Hyland, 2006a; Basturkmen, 2006; Belcher, 2009; Paltridge, 2011; Johns, 2013; Paltridge and Starfield, 2013) that its initial emergence took place during the 1960s and the early 1970s.

However, in understanding the specific conditions that would allow ESP's birth to occur, it is necessary first to go back almost two decades earlier, to the end of the Second World War in 1945. As a number of writers have commented (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Starfield, 2013), the immediate post-war years witnessed a massive international expansion in terms of science, technology and economic activity. The expansion of these areas, in turn, created a demand for a common international language, a demand which would ultimately be met by English (Graddol, 1997; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001).

Those commenting on this period (e.g. Kachru, 1985; Kennedy, 1987; Crystal, 1997, Graddol, 1997 and McCrum 2010) have suggested a host of factors as contributing to the emergence of English as the dominant world language, but all are in general agreement that the growth and ultimate hegemony of English around the world today can fundamentally be traced to the post Second World War economic strength of those countries where English was spoken as the first language.

As a by-product of English assuming its role as the common international language, it is also generally agreed that the demand for *training* in English then generated a new type of English language learner. Students now needed access to the English Language, not only for pleasure, aesthetic reasons, or for personal fulfillment, but because competency in English was perceived to be the key with which they could access mainstream science, technology and commerce (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Starfield, 2013). Trade and other forms of international collaboration are much more likely to be successful, after all, if the supplier and customer are able to communicate using the same language (Graddol, 1997). Broadly speaking, it was in catering to these particular types of learning demands, that the early development of ESP as a new branch of English Language Teaching initially took place (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998).

In its very early stages, it is agreed that ESP was dominated by a particularly heavy focus on English for Science and Technology (EST). Indeed, for most practitioners at that time, developments in EST were seen as leading the way, and as setting the trend for developments in ESP more broadly (Swales, 1985).

As a number of writers have argued since (e.g. Coffey, 1984; Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; de Chazal, 2013a), the dominance of EST in the early days of ESP probably owed much to the growth of oil

industries in parts of the Middle East and in North Africa, which had together caused:

‘a demand explosion... where could be found huge financial resources under national control, proliferating technological needs, an insufficiency of existing English-learning facilities and a degree of dependence upon expatriate expertise...’
(Coffey, 1984, p3)

However, by the 1970s, there was also signs of a steady growth in the numbers of students studying at English-medium universities for whom English was not their first language (Hamp-Lyons, 2011b), and it was largely from *this* background, and in attempting to meet the sheer volume of *these* demands, that EAP gradually began to emerge as a more distinctive sub-branch of ESP (Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b; de Chazel, 2013a).

Further support for this argument has been provided by Kennedy (2001), who emphasizes ‘*a strong link between the use of English in specialized domains (and hence EAP students who need to gain access to those domains)...*’ (Kennedy 2001, p27). It may also be argued that the emergence and subsequent flowering of EAP has been boosted by what de Chazel has termed ‘*the academicization of ESP*’ (2013a, n.p.n.) i.e. that with an increasing emphasis on professionalisation and specialisation, a growth in the demand for formal academic qualifications was created, which in turn resulted in greater numbers of students attending courses at universities. This has particularly held true for international students enrolling at universities whose medium of instruction is English. Indeed, the post 1960s boom in international students attending English-medium universities has continued largely unabated to the present day, and can be seen as a significant factor in accelerating the expansion of EAP worldwide (Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b; de Chazal, 2013a).

Having now set the scene for the development of ESP, and also sketched out in very general terms some reasons to account for the specific emergence of EAP, the following section will examine in greater detail some of the issues around EAP's birth and subsequent development more directly within its initial UK university contexts.

As Jordan (1997) has explained, at British universities in the 1960s, English Language support for international students had originally tended to be somewhat piecemeal in nature, and was usually only provided on an *ad hoc* or part-time basis. However, this situation gradually started to change as international student numbers began to increase, and as a consequence of this, a core group of British universities began to appoint academic staff with the specific twin remits of advising and supporting their existing international student cohorts, and also establishing more formalized induction courses to better prepare newcomers. As Jordan describes in a later article, *The Growth of EAP in Britain* (2002), the appointments of later key figures such as Vera Adamson (1962), Alan Davies (1963) and Tim Johns (1971) at Birmingham University; Brian Heaton at Leeds University (1968); Ron Mackay at Newcastle University (1970); Ken James (1968) and indeed Bob Jordan himself (1972) at Manchester University, all paved the way for a much greater interest in, and a more systematic focus on, what in time would come to be universally known as the field of English for Academic Purposes, or EAP.

In those early days however, although they were involved in the delivery of quite similar work, the English Language teaching professionals at the four British universities described above (Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle and Manchester) were largely operating in isolation and, as Jordan puts it, '*beginning to feel the need to discuss their difficulties with their counterparts [...] and to share materials and approaches*' (Jordan, 2002, p71). This desire to pool resources and share best practices subsequently brought staff from the

four universities together in a meeting which was held at Birmingham University on June 19, 1972, their main objective being to share samples of their respective teaching materials, and to discuss their research into overseas students' language difficulties. Though the participants were probably unaware of it at the time, this first meeting ultimately marked an important watershed in the historical development of EAP because, as Jordan (2002) goes on to explain, one of its outcomes was the formal establishment of the SELMOUS group - *Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Students* - a professional organisation later destined to put EAP matters very firmly on the academic world map.

In these preliminary stages of EAP, as reflected in the 'M' of the SELMOUS title, it was agreed that the emphasis should mainly be on materials development, as this was felt to be the most pressing need at that time (Jordan, 2002). To this end, in a second meeting of the SELMOUS Group at Manchester University in June 1973, the members considered pre-sessional courses, research projects and English tests, while Bob Jordan and Ron Mackay also collaborated on data that they had independently gathered from international student surveys (Jordan, 2002). Two very evident outcomes of this collaboration were the publication of a commentary in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (1973) and the publication of a research article in a university journal (Jordan and Mackay, 1973). Both of these events were almost certainly instrumental in bringing the concept of EAP to a wider academic audience, and in raising more general awareness of EAP as a newly developing field.

As Jordan (2002) has charted, from 1974 onwards, SELMOUS continued to grow, with a steady trickle of new members coming into the fold. 1974, for example, saw the membership of Reading University, with the now well-known and highly respected names of Keith Johnson and Keith Morrow from Reading's Centre for Applied Language Studies

(CALS), while in 1976, the CALS, and by extension SELMOUS, ranks were swelled once again with the addition of Pauline Robinson, a figure who would later become very influential in writing about the teaching of ESP/EAP (e.g. Robinson, 1980; Robinson, 1991). That same year, the SELMOUS membership further expanded to include the EFL Unit at Essex University, with respected members Jo McDonough and Tony French. In the years following, other high-calibre British universities and prominent individual academics involved in English Language teaching would also join SELMOUS, all essentially helping to ensure that EAP and everything connected with it would be able to gain a greater measure of academic credibility; be able to flourish professionally; and ultimately be able to put down more longer-term and sustainable disciplinary roots.

It must be acknowledged, however, that in the very early days of its existence, EAP was not in fact a recognized term (Hyland, 2006). For example, the first national SELMOUS conference in 1975, a joint effort with the already well-established (1967) British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) was titled '*The Language Problems of Overseas Students in Higher Education in the UK*', and papers addressed issues such as identifying and assessing student needs, designing syllabi, and the development of teaching materials. By the time these papers had been formally written up and edited for publication however, the term EAP *had* apparently entered common usage, as the conference proceedings were then titled '*English for Academic Purposes*'. As Jordan notes, this was '*seemingly the first time this title had been used on a publication*' (2002, p73), although there is also some anecdotal evidence (Johns, 1981) that the term was possibly being used within British Council circles, orally at least, as early as 1974 (also see Hyland, 2006). In fact, as a survey of their archives shows, the British Council was evidently quite instrumental in helping to further disseminate ideas about EAP around this time. In April 1975, for example, the Council published an ETIC occasional paper titled '*English for Academic Study*

with *Special Reference to Science and Technology: Problems and Perspectives*' and in 1976, their English Teaching Division Inspectorate in London was responsible for putting together an EAP training seminar for its English Language teaching staff. As with the earlier publication of Jordan and Mackay's article in 1973, these developments undoubtedly brought EAP more prominently under the spotlight and contributed to raising more general awareness across the ELT field as a whole.

From its birth in 1972 up to the present day, SELMOUS (although since a change of nomenclature in 1989, it should be noted that the group is now known as ¹BALEAP: British Association for Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes) has steadily grown and consolidated its role as the pre-eminent professional UK organization representing the interests of those involved in EAP (Jordan, 2002; Alexander, Argent and Spencer, 2008; de Chazal, 2013a). To date (2016), there have been 21 biennial conferences, plus a joint conference in 1982, and the official listings currently make mention of 86 institutional memberships. In addition to a biennial conference, the member institutions of BALEAP regularly hold Professional Interest Meetings (PIMs) in which key concerns around EAP teaching can be disseminated and discussed, and there are also a number of working parties examining issues such as the teaching of EAP, testing in EAP, and EAP research. Describing itself as '*The Global Forum for EAP Professionals*' (<http://www.baleap.org.uk> accessed December 20, 2015), BALEAP is committed to supporting the professional development of all those involved in learning, teaching, scholarship and research for EAP, and as such, has undoubtedly served as an important vehicle in ensuring the wider promotion, and in enhancing the academic credibility, of EAP as a professional field. The broader significance of BALEAP for EAP, particularly the publication of

¹ In his memoir, *Incidents in an Educational Life*, Swales provides an amusing personal account of how and why the name SELMOUS changed (2009, p138).

the BALEAP EAP Teacher Competencies Framework in 2008, will be returned to in later chapters of this thesis.

Somewhat in contrast to Jordan's emphasis on the centrality of SELMOUS/BALEAP in the birth and development of British EAP, Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) make a direct and slightly earlier connection between the historical emergence of EAP and specific developments that were happening in the wider field of UK linguistics, citing the appearance of one particular publication, *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, 1964), as a core influence and truly seminal text. As Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) describe, a key reason for this book being so influential in the early development of EAP is that it foregrounded the concept of register analysis, an emerging academic construct which held that the lexis and syntax of language will vary, depending on its use in particular disciplines or occupations, and that such variations can then be meaningfully measured in statistical terms. As Swales (2000) has noted, looking back, it is easy to see the appeal that register analysis would have had as a tool for the production of English Language teaching materials, and there can be little doubt that Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens' book would have been highly influential in stimulating further discussion around language analysis and its practical application to EAP and ESP contexts.

This view is strongly advanced in a further article by Swales (2001) who lists 6 different outcomes that he believes Halliday et al's publication would subsequently have on later linguistic and textual studies, all of which, he argues, had a special resonance for EAP practitioners at the time.

Later authors (e.g. Starfield, 2013; Hyland, 2006) have also drawn attention to this period, building on what Strevens himself subsequently referred to as '*a major, world-wide educational tide of change*'

(Stevens, 1977b, p146), and have highlighted what two writers have termed '*a revolution in linguistics*' (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p7) as being a critical factor in helping to ensure the early development and growth of both ESP and EAP.

A third contributory influence on developments in ESP and EAP in the 1960s and 1970s was a growing emphasis in the field of educational psychology on the importance of learners and their attitude to learning (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987). When viewed from within an educational environment which was becoming sympathetic to the view that learners have a variety of needs and personal interests, and that these are likely to have an influence on both their motivation to learn *and* on the efficacy of such learning, courses in which the relevance to learner needs and interests were strongly foregrounded would, understandably, be highly credible, and it is not difficult to see their appeal. At that time, for example, it was felt that the most effective means of achieving a high degree of relevance to learners was to use texts directly from the learners' own disciplines i.e. texts about physics for physics students; texts about business for business students and so on. As Hutchinson and Waters (1987) have described, according to the received wisdom of the day, it was generally believed that taking such an approach would result in more effective student learning:

'Learners were seen to have different needs and interests, which would have an important influence on their motivation to learn and therefore on the effectiveness of their learning. This lent support to the development of courses in which 'relevance' to the learners' needs and interests was paramount....The assumption... was that the clear relevance of the English course to their needs would improve the learners' motivation and thereby make learning better and faster.'

(Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p8)

From all of the above, it can be seen that the birth and early development of both ESP and EAP can be attributed to the fortuitous combination of a number of different forces: the massive post-war

growth and expansion of English in becoming the predominant world language for science, economics, technology and commerce; the resulting boom in the numbers of people worldwide needing to learn English for their personal and professional advancement; the particular demands placed on English in the oil-rich countries of the Middle East; some key developments and new ways of thinking in the academic fields of linguistics and educational psychology; specific to the British context, the influence of a number of key individuals and the activities of the professional organization SELMOUS, and finally, significant demographic changes around the mobility and numbers of international students choosing to study in English-medium tertiary environments.

Having now provided the backdrop for EAP's emergence and early development as an academic discipline, the next section will consider in more detail some of the features which are considered to make EAP particularly distinctive when compared with English Language Teaching in general.

2.3 EAP: Differences from General ELT

The differences between ESP/EAP and general ELT have received considerable attention in the academic literature for at least the past two and a half decades. However, while there is broad agreement on certain aspects, it must also be said that different authors have drawn idiosyncratic attention to different points, depending on their personal interests, perspectives and professional contexts.

Commenting as long ago as 1988, for example, the late Professor Peter Strevens, one of the earliest writers on this topic, made a distinction between ESP teaching and the teaching of English for General Purposes (EGP) in terms of what he described as '*absolute*' and '*variable*' characteristics.

With regard to the former, Strevens identified three particular dimensions, contending that in comparison to EGP, these *absolute* characteristics would be a key feature of *all* ESP courses, whatever their specific context:

- ESP courses are designed to meet specific needs of the learner.
- ESP courses are related to particular disciplines, occupations and activities in terms of their content.
- ESP courses are centred on appropriate language in terms of lexis, syntax and discourse.

By contrast, Strevens saw the *variable* characteristics of ESP teaching as being much more context *dependent*, arguing that they may or may not be present, depending on the particular demands and dictates of each individual set of circumstances:

- ESP courses *may* be restricted to the development of certain skills.
- ESP courses *may* choose not to follow any specific methodology.

Other writers have generally endorsed these claims (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991; Robinson, 1991), citing specific projects from the field, such as the National ESP Reading Project in Brazil, and the University of Malaya ESP Project, as examples of Strevens' variables being realized in action.

Strevens (1988) also suggested that ESP differs from mainstream EGP in four other particular respects:

- ESP wastes no time because it is focused on what the learners need.
- ESP is of high relevance to the learner.
- ESP is successful in imparting learning.

- ESP courses are more cost-effective than courses in EGP.

Whether or not ESP wastes no time, is successful in imparting learning, and is more cost-effective than courses in EGP, are all points open to subjective interpretation, but in keeping with Strevens' first claim, later writers have also drawn attention to the absolute centrality in ESP and EAP of focussing explicitly on learner needs (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Jordan, 1997; Dudley-Evans and St Johns, 1998; Hyland, 2006a; Harding, 2007; de Chazal, 2013a; Paltridge and Starfield, 2013).

Echoing Strevens' third absolute characteristic, later writers have also been in broad agreement that in contrast to EGP, EAP teaching in particular requires practitioners to possess a solid grounding in, and strong awareness of, specialized discourse (e.g. Sharpling, 2002; Hyland, 2006c; Bell, 2007).

Writing in 2001, Flowerdew and Peacock drew attention to 5 other dimensions which they believe to be especially distinctive about EAP:

- EAP is concerned with authentic texts.
- EAP takes a communicative, task-based approach.
- EAP often involves custom-made materials.
- EAP is aimed at adult learners.
- EAP consists of purposeful courses.

While in full agreement that all of these points are indeed inherent features of EAP, at least one writer has questioned, however, whether or not they can truly claim to make EAP distinctive from EGP, as in more recent years, English Language Teaching in general has also placed more emphasis on using authentic texts, on taking a communicative approach and on making its teaching more purposeful (Bell, 2007). Indeed, as EGP as a discipline itself continues to develop, and there

continues to be greater cross-pollination and mobility of practitioners across the English Language Teaching industry as a whole, it may well be that some of these looser boundaries between EAP and EGP will continue to blur. As Ken Hyland (cited in McDonough, 2005) has commented, we must also keep in mind that developments and practices now established and accepted in EAP may well be washing back and changing the nature of ELT more generally.

Still seeking to define what makes EAP different, however, some writers have posited that unlike EGP, EAP teaching requires its practitioners to have a well-developed sense of institutional awareness, and the understanding that different institutional practices can, and do, have an influence on language and communication (e.g. Sharpling, 2002; Hyland, 2006). It has also been suggested that in contrast to EGP, EAP places a particularly strong emphasis on inter-disciplinarity, and on teacher collaboration across different academic subject areas (e.g. Watson Todd, 2003; Hyland, 2006c). Commenting more recently, Argent and Alexander (2011) have also drawn attention to what they see as EAP's main critical pedagogical focus on content, comparing this with what they claim to be a greater methodological preoccupation in EGP with aspects of delivery.

Further dimensions of difference between EAP and EGP, which have been cited in the academic literature over the last decade or more, include the strong emphasis in EAP teaching on inductive learning and the development of learner autonomy (Watson Todd, 2003); the fact that the teaching which takes place in EAP contexts is typically extremely time-pressured (e.g. Alexander, 2012; de Chazal, 2013a); EAP's strong historical and epistemological ties with the fields of contrastive rhetoric and social constructivism (e.g. Hyland, 2006a; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b); the claim that EAP not only exposes students to different task types from those found in EGP, but that it also then forces the development of different sets of underlying skills and competencies

which are required for the successful completion of such tasks to take place (Bell, 2007); EAP's raising of students' rhetorical consciousness and the concomitant need for them to analyse texts in terms of structure, rhetorical functions and genre (e.g. Hyland, 2006c; Bell, 2007); EAP's explicit focus on the development of critical thinking (de Chazal, 2013a); the issue that in EAP teaching, there is a concern with developing skills in academic literacy, as well as just English language proficiency (e.g. Jordan, 1989; de Chazal, 2013a; Fox, Cheng and Zumbo, 2014); the claim that the language forms taught in EAP materials are predominantly noun-phrase based, whereas in EGP materials, the emphasis most often falls on verbs (de Chazal, 2013a); the suggestion that EAP teaching demands much higher levels of practitioner classroom accountability in terms of what is done, how it is done and why it is done (Bell, 2013) and finally, the view that in comparison to EGP, EAP teaching is '*unashamedly applied*' in its various pedagogic approaches (Hyland, 2006a, n.p.n).

In reviewing the above, it seems clear that as far as the professional literature is concerned, there are a number of well-established differences between general ELT and EAP. In acknowledging and accepting these distinctions, we may infer that they are likely to have had important consequences for EAP's pedagogy, and for the ongoing stages and developments within the field.

The following section will therefore seek to explore some of the core issues, developments and debates that have occurred in EAP from its birth until the present day.

2.4 EAP: Core Developments, Issues & Debates

In shedding further light on how the pedagogic field of ²EAP has developed and changed over time, and allied to this, how the work of EAP practitioners has also developed, it is pertinent to review what the academic literature has recognised as being EAP's main developments, issues and debates.

In order to make such a sizeable task more manageable, this literature survey will draw on the findings of the many previously published surveys of the different episodes in EAP and ESP's history and development (e.g. Coffey, 1984; McDonough, 1986; Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Swales, 1988; Robinson, 1980; Robinson, 1991; Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Swales, 2000; Swales, 2001; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Hamp-Lyons, 2001; Hewings, 2001; Jordan, 2002; Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002; Carkin, 2005; Basturkmen, 2006; Hyland, 2006a; Belcher, 2009; Hamp-Lyons, 2011a; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b; Paltridge and Starfield, 2013 and Starfield, 2013).

Taking its cue from the work of Hewings (2001), in which he states, '*The development of an academic discipline can be traced in the pages of the journals in which its teachers and researchers publish...*', http://www.espworld.info/Articles_3/Hewings_paper.htm the survey will also be informed by a broad theme-based analysis of the various articles and commentaries that have appeared in what are arguably

² As already acknowledged, in the very early stages of EAP's development, even though the main focus of the work was academic in nature, rather than using the term 'EAP', authors tended to categorize their outputs as belonging to ESP or EST. This makes it particularly challenging for any historical survey to keep the developments between each of these fields distinct. It also means that a certain blurring of boundaries may often be inevitable, particularly in the period between the 1960s and the 1980s. To be as inclusive as possible, therefore, unless otherwise specified, references made to important developments and stages in the history of ESP and EST will be treated as being synonymous with, and of equal historical relevance to, key developments and stages in EAP.

the main three journals to have reported on developments in the fields of ESP and EAP to date: the *English Language Teaching Journal* (ELTJ); the *ESP Journal* (ESPJ- since 1986 renamed as *English for Specific Purposes*) and the more recent (2002) *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* (JEAP). As an extension of this approach, and of more direct relevance to issues and developments specifically in UK-based EAP, the survey will also consider the historical discussions and debates which have taken place under the auspices of BALEAP, either via its conferences, PIMs (Professional Interest Meetings) or in postings on the BALEAP website and in other online discussion forums.

As stated in the opening of this chapter, for ease of reference, the different stages and key developments have been categorised and grouped according to three chronological timeframes: the early days, 1960s-1970s; the middle period, 1980s-1990s; and finally the modern period, 2000 until the present day, and will be discussed under a series of specific headings.

2.4i The Early Days, 1960s-1970s

a. Register Analysis

As a survey of the main historical literature on ESP's development shows (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Swales, 1988; Robinson, 1991; Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Swales, 2000; Swales, 2001; Basturkmen, 2006; Hyland, 2006a; Belcher, 2009; Paltridge and Starfield, 2013) there is strong agreement that an early and very influential theme in ESP was the concept of register analysis, which, as already discussed, was an academic construct foregrounded by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens in their highly influential publication, *'The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching'* (1964).

As a number of writers have since commented (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Swales, 2000; Swales,

2001; Flowerdew and Peacock; 2001) the views put forward in Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens' book were effectively a call for the linguists and ESP practitioners of the day to start closely examining the nature of language used in specific settings. As the authors proposed:

'Only the merest fraction of investigation has yet been carried out into just what parts of a conventional course in English are needed by, let us say, power station engineers in India, or police inspectors in Nigeria; even less is known about precisely what extra specialized material is required. This is one of the tasks for which linguistics must be called in. Every one of these specialized needs requires, before it can be met by appropriate teaching materials, detailed studies of restricted languages and special registers carried out on the basis of large samples of the language used by the particular persons concerned.'

(Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens, 1964, pp189-190)

Register analysis, as described earlier in this chapter, essentially operated on the principle that English employs different registers for different subject disciplines i.e. that the English used in, for example, a text on physics, differs markedly from the English used in, for example, a text on sociology, and that these differences can be systematically grouped and statistically analysed.

In theory, the supposed *practical* value of register analysis to ESP and EAP teaching was that having identified the specific features of different English registers, it should then have been possible to represent these in ESP syllabi and teaching materials, and thus make their pedagogic content more directly relevant to learners' needs.

As later writers have commented however, (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991), although register analysis was able to put forward a convincing case for written scientific English typically having a somewhat higher frequency of particular grammatical forms, such as the passive and nominal compounds (e.g. Tarone *et al*, 1981), beyond this finding, its usefulness was actually quite limited. This view is echoed by Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) in their critique of an early ESP textbook '*The Structure of Technical English*' (Herbert, 1965). For

example, they draw attention to some of the inherent weaknesses when register analysis was applied to ESP materials production, such as dense and non-authentic texts; repetitive and therefore highly predictable task types; and generally uninspiring teaching activities (1998). As these authors conclude, although it had been created based on what were considered to be sound register analysis principles, '*The Structure of Technical English*' was still, by all accounts, '*a difficult book to use*' (1998, p22).

b. *Rhetorical or Discourse Analysis*

The perceived pedagogic failings of register analysis's excessive focus on language *form* rather than language *use* arguably paved the way for what many writers have identified since as being the next major development in the early history of ESP, rhetorical or discourse analysis, and as a result of this, a more direct focus on the development of communicative competence (e.g. Mackay and Mountford, 1978; Widdowson, 1978; Coffey, 1984; Trimble, 1985; Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998).

While register analysis had concerned itself with the specific lexical and syntactical minutiae of language features at the sentence level, rhetorical analysis was more concerned with how such features combined more holistically in order to create meaning and communication in texts as a whole. As Dudley-Evans and St John point out (1998), this was particularly reflected in ESP textbooks of the period, for example in the '*English in Focus*' (Widdowson and Allen; 1974 onwards) and '*Nucleus*' (Bates and Dudley-Evans, 1976) series of publications, influential ESP textbooks which were developed in the 1970s, and whose pedagogy was actively based on principles of rhetorical analysis. Now widely recognised as being one of the main drivers behind what has come to be known as '*the communicative approach*' to English Language Teaching in general, the British applied linguist and co-author/editor of the '*English in Focus*' series, Henry

Widdowson, was also highly influential in many of his other publications at that time (e.g. 1978; 1979a; 1979b; 1981; 1983) in arguing that the emphasis in ELT contexts should switch from examining the nuts and bolts of how language is composed, to considering how it is actually used in the fulfilment of communicative acts.

As Swales (2001) has documented, Widdowson thus played a key role in putting forward a strong case for moving away from language *form* and to placing instead, a new emphasis on language *rhetoric*:

'I think it is possible that in language teaching we have not given language as an instrument of communication sufficient systematic attention. We have perhaps been too concerned with language system, taking our cue from the linguists, in consequence there has often been something trivial in our proceedings. Now that we are turning our attention to the teaching of English for special purposes, and in particular to English for science and technology, we must take some principled approaches to the teaching of rules of use, and restore rhetoric, in a new and more precise form, to its rightful place in the teaching of language.'

(Widdowson, 1979, p17- cited in Swales, 2001, p47)

As Coffey (1984) has commented, the rhetorical approaches championed by Widdowson and others from that period (e.g. Allen, 1975; Trimble and Trimble, 1977; Mackay and Mountford, 1978) clearly had a number of virtues. For example, they '*encouraged students to think in terms of the use of language for a purpose, rather than in terms of practising correct usage*' (original emphasis) and also '*opened up anew the argument about what constitutes a 'mistake' rather than an error: what...to do with student work that is full of errors of syntax and usage, but still achieves the 'communicative' purpose?*' (Coffey, 1984, p5). However, one glaring weakness of the materials which had been created based on principles of rhetorical analysis, as we have already seen with register analysis, was that they also tended to be rather dull:

'One drawback in the early application of communicative theory to ESP materials was an excessive earnestness which led in practice to dullness in the classroom. It was forgotten, in the intense absorption with embodying a very promising theoretical approach in the form of materials, that all ELT materials have the obligation to be palatable and intrinsically interesting to the learner.'

(Coffey, 1984, p6)

As will be seen, Coffey's plea for a greater consideration of affective factors and what might be more palatable to learners in the ESP classroom would be taken up in earnest in the following decade, and indeed would come to represent a key stage in the historical development of ESP and EAP in its own right.

c. Needs Analysis

A third key development in the initial stages of ESP/EAP's history was a preoccupation with identifying learner needs, particularly with regard to what has been termed '*target situation analysis*' (Chambers, 1980), and there were some early attempts to make needs analysis in general a more thorough, robust and quantifiable process. As already described, identifying and understanding student needs has always been an accepted key feature of ESP teaching, but it was arguably in the 1970s that authors first began to draw more *systematic* attention to it (e.g. Strevens, 1971; Jordan and Mackay, 1973). As later writers have commented, with the publication of John Munby's oft-cited volume, '*Communicative Syllabus Design*' in 1978, both ESP and approaches to needs analysis '*came of age*' (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Flowerdew, 2013) and the whole question of what might constitute learner needs, and how these might best be identified, was starting to be considered using approaches that were '*more theoretically informed and systematic*' (Starfield, 2013, p4).

In his extensive pre-millennium survey of EAP, Jordan (1997) proposed that needs analysis in fact encompasses four different dimensions: needs as defined by the target situation; needs as perceived by the employer or course sponsor; needs as perceived by the students, and finally, needs as perceived by the course designer and/or teacher. The potential investigative depth, richness and scope of Jordan's dimensions possibly helps to explain why so much has been written,

and indeed continues to be written, on needs analysis as a part of ESP/EAP research.

As evidenced by the plethora of needs analysis-related articles which have appeared since 1978 in key English Language Teaching journals such as the *English Language Teaching Journal (ELTJ)* (e.g. Richards, 1983; Hutchinson and Waters, 1984; Sano, Takahashi and Yoneyama, 1984; el Nil el Fadil, 1985; Seedhouse, 1995; Young, 2000; Waters and Vilches, 2001; Davis, 2006; Evans, 2013); the *Journal of English for Specific Purposes (ESPJ)* (e.g. Chambers, 1980; Svendsen and Krebs, 1984; West, 1984; Zughouli and Hussein, 1985; Tarantino, 1988; Coleman, 1988; Jasso-Aguilar, 1999; Chia *et al*, 1999; Li-Somui and Mead, 2000; Edwards, 2000; Boshier and Smalkoski, 2002; Crosling and Ward, 2002; Kim, 2006; Taillefer, 2007; Kaewpet, 2009; Staples, 2015; Serafini, Lake and Long, 2015); and finally the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes (JEAP)* (e.g. Deutch, 2003; Tajino, James and Kijima, 2005; Mazdayasna and Tahririan, 2008; Read, 2008; Liu *et al*, 2011), not to mention the numerous contributions which have appeared within the academic literature on ELT as a whole, [e.g. Berwick, 1984; Berwick, 1989; West, 1994; Waters, 1996; Ferris and Tagg, 1996; Cameron, 1998; Lepetit and Chichocki, 2002; Long, 2005; Belcher, 2006; Lehtonen and Karjalainen, 2008; Brown, 2009; Chostelidou, 2010; Lambert, 2010; Flowerdew, 2013; Basturkmen, 2013; Long, 2013; Huhta *et al*; 2013] different ways of considering learner needs, and different approaches to conducting needs analysis, have clearly continued to be extremely popular debates in ESP and EAP circles, as well as in more mainstream ELT, right up until the present day.

It must also be acknowledged, however, that this pattern of early core concerns in ESP and EAP being further debated over the ensuing decades, in many cases often with the same, or very similar issues and arguments continuing to be re-hashed, is a very common one, and will be encountered again in further examples as this thesis progresses.

While some might argue that this phenomenon is common to all spheres of human knowledge, particularly in academia, some possible reasons for why it appears to be particularly prevalent in ESP and EAP will be suggested in Chapter 6.

d. Authenticity

Closely bound up with the issue of learner needs, one other debate in the early development of ESP centred on the question of authenticity (Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998). As most of the commercially-available materials at the time contained texts that had either been extensively re-written, or specially created for the explicit purposes of language teaching, early discussions tended to define the authenticity issue as being a matter of teaching materials using original, as opposed to contrived texts (e.g. Phillips and Shettlesworth, 1978). As Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) relate, non-authentic texts were generally criticised on the grounds that they would potentially be misleading for students, and would be seen as inadequate preparation for the real-life material that the students would later have to deal with. It was also felt that in using non-authentic texts, ESP teachers might misconstrue the content, or be encouraging their students to write in ways that were unnatural for their future disciplines (Phillips and Shettlesworth, 1978). Others, however, countered such claims by drawing a distinction between authenticity of text and authenticity of *purpose*, arguing that even if authentic texts are used in the classroom, as the purposes underlying such use will be different to what was originally intended, inherent text genuineness alone cannot automatically guarantee relevance for learners, nor be assumed to signify superior teaching materials (e.g. Widdowson, 1978).

As already discussed, the writing of bespoke materials has always been a key feature of ESP/EAP, and in the early days in particular, as there were significantly fewer commercially produced texts than there are now, practitioners were much more likely to find themselves creating

materials of their own. It is plausible, therefore, that the heavy preoccupation with authenticity and authentic texts in the 1970s was largely a feature of that particular *Zeitgeist* and a symptom of wider concerns around textbooks and materials development in general. Indeed, as will be seen, some of these concerns were to resurface and attract further attention from both ESP and EAP practitioners and theorists in the decade following.

To some extent, the debates on authenticity have also continued in more recent times (e.g. Flowerdew and Miller, 1997) but with the emphasis now more typically on whether or not the example tasks and texts used in EAP textbooks actually reflect what happens in academic reality. In this respect, the authenticity debate around materials design has found itself forging links with more modern computer-based work using corpora and concordancing packages. In order to keep my discussions within the designated chronological timeframes, these more recent developments will be dealt with in a later section of this chapter.

2.4ii The Middle Period, 1980s-1990s

a. Do ESP & EAP Teachers Need Specialized Content Knowledge?

While three different types of analysis (register analysis; rhetorical/discourse analysis and needs analysis) and discussions around the authenticity of teaching materials had dominated the first chapter of ESP/EAP's development, towards the end of the 1970s and into the early 1980s, a new concern was beginning to emerge in the professional literature, the question of whether or not ESP/EAP practitioners should possess specialized disciplinary content knowledge.

An early writer on this theme, Ewer, (1983) suggested that teachers of EST should be prepared to '*acquire the intelligent layman's outline knowledge of the disciplines his students are studying*' (1983, p10). This partially reflected an earlier stance put forward by Johns and Dudley-

Evans (1980), who argued that the language teacher '*needs to be able to grasp the conceptual structure of a subject his students are studying if he is to understand fully how language is used to represent that structure*' (Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1980, p7). However, not everyone was in agreement with this position. Abbot (1983), for example, in responding directly to Ewer's article, queried the very feasibility of EST teachers acquiring such familiarity, claiming that he himself would have to '*burn the midnight oil for many months*' (1983, p35) just to become comfortable with even two scientific subjects. Others (e.g. Adams-Smith, 1983) put forward the counter-proposal that rather than attempting to grasp an entire subject area, teachers would be better off keeping an open mind, and in simply trying to show an interest in their students' disciplines. This was further endorsed by Hutchinson and Waters (1987) who were unequivocal in their views:

'ESP teachers do not need to learn specialist subject knowledge. They require three things only:

- i) a positive attitude towards the ESP content;
- ii) a knowledge of the fundamental principles of the subject area;
- iii) an awareness of how much they probably already know.

This can be summed up as 'the ability to ask intelligent questions'... In other words, the ESP teacher should not become a teacher of the subject matter, but rather an interested student of the subject matter.'

(Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p163)

Writing a decade later, however, in summarizing the different ways in which the question of specialist subject knowledge had been tackled up to that point, Ferguson (1997) concluded:

'The picture regarding the quantity of specialist knowledge needed...remains unclear. The theoretical arguments are only partly persuasive, the research evidence is inconclusive, and the practical accounts are limited by their very specificity... It is suitable....therefore, to argue for a different view of the specialised knowledge it is desirable, and realistic to expect...'

(Ferguson, 1997, p84)

Ferguson then went on to propose that instead of specialist knowledge i.e. knowledge of the students' academic disciplines, teachers of languages for specific purposes would be much better served by developing three different kinds of what he described as *specialised* knowledge (my emphasis):

'Knowledge of disciplinary cultures and values; a form of knowledge which is essentially sociological or anthropological.

Knowledge of the epistemological basis of different disciplines; a form of knowledge which is philosophical in nature.

Knowledge of genre and discourse, which is mainly linguistic in nature.'

(Ferguson, 1997, p85)

Reviewing Ferguson's proposals as he had reviewed others, over a decade later, it seems that only his third category of knowledge, knowledge of genre and discourse, can claim to have made any truly significant inroads, or had any lasting currency with modern EAP practitioners. Given that EAP specialists are primarily linguists, this is perhaps not entirely surprising. The massive contribution that genre analysis has made to EAP teaching will be considered in more detail under its own sub-heading in a later section.

As with the debates around needs analysis, the question of whether or not ESP/EAP teachers require disciplinary content knowledge has continued to receive fairly regular coverage in the academic literature up to the present time (Belcher, 2006; Harding, 2007; Wu and Badger, 2009). In terms of reaching a definitive conclusion, however, it must be said that to a large extent, the jury remains out. The earlier writers (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991) appear to have remained entrenched in their opinion that specialist knowledge is *not* necessary and that a genuine interest on the behalf of the EAP/ESP teacher and the ability to ask relevant questions is sufficient, while others (e.g. Bell, 1996) have continued to put forward a strong case to the contrary, positing that specialist disciplinary knowledge is in fact a core requirement, and that without it, EAP/ESP teachers are likely to be

'in the same position as the learners, reaching for the dictionary' (<http://iteslj.org/Articles/Bell-EAPRequireKnowledge.html>).

As Belcher (2006) explains, the more recent middle-ground position of dual professionalism suggested by Feak and Reinhart (2002), whereby EAP practitioners undertake training in *both* the target subject area *and* applied linguistics might well be the ideal solution, but as Belcher also acknowledges, this would of course require '*a breadth and depth of commitment to two fields that few are willing to make*' (Belcher, 2006, p140). The wider relevance of whether or not EAP teachers require disciplinary knowledge will be revisited in later sections of this chapter, first as part of the discussion on narrow and wide-angle approaches to ESP/EAP, and then once again when considering the emergence of content-based instruction.

b. Textbooks, Programme Descriptions & Teacher Training

As reflected by the spread of topics and themes in articles submitted to the first four volumes of the ESPJ (1980-1985), three other recurrent concerns in the middle period of ESP/EAP's development were materials and textbooks; descriptions of individual programmes; and the matter of ESP teacher training.

The first of these concerns, materials and textbooks, had, as already discussed, also been a developmental hallmark of the previous decade. Indeed, in a flagship article produced for the opening issue of the ESPJ (1980), Swales acknowledged that there had been '*serious ESP textbooks for at least 15 years*'. He then went on to state, however, that in his opinion, these had been '*in many respects an educational failure*' (1980, p11).

Swales' main rationale for making such a claim was his contention that there was a strong tendency for ESP textbooks not to be used with learners as complete courses. For Swales, the reasons behind this were partly attributable to content and structural failings on the part of the

textbooks themselves, but also a lot to do with what he characterized as an inherent anti-textbook bias on the part of ESP practitioners. As Swales was to elaborate, as materials writing had been a key feature of ESP teaching from the start of its existence, this had possibly helped to feed the belief among ESP practitioners that home-produced teaching materials would always be best, even if, as Swales lamented, such *'locally produced materials... show a striking resemblance to the published materials that have been rejected'* (1980, p11).

Running parallel to this claim, Swales also reported that there was likely to be considerable *institutional* pressure placed on practitioners to write their own materials. The reason given for this was that institutions and course directors would then be able to *'claim academic respectability by demonstrating profiles of materials supposedly tailor-made for the particular groups of students in [their] charge'* (1980, p15). As Swales further explained, this pressure was becoming so powerful, in fact, that *'the purchase of textbooks for class use is seen to signal an academic retreat and one tinged with institutional dishonour'* (1980, p15).

In the second issue of the ESPJ, similar concerns about textbooks were re-iterated in separate articles by three other authors: Ewer and Boys (1981) and Williams (1981). For Ewer and Boys in particular, the content of the EST textbooks of the day had been found to be particularly wanting when contrasted with an analysis of the actual language and task-types exemplified in real-life science, while for Williams, the issues were more to do with how teacher training courses might better prepare ESP practitioners to more effectively evaluate commercially produced materials, a point that Swales' article had also touched on.

The importance of materials design and production in the middle years of ESP/EAP is further evidenced by the considerable attention that this topic has received in a number of other publications from that period (e.g. Robinson, 1980; Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991). Building on the claims already put forward by Swales, Hutchinson and

Waters (1987) in particular, emphasized the tendency of both institutions and learners to demand custom-designed materials, concluding that *'there is little justification for having very specific materials. But learners will still demand them'* (1987, p167). As the main thrust of this particular argument arguably owes much to wider debates around whether or not ESP/EAP should be wide or narrow-angle in its focus, it will be re-visited in a later section. For now, it is simply worth reiterating that materials writing was undoubtedly still a very important concern in the middle years of ESP/EAP's development.

The second concern from this period, descriptions of individual programmes, has also been highlighted by Martin Hewings in his historical survey of developmental trends in ESP, as evidenced by his analysis of articles submitted to the ESPJ (2001). As Hewings' data shows, for the first five volumes of the ESPJ in particular, articles dealing with individual programme descriptions were particularly prevalent, percentage-wise representing more than a third, in fact, of the article submissions in total:

	Vol 1-5	Vol 6-10	Vol 11-15	Vol 16-20
Text/discourse analysis	34	33	51	49
Programme description	36	11	14	10
Needs analysis/syllabus design	11	12	6	9
Materials/methods	5	8	9	6
Argument	0	12	4	8
Testing	2	3	4	6
Teacher training	5	1	1	3
Other	7	7	10	9

Figure 5. Topic of Papers (%)

(Hewings, 2001) http://www.esp-world.info/Articles_3/Hewings_paper.htm

As Hewings postulates, it is possible that the large number of articles dealing with programme description in the first five volumes of the ESPJ can be seen as being representative of the early stage in development of ESP/EAP as a practice, i.e. that those working in the field were perhaps most in need of models at that particular time. It may subsequently be argued that as the discipline itself has grown and matured, the need for practitioners to be guided by accounts of

others' successful practice has therefore steadily diminished (Hewings, 2001).

A further significant concern for ESP in the first half of the 1980s was the matter of teacher training. Indeed, articles on this topic dominated the first issue of the ESPJ volume 2 (1983). In a landmark opening piece by Jack Ewer, describing the issues he was experiencing in Chile (Ewer, 1983), it was argued that teachers migrating to ESP from a background in General English teaching faced five particular types of problems: *attitudinal, conceptual, linguistic, methodological and organisational* (1983, p10). While acknowledging that ESP had been developing very well as a field, Ewer cautioned that unless this teacher training problem was addressed, these positive developments might ultimately all be for naught:

'This bright picture of a triumphal march of progress is at present being overshadowed by a heavy cloud of unknowing: where are the skilled teachers necessary to put these courses into effective operation coming from in the first place, and where are the extra teachers demanded by this continuing expansion to be found. The effects of more adequate textbooks are largely annulled if the teachers assigned to use them are unable or unwilling to understand either the language or the concepts they contain...'

(Ewer, 1983, p9)

The solution that Ewer proposed was the establishment of teacher training programmes which would specifically target the development of the requisite knowledge and skills needed for ESP. In fact, the remainder of his article describes in some detail the development and delivery of one such course at his own institution, the University of Chile at Santiago. Ewer readily admitted, however, that even after establishing this kind of course, re-training General English teachers to prepare them for teaching ESP/EST was not entirely without its challenges:

'Another problem is caused by the very deep-rooted preconceptions that both students and practising teachers bring to the course; indeed, in general these preconceptions are even stronger and more inhibitory in the teachers than in

trainees. In both cases their origin lies in the traditional practices and assumptions of the general-English system to which they have been accustomed, which are often quite different, even diametrically opposed, to those of EST.'

(Ewer, 1983, p13)

Commenting on Ewer's article, Tarone (1983) described encountering similar issues in the ESP teacher training programme at her own institute, the University of Minnesota. Tarone emphasized, however, that in her Minnesota context, the teacher trainers had found it useful to place a particular emphasis on having their trainees carry out their own EST-related textual analysis. Other contemporary writers (e.g. Cortese, 1983; Latorre, 1983; Abbott, 1983; King, 1983; Swales and L'Estrange, 1983; McDonough; 1983; Morray; 1983) provided further accounts of ESP teacher training concerns in their own contexts, which, when taken collectively, suggests that the issues and challenges Ewer had first outlined were by no means unique to Chile, but were of key relevance to the field of ESP as a whole.

The strong sense of forward-thinking in these early debates is really quite startling, as more modern writers (e.g. Scott, 2001; Krzanowski, 2001; Sharpling, 2002; Bell, 2007; Bell, 2013) have reported very similar issues in more recent times in their descriptions of teacher training programmes, and in discussing the difficulties that teachers face when migrating from the teaching of General English to EAP. Indeed, when viewed from the current vantage point of more than three decades later, given that EAP is now grappling with significant professional development challenges of its own (Hamp-Lyons, 2011b), the prescience and impending sense of history in the discussions about ESP teacher training in the early 1980s is simultaneously both humbling and disturbing.

c. *Skills-based Approaches & the Rise of Study Skills*

While it is agreed that register analysis, rhetorical analysis and needs analysis mark three particularly distinct stages in ESP/EAP's history and development in the 1960s and the 1970s, some writers have posited that the fourth and fifth stages made their presence felt in the 1980s (e.g. Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Flowerdew and Peacock; 2001).

The first of these subsequent stages, stage four, has been defined as a move away from looking at the surface features of language, to examining instead the underlying thinking processes which allow for successful language use to take place (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p13). As such, stage four was therefore more concerned with the development of skills and strategies than with linguistic competence per se, and for some writers in EAP, is therefore largely synonymous with developments in what have commonly been termed 'Study Skills' (e.g. Jordan, 1989; Waters and Waters; 1992; Dudley-Evans and St John; 1998).

As Jordan (1997) explains, for some writers (notably Robinson, 1980 and 1991), study skills and EAP were once seen as being one and the same thing, although it is now more generally acknowledged that study skills only represent a portion of what EAP is concerned with. There is general agreement, however, that in the early to mid-1980s, skills-based approaches to learning and academic study skills were particularly coming to the fore (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001). As Hamp-Lyons (2001) has noted, this is readily evidenced by the appearance of various study skills-related textbooks in that period, such as for example, *Study Skills in English* (Wallace, 1980), *Panorama* (Williams, 1982) and *Strengthen Your Study Skills* (Salimbene, 1985). Around the same time, there was also a parallel tendency for EAP textbooks to deal with the development of academic language skills as discrete, rather than integrated topic

areas, and this has been reflected in publications such as the *Academic Writing Course* (Jordan, 1980); *Study Listening* (Lynch, 1983) and *Study Writing* (Hamp-Lyons and Heasley, 1987).

Given the previous focus on register and rhetorical analysis-based approaches to ESP/EAP and their central concern with language, this shift in the fourth stage of ESP/EAP's development to a focus more directly on skills was evidently quite a departure from previous thinking. As Hutchinson and Waters (1987) explain:

'The principal idea behind the skills-centred approach is that underlying all language use there are common reasoning and interpreting processes, which, regardless of the surface forms, enable us to extract meaning from discourse. There is, therefore, no need to focus closely on the surface forms of language. The focus should rather be on the underlying interpretive strategies, which enable the learner to cope with the surface forms, for example guessing the meaning of words from context, using visual layout to determine the type of text, exploiting cognates (i.e. words which are similar in the mother tongue and the target language) etc. A focus on specific subject registers is unnecessary in this approach, because the underlying processes are not specific to any subject register.'

(Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p13)

However, although the *main* focus on study skills and competencies in ESP/EAP came to public prominence in the 1980s, much of the background work underpinning such approaches had in fact started in the previous decade. Marton (1975) for example, had compared the study patterns of successful and less successful students, finding that those who employed a 'deep' approach, by actually learning through the discourse and focusing on what the discourse was about, generally performed much better than those whose learning was more 'surface' in nature, and only concerned with the discourse itself. A further study by Perry (1975), who was examining student progression during undergraduate degree programmes, found that the weaker performers tended to see knowledge in 'absolutist' black and white terms, believing that studying was simply about accruing factual knowledge. By contrast, the students who performed more strongly

were better able to take a more 'relativistic' stance on knowledge and see it as a construct which needed constant re-interpretation (Waters and Waters, 2001).

Various other studies in the 1970s (e.g. Biggs, 1976; Fransson, 1977; Entwistle and Wilson, 1977; Perry, 1977) seemed to confirm that if the students were lacking in confidence, then at best, only 'surface' level learning was ever likely to take place. As Goleman (1996) has discussed, this suggested that cognitive processing ability alone was not enough for successful study; the right kind of 'emotional intelligence' was evidently also necessary.

Applying the earlier research findings more directly to EAP, Waters and Waters (1992) proposed that studying therefore consists of two separate dimensions. On the one hand, there are study *skills*, as represented by familiar EAP classroom activities and strategies such as note-taking, skimming and scanning, compiling a bibliography etc., but then on the other, there are study *competencies*, which consist of things like self-awareness, logical thinking, autonomy and the ability to reason critically. Not surprisingly, it was suggested that the acquisition of successful study skills first rests on the development of successful study competence (Waters and Waters, 1992).

In arguing for how study competence in EAP might best be developed, Waters and Waters (2001) criticize the '*mere transmission of information*' (2001, p378) approach to developing good study habits, in which skills and abilities tend to be exemplified and then mechanically practiced, and instead propose the use of problem-solving tasks first suggested by Bruner (1975). As Waters and Waters (2001) explain, taking this approach has a number of inherent virtues:

'...the learning processes need to be the ones which will both try to teach and simultaneously mirror the nature of the approach to study being advocated... By posing study problems rather than simply providing ready-made answers right from the start of the learning-to-study process, the basic constituents of effective study

become not only the object of the learning but also its means. This is likely to occur because a problem-posing approach has the potential to encourage independence of mind...foster self-awareness...increase self-evaluation skills...build up self-confidence...develop flexibility and adaptability.... Improve capacity for learning in general.'

(Waters and Waters, 2001, pp378-379)

Waters and Waters (2001) conclude by suggesting that building study competence in EAP can best be realized via the development of three different types of problem-solving tasks: Direct Study Competence Tasks, Indirect Study Competence Tasks and finally Skills Transference Tasks. As the name suggests, the first of these refers to tasks and activities whose primary focus is to develop the students' awareness of study competence; in this form of problem-solving, study skills are only addressed indirectly. By contrast, in the second type of task, the main emphasis is on mastering study skills and it is the underlying study competences which are dealt with indirectly. In the final category of task, study problems are then linked together with a life-like study cycle. Solving these problems therefore requires students to combine both study competence and study skills, and students are then encouraged to reflect on the process as a whole. In so doing, they are able to gauge their current proficiency levels and can set themselves goals for further progress (Waters and Waters, 2001, pp379-380).

Beyond their articles in 1992 and 2001, the notion of developing study competence as defined by Waters and Waters does not appear to have had much traction, nor to have received much further attention in the academic literature as a whole. However, strong echoes of their proposals can be found in the more recent emphases in EAP on strategies for developing learner autonomy; the question of critical thinking; the notion of transferable skills development; and, to some extent, the concept of academic literacies. As these are all specific themes in EAP's development which have emerged and received

attention in more modern times, they will be considered in greater detail in a later section of this chapter.

d. Learning-Centred Approaches

It is generally acknowledged that a fifth, and highly influential stage in ESP/EAP's middle-period of development, has concerned learning-centred approaches to ESP. This construct emerged in the mid to late 1980s, and is largely synonymous with work carried out in the United Kingdom by Tom Hutchinson and Alan Waters at the University of Lancaster (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001).

Briefly stated, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) put forward the argument that the different stages and emphases in ESP/EAP teaching up to that point (register analysis, rhetorical analysis, needs analysis, skills-based approaches) had all, in their central preoccupation with language use, to some extent neglected to consider the more important issue of language learning:

'All of the stages outlined so far have been fundamentally flawed, in that they are all based on descriptions of language *use*. Whether this description is of surface forms, as in the case of register analysis, or of underlying processes, as in the skills and strategies approach, the concern in each is with describing what people *do* with language. But our concern in ESP is not with language *use*- although this will help to define the course objectives. Our concern is with language *learning*. We cannot simply assume that describing and exemplifying what people do with language will enable someone to learn it. If that were so, we would need to do no more than read a grammar book and a dictionary in order to learn a language. A truly valid approach to ESP must be based on an understanding of the processes of language *learning*.'

(Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p14)

The introduction of a learning-centred approach to ESP can be seen as a seminal development in ESP/EAP's history and future progression, largely because the resonance of its principles clearly has a significant impact on a number of other core areas in the field. In the case of needs analysis for example, prior to the emergence of learning-centred

approaches, as already discussed, the emphasis had traditionally tended to fall most heavily on target-situation analysis, which in its most fundamental terms, simply meant specifying and quantifying the discrete language features that it was believed the learners would most likely later encounter.

While not entirely ruling out the importance and relevance of this, the learning-centred approach as advocated by Hutchinson and Waters (1987) took things a stage further, and opened up important new avenues for exploration and discussion with the introduction of concepts such as learners' lacks and wants (1987, pp55-56). According to Hutchinson and Waters, it was not enough to consider needs analysis dispassionately and merely in terms of a final product or target destination; they argued that as the learners themselves will always be part of any academic journey, they also need to be consulted at every stage along the way, and that teachers and course designers ignore their students' wishes and expectations at their peril. Echoing Widdowson's earlier warnings that authenticity of a text cannot, in itself, guarantee immediate relevance, or a superior set of outcomes for learners, Hutchinson and Waters proposed that taking too narrow a view of target situation needs runs a similar risk of conflating the separate constructs of learner relevance and learner motivation. In a real-world example which they cited from 1980, for instance, contrary to all expectations and the received wisdom of the day, it had been found that basing an ESP course's content and materials solely on the students' future specialisms could actually be *de-motivating* for students, rather than motivational (Mead, 1980, cited in Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p57). This realisation arguably opened up whole new sets of ways in which to look at the design and delivery of needs analysis.

The principles underpinning a learning-centred approach to ESP/EAP had a similar resonance for work on syllabus and materials design, and

by extension, for the production of textbooks and other teaching resources. As already discussed, in the earliest approaches to ESP syllabi, materials and textbooks, writers had tended to define the content in very narrow terms, focussing only on the language and themes that were perceived to be most relevant to target situation needs, and excluding those that were not. As we have already seen, in materials and textbook terms, one very evident danger of this was that many of the early teaching materials for ESP and EAP, though undoubtedly highly specific in their selection of which language and content should be covered, unfortunately also tended to be rather dull and uninspiring for learners.

By way of contrast, the learning-centred approach advocated by Hutchinson and Waters offered an antidote to such tendencies in its insistence that target situational relevance should not be the *only* consideration when designing syllabi and materials. Echoing some of the earlier comments made by Coffey (1984), Hutchinson and Waters strongly argued that more *affective* factors, such as the learners' personal interests and motivation for learning, must also be weighed up and taken into account:

'The medicine of relevance may still need to be sweetened with the sugar of enjoyment, fun, creativity and a sense of achievement. ESP, as much as any good teaching, needs to be intrinsically motivating. It should satisfy their needs as learners as well as their needs as potential target users of the language. In other words, they should get satisfaction from the actual experience of learning, not just from the prospect of eventually using what they have learnt.'

(Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p48)

As an extension of this stance, Hutchinson and Waters also argued that materials development in ESP and EAP would be better served by applying *generic* rather than specific design principles. In essence, this meant that the materials used in ESP courses *shouldn't* necessarily only be restricted to the types of language and tasks found in the target situation. In proposing the consideration of more affective learning-

centred factors, Hutchinson and Waters contended that it would be entirely reasonable, and indeed appropriate, for ESP and EAP materials to take a more wide-angled approach.

The practical application of these core principles can be seen in Hutchinson and Waters' development of their highly creative blood cell materials, which they devised as an introduction to a technical English unit on pumping systems (1987, p110). In these materials, rather than simply launching into a discussion of the highly-specific engineering pumping machinery found in the students' target situation (which would generally have been the more traditional approach to ESP teaching espoused up to that time), the unit began by first raising the students' awareness of how pumps worked *in general*, using the example of the human heart and circulatory system. Presented in cartoon strip format, the key concepts and language were then told somewhat humorously in the first person 'through the eyes' of a single red blood cell as it travelled on a journey around the human body.

Two core principles of Hutchinson and Waters' stance on ESP teaching underpin this rather off-beat approach: firstly, their belief that what students *most* need is an introduction to *generic* language and principles rather than the discipline-specific, and secondly, their contention that there should always be a strong focus in the design of ESP tasks and materials on affective factors, and thus in actively engaging the interest and motivation of the learners.

Some indirect support for this seemingly counter-intuitive notion that students of ESP most need to be taught generic language first came a year after the publication of Hutchinson and Waters' volume in a paper by the American writer, Ruth Spack (1988). In describing some of the difficulties encountered by second language writers, Spack used the direct testimony of one of her freshman students:

'During the last few days I had to read several (about 150) pages for my psychology exam. I had great difficulties in understanding the material. There are dozens, maybe

hundreds of words I'm unfamiliar with. It's not the actual scientific terms (such as 'repression', 'schizophrenia', 'psychosis' or 'neurosis') that make the reading so hard, but it's descriptive and elaborating terms (e.g. 'to coax', 'gnawing discomfort', 'remnants', 'fervent appeal') instead. To understand the text fully, it often takes more than an hour to read just ten pages. And even then I still didn't look up all the words I didn't understand. It is a very frustrating thing to read these kinds of texts because one feels incredibly ignorant and stupid.'

(Spack, 1988, p42. My emphasis)

The significance of Hutchinson and Waters' contribution to the historical development and staging of ESP/EAP has been acknowledged by many subsequent writers (e.g. Robinson, 1991; Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991; Jordan, 1997; Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Basturkmen, 2006; Hyland, 2006; Johns, 2013; Starfield, 2013), although it must also be said that some authors (e.g. Johns and Dudley-Evans, 1991: 304) have been critical of what they see as an overstating of the case for using non-specific ESP/EAP teaching materials. As such criticisms arguably belong to a much broader debate about whether or not ESP and EAP should be wide or narrow-angled in their focus, an issue and core concept which this thesis considers to be a very important developmental construct for the fields of ESP and EAP in its own right, they will be dealt with in more detail under the next sub-heading.

e. Wide-angle & Narrow-angle Approaches to ESP & EAP

The debate around how 'wide' i.e. general in focus, or 'narrow' i.e. content-specific in focus, the teaching of ESP and EAP should be, has been a long and very important one, and is a controversy that persists to the present day. The original discussion seems to have started quite early in ESP's development in an article by Williams (1978) who put forward arguments for a 'wide-angle' (1978, p30) approach, proposing that language and skills should be taught using topics from a broad range of subjects, rather than just from the students' disciplines alone. Widdowson (1983) also lent weight to this view, arguing that the wide-

angle approach was representative of education, and therefore of more deeply developing the students' competencies, whereas a narrow-angle stance was more akin to mere training and as a result, relatively superficial in its reach.

It must first be said that Widdowson's proposed dichotomy between education and training on this point has not been entirely accepted (e.g. Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998). However, it was really five years later that the topic of specificity received particularly detailed coverage in a now oft-cited article by Ruth Spack (1988), written in response to some of the challenges she was experiencing in ELT contexts on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

In her original article (1988), and also in her responses to subsequent critics (1988a; 1988b), Spack argued very strongly that discipline-specific academic writing should be left to teachers of those disciplines and not attempted by those working in EAP (ESL in Spack's original terms). Expanding on this, Spack felt that EAP teachers should concern themselves with '*general principles of inquiry and rhetoric, with emphasis on writing from sources*' (1988, p29). As she explained, English teachers would be well-advised only to teach the forms of writing, and only to use the content materials, that they themselves feel most comfortable with:

'English teachers cannot and should not be held responsible for teaching writing in the disciplines. The best we can accomplish is to create programs in which students can learn general inquiry strategies, rhetorical principles, and tasks that can transfer to other course work. This has been our traditional role, and it is a worthy one. The materials we use should be those we can fully understand. The writing projects we assign and evaluate should be those we are capable of doing ourselves.'

(Spack, 1988, pp40-41)

Spack's stance on this evidently owed much to some of the points raised by earlier writers (e.g. Abbott, 1983), as covered in my previous discussion of whether or not ESP/EAP teachers require discipline specific content knowledge. As such, her main opposition to a narrow-angled

approach to ESP and EAP seemed to stem from a fear that the teachers' lack of specialist knowledge might result in them doing more harm than good. Perhaps, as the old adage states, because a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing:

'English faculty, even when they collaborate with content teachers, find they have little basis for dealing with the content. They therefore find themselves in the uncomfortable position of being less knowledgeable than their students. Students likewise can resent finding themselves in a situation in which their instructor cannot fully explain or answer questions about the subject matter...the lack of control over content on the part of English teachers who teach in the other disciplines is a serious problem.'

(Spack, 1988, p37)

'I am uneasy with the practice of asking language teachers who have a weak grasp of other disciplines to teach, supervise, or evaluate the writing of those disciplines. This is a practice that needs re-examination, regardless of student level or interest. Yes, students need to learn 'to determine the important problems in a discipline, the appropriate methods of argumentation, and the data that are accepted in support of an argument'. But they will learn most efficiently and accurately from those Faculty members who have fully grasped the concepts and conventions. To suggest that an EFL/ESL instructor can unlock the door to the entire academic universe of discourse is to overlook the complexity and diversity among and within disciplines.'

(Spack, 1988b, p708)

In fairness to Spack's position, as she showed in her original article, there is ample evidence from the field to suggest that there may be some truth to her claims. Coffey (1984), for example, had reported dealing with the very same issue when teaching students technical writing:

'In the author's experience, every attempt to write a passage, however satisfactory it seemed on pedagogic grounds, was promptly vetoed by the Project's scientific advisor because a technical solecism of some kind had been committed. The ESP writer, however experienced, simply does not know when a mistake of this kind is being committed.'

(Coffey, 1984, p8, cited in Spack, 1988, p40)

Similar problems have also been encountered and cited by others (e.g. Pearson, 1983; Faigley and Hansen, 1985; Maher, 1986).

Writing in the same year as Spack, though reporting on developments in his own UK-based context, Blue (1988) was in agreement that 'common core' materials are indeed important, but acknowledged that one of their main disadvantages is that they are not always considered relevant by international students, who tend to 'see *their subject specialisation in very narrow terms*' (Blue, 1988, p95). More importantly, however, at least from the perspective of an author making historical contributions to the field, in the process of providing a structural overview of how ESP and EAP relate to one another, Blue was also responsible for introducing two new acronyms to the debate on specificity that have been embraced by almost every other writer on this topic ever since: 'EGAP' (the teaching of English for General Academic Purposes i.e. taking a wide-angled, common core approach, and 'ESAP' (the teaching of English for Specific Academic Purposes i.e. taking a narrow-angled, subject-specific approach) (1988, p96).

While at least two contemporary authors (e.g. Johns, 1988; Braine, 1988) directly responded to Spack's original article, contesting the validity of her call for limiting EAP to wide-angle approaches, and pointing out what they believed to be a number of contradictions and inconsistencies in her arguments, the main opponent to EGAP, and by contrast, the chief supporter of narrow-angled, highly specific approaches to EAP, has undoubtedly been the more modern writer, Ken Hyland. In his article *Specificity revisited: how far should we go now?* (2002), Hyland sets out what he sees as the four main arguments which might support a wide-angled EGAP approach, but then puts forward a strong case to the contrary. For example, in countering some of the arguments used in Spack's original article, and also some earlier views in favour of non-specificity that were put forward by Hutchinson and Waters (1987), Hyland presents a compelling set of arguments to reject the claim that there are 'common core' skills and forms which can be transferred to all contexts. As Hyland explains, while it may

indeed be possible to identify a common core of English *grammar* which can be universally used, the goalposts marking such boundaries immediately shift as soon as meaning and usage are factored in; for Hyland, the addition of these other two features, by necessity, leads to *'the notion of specific varieties, and to the inescapable consequence that learning should take place within these varieties'* (Hyland, 2002, p389).

Hyland also makes a very strong case for the argument that different disciplines have their own particular practices, and that EAP teachers therefore have a professional obligation to prepare their students for dealing with these:

'A decade on from Spack, we are now in a better position to describe the literacy cultures of different academic majors more precisely and with more confidence. This knowledge is related, moreover, to our professional responsibility to use these descriptions of target forms and tasks to best assist our students... The discourses of the academy do not form an undifferentiated, unitary mass but a variety of subject-specific literacies. Disciplines have different views of knowledge, different research practices, and different ways of seeing the world, and as a result, investigating the practices of those disciplines will inevitably take us to greater specificity.'

(Hyland, 2002, pp388-389)

However, while his arguments in favour of specificity appear commonsensical and compelling when based purely on linguistic text analysis, and on the recognition and acknowledgement of disciplinary differences, Hyland rather skates over, and neither adequately addresses, nor proposes solutions to both Spack and other writers' more primary concern, which was that ESP/EAP tutors tend to feel uncomfortable when teaching subject areas in which they themselves have no specialist knowledge or training.

When viewed from this angle, the debate around EGAP vs ESAP is clearly far from over, and there continues to be more recent cases (e.g. Wright, 2012) which suggest that as far as solving the teacher knowledge dilemma goes, in many respects the field is not really much

further forward than it was in the early 1980s. Some possible solutions to this problem will be suggested in Chapter 6.

f. Content-Based Instruction, Collaboration & Team-Teaching

As a corollary to the EGAP-ESAP debate, certainly for EAP and ESP teaching in the United States' contexts anyway, a further key concept to emerge and gain prominence in the 1980s was the notion of Content-Based Instruction or CBI. In an influential and now widely-cited article published in 1988, two chief proponents of this approach, Marguerite Ann Snow and Donna M. Brinton proposed that linking English language and academic literacy development with academic courses in an 'adjunct model' would better serve students' acquisition of the necessary reading, writing and study skills for tertiary education success. Given the concerns that Spack (1988) and others had raised about the dangers of ESL lecturers attempting to teach discipline-specific writing, it is perhaps not so surprising that a more collaborative teaching approach such as this would be proposed, in which English Language specialists and academic content specialists should attempt to work more closely together.

In the model of collaboration suggested by Snow and Brinton (1988), the EAP (though they themselves do not use these terms) classes run in parallel with classes for the academic subject discipline, and students have the option of signing up for both. The adjunct class focuses on helping students to overcome any difficulties that they may be facing in the disciplinary class, and as such, covers things like coping with the assigned readings and suggesting approaches to dealing with the assessments. Unlike EAP provision in the UK, however, in the American adjunct model, the support that is provided is open to both native and non-native speakers of English.

Variations on the American CBI approach, particularly the notion of team-teaching, were quite popular in the 1980s UK EAP context,

especially at the University of Birmingham. As Dudley-Evans and St John document (1998), a considerable amount of work was carried out at Birmingham in the early 1980s with a series of marked collaborations between language specialists and content specialists, which resulted in the team teaching of courses in Plant Biology and Highway Engineering. To a greater or lesser extent, it appears that such collaborations have continued until the present day. In their survey of the Birmingham contexts, Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) suggest three specific reasons for these initiatives' success:

1. As far as possible, the roles of the two teachers have been clearly defined.
2. The programme makes relatively few demands on the time of an individual subject lecturer.
3. There is a mutual respect between the two teachers and an acceptance of the other's professionalism in her or her area of specialisation.

(Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998, p47)

Point number three is perhaps the most critical one here because, as Hyland (2006) has since reported, in other attempts at collaborative ventures, there have been instances when the EAP teachers have found themselves positioned in a '*subservient service role*' (2006, p186). When this happens, EAP-subject specialist collaborations are unlikely to be fruitful, or to lead to genuinely positive outcomes.

In summary, since coming to prominence in the 1980s, the matter of cooperation and collaboration between EAP specialists and content specialists has continued to be a topical issue in the EAP literature, with different institutions evidently experiencing different levels of success and failure (Barron, 2002). Some of the wider questions which underpin such collaborative ventures, however, such as what the role of EAP teachers should be, not to mention the status of EAP teachers in the academy as a whole, have been a recurrent feature of discussions in EAP and ESP circles in more recent years. As such, these will be considered in the final section of this current chapter.

g. Genre Analysis

While it is acknowledged that the issues around specificity and different models of collaboration first emerged, came to prominence and can be identified as important developmental themes for EAP and ESP in the early to mid-1980s, it is debatable whether or not they can be classified as key stages in ESP/EAP's development in the same way as register analysis, needs analysis, or any of the other significant historical milestones that have already been discussed. If a key criterion for qualifying as a 'stage' is that a new development should be of a significant enough magnitude to influence and ultimately change the direction of field-wide practice as a whole, then it might well be argued that ³stage 6 in EAP and ESP's development came with the introduction of genre analysis, a variation and refinement on earlier discourse analysis approaches, which first emerged as a part of ESP and EAP in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Although the concept of genre had first been mentioned in an article by Tarone *et al* (1981) and then by others (e.g. Miller, 1984) it is now generally agreed that its most direct and influential linkage with EAP teaching came with the publication of John Swales' seminal volume '*Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*' in 1990. In Swalesian terms, genre refers to the particular types and styles of communication- originally written communication, although in more recent times, there has also been more consideration of oral- which are found in specific discourse communities. As Basturkmen (2006, pp52-53) has pointed out, examples of these could include the '*case history*' from medicine or the '*end of year report*' from primary and secondary teaching. However, the key point here is that members of the specific discourse communities in which such genres appear provide their own

³ However, not all writers would necessarily agree with this classification. Dudley-Evans and St John, for example, claim that from their perspective '*it would be wrong to think of genre analysis as a new movement in ESP*' (1998, p31), although they do not directly elaborate on their reasons why.

labels for such communication, and collectively shape the features that are accepted and deemed permissible. In order to become accepted as members of such discourse communities, when producing communications of their own, newcomers must thus conform to the linguistic and stylistic expectations of the genre.

In his landmark 1990 publication, for his part, Swales chose to analyse introductions to academic articles and proposed that there is a regular and discernible pattern of what he termed 'moves', or different stages, in how these are structured, and how they actually communicate their content. The moves themselves can also be sub-divided into 'steps', which allow for a more detailed linguistic definition and description of how each individual move is in fact realised. In attempting to describe what he termed CARS- Creating a Research Space- Swales argued that the writers of academic articles generally employ a 3-move approach:

Move 1: Establishing a Territory

Step 1 Claiming centrality

and/or

Step 2 Making topic generalisations

and/or

Step 3 Reviewing items of previous research

Move 2: Establishing a Niche

Step 1A Counter-claiming

or

Step 1B Indicating a gap

or

Step 1C Question-raising

or

Step 1D Continuing a tradition

Move 3: Occupying the Niche

Step 1A Outlining purposes

or

Step 1B Announcing present research

Step 2 Announcing principal findings

Step 3 Indicating research article structure

(Swales, 1990, p141)

As Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) have discussed, this kind of analysis has been extremely valuable for EAP in the teaching of academic writing, as it offers a systematic and highly realistic approach to understanding the structure of academic texts, and in understanding how writers within particular discourse communities organise and then use language to create their intended meanings. As Bhatia (1993) shows in his analysis of sales promotion letters, the techniques and approaches of genre analysis have also proved to be helpful in EOP, and indeed the resonance of the different applications of genre analysis continues to be felt across the various dimensions of ESP as a whole.

Perhaps part of the reason for the expansion and continued interest in genre analysis within EAP is that its scope has broadened beyond an analysis of text alone and now also includes social considerations.

As Basturkmen (2006) explains:

‘Approaches to genre analysis are now seen as existing on a continuum between, on the one hand, studies that are grounded in the analysis of texts and, on the other

hand, those grounded in analysis of the context and the community in which the genre appears. The New Rhetoric Movement, which emerged from the 1980s mainly in English departments in U.S. universities, represents the contextual end of the continuum and has been influenced by social constructive theories that view scientific facts as socially and rhetorically constructed... It is understood that genres not only result from the contexts in which they occur, but also they help constitute and shape those contexts.'

(Basturkmen, 2006, pp54-55)

As evidenced by the ⁴enormous number of articles and papers dealing with genre analysis and the various aspects of its application which have appeared in the EAP and ESP literature since 1990, the appeal of genre analysis to EAP researchers and practitioners has clearly been- and continues to be- considerable, and there does not appear to be any immediate sign of this trend slowing.

h. Corpora & Concordancing

Around the same time as the initial emergence of genre analysis, developments in computer-based language teaching in the late 1980s and early 1990s were also leading to the application of various corpora and concordancing-based approaches (e.g. Biber, 1988; Biber, Conrad and Reppen, 1994). As Hyland (2006, p58) has explained, a corpus can be defined as 'a collection of naturally occurring texts used for linguistic study' while a concordancer is simply a type of text analysis software programme, which can be applied to the data contained within that corpus. In English Language Teaching terms, the main advantage of using corpora and concordancers is that they can shed empirical, as opposed to intuitive, light on those features of language use which occur with the highest frequency, and which can

⁴ As already shown, data presented by Hewings (2001) in his historical overview of ESP suggests that articles dealing with textual analysis in general dominated the pages of the journal, *English for Specific Purposes* (ESPJ) between 1980 and 2000. Although a full and formal historical survey has not yet appeared in the literature, I would argue that an even stronger case can be made for the dominance of genre analysis-related articles in the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* (JEAP). For example, of the 16 original research articles in the December 2015 edition of JEAP, 11 deal with aspects of textual analysis relating to genre.

therefore be thought of as being typical to certain contexts (Sinclair, 1991). The results from concordancer-based investigations of corpora can consequently be very useful in helping to inform approaches to materials selection and design; they can also be used within the classroom as part of a repertoire of tasks to help raise students' linguistic awareness in general.

With specific regard to EAP, a number of academic corpora have now been developed, some of which are freely available (e.g. *MICASE*- the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English, *BASE*- the British Academic Spoken English corpus and *BAWE*- the British Corpus of Academic Written English). As Hamp-Lyons reports (2011b), in the United States, Doug Biber and a team from Northern Arizona University have developed both the Longman/Lancaster English Language Corpus and the TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language corpus, data from the latter playing an important role in the design of the TOEFL iBT (internet-based test), an English Language proficiency test often used when screening students for entry to North American universities.

As Hyland (2006) relates, corpora and concordancing packages have played an important role in adding to our knowledge of what constitutes academic language, particularly with regard to vocabulary. However, as the main work specifically on lexis in EAP has been carried out post-millennium, to keep the current discussion of core stages and developments within my designated timeframes, this will be dealt with under a separate sub-heading, and examined in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

i. English as Tyrannosaurus Rex, or English as a Lingua Franca?

A further important theme within EAP to emerge in the 1990s was a growing concern around the role, development and increasing dominance of English as the preferred language for the publication of academic research. In a seminal article on this topic, *English as Tyrannosaurus Rex* (1997), Swales vilified English as ‘a powerful carnivore gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds’ (1997, p374).

As earlier authors had already commented (e.g. Balduf and Jernudd, 1983), one of the unfortunate consequences of the growth of the English Language has been the steady demise of other languages. However, as Swales (1997 and 2000) has highlighted, with specific regard to academia, it is ‘*not the loss of languages per se, but the loss of specialized registers in otherwise healthy languages...*’ (1997, p376) that should be a cause for concern, part of which has involved the steady disappearance of journals publishing in languages other than English:

‘There has been a massive conversion over the last two decades from other-language journals to English-medium ones, and, as far as I can see, almost all of the many new journals that have been springing up have an English-only submission policy. We are facing a real loss in professional registers in many national cultures with long scholarly traditions... We are faced in effect with a growing linguistic and rhetorical monopoly and monoculture...’

(Swales, 2000, p67)

As Hyland (2006) notes, the potential outcomes of the linguistic and rhetorical monopoly held by English ‘*are complex*’ (2006, p25) but one of the most commonly cited concerns is the claim that many scholars around the world may now find their work excluded. As Flowerdew (2001) has reported, even for those who are able to communicate their research findings in English, there are still likely to be challenges in meeting the rhetorical expectations and standards of English speaking

journal editors, who may often choose to reject any submissions that they see as not conforming to standard anglophone varieties of academic communication and expression. On this latter point, as Mauranen (1993) has cautioned, there is also a danger that enforced homogeneity and standardisation will ultimately lead to the stagnation of creativity and innovation:

‘Insofar as rhetorical patterns practices embody cultural thought patterns, we should encourage the maintenance of variety and diversity in academic rhetorical practices-excessive standardization may counteract innovation and creative thought by forcing them into standard forms.’

(Mauranen, 1993, p172)

While for some, (e.g. Phillipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999), the dominance of English as the preferred language of international communication has thus been viewed as a dark and sinister manifestation of linguistic imperialism and control, it must also be said that not everyone sees things in such negative terms. Crystal (1997), for example, considers the hegemony of English to be an inevitable outcome of post-war progress, and believes that the growing use of English as a lingua franca will cement rather than fracture international interactions. Though not necessarily in agreement with Crystal, Hyland (2006) goes some way towards acknowledging this point when he concedes that *‘clearly a lingua franca facilitates the exchange of ideas and the dissemination of knowledge far more effectively than a polyglot system is able to’* (2006, p26).

The claim that the dominance of English may be excluding non-native speakers from academic publication can similarly be countered by viewing some of the actual publication statistics in top-tier academic journals. Wood (2001), for example, found that the publication rates for non-native speakers in the journals *Science* and *Nature* were in fact quite high. Indeed, other findings (e.g. Tomkins et al, 2001; Iverson, 2002) suggest that research contributions from non-native speakers

now outnumber those from whom English is their first language. As Hyland (2006) concludes, '*...while research may be largely communicated through English, it is increasingly coming from countries where English is a foreign language*' (2006, p26). All of this can be seen as a counterfoil to claims that the hegemony of English causes academic exclusion.

It must also be said that in surveys of non-native speakers (e.g. Tardy, 2004), attempts to ascertain whether or not they themselves perceive and resent the intrusion of English as *Tyrannosaurus Rex* have resulted in somewhat contradictory findings, with a number of respondents actually citing *advantages* when English is used as a lingua franca. For example:

'This is the current trend and is the most productive'

'This is the most effective because if a paper is in Japanese, I can't read it'

'This allows equal participation for everyone'

'This is fine at conferences'

(Tardy, 2004, p261)

Finally, in EAP terms, it is also worth noting that despite the concerns raised by Swales (1997; 2000) and others (e.g. Ferguson, 2007), the field as a whole has reaped considerable benefits. As Hamp-Lyons (2013) reminds us, increases in the number of English-medium journals have led to more opportunities for work, in what she and Ken Hyland had earlier (2002, p4) termed '*advanced EAP*', such as the teaching of English for research publication purposes; the creation of materials for thesis writing; and in supporting non-native academics in their efforts to publish internationally (2013, p92).

Whether viewed as a sinister or benign development, there can be little doubt that the concerns raised around the increasing hegemony of English in scholarly activity and research also found resonance in a number of other important issues in EAP which were emerging in the

1990s. These will be considered as developments in their own right under the sub-heading below.

j. Pragmatic or Critical EAP?

In what was to become an oft-cited article, Terry Santos (1992) put forward the claim that unlike the teaching of English composition, which has developed its own strong and distinctive ideology, the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) has remained largely pragmatic and subservient in its approaches. Other writers (e.g. Benesch, 1993; Pennycook, 1994) then applied this claim more directly to the field of EAP, arguing that such pragmatic stances represent an ideology in themselves. Charged with being 'accommodationist' (Benesch, 1993, p714) and 'assimilationist' (Pennycook, 1994, p14) EAP has thus been criticized for attempting to fit students into subordinate roles within the academy; for denying them their own voices; and in so doing, for perpetuating an educational status quo (Allison, 1996; Hyland, 2006c).

As Allison (1996) has pointed out, however, a significant portion of the main reasoning behind Benesch and Pennycook's objections and critique of EAP can in fact be related more directly back to comments which had been made by John Swales in his landmark volume, 'Genre Analysis' (1990). In this text, Swales had stated that his 'pragmatic concern' was 'to help people, both non-native and native speakers, to develop their academic communicative competence' (1990, p9) In his approaches to achieving this, Swales had also stated- with the benefit of hindsight, unwisely perhaps- that when discussing the concepts of discourse community and genre, he would not 'consider differences that arise as a result of differing ideological perspectives such as those found in the work of neo-Marxist and capitalist economists' (1990, p9). As Allison (1996) goes on to outline, one central issue with the whole ensuing pragmatic EAP vs critical EAP dichotomy and debate is that Swales' position here was taken to be representative of EAP as a whole.

Swales' comments have thus been accepted by critics- unfairly and misleadingly in Allison's view- as being representative of rejecting or trivialising the importance of ideology in EAP and in second language education in general (1996, p90).

While largely rejecting the specifics of the arguments put forward by Benesch (1993) and Pennycook (1994), Allison (1996) acknowledges nonetheless that considering whether or not pragmatic approaches to EAP allow for reinforcement of the academic status quo is a valid enough concern and a topic worthy of further discussion. In an attempt of his own to do so, he cites five separate examples (e.g. Love, 1991; Flowerdew, 1993; Johns, 1993; Barron, 1991 and Starfield, 1994) of cases in which EAP practitioners were able to have a direct influence on wider policies and procedures within the institutions concerned. This sample (though admittedly small) suggests that EAP may in fact be considerably less pragmatic- in the narrowly critical sense- than Benesch and Pennycook have proposed. However, as Allison (1996) states, even though his examples could easily be used as ammunition to make contradictory claims for EAP's pragmatic status, continuing to typecast EAP is, in any case, likely to be much less useful than simply recognising and investigating what it is that the discipline actually does:

'Although it is tempting to develop the theme of EAP teachers as pragmatic agents of change...my position remains, rather, that general categorisations of EAP pragmatist discourse and practice, whether these are presented as conformist, reformist or quietly revolutionary, will be less insightful, and more misleading, than a (pragmatic) willingness to recognise and investigate the diverse goals, strategies, tactics and contexts that actual EAP experience subsumes.'

(Allison, 1996, pp97-98)

To a lesser or greater extent, the debate on whether EAP is pragmatic or critical in its approaches has continued to the present day. In 2009, a special issue of JEAP was devoted entirely to discussions of critical EAP, particularly with regard to exploring Benesch's (2001) proposed revisionist view of needs analysis as rights analysis, and as Hamp-Lyons

(2013) reports, since the entire pragmatist issue was first aired and debated, there has continued to be '*a trickle rather than a flood*' of papers in other journals (e.g. Abasi, Akbari and Graves, 2006; Morgan and Ramanathan, 2005) which have also attempted to deal with EAP from a critical stance (2013, p99).

As Hamp-Lyons concludes, however, the central and fundamental question that was raised in the 2002 editorial of JEAP still remains:

'Is EAP a pragmatic or a critical discipline? Is our role to ensure that students develop academic literacy skills to facilitate their effective participation in academic communities, or rather, should we (as Benesch, 2009, describes) interrogate our theoretical, pedagogic and even political assumptions and values in the forum of our classrooms in order to provide learners with ways of considering their own academic socio-political status quo?'

(Hamp-Lyons, 2013, p100)

Given the variety of standpoints on these issues, it seems quite likely that they will continue to be discussed in the Journal of English for Academic Purposes, and indeed the wider EAP literature, for some years to come.

In summary, as I hope to have shown in my coverage of the material discussed in the previous two sections, for the first thirty or so years of ESP and EAP's history, the various developmental stages and concerns were generally relevant to both fields, and it is often quite difficult to identify hard and fast lines of demarcation to separate them. However, by the 1990s, it was becoming clear that EAP was starting to emerge as a discipline in its own right. The extended debate on pragmatism, for example, was of direct relevance only to EAP (rather than to EAP and ESP) and most of the activity around content-based teaching and genre (though as an exception see Bhatia, 1991) was also focused principally on academic, rather than workplace contexts.

As I hope to demonstrate, this breaking away of EAP from ESP has become even more evident in the developmental trends which have

emerged in more modern times. These will now be examined in the following and final section.

2.4iii The Modern Period, 2000- the Present Day

a. A Revived Interest in Lexis & the Development of the AWL

As already discussed, a key development for ESP and EAP in the 1980s and 1990s was a focus on computer-based language analysis using corpora and concordancing software packages. Building on the findings of a much earlier study examining vocabulary use in university settings (Xue and Nation, 1984), as the 1990s gave way to the New Millennium, some pioneering work using an academic corpus from the Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand resulted in the publication of the ⁵New Academic Word List (Coxhead, 2000).

The Academic Word List (AWL) is a list of 570 word families drawn from a written academic corpus of 3.5 million running words. The corpus itself represented four different disciplinary areas- arts, commerce, law and science- each of which contained some 875,000 running words. As Coxhead has explained (2000), the corpus was made up of a variety of academic text types, such as articles, textbooks, laboratory manuals and book chapters, the intention being that the material should accurately reflect the types of reading required of first-year students at a university.

The main purpose of the AWL was to provide guidance to EAP teachers in setting their students goals for academic vocabulary learning. In choosing which words should be included in the AWL, Coxhead operated on four key principles. On the grounds that the AWL should

⁵ Although the Academic Word List (AWL) was originally produced and published in 1998 as part of a Masters dissertation, it was brought to much wider professional prominence by the publication of Coxhead's subsequent article, 'A New Academic Word List' in the American journal, *TESOL Quarterly* in 2000. When citing the development and appearance of the AWL, it seems that most later authors have tended to use this date as their reference point.

represent academic as opposed to general English, the first of these was that the 2000 most frequent word families that had already been listed in West's (1953) *General Service List of English Words* (GSL) would not be selected. The other principles were based on frequency, range and uniformity i.e. to qualify for inclusion, word families had to appear at least 100 times in each of the four academic disciplines represented in the corpus (frequency); in at least 15 of the particular subject areas (range); and more than 10 times in the four disciplines (uniformity). As Coxhead has reported (2000), the AWL generally covers some 10% of the written academic corpus on which it was based.

While acknowledging that word lists such as the AWL can help to shed some interesting light on academic vocabulary, a number of later writers (e.g. Hyland, 2006; Hyland and Tse, 2007; de Chazal, 2013) have nevertheless urged caution in how the data that is generated should be interpreted and used. For example, one issue which has been flagged for concern is that the same words often have different meanings depending on their contexts. Hyland and Tse (2007) illustrate this using the example of 'analysis', arguing that when this word is used in chemistry, the meaning is actually quite different (a physical act) to when it is used in linguistics or psychology (a cognitive act). A further criticism (de Chazal, 2013) has been that Coxhead's AWL does not include lexical items made up of more than one word, such as prepositional verbs, e.g. 'look into', 'be defined as', and complex prepositions, e.g. 'due to', 'in the light of'. The AWL has also been criticized (Grainger and Paquot, 2009) for failing to include some of the words from West's 1953 General Service List. As Grainger and Paquot have argued (2009, p194), the omission of common reporting verbs such as 'cause', 'claim', 'effect' and 'suggest' in the AWL represents 'a serious handicap' for learners.

Despite these criticisms however, as Coxhead notes (2015, p1), the AWL 'has endured' and has also given rise not only to other lexical studies

(e.g. Dang and Webb, 2014; Wang and Nation, 2004; Murphy and Kandil, 2004) but also to the development of further word lists (e.g. Greene and Coxhead, 2015; Coxhead and Hirsh, 2007). It must be said that more recent attempts at categorizing academic vocabulary (e.g. Gardner and Davies, 2014) have also drawn on the selection principles first developed in the AWL.

As Coxhead herself freely admits, '*much more work remains to be done in vocabulary studies and EAP/ESP*' (2015, p3) and her personal research in these areas remains active. However, there can be little doubt that the development of the AWL marks an important stage in the history of EAP, and that as a result, the field as a whole now knows much more about the nature of academic vocabulary than it ever did before.

b. Critical Thinking

As already discussed earlier in this chapter, a focus on critical thinking is now generally seen as being one of the key hallmarks that mark out the teaching of EAP from more general forms of ELT. Indeed, in his recent survey of EAP, de Chazal (2013) devotes an entire chapter to examining various approaches to critical thinking in academia, such as the work of the early philosophers and the development of the scientific method, along with a discussion of related key concepts such as inductivism and falsification; positivism and epistemology; and Bloom's taxonomy of knowledge. While much of this, as de Chazal freely acknowledges, is very broad in nature, and can often be applied to non-academic contexts, just as readily as academic, in the specific case of EAP, critical thinking has tended to be used in a more restricted sense, and usually refers to developing students' specific abilities in critical reading and critical writing.

However, it must also be said that in sharp contrast to the claim that critical thinking is a core component of EAP, while there was certainly a

substantial amount of work discussing the idea of critical thinking in mainstream ELT in the 1990s (e.g. Benesch, 1993; Ballard, 1995; Belcher, 1995; and notably Atkinson, 1997) it is conspicuously absent from the discussions of key issues and stages in the landmark volumes on EAP (e.g. Jordan, 1997) and has generally only started receiving attention in the mainstream academic literature on EAP post-millennium (e.g. Woodward-Kron, 2002; Silver, 2003; Humphrey and Economou, 2015). It is therefore very tempting to consider the approaches to critical thinking as they currently manifest in EAP contexts, as being a particular stage or movement in EAP's historical development, although as far as I am aware, no author has yet gone public in making such a claim.

Despite the rather fuzzy provenance of when critical thinking first started to become linked to EAP as a supposedly core concept, in helping students to become critical readers and writers in English, it is generally now acknowledged that students need to develop their skills around core elements of criticality such as evaluation, stance and voice (e.g. Hunston and Thompson, 2000; Cottrell, 2005; Wallace and Wray, 2011).

With regard to the first of these concepts, evaluation, as Hunston and Thompson (2000) point out, different writers have tended to talk about this using many different terms, but in essence, evaluation can be equated to the skill of assessing the value and validity both of texts, and of others' claims and propositions, all of which are self-evidently very necessary and important academic attributes. As part and parcel of developing this ability, students also need to be able to recognise the presence of aspects such as bias and other forms of writers' influence, allowing them to judge for themselves whether or not a given text is authoritative.

By way of contrast, as de Chazal (2013) explains, the concept of stance, while closely related to evaluation, has tended to be linked more with broader issues, and may take longer to develop. A person's

stance may also be modified depending on the outcomes of new developments, whereas evaluative responses tend to be formed more quickly, and as more immediate and direct reactions to propositions.

The final component of criticality, voice, is related more directly to the language that writers use to transmit their meaning, and also becomes evident both through the citations that they have selected and included in their writing, and the way in which these are then interwoven with the writers' own arguments. Underpinning all three elements of critical thinking as it is applied to EAP contexts - evaluation; stance; voice- is the need for writers always to back up their claims with supporting evidence:

'Critical thinking is essentially a questioning, challenging approach to knowledge and perceived wisdom. It involves examining ideas and information from an objective position and then questioning this information in the light of our own values, attitudes and personal philosophy. It is essential that within the process of critical thinking the writer substantiates the stance they have taken by providing evidence about the issue they are discussing in such a way that their judgements are seen as secure and verified.'

(Judge, Jones, and McCreery, 2009, pp1-2)

The relevance of these aspects of critical thinking and criticality in EAP often becomes most apparent in terms of their deficit. As a number of writers have reported (e.g. Thompson and Ye, 1991; Cotton, 2004) academics often complain that international students' written work lacks sufficient critical evaluation, or when it is deemed that critical evaluation *has* been included, that the coverage has been too simplistic. While there can be an immediate tendency to blame this latter instance on a lack of critical thinking ability in itself, it must always be kept in mind that linguistic prowess also plays an enormous role. As Turner (2004, p100) has argued, '*language is critical in critical analysis*' and in many EAP practitioners' haste to embrace critical thinking and include its teaching as part of their repertoire, there is a danger that they may as a result be paying insufficient attention to the 'E' of their field's acronym:

'It is not a question of tidying up the language... these discourses demand high levels of proficiency in the manipulation of words and phrases and a wide range of both general academic and specialist vocabulary. Yet the substantive nature of such language work is underrepresented in EAP discourse...'

(Turner, 2004, p102)

Another area for concern with critical thinking when it is applied to EAP contexts is the fact that students coming from other cultures may not share the same understanding or appreciation of criticality as the model currently held in such esteem in western academia. As Atkinson (1997) has argued, western concepts of critical thinking are often closely bound up with the western tendency to place a strong emphasis on individuality. This can be diametrically opposed to the approach taken in Asian countries such as China and Japan, which tends to downplay such foregrounding of the individual and focuses instead on individuals acknowledging their position in society in relation to others.

The cultural dimension of critical thinking has also been cited by Khoch (2013) in a recent study of how different cultures approach hedging. It was found, for example, that Russian writers tended to perceive the use of academic hedging language as detracting from the value of what was being argued; for these writers, hedging was therefore considered to be inappropriate or not really necessary. As this example shows, different countries and cultures have the potential to approach the whole issue of criticality in very different ways. Indeed, as Atkinson (1997) concludes, '*critical thinking is cultural thinking*' (1997, p89).

c. Contrastive Rhetoric

Closely related to the cross-cultural dimension of critical thinking, another relatively recent theme to receive increasing amounts of attention in EAP is that of contrastive rhetoric, the notion that approaches to writing and composition will differ across cultures.

Although the very early (and now largely discredited) work in this area can be traced back to the 1960s (Kaplan, 1966), as Swales (2001) has pointed out, there was also a revival of interest in contrastive rhetoric in the 1980s (e.g. Clyne, 1987; Hinds, 1987). However, it is arguably in the latter years of the twentieth century, and the opening decade of the twenty-first century, that contrastive rhetoric has most prominently come to the fore, particularly with regard to EAP.

As Ulla Connor, a key name associated with the field of contrastive rhetoric suggests, '*contrastive rhetoric has had a great deal to offer to the study and teaching of English for academic purposes*' (2004, p272), a view that is generally shared by modern writers working more directly in EAP contexts (e.g. Mauranen, 1993; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b). However, Connor also laments that contrastive rhetoric in general has often been misunderstood, and that it has had an unfortunate tendency to be characterized as a field which is static. In an attempt to address these concerns, and to reflect the broadening scope of modern approaches to contrastive rhetoric more accurately, Connor has proposed that the field should be renamed as *intercultural rhetoric* (2004, p272), although there is only limited evidence from the wider literature (e.g. Miller, 2014) that this change in nomenclature has fully taken hold. Other recent surveys (e.g. Hamp-Lyons, 2011b) have still continued to use the original term, contrastive rhetoric.

With regard to its relevance and direct application to concerns in EAP, contrastive rhetoric arguably shares some of the space occupied by genre analysis, in that it can help to shed a more precisely defined light on how different academic texts are constructed. In doing so, it can also provide evidence to explain why non-native writers of English make the particular rhetorical choices that they do.

The field itself is not without its critics however. Canagarajah (2002) has called for contrastive rhetoric to '*develop more complex types of explanation for textual difference*' (2002, p68) and cautions that while

culture can account for some of the differences in student writing, it must also be noted that such cultural influences can be positive as well as negative. Canagarajah also stresses that cultural differences in and of themselves do not necessarily need to be seen as limitations: students can learn '*to negotiate conflicting rhetorical structures to their advantage*' (2002, p68).

Atkinson (2004) has also been critical of the current approaches to contrastive rhetoric, contending that the field would benefit from a better conceptualization and theorization of culture. In developing this line of argument, Atkinson criticizes contrastive rhetoric for being over-reliant on a 'received' view of culture, which has tended to pigeon-hole cultures based on nation states and ethnic communities e.g. Japanese culture, American culture, Latino culture etc (2004, p280). As an alternative, Atkinson proposes that contrastive rhetoric should adopt a more 'postmodern' view of culture, which would mean taking factors such as globalisation, and the worldwide influence of western popular culture, more fully into account.

Despite such criticisms, however, as evidenced by the steady flow of submissions to the Journal of English for Academic Purposes in recent years (e.g. Thatcher, 2004; Moreno, 2004; Yakhontova, 2006; Bennett, 2010; Molino, 2010; Miller, 2014) contrastive rhetoric clearly continues to be an area of interest for researchers in EAP.

d. Academic Literacies

Although originally part of the 'New Literacy Studies' movement (e.g. Barton, 1994), and as such, closely associated with the work carried out on academic writing instruction in UK universities in the 1990s (e.g. Lea and Street, 1998), in more recent years, academic literacies has forged closer links with practices in EAP (e.g. Blommaert, Street, Turner and Scott, 2007) and it is now generally acknowledged that in a number of

areas, the fields potentially have much to offer one another (e.g. Wingate and Tribble, 2012).

Given EAP's strong interest and involvement in issues to do with academic writing, this liaison is perhaps not altogether surprising, although it must also be said that the two fields were built on different traditions, and in their original configurations at least, were conceived to address the needs of very different target audiences. EAP, for example, certainly as it is practiced in UK contexts anyway, has principally been concerned with meeting the academic writing needs of international students, for whom English is a foreign, second, or additional language; academic literacy, on the other hand, has been more concerned with academic writing as experienced and undertaken by domestic students, for whom English is their mother tongue.

Commenting on issues and directions for EAP in 2002, while acknowledging academic literacy as a growing field with some potential relevance for EAP practitioners, Hyland and Hamp-Lyons also drew attention to the different socio-political stance of the academic literacy movement, claiming that it *'has its basis in educational marxism and critical linguistics/critical education and [therefore]... argues from very different premises than traditional EAP'* (2002, p5). Nevertheless, in more recent years, as Turner (2007) has reported, some EAP practitioners are now using the term 'academic literacies' to refer to *'different text types, different modes of assessment, like the lab report, the learning diary, the essay, and also different disciplinary discourses'* (2007, p138). Academic literacy thus appears to be growing more closely related to EAP interests around the teaching of English for Specific Academic Purposes (e.g. Hyland, 2002b; Hyland, 2011a).

Other aspects of the academic literacies movement, notably its strong criticism and rejection of study skills (e.g. Lea and Street, 2000; Wingate, 2006) are more contentious, and are arguably somewhat at odds with

what have been traditional approaches in EAP (e.g. Waters and Waters, 2001).

As Hyland (2006) has stated, however, '*the issue of an appropriate model for EAP is a central question for how we view our field, formulate our goals, construct our pedagogies and pursue our aims*' (2006, p118) and in this sense, it might be argued that academic literacies offers EAP the most potentially useful insights.

e. A Growing Sense of Community

Although there had been some earlier work in mainstream academia on how different academic disciplines define themselves, conceptualize knowledge, construct and then defend their borders (e.g. Becher, 1989), the concept of 'community', particularly 'discourse community', began to emerge as a key feature and concern of EAP in the 1990s (e.g. Johns, 1997; Prior, 1998; Swales, 1998), and has played a key role in both the development of genre-based approaches to EAP and also the ongoing debates around discipline specificity. As Hyland and Hamp-Lyons have noted (2002), the concept has also helped to broaden EAP's focus from a concern exclusively on texts, to a wider consideration of the people and practices typically involved in such texts' creation and use. In this sense, ethnographic research (e.g. Prior, 1998; Swales, 1998) has significantly helped to deepen our understanding of how academic communities may differ from one another in terms of their social behaviours, power relations and politics. In considering EAP as a whole, it may also be argued that since the start of the New Millennium, the field itself has developed a much stronger sense of its own community and identity. Aside from an expansion of activity in professional associations such as BALEAP, as Hamp-Lyons (2011b) has noted, the emergence of a dedicated journal in 2002 (the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes: JEAP*) has clearly played an important role in strengthening this sense of an EAP

community, as it provides EAP practitioners with ‘a shared discursive space’ (2011b, p93). As noted elsewhere in this chapter, prior to the arrival of *JEAP*, most articles dealing with EAP would have appeared in the pages of the journal, *English for Specific Purposes (ESPJ)* or in more mainstream ELT publications such as *TESOL Quarterly* and the *English Language Teaching Journal (ELTJ)*. Although articles with an EAP focus continue to appear in the pages of these journals, and indeed in a host of others, the ongoing ‘success and growth of *JEAP* is testament not only to the current depth and breadth of EAP as a discipline in its own right, but also to the fact that EAP has now clearly broken away more completely from its earlier ties to the parent discipline of ESP, and is developing in new directions of its own.

f. New Technologies; New Genres

As Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002) signalled in their opening article for the very first edition of *JEAP*, a major concern for EAP since the start of the New Millennium has been the expansion of genres and new formats of writing precipitated by technological changes, particularly those changes that have caused an increase in electronic discourse. Though still in its infancy in the 1990s, for example, communication by email is now ubiquitous and all-pervading, to the point, as Hamp-Lyons (2011b) has noted, that ‘the letter has practically gone out of existence in developed countries. No one posts hard copies of journal article submissions to the Editor’s office anymore’ (2011b, p96). Blogs, websites, text messaging, the use of virtual learning environments (VLEs), video-conferencing and the popularity of Powerpoint as a presentation tool have made similar significant inroads into both academia and everyday life, and are changing the whole nature of human communication as a result. As technological developments lead to the

⁶ Since its emergence in 2002 and the present time (2016), *JEAP* has published 21 volumes- this figure may be contrasted with outputs from the *ESPJ*, which has produced 42 volumes between 1980 and 2016.

formation of brand new genres, EAP practitioners are being forced to keep abreast of such changes, so that they can continue to guide and support their students accordingly.

g. Industry-based Concerns

Though it has received surprisingly scant attention in journal⁷submissions, possibly because the discussions and debates on this topic more often take place in face to face interactions and via email and online blogs, one key development in EAP over the past decade has been the proliferation of private education providers, and their adoption by a number of universities as the preferred solution to meeting their English Language needs.

In the UK context alone, private, profit-based organisations such as Kaplan, INTO, Study Group, Navitas and Cambridge Education Group (CEG) have now made significant inroads as alternative providers of EAP, and this has resulted in the signing of partnerships that have either forced the complete closure of traditional university English Language Centres (e.g. at the University of Exeter, the English Language Centre formally closed in 2006 and EAP provision there is now entirely handled by INTO) or have required the adoption of a more shared and collaborative model (e.g. at Nottingham Trent University, the English Language Centre continues to cover pre-sessional and in-sessional EAP support, but Foundation Programmes are handled exclusively by Kaplan under the auspices of their Nottingham Trent International College).

In recent years, the rise of private education providers in EAP has, not surprisingly perhaps, been an extremely 'hot topic' and the cause of much tension and heated debate. One of the main reasons for this is

⁷ To date, I have been able to find only one published article dealing directly with this subject (Ansell, 2008).

that private enterprises can be seen to have contributed to a further weakening of EAP's position and status within the academy as a whole, as private sector EAP preparatory programmes typically sit outside, or operate as an adjunct to, more mainstream university structures and frameworks. A further criticism has been to do with the working conditions which are offered to EAP staff. The hourly rates of pay offered by private providers, for example, are often significantly lower than those represented on university pay spines, and with high contact teaching loads as well- typically '20 hours a week or more' (Ansell, 2008, p19)- there is then little or no institutional support and/or allowance for research or scholarly activity. When coupled with what often appear to be lower hiring standards- for example, while most university EAP programmes require their staff to hold at least Diploma or Masters level qualifications, teachers working in the private sector may sometimes be offered work on the strength of an undergraduate degree plus a TESOL certificate alone- for many practitioners of EAP, it is very difficult not to see such developments as anything other than a systematic downgrading and de-professionalisation of their field.

Undoubtedly, one of the main drivers behind the growth of private sector EAP provision is that UK universities are now under ever-increasing economic pressure to generate more income by attracting large numbers of international fee-paying students. Many of the private sector providers are able to draw on significant international marketing and recruitment resources, and can thus make university Vice-Chancellors seductive promises of large scale international student admissions. In the adjunct 'international college' model operated by Kaplan, for example, all enrolled students are guaranteed entry to the affiliated university, thus providing such partnered institutions with a steady and predictable annual flow of international student revenue.

As Ansell (2008) has cautioned however, the international student recruitment model operated by some private sector providers may represent a significant cause for concern in terms of maintaining overall

quality and standards. Though hard data from this area has been notoriously difficult to gain access to, there is some evidence that the admissions standards operated in the private sector may sometimes be lower than those normally found in universities; there have also been concerns that private sector providers may be using their own in-house English Language proficiency tests rather than those validated by the ELT/EAP industry as a whole (Ansell, 2008, p18). When all of the above are considered together, it becomes hard to disagree with Ansell's worrying conclusion that '*enterprise has overtaken academic quality*' (2008, p19).

Whether viewed as a sinister or benign development, there can be little doubt that the number of partnerships between British universities and private providers has been steadily rising. Writing in 2008, Ansell identified some 18 cases of private providers working in partnership with British universities. As shown in the table below, as of January 2016, this number has now grown to 61:

Study Group (18)	Kaplan (13)	
University of Huddersfield University of Law, London University of Leeds University of Leicester University of Lincoln University of Sheffield University of Strathclyde University of Surrey University of Sussex Instituto Marangoni, London Keele University Kingston University, London Lancaster University Leeds Beckett University Liverpool John Moores University Royal Holloway, University of London Trinity College, Dublin University College, Dublin	University of Aberdeen University of Birmingham University of Brighton University of Glasgow University of Liverpool University of Salford University of the West of England, Bristol University of Westminster University of York Bournemouth University City University, London Cranfield University Nottingham Trent University	
Navitas (10)	CEG (10)	INTO (10)
University of Hertfordshire University of Northampton University of Portsmouth Anglia Ruskin University Birmingham City University Brunel University, London Edinburgh Napier University Plymouth University	University of Central Lancashire University of Sunderland Birbeck, University of London Coventry University Goldsmiths, University of London London South Bank University Queen Mary, University of London Royal Holloway, University of	University of East Anglia University of Exeter University of Manchester University of London University of Stirling City University London Glasgow Caledonian University Manchester Metropolitan

Robert Gordon University Swansea University	London Royal Veterinary College, University of London The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London	University Newcastle University Queen's University Belfast
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Figure 1: Private Educational Providers and UK University Partnerships, 2016

A further industry-based concern, often aired in modern EAP debates, has been to do with the *status* of EAP practitioners, and their wider role within the Academy. As discussed earlier in this chapter, EAP has been accused of working *for* rather than *with* other members of the university community (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002) and for a number of practitioners, categorising EAP as a service rather than as an academic discipline in its own right is neither useful, nor desirable (e.g. Pennycook, 1997). As already discussed, the emergence and proliferation of private EAP providers has generally been seen as a threat to EAP's professional status, but even within dedicated university centres, there can often be a perception that EAP practitioners are not afforded the same kudos, professional respect and working conditions as academics in other disciplines.

As Hyland and Hamp-Lyons point out:

'EAP teachers are frequently employed as vulnerable, short-term instructors in marginalized 'service units' and ways of facilitating change in such environments remain to be explored.'

(Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002, p10)

While it is difficult to argue with Hyland and Hamp-Lyons' assessment, it might also be ventured that EAP practitioners themselves need to take more responsibility for raising the status of their own profession. In most higher education contexts, whatever the discipline, status generally accrues from the peer-acknowledgement of research and other scholarly activity; if EAP practitioners fail to engage in these areas, then they may well be sowing the seeds of their own demise. As Ding, (2014) recently posited in an EAP blog, '*can we [EAP practitioners] complain*

about our often marginal positions within universities if we aren't engaging in scholarly activity?' to which Williams (2014) then suggested in response:

'Even if not indulged in for its own sake, I think scholarly activity is strategically necessary for EAP practitioners within universities, to avoid being marginalized and seen as second-class academic citizens.'

(Williams, 2014. Blogged response to a posting by A. Ding on December 4, 2014)

As a closing comment on this theme, it is perhaps also worth noting that EAP is not the only academic discipline suffering from perceived marginalisation. In a recent 'anonymous academic' posting on the UK Guardian newspaper website (Friday April 24, 2015 'If you're 'only a teacher', don't expect to be treated fairly by a business school' http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2015/apr/24/if-youre-only-a-teacher-dont-expect-to-be-treated-fairly-by-a-business-school?CMP=share_btn_tw) it was reported that non-research active teaching staff in other disciplines (Business in this case) continue to be less valued than researchers. When considered in these terms, then perhaps EAP practitioners would do well to heed Williams' advice.

h. Professionalism, Teacher Education & Professional Development

Possibly as part of a response to the concerns around EAP practitioners' job security and status, an area of increasing interest in EAP since the advent of the New Millennium has been the question of professionalism, and closely related to this, approaches to EAP teacher training and development.

With regard to teacher development, it has been recognised for quite some time now that teachers migrating from the teaching of General English to the teaching of EAP may face a number of challenges (e.g. Errey, 2001; Scott, 2001; Krzanowski, 2001; Sharpling, 2002; Ding, Jones and King, 2004; Bell, 2007; Bell, 2013) although there have been a

variety of views on how such issues might best be resolved (e.g. Roberts, 2001; Errey and Ansell, 2011; King, 2012; Bell, 2013).

Some (e.g. Roberts, 2001; Errey and Ansell, 2001; Bell, 2005;) have argued that one possible solution might be the introduction of EAP-specific training courses or professional qualifications, and in a number of cases, such initiatives have indeed been launched. Errey and Ansell (2001), for example, have outlined the development of a Masters' programme specifically in teaching EAP at Oxford Brookes University, while Bell (2005; 2007), has described the design and delivery of a Postgraduate Certificate in Teaching EAP- *PgC TEAP*- at the ⁸University of Plymouth. Similar programmes have also been developed at other UK universities- for example, Sheffield Hallam University currently offers a *PgC TEAP* and the University of Nottingham offers an MA in TEAP.

Not everyone has been in agreement, however, that the introduction of specialised EAP training courses and professional qualifications is necessarily the answer. Sharpling (2002) has cautioned that such courses may be viewed by teachers as simply another '*expensive hurdle in an already qualification-driven profession*' (2002, p92) while Campion (2012) in an admittedly small-scale survey of practising EAP teachers (only 6 participants) found that her respondents were generally more in favour of attending *ongoing* training and professional development than in taking a pre-service course or qualification. There does appear to be widespread agreement, however, that teachers making the transition from teaching General English to EAP do *benefit* from exposure to some form of professional development, although the nature that such development may take can vary widely from institution to institution (Alexander, 2010).

As part of a more concerted effort to assist with the continuing professional development of EAP teachers and also to give EAP itself a

⁸ At the present time of writing, both the Oxford Brookes' MA in TEAP and the Plymouth *PgC TEAP* are defunct.

greater sense of professionalism, one initiative to emerge in recent years has been the development of the BALEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of English for Academic Purposes (2008). Divided into four broad sections- Academic Practice; EAP Students; Curriculum Development and Programme Implementation- and covering eleven separate categories of EAP teacher skills and knowledge, ranging from academic contexts to assessment practices, the Competency Framework aims to provide a taxonomy of the core competencies that are deemed to be required of EAP practitioners today. As such, the Framework can serve as a useful checklist for both novice and more experienced EAP practitioners in measuring the scope of their professional knowledge and existing skill-sets, and in helping them to set more direct personal goals for further development (Alexander, Argent and Spencer, 2008). In more recent years, the Competency Framework has also been used as a tool to assist with the induction of new EAP staff (e.g. O' Sullivan, 2012).

As EAP continues to develop and grow as a field, it seems likely that the issues around how best to approach the education of new teachers, the continuing professional development of existing EAP practitioners and the question of greater professionalism in EAP in general will only become more pressing. In a recent survey of trends and issues across the field, Hamp-Lyons (2011b, p100) identified this topic as a '*matter of concern*' noting that:

'The provision of professional education and training for EAP teachers lags behind the vast expansion in the need for teachers of EAP...progress in materials development has not been matched by progress in developing and delivering professional training courses for future teachers of EAP, and a great need still remains in this area.'

(Hamp-Lyons, 2011b, p100)

As BALEAP has already had at least three separate PIMs (Professional Interest Meetings) focussing explicitly on issues concerned with EAP teacher training and professional development ('*Teacher Training for*

EAP', University of Bath, June 16, 2001; 'The EAP Practitioner', University of Durham, June 9, 2012; 'Teacher Development', Sheffield Hallam University, November 29, 2014) and has also established an individual professional accreditation scheme for EAP teachers (<https://www.baleap.org/projects/teap-scheme>), there is little doubt that teacher training, professional development and ways in which to professionalise EAP as a discipline are all issues firmly on many EAP practitioners' radar. What more can be done in the years to come to meet the challenges that Hamp-Lyons has identified, however, still remains to be seen, and in the case of teacher training at least, serves as an eerie echo of the earlier concerns flagged by Ewer (1983).

i. Miscellaneous Developments

From the year 2000 until the present time, there have been a number of other somewhat smaller-scale developments and concerns in EAP, than those already described in this section. As a consequence, rather than dealing with each of these under a series of dedicated sub-headings, they will be considered more collectively in the discussion that follows.

One area to have received increasing attention in recent years is the issue of student plagiarism and other forms of academic misconduct (e.g. Sutherland-Smith, 2005; Abasi and Graves, 2008; Sun, 2013; Sun and Yang, 2015). From EAP's perspective, concerned as it is primarily with international issues, given the rapid globalisation of education; the subsequent expansion of international student enrollments in western educational contexts; and the resulting mix of academic cultures and expectations which such developments have undoubtedly contributed to, that there are now growing concerns around what passes for acceptable academic practice is perhaps not entirely surprising. With specific regard to international students, as a number of authors have already argued (e.g. Ballard and Clancy, 1991; Scollon, 1995; Pennycook, 1996; Bloch, 2001) academic practices can vary widely

across cultures, and there are a number of well-documented dangers in making the assumption that western values and stances on such matters are universally shared.

As Abasi and Graves (2008) point out:

‘While there are no research studies reporting a higher incidence of plagiarism among international students studying in English-language universities, there is concern that these students may be more vulnerable to accusations of fraud as their inappropriate textual borrowing is a more obvious departure from their own style of writing.’

(Abasi and Graves, 2008, p222)

Though it seems reasonable, and indeed cross-culturally sensitive, to draw the conclusion that international students are especially likely to benefit from extra support and guidance in understanding western academic practices, the darker side of this particular coin has perhaps been an unfortunate tendency in many English-medium universities to assume that all instances of international student academic misconduct are deliberate attempts at fraud, and to typecast plagiarism as a problem that only affects international students. As Cohen (2007, cited in Abasi and Graves, 2008, p222) has reported, for example, in the first edition of the *International Journal for Educational Integrity*, launched from Australia in 2005, one of the stated objectives was to look at ‘*plagiarism in Australia, particularly in relation to the country's historically high number of international students...*’ (Cohen, 2007, A51. My emphasis). While there can be little doubt that some international students do sometimes commit plagiarism, clearly a number of domestic students do too, which suggests that the oft-cited phenomenon of cultural difference is not the only factor at play. Indeed, as Wheeler (2007) has reported, beliefs in the cross-cultural dimension of plagiarism itself may well have been over-stated, and a number of other authors (e.g. Baumann, 1996; Buranen, 1999; Bailey, 2002) have presented compelling arguments in support of this position too.

As evidenced in the recent literature (e.g. Flowerdew and Li, 2007; Pecorari, 2008) even reaching a shared definition of what does and does not constitute plagiarism can be open to considerable debate. 'Patchwriting', for example, the practice of directly lifting material from a source text but then simply changing a few words and grammatical structures here and there (Howard, 1993) is now being increasingly considered as a necessary stage in development that novice writers must go through as they become more proficient in their academic writing (e.g. Howard, 1995; Pecorari, 2003). Similarly, the practice of 'language re-use', a term coined by Flowerdew and Li (2007) referring to the borrowing of short pieces of others' writing, has been found in the work of Chinese doctoral science students. As long as the scientific content that was being presented was original work, it was reported that the students did not consider their instances of 'language re-use' to constitute plagiarism. Both of these examples represent a shift from more traditional 'black and white' thinking on how plagiarism should be defined, and are illustrative of the complexity of the entire topic. Indeed, as academic writing itself continues to develop, it seems quite likely that views on what constitutes plagiarism, and how such instances should best be addressed, will also be open to further development and change. From their current position as the main institutional advisors on academic literacy, it seems equally likely that EAP practitioners will continue to play a key role.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a further key feature of more recent EAP work has been an increase in '*advanced EAP*' (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002) such as working with graduate students (e.g. Braine, 2002), and in tandem with this, in providing support for non-native academics in their efforts to publish in English. As Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002) acknowledge:

'The growth of English as the leading language for the dissemination of academic knowledge has had a major impact around the world, binding the careers of thousands of scholars to their competence in a foreign language and elevating this competence to a professional imperative.'

(Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002, p2)

Not surprisingly perhaps, the rise of this '*professional imperative*' has been duly reflected in the academic literature. Volume 7, issue 2 of JEAP (2008), for example, was set aside as a special edition on the teaching of English for research purposes, with the diverse demographics of the individual submissions seeming to confirm how truly international this issue has become (e.g. el Malik and Nesi, 2008 SUDAN; Duszak and Lewkowicz, 2008 POLAND; Giannoni, 2008 ITALY). In the same special issue, however, writing from Venezuela, Salager-Meyer (2008, pp121-122) cautioned that there still exists a very large gap in scholarly publishing between rich and poor countries, and that inequities are being further exacerbated by what she sees as a significant digital divide. Commenting 6 years earlier, Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002) evidently shared the same concerns:

'With access to computers largely restricted to the privileged elites of the west and less than 2% of the world's population hooked up to the internet, it seems probable that divisions in computer use may work to deepen existing divisions and further exacerbate the marginalisation of L2 students and academics from developing countries.'

(Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002, p8)

At the opposite end of the spectrum to advanced EAP, particularly in UK university contexts, recent years have also seen a steady increase in low-level EAP instruction (e.g. Alexander, 2012). While some (e.g. Lebeau, 2011) have argued that EAP is not really suited to students with low-levels of linguistic proficiency, others (e.g. Mann, 2011) have described the successful development of EAP courses with learners as low as ⁹IELTS 3.5-4.5. Irrespective of the pedagogical debate on whether or not it is possible to teach EAP to low level learners, the current economic imperatives driving universities to increase their

⁹ Most UK universities stipulate a minimum IELTS score of 6.0 for entry to undergraduate level programmes. The work described by Mann (2011) was taking place as part of a pre-Foundation course offered by a private EAP provider (INTO) at the University of Newcastle.

number of international student enrolments seem set to ensure that further activity and development in this area can be expected.

A similar concern which has emerged relatively recently, and which also shows considerable potential for further growth, has been the teaching of EAP in non-tertiary settings such as high schools, and even primary schools (Johns and Snow, 2006). One of the particular difficulties in this area however, as indeed Johns and Snow lament (2006, p252), is that EAP practitioners employed in such non-university contexts are often extremely time-poor, and therefore have very little opportunity or indeed professional incentive to write research articles about the work that they do. As the opportunities for pre-tertiary EAP continue to expand and job descriptions in this area become better defined, however, it is to be hoped that institutions will recognise the importance of research and scholarly activity as an integral part of academic work, and in so doing, provide practitioners of pre-tertiary EAP with more substantial support.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have sought to provide an overview of what the academic literature has had to say about the trends and developments in EAP from its birth until the present day, and how these have then impacted upon the work of EAP practitioners.

Before closing the chapter, it is perhaps worth stating that while I have attempted to list and categorize these different developments and stages chronologically, and to group them under specific time periods, as in any other realm of human knowledge, the themes and debates in EAP have, to a large extent, been cyclical and somewhat recursive, with some of the earliest discussions from the field finding renewed expression decades after their original introduction. The theme of authenticity, for example, which, as already described, first emerged as a key concern in ESP and EAP in the 1980s, was recently (February, 2014) the subject of a BALEAP Professional Interest Meeting (PIM) held

at the University of Leeds. While some papers (e.g. Tavakoli, 2014) arguably presented very similar arguments to those that have already found expression in the past, others (e.g. Seviour, 2014) suggested innovative ways in which thoughts on authenticity of material and purpose might be applied to new dimensions of EAP. Similar work extending practitioners' knowledge and application of earlier concepts continues to be carried out in other areas of EAP, for example, around the question of discipline specificity (e.g. Dovey, 2006) and in genre analysis (e.g. Pérez-Llantada, 2015).

Many further examples could be cited, but perhaps there are two main conclusions to be drawn. The first, as I hope to have demonstrated in the course of this chapter is that in the six decades of its history to date, EAP has evolved from its humble beginnings as a mere component of the parent discipline ESP to become a recognised academic discipline in its own right. The second, as related by Hamp-Lyons (2011b) in her own historical survey of EAP is that the charting of timelines and attempts to plot the developments of a field in a linear and chronological fashion can, themselves, be a somewhat artificial and misleading construct:

'There is no real distinction between past and present: as in any community, outside of war or catastrophe, time moves at different speeds for different people, the old, the young, the breadwinners, the child-bearers, the teachers, the learners. In the academic community fields seem static for a time, then explode with activity.'

(Hamp-Lyons, 2011b, p98)

In this regard, the historical sequencing of events which I have provided is, of course, heavily tied to my own subjective interpretations, and as a result, makes no claims to be all-inclusive. I am aware, for example, of having made no direct mention of either assessment in EAP, nor the matter of learner autonomy, as I believe that these should be viewed as inherent features and therefore ongoing concerns of the field, rather than as particular stages or bounded phases in the field's

historical development. No doubt there will be similar instances. While fully acknowledging such possible limitations, this chapter has attempted, nevertheless, to present an accurate account of what the academic literature has recognised as being the main stages and themes which have guided and informed EAP's birth and subsequent development, and also the work of its practitioners, from the 1960s until the present day.

In the chapter which follows, my focus will switch to a discussion of the main research methodology employed in this study, and a consideration of the particular mechanisms which were invoked in gathering and analysing the specific data which then emerged.

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

Introduction

3.1 My Research Questions & My Rationale for Taking a Qualitative Interview-Based Approach

3.2 The Nature of the Research Sample

3.2i Selection of Participants

3.2ii Gaining Access, Receiving Formal Consent & Respecting Confidentiality

3.2iii Interview Structure and Design; Choice & Sequencing of Interview Questions

3.2iv Piloting & Quality Control Measures

3.2v Ethical Concerns

3.2vi Timelines, Timing & the Course and Conduct of Interviews

3.2vii Interview Transcription & the Ratification of Raw Data

3.2viii Ontological & Epistemological Considerations

3.2ix Approaches to Coding & Data Analysis

3.3 Research Strengths & Limitations

Chapter Summary

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the methodology which has underpinned my research for this thesis. Throughout, I also critically reflect on the lessons which I have personally learned as a researcher from having now experienced such a process.

I begin the chapter by revisiting my specific research questions, before moving to a discussion of why I consider a qualitative, interview-based approach to have been particularly appropriate as a means of suggesting some possible answers.

I then discuss in detail the actual nature of my research sample: the participant selection criteria I used and my justification for choosing the specific individuals which I did; the protocols I duly followed in terms of gaining access, receiving formal consent and respecting

confidentiality; the structure and design of the interviews and my choice and sequencing of the individual interview questions; the piloting and quality control mechanisms I employed; matters of ethics; the timelines, timing and the particular issues I encountered in the course and conduct of the interviews themselves; the approach I took to transcribing and ratifying the ensuing raw interview data, and finally, some of the ontological and epistemological considerations which had guided the entire research process and informed my subsequent coding and analysis.

As support for some of the methodology-related claims which I make in this chapter, I draw on a number of academic sources, but have been particularly guided by Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), Harding (2013), Vasilachis de Gialdino (2009), Seidman (2013) and Charmaz (2006).

I close the chapter by reflecting on some of the possible strengths and limitations of the research project as a whole.

3.1 My Research Questions & My Rationale for Taking a Qualitative Interview-Based Approach

As I described in Chapter 1, this thesis seeks to investigate two particular questions in relation to the field of EAP:

- How has the pedagogic field of EAP developed and changed over time?
- How has the work of EAP practitioners developed alongside this?

I decided from the outset that in order for me to remain true to my interest in the 'who' and the 'how' of EAP, in attempting to answer these questions, my research methodology would most probably need to be qualitative rather than quantitative in nature, and would be based around a series of interviews.

As Seidman (2013) explains in the opening paragraphs of his text on qualitative interviewing, *'I interview because I am interested in other people's stories. Most simply put, stories are a way of knowing...'* (2013, p7).

For the purposes of this thesis, I also have been interested in people's stories, specifically the life and career stories of a range of some high-profile individuals from the world of EAP. As the main purpose of the research has been to gain a better understanding of how the field of EAP has developed over time and how the work of practitioners has developed alongside this, conducting my research via a series of qualitative interviews with EAP 'insiders' struck me as a particularly fitting means of gaining access to sets of lived-in, real-life data from those who have been personally involved in EAP at many of the different stages of its development. Fields of human endeavour do not, after all, exist as stand-alone, disembodied entities- they are formed, and then to a large extent continue to be shaped, out of and by the experiences of their practitioners. In striving to understand the various developments within EAP as an academic field and the particular effects that these have had on EAP practitioners, I concluded that one of the most effective ways of doing this would be for me to talk at length with those who have actually been part of and directly affected by those processes. I decided that qualitative interviewing, as one of a number of potentially relevant modes of research, would therefore be the most direct match in this regard. Indeed, as Seidman (2013) goes on to say, *'At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.'* (2013, p9).

Further justification for me taking the particular approach which I have can be found in the work of Goodson (2003) who emphasizes the importance of gathering teacher stories and narratives as a means of

better understanding teachers' professional lives and their role in the complexity of teaching:

'Returning to the field of educational study, we see that in response to the distant, divorced and disengaged nature of aspects of educational study in universities, some scholars have responded by embracing the 'practical', by celebrating the teacher as practitioner. My intention here is to explore in detail one of these movements aiming to focus on teachers' knowledge- particularly the genre which focuses on teacher stories and narratives... it is laudable that new narrative movements are concentrating on the teachers' presentation of themselves. This is a welcome antidote to so much misrepresentation... and it opens up avenues of fruitful investigation and debate.'

(Goodson, 2003, pp22-23)

3.2 The Nature of the Research Sample

Having decided that I would conduct my research using an approach based on qualitative in-depth interviews, one of the earliest considerations I then faced was the matter of *which* individuals should be invited to take part in the research process, and on what grounds I should go about making my candidate selection.

3.2i Selection of Participants

As the focus of my research questions requires respondents to be knowledgeable about the historical development of EAP as a field, and as a core component of this, to have a good 'insider's' perspective on what the main issues and contestations have been, I concluded that probably the richest and most credible forms of data would be generated if I could manage to involve individuals who are now well-known and respected as key figures within the field itself.

Having settled on such a strategy, this then opened up a series of other important considerations with regard to my selection of who in fact should be approached: for example, should my sample be restricted to a particular time period or geographical location? Should I only focus on those who had made a name for themselves directly in EAP, or

could their expertise also be extended to include ESP/ELT? Should I only consider each individual's formal research outputs in evaluating their professional standing, or might other accomplishments, such as the creation of EAP-related websites and blogs, or active participation in professional organisations, be considered as well? Thus, rather like a Russian *matryoshka* doll, for each layer of considerations that was identified and peeled away, I soon found that there was usually a subsequent layer of further issues also demanding my consideration not very far beneath.

After much reflection on the issues described above, in the first instance, I decided that I would attempt to draw up a pool of potential interview participants, primarily based on how well individuals were able to satisfy the following two baseline criteria:

- The participants should be familiar to current EAP practitioners as respected 'names' within the fields of either ESP/ELT, EAP or both.
- The participants' reputation and familiarity as respected 'names' should not be restricted to formal research outputs alone; contributions to the field in the form of other significant achievements, such as the development of widely-used materials, active participation in professional organisations such as BALEAP, or involvement in projects and courses which have been recognized as milestones in the development of ESP and EAP would be equally valid indicators of prestige and professional standing.

A further two criteria were then applied when compiling the final pool of candidates as a whole:

- Although the main focus of my research was going to be the practice of EAP in UK contexts, within the pool of candidates

itself there should nevertheless be a representative spread of international informants.

- In order to capture the full flavour of EAP's historical development, the pool of candidates should provide evidence of a broad involvement in EAP/ESP, ideally spanning the decades since its very first emergence, up until the present day.

I ultimately settled on a cohort of 15 interview participants. The names and titles of these individuals, along with a representative selection of what I consider as being some of the main highlights of their contributions to the fields of EAP/ESP/ELT are detailed in tables a-e below:

1960s

Professor John Swales

A longstanding and hugely influential figure in the fields of ESP and EAP, probably best known for his extensive work on genre analysis.

Professor Swales has published and presented widely on various aspects of ESP/EAP, producing a number of seminal texts, for example:

- Swales, J.M. and Feak, C.B., 2004. *Academic writing for graduate students: Essential tasks and skills* (Vol. 1). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Swales, J., 2004. *Research genres: Explorations and applications*. Ernst Klett Sprachen.
- Swales, J.M., 2000. *English in today's research world: A writing guide*. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (EUA).
- Swales, J., 1990. *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge University Press.
- Swales, J.M., 1985. *Episodes in ESP*. Pergamon Press.

Professor Henry Widdowson

A longstanding and hugely influential figure in the fields of Applied Linguistics, ESP and ELT in general: one of the original pioneers in Communicative Language Teaching.

Professor Widdowson has produced a number of highly influential publications relating to ELT, for example:

- Howatt, A.P.R. and Widdowson, H.G., 2004. *A history of ELT*. Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, H.G., 2008. *text, context, Pretext: critical Issues in discourse Analysis* (Vol. 12). John Wiley & Sons
- Widdowson, H., 2003. *Defining issues in English language teaching*. Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, H.G., 1990. *Aspects of language teaching*. Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, H.G., 1983. *Learning purpose and language use*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, H.G., 1978. *Teaching language as communication*. Oxford University Press.

Dr Alan Waters

A longstanding and highly-respected figure in the fields of ESP and EAP.

Dr Waters is perhaps best known as a methodologist and for his seminal work with his former colleague Tom Hutchinson on learning-centred approaches to ESP. He has also been heavily involved in work around the development of study skills.

Dr Waters has published and presented widely on a broad range of ESP/EAP-related topics, producing a number of seminal texts, for example:

- Waters, M. and Waters, A., 1995. *Study Tasks in English*. Cambridge University Press.
- Waters, M. and Waters, A., 1992. Study skills and study competence: getting the priorities right. *ELT journal*, 46(3), pp.264-273.
- Hutchinson, T. and Waters, A., 1987. *English for specific purposes. A Learning-Centred Approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hutchinson, T. and Waters, A., 1980. ESP at the crossroads. *English for specific purposes*, 36, pp.1-6.

Table a

1970s a

Ms. Jo McDonough

A well-known and frequent contributor to the field of ESP/EAP/ELT, probably best known for her work on research methods.

Ms. McDonough was an early and very active member of SELMOUS (Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Students) and later BALEAP (British Association for Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes).

Notable publications include:

- McDonough, J. and McDonough, S., 2014. *Research methods for English language teachers*. Routledge.
- McDonough, J. and Shaw, C., 2012. *Materials and Methods in ELT*. John Wiley & Sons.
- McDonough, J., 1986. English for academic purposes: A research base?, *English for Specific Purposes*, 5(1), pp.17-25.
- McDonough, J., 1984. *ESP in perspective: A practical guide*. Taylor & Francis.

Professor John Flowerdew

A long-standing and very well-known contributor to the field of ESP/EAP, probably best known for his work on discourse and genre analysis.

Professor Flowerdew has presented and published very widely on a huge range of EAP-related issues, some of which have become seminal texts, for example:

- Flowerdew, J., 2013. 'English for Research Publication Purposes' In B. Paltridge and S. Starfield (eds.), *The Handbook of English for Specific Purposes*. (pp. 301-321). Wiley/Blackwell.
- Flowerdew, J. and Peacock, M., (eds.) 2001. *Research Perspectives on English for Academic Purposes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Flowerdew, J., 2000. Discourse Community, Legitimate Peripheral Participation and the Nonnative-English-Speaking Scholar. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34(1), pp127-150.
- Flowerdew, J. and Miller, L., 1997. The teaching of academic listening comprehension and the question of authenticity. *English for Specific Purposes*, 17, pp27-46.
- Flowerdew, J., 1994. *Academic listening: Research perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.

Mr. Andy Gillett

A well-known figure in EAP/ESP circles, who has been extensively and very actively involved as an executive committee member of BALEAP, including separate terms as the Chair, Treasurer and Professional Issues Meetings (PIMs) Co-ordinator.

Mr Gillett has extensive experience as a freelance consultant for ESP/EAP and has developed a well-known and frequently accessed set of practical web-based materials for EAP teaching.

He has also produced a number of EAP-related publications, for example:

- Gillett, A. and Weetman, C., 2005. Investigation of the perceived usefulness of a StudyNet group discussion facility by international students. *Journal for the Enhancement of Learning and Teaching*.
- Gillett, A., Hammond, A. and Martala, M., 2013. *Inside track to successful academic writing*. Pearson UK.
- Gillett, A., 1996. What is EAP?. *IATEFL ESP SIG Newsletter*, 6, pp.17-23.

Table b

1970s b

Professor Ken Hyland

An extremely well-known, frequently cited and prolific contributor to the field of EAP, probably most famous for his work on genre and the need for specificity in EAP teaching.

Professor Hyland has produced a huge number of outputs relating to EAP, many of which are now recognized as seminal texts, for example:

- Hyland, K., 2011a. 'Disciplinary Specificity: Discourse, Context and ESP.' In A.M. Johns; B. Paltridge and D. Belcher (eds.) *New Directions in English for Specific Purposes Research*. University of Michigan Press.
- Hyland, K., 2011b. 'Discipline and divergence: evidence of specificity in EAP.' In S. Etherington (ed.) *Proceedings of the 2009 BALEAP Conference: English for Specific Academic Purposes*. Garnet Education.
- Hyland, K., 2006b. 'Disciplinary differences: language variation in academic discourses.' In K. Hyland and M. Bondi (eds.), *Academic discourse across disciplines*. Peter Lang.
- Hyland, K., 2006c. *English for academic purposes: An advanced resource book*. Routledge.
- Hyland, K., 2004. *Genre and Second Language Writing*. University of Michigan Press.
- Hyland, K. and Hamp-Lyons, L., 2002a. EAP: issues and directions. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 1(1), pp1-12.
- Hyland, K., 2002b. Specificity revisited: How far should we go now? *English for Specific Purposes*, 21(4), pp385-395.

Dr Helen Basturkmen

A highly-regarded and frequent contributor to the fields of ESP and EAP, Dr Basturkmen has produced a number of seminal texts for each of these areas:

- Basturkmen, H.L. and Wette, R., 2016., 'English for academic purposes'. In G. Hall (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Teaching* (pp. 164-176). Routledge.
- Basturkmen, H., (ed.), 2015. *English for academic purposes*. Routledge.
- Basturkmen, H. and Shackleford, N., 2015., How content lecturers help students with language: An observational study of language-related episodes in interaction in first year accounting classrooms. *English for Specific Purposes*, 37, pp87-97.
- Basturkmen, H., 2010. *Developing courses in English for specific purposes*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Basturkmen, H., 2006. *Ideas and options in English for specific purposes*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Basturkmen, H. and Lewis, M., 2002. Learner perspectives of success in an EAP writing course. *Assessing writing*, 8(1), pp.31-46.

Table c

1980s

Professor Smith (anonymized respondent)

Biographical details withheld to protect identity.

Dr Steve Mann

An acknowledged expert in teacher development, teacher beliefs and the development of knowledge, Dr Mann has had extensive involvement in the field of ESP, particularly the use of English in professional settings.

He has published widely on various aspects of teacher development, for example:

- Heo, J., Mann, Steve J. 2015. Exploring team teaching and team teachers in Korean primary schools. *English Language Teacher Education and Development*, 17, pp. 13-21.
- Hyacinth, T., Mann, S.J., 2014. Reflective practice in Nigeria : teachers' voices and experiences. *TESOL E-Journal*, 18 (3).
- Nakayama, A., Sixian, J.H and Mann, S.J., 2013. Short courses, impact, and follow up: a case study of a group of Japanese students visiting the UK. *The Language Teacher*, 37 (6), pp. 21-25.
- Mann, S.J., Tang, E.H.H., 2012. The role of mentoring in supporting novice English language teachers in Hong Kong. *TESOL Quarterly*, Volume 46 (Number 3), pp. 472-495.
- Walsh, S., Mann, S. J., 2015. Doing reflective practice : a data-led way forward. *ELT Journal*, 69 (4), pp. 351-362.

Dr Richard Watson Todd

A frequent contributor on a range of topics relating to ESP/EAP/ELT, Dr Watson Todd has published a number of influential articles.

His contribution to the Journal of English for Academic Purposes in 2003, 'EAP or TEAP?' was seminal, as this was arguably the first time that explicit attention had been given to factors affecting the teaching of EAP:

- Watson Todd, R. 2012., The Effects of Class Size on English Learning at a Thai University. *ELT Research Journal*, 1(1), 80-88.
- Watson Todd, R. 2010., Can SLA Research and ELT practice be of benefit to each other? *rEFLECTIONS*, 13, July, 38-45.
- Watson Todd, R., Khongput, S. and Darasawang, P., 2007. Coherence, cohesion and comments on students' academic essays. *Assessing Writing*, 12(1), pp.10-25.
- Watson Todd, R., 2003. EAP or TEAP?, *Journal of English for academic purposes*, 2(2), pp.147-156.

Table d

1990s

Dr Averil Coxhead

A well-known and frequent contributor to EAP, probably best known for developing the 'Academic Word List' (AWL), a corpus extensively used in EAP.

Dr Coxhead is regularly invited to speak on EAP-related matters and has produced a number of influential publications with regard to the development of vocabulary in EAP, for example:

- Coxhead, A., 2011. The Academic Word List ten years on: Research and teaching implications. *TESOL Quarterly*, 45, pp355-362.
- Coxhead, A. and Hirsh, D., 2007. A pilot science word list for EAP. *Revue française de linguistique appliquée*, 12(2), pp65-78.
- Coxhead, A., 2000. A new academic word list. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34, pp213-238.
- Coxhead, A. and Nation, P., 2001. 'The specialised vocabulary of English for academic purposes.' In J. Flowerdew and M. Peacock (eds), *Research Perspectives on English for Academic Purposes*. (pp252-267). Cambridge University Press.

Ms. Olwyn Alexander

A well-known figure in British EAP circles who has been active in the professional organization BALEAP (British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes) for which she has served as Chair (2010-2013).

Ms. Alexander was involved in the formulation of the BALEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of EAP (2008) and developed one of the first INSET courses on EAP in the UK at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, Scotland.

She is a frequently featured speaker on EAP-related matters and has produced a number of influential publications relating to both the teaching of EAP and also the training of teachers in EAP, for example:

- Alexander, O., 2012. Exploring teacher beliefs in teaching EAP at low proficiency levels. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 11(2), pp.99-111.
- Alexander, O., 2010, June. 'The Leap into TEAP: the role of the BALEAP competency framework in the professional development of new EAP teachers.' In *English for Academic Purposes in University Settings: Teacher and Learner Competencies Conference*, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, pp. 18-19.
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Dr Jones (anonymized respondent)

Biographical details withheld to protect identity.

Dr Ian Bruce

A well-known and highly respected contributor to EAP, perhaps best known for his work in genre analysis.

Dr Bruce also developed one of the first teacher training courses in EAP at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand and was involved as a consultant with the BALEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of EAP (2008).

He has published widely on various aspects of EAP, including seminal texts such as:

- Bruce, I., 2016. Constructing critical stance in university essays in English literature and sociology. *English for Specific Purposes*, 42, pp13-25.
 - Bruce, I., 2011. *Theory and concepts of English for academic purposes*. Palgrave Macmillan.
 - Bruce, I., 2008. *Academic Writing and Genre: A Systematic Analysis*. Continuum.
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Table e

In further unpacking and elucidating the thinking behind my participant selection criteria, a number of additional points must now be made.

With regard to criterion number one, the question of where and how the participants had built their reputations as respected 'names' in the field, I decided that restricting my selection of expert informants to EAP alone would, paradoxically, put me in danger of distorting the validity of my sample. As I have outlined in the previous chapter in my discussion of EAP's birth and early history, EAP as the practice we recognise today emerged from the broader field of ESP, which in turn had only slightly earlier emerged from the parent discipline of ELT in general. One immediate ramification of this is that a number of the luminaries in EAP, particularly those from the earlier decades, had also been key players in the development of ESP and ELT. If I restricted my sampling, therefore, to a very *narrow* interpretation of EAP, particularly in terms of EAP as it is understood from a contemporary perspective, I would potentially be running the risk of excluding some highly valuable historical informants. I consequently concluded that while currently acknowledged expertise in EAP should obviously be a primary driver, ideally, I would also need to consider those whose professional reputations had been forged in the fires of more direct involvement in ESP, and in some cases, ELT in general.

I then faced a similar dilemma with regard to what kinds of activity I was going to recognize as counting towards the participants' status and perceived professional standing. While an evaluation of formal research outputs in the shape of peer-refereed journal articles and books was the most obvious yardstick here, it soon became clear to me that some individuals were considerably less prolific in this area than others, and had seemingly built their reputations on more practical endeavours, such as the development of teaching materials, or their involvement in EAP/ESP-related projects and professional organisations. Such individuals would undoubtedly have extremely valuable perspectives to offer my research, but if I was to set up my participant selection criteria based on an evaluation of high volume peer-refereed research outputs alone, then there would be a very strong likelihood of their exclusion. I concluded, therefore, that for the purposes of this research, recognition of expert status in EAP would have to be interpreted more holistically, allowing for some flexibility around the different kinds of activity from which such professional kudos and status might be conferred.

With regard to my third criterion, while I was clear that my research would primarily be engaging with EAP as it is practised in UK university contexts, I decided that it would nevertheless be useful to gain some comparative perspectives by involving a selection of informants who are currently based, and therefore professionally active, in non-UK locations. I must also confess to invoking a more pragmatic consideration here, in that after applying criteria one and two to an early shortlist of possible participants, I very soon discovered that a number of the current 'big names' in EAP are, in any case, based outside of the United Kingdom. Had I limited my sample of potential informants to the UK only, I would therefore have immediately excluded some significant key players, and in so doing, have lost the opportunity to gather valuable data.

In keeping with my final selection criterion, criterion four, I decided that the research participants should be grouped to represent participation in EAP across four separate decades: the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s. This would allow me to gain unique perspectives on EAP's historical development from those that had actually been there at the time, and had lived and worked through the specific eras I was investigating. Indeed, in some cases, the individuals in question had either been directly involved in, or had been responsible for having instigated, the particular events and developments I was interested in researching.

3.2ii Gaining Access, Receiving Formal Consent & Respecting Confidentiality

Having created a shortlist of potential participants, and been awarded formal clearance to proceed from my university research ethics committee (I will discuss the finer details of the ethical clearance process under a later and separate heading), the next stage was for me to gain access to my prospective participants, and hopefully secure their agreement in taking part.

I had decided that in the first instance, I would contact potential informants with a polite, but fairly informal exploratory e-mail, outlining my research project and requesting their participation. While the exact wording of each e-mail differed slightly from case to case, depending on whether or not I already knew, or had ever met the individuals concerned in person, in each instance, the e-mail simply provided an overview of my proposed work, with a promise of further details to follow if participation might indeed prove to be of interest. As a point of reference, samples of both the initial and follow-up e-mails have been included in the Appendices.

As a now longstanding, well-networked and reasonably active member of the wider EAP professional community, I must acknowledge

that I was perhaps somewhat more fortunate than many other doctoral students in already knowing a number of the individuals that I was intending to approach. While in some cases, the reality of this claim to 'knowing' only amounted to having met on a number of occasions at EAP conferences, or having served on committees together, I do believe that this was instrumental nonetheless in ensuring at least that my initial e-mail approaches were not simply rejected out of hand; in most (at least 85%+) of the cases, individuals immediately responded to me expressing interest and with a tentative promise of their further involvement, always dependant of course on their time pressures and other commitments. In this latter regard, I should add that in order to maximize my chances of securing participation, as far as possible, I tried to marry my requests for interviews with the occasions when both I and the individuals concerned might be attending or presenting at the same conferences or other professional events, and from which it might be expected that mutually convenient timeframes for a face-to-face meeting would more easily be found. In most cases, this strategy proved to be a great success. My first two interviews, for example, were with Professor John Swales and Dr Averil Coxhead, and took place at Bilkent University in Turkey during an international symposium on EAP at which all three of us were delivering papers. As a result of my participation in other professional events, I went on to have similar experiences with the interviewees Dr Ian Bruce and Professor John Flowerdew.

Having just suggested above that 85%+ of my initial approaches were favourably received, that does of course still leave some 15% which were either rejected outright, initially agreed to but then rejected later, or simply ignored. In the case of the former, a number of my potential participants immediately declined involvement in the research on the grounds that they were far too busy at that moment with other pressing commitments. A very small number of others initially expressed some enthusiasm, but then either failed to respond to my subsequent

communications, or, for reasons not specified, simply decided to pull out. The smallest category of failed approaches- literally just one or two people- did not respond to any of my communications whatsoever, but in the current era of heavy e-mail traffic and the tendency for unsolicited e-mails to be automatically diverted by spam filters, this is perhaps not entirely surprising, particularly as I was writing at that time from an e-mail address in China. From the outset, I was also always very much aware that in some cases, it would potentially be quite a big ask for an individual high-profile academic to receive an e-mail from a complete stranger, or at best, someone he/she was only very vaguely acquainted with, and then agree to invest a considerable chunk of their personal time and effort in being interviewed. The fact that the vast majority of the academics I approached were ultimately so willing to put their time and energy into the project stands as strong testament to their exceptional generosity of spirit, professional commitment to the field and unflagging support of more junior researchers such as myself, and I remain both extremely grateful for their assistance and humbled by their kindness.

For the individuals who had agreed to take part in the research, a key ethical issue was then the matter of confidentiality. I must stress that the nature of this particular research has been somewhat different to more typical qualitative studies, in that as far as possible, I have elected to identify the participants using their real names. My reasons for doing this are very closely tied to the research questions themselves, the nature of my actual sample i.e. the fact that I have deliberately chosen to draw on recognised and well-known personalities from the wider EAP field, and underpinning this, the greater credibility which I believe using such readily identifiable, high-profile respondents can thus bring. It must also be stressed that a significant portion of the interviews themselves have been concerned with mapping individual life histories and then locating these within the context of events that were happening in the field at the time. Being able to identify specific individuals directly, thus

takes on a greater significance, and has helped to imbue my findings with a more lived-in reality.

Before signing the official consent form and giving their final agreement to take part in the research, all of the participants were informed of my intention to use real names, but then given the option to request anonymity, if this was something that they personally preferred. As I have already noted, two respondents did in fact request this, and their participation in the study has been duly anonymized by the use of pseudonyms (Professor Smith and Dr Jones respectively) and the removal of any references which might then allow them to be directly identified. The other thirteen respondents, however, were happy to go on public record with their comments and have those formally attributed to them, which suggests that for the majority of my research participants, anonymity was not a major issue. That said, from an ethical standpoint, I was always very much aware that in speaking with me so openly and identifiably, some individuals might justifiably feel that there would later be a risk to their professional reputations. In any interview situation after all, comments can simply 'come across wrongly' or be open to misinterpretation later. In order to help minimize the likelihood of this occurring, in the weeks following each encounter, individual participants were therefore sent a full written transcript of their entire interview, which they were then at liberty to edit in whatever way they saw fit. With the exception of some very minor amendments, however, and the occasional removal of third party's names, in every case, I am happy to report that any changes to the transcripts as originally submitted were in fact negligible. This suggests very high levels of honesty and a willingness of the participants to stand publicly by their original comments, which in turn has important ramifications for the validity of my findings. Once again, I find myself humbled by my participants' exceptionally high levels of professional integrity in this regard.

3.2iii Interview Structure & Design; Choice & Sequencing of Interview Questions

After due deliberation, I decided that the interviews should follow a semi-structured format, on the grounds that this would potentially allow the participants a reasonable degree of freedom to discuss the issues which they themselves felt to be important, while still providing me as the interviewer sufficiently robust levels of structure to cover the questions I most wanted to ask. Following the advice of Harding (2013), I had also concluded that one of the further benefits of using a semi-structured interview format was that it might prove helpful with my later analysis, insofar as *'there [would] be a number of topics on which every respondent will have made some comment'* (2013, p31).

As much of my research was going to be about charting individual career and life histories, I had initially considered the relative merits of conducting interviews which would be completely unstructured, as I felt that one of the pros of this approach would be that it could be expected to yield particularly rich data. I ultimately decided against it, however, on the grounds that if I were to utilize a completely unstructured interview format, then one of the likely cons would be that I might then face a much higher probability of interviewer bias, caused by the temptation to ask follow-up questions in some areas and not others. I concluded, therefore, that taking a middle-road approach would probably be best with a semi-structured interview format offering both the interviewer and interviewees optimum levels of structure, consistency and control, while not entirely precluding the possibility of responses being developed and probed further if it were so wished. I discuss some of the particular challenges which I encountered with this latter point under 3.3vi below.

With regard to their design, each individual interview was essentially (though not formally) divided into two halves, consisting of a total of

¹⁰eighteen predominantly open-ended questions, which in terms of their underlying rhetorical structure, gradually moved along a cline from general to specific. Rather like my decision to follow a semi-structured instead of either a closed or completely open format style of interviewing, the decision to use open-ended questions was deliberate, as I felt that these would then give the participants the freedom to develop our conversations in whichever ways they themselves felt to be most comfortable; as indeed Seidman has explained:

‘An open-ended question, unlike a leading question, establishes the territory to be explored while allowing the participants to take any direction he or she wants. It does not presume an answer’

(Seidman, 2013, p87)

In the first half of each interview (questions 1-10) the main focus was on charting each respondent's personal career history in ELT, and participants were thus invited to discuss issues such as how and why they became English language teachers in the first place; the academic and/or professional qualifications they had chosen (or not chosen) to do; how and when they first became involved in EAP; whether or not they had taken any EAP-specific training prior to this; whether or not they had then experienced much of an initial learning curve in their EAP teaching, and if so, the ways in which they had subsequently coped with that; the differences and similarities they had discerned between EAP and the practice of ELT in other contexts; and finally, the extent to which they felt their previous ELT experience and/or qualifications had been adequate preparation for then working in EAP.

In the second half of each interview (questions 11-18), the focus then switched to a more detailed exploration of the participants' views on particular issues and challenges in EAP. The topics covered here

¹⁰ A full list of the interview questions has been provided in the Appendices.

included matters such as whether or not there are any pre-requisites that EAP teachers should be expected to meet in terms of their knowledge, skills and general disposition; whether there is a need for EAP-specific training and development; whether EAP as a field would benefit from the introduction of a series of formally agreed standards; the ways in which organisations might best go about measuring and evaluating the efficacy and expertise of their EAP staff; the role of classroom observations in EAP; the main pros and cons of EAP as a career choice for ELT professionals today; personally desired developments or changes to EAP in the future, and finally, the directions in which they as EAP professionals now consider the field to be heading.

The questions themselves were designed to build on, and to some extent overlap with, one another; there was also a degree of flexibility built in at a number of different stages to allow for some variation of how the interview might then progress depending on an individual's responses. For example, when participants were asked whether or not they had undertaken any training or professional development in EAP prior to them starting their work in the field, if the response was affirmative, there was then the option of a series of related follow up questions which would allow me to probe for further details on the exact nature of the preparatory activity, the name and location of the provider, and whether or not the individual ultimately felt it had been helpful; if the response to the initial question was negative, however, the interview would then simply progress to the next topic for exploration. As it happened, in most cases, and certainly in the case of that particular question, somewhat surprisingly, I found there to be very little variation in the participants' responses (almost none of my respondents had undergone any form of preparation for teaching EAP) which meant that more often than not, my planned series of additional probes was not in fact necessary.

3.2iv Piloting & Quality Control Measures

Before the first formal interview took place, the questions and interview structure in general underwent an early-stage quality control check by being piloted with an academic colleague working in the field of EAP with me in China.

This interview 'dry-run' was very valuable in that it gave me the opportunity not only to test and then if need be tweak each individual question for clarity, but also to get some practice in actually conducting a full-blown interview. As a result, by the end of the piloting process, I had gained a more accurate estimate of ¹¹how long the interviews would be likely to take, practical information which I could then later share with my prospective participants. Along the way, I had also developed a more informed understanding of some of the intricacies of qualitative interviewing, such as the matter of judging when to remain silent and when to probe; the importance of paying attention to the interviewee's body language; and the relative pros and cons of following an interview schedule exactly as pre-formulated, weighed against the potential pros and cons of asking brand new questions or supplying further details of my own as a follow-up on particular responses. As all such matters are a key concern of effective qualitative interviewing and therefore warrant further discussion in their own right, I will reflect in more detail on my experience of these and other similar issues under a separate heading, when I discuss the course and conduct of the interviews themselves.

3.2v Ethical Concerns

As I briefly described under 3.3ii, prior to any of the interviews taking place, a draft of the e-mails I intended to send to prospective

¹¹ Although as I describe under 3.2vi, in the final event, there actually proved to be quite a bit of variance in interview length.

participants as part of my initial approach, a participant information sheet, and a formal participant consent form were each submitted to the University of Nottingham School of Education Research Ethics Committee for their formal scrutiny and approval. As no potentially serious ethical issues were identified, consent was duly granted and I proceeded to start contacting my prospective participants. Copies of the paperwork submitted to the Research Ethics Committee have been included for reference in the Appendices.

Some of the broader ethical considerations pertaining to aspects of qualitative research interviewing in general- such as the matter of participant anonymity- have either been touched on already, or will be referred to as and where relevant under the sub-headings which follow.

3.2vi Timelines, Timing, & the Course and Conduct of Interviews

As I have already described, as far as possible, I attempted to time my requests for interviews with those occasions when I knew in advance that both the prospective participant and I would be attending the same event. While this strategy was certainly effective and yielded some good results, it clearly could not be relied upon to cover every eventuality. In a number of cases, I was therefore forced either to seek out my informants as part of a visit expressly meant for that purpose, or when the geographical distances and costs involved in such a face-to-face meeting proved impractical, resort to carrying out my interviews by remote using video-conferencing facilities, Skype, or on the occasions when all else failed, the humble telephone. Whichever format was selected, a formal record of each interview was obtained using an MP3 recorder or similar device. Participants were made aware from the outset that the interviews would be audio-recorded and were asked to give their signed consent to this as part of their initial agreement to take part in the study.

The order, chronological timeline, length and format (face-to-face, video-conference, Skype or telephone) for each of the fifteen individual interviews is shown in the table below:

ORDER	INTERVIEWEE	DATE	DURATION	FORMAT
1	Professor John Swales	June 8, 2012	45 minutes	F-F
2	Dr Averil Coxhead	June 10, 2012	44 minutes	F-F
3	Dr Ian Bruce	April 19, 2013	35 minutes	F-F
4	Ms. Olwyn Alexander	June 25, 2013	47 minutes	VC
5	Dr Richard Watson Todd	July 17, 2013	56 minutes	S + T
6	Mr Andy Gillett	August 3, 2013	62 minutes	S
7	Professor Henry Widdowson	August 27, 2013	66 minutes	S
8	Professor Smith (anonymized)	January 10, 2014	38 minutes	S
9	Dr Helen Basturkmen	January 13, 2014	47 minutes	S
10	Dr Alan Waters	March 7, 2014	84 minutes	S
11	Professor John Flowerdew	April 3, 2014	64 minutes	F-F
12	Professor Ken Hyland	April 4, 2014	93 minutes	F-F
13	Ms. Jo McDonough	April 21, 2014	60 minutes	S
14	Dr Jones (anonymized)	April 22, 2014	83 minutes	S
15	Dr Steve Mann	May 8, 2014	87 minutes	T

KEY: F-F (face-to-face); VC (video-conference); T (telephone); S (Skype)

As this summary shows, while most of the interviews lasted for between 45 minutes and an hour, some were significantly shorter (Dr Ian Bruce; Professor Smith) and others significantly longer (Dr Jones; Dr Alan Waters; Dr Steve Mann; Professor Ken Hyland). Though not in itself, I feel, an issue of major significance, it is interesting to note that each of the longer interviews occurred later in the overall research timeline. I would hazard that this possibly reflects my growing confidence as an interviewer in knowing how to probe for further details, although I must acknowledge that there is also a potentially darker side to this particular coin, as I will explain in more below.

With regard to the interview format, as I was to discover, there is in fact quite a difference between conducting an interview with someone

face-to-face, and then conducting an interview by more remote means. In the case of face-to-face interaction, an awareness of body language, both that of the interviewee but also one's own, becomes paramount. With regard to the former, developing a sensitivity to each respondent's facial expressions and other forms of non-verbal expression can serve as a very useful indicator of whether or not questions have been understood, if further elaboration is needed, or if a particular line of enquiry is becoming unwelcome; from my own perspective as the interviewer, being able to support all verbal utterances with nods, smiles and even the occasional body or hand gesture was often very helpful in building rapport and in keeping the conversations flowing.

For the participants who I was obliged to interview by remote means, even taking into account the supposed benefits of modern video-based technology, such non-verbal cues were often either visually very difficult to discern or absent entirely, which did then tend to make the conversation flow and building of rapport rather more challenging. One of the ways in which such challenges manifested, particularly for the small number of interviews which, owing to technical difficulties with Skype, I had been forced to carry out on a purely aural basis by long-distance telephone, was that the interview questions had to be kept much pithier and be delivered to the interviewee as succinctly as possible. Whereas in a face-to-face setting, I might find myself rolling two or more questions into one and using a certain amount of reformulation, as in for example, *'So could I just ask you about the timeframe there? Roughly, when was this? Are we talking about the 1960's or was it earlier than that?'*, when dealing with what was often a poor quality international telephone connection, in order to maintain clarity and flow, such a multi-faceted style of questioning had to be pared right down to a rather more basic, *'So when did XYZ happen?'*. Such challenges of interviewing by telephone or Skype were certainly not insurmountable, but on a number of occasions, I found myself

longing for the face-to-face dimension, simply because under those circumstances, it is then so much easier as an interviewer to build rapport with your interviewees, help them to relax and encourage them to speak openly. As I have described above, in most face-to-face situations, it is also much easier for the interviewer to 'read between the lines' and understand what else is being communicated beyond those meanings which are expressed by words alone.

As Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) have stressed:

'An interview is a live social interaction where the pace of the temporal unfolding, the tone of the voice, and the bodily expressions are immediately available to the participants in the face-to-face conversation...'

(Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p204)

One particular dilemma I personally faced during the interviews, the evidence of which I believe is now readily discernible from a discourse analysis of some of the interview transcripts, was the issue of how much information I myself as an EAP practitioner should contribute to each discussion, particularly on the occasions when I was trying to reformulate a concept, or provide more background context to the underlying rationale for my questions. When I found myself doing this, I was always acutely mindful of not wanting to lead my interviewees' responses in any way, or to 'put words in their mouths'. However, by the same token, as certain elements of the interviews developed, I often found myself wanting to interact with my respondents as a fellow professional in the field. To some extent, this phenomenon was perhaps unavoidable; I have, after all, been involved in EAP for almost three decades now, and when considered from that perspective, it would be highly unnatural for me to pretend in an interview context that I myself do not hold strong opinions on many of the issues that I was investigating. As indeed Sennett (2004) has observed:

'In-depth interviewing is a distinctive, often frustrating craft. Unlike a pollster asking questions, the in-depth interviewer wants to probe the responses people give. To

probe, the interviewer cannot be stonily impersonal; he or she has to give something of himself or herself in order to merit an open response... The craft consists in calibrating social distances without making the subject feel like an insect under the microscope.'

(Sennett, 2004, pp37-38, my emphasis)

As I was very well aware however, the flip-side of this, and the danger of me getting *too* personally involved with the discussions, was that it might well result in instances of interviewer bias and a variation of the experimenter effect. Obviously the last thing I wanted was for the respondents simply to start telling me what they thought I wanted to hear.

This tension which I sometimes thus experienced between keeping the conversations flowing, probing responses, making sure that my respondents were fully engaging with each topic, but then later worrying if I myself had unduly influenced their opinions, is perhaps best illustrated by the following excerpt from my interview with Ken Hyland, when we were discussing the question of whether or not EAP would benefit from the creation of a formally agreed 'industry-standard'. This is quite a lengthy exchange, but I believe its inclusion here for critical consideration is warranted, as it demonstrates how the opinions of the interviewer and interviewee in qualitative data gathering contexts can diverge, merge and possibly ultimately influence one another:

DB: Do you think, in our field, that it would be desirable if we could create, for want of a better word, an 'industry standard', for the reasons that I've already given? You know, that people come into EAP from so many different places, we don't have, at the moment, a recognised, umm, preparatory qualification that tells a potential employer that someone knows what they're doing in the EAP classroom. Would that be desirable do you think?

KH: Hmmm, I hadn't really thought about it. I mean, I'm kind of cautious about over-assessing people, you know, I think we evaluate too easily and there is a kind of administrative drive towards reducing everything to a number or whatever, but I mean, yes, I think it *would* be satisfying for a lot of teachers to have something that they could present as a certification of competence, but umm, should we *expect* it? Umm, I'm not sure. I'm not really sure if the

field is kind of ready for it either. Umm, it does imply that there's a sufficiently large area of agreed-upon knowledge and skills about what should go into this and what people should be able to do in order to demonstrate competence, but do we have that? I don't know, I mean, *you'll* be in a better position to say that when you've finished all these interviews...(laughs) I mean, *are* there things that are agreed; that there's sufficient, umm, consensus on what people should be able to demonstrate and show competence in?

DB: I think this possibly goes back- and again, this is the root of my interest in it- but I think it goes back to the fact that our field is so young, and I would personally argue that it's still defining its borders. I mean, the work that I did with BALEAP on what we were discussing before the interview started, you know, those teacher competences [*BALEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of English for Academic Purposes*] That, I think, was an important piece of work that we did, although it's a few years ago now, in fact almost 10 years ago, but umm, looking at pinning down what are key competencies in terms of knowledge, skills and all the rest of it for EAP teachers to have, and getting that consensus from practitioners within the field, so that we can mark out the boundaries of our field and give it more professional status, you know. And my own view is that this does help to give us more professional status, if we can have more of that kind of thing...

KH: Yeah, that's true. There are professional qualifications in a lot of fields- law, dentistry, medicine, engineering and I mean, engineering communication, as well- and in fact one of our staff has one, but these are disciplines, err, fields, with fairly *established* practices. I guess again, you'd have to identify broad principles rather than specific, you know, activities. Umm, and yes, I suppose that that's what you were trying to do with those BALEAP can-do statements; it's an understanding of how you might go about things.

DB: As you mentioned there, you know, the dentistry and umm, engineering; the dentistry is a particularly good example, I think, because if you go to see someone about your teeth- you go to see a dentist- you know that in order to be *classed* as a dentist, he or she has undergone a certain level of training; they have mastered certain competencies. But, I think, if we carry that analogy over to EAP, where people are often sort of learning on the job, (laughs) you'd be terrified if you were lying in the dentist's chair and this person was opening your mouth and saying, 'Oh, I'll just have a little probe here and see what happens...'

KH: Yes, that's right. It's a good point. And we *do* kind of owe it to students to put the best people in front of them that we can...umm, and it might make the HR job of a Centre Director easier if he or she could *identify* who those people are to begin with, rather than taking them on and just letting them go, you know, which is a kind of fraught practice. If they came with a seal of approval, well...

DB: And I guess probably part of the reason that I'm so interested in this Ken, is because like you, I'm Director of a Centre and having to do a lot of

recruitment and experiencing first hand that difficulty of taking people in, sometimes with very impressive qualifications. You know, I've seen staff with not just one, but two PhDs- I haven't even got one yet and some have two (laughs)- but actually, you find that this doesn't, in itself, tell you that they necessarily are all that confident or competent in what they're doing.

KH: No, that's right. You're kind of making guesses on the basis of the err, paperwork, and then an interview, and umm, even with the best will in the world, somebody cannot make themselves a great EAP teacher and umm, well, I'm kind of half-persuaded now (laughs) that this might be a good idea. But we would need to agree on what it should contain; what the learning outcomes might be; how they might look like; and how you might move *towards* those learning outcomes, you know, so I think the learning outcomes could be expressed as the kind of can-do competencies and then... umm, yeah, the more I think about it, yes, in terms of recruitment, it would be very valuable and if it had international credibility, it would be good for teachers as well.

(my emphasis)

As an analysis of the discourse in the above exchange illustrates, Hyland actually started from the position of not having really considered the question of an industry standard- '*I hadn't really thought about it*'- and even expressed some doubts about its feasibility- '*I'm not sure. I'm not really sure if the field is kind of ready for it*'-, but then gradually moved to the completely opposite pole- '*this might be a good idea*'.

While it is, of course, perfectly reasonable to suppose that Hyland would have made such a cognitive journey entirely by himself- having admitted at the outset that the topic was something he hadn't really thought much about, it was clear that he was then giving the matter some attention- his particular choice of words in the comment towards the end- '*well, I'm kind of half-persuaded now*' (my emphasis)- did nevertheless make me wonder after the event if my own input in this case had perhaps been excessive. Reflecting on the possibility of this having taken place, all I can now offer in my defence is that there had certainly never been any *direct* or conscious intention to 'persuade'; it was simply that I wanted to share more of the contextual background behind my reasons for asking the question. This was, however, a timely

reminder for me of the hidden dangers that can reside in qualitative interviewing, if the interviewer does not hold him/herself in check and gets too directly involved.

Conversely, as indeed Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) suggest, I must also acknowledge an alternative possibility, in that it may also have simply been that the process of being exposed to the qualitative interview had itself naturally caused Hyland's position to shift:

'In the course of an interview, subjects can change their descriptions of, and attitudes toward, a theme. Subjects may themselves discover new aspects of the themes they are describing and suddenly see relations they had not been aware of earlier. The questioning can thus instigate processes of reflection where the meanings of themes described by subjects are no longer the same after the interview. An interview may be a learning process for the interviewee, as well as for the interviewer'

(Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p34, my emphasis)

By way of summary on this matter, while I would readily admit that the nature of these particular interviews was such that the transcripts do occasionally end up reading more as extended conversations than as a series of formal interview questions and answers, I would also argue that from the perspective of gaining richer qualitative data and really getting to the heart of what individuals actually think and feel, this is not necessarily a bad thing. However, when presenting the analysis of my findings and arguing for what these might then imply, I have tried to keep an awareness of the experimenter effect, and the possibility of my results now reflecting a degree of unintended interviewer bias, very firmly in mind.

3.2vii Interview Transcription & the Ratification of Raw Data

As Brinkmann and Kvale have described, *'transcription is an interpretative process, where the differences between oral speech and written texts give rise to a series of practical and principal issues'* (2015, p203).

In my own particular case, one such principal issue was that in order to remain true to the personal life-histories dimension of my research, I felt that the detail of the interviews should be reproduced as fully and as accurately as possible. I decided, therefore, that my transcription of each interview recording would be carried out verbatim, and should also attempt to capture those real, but unavoidably 'messy' features of naturally occurring speech, such as false starts, fillers and fragmented sentences. As far as possible, I also wanted my transcripts to reflect any emotional nuances in my interviewees' responses, such as changes in their vocal stress and intonation (these were marked using italics e.g. 'In the process, I've learned a lot from *them*'), extended pauses or breaks in the flow of conversation (these were shown using square parenthesis and dots e.g. 'My first job was in 1977 [...]), or laughter (this was marked using round parenthesis and italics e.g. 'I used to go hiking and write down notes while I was walking (*laughs*)).

One consequence of having decided that such high levels of detail should be included in each interview transcript was that for the most part, I ended up doing the transcriptions myself. I had originally planned to 'farm out' this work to a commercial transcriber, and indeed for the first few interviews, this is what I attempted to do. However, when cross-checking the results of the commercially-produced transcription against my original interview recordings, I found that there was an alarmingly high rate of either mis-transcription, loose semantic paraphrasing of what had been said rather than verbatim reproduction, or in a number of cases, quite simply complete omissions of detail. Having then had to spend quite a bit of time 'tidying up' the work for which I had already paid, in all subsequent interview transcriptions, I therefore elected to do everything myself.

In fairness to my commercial transcriber, as he was obviously not familiar with the references to people working in the field and other context-specific information, it was perhaps only to be expected that

his work would require some heavy editing. Also, as he himself had not been present during the interviews themselves, it was then naturally much more difficult for him to identify those instances when the speakers were being ironic, or using changes in their intonation and stress patterns to emphasize particular differences, or to highlight perceived deficiencies. As I myself was in the happy position of being able to draw on not only a deep reserve of insider information with regard to the subject matter, but had also conducted the interviews in person, and therefore had a very good recollection of what had been said and more importantly, ¹²how it had been delivered, it was not surprisingly much easier for me to capture some of the subtler shades of communication, which might otherwise have been missed.

For example:

'I did my Bachelors in accountancy, but there was no way I wanted to spend my life as an accountant (*laughs*), so what were the other alternatives? English language teaching was an easy alternative to get into... when I graduated and decided not to be an accountant, I took one of those cheap, two week TEFL courses, which are supposed to make you able to teach anywhere and at any time, right?' (*laughs*)'

(Excerpt from the interview with Dr Richard Watson Todd, and an example (in rounded parenthesis and italics) of how a transcript can convey irony and humour)

'It involved understanding how *other* people saw things... ESP forced you to consider what was going on *outside* the classroom...'

(Excerpt from the interview with Professor Ken Hyland and an example (in italics) of how a transcript can show when the use of intonation and word-stress is having an impact on meaning)

'Hmm, oh gosh, err, from '75 until 2001, formally before retiring, so [...]'

(Excerpt from the interview with Ms Jo McDonough and an example (Hmm, err and squared parenthesis plus dots) of how a transcript can show pausing, and instances when a respondent is struggling to remember exact details, or is uncertain about something)

¹² To assist with this dimension, I always tried to do my transcriptions as soon as possible after each interview, while the memories of such matters were still fresh.

As I soon discovered, however, doing one's own qualitative interview transcription, particularly at this level of detail, was an extremely labour intensive undertaking. As I have already explained, each interview usually lasted for anywhere between 45 minutes and an hour, with some taking considerably longer; this meant that even the shortest interviews represented some 5000 words of text, and the longer ones were easily more than double that amount. When taken as a whole, I have since calculated that the transcription of all 15 interviews represents a grand total of some 137,682 words, which is undeniably a significant amount of text.

While the transcription of my interview data was undoubtedly extremely time-consuming, and indeed some might argue that I would have been better off compromising on the points which I have described above, and should have simply left the task of interview transcription in the hands of my commercial transcriber, for my own part, I find myself in strong agreement with Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) that if the time and effort can be invested, there are in fact a number of benefits to researchers doing their own transcription:

'Researchers who transcribe their own interviews will learn much about their own interviewing style; to some extent they will have the social and emotional aspects of the interview situation present or reawakened during transcription and will already have started analysing the meaning of what was said'

(Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p207)

Certainly in my own case, I found that going back to the interview recordings and then producing each transcript myself allowed me to re-connect with the interviews in ways in which I would probably not have been able to do, had I simply been reading a more impersonally produced and possibly less-detailed transcription provided by someone else.

3.2viii *Ontological & Epistemological Considerations*

Debate on the nature of what constitutes reality, knowledge and truth can be traced as far back as the earliest Greek philosophers. While space limitations obviously preclude a detailed exploration of the various philosophical stances on these issues here, it is useful nonetheless to consider briefly some of the distinctions between the main ontological and epistemological standpoints, as these different perspectives relate not only to the manner in which reality is perceived and knowledge is generated, but also to the approaches which are then taken in any subsequent discussion and evaluation.

As Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) describe, while ontology represents a branch of metaphysics and involves inquiry into the fundamental features of reality and the very nature of being, epistemology is more concerned with how human beings come to *know* their world:

‘Epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge and involves long-standing debates about what knowledge is and how it is obtained’

(Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p55)

In this regard, as Mautner (1996) explains, one immediate distinction which can be drawn concerns that which is known as a result of personal experience- *a posteriori* knowledge- and that which is known through reasoning and the application of logic- *a priori* knowledge. As Schwandt (2001) has pointed out, however, there is also an overlap between each of these definitions of knowledge, insofar as each pursues indisputable criteria to serve as their evidence base, and each also positions ‘the truth’ ontologically as a single reality.

In the case of traditional scientific research, the generation of a *a posteriori* knowledge most typically follows a quantitative approach and involves the application of positivism or empiricism. Based on the practices of the typical positivist paradigm, a data set of a statistically-

valid size is gathered via a process of strictly controlled observation. This is then measured, and interpreted with the use of existing theory. Empiricism is ontologically similar, but relies more on the facts being able to stand up for themselves and is therefore not dependant on how people may then interpret them.

By contrast, the usual forms of *a posteriori* knowledge which are generated via contemporary research in the social sciences more typically follow a *qualitative* approach and can therefore be seen as constructs which are much more fluid, with reality existing less as a singular objective entity and much more as something open to multiple perspectives. In this approach to knowledge production, it might be argued that the truth and reality are ultimately constructed by the participants themselves.

Some of the tensions between these differing paradigms have been summed up by Vasilachis de Gialdino (2011) when discussing the ontological and epistemological foundations of qualitative research in general:

‘How do qualitative researchers sort out the tension between the supposed "objectivity" that so-called scientific knowledge requires and both the participant actors' and their own "subjectivity"? Is it possible to have access to the participant's identity in qualitative research without calling for an ontological rupture? How are researchers' ontological and epistemological assumptions related to the quality of their research?’

(Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011 [ONLINE RESOURCE: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0902307> Paragraph 4])

In the case of this present thesis, as I have already touched on earlier in this chapter under 3.2, it has been epistemologically important for me to take a qualitative approach to the generation of knowledge, not least because this has granted me access to the rich seams of data which are then afforded from the interviewees' perspectives on their personal 'lived' experiences. As indeed Vasilachis de Gialdino, invoking

a wide spread of supporting evidence from the academic literature on qualitative research methodology, goes on to explain:

'Qualitative research is interested, in particular, in the way in which the world is "understood, experimented, or produced" (MASON, 1996, p.4) by people's lives, behavior, and interactions (STRAUSS & CORBIN, 1990, p.17). It also takes interest in processes, change and social context dynamics (MASON, 2006, p.16; MAXWELL, 2004a, p.36), actors' "perspectives on their own worlds" (MARSHALL & ROSSMAN, 1999, p.7; CRESWELL, 1998, p.15), and in trying to appreciate those worlds through such perspectives (SAVAGE, 2000, p.330; 2006, p.384). Furthermore, qualitative research is interested in the senses, in the "meanings" (MILES & HUBERMAN, 1994, p.10; MAXWELL, 1996, p.17; SILVERMAN, 2000; 2005), in personal narratives, in life stories (ATKINSON, 2005), in accounts, in internal, "life experiences" (WHITTEMORE, CHASE & MANDLE, 2001, p.524; MORSE, 2005, p.859), in the actors' "language," in their "forms of social interactions" (SILVERMAN, 2000, p.89), in their different knowledge, and "viewpoints and practices" (FLICK, 1998, p.6), and in what people think and what that thinking "means, implies, and signifies" (MORSE, 2002, p.875).'

(Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011 [ONLINE RESOURCE: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0902307>. Paragraph 26. My emphasis]

The knowledge which has emerged from this research thus represents the grounded realities of the interview participants, or as Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p27) have termed it, *'...themes of the lived daily world from the subjects' own perspectives'*. As these authors duly go on to describe in their metaphorical positioning of qualitative research interviewers as either *'miners'*- for whom knowledge exists as *'nuggets'* to be collected- or *'travellers'*- for whom knowledge is constructed as a part of an explorative journey- in placing the approaches I believe I have taken to knowledge generation in this thesis on a cline between those two positions, particularly with regard to my exploration of the interview participants' life histories, this study probably owes more to post-modern constructivism and the creation of narratives, than to a number of other mainstream conceptions of modern social sciences, where knowledge itself is often positioned as an entity simply waiting to be found (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p58).

3.2ix Approaches to Coding & Data Analysis

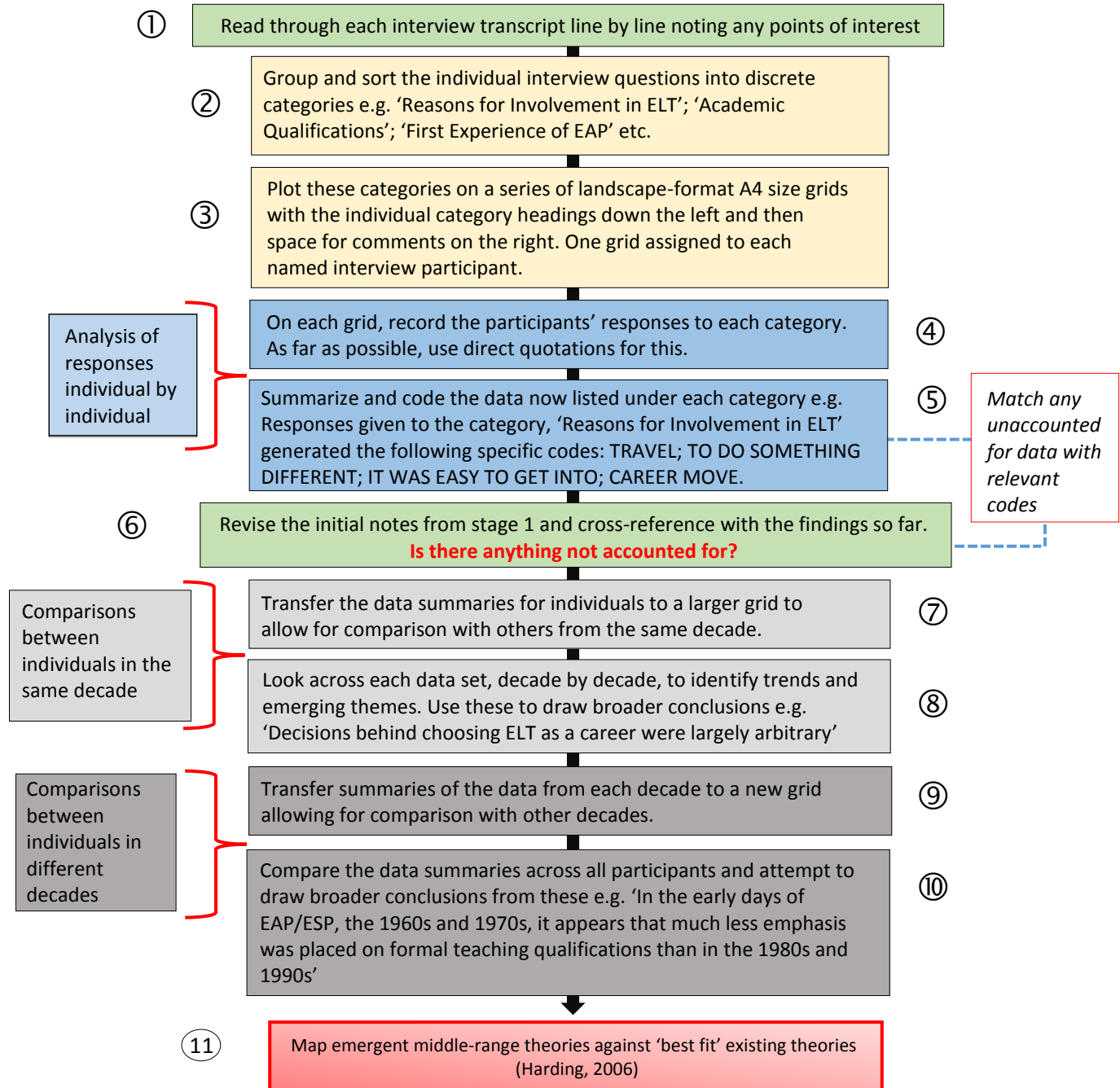
My approach to the analysis of the data which has emerged from this study has been predominantly inductive in nature, and as such, owes much to the principles of both phenomenology (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Garfinkel, 1967; Giorgi, 1975) and grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). These research principles have guided my decision-making throughout, from the ways in which I initially approached the interview transcripts, through to the specific techniques which were then employed in the thematic categorisation and coding of emerging patterns and trends. The particular processes which I followed and my justification for these will be discussed in further detail below.

As Harding (2013) has pointed out, when taking an inductive approach, *'...the researcher approaches a subject without pre-determined ideas of what they are looking for and seeks to generate 'middle range' theory- somewhere between grand theory and a working hypothesis-based on their data'* (2013, p13).

While this description possibly represents a view of inductive research in its *purest* form, in the case of this particular research, as I have already discussed, I must acknowledge that my long personal involvement in the field as an EAP practitioner has made it almost impossible for me to approach the subject *completely* free of pre-determined ideas and expectations. However, when analysing the interview data, in order to remain as true to the principles of grounded theory as possible, I have tried at all times to remain open to new perspectives, and to allow the data itself to generate my subsequent theories and conclusions, even though these have occasionally directly clashed with some of my¹³ previously held views and assumptions.

¹³ As I outline in Chapters 4 and 6, my personal views on the specific relationships between EAP, ELT and the Communicative Approach have undergone some modification as a result of this research.

The specific stages which I followed in carrying out the process of data analysis are illustrated in the 11-step flow diagram below:



Flow Diagram Showing Different Stages in my Process of Data Analysis

In 'unpacking' this diagram, a number of points can immediately be made. First of all, with regard to how I initially approached each interview transcript, applying the principles of an inductive approach meant that it was important for me to go through each transcript line by line, making a note of any items of interest as I went. This first stage of analysis thus allowed me to build up my holistic understanding of each set of interview data as a whole.

A further outcome of this process was that I frequently found that the relevance of the participants' responses did not always flow strictly in tandem with the specific questions which had been asked of them; for example, it was often the case that comments which were of direct relevance to particular questions had either been made earlier i.e. before the specific question had even been asked, or later i.e. as extra information which was then supplied when elaborating on a different topic. When going through the transcripts line by line, I soon found that it was important to remain vigilant and be fully cognizant of this phenomenon in order to ensure that all relevant data was captured and categorised appropriately. As the different steps in the flow diagram indicate, the notes which had been created from my initial line-by-line readings in stage 1 were therefore duly re-visited in stage 6; if relevant matching data was found, this was then cross-referenced and incorporated into the appropriate categories and codes which had been created under stages 4 and 5. This recursive and cyclical aspect of the data analysis process proved to be very important in helping me to capture the full richness and nuances of what had been said. Had I not gone through a critical line by line reading of each transcript at the very beginning, such data might very easily have been missed.

With specific regard to stages 4 and 5, in keeping with the grounded theory approach advocated by Charmaz (2006, p54), I decided to start my analysis by comparing *'interview statements and incidents*

within the same interview' as this then laid a solid foundation from which I could later apply principles of the constant comparative method as originally proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

In stage 4, as I have indicated in the flow diagram, it was very important for me to start my process of categorisation using direct quotations from each interview, as this kept my analysis very tightly linked to the actual data. Working verbatim from the actual words of my respondents, rather than from a paraphrase or summary, made the subsequent coding exercise in stage 5 much easier, and once again, ensured that my analysis was kept as close as possible to the original interview data. I consider this to have had an important bearing on the validity of my later findings.

In terms of the act of coding itself, although different authors have advocated a range of approaches to this process e.g. open, axial and selection coding (Neuman, 2006); descriptive coding, topic coding and analytical coding (Richards, 2009); apriori codes and empirical codes (Gibson and Brown, 2009), in keeping with the tenets of grounded theory, I found it most useful simply to derive and establish codes as and when they emerged from my reading of the data. As indicated in the flow diagram, for example, individual participant responses on the question of how and why they had chosen ELT as a career in the first place generated codes such as 'TRAVEL'; 'TO DO SOMETHING DIFFERENT'; 'IT WAS EASY TO GET INTO' and in one solitary case, 'CAREER MOVE'. The frequency and commonality of these codes were then examined in stage 7, when the participants' responses were compared and contrasted as part of a broader thematic analysis examining each decade.

Following the earlier work of Gibson and Brown (2009), Harding (2013) has suggested that in conducting thematic analysis, *'...the researcher is seeking to achieve three aims: examining commonality, examining differences and examining relationships'* (2013, p56). In stage 8 of the

analysis, my initial focus was thus on uncovering those areas in which the respondents had been in agreement. While in some cases, this proved to be relatively straightforward- for example, almost every interviewee had concurred that a knowledge of discourse analysis is highly desirable in EAP, in others, the results were more complicated- for example, although every respondent was in ready agreement that specific training courses on EAP would be desirable, there was much less consensus on how exactly such training should operate and who the providers might be. As Harding (2013) has pointed out, however, when conducting qualitative research, and particularly when using the constant comparative method, divergences of opinion like this are in fact par for the course:

‘...as more cases are added to the analysis, it is probable that the list of similarities will dwindle because the likelihood of identifying an experience or a view common to all is reduced’

(Harding, 2013, p75)

As in the example about EAP training courses above, on a number of occasions I found that under closer scrutiny, areas of apparent commonality could in fact be separated into sub-divisions. When discussing the question of whether or not EAP as a field might benefit from the introduction of formal standards, for example, even those who were in agreement that this would probably be a good thing, subsequently went on to express a range of quite different concerns about what wider effects the introduction of such standards might have. As Harding (2013) cautions, reaching a conclusion under such circumstances may therefore involve a rather subjective judgment call on the part of the researcher:

‘...patterns that appear to be emerging from early cases may not be present in later ones... the researcher will need to reach a subjective decision as to how frequently a pattern should occur for them to conclude that it provides an explanation for relationships’

(Harding, 2013, p80)

The above caveat notwithstanding, in stages 10 and 11 of the analytical process, in pulling together the threads of commonality and divergence from across the data set as a whole, I attempted to draw a series of conclusions which I then sought to find 'best fit' matches for from within existing theoretical frameworks. In response to my research questions- how the field of EAP has developed and changed over time, and how the work of EAP practitioners has developed alongside this- I have found it most useful to frame my findings within the theoretical social constructs offered by Tony Becher, Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu.

A fuller account of these particular processes, and my rationale for choosing the specific theories and theorists which I did, will be provided in Chapter 6.

3.3 Research Strengths & Limitations

Setting more purely methodological concerns aside for a moment, I believe that one particular strength of the current research resides in the temporal validity of the questions which it seeks to address.

As evidence for this claim, and as I hope to have demonstrated in the previous chapter during my review of the relevant academic literature, I would argue that at the present time, some four decades or so on from its first emergence as a formally named sub-set of ESP, EAP as a discipline has now come of age, with its own professional organisation (BALEAP), its own dedicated journal (JEAP) and its own recommended guidelines and codes for framing best practice (BALEAP Competency Framework). I believe that the time is therefore especially ripe to be posing the particular research questions which I attempt to address in this thesis, around how EAP as a discipline has historically developed and how these developments have impacted upon the work of EAP practitioners.

As I also outlined in the previous chapter, a further temporal element to be taken into consideration in this regard is the fact that EAP has arguably now reached a major crossroads in its trajectory. As I have already discussed, this has been precipitated not only by the worldwide boom in EAP provision, but by the subsequent emergence and growth of a host of private EAP providers. As I will argue at length in Chapter 6, I strongly believe that the introduction of this particular binary marks a very important stage in EAP's historical development, and consequently throws open a number of important considerations which may even threaten the future of EAP as an academic discipline. As a result, I believe that now is therefore a particularly appropriate time to be asking research questions about the work that EAP practitioners are involved in and the impact that different understandings of their work is likely to have when considered by powerbrokers in the wider academic arena.

As a further temporal strength, I believe that it has also been important to carry out this particular research in order to capture and document a historical record of EAP's birth and subsequent development *now*. All of my interview respondents involved in the early days of EAP are currently retired, and as far as I am aware, a research study of this nature has not been attempted before; at the risk of putting things crudely, from the outset, I have thus been ever-mindful of an impending sense of historical imperative in capturing the first-hand stories of key individuals while they themselves are still here to tell them. As with any historical undertaking, the day will of course come when researchers examining EAP's early history will no longer have access to those who were directly involved in creating it. In this regard, I believe that a key strength of a number of the interviews I have conducted is that those interviews themselves can now stand as an important historical record and testament for the wider EAP/ESP field.

I believe that a final strength of the research lies in the particular methodology which has been used. Employing a qualitative, in-depth interview approach has granted me access to particularly rich data on the 'who' and the 'how' of EAP. As I have already described, the interviews themselves were substantive and covered the ground in significant depth- had I employed a different methodology, such as for example taking a quantitative approach using questionnaires, it is unlikely that the resulting data would have been as rich as it is.

With regard to limitations, as I have already discussed at some length earlier in this chapter, one of the particular challenges I have constantly faced throughout has been in maintaining a suitable degree of objectivity. As already acknowledged, having worked in the field of EAP for 20 years has meant that I have my own strong opinions and views on how EAP and the work of practitioners has developed, although to some extent, it might also be argued that such forms of potential bias in qualitative research contexts can be considered quite normal. As indeed Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) explain, *'No form of representation, writing or reporting is innocent. The forms are all loaded with the researcher's interests and intentions'* (2015, p317).

From an ethical standpoint, however, I must certainly acknowledge that the potential subjectivity of my own views holds particularly true with regard to the discussions that I had with the interview respondents around EAP-specific qualifications and what constitutes professional expertise. Earlier in my career after all, I had been involved in setting up the first UK-based Postgraduate Certificate in Teaching English for Academic Purposes (University of Plymouth, 2005), and was then one of the original members who had worked on the BALEAP Competencies (2008), so I can hardly claim to be neutral in my opinions on such matters. As some of the interview respondents had also been involved either directly or peripherally in the latter project (Olwyn Alexander; Ian Bruce; Andy Gillett), or had set up EAP-specific training and

development courses of their own (Olwyn Alexander; Ian Bruce) I suspect that from an outside perspective, this would also stand out as a limitation and invite the criticism that from the very outset, there was always going to be a strong likelihood of bias in my sampling.

One final limitation of the research is that the small sample size naturally makes it difficult to draw wider inferences and generalisations that would satisfy conditions of statistical validity. However, as this is a criticism which is often levelled at qualitative research projects in general, and which possibly stems less from an appreciation of qualitative methodology and more from a bias towards positivist, deductive-based research paradigms, I would counter that the sheer richness of the data which was generated can ultimately be claimed as compensation for this.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have sought to shed light on the different theories and approaches which have underpinned my research methodology. I have outlined the various stages that I went through, considered the pros and cons of different approaches, discussed some of the specific methodological challenges which I faced and then attempted to provide rationales for the particular methodological decisions which were taken along the way.

In the chapter following, I will present my findings from the first half of each interview. In so doing, the intention is to provide a snapshot of each individual interview respondent's career trajectory in ELT and EAP. I will thus report on their reasons for getting involved in ELT in the first place; the qualifications which they did or did not do; their transition from ELT to EAP; their early experiences of working specifically in the EAP domain and the particular similarities and differences which they then encountered there.

CHAPTER 4

Research Findings a

Introduction

4.1 The 1960s: John Swales, Henry Widdowson & Alan Waters

- 4.1i Professor John Swales
- 4.1ii Professor Henry Widdowson
- 4.1iii Dr. Alan Waters

4.2 The 1970s: Jo McDonough, John Flowerdew, Andy Gillett, Ken Hyland & Helen Basturkmen

- 4.2i Ms. Jo McDonough
- 4.2ii Professor John Flowerdew
- 4.2iii Mr. Andy Gillett
- 4.2iv Professor Ken Hyland
- 4.2v Dr. Helen Basturkmen

4.3 The 1980s: Professor Smith (anon), Steve Mann & Richard Watson Todd

- 4.3i Professor Smith (anon)
- 4.3ii Dr. Steve Mann
- 4.3iii Dr. Richard Watson Todd

4.4 The 1990s: Averil Coxhead, Olwyn Alexander, Dr. Jones (anon) & Ian Bruce

- 4.4i Dr. Averil Coxhead
- 4.4ii Ms. Olwyn Alexander
- 4.4iii Dr. Jones (anon)
- 4.4iv Dr. Ian Bruce

Chapter Summary

Introduction

Categorized according to the decade in which they first started their careers in English Language Teaching (ELT), for the purposes of this chapter, the interview participants have been grouped under four separate time periods: the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s, and finally, the 1990s.

In the discussion that follows, I will report on each of these decades in turn, focusing specifically on each individual respondent's personal career trajectory in ELT i.e. what first got them started in the field; the qualifications that they decided to do; their memories of their first

experiences of teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and their thoughts on any similarities or differences when comparing EAP with English Language Teaching in general, particularly in terms of methodology. I will also explore each respondent's recollections of any challenges that they faced when first moving into teaching EAP; the coping strategies that they employed to deal with these, and their impressions of the relevance (or not) of their pre-EAP qualifications and teaching experience.

As a cross-reference, the specific interview questions which these discussions relate to (the first half of each interview: questions 1-10) are listed in the table below. For the purposes of further cross-referencing, a complete list of the interview questions has been included in the Appendices.

Interview Questions 1-10

1. For how many years now have you been involved in English Language Teaching? What first got you started on this particular career path?
2. What are your main academic and/or professional qualifications? When and how did you do these? At which institution/institutions do you currently teach/have an affiliation with? How long have you been working there?
3. What has been your specific involvement in teaching EAP- English for Academic Purposes? Where did you first cut your teeth?
4. What first prompted your move into teaching EAP? How long had you been in English Language Teaching up to that point?
5. Did you undertake any specific preparatory training before starting to teach EAP? For example, did you complete an academic or professional qualification, or take a particular career development course?
6. What was the name/nature of that preparatory training, and how well do you feel it prepared you for the realities of teaching EAP?
7. If you cast your mind back to when you very first started teaching EAP, aside from the nature of what is actually taught, in your professional opinion, is there anything particularly distinctive about the how of teaching EAP, when compared with English Language Teaching in general?

8. Did you find yourself on a learning curve in any way? If you think back, how might that curve have been made a bit less steep for you?
9. How well do you feel that your previous ELT experience and/or general qualifications prepared you for teaching EAP?
10. We've been talking about the differences, but how about the similarities: were/are there any areas of your previous English Language Teaching and your teaching of EAP that you basically feel were the same?

4.1 The 1960s: John Swales, Henry Widdowson & Alan Waters

When these individuals are placed next to one another chronologically, their collective experiences of ELT span the entire decade, and in so doing, represent quite a neat beginning, middle and end. Swales, for example, entered the field right at the start of the decade in 1960; Widdowson joined around the middle in 1964; while Waters first got started in ELT at the close of the decade in 1969.

4.1i Professor John Swales *interviewed June 8, 2012*

When asked why he had started a career in ELT in the first place, Swales explained that as a pre-undergraduate, he had won a travel scholarship to study Italian, and had subsequently spent three months as a student in Italy. One key outcome of this experience was that upon the successful completion of his undergraduate degree from Cambridge in Philosophy and Psychology, Swales then decided to return to Italy and work as an English Language teaching assistant. However, from his recollection of this period, Swales wryly posited that his success in securing this first post in ELT was probably more likely attributable, at least in part, to the person who interviewed him just happening to share his particular interest in Etruscology. Swales suggested, therefore, that his entry to the field of ELT at that given juncture likely owed more to good fortune, and simply landing on his

feet, than to any grander career-planning scheme:

‘My life has been a series of lucky breaks basically; I’ve been in the right place at the right time’

With regard to formal qualifications in ELT, Swales was of the opinion that he actually had, ‘very little’, just a postgraduate Diploma in Linguistics and ELT which he had completed in 1965, after he had already been teaching for five years. In his very early days as a teacher therefore, as Swales somewhat tongue-in-cheek admitted, there would undoubtedly have been a period of him having to learn his trade on the job:

‘I was totally unprepared for English Language Teaching’

When invited to recollect if there was anything in particular that had prompted his move from General ELT to the teaching of EAP, Swales replied that as far as he could recall, his involvement in EAP had occurred *not* so much in terms of a clear move from one to the other, but as something that had taken place *concurrent with* his early ELT work in general. Building on this point, Swales was very clear that he saw his early work in ELT itself as *already* having a strong focus on academic purposes, leading him to describe his involvement in EAP as being, ‘*pretty well all the time*’.

In terms of his early career trajectory, subsequent to his initial employment as an English language teaching assistant, Swales had remained in Italy for a further 2 years, and had accepted a post ‘*teaching commercial English in a commercial high school*’. This was then followed by a year in Sweden teaching General English- a post, incidentally, which Swales considered to be his only real experience of General ELT- after which time he completed his Diploma in Linguistics and ELT at Leeds University and subsequently accepted an assistant lectureship at a university in Libya.

Notwithstanding his earlier comment about being involved in EAP from the very beginning of his ELT career, Swales felt that this Libyan period probably marked his entry into EAP proper, and when added to his reflections on ideas that had been put forward by Halliday, Mackintosh and Strevens (*The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*, 1964), he suggested that it was actually his experiences in Libya, which were responsible for setting him specifically on the course of developing EAP/ESP writing materials:

‘I’d been taught Halliday at Leeds in 1965 and was interested particularly in that book that they did, Halliday, Mackintosh and Strevens- that classic book- and they said that we still don’t know enough in order to teach whatever it was- Civil Engineering in India or whatever- and I went back to Libya to work with the Engineers... and I sort of said ‘Look, these students are weak; where can teacher intervention from our part be most helpful?’ And we sort of said that we couldn’t really devote our limited resources to reading and listening – they would have to do that themselves – but what they *couldn’t* do by themselves was to learn to write, and to learn to speak, and so we had the language laboratory for speaking, and then I re-developed mostly stuff on writing scientific English which turned into a textbook...’

In commenting on the features that might make EAP distinctive from more general ELT, Swales was clear that for him, the defining features that mark out EAP from other forms of ELT are its inherent seriousness; its clarity of purpose; and its overarching sense of urgency:

‘I’ve always objected to the idea that the English class at university- the EAP class- was a time to relax and sit back and chat about social things and all the rest of it.... I’ve always tried to say, ‘No, we’ve got clearly defined objectives and we know what we are trying to carry out and we should not be distracted by some local event or drama or whatever else’. As much as I appreciate that the students would like an opportunity to practice their General English and so on, I don’t think that is really what we are paid to do.... EAP is concentrated; hard-paced; demanding on both the teacher and the student because you have to give them, you know, sixty minutes’ worth in an hour’

On the matter of whether or not there are direct *methodological* differences between ELT and EAP however, Swales was non-committal, stressing once again that for him, the main area of difference between ELT and EAP is simply that the latter is much more time pressured:

'I think really what I would say is that with the EAP stuff, throughout my career, I think we have never had enough hours to do the job that we felt needed to be done...'

Conversely, when asked to consider if there is any common ground shared by ELT and EAP, Swales was of the opinion that similarities definitely *do* exist, citing specific classroom activities that he felt would work well in either context:

'Yes, I think there are some similarities and I would think that certain activities – those jigsaw puzzle information gap activities –transfer back and forth between General English and so on. I think there are certain things about the grammar, if it is taught functionally, in both General English and in EAP where there is some carry over. I also think that genre awareness works equally well on both sides. I don't see any kinds of difference in the patterns- well, there are some differences, but I think you can approach a restaurant review and an academic book review in basically the same kind of way.'

In reflecting on whether or not he had experienced any challenges in his early days of teaching EAP, and if so, what his particular coping strategies had been, it was clear that even as a newcomer to the field, Swales had possessed a very strong commitment to self-directed professional development. Some of the ways in which this had evidently manifested itself were in him joining professional organizations, reading the appropriate literature and making personal connections with prominent names in the wider field:

'I joined the Linguistic Society of America, and for many years, I used to get their volumes... I should also mention that it was around this time that I was beginning to know and to correspond with some people: I corresponded with Jack Ewer in Chile and with Vijay Bhatia... and the same with Christopher Candlin when we started to do summer courses on ESP at Lancaster...'

Finally, in assessing the value of his pre-EAP teaching qualifications, Swales felt that while his Postgraduate Diploma in Linguistics and ELT was not *directly* relevant to EAP, the qualification did nonetheless give him a grounding in analyzing linguistic patterns, which in turn helped to deepen his understanding of how these might vary across different contexts. With the benefit of hindsight, Swales acknowledged that

each of these skills had therefore probably transferred very well to his later work with genre analysis:

‘...looking at the linguistic patterns and seeing how they varied from one situation to the other turned out to be pretty useful later...’

4.1ii *Professor Henry Widdowson interviewed August 27, 2013*

For Widdowson, as with Swales, the move into ELT as a career choice also appeared to be largely circumstantial. However, in his own case, it came about as a more direct, albeit gradual, result of his work at that time in teaching non-native-speaker students English Literature. From 1958 to 1961, for example, Widdowson had been employed as an English Literature specialist with the British Council in Indonesia, and it was really only in the years subsequent to that, on further British Council postings to Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, that his interest in the English Language side of things had steadily developed:

‘I started teaching English Literature and then moved on to English Language Teaching only because of circumstances really. And also when I was teaching English Literature, I became aware that this had something to do with language, and so I was interested in that side of it. It became apparent that I couldn’t just teach English Literature to Indonesian students without also being concerned with the language dimension...’

With regard to professional qualifications in ELT, Widdowson had completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics, which he received from Edinburgh in 1964, and there was evidently a very early awareness that some form of qualification was definitely needed, if only for the bolstering of professional credibility:

‘I said to the British Council that it would be a good idea if I gained some credibility by getting some form of qualification... and eventually they agreed, and I did a Diploma in Applied Linguistics in Edinburgh, which is how it all started.’

When asked to comment on the relevance of this first qualification specifically to EAP, Widdowson felt that its main merit probably lay in

the fact that the course had forced him to think more directly about the relationship between language and academic content. The ideas which then emerged from this gave him a solid theoretical base, from which he could start to develop more practical applications:

‘It was doing the Diploma essay, the long essay, the dissertation, which set me thinking about the relationship between language and subject area to language and content, and the idea of teaching English through Science. And that is what I tried to put into practice when I went back to Bangladesh, and then tried to explore in my PhD research when I returned to Edinburgh.’

Thinking back to his first experiences of teaching EAP however, and what had prompted the move from General ELT to EAP, Widdowson was quite clear that from *his* perspective, his career and interest in English Language Teaching in general had actually *started* with EAP, and from when he first became formally qualified, rather than from the other way round:

‘This [his work in EAP] really started, I think, when I went to do my Diploma in Edinburgh and I got interested in the idea that English teaching, well, any language teaching... because it’s always had this content problem of what do you link the language with, and it occurred to me that one effective way of making the language meaningful was to link it with another subject on the curriculum, so these were early CLIL [Content and Language Integrated Learning] ideas in a sense. So for my Diploma I did my research, my thesis, on the teaching of English through Science... the idea was that you linked the language with the subject content... that you taught English through Science and therefore Scientific English’

In sharing his thoughts on how EAP and ELT might share similarities or differ, Widdowson stressed the overarching clarity of purpose aspect of EAP, noting that in EAP teaching, it is *‘simply that these purposes can be more clearly defined’*. However, when asked to consider if EAP teaching might differ from mainstream ELT in more *methodological* terms, Widdowson responded that as far as he was concerned, as EAP teaching has its roots in Communicative Language Teaching, he was of the opinion that much of the methodology for General ELT owes its origins to EAP:

'I actually started with EAP, and it became apparent that what we were talking about in terms of EAP also applied to language teaching generally. So Communicative Language Teaching, as far as I'm concerned, actually derived from the issues that arose in the teaching of English for Academic Purposes, in that one had to make the language purposeful; one had to relate it to some kind of credible communicative outcome; it has to be related to a content which would activate this communicative activity. And these were all issues in EAP and in Communicative Language Teaching. When we talk about Communicative Language Teaching in the early '70s, if you look at the kinds of things we said, the examples were always examples which related to science and technology subject areas and so, for me, the basic principles of EAP are the same as the basic principles of Communicative Language Teaching. The question is: how do you define that communication?'

When invited to comment further on this, Widdowson stressed that in his view, understanding the nature of communication should be central to both ELT and EAP, but the issue here was that communication itself was often a poorly understood concept. He also emphasized that in order for it to be classed as communicative, the language itself must first have a sense of purpose:

'The problem is that 'communicative' has become a buzz word... and I think the nature of communication is simply not understood. Communication is a matter of authenticating language according to what your purpose is in using it, right? Clearly, you've got to establish that all language use has a purpose, and when we talk about academic purposes, it's simply that these purposes can be more clearly defined, but all language use is purposeful because communication itself is purposeful... You can't be communicative, for example, in a classroom unless you engage the realities of the learners; unless you provide a language which is purposeful for them. If it is purposeful, and if it makes sense for them to use it, and for them therefore it is a reality, then it is communicative'

For Widdowson, it was also clear that an important distinction should be drawn between text and discourse. As he explained, one of the early approaches to EAP teaching- an approach which in his opinion was very much a failing- was that it was overly concerned with surface textual features, rather than looking at the deeper discourse conventions that had actually prompted them:

'Once you define communication, you're into the discourse side of it. What kind of discourse is this? What kind of discourse do you want your students to engage in? Once you've identified what kind of discourse you're concerned with, then you can ask what kind of language is motivated by that discourse. So the problem with early

EAP materials was the focus on text- you know, it was all about, 'What is the special vocabulary of whatever, and what structures are used?'. And there's the famous example of the Passive being particularly used in Science. But these are meaningless statements, unless you can answer why these are important. What is it that regulates the form? So, you are looking first at discourse function and then whatever you say about text follows from that, and not the other way round. The other way round tended to be, 'Let's look at the textual features of scientific English or whatever', and then you would think of ways of teaching those textual features...'

Thinking back to some of the challenges around his first experiences in EAP, Widdowson recollected that in his early days in the field, he had certainly become increasingly aware that he would need to adapt what he was doing in order to cater to a new teaching context:

'In Indonesia, I simply taught English Literature from the classical canon without much regard to the recipients basically... it gradually dawned upon me that that didn't work, and so there were a few fairly amateur attempts to adjust my teaching to the problems of language accessibility basically, but it was only much later that I was obliged to think about the actual problem of language teaching.'

As Widdowson stressed, however, the *main* catalyst for sustaining his interest and continued development in EAP was his own research and the questions that he *himself* wanted to find answers to:

'I did my research for my PhD, and my idea was that it was all very straightforward: there was the idea of register which Michael Halliday in particular had been promoting and I thought well it's all fairly straightforward, I'll look at the register of technical subjects – what words are used and the vocabulary and the structures and so on – and, once I've got that, then I've got a basis for developing new material. But then, as I did my research, I realized that this was not a very effective way of going about it, and that essentially, what one needed to get at was not the text of EAP, not the linguistic properties of EAP texts, but the actual discourse of EAP i.e. how concepts were expressed; how learning was communicated. And this is what got me onto discourse analysis, which is what my thesis was about.'

4.1iii Dr. Alan Waters *interviewed March 7, 2014*

Waters recollected that he had started his ELT career in 1969, working as an English Language teacher with the VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas) organisation at a secondary school based in Sierra Leone. As Waters explained, it was this first overseas posting which allowed him to

cut his teeth on English Language Teaching in general, and as he put it, he simply '*got a liking for it*'.

In terms of formal qualifications, prior to working in Sierra Leone, Waters had completed an MA in English Language from Glasgow University and then a PGCE with TEFL at the University of Bangor. In later years, he studied for an MA in ELT at Lancaster University, finally completing his PhD there in 2001.

With regard to EAP, Waters' first experience occurred shortly after his time in Sierra Leone, in what became a 3-year posting to the University of Kuwait. When asked what had prompted this move, and whether or not he had made a conscious career decision to transfer from ELT to EAP, Waters recollected that his entry to EAP teaching had actually been much more coincidental in nature. Indeed, thinking back to that period, he saw his switch from ELT to EAP as occurring simply as a by-product of him changing geographical location and teaching level (he had wanted to move from secondary-level teaching to teaching in a tertiary environment) rather than as any form of calculated career decision:

'It's interesting because I don't think I really had the conception of EAP in my mind at all (*laughs*) before making the career transition. It was primarily to work at a different level- so at a university rather than a secondary school- and also to work in an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) situation, rather than the more ESL (English as a Second Language) situation of Sierra Leone. Now it happened, that that also involved a change from teaching General English to teaching EAP as well- I mean that definitely occurred also- but that wasn't originally part of my thinking, I mean I wasn't consciously looking out for EAP; I mean, I had no idea at that time (*laughs*); I hadn't thought of such a thing at all (*laughs*)...'

When asked whether or not he had received any training *specifically* in EAP prior to his experience in Kuwait, Waters was emphatic that he had had no prior training in EAP at all, and that in his early days in the profession, it was fundamentally a case of sink or swim, in what was still very much a wide open expanse of water:

'None whatsoever. No; nothing... back then it was still The Wild West (*laughs*)...I think it was much more a question of having to learn on the spot, err, learning on the job, and in terms of interactions with colleagues and reading certain journals...'

Building on these points however, Waters stressed that he was well aware of there being quite a difference between the General ELT work that he had been involved in before, and what was subsequently being required of him in teaching EAP:

'I did feel, yeah, that this was a new kind of teaching, and I needed to get my bearings...although I didn't attend any formal introduction to teaching EAP, umm, I did make use of a number of sources to try and get my head round it a bit more, and I felt the need, definitely, I felt the need to do that, because it was, and err still is, a different type of teaching in certain respects'

In recollecting how he had coped with what was evidently quite a steep learning curve, Waters mentioned that his main strategies at the time had been to interact with and learn from more experienced colleagues; to read the relevant journals; and finally, to get involved with professional events that might further assist him in his EAP development:

'Donald Adamson was one of my colleagues at the time- I don't know if you know him; he was the author of one of the Nucleus books; the Biology one- and we had a lot of umm, conversations, and I saw a lot of his teaching materials, and that definitely influenced my thinking... [the journal] ESPMENA (English for Specific Purposes in the Middle East and North Africa) was [also] a very useful source of practical articles on different aspects of ESP and EAP pedagogy... [And], Trimble (Louis Trimble) and Larry Selinker were running a summer school at the University of Washington. I couldn't involve myself in all of it, but I went for a couple of days, just to sit in and listen to what they were saying, and that made me more aware of their writing and so on as well...'

When invited to comment on any features that he felt might make EAP particularly distinctive when compared to ELT in general, Waters drew explicit attention to the central role of needs analysis, and his belief that in the EAP classroom, everything that happens should essentially be driven by our understanding of what constitutes the students' needs:

‘The decision about- and this is where I feel EAP work parts company with General English- the decision about what might be relevant for them to try to learn in the classroom is obviously one that should be derived from an understanding of their needs, and you know, that, I think, would be the main difference... I think the needs analysis element is actually one of the sort of Occam’s Razors that distinguishes EAP and ESP from the General English teaching; it’s the fact that the learners have a specific need...’

In considering whether or not there are *methodological* differences between EAP teaching and ELT, Waters was clear that in his view, methodological differences *do* certainly exist, but in terms of his own initial transition from ELT to EAP, his recollection was that these methodological dimensions weren’t perhaps as *immediately* obvious to him, at that early stage in his development, as some of the other issues were:

‘On the methodology side, well, I think the first thing I’d say is that I probably didn’t give it as much thought as I should’ve done; I wasn’t conscious, really, of a transition in terms of methodology, so much as in the other things I’ve mentioned... [content; needs analysis]. I think this [the methodological aspect] actually crystallized for me later on and I became more conscious in my mind that it’s really important in EAP.’

For Waters, as he went on to describe, it was clear that features such as autonomous learning and language development through problem-solving may be seen as core methodological components of EAP teaching. While it is true that these same aspects of teaching can, and sometimes are, applied to ELT in general, in Waters’ view, it is in EAP and ESP contexts where these particular elements of methodological practice are arguably the most prevalent:

‘I would use a different methodology, depending on the level of the students in particular, but I would want the methodology to involve enabling the students to increase their understanding and ability to use certain areas of language. You know, I would see that as the fundamental thing that I would still be dealing with, and therefore in terms of methodology, there needs to be sufficient chances for the students to work things out in a more structured way, as well as then using that knowledge more freely to put it into practice in a more communicative way. And in terms of the latter, in terms of the opportunity to use language, I would want to have plenty of problem-solving and drawing on the knowledge and the abilities which the students already have.’

When asked to consider if there is any common ground shared by ELT and EAP and what, if anything, might successfully transfer between the two, Waters was of the opinion that from an affective and student motivational standpoint, it is important that certain aspects of good classroom practice in ELT terms should be carried over to EAP teaching. In Waters' view, this can help to offset what may sometimes be perceived as rather arid teaching material:

'It's really important in EAP- because of the subject matter of a lot of it- that it's easy for it to become dry (*laughs*) and dull, and therefore all the more need to transfer over from mainstream ELT the techniques of teaching that will allow it to be a bit more interesting and lively... you know, I think the best aspects of General English Teaching in many respects are required all the more for the teaching of EAP or EOP; that's certainly how I see it; I see a very strong connection in terms of the methodology aspects, but umm, I think at the same time, the other aspects of pedagogy are significantly different....'

When invited to expand on this point however, Waters cautioned that he would also see 'good' teaching, whatever the context, as needing to be *purposeful* in its nature, and based around learners achieving particular outcomes; he stressed, for example, that he would certainly not be an advocate of students having fun and games in the classroom *simply for their own sake*, as he suggested may sometimes be occurring in more general ELT contexts:

'I think there can be a problem with a teacher who does a lot of fun things and so forth, but there might not be a very obvious point or purpose behind it- umm, I think that problem is one that has occurred very much recently in terms of [ELT] methodology... Umm, I think the methodology has become, err, well, there's been a trend for it to become *unhinged*, I would say really, (*laughs*) because it's become a matter of entertainment and so forth, of being seen as an end in itself, and the idea of linking that to some purpose, so that at the end of the lesson, you can say quite clearly what it is that the learners have actually learned- what they didn't know before the lesson started- you know, that dimension seems to have been umm, forgotten about at the expense of lots of, well, injecting lots of fun and games... Clearly that's a false dichotomy; there shouldn't be that kind of contradiction, but I very much feel that this is a problem. When I say that I feel that General English methodology can transfer over positively to EAP, I think I should qualify that by saying that it very much depends which methodology we're talking about; I mean we want sound (*laughs*) and effective General English Teaching methodology. That would be equally relevant to EAP teaching, but quite clearly, umm, certain other

forms of General English Teaching methodology would be equally inappropriate (*laughs*) when transferred over to EAP...'

When asked to consider to what extent, and how successfully, his pre-EAP training and qualifications had prepared him for the realities of teaching EAP, Waters felt that his PGCE with TEFL had *failed* to be of much direct use in that regard, partly perhaps, because the wider world of ELT at that time was also in a state of considerable developmental flux:

'I think the training course was a bit traditional in its methodology and it therefore didn't really prepare me very well for General English Teaching, as well as for EAP. I mean, to give you an idea... it was the early days of the Communicative Approach but we were being trained mainly in using Hornby's [A.S. Hornby] structural patterns and usage, something of that sort (*laughs*) and while I enjoyed the training course very much in other respects, I didn't feel err, it gave me an increased awareness, but in terms of practical, core teaching ideas, I'm not sure that it really helped all that much because, you know, things had started to change really in the world of ELT, and I think the programme was a little bit behind the times at that stage in terms of the type of methodology that we were being exposed to. We had nothing on role plays; nothing on information transfer activities, or any of the sort of toolkit that we take as being absolutely standard nowadays. It was much more a question of having to learn on the spot, err, learning on the job...'

4.2 *The 1970s: Jo McDonough, John Flowerdew, Andy Gillett, Ken Hyland & Helen Basturkmen*

As with my respondents from the 1960s, when their respective career start dates are listed in ascending chronological order, the interview participants from the 1970s also span the entire decade: Jo McDonough, for example, started her work in ELT in 1970; John Flowerdew in 1972; Andy Gillett in 1975; Ken Hyland in 1977; and finally Helen Basturkmen in 1979.

4.2i *Ms. Jo McDonough* interviewed April 21, 2014

McDonough suggested that her initial involvement in ELT was very much circumstantial, and had only really occurred as a corollary to her

main professional interests, which were in fact in German:

‘I drifted into it [ELT] really, because my main interest was German. I did my first degree in Modern Languages, and then an MA in German, so what I wanted to do was German, and where I wanted to be was Germany, or in German-speaking countries...and I went to live in Switzerland for 2 years, and then Germany for 3 years, and that was my intention, although I was teaching English there obviously. But it was very much a drift and very much by chance; not entirely intended, if you see what I mean.’

As McDonough went on to explain, she had spent the early part of the 1970s teaching English, first in Switzerland, then in Germany. Following her marriage, she and her husband subsequently returned to the UK to study for Masters' degrees in Applied Linguistics at the University of Essex, and it was this qualification, along with some domestic compromises around where she and her husband should live and the jobs they should take, which were responsible for moving her more directly onto an ELT-based career path:

‘We came back to Essex to do MAs in Applied Linguistics, and that was the sort of pivot, I suppose, that got me into English Language Teaching. At the end of the MA, I was still very much not-decided on what to do. I thought I was going to go into academic German, and was married to somebody who was wanting to go into academic Psychology (*laughs*), and so we had the normal family choice- I was offered a job teaching German at another university, and he was offered a job at Essex teaching Applied Linguistics. So we discussed it, and I figured that there were probably more career opportunities in English Language Teaching, particularly around the time that he was offered the job at Essex. We had a group of Venezuelans come to Essex, who were doing 4 different sciences, and I ended up teaching them. So it was with ESP, I suppose, that I started, but yeah, it was a drift, a bit of an unintended drift from originally wanting to be a Germanist...’

With regard to academic qualifications in ELT, as mentioned above, McDonough had completed an MA in Applied Linguistics from the University of Essex. She also later did a Postgraduate Diploma in the Management of Post-Compulsory Education. However, when considering her qualifications in purely ELT terms, McDonough stressed that the Masters in Applied Linguistics was her *only* qualification that was in any way specific to the teaching of English. As McDonough

explained, back in the early seventies, such a qualification was essentially all that was needed:

'I don't have any [ELT qualifications] apart from the MA in Applied Linguistics, but then, most people of my generation didn't. The only thing that's remotely a 'qualification', quote unquote, in ELT would be that MA, which probably these days wouldn't even be regarded as a proper teaching qualification, but in those days, it was counted sort of as more... These days (*laughs*), I probably wouldn't even get a job in a summer school, because I'm not 'qualified' to do ELT in that sense, but in those days, an MA in Applied Linguistics was regarded as a 'proper' qualification. In universities, nobody bothered too much about whether or not you were qualified to teach; they were bothered that you had academic qualifications, which I'm not saying is good, but that's just the way it was...'

When asked to think back to her first experiences of teaching EAP, and what, if anything, had prompted her move towards that particular area of teaching, McDonough recalled that she had first become involved with EAP when she was working with a group of Venezuelan undergraduates at the University of Essex in 1975:

'My first teaching to non-English majors was these Venezuelan undergraduates, who came over to Essex for a 6-month course before taking their degrees at Essex in '75. That's when I was hired to teach them. It was quite a shock to my system. I mean, working with students who were chemists and computer scientists and so on, because I'd never met students like that before, I'd only ever met the English majors. So that was when I cut my teeth... and we gradually developed more and more courses which then drifted into EAP and away from ESP...'

Expanding on her memories of that time, McDonough was emphatic that the initial move into EAP teaching had been a very different and quite challenging experience for her, and certainly nothing like the ELT work that she had been involved with up until that point:

'It was certainly a learning curve; it was nothing but a learning curve! As I said, I'd never before dealt with students that were not English majors, so their beliefs about learning English were very different from the kinds of students that I'd dealt with up to then. I'd never taught non-Europeans, so that was a learning curve; I'd never had to work with other departments of the university, so that was a learning curve; aside from the actual teaching, I'd never had to hire teachers before, so I was suddenly in the business of hiring teachers and also writing materials, developing courses; I'd never done anything like that before, so yes, the whole thing was a learning curve; it was a learning curve for me entirely...'

When asked to comment on any particular features of EAP teaching that might make it distinctive from more general EFL, and whether or not EAP requires a different methodological stance, McDonough felt that the most critical thing from *her* perspective, was for teachers of EAP to be sensitive to the particular disciplines that their students would be working in, and to be able to relate to this aspect in their classroom teaching:

‘I can’t think there’s a huge difference actually. You know, good and sensitive teaching is good and sensitive teaching, but perhaps the most important thing is for teachers to be sensitive to the kinds of disciplines that their students are in and have sensitivity as to how they might work with that in the context of the classroom, which is easier with ESP obviously, than it is with more generalized EAP. I think that that’s something that would exercise me a bit, if I was thinking about methodology...’

Expanding on this point, she was also of the opinion that EAP teachers should know their own limitations, and not be shy of acknowledging the boundaries of their own inter-disciplinary subject knowledge:

‘I think it’s important not to pretend as a teacher- and of course some teachers do pretend- that you actually know about their subject as well. You shouldn’t be worried about professing ignorance of, you know, physics or computer science or sociology or whatever it is that the students are in...’

Thinking back to her early experiences of teaching EAP, McDonough once again emphasized that for her personally, the biggest transition that she had faced was simply the fact that her EAP students were so very different to what she had been used to before. She also suggested that a distinction should perhaps be drawn between the knowledge about EAP teaching that she felt was needed in the early days of her involvement in the profession, versus what she perceived as being required now:

‘My students were more, quote unquote, ‘foreign’ to me, if you like; there was this sense of ‘other’; they just weren’t the kinds of students that I was used to dealing with. I think perhaps also in terms of the interpretation of the content of EAP, this might be something that would obviously be different, because the approach to a class of German undergraduates majoring in English, and who want to learn English, is very different from the kind of umm, body of knowledge that has come through

EAP in terms of study skills and critical thinking and that kind of thing, which there's much more emphasis on now, but which I would think of as content, rather than my own personal methodology. In other words, I might be carrying the weight of that knowledge around with me, and (*laughs*) that weight of knowledge has got heavier and heavier since I started my career. I mean, there wasn't much of it there in the early days- I think we were making it up as we went along- but that kind of thing...'

Finally, when asked to comment on the value and relevance of her pre-EAP teaching qualification to her later work in EAP, McDonough was unequivocal that her Masters in Applied Linguistics had not really been a very good preparation for EAP teaching at all:

'I think in terms of the teaching, it didn't prepare me at all. It taught me nothing about teaching and I was learning as I was going along with the kinds of students that I was working with... In terms of dealing with them directly and teaching them and writing their materials, it didn't prepare me at all...It gave me a lot of interesting things to think about, but it was very indirect, very oblique in terms of its relationship to the ESP teaching that I started with, which was the Venezuelans. I'm sure that if I was starting again now, then I'd be doing the CELTAs and the DELTAs...'

4.2ii Professor John Flowerdew *interviewed April 3, 2014*

John Flowerdew's first experience of ELT was in 1972, while working as an English Language teaching assistant in France. His four-year undergraduate degree was in French, and one of the course requirements at that time was that his third year of study should be spent in a French-speaking country. Flowerdew therefore elected to spend that year in France, teaching English to schoolchildren as a language assistant, an experience that he whimsically described as '*a bit of an ordeal by fire*'.

As Flowerdew went on to explain however, at this very early stage, becoming an English Language teacher was actually not part of his wider career planning at all:

'That was my first time, although I didn't have any intention of becoming a teacher at that point...'

Nonetheless, after graduating and spending a short period of time

teaching French and Spanish, Flowerdew decided to do an M.Ed in TESOL, and after the successful completion of this, he accepted his first proper ELT teaching job: a post teaching General English with the British Council in Venezuela in 1976.

Flowerdew remained with the British Council in Venezuela for two years, but then found work in Libya with an oil company, because he '*wanted to get into ESP*'. As he explained, ESP was starting to become '*fashionable*' at that time, so the position in Libya seemed to offer him a direct route into that discipline. As it happened however, the Libyan position only lasted for a short while, about eighteen months, after which time Flowerdew accepted a more full-time position at the University of Kuwait, a post that he considered to be his '*first real EAP job*'.

According to Flowerdew, the University of Kuwait in the late 1970s and early 1980s, was actually quite an ESP/EAP powerhouse, attracting a number of well-known names from the wider language teaching field. His work as a tutor in the Faculty of Science was therefore very much EAP/ESP-focused, and based on materials which had been designed following the principles of a proper needs analysis. As Flowerdew stressed, the whole environment in Kuwait was '*very different*' to what he had been doing before and he was very much aware of being in a university setting, with all of the professional developmental opportunities that such an environment offers:

'I was moving from a sort of err, moreorless commercial operation with the British Council to an academic environment. You did have a certain number of hours, but you had more freedom in a way. And after I'd been there a while, I took over responsibility for one of the courses and I designed my own materials for that, which I hadn't done before...'

When asked to comment on any features that might make EAP distinctive from General English teaching, and whether or not there are any *methodological* differences between the two, Flowerdew made

mention of the fact that the Communicative Approach and approaches to teaching ESP/EAP were developing in tandem at that time, and that this, by necessity, would make any methodological distinctions difficult to draw:

‘The thing is, the Communicative Approach and ESP developed at the same time, so it’s difficult to say. I mean, some of the activities that we use in ESP, were they developed in EAP, or were they developed in the Communicative Approach? I mean, it’s difficult to put your finger on which one influenced the other...’

However, Flowerdew was clear that unlike mainstream ELT, EAP has ‘a sort of study skills dimension to it, which you don’t have in General Purposes English’. He also stressed the absolute centrality of needs analysis, identifying this as one of EAP/ESP’s particular hallmarks.

When asked to comment on the value and relevance of his pre-EAP teaching qualification, the M.Ed in TESOL, to his later work in EAP and ESP, Flowerdew was of the opinion that the course had not really provided him with much valid preparation, possibly because ESP and EAP as distinct disciplines were still very much in their infancy at that time:

‘I would say that the M.Ed that I did, to be honest, I would say that I didn’t really get that much out of that... I was introduced to systemic functional grammar, which I then returned to much later, but in terms of, you know, communicative methodology, they didn’t tell us anything about that; this was something that I only encountered later; they didn’t really talk about ESP... so that was perhaps a bit of a disappointment, though to be fair, I think that was only developing at the time and there wasn’t much literature on it...’

4.2iii Mr. Andy Gillett *interviewed August 23, 2013*

Andy Gillett traced his initial involvement in ELT back to 1975. He recalled that after leaving university, he had had an urge for international travel, and that a career in ELT had seemed to be a useful means of allowing him to do that. However, he was clear that the move into ELT had nevertheless been more of a chance happening,

than any calculated career decision:

'I think, like many people my age, it was travel. I travelled. When I left university, I spent three years working in a Youth Hostel in London meeting travellers, and a lot of them were learning English, from all over the world, and I sort of got interested in it. I then spent five years in Japan and by the time I'd done that, I suddenly realized that that's what I was doing and it was probably what I was going to continue doing (laughs). But I don't think I made an active choice. You try to plan your life but then things just happen, don't they?'

When asked about his formal qualifications in ELT, Gillett explained that after his undergraduate degree, he had completed the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) Diploma in Teaching English as a Foreign Language to Adults (DTEFLA). This had taken place in 1977/78, and had been delivered by the International House organisation in Tokyo. After his time in Japan, Gillett then returned to the UK to study for a Masters' in Applied Linguistics, which he completed at the University of Kent in 1981.

Reflecting on his early career trajectory, and when he had first become involved in EAP, Gillett recalled that his first proper ELT job in Japan had been with a language school in Tokyo, teaching Business English. For Gillett, it was clear, therefore, that his ELT career had in fact *started* with ESP teaching, and that this experience had then influenced his approach to everything else that he was involved with later:

'The first job I had was working with teaching Business English in a Linguarama-type school in Tokyo, so my first experience of English Language teaching was actually ESP. So, I would always consider myself to be an ESP teacher and in a way, I see everything else that I've done through the lens of ESP.'

Gillett's first proper experience of EAP actually came in the early 1980s after his return to the UK:

'In the early '80s, I was working for a private language school in Banbury. This was very low level- I was teaching Saudis at Banbury Tech; it was very low level BTEC-type qualifications- but it was my first real experience of teaching students in an academic context, so I think it was my first introduction to what I'd call EAP, although I still treated that, I think, more as ESP. They were mainly computer scientists, oil

engineers, those sorts of things, err, petroleum people because these were mainly Saudis. There was a lot of money from Shell and from British Telecom. It was training, I guess, rather than education, but I would still consider that to be EAP'

When asked if he had had any training in EAP, *prior* to starting his work in that area, Gillett recalled that although there had been '*a couple of seminars*' on ESP/EAP in both his Diploma and MA courses, his main preparation and learning had actually been entirely self-directed, and had largely come from him working with published course books:

'It was basically the theories that the Jordan writing books were part of. Do you know the Jordan book on academic writing? Well, there were ten of the books in that series and I think that's what I first started with. So it came, I guess, through textbooks. I think I learnt a lot, I certainly learnt a lot of ESP through Tony Dudley-Evans and the whole '*Nucleus*' series and then when the Widdowson, '*English in Focus*' series came along, I think I also learnt a lot there. Those were the sorts of things I was using in those days. And then the CUP series came out, err, '*Study Listening*', and I remember that being very important. I've got almost every book on ESP or EAP. So it's been a mixture of textbooks, plus reading, plus experience and talking to people. That's what I think happened.'

In considering the features that might make EAP different to General English teaching, and in particular, whether or not there are any methodological differences between the two, Gillett stressed that in EAP, clarity of purpose should always be a central concern:

'Do you know Julie King and Steve Kirk? Well, a few years ago they did some research on pre-sessional courses, basically looking at newly-recruited teachers who had taught EFL but who hadn't taught EAP before, and one of the things that they found was that the EFL teachers, err, EFL teaching, is basically activity based without any idea of purpose. At least that's how it seems from what Julie and Steve found. So EFL teaching is activity-based, whereas EAP and ESP are more purpose-based. And I think, going back to your question, that this idea of purpose is something that has always been with me; I think it's that purpose that has led me, through everything that I've done since my very early business teaching, and I think that's important.'

Expanding on this point, Gillett emphasized that in EAP and ESP teaching, this sense of purpose also influences materials selection, and that ultimately, in the EAP and ESP environment, everything comes back to first understanding, and then meeting, the students' specific needs:

'[In EFL] whenever a grammatical structure came up, we racked our brains to try and find in what context and for what purposes our students might use that grammatical form. The textbooks were not good at it and so when I was teaching the Past Tense in Japan, I had to think, 'OK, I've got a group of mixed professionals in my class, why do I think they might use the Past Tense?', which means that it was hard for me to find a purpose. I find ESP and EAP much easier because those purposes are given and you don't have to struggle with finding reasons to teach because they are given for you. In EAP and ESP, a lot of the materials are there for you and you don't have to spend your life scouring the world for interesting texts. A lot of EFL, I think, starts from a text and you have to think, 'Now what can I do that is fun with that text?', whereas I think that in ESP and EAP, it normally starts with knowing my students and who they are and what do they need and what do they want. I think ESP is very humanistic because you start by thinking about your students: who they are and what they want. What they are doing. Then the language and the texts come more easily from that, I think.'

From Gillett's perspective, once teachers get used to applying a purpose-based ESP or EAP approach to their teaching, he felt that they would be unlikely to ever look at General English teaching in quite the same way again:

'From February to May of this year, I taught an MA module in ESP at the University of Westminster. I liked it and we had a pretty good time, but at the end, one of the students said to me, 'I don't know if I'll teach ESP, but I think you've changed my whole outlook on English Language Teaching. I don't think I can ever teach English for no reason again. You've destroyed my life, because I'm always going to have to think now about who my students are and why they are learning.' I don't want to go to extremes with this, but I think that belief in purpose is more important than any knowledge you might have of academic texts. I know you can never specify an outcome and guarantee that that outcome is met, but I think that before you go into any class, you need an idea of what your students will be able to do at the end of the class that they couldn't do at the beginning. I can't imagine going into a class without that idea. But this is where I come back to the notion of ESP and EAP as being very humanistic- that we have to treat our students as serious adults and not people who want to play silly games '

When asked to evaluate to what extent his general ELT qualifications had prepared him for working in EAP, Gillett felt that the preparation had probably been '*as good as it could have been*', largely because the field of ELT itself was still in a period of rapid development at that time, but also because instead of him expecting to gain all the necessary knowledge and skills from a pre-service training course, he

was of the opinion that he himself needed to develop in tandem with changes to the profession:

‘[The preparation] was as good as it could have been. Because of my age and because I’ve grown up with Communicative Language Teaching. I mean, when I started doing my RSA Diploma course, everything was structural, but very quickly, we moved to things being functional and then discourse analysis came in. So I think I’ve developed with it and I can’t see, in my case, any other way. It would’ve been nice if I had known about genres in 1976 (*laughs*) but I think that I’m an unusual person in that since 1975, I’ve developed with the profession and I can’t imagine it happening any other way’

In considering the areas in which EAP teaching and General English teaching might share common ground, Gillett was of the opinion that a number of activities that are now considered to be part of General ELT actually owe their origins to EAP and ESP:

‘As I said, I see English Language Teaching as being very much activity based and I would want to go further and say, ‘What’s the purpose behind that activity?’ but a lot of the activities that are now considered to be EFL activities actually came through ESP. Do you know, err, what’s-his-name, the guy with the box kites? [James Herbolich] well, even in the 1970s, EAP and ESP were task-based and in a way, it’s all been handed down, hasn’t it? When I taught professional English in Japan, all I knew was that these businessmen had a particular task in mind. So I think you start from the task, and in a way, I think we always have done because we didn’t know anything else. So I think this is a similarity, but it probably came from ESP in the first place. People often say, ‘Is there an ESP methodology? Is there an EAP methodology?’ and I think the answer is that there are educational methodologies that people use across all areas. I think there is a lot in common with what we do in both EFL and ESP/EAP, but I think that what is distinctive about EAP is certainly the purpose and certainly the texts. A lot of the activities and things that we do are pretty much the same, but I think that they are done for a different reason, a different purpose.’

4.2iv Professor Ken Hyland *interviewed April 4, 2014*

Ken Hyland's first job in ELT was in 1977, in cultural terms quite a significant year for most Britons, as it was the year of the Queen's Silver Jubilee. Throughout that year, Hyland taught English on a voluntary basis in Sudan. As he explained, however, at that time, it wasn't particularly difficult for people to find that kind of work:

‘EAP didn’t exist. Basically if you had a degree and four limbs, you could go anywhere in the world and teach English, though that’s changed a lot now, and rightly as well...’

In terms of formal qualifications, although Hyland started his ELT career with only an undergraduate degree in Sociology, he soon realized that this was not really sufficient:

‘It didn’t take me long to realize that I didn’t really know what I was doing, so after a year there [Sudan], I did a course at the Bell School, a 4 week teaching certificate. It was a pre-cursor of the CELTA, and then after that, I went to Saudi for a couple of years- to Riyadh, where I taught in schools- and then to Malaysia, and all through this time I realized that what I needed to do was get an MA qualification, and so I had an err, MA fund, that I was putting my savings into...’

Hyland ultimately completed an MA in English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics while he was in Malaysia, working for the Centre for British Teachers. As he explained, this course was responsible for awakening his interest in how language actually operates, and was instrumental in setting him on a more clearly defined academic career path:

‘This was still very much the English Language Teaching period and my dissertation looked at umm, spoken discourse, and it showed me that really, you need to understand language in order to teach it; that you weren’t going to be a particularly useful teacher if you just knew the grammar rules. You needed a way of coming to terms with what people were doing with the real language, and umm after that, I got my first university job, which was in Jeddah....’

Hyland's period of employment in Saudi Arabia was spent at the King Abdulaziz University, which at the time, rather like other universities in the Middle Eastern region, was quite an important international player in terms of ESP and EAP. As Hyland explained, the work on the Nucleus series of ESP textbooks had originally come from there, and in conjunction with the British Council, King Abdulaziz University had also developed a lot of materials that would now be classed as English for General Academic Purposes.

Thinking back to that time, when asked if his move from generic ELT to

ESP/EAP had been a principled career choice or just a chance happening, Hyland was emphatic that he had in fact made a very conscious decision to move out of General English Teaching and cross over into the world of English for Specific Purposes:

‘Oh yes, yeah, it was. After 6 years of teaching ELT, I went to university and taught EAP/ESP. The concept of teaching to specific needs of language groups and particular students was beginning to seem like a good idea. I felt that ELT was a young person’s game and basically a performance, you know. I was relatively young, but I didn’t want to do the all-singing, all-dancing routine in front of a class forever, and I could see that ESP was more err, intellectually challenging; it demanded an understanding of something that was beyond your own comfort zone and familiarity. It involved understanding how other people saw things, so taking life outside the classroom seriously. It seemed to me that in ELT, you were trying to help people to try and communicate outside of class, but essentially, what was going on was that you were looking for ways of doing that that were bounded by the classroom. So, you know, your exercises and your tasks and your conversations; your drills and whatever, were all within the classroom and they were generally scripted, or inauthentic materials that seemed realistic, and might well have been helpful, but that didn’t really draw on real life. Whereas ESP forced you to consider what was going on outside the classroom, and go into other domains, and look at how other people were trying to make sense of the world... So yes, it was a conscious decision. I wanted to leave ELT and do something that was more intellectually challenging and also more interesting in terms of language analysis.’

After spending four years at King Abdulaziz, Hyland then left Saudi Arabia to work in Papua New Guinea, and from there, he became a Head of department at Massey University in New Zealand. At this time, he also registered for a distance-based PhD which he ultimately completed with the University of Queensland in Australia.

As Hyland explained, it was really his PhD study- his thesis had focused on hedging in academic research articles- which had acted as a major catalyst for sustaining his further interest in EAP, and in a sense, he felt that this doctoral work had replaced the role of a formal EAP preparatory training course:

‘I was very interested in it- I mean, I’d written a few things about academic, umm, published academic articles and textbooks- but I was very interested in hedging and umm, one of your questions mentions, ‘Did you have any formal training in EAP?’

and I guess that my PhD work was err, a kind of substitute for umm, formal training. You know, a kind of disciplined, err, sit there; read these texts; understand what's going on; and try to persuade other people that you understood what was going on...'

When asked to comment on his early experiences of teaching EAP, and whether or not he had faced any particular challenges, Hyland was clear that in his very early days in the profession, he had indeed faced a considerable learning curve:

'Oh yeah! And I think we were all trying to umm, do our best, umm, with an inadequate kind of experience. You know, we were feeling our way. Umm, I was in a small department teaching science students- there were four of us- and we were writing materials from, you know, 'New Scientist' and this sort of thing and basically, we were trying to do reading comprehension and umm, writing from reading. And umm, it was very much experimental, and we were trying to find ways of making it interesting because the students were not really motivated, err, certainly not as motivated as we were as teachers. But we had no idea really of what we were doing; whatever worked, we tried and it was a case of umm, picking up a little bit of science along the way...'

Expanding on these points, and in reflecting on whether or not approaches to EAP teaching might differ from mainstream ELT in more methodological terms, Hyland was of the opinion that EAP teaching probably does require something different methodologically, but he cautioned that it is difficult to draw any cut and dried distinctions about what those exact differences might be. Similar to earlier respondents, Hyland also emphasized the parallel historical developments in ELT and EAP, once again drawing attention to the dual role played by the Communicative Approach:

'I think this is very hard. I mean, I guess there's a different emphasis. Most of my EAP has been to do with reading and writing and there's an emphasis there on real texts. Now, I guess this implies a difference in the 'how' because you know, how can you go about understanding a text? This is not something that you really need to do in ELT, so yes, it does imply a different methodology, I guess. But these things go around and come around. I mean, to me, it seems that a genre approach and trying to understand how texts work as communication is pretty much the Communicative Approach. You know, it's trying to look at how language works to communicate and how we can best do that. Now, it's not drills and PPP [Present; Practice; Produce- a pedagogical approach particularly synonymous with ELT] but it's still functionally

based; it's still saying, what is the purpose of this bit of text; what's the function of it; so I find this thing about methodological differences between ELT and EAP a very very difficult question to answer. I would say that it would be very difficult to make a clear distinction between what goes on...I do wonder though, if ELT is in a vacuum and that whether or not what we've learned through EAP has not washed back into the ELT classroom, so that the people there are beginning to realize that there's always a reason to learn English; there's always a reason to communicate, so it might be useful to identify what those needs are and then err, teach to them...'

In further considering the differences and similarities between ELT and EAP, Hyland reflected that in ELT, traditionally at least, the emphasis has perhaps been more on ensuring that the students simply have a pleasant classroom experience; approaches to EAP and ESP, on the other hand, are more likely to be directly concerned with tangible outcomes, and in preparing students for operating in very specific contexts:

'I'm not sure how far things have changed in ELT but when I first started teaching, English was fun. I guess things have changed a bit since then, but I think there's still this emphasis that English should be enjoyable. And I think that puts a lot of pressure on teachers and I'm never sure why English should be more enjoyable than doing science or, you know, whatever else they're supposed to be doing...I think we don't exploit students' analytical skills enough. [In EAP and ESP] they're coming to the class not as a tabula rasa, but they know something about their discipline, which we don't... I mean, our expertise is in language and rhetoric, so how can they produce the kinds of texts that are valued in their discipline? It's up to the teacher to find out what those texts are, what that kind of writing is, so the needs analysis is partly about students but it's mainly about the expectations that are on the students outside the English class. They're not coming to their EAP class to learn how to write in some abstractly academic way; they're coming to learn how to write for purposes that lie outside the English class, so the motivation is very different than a General ELT class; it's the difference between learning to write and writing to learn...So the 'fun' has maybe disappeared, but the interest and the engagement still needs to be there, like in any teaching and learning situation. If students just see it as a chore, then they're not going to learn anything'

In summing up his reflections on the distinctions between ELT and EAP, Hyland made mention of the need for EAP teachers to make their students aware of how texts actually operate. He also stressed the considerable demands that EAP teaching places on teachers:

'I think you can rely on the material [in EAP] to be something that the students are

going to identify as relevant, but it's up to the teacher to make that material not just relevant but interesting... The students tend to read for content, they're not used to looking at texts in terms of how they're structured as a piece of communication and so that's the challenge and I think it involves a lot of talk in the classroom; it involves the short sharp tasks that get students to look at things and make comparisons; you know, to work together on ways of identifying things in the texts. I think there's a lot of pressure on these teachers. They're constantly assessed; they're expected to... well, if you read the research literature, they're expected to make their students reflective and better people; they're supposed to make them informed; they're supposed to make them rhetorically competent and you know, they're doing all of this in 24 hours of contact in a classroom over the semester. It's a big ask and in many ways it's unrealistic. I don't think you'd expect delivery of the content material to be quite so demanding. I think the rhetorical expertise that EAP teachers have is hard-won...'

Finally, in evaluating the relevance of his pre-EAP teaching qualifications to his later work in EAP and ESP, Hyland was of the opinion that his Certificate in English Language Teaching had not *directly* been very good preparation. However, he did feel that it had made him a reflective practitioner and that in this respect, the course had clearly had some value. Hyland also stressed that in his view, the main purpose of preparatory certificates in English Language Teaching such as the CELTA should be to prepare people for teaching general, conversational English and *not* EAP per se, although arguably any training course can add value:

'It didn't prepare me very well, I think. But what the course does do, is to help you reflect on your practices. You know, what might work; how you learnt as a student; how your students might learn from this activity; what options you have. I think that's important because it gets you to reflect as a teacher. And it's difficult to know until you're actually in a situation, the kind of knowledge and skills that you need to cope in that situation. So the ELT stuff, the CELTA kind of thing was taught very well, I think, by people who had worked in, you know, Thailand and various other places, but in a very different context to an EAP one, so no, I didn't feel prepared for EAP. What I felt prepared for, was to teach conversational English and that's what the emphasis is really, which is fair enough, because you've got to prioritize in some way and people who go to evening classes or whatever in ELT often are wanting to brush up their English for their holidays... When I first went to the Sudan, I had no idea, so I think anything helps, but you're shortcutting things if you can target it much more...'

4.2v Dr. Helen Basturkmen *interviewed January 13, 2014*

According to Helen Basturkmen, her involvement in ELT first started in 1979. Her original motivation for getting into the field had been a desire to travel, and having heard about ELT qualifications offered by International House in London, she decided that this might be, as she put it, '*a good option*'. Basturkmen duly signed up for the International House RSA Certificate and upon successful completion of that qualification, started working abroad.

Her travels took her to Turkey, where she decided to do a Masters in Language Teaching at the Middle Eastern Technical University (METU) in Ankara. In the middle of that qualification, she also enrolled on an RSA Diploma course with the British Council. Upon successful completion of her Masters- one or possibly two years later; her recollection of the exact timeframe here was vague- Basturkmen explained that she had enrolled on a part-time distance PhD programme through Aston University in the UK, which she then completed over a period of roughly four years.

When asked about her first involvement in EAP, Basturkmen recalled that this had been with her work on preparatory courses at Bilkent University in Ankara:

'I was moved across to a unit- I can't remember what it was called now- but basically it was a unit that was supporting students who were already studying in their disciplines- in their subject- and I started working there. In that unit, we did things like looking at academic writing, teaching academic seminar skills, presentations. Umm, yeah, so that's where I first started teaching EAP. I didn't ever study EAP myself, in terms of professional development, until I started my PhD, which was on the topic of academic discourse in seminar interactions. That was my first err, theoretical introduction to the topic...'

Reflecting on these early experiences of teaching EAP, Basturkmen couldn't recall herself having felt that she was on a learning curve *per se*, although she acknowledged that for both her and her peers at that

time, there was definitely a strong sense of having to try things out and simply learn by doing:

'I wasn't aware of a learning curve (*laughs*), I was probably just busy doing it (*laughs*) but I think that where I learnt a lot was through, you know, using the materials that had been prepared; using some of the published course books that were looking at academic writing or academic speaking and then I thought, 'Oh, there is this area!' And I didn't know anything about it before. So, umm, the learning would have been through looking at the published course books really. We tried developing some of our own in-house materials as well, but I think we mostly did so from the basis of lack of knowledge and no specialist knowledge (*laughs*) but just making it up as we went along, I'm afraid to say. But that's how it was.'

When asked to comment on any features that might make EAP distinct from more mainstream ELT, and whether or not EAP requires a different methodological stance, Basturkmen felt that EAP certainly was quite different to ELT in terms of its content, the 'what' as she described it, but then possibly somewhat less distinct in terms of its methodology, the 'how':

'Yes, I think we adapt our approach when teaching EAP, I think we do, but I think the 'how' here is closely related to the 'what'- I don't think that they are in different camps. I think the 'what' of EAP has a lot to do with text analysis; understanding discourse- both spoken and written- that's the 'what'. So in that case, we're not so much thinking about skills or fluency, but we are very much, I think, focused on developing an awareness of the discourse. So to an extent, the sort of methodologies that we use are much more looking at texts with students; getting them to notice and observe things; syntax; showing them structures and then asking them to find that structure in a text; showing them some types of language that you might use in speaking and then getting them to observe that, or find more examples in a listening or a transcript of some speaking. So I think we do a lot more language identification and analysis work as our methodology for teaching in EAP, but that, of course, is very closely to the 'what', err, to what we're trying to teach here'

Expanding on these points, Basturkmen added that in her experience of ELT, the emphasis had traditionally been more on finding 'fun' activities in order to motivate and engage the students, whereas from her perspective in EAP, these affective elements probably needed to be given less prominence:

'I think a lot of what we do- or what I did- in general language teaching was getting

students on board, motivating them with fun activities and hoping that somehow, generally their language would develop through these fun, spoken, lively activities, umm, whereas you can kind of drop that, to an extent, in EAP because you can assume that the students are interested and that they do want to know about this academic language because they need it. So we don't have to perhaps create motivation and fun exercises in quite the same way and so that is a factor related to the students'

When invited to reflect on whether or not her ELT qualifications had prepared her very well for her later work in EAP, Basturkmen generally felt that the courses she had taken *hadn't* been very successful in that regard. She was of the opinion, therefore, that there is a considerable gap between what the generic ELT teacher training courses typically provide, and what is actually required when teaching in EAP contexts:

'The general ELT training that I received didn't prepare me very well at all for Teaching English for Academic Purposes. A lot of it wasn't applicable and I don't think I had a good basis really, in the courses that I received. [In EAP], I think we are looking for something different and I think there is a great gap in the teacher training that is out there. All around the world, so many teachers now are involved in teaching EAP, and yet the professional teacher training development hasn't caught up with that and it's still very general. A lot of people will never be teaching General English now and they will spend their entire careers in Teaching English for Academic Purposes, so yes, I think there is a big gap there and it definitely needs to be addressed.'

Basturkmen further clarified that although her Masters in Teaching English for Specific Purposes had certainly raised her awareness of needs analysis and the importance, as a pedagogic principle, of then tailoring the course content to needs-based outcomes, the example contexts that she had been given to work with at that time had all been very workplace oriented; there was actually no explicit focus on what is needed in academia:

'I did do one course on my Masters in English for Specific Purposes, and that taught me to really think about needs and identifying needs and carefully tailoring the content of courses to what the students actually need it for. But we didn't really look at academic needs; we looked much more at workplace needs like taxi drivers and things like that... I don't think there was anything else that was relevant, err, not really. I mean, we did some language analysis, but it tended to be at the sentence level, rather than the discourse level and I think in academic EAP, we are much more

concerned with the discourse level of language. So there was very little that was relevant...'

4.3 *The 1980s: Professor Smith (anon), Steve Mann & Richard Watson Todd*

As with my respondents from the previous twenty years, when their career start dates are listed chronologically, the three interviewees representing the 1980s once again span the entire decade. Professor Smith (not his real name: I have invented this title as the respondent requested anonymity) started his ELT career in the early 1980s; Steve Mann began in the middle, around 1986, while Richard Watson Todd joined the field towards the end of the decade in 1989.

4.3i *Professor Smith (anon)* interviewed January 10, 2014

According to Professor Smith, his first involvement in ELT came on a voluntary basis as part of his Bachelor's degree in Language and Linguistics. He had had a desire to travel, and this, when added to the fact that he was already studying foreign languages, had led to his involvement in teaching ESL (English as a Second Language) as part of a refugee language programme.

When asked about his formal ELT qualifications, Professor Smith explained that after completing his undergraduate degree, he had taken a Royal Society of Arts (RSA) CELTA course. After this, he had progressed to the RSA DELTA, and had then gone on to take a university-based Graduate Diploma in TESOL. Upon completion of this latter qualification, he had enrolled on an MA in Applied Linguistics at the same institution, and then some time later, had registered for and completed a PhD.

In reflecting on his move from ELT to EAP, and what had motivated that, Professor Smith recalled that his first real experience of EAP had

been in the mid-1980s, some three or four years after joining the more general ELT field:

‘Well, I first trained as a General English type of teacher, but then I got a job working in a university language centre, so that’s when I would have been really teaching EAP full-time and nothing else. Then I worked for a couple of years in a Japanese-owned institution in which all the students were Japanese going on to tertiary study, so that was all EAP preparation...’

Professor Smith stressed that for him, the decision to work in EAP had essentially come to pass because he saw EAP teaching as being much more professionally rewarding than mainstream ELT. In his view, EAP also tends to be more serious and purpose-driven:

‘Ultimately, I think that EAP is perhaps more interesting and rewarding than General English teaching, and also, you’ve got more of a sense of where students are going with their work. With General English teaching, you can be Teaching English for No Obvious Reason sometimes and you never quite know whether or not the students are measuring you based on how good a time they had. I remember an EAP teacher saying to a student once, ‘I’m not about entertainment’ and I thought that was quite an interesting kind of comment. You know, ‘I’m not here to entertain you; I’m here to help you learn’. And actually, this is a serious matter, you know, which is quite a difference between EAP and General English in those kinds of senses.’

As Professor Smith further explained, his decision to start working in EAP, as opposed to more generic forms of English language teaching, had also grown largely from his own experiences as a student, when he had realized that people may possibly become *better* academic writers, and more *quickly*, if they are formally *taught* those skills, rather than simply being left to work everything out for themselves:

‘Well, it’s an odd thing because academic writing is not something that I’ve always been interested in, but I can remember when I was at High School and I can remember doing art history and the teacher asked me to write something on Michelangelo and she said to me, ‘You know an awful lot about Michelangelo, but you don’t know how to write about it’. And I thought, ‘Wow, that’s a really interesting point!’ so then, when I went to university, no one taught me how to write an academic essay. It took me three years to work it out and when I got there, I could get A’s and I thought to myself, ‘Someone could have told me this’ because I mean it wasn’t rocket science or anything; it was just how to research the topic, how to provide evidence; how to do all those kinds of things, and I thought, ‘well, someone could have taught me that’. So I guess it was those sorts of things, and then it was

just an interest that I continued to develop...'

Professor Smith stressed that his personal trajectory from ELT to EAP had perhaps been somewhat different to most, in that he had taken courses on ESP as part of both his Graduate Diploma in TESOL and also his Masters' degree. In the case of the latter, he felt that he had been particularly fortunate, because his tutors at the time had been members of the so-called 'Sydney School' of genre analysis, and their views were therefore very much in tune with, and relevant to, contemporary issues in ESP and EAP teaching:

'I suppose I was lucky because lots of programmes don't have an ESP course, but I had a course on ESP in my Graduate Diploma in TESOL and also on my Masters' degree, which I did in Sydney. I had a course on ESP but there was also a strong focus on genre and that was what is actually now called 'The Sydney School' and I was taught by those people. So I guess I did have some training about what matters in ESP teaching and also what are some of the ways in which you can look at EAP texts from language perspectives. I was probably quite lucky to have had that background...'

Not surprisingly perhaps, given these very positive comments, Professor Smith felt that his postgraduate qualifications *had* in fact prepared him quite *well* for his later work in EAP:

'Yes, I think they did [prepare me] actually, because you know, when I was training to be an ESL teacher, it was all about needs-based language programmes and needs-based teaching and that's ESP. But even in the General English world, needs-based learning was a big issue as well. So the idea of, you know, following learner needs was probably just part and parcel of the way in which I approached teaching, and so I was lucky in that sense. And also, you know it was about thinking of ways of looking at whole texts and stuff like that. My Masters' degree was really a lot about the discourse level and so I was lucky that I had that, because that gave me a broader perspective on texts.'

However, when asked to consider the relevance of his CELTA and DELTA qualifications to EAP, Professor Smith was rather more circumspect, reflecting that the value of these courses probably rests more in their raising of teachers' general language awareness. He also made mention of the fact that the syllabus for the DELTA has changed quite a lot since the days of his own enrolment, and that the current

course now includes an ESP or EAP elective component:

'I think there are quite a lot of people in university language centres who have only got a CELTA and who have never actually done a Masters' degree, so I think to myself, 'How on Earth can they teach postgraduate writing?', I mean, never having done it themselves... But what I think you do get from a CELTA, is a strong focus on language and you also get a strong focus on task-based learning, which I think are two really important things. But I think that in EAP, you need to go beyond that really. I suppose the CELTA prepared me in the sense of, you know, the idea of learner-centred teaching, a focus on language and task-based learning- yeah, I would've got that from the CELTA. As for the DELTA, well, I think that in the new version, there is now an elective that you can do on ESP or EAP, which I think is umm, a great improvement on when I did it. When I did it, it was really just a bigger version of the CELTA, but I would think that currently, if people do that ESP or EAP elective, then they'd have a much better preparation now than the average person would've had in my day.'

Reflecting on his early experiences of teaching EAP, and how the discipline might differ from mainstream ELT, particularly in methodological terms, Professor Smith drew attention to the fact that in EAP, teachers are often required to deal with unfamiliar subject matter, and that certainly from his own firsthand experience, this could be expected to present particular challenges:

'Mmm, well, there *could* be [something methodologically distinctive]. You know, sometimes you need to involve subject specialists, which you would never need to do in a General English language course and sometimes, as an EAP teacher, you're dealing with content that you are completely unfamiliar with. And I would say that in the beginning, this was something that really threw me. I mean, I can remember my first Study Skills lesson about nuclear energy and I thought, 'My God- I don't know anything about nuclear energy' but actually, I've learned that you don't need to know the subject matter that well because your students will know it. But you do need to know how to talk to them about language and discourse writing and genre. So yes, I think that there are things that feed into EAP teaching or ESP teaching which don't at all enter into General English teaching'

Expanding on the pedagogic differences between ELT and EAP, Professor Smith added that in his view, some of the tenets traditionally presented as good pedagogical practice in General ELT may completely differ when applied to the context of teaching EAP. Taking this point further, Professor Smith was of the opinion that some General English teachers may even migrate from ELT to EAP, without ever really

grasping that the latter actually requires a different set of knowledge and skills:

‘There is a sense, in some ways, in which as an EAP teacher, you are much more expert than your students in some sort of things and the CELTA and the DELTA approach, when I did it anyway, was all about, you know, eliciting and the discovery approach and finding out what the students know or a lot of what they don’t know. And err, you know, sometimes there is definitely a place for standing there and just talking to the students- and of course, that can’t be all that you do- but when I trained as a CELTA teacher, it was a major crime to have teacher talking time, whereas I think in an ESP or EAP context, it’s not always a bad thing, because you might be giving an example and you’re the only one who knows that; the students don’t have it. So there are times when, you know, teacher talk can be a good thing...And I think some people go into EAP- and they may be good General English teachers- without really knowing what it’s all about; without knowing what they need to know, in order to do this kind of work’

4.3ii Dr. Steve Mann *interviewed May 8, 2014*

As with a number of my earlier respondents, Steve Mann’s move into ELT as a chosen career path appeared to have been largely circumstantial. Following his undergraduate degree, he had first enrolled on a PGCE in English and Drama at Warwick University, his original intention being to be a teacher of these subjects in the secondary school sector. However, while he was studying for the PGCE, there was the option of doing a subsidiary in ESL/EFL. Mann duly signed up for this, and as a result, found himself doing ‘*a little bit of ESL work in Coventry*’ as a component of the course. After completing the PGCE, Mann remained true to his initial plans, and as he put it, ‘*went off to be an English and Drama teacher for about four years in Comprehensives*’. However, the ELT seed that had been sown from his Coventry experience had evidently taken root, because he then decided that this was the type of work he wanted to return to:

‘I did an RSA Dip TEFLA- I blagged my way onto a Dip actually (*laughs*) because I should’ve had a Cert TEFLA first- but I made the most of my ESL experience (*laughs*) in Coventry and I bigged it up quite a lot and I managed to blag my way onto the Dip TEFLA. So I did the Dip and then I went to Hong Kong. I just wanted to go and do something different and I can remember, I always thought that it would be just a

two-year sojourn and that I would come back. My Head teacher was keeping my job open and he kind of advised that it was fine for me to go and get travel out of my system, but I'd be back and he'd keep my job open. But I never went back, so I did two years in Hong Kong, then Japan and that's really how I got into ELT'

When asked about his qualifications overall, Mann recollected that about eight years after completing the RSA Diploma course, he had enrolled on an MSc in Teaching English for Specific Purposes with Aston University. Some nine years after that, he had then completed a doctorate in Teacher Development.

In reflecting on his transition from ELT to EAP, Mann recalled that his very first experience of EAP teaching had been with the British Council in Tokyo:

'We used to do a course at Tokyo British Council, the Cambridge English School, called the 'BUPS' programme, which was the 'British University Placement Scheme', so I think one of the first, and err, *niciest* sorts of teaching I've ever done was to work full-time with a group of about twelve IELTS 5.5s, trying to get them up to IELTS 6.5 or 7.0 in a year. And this was a full-time programme, so it was a bit like a pre-session course, but it was run in Tokyo and it was a mixture of kind of general ELT and some much more specific stuff about writing and reading and academic listening and giving presentations. I think even then, there wasn't a great deal of good quality EAP materials, they came later, so that's where I cut my teeth in a sense, having to work with these people who were going to the UK and having to get the IELTS score.'

Thinking back to this time, Mann felt that there were really two key drivers behind his decision to get involved with EAP- the first being that he felt this form of teaching was perceived to be of a higher value within the prevailing British Council hierarchy, and the second being that he himself simply wanted to do something different:

'It's difficult to go back and think about my motivations, but I think a couple of things are worth saying. The first is that I think within the Council, it [EAP teaching] was just seen as being a bit more prestigious than teaching the housewives or the young kids, so you know, I think you tend to go after the things which are seen as being more prized by your peers; more enjoyable to teach. And I think the other thing is that I think as teachers, it's quite nice to change anyway. Maybe that's just the particular person that I am, but I find it difficult to do the same old thing year after year. That's why I moved away from teaching in the UK anyway, because I had itchy feet and I wanted to do something different. So I think that those two elements were part of it:

EAP being more prized, but also wanting to do something different for my personal development.'

When asked whether or not he had received any formal prior training in EAP, Mann was clear that this *hadn't* been the case, and that the development of his early EAP knowledge and skills had been self-directed, and in fact much more of a matter of him having to simply learn on the job:

'No, I don't think there was any training. I don't remember anyone doing that. I think the structure within the Council was more that you had senior teachers, who sort of talked to you about what you were trying to do with a course and, you know, you might be working in a small team to develop the courses and share the material, so it was a much more bottom-up process of development than the idea that someone was an expert in this and they were training you in how to do EAP'

When invited to reflect on his early experiences of teaching EAP, and how aspects of the discipline might be distinctive from more mainstream ELT, particularly in methodological terms, Mann made immediate mention of EAP's specificity:

'I think that the difference is all to do with the specificity of the students and also the fact that you might have students from different disciplines in the same class together. I think one of the issues is in trying to find material which the students might be able to do as a group, but then also trying to work with them as individuals, you know, that kind of personalization. It's a case of trying to track down books in the library, or magazines and you know, umm, informants, in order to help those particular students, so I guess that would be the biggest thing. I think that in General ELT, you don't have to make those kinds of efforts to say, 'Well, this student's going to have to do statistics, so what can we do with the Economist?' or 'What can we do with this book to get them to do some stuff which isn't just reading the whole book but working on reading strategies?'. It's kind of getting that balance between treating them as a group and also trying to respond to them as individuals.'

Expanding on these points, Mann also drew attention to the central role in EAP of understanding student needs, and the importance of predicting what students would ultimately have to do with the language:

'[In EAP] you're conscious, err, conscious of what those needs are like, so language

situations, err, you know, it's Target Situation Analysis, although I don't know whether or not we called it that at the time. But it's trying to predict what sorts of texts they needed to produce; what sorts of vocabulary they needed; whether they might give presentations; whether they needed to work collaboratively on projects.'

When invited to comment on whether or not he had personally experienced a learning curve in his early days of teaching EAP, Mann recalled that his main memory of that period had simply been how *enjoyable* and *interesting* the EAP work was, when compared with the more humdrum ELT teaching that he had been involved with up to that point:

'I remember it as being a very *enjoyable* experience. I mean, you get bored of Headway; and ordering food in a restaurant; and menus; and how to get to the train station; and directions and all that bollocks (*laughs*)... you just... well, there's something just a little bit more *interesting* in the kind of detective work that you need to do in trying to make that transition into the UK, into a Higher Education setting for a student who might not be that confident. You know, there's something a little bit more *real* and a little bit more *stimulating* about that challenge'

On the matter of whether or not his ELT qualifications had adequately prepared him for teaching EAP, Mann was more philosophical:

'That's a hard question and I think my answer is probably 'not very well'. But I guess it raises the wider question of what training is supposed to do. In solving problems and working collaboratively and being able to work with a particular group and find out what their needs are, it probably *did* prepare you, but it's hard to know, it's hard for me to pinpoint exactly how. I don't think that we did anything about EAP or ESP or specific academic requirements in the Dip TEFLA, it was only when I got to Aston and started doing the MSc that I was conscious that I needed that. So I suppose that answers your question as well, in that the more you do something, the more you think, 'Well, maybe I ought to know *more* about this', you know, that whole thing about, 'I *can* do this, but in order to develop my career and be *better* at what I'm doing, I need to go back and do a Masters and sort of find out'

In reflecting on the areas in which ELT and EAP might overlap and share some commonalities, Mann emphasized the intrinsic importance of fostering a positive group atmosphere in the classroom, and in trying to ensure that students find their overall learning experience to be enjoyable and motivating:

'I think there's a dynamic in a classroom and you *always* need to motivate people; engage people; get people to work in a group. I think this is more important than the actual content and the specifics of the particular language points that you're trying to teach. I think one of the problems for EAP and ESP is that it can become very dull, and so you need the balance that I was talking about before- about getting them to gel; getting them to work together and be interested in their own and in each other's stuff. I think one of the challenges in *any* classroom is to try and get people to be interested in each other and not think that all their language development is gonna come from just listening to the teacher. I guess it's *always* been important for me to create a dynamic and a group atmosphere that people enjoy, so when they come in, you can lighten the mood and change direction and I think that that's just as important for ESP as it is for General English. Just because it's ESP or EAP, it *doesn't* mean to say that it needs to be dry. The content, of course, *is* set in stone; there *is* some restriction there; but that doesn't absolve you as a teacher from the responsibility to make it an enjoyable and motivating language experience.'

In further expanding on these points, Mann was clear in his belief that a number of classroom activities commonly found in ELT do still have their place in EAP:

'Variety is really key and also task progression- and this is really basic stuff, but I think it's no less important that in wanting to get someone to read something or listen to something, you still have to prime them; you have to have done the pre-reading, the pre-listening work and get them *engaged* and *wanting* to find out those answers, and then once they've got them, using things like information gaps, some sort of thing like that, or a task-completion, where they need to exchange those meanings. It doesn't make any difference that it's ESP or EAP because those are fundamental things that teaching just has to get right...'

4.3iii Dr. Richard Watson Todd *interviewed July 17, 2013*

According to Richard Watson Todd, he had started his career in English Language Teaching, partly because it seemed like something fairly easy for him to get into, and partly because he had decided that he didn't really want to go into accountancy, the field that his undergraduate degree had ostensibly been preparing him for:

'I did my Bachelors in Accountancy (*laughs*) but there was no way that I wanted to spend my life as an accountant, so what were the alternatives? English Language teaching was an easy alternative to get into... I took one of those cheap, two-week TEFL courses, the ones which are supposed to make you able to teach anywhere and at any time, right? (*laughs*). Then I left the country and started working and got some experience...'

After working at a university in Thailand for eighteen months, Watson Todd realized that he needed to upgrade his qualifications, so he returned to the UK to do a Masters in TESOL course. Following the successful completion of this programme, and while working in the Thai university sector once again, he decided that a further qualification was needed for his professional development and therefore duly enrolled on and completed a distance-based doctorate.

At the time of our interview, Watson Todd explained that he had been working at the same Thai university, King Mongkut's University of Technology in Thonburi (KMUTT), for a little over twenty years:

'I've got an administrative position and everything is nice here, so why bother to move? I'm not a grass is greener type of person...'

When asked to comment on his first experiences of teaching EAP, and what, if anything, had prompted the move from teaching ELT to EAP, Watson Todd explained that while he had certainly had his first experience of EAP at KMUTT, the motivation for him making such a move in the first place had simply been that he wanted to work at a university; it *wasn't* that he was necessarily on the lookout for EAP per se- the two had just happened to be aligned with one another:

'When I came to KMUTT, I had to do EAP- as a foreigner, I was shunted into that immediately- but it was more that I wanted to work at a university and EAP came along with that, rather than me wanting to teach EAP specifically...'

Reflecting on the matter of differences between general ELT and EAP, and whether or not the 'how' of EAP requires teachers to take a different methodological stance, Watson Todd explained that unlike the General English teaching that he had initially been involved in, his early work in EAP had had a lot to do with project-based learning:

'For both of the first two EAP courses that I taught, both of them I set up as large scale projects. I don't know if you know the book, but there was a publication by Michael Legutke and Howard Thomas called 'Process and Experience in the Language

Classroom' which substantially affected my ideas, and I wanted to try doing project-based learning because of reading that book. [By contrast], in my early general EFL, everything was just discrete language points of the objectives and in project learning, there are no discrete language points necessarily...'

Focusing more specifically on the methodological angle, Watson Todd was clear that in his opinion, EAP does require teachers to take a different classroom approach, and that in methodological terms, EAP is probably somewhat more open. However, in claiming this, he was also keen to make a distinction between the different *levels* of EAP, positing that methodological differences in terms of the teaching approach are also likely to be dependent on whether or not the teaching itself involves undergraduates or postgraduates:

'I'm not sure that it is that big a difference, but yes, there is a difference. In a way though, the methodology is driven by the content, so because there is no real 'right' content in EAP, whereas in a traditional English language classroom you will say 'That's accurate' or 'That's inaccurate' or 'That's right; that's wrong' and 'You need to learn this or you need to learn that', within EAP, it is far more complex. So there needs to be a much more open methodology and possibly more teaching of analytical skills and things like that, rather than teaching language necessarily. Because it is pretty rare that you will have an EAP class where all the students are wanting to do the same thing, especially at the higher levels. At the undergraduate level it may be more similar, but it's probably a progression really. With secondary schools, it may be pretty similar to communicative language teaching; with undergraduate, it may also be pretty similar, but when you get into postgraduate EAP courses, it is probably going to be a lot more different. So there is a range there, based on what sorts of things people are teaching.'

In considering whether or not his early experiences in EAP had constituted much of a learning curve, and what he had then done to deal with that, Watson Todd recalled that he *had* in fact found it quite difficult. However, his main coping strategy at the time had simply been to read widely in the field, and, by extrapolating from these readings, try to work things out for himself:

'I'd never been exposed to projects before and it was just from reading a book, so yes, designing a project was.... I mean, the big problem with working in Thailand is that there is no one here to be a mentor or a resource, because basically no one is good enough. Within English Language Teaching or Applied Linguistics in particular, the main problem is the lack of people to ask about things. So yes, I was relying on

reading substantially and just working through and applying things myself, which is a very steep learning curve, yes.'

When invited to consider if there were any ways in which his learning curve might have been made a little less steep for him, Watson Todd once again emphasized that the main issue, was in him simply not having had anyone to share his ideas with:

'Having someone to talk to would be the main thing which was lacking. Beyond that, I mean, I personally don't particularly enjoy taking training courses and I don't generally find them very useful. I'm somebody who learns far more from reading things, than from going to courses. So for me, it was really about just having someone to talk to and bounce ideas off...'

In reflecting on whether or not his initial ELT qualifications had successfully prepared him for his later work in EAP, Watson Todd was clear that while these courses had been of some value in teaching him how to be a good *teacher*, they were not in fact very useful as specific preparation for organizing project-based learning:

'Well, being a good teacher was a big part of it, but for planning the courses and actually organizing the courses, no, they didn't give me any preparation. The open-endedness of projects is probably the other thing which I wasn't really prepared for.'

Leading on from this, and in considering the areas in which ELT and EAP may share some commonalities, Watson Todd stressed that in his view, the '*basics of being a teacher*' should always be central to both:

'All the basics of being a teacher in a classroom are the same pretty much. I mean, your classroom communication; your teaching skills; being able to give instructions and explanations- all of that carries over. The philosophy is slightly different; the approach will be different and the evaluation is different, but they are all based on similar principles in some ways...I don't think there is that much difference between EAP and other classrooms... I'm a very strong believer that all teaching has a core of good abilities in teacher presence and being able to explain clearly and to illustrate points; giving clear instructions. Those things apply across all teaching...'

4.4 The 1990s: Averil Coxhead, Olwyn Alexander, Dr. Jones & Ian Bruce

In contrast to my respondents from the previous decades, when their ELT career start dates are listed chronologically, my interviewees representing the 1990s *all* started their work in ELT in the first five years of the decade: Averil Coxhead in 1990; Olwyn Alexander in 1992, Dr. Jones (not his real name: I have invented this title, as the respondent requested anonymity) in 1992, and finally, Ian Bruce in 1993.

4.4i Dr. Averil Coxhead *interviewed June 10, 2012*

When asked why she had started a career in ELT, Coxhead explained that it had largely occurred, initially at least, as a result of her becoming friendly with groups of international students. These students had been studying at Victoria University in New Zealand, while she herself was still an undergraduate there, and when Coxhead subsequently had her 'OE' (overseas experience), she had decided to visit some of them in their home countries. Later, while working in Scotland, she had been encouraged to apply for a summer ELT teaching job, via a contact that she had made with the Oxford Intensive English Schools (OISE):

'It actually started back when I was an undergraduate student at Victoria University. As part of the Colombo Plan, we had international students staying in my university hall- at the time, I was a Deputy Warden of the hall- and these students came from Indonesia and from various parts of South America, for example, and they were all gathered together, and what they did, was to come for the summer to do an EAP course at Victoria University. They would do the summer programme and then they'd go to different universities within New Zealand, sponsored by the New Zealand government. When I left on my 'OE', I travelled through Asia and visited a few of them, and I'd got to know them quite well, so I suppose that that was a seed for me potentially becoming a teacher. And then, when I was on my 'OE' later in Scotland, working in a very remote hotel, I met somebody who was involved in OISE, the Oxford Intensive English Schools, and she said to me, 'Do you want a summer job? I think you'd be really good at being involved with these groups of kids who are coming in from France and Spain and things like that...' and she said, 'I think that you'd be a great person to have around'. So, I applied because of her and then it all snowballed from there.'

In terms of qualifications, following her undergraduate degree, Coxhead had completed an RSA CELTA course before going off to teach in Eastern Europe. A number of years later, she returned to her native New Zealand to study for a Masters qualification, and then in 2008, she completed her PhD.

When asked to comment on her first experiences of teaching EAP, and what had prompted her to make the move there from general ELT, Coxhead explained that she had first become involved in EAP when she was a postgraduate student, and that this had been part of her wider career aspirations to find teaching work at a university:

‘After the CELTA, I taught in Eastern Europe- that was in Hungary and then Romania and then I went to Estonia- and then I decided that I wanted to go home to New Zealand and that the way forward for me would be to do a postgraduate qualification. So I had sort of 3 goals: one was to do a Diploma in Second Language Education, and then possibly an MA, and then to get a job in a university, teaching. And I still remember that that was very clear to me. So I went home to New Zealand in 1994, started university in 1995 as a postgraduate student and then by halfway through that year, I started to become involved in the EAP programme at Victoria University. So I started teaching EAP in the winter, the New Zealand winter of 1995. I got one of the first full-time EAP tutor positions... there were four positions...and the people who were employed at that time were really seen as the core for that programme’

In reflecting on the challenges that she had faced as a newcomer to EAP, Coxhead was emphatic that her learning curve at that time had in fact been considerable:

‘It was massive. And I think that there were, well, there are really 2 kinds of learning curves. The first was that the programme itself was an extremely well put together and coherent programme and quite a complex situation with lots of different classes and different purposes. So for me coming in, I was doing my own postgraduate studies, so to then go and teach academic language and skills, it caused me to do some reflection on what I was doing in my own studies, as well as what I expected these people to do. So there was learning there around personal learning, the sort of reflection on what I was doing academically, but the other kind of learning was to get to grips with what was happening with the institution and how that worked... so the learning curve there was really working in the programme, working with other teachers where you learn more about it and I went from being a part-timer to a full-time member of staff and then ended up running the programme. At one point, I was

the course co-ordinator of 22 classes, so you know, managing quite a complex thing...'

When invited to comment on what she perceived to be differences between EAP and ELT, Coxhead emphasized the centrality of meeting student needs in EAP, and the important role that EAP plays in supporting students' future goals and aspirations:

'I think that one of the main things is the sheer drive and goal of EAP, so it's very much connected to the student needs; General English, to me, always feels like it's... well, if I went back now to that kind of teaching, mate it would be so different (*laughs*) but in EAP, you know, it's a very complex situation. In General English, you're walking away at the end of the day; I mean, I never marked any homework... it didn't seem to be part of it, but then when I came to EAP, it seemed to me very high stakes; there was an end goal; it seemed to me to be an extraordinarily important role to be playing to support these people in their future endeavours and it's that gate-keeping side of things that I never saw in the General English situations. One of the things about EAP that I particularly enjoy is working with cuspy people, you know, those people who are almost there.., it's also that idea of autonomy and being involved in research. I've got people around me who are doing research directly related to the classroom and I think that's another power of EAP as well...I think there's enough to be said that this is a completely different field'

Conversely, in reflecting on whether or not EAP and ELT share any similarities, Coxhead was of the opinion that one thing both of the fields have in common is a focus on language use, and the notion of integrating skills. She also felt that there were certain basic elements around what would be considered effective teaching, which would be applicable in either context:

'Well, you get this idea of the use of language and this idea of integrated skills. Then there's the basic beliefs that I have as a teacher about how important it is to have a classroom atmosphere which is conducive to learning... that you need to know your students; you need to like them; because that helps to keep things moving around. In the end, you're teaching and learning language and I think that that's absolutely fundamental, and if you don't understand those basics and those similarities with general English, then I think it might affect you as an EAP professional; I think you might not have that sort of empathy and understanding about what you need to do to get really involved in things...'

When asked whether or not her CELTA qualification had prepared her for EAP teaching, Coxhead felt that the course had given her a useful

grounding in the basic principles of teaching:

‘Yeah, it did [prepare me]. It did because it set the ground for things like how do you run a classroom, how do you work on things, and it gave me time... it gave me a chance to observe other teachers and see what was happening... It was a great environment to just be in and to learn to be a teacher... I think that if I didn’t have that grounding, I think that I would’ve been a different kind of beastie...’

4.4ii Ms. Olwyn Alexander *interviewed June 25, 2013*

Olwyn Alexander's career in ELT essentially started in May of 1992, when she completed a CELTA qualification at her local FE college. During the summer after this period, she taught General English at the same institution, and also carried out some examinations cover for them over the subsequent year. In 1994, she enrolled on a part-time Masters course in Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, successfully graduating from that programme in 1995.

In considering her formal qualifications, Alexander stressed that having completed her CELTA and Masters courses, she had never really felt the need to do a diploma or a doctorate:

‘I did the CELTA... then I did a degree in Applied Linguistics, but I’ve never done a DELTA and I don’t feel the need to do so. I’ve not felt the need to do a PhD either, so that’s where I am- I’ve got a CELTA and a Masters’

When asked about her early experiences in teaching EAP, and what, if anything, had prompted her to make the move into EAP from ELT, Alexander mentioned that she had first cut her teeth on EAP teaching in 1993 at Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh, an institution, at which she has in fact remained employed until the present day.

For Alexander, it appeared that the move out of ELT had effectively been precipitated by two main things: the realization that General English Teaching was not likely to be very satisfying for her, and the fact that by dint of her science background (starting at the age of 42, she

had actually joined ELT quite late in life- her previous career had been as a chemist) she had been given the opportunity to teach on some of the Heriot-Watt in-session courses:

‘To be honest, teaching General English in the summer felt like playing party games most of the time; it was roll-on, roll-off, you know, very unsatisfying, so I could say, I think, that my General English experience is actually less than about 6 months. Most of what I’ve done has been teaching English for Academic Purposes in fact. When I got back from New Zealand with my husband, I needed a job and I realized very quickly, because I applied actually to the Institute of Applied Language Studies at Edinburgh University and they told me that they had plenty of teachers with far better qualifications than mine and that they wouldn’t need me, thank you very much, until I had a Diploma. So I thought, ‘that’s no good, I’ll never compete with these kinds of people, so what is it that makes me different?’ and I thought well, what it is, is my science background, my understanding of science texts, so that’s what made me sort of go towards Heriot-Watt University because it’s very much a technical, applied science type of university, and I thought, you know, I might find some work there. So I wrote them a speculative letter saying this is what I can do and a guy got in touch with me and said I’m thinking of setting up some in-session courses, do you want to have a go? So it was really about me trying to position myself in a very busy job market where I didn’t have enough qualifications and experience...’

In reflecting on her early days in the EAP field and the extent to which her CELTA qualification had prepared her for that kind of teaching, Alexander stressed that she felt the CELTA course had given her a good methodological understanding of how to deliver communicative language teaching, and that this had definitely been a strong influence on her subsequent approaches to EAP:

‘I think it was really good to have done the CELTA; it gave me the teaching methodology which has really underpinned my practice all the way through. The CELTA made me safe in a classroom; it made me more of a communicative and not a ‘chalk-and-talk’ type of teacher. I’ve always had a very strong feeling that the communicative approach, in the sense that you try to stand back and you set up situations where the students are discovering for themselves, is really really important under EAP practice, and it’s that sort of methodology that sometimes gets lost. I think I got that a lot from my CELTA and I still think back to some of the sorts of things that I learned there in taking my practice forward. I had that sort of sense that the communicative police would keep looking over my shoulder as I attempted to teach EAP and I think that had quite a big impact on the way that I tried to teach it probably...’

When invited to comment further on any specific differences or similarities between EAP and ELT, particularly with regard to choices around teaching methodology, Alexander was very clear that in *her* opinion, the focus in EAP terms needs to be placed much more on wider discourse practices, rather than just on surface features of text:

‘There’s got to be a change in orientation. From sentence level to discourse level practices, so you’ve got to know about text production and text processes, umm, so you need something that can move an ELT teacher away from a focus on verb grammar and the sentence and onto a focus on noun grammar and the discourse. And actually, I think that you don’t want to touch the methodology all that much; in my view, you just need to re-orient teachers towards text processing and production and I don’t mean brainstorming and the writing process; I mean processes of text; how texts work with each other and how people construct them to get things done...’

Expanding on these points, Alexander stressed the absolute importance, in her view, of Masters’ programmes and individual scholarship, in preparing teachers for understanding the realities of teaching EAP:

‘I think I learned to teach EAP by learning how to read research on my Masters and then thinking about the things I thought my students needed, which I sort of got from thinking about different aspects of teaching and just sort of trying them out in the classroom. I would say that one of the key pre-requisites for a good EAP teacher is to have done a Masters’ degree themselves and I particularly mean the research component of a Masters’ degree because I think you’ve got to learn to read like a researcher; you’ve got to learn the pitfalls of a lack of objectivity as a researcher, before you really understand what it is that you’re trying to get your students to do. If you haven’t tried to do research- and I mean *real* data gathering- if you haven’t actually tried to do that and you haven’t grappled with a methodology and what you can and can’t say about your results, then I don’t think you’ve really got much of an appreciation of what a Masters’ student is going to have to try to do. If you really don’t understand scholarship, then I probably can’t turn you into an EAP teacher...’

4.4iii Dr. Jones (anon) *interviewed April 22, 2014*

Dr. Jones explained that at the time of our interview, he had been involved in ELT for some 22 years. He stressed that he had originally read English Literature for his undergraduate degree, but after graduation, he was still unclear of which career path he should follow. After a short

period of unemployment, his decision to join the field of ELT was therefore almost entirely serendipitous:

‘I suspect that like many people, I fell into it pretty much by chance. I certainly didn’t go to university intending to become a TEFL teacher. After graduating, I was on the dole for 6 months and I applied for various jobs actually, but in the end, I did an introductory course to TEFL. And I suspect that that’s not untypical. You know, an arts graduate, umm, falling into it by chance; yeah, I think that’s fairly typical- of my generation anyway’

When asked about his qualifications and early career trajectory, Dr. Jones explained that after completing his undergraduate degree and a 1-week TEFL introductory programme, he had then enrolled on a 1-month CTEFLA course. Upon successful completion of this qualification, he then taught for a year in Greece and did two further years in Portugal. With three years of teaching experience then under his belt, he decided to study for an RSA Diploma, a qualification that he completed on a part-time basis, whilst he was still in Portugal. After completing the DTEFLA, Dr. Jones then went to Spain and worked there for three years with the British Council. However, at this stage, he felt that he needed further training and professional development, so decided to return to the UK to study for a Masters’ degree. Towards the end of this qualification, Dr. Jones realized that he was becoming interested in pursuing a career in academia, and this led to him enrolling on a PhD as soon as his Masters was completed. Upon successful completion of his PhD, he accepted a lecturer-ship at that same academic institution, and has remained in full-time employment there until the present day.

In reflecting on his first experience of teaching EAP and how he had made that move from ELT, Dr. Jones recalled that this had actually taken place within the first three years of his career. Rather like his entry to ELT in general, however, his initial involvement in EAP was largely unplanned and somewhat circumstantial:

'The first experience I had of EAP was in Portugal. I was there for 3 years and actually, now that I think of it, I was doing a bit of EAP for all of those 3 years, but yes, that was my first involvement. My first job in Portugal was with an English school that was doing General English, but the guy that was running the school had a contract with a Business university in the little town that I was at, so that was my first involvement with EAP, but it was just by chance. I didn't apply for the job specifically because it said, 'you're gonna be an EAP teacher' and in fact most of my work at that time wasn't EAP; it was just the 3 hours a week...'

Casting his mind back to that time, even though his teaching of EAP only represented a small portion of his ELT work overall, Dr. Jones was nonetheless quite clear in his recollections that the EAP teaching had certainly felt very different to everything else he had been involved with up to that point:

'Very much so [different]. One of the things that was distinctive was the content. This was a whole new world to me. It was Business English, so it was looking at things like Business meetings and corporate image; ethics in Business; motivation in Business; and I remember there was a thing in the textbook about Herzberg and motivation, things like that. This was all new to me, you know, bearing in mind that my first degree had been in English Literature. And to be honest, I think there was a fair bit of trepidation on my part... But I did find it interesting and one of the reasons for that, is that I felt it was more academic or scholarly. That's one of the reasons, I think, why it appealed to me more'

Expanding on these observations, and reflecting further on the differences between EAP and ELT, particularly in methodological terms, Dr. Jones was of the opinion that EAP teaching definitely *does* require a different approach, and that the 'how' of EAP is therefore quite distinct from what is typically found in more mainstream ELT contexts:

'I think it is. I was thinking about this when I was looking at your questions this morning and the one thing that I wrote down here in my notes was that there's some literature you find nowadays on the umm, discourse of ELT. There's a thesis by a guy called Christopher Anderson and he talks about this idea of the discourse of ELT being one of 'fun' or 'entertainment' and umm, for me, one of the big differences between General English Language Teaching and EAP is that you don't have that fun and entertainment discourse going on and frankly, I like that; you know, not being obliged to make things fun. I appreciate that very much. Obviously it's all connected with perceived needs as well, and different learners and so on, but I think there is this sense that that discourse of fun and entertainment- 'education-lite' if you like- that you get in ELT just isn't there for EAP. That's one thing that I would definitely say'

Dr. Jones went on to enumerate further distinctions that he felt can be drawn between EAP and ELT, emphasizing once again that in EAP, there are likely to be significant differences with the content:

‘There’s a sense that EAP may be more teacher-centred; perhaps more book-driven. Umm, more serious. Those kinds of things. Obviously I’m aware that EAP is not just written discourse, I mean there’s spoken discourse and there’s a lot of research about what spoken discourse is like in the university and so forth, but umm, more serious analysis; more intellectually challenging material; all of these things perhaps. In terms of content- and I keep coming back to this- if you’re teaching discipline-specific EAP, then you’re looking at the discourse of say, history, and you’re looking at the structure of an abstract or something like that. It’s that content knowledge as well...’

When invited to comment on any areas of *similarity* between EAP and ELT, Dr. Jones took a more philosophical stance, drawing a distinction between what he felt we might *expect* to happen in theory and what then actually does happen in reality:

‘In theory there are similarities, but I’m not so sure that in reality you actually see those similarities, so let me try and clarify what I’m talking about. One of the things that I thought about was needs analysis. Clearly, if you have to reduce down what EAP or ESP is, then people often say, ‘Well, it’s quintessentially needs analysis; that’s what it is; and everything stems from there, everything flows from there’. OK, but you could argue that if you teach General English classes, then you too should be doing some kind of needs analysis. I mean, even if you’re doing conversation classes, there’s the sense that those learners, for whatever reason, need conversation or want conversation, so that’s needs analysis, albeit of a very primitive form. So there is that umm, similarity potentially there. However, I would qualify that by saying that in my experience as a General English Language teacher, often I think, no such needs analysis ever takes place. It’s often a matter of them [the students] coming into the language school, doing a diagnostic test- which may or may not be methodologically OK- but they do this test, and then they get put into a class, and then the syllabus is the course book and that’s the end of it...’

Building on these observations, Dr. Jones added that he would see a number of pedagogical techniques working well across both EAP and ELT domains. He also felt that both teaching contexts would require teachers to make informed judgments on how best to use textbooks, and that both EAP and more generic forms of ELT could equally gain from the analytical benefits offered by genre analysis:

‘There are also pedagogical techniques that would be the same perhaps across EAP and General EFL. I mean things like pair work or correction- oral and written correction. Maybe you would use some of the same techniques in general to correct EFL writing as you would to correct EAP or ESP writing... general techniques like that could be of use in both situations, so there’s a crossover there. Another thing is that you may use a textbook in both situations. There are skills involved in using a textbook and arguably, you may use some of that same skill-set in using an EAP textbook as well as a General English textbook. What I mean is things like, you know, adapting the textbook or supplementing the textbook; using the textbook selectively; using it in response to learners’ needs. All these kinds of things are about skillful use of the textbook and that could apply in General EFL as well as in EAP or ESP situations. And I wrote one more thing down about genre analysis. Genre analysis, obviously, you associate with ESP or EAP and you think, ‘OK, I’ll teach them how to write an abstract; I’ll teach them how to take part in a discussion’ but of course, you can also use genre analysis in General English Teaching when it comes to writing and speaking. When I was a General English teacher, we were teaching the Cambridge Advanced English exam and I think that one of the genres they had was to produce a film review. So if you’re a good teacher, a conscientious teacher, you could be building a corpus of film reviews and then doing a genre analysis of them to show the learners what a film review is supposed to look like. I think the genre analysis thing could cut across EFL and EAP as well...’

When invited to comment on whether or not his early ELT teaching qualifications had been much of a preparation for his work in EAP, Dr. Jones was emphatic that his initial CTEFLA had *not* in fact been very relevant for his work in EAP contexts. He was also of the opinion that the wider ELT industry could benefit from a practical teaching qualification specifically in EAP:

‘No, it didn’t prepare me. I don’t feel the CTEFLA prepared me at all. I think an RSA Diploma in EAP or ESP might be the way to go. [But] you’d be talking about a one-year course, with an awful lot of teaching involved...Doing EAP is something very different and I think there does need to be... well, I can’t see anything bad about there being a serious, Diploma-type, year-long course that gets people to read about all of this stuff and to do research themselves. That would be something that I’d like to see- definitely.’

4.4iv Dr. Ian Bruce *interviewed April 19, 2013*

My final respondent for the 1990s, Ian Bruce, reported that he had started his career in ELT in 1993, when he had travelled to Japan to teach English in a Senior High School. Prior to that time, he had worked as a teacher of modern languages and Head of department in the

New Zealand secondary school sector. ELT was therefore Bruce's second chosen career, or as he himself put it, *'My career is really in two halves...'*.

When asked about his qualifications, Bruce explained that he had completed an undergraduate degree in music and modern languages back in the 1970s. He then did a Postgraduate Diploma in Second Language Teaching, before going to work in Japan. After returning to New Zealand in 1995, he completed a CTEFLA qualification, and then immediately after that, enrolled on a Masters in Applied Linguistics programme at the University of Waikato. Upon the successful completion of this Masters' course, he began his doctoral studies, and was duly awarded his PhD in 2003.

In charting his progression from ELT to EAP, Bruce explained that he had first cut his teeth on EAP at the University of Waikato, not long after first joining that institution in 1996. He had initially worked as an instructor in the English Language Centre, but had then become a convener of English on the Waikato Foundation Programme. After completing his doctorate in 2003, he became a lecturer in Applied Linguistics, a role with a direct involvement in EAP, not only in the 'traditional' sense of preparing international students for their studies in other disciplines, but also from an EAP teacher training and education perspective:

'I convene EAP and my interest in EAP nowadays is that have it, err, not as a second major, but as a sort of supporting subject for a Bachelor's degree, and we have 8 credit-bearing courses and I convene that programme. I teach a research writing for doctoral students' course which is fairly high-level EAP. My other connections are with teacher training. We have quite a few of our English Language Centre staff doing our Masters, and I offer a Teaching English for Academic Purposes teacher training course as a course within the Masters' degree.'

When invited to share his thoughts on any differences that might exist between EAP and ELT, particularly in methodological terms, Bruce emphasized that for him, EAP should be seen as a core academic

subject, with a central role to play in the academy. He also expressed the view that compared to ELT teachers, those involved in teaching EAP tend to be more interested in research, and in engaging in wider scholarly activity:

‘I think for me, the difference is that I see EAP as an academic subject; I don’t see it as a service sort of function of the university; I think it’s one of the core elements, particularly with internationalization and the diversity of the student body. And I think for someone to position themselves as an EAP teacher, rather than as an EFL teacher, they have to see themselves as part of the academy; as interested in research; as willing to go to conferences, do classroom-based research and work on their higher degree; as having an interest in the theoretical underpinnings of the subject, and I think that’s what makes it quite different from TEFL. I think the teachers that *aren’t* really interested in EAP, that just want to do TEFL, don’t particularly want to go to conferences; they don’t want to do classroom-based research or read journal articles’

Thinking back to his first involvement in EAP teaching, and some of the challenges that he had then faced, Bruce recalled that in trying to become a member of the academy himself, he had gained a wider appreciation of the similar challenges faced by his students:

‘I think that it was in trying to become a member of the academy myself that helped me to understand the struggle of people who are a bit further down the ladder still trying to do the same kind of thing, and I think that that informed a lot of what I did. I try in my EAP teaching to relate it back to what I know about research in the field and bits of research that I’ve done myself, that kind of thing.’

Reflecting on the extent to which his CTEFLA qualification had helped to prepare him for teaching EAP, Bruce was of the opinion that although such qualifications can play a role in improving teachers’ general grasp of pedagogy, for them to really understand what is required in EAP teaching, teachers ideally need to have been involved in academic research of their own:

‘There are a lot of things about the CELTA that sharpen classroom practice and that kind of thing, but I think there’s a ... umm, I think to teach EAP, you have to be a researcher yourself. If the persons aiming to inculcate students into the academy haven’t themselves gone that far into the academy, then they can’t really take the students that far.’

Expanding on these points, Bruce stressed that from *his* perspective, in preparing teachers for EAP, rather than focusing on classroom practice *per se*, the main emphasis should be on raising teachers' awareness of the relevant research, and of how discipline-specific texts and discourse operate. Not surprisingly perhaps, given his personal role in developing an EAP teacher training course at Waikato, he was also of the opinion that training programmes specifically targeting EAP should be highly desirable:

'I think the TEFL thing is really good for General English Language proficiency development, that's a necessary step, but I don't think that it's sufficient background for EAP. This is why I developed the course that we do at Waikato, and we're trying to get people thinking about the research and the theory and all of that that's behind it. And in many ways, I think that when we're teaching EAP classroom technique, although it's important, it becomes less important that the focus on the disciplinary subject; on the texts, on the discourses that surround them, and all that kind of stuff. I think that there should be training positioned at postgraduate level, probably at Masters, and in the second year, if you're doing a two-year Masters, a component whereby people gain a knowledge of research methods and preferably discourse analysis'

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, having worked through the first 10 questions for each of my interviews individual by individual and decade by decade, I have sought to provide a 'vertical', chronological, snapshot of each respondent's career trajectory in ELT, reporting on their transition from ELT to EAP; their early experiences of working in the EAP domain and the particular similarities and differences that they encountered there.

In the following chapter, I will report more 'horizontally' on data reflecting the second half of each research interview (questions 11-18), comparing and contrasting all four decades of the period under consideration and reflecting on the responses of my 15 interview respondents as a whole.

CHAPTER 5

Research Findings b

Introduction

- 5.1 Requisite Knowledge, Skills & General Disposition of Expert EAP Teachers**
- 5.2 The Need for Specific Training & Development Programmes in EAP**
- 5.3 The Desirability of Introducing Recognised Industry Standards for EAP Teaching**
- 5.4 How EAP Institutions Might Best Measure EAP Practitioner Expertise & the Specific Role of Classroom Observation in EAP Contexts**
- 5.5 The Pros & Cons of EAP as a Career**
- 5.6 Desired Future Developments in EAP**
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Chapter Summary

Introduction

The main objective of the preceding chapter was to report on the data emerging from the first half of each interview (*questions 1-10*), and in so doing, to present a 'vertical' analysis of the respondents' different career trajectories in EAP, individual by individual, and decade by decade. In this current chapter, the focus will now shift to reporting on the particular themes and trends that have emerged from the *second* half of each interview (*questions 11-18*). However, rather than once again discussing the findings individual by individual and decade by decade, my analysis of the data will now be more 'horizontal' in nature, representing an examination of the responses across all four decades, and of the 15 respondents as a whole.

The findings for this chapter will therefore be presented under a series of sub-headings, each of which links back to the specific interview questions originally posed. As a cross-reference, these questions have

been reproduced in the table below. For the purposes of further cross-referencing, a complete list of the interview questions has been included in the Appendices.

Interview Questions 11-18

11. In order for them to be effective practitioners, are there any pre-requisites that teachers of English for Academic Purposes must meet in terms of their knowledge? How about in terms of their skills, or their general disposition?
12. If I could ask you to summarize, what do you see as being the main features, the key 'ingredients' if you will, that all 'good' EAP practitioners need to possess?
13. Given what we've just discussed about some of EAP's unique features, is there a place or need, do you think, for specific training programmes in EAP? Should there be a universally-agreed industry standard, for example? How might this be achieved?
14. Just thinking again about professional standards, could you share your views on how institutions might best measure their EAP practitioners' expertise? What do you think, for example, about the role of classroom observation?
15. Should classroom observations in EAP settings be focusing on the same things as observations in more standard EFL contexts, or should they be looking for something different?
16. What do you see as the main pros and cons of teaching EAP as a career choice for English Language teaching professionals?
17. As an English Language teaching professional, what developments would you personally most like to see in the teaching of EAP?
18. And finally, where do you think the field of EAP is heading?

5.1 Requisite Knowledge, Skills and General Disposition of Expert EAP Teachers [corresponding to interview questions 11 and 12]

When they were asked to comment on the knowledge, skills and general disposition that expert EAP teachers should ideally possess, a number of common threads began to emerge from the interviewees' responses. With regard to teacher knowledge, for example, the first thing that was mentioned by almost every respondent was that in order to be considered an expert practitioner of EAP, teachers should have a good grasp of discourse, and also the ability to carry out discourse

and/or genre analysis of their own, using a range of academic texts:

‘I think that in terms of knowledge or disposition, you definitely need an interest in and an ability to do analysis of discourse. So it’s not just conveying your impressions of what goes on, it’s *understanding* what goes on by being able to look at a text and see how it works as communication. And I think unless you have these kind of discourse-analytic skills, then I don’t think you can be a good EAP teacher.’

(Hyland)

‘I think once you get beyond beginner-level teachers, they will need to understand a lot about discourse and genre, and even pragmatics, especially with teaching speaking... as I said before, understanding, you know, different uses of language and discourse in different disciplines... those kinds of things.’

(Professor Smith)

‘They need to think beyond the sentence for one. So, with a few exceptional individuals aside, they need some training in discourse analysis.’

(Swales)

‘The traditional idea was that you teach the teachers the genre and the genre is regarded as being crucial, I think, in the education of EAP teachers. If you teach them the genre, then you effectively are preparing them to teach the English of that specific purpose...’

(Widdowson)

‘They need to know something about the language that they’re teaching... an EAP teacher needs to understand the discourse of the different disciplines.’

(Flowerdew)

‘You need to know about academic language and how it works. I think that is quite important’

(Gillett)

‘I think that in particular, I would like to see teachers teaching Academic English, English for Academic Purposes, to have a very solid background in discourse analysis, the techniques of analysing discourse... I think teachers need the tools, the knowledge of discourse analysis from different approaches, like conversational analysis or speech acts or genre analysis or corpus err, whatever, to be able to understand that level of language...’

(Basturkmen)

‘In terms of their knowledge, what you really want, is someone who can build corpora; can do discourse analysis; can do genre analysis and yeah, can come to conclusions about the target genres off their own bat perhaps... but yes, the ability to do genre analysis, because it’s so important.’

(Dr. Jones)

Still on the subject of raw knowledge, a number of respondents were of the opinion that in order to be classed as expert practitioners, EAP teachers should also know a lot about the historical development of their field, and have a good understanding of the different forces that have made EAP what it is today:

‘I think that people, that teachers, should have a knowledge of the field of English for Academic Purposes, and it does need to be built up, that knowledge. I think you can’t acquire it just from doing it; I think it’s a very good idea to read the professional journals; to read books on, you know, what is English for Academic Purposes and how can we describe the discourse...’

(Basturkmen)

‘In terms of knowledge, I think we have such- as I was saying earlier- a canon of information on EAP now; it’s more well-developed as a field and is developing further all the time, but there is a lot for teachers to learn, and if I were starting again now, I would want to know all that before I started. I would want to know also how the field has developed over the last 25 or 30 years or so; where we are now and where it had actually come from’

(McDonough)

‘I would like a greater awareness of the history of thinking about EAP. What I’m struck by always, is the way in which there seems to be a disregard, or an ignorance of what has happened before in our field... so I suppose what I would want EAP people to think about is where they come from, and what the history of EAP has been, and how it relates to the current developments.’

(Widdowson)

With regard to knowledge of discourse and genre, as one respondent, Flowerdew, went on to emphasize, this becomes *particularly* important in EAP and ESP settings because practitioners are very often required to create their own subject-specific teaching materials, a scenario that might not occur quite so readily in General English contexts:

‘They need to know about the language.... an EAP teacher needs to understand the discourse of the different disciplines. This is one of the differences... if you get into ESP, you usually end up designing your own materials, or at least adapting materials; something that a General English teacher might not do.’

(Flowerdew)

The importance of EAP teachers having the ability to produce custom-

designed courses and materials of their own was also highlighted by Waters:

‘There needs to also be ability at the course design and syllabus design level... I think the ability to do a bit of materials design and course design is another important attribute.... especially in certain situations, in very specialized types of EAP teaching, these will call upon the need for the teacher to have a bit of materials writing ability.’
(Waters)

Building on this, a number of respondents flagged that expert EAP teachers must also be willing to learn about, and take a professional interest in, the particular academic subject disciplines of the different students that they teach:

‘...an interest in the students, umm, an interest in the discipline- I think they’re the main things. I think you need some kind of sympathy and understanding with the students, and also an interest in the discipline that you’re teaching.’
(Hyland)

‘The EAP teacher doesn’t need to be a subject specialist, but he or she needs to be an interested student of the subject area; needs to take an intelligent interest in it, and of course, ultimately, the purpose of that interest, is to identify more clearly what the needs are, and above all, to design and use relevant pedagogic activities that will hopefully meet the needs of the student in that respect... we should be looking for a respect for the discipline, or disciplines, of the students.’
(Waters)

‘You need to show an interest and of course there can be an exchange there. You know, I have certain expertise and so do you, and you can inform me about the discipline, and I’ll inform you about the other dimensions, if you like.’
(Flowerdew)

‘They need to be able to develop understanding of disciplinary cultures- whichever disciplines they happen to have, you know, this week, this year or in their professions- and also, to be able to find out about those disciplinary cultures and possibly interact with people in those disciplines, so that they get a source of information about what is important in their communication.’
(Basturkmen)

‘If they [EAP teachers] are going to relate the language to some specialist content, then it would be well if they knew the specialist content. It may well be- and this is something that we discussed in quite some detail many years ago- that the best EAP teachers are not English teachers that you persuade to teach in relation to a

particular content area, but specialists in a content area who are able to see what the linguistic consequences are. In other words, you start with your content teachers...'

(Widdowson)

While most of the respondents readily identified the matter of teachers having a professional interest in their students' academic subject matter as being a good thing, the *extent* to which EAP teachers should possess specific content knowledge was very much a contested space. As evidenced by the comments above, some practitioners, such as Waters, were very clear in their belief that content knowledge of different academic disciplines is *not* in itself a core requirement; however, at the opposite end of that scale, others, such as for example Widdowson, saw direct content knowledge as *highly* desirable, even going so far as to say that the best EAP teachers are perhaps those who start their academic life as content teachers, and then develop their English Language awareness later, rather than the other way round.

The potential pros and cons of EAP teachers holding or not holding specialist subject knowledge were summarized by Swales:

'It can help if they have, you know, a science background or a law background or whatever, but I've seen cases where that has just got in the way and they really wanted to be content teachers. I mean, they were sort of failed content teachers... what they really need is an open mind, which allows them to access the discourses and disciplines and, perhaps just as importantly, the kind of conventions that are associated with being an engineer or being an architect or being whatever it is.'

(Swales)

The capacity for open-mindedness in EAP teachers was a dimension that other respondents also drew explicit attention to, largely perhaps, because it was felt that academic genres and particular styles of writing at university are continuing to evolve. As Professor Smith pointed out, the academic conventions that are accepted and recognized as the given standard at universities today, may well be subject to

change tomorrow:

‘[EAP teachers] should be open to keeping on learning, because some of the academic genres that we’re working with are actually changing. So it’s about not having a fixed idea of what things should be like..., so it’s about not coming in with this idea that one size fits all, and that this is what a piece of academic writing should look like, because it’s very dependent on the context in which it is produced and the people who are assessing it and the goals and all sorts of things. And that goes right from the academic essay, right the way through to the doctoral dissertation in my view. So [it’s about] keeping a really open mind, and finding strategies for learning what’s accepted and expected in particular areas of study, because the process is ongoing really.’

(Professor Smith)

Aside from this, it was also felt that open-mindedness is a necessary EAP practitioner trait because in EAP and ESP contexts, given their primary expertise as language specialists, EAP teachers may often not know as much about the content of the target academic disciplines as their students. It was suggested, therefore, that being open-minded and flexible in how they might choose to deal with such pedagogical power-shifts, as well as having sufficient humility to recognize their own shortcomings, do then become very important dispositional attributes for EAP teachers to possess:

‘You have to be willing to accept that the students know more perhaps about the content of what you are teaching than you do. So it’s that sort of attitude and being open, rather than having the knowledge. You don’t have the knowledge of mechanical engineering or whatever and you can’t expect to get that, so it’s about being more open to being the person who doesn’t know some parts of what you are teaching, rather than the teacher being the know-all about everything.’

(Watson Todd)

‘I think you need to be very humble, and not see yourself as knowing everything, because you know, the more students advance in their disciplinary culture, then they have the content expertise and the understanding of what is important and why communication is the way it is in their disciplinary culture and so, of course, in that situation the students become the knowers and the teacher has to be quite humble, and be the person helping them to fill in the linguistic gaps in their otherwise content and communication knowledge.’

(Basturkmen)

‘It’s about accepting that position [the fact that in EAP, you might not know as much

as your students] and being quite happy with it, because some people might feel uncomfortable with that. The fact that sometimes, you know, you're actually learning from your students'

(Professor Smith)

Still in terms of disposition and general character traits, it was flagged by a number of respondents that expert EAP teachers must be able to work well in teams, and have the ability to collaborate successfully with subject specialists from other academic disciplines:

'You have to be able to work as a team with the other English teachers, and this can be a bit of a shock when we get teachers coming in from the USA, for example, who are used to just doing their own thing in the classroom and then they find out, oh no, you have to follow the schedule because each teacher is doing the same thing and giving the same tests and exams, so you have to work in a team with the other teachers.'

(Flowerdew)

'I think also, umm, an ability to work well beyond the classroom; to get on with subject specialists and umm, use them as useful sources of information as appropriate, although at the same time, not to be overawed or browbeaten by them either. You know, to be good on those sorts of cross-curricular, inter-personal relations aspects'

(Waters)

'... a wish and a capacity to collaborate and to co-operate with subject specialists... When it comes to collaborating and co-operating with people, general disposition is this dreadful thing that you see on job descriptions all the time about having the ability to 'work with people' and the ability to 'work as part of a team'. Those awful, generic descriptors that they have (laughs), but yeah, if you can get on with people. We all know that when you try and work with subjects and departments, sometimes there is err, resistance- for whatever reason- and it might be that this ability to roll with the punches a little bit and umm, to weather the storm you could say, but umm, to persevere and err, not be put off.'

(Dr. Jones)

As Dr. Jones points out, however, while a willingness and capacity for collaboration with subject specialists can certainly be considered a key dispositional trait of expert EAP teachers, there may, unfortunately, sometimes be some resistance to such collaboration from the subject specialists' side. It follows, therefore, that in dispositional terms, EAP

professionals also need to have sufficient confidence, strength of character and adequate stores of personal self-belief to deal with any such barriers head-on, and not allow themselves to feel unduly snubbed, or to be easily put off.

Hyland made a similar observation:

‘I think umm, we do have to demonstrate our competence outside of the Centre, and not just to students. And so having the confidence to go along and talk to, you know, senior professors, some of whom are very dismissive of language.’

(Hyland)

With regard to core skills, not surprisingly perhaps, a number of respondents made direct mention of the need for EAP teachers to have a good grasp of pedagogical principles, and to be well-versed in the current thinking around what constitutes effective teaching and learning, particularly with regard to the development of study skills:

‘They need to know about pedagogical theory too, as indeed any mainstream language teacher would need...and they need to have teaching skills; they need to know how to set up tasks; how to manage the classroom in an interactive way, using group work and pair work and those sorts of things. Increasingly nowadays, they need to be able to use technology...They need to have good teaching skills and be able to interact with people and to have good classroom management skills. But in addition to that, they need to know about study skills; they need to have this ability to project a sense of expertise with both the students and colleagues in other departments.’

(Flowerdew)

‘I think you need teaching techniques, and I think you need to understand how people learn, and you need to know a bit about the psychology of people and how people react in situations, so you need to know a bit about motivation.’

(Gillett)

‘Obviously, you also need an interest in teaching, and the ability to communicate that interest, because it’s not just being able to analyze a text, but what you then do with that analysis. How you can encourage students to bring their own analytical skills and knowledge of their discipline to learn something from that.’

(Hyland)

‘Things like strategies, things for learning strategies, things for getting the students to cope in new environments maybe, the inter-cultural knowledge, that an EAP teacher,

if they're getting people to survive and to work in a university setting, which most of the time it is, err, then all those levels of knowledge need to... umm, so things like learning and all the stuff that I've talked about: task progression and how to give feedback; in what form is feedback going to be engaging; can you use technology; can you use things like screen-capture software to give more effective feedback; can you give feedback to the whole group as well as more individual personal stuff. That's all that kind of knowledge of teaching which is really important. Umm, recycling things- again, it's not necessarily different from ELT, but it's no less important.'

(Mann)

'Being a good teacher full stop! I don't think there is that much difference between EAP and other classrooms, and even between language teaching and other teaching. One problem I feel about TEFL and Applied Linguistics is that it is so focused on the linguistic side and it doesn't pay enough attention to the education side. So you can have people who know everything about language or whatever, but if they are a bad teacher then they are going to be a bad teacher full stop. So all of those skills are definite pre-requisites but I would say that they are pre-requisites of being a teacher of anything.'

(Watson Todd)

It is difficult to argue with Watson Todd's point here, that effective teaching is effective teaching, *whatever* the subject discipline it is that is being taught. However, as we have already identified, one of the key hallmarks of EAP teaching is its inherent sense of purpose, so it should come as no great surprise that for teaching to be deemed effective in EAP contexts, teachers must also be able to demonstrate a much deeper awareness of target outcomes, and of meeting their students' particular needs. A number of respondents drew explicit attention to these EAP-specific aspects:

'There's the whole thing around needs analysis and what that means. It clearly means one thing for ESP and you can do it for EAP, but obviously when you've got a heterogeneous EAP class, you can't do it in quite the same pithy way that you could for a group of say Venezuelan chemists or whatever, if they're all chemists and they're all at the same level and so on. But yes, needs analysis... people need to have an openness to the fact that these students are not English majors and are driven by quite other concerns than learning English for its own sake'

(McDonough)

'There needs to be an understanding of how you meet learners' needs, because every learner that you're going to have in an ESP setting is going to be different, but often, even if you have like a general EAP class, they are probably all going to

different places... but in the end, it is always going to be specific. And students always want to know... and that's a challenge actually, but having tasks for the students which help them to get what they need'

(Professor Smith)

'Those basics of EAP and ESP that are really important, I think. Things like needs analysis and to know not only the needs of your students, but the needs of their future goals...'

(Coxhead)

A further trait of expert EAP teachers, which was mentioned by many of the respondents, is that the teachers themselves should have experienced academic study of their own, particularly if they are going to be teaching postgraduate students. On that note, there was a general consensus that expert EAP teachers should be expected to have studied to at least Masters' level, the logic being that if teachers haven't had direct experience of postgraduate study themselves, then it becomes difficult for them to claim any expertise, or indeed have any credibility, in preparing others for such an experience:

'One of the key pre-requisites for a good EAP teacher is to have done a Masters' degree themselves and I particularly mean the research component of a Masters' degree because I think you've got to learn to read like a researcher; you've got to learn the pitfalls of a lack of objectivity as a researcher, before you really understand what it is that you're trying to get your, err, help your students to do. If you haven't tried to do research, and I don't just mean evaluation of a course, which is often what research counts for on a Masters' TESOL, I mean *real* data gathering; if you haven't actually tried to do that, and grappled with a methodology, and grappled with what you can and can't say about your results, then I don't think you've really got much of an appreciation of what a Masters' student is going to have to try to do... When I'm interviewing [EAP] teachers, the ones that I think, 'yes, you've got potential' are the ones that are showing me evidence of their understanding of scholarship at university at Masters' level... I mean, you can have a shed-load of ELT experience, you can know an awful lot about language acquisition, but if you really don't understand scholarship, then I probably can't turn you into an EAP teacher.'

(Alexander)

'I'm not sure that it's a good idea to have postgraduates in particular, but even undergraduates, taught by teachers who don't have an academic background themselves. That *does* worry me a bit, so I think I would want to be looking for, err, study skills and study knowledge in the teachers themselves.'

(McDonough)

'If you are going to be working in EAP, you are probably going to have to need to do some research yourself into the sorts of textual teaching, and you need that to understand even published course books...'

(Basturkmen)

'General disposition would really be a general academic disposition, I suppose. Someone academically and research-minded.'

(Dr. Jones)

'I think to teach EAP, you have to be a researcher yourself; you have to be ummm, well, I just look at our own university context and there are different people who claim to teach academic writing... and at doctoral level, but I'm thinking that if the persons aiming to inculcate students into the academy haven't actually themselves gone that far into the academy, then they can't really take the students that far.'

(Bruce)

Building on his point above, Bruce also stressed that in his view, EAP teachers should see themselves less as mere service providers, and more as an integral part of the university. As Bruce explains, one of the inherent benefits of EAP teachers taking a greater interest in research and academic theory is that this will help to win EAP greater kudos and respect as an academic subject discipline in its own right, a point to which I will be returning later in this chapter:

'I think they [EAP teachers] need to be more connected with the academy. To see themselves less as a learning support agency, but as absolutely at the core of the academy, doing research, reading the theory and footing it with the rest of them to be honest, and I think that will give the subject the academic credibility that it needs in order to be fully accepted.'

(Bruce)

5.2 The Need for Specific Training and Development Programmes in EAP [corresponding to interview question 13]

When asked whether or not they felt it would be useful for there to be more teacher education and training programmes with a specific focus on EAP, the respondents were unanimous in their agreement that this would be a very welcome development indeed:

'Oh yes, I think so. I *do* think so... I mean, given that most people in this field come

from some training in English Language and Literature, yes there needs to be a forced induction into another way of thinking about what is valuable; what is good writing.'

(Swales)

'Yes, yes I think so, *definitely*. Whether you're going directly into EAP, or whether you're transferring from a General English background, err, I do think the things we've touched on already tonight, I think it's important to raise awareness of these... I think that any teacher transferring to, or starting out in teaching EAP would benefit from a grounding in the kinds of aspects, the methodology and so on, that we've been talking about. I do think it would be quite important for teachers to know about those things, and also to realize that they're not necessarily starting from scratch; hopefully there are a lot of potentially relevant ways of teaching that they've already learned, and which can be equally useful in an EAP context....EAP is an important area of teaching in its own right- just like teaching young learners has developed its own form of certification- and I think that there's a definite argument for having an equivalent type of further qualification for the teaching of EAP or EOP. There's no question about it, and I'm sure that that would improve the professionalism in the area.'

(Waters)

'Yes, I do. I think it would be a very good idea if there were such a qualification or even qualifications that could be offered umm, both to people who had the time to do them and to people who were busier, but who could do them in the form of a more 'quick and dirty' course as it were, in order to bring them up to speed with some of these things.'

(McDonough)

'I think there's *definitely* a role for it. I mean one thing that I used to do every year was to teach on the British Council ESP summer school, which was held for a number of years at Aston University, and then after that in Plymouth [University College of St Mark and St John]... Certainly if someone had that knowledge, if someone had presumably been inculcated by such a programme, then yes, that would be good.'

(Flowerdew)

'Yes, I think so. I mean, we have 51 teachers in the Centre and many of them come from secondary schools and they bring very very valuable understandings of teaching and learning from that context, but it tends to take them a long time to re-learn that in an EAP context. So they're very valuable people; they've got great background and experience; but it's almost as if they have to unlearn some things in order to work effectively... Coming from a secondary school to teach disciplinary specific EAP may be a bigger jump than coming from an engineering background and teaching EAP.'

(Hyland)

'Yes I do. *Very strongly*. I think there should be more development of specific teacher development- I wouldn't call them 'training' perhaps- programmes for EAP. We could have more courses on Masters programmes in EAP, or Masters programmes

that are orientated towards EAP. I don't think that it has to be all in the more private sector- the Diplomas, you know, the UCLES [University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate] type thing- because I also think that universities have got a role to play in this.'

(Basturkmen)

'Yes, I most certainly think it is actually [a good idea to have EAP specific teacher training and development programmes], because some people go into it- and you know, they may be good General English teachers- without knowing what it's all about; without knowing what they need to know, in order to do this kind of work...'

(Professor Smith)

'I think there's enough to be said that this is a completely different field... I'm going to go back and make an argument that I should be teaching an EAP paper within our MA... we have an ESP course, we should really have an EAP course and I think that there's definitely a need for that...'

(Coxhead)

'I would have to say 'Yes' because I used to run one!' [laughs]... There's got to be a change in orientation. From sentence level to discourse level practices, so you've got to know about text production and text processes, umm, so you need something that can move an ELT teacher away from a focus on verb grammar and the sentence and onto a focus on noun grammar and the discourse... I do think there's a need for some kind of qualification which gets teachers to be more focused on texts and understand research processes.'

(Alexander)

'Very much so! Yeah, very much so. I do think so. I mean, when I thought about your questions that you sent me, I thought, 'Absolutely'... Yes, I think so.'

(Dr. Jones)

'I'm biased... but absolutely. We have a postgraduate Diploma and a Masters in Applied Linguistics, which is a clone... I mean it's modelled on the British degree structures from what I can gather, but I actually feel that the EAP training I tried to introduce at Diploma level assumed knowledge of discourse analysis and research methods and stuff, which they didn't have, so now I've moved it up and put it into the Masters and I think it's the more theoretical training that people need. But yes, absolutely, I think that there should be training positioned at postgraduate level, probably at Masters, and in the second year if you're doing a 2 year Masters, where people have a knowledge of research methods, preferably in discourse analysis. I would see those two as feeding into it.'

(Bruce)

While there was very strong agreement that EAP-specific teacher training and development courses would definitely be a move in the

right direction, some of the respondents went on to raise concerns about the nature that such courses might take, and who in fact should ultimately have ownership of the course delivery.

As evidenced by her comments above, Basturkmen, for example, was keen to emphasize that unlike most of the standard contemporary training courses in General English Language Teaching, which are predominantly offered by private sector educational providers such as Trinity College and the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, teacher training and development courses in EAP should ideally have much stronger involvement and buy-in from the university sector.

By contrast, Professor Smith, Dr. Jones and Mann seemed happy to suggest that simply introducing EAP-specific variants to the educational suites already offered by the existing private sector providers would be perfectly acceptable:

‘We might need to talk to the people who run the CELTA and the DELTA and ask them whether they are interested in launching a similar programme really. And you know, they could use those BALEAP guidelines as the way of framing what they do. I would think that there would be a demand for that kind of thing. You know, the more someone’s training can be credential, the more useful it is for the person getting the qualification. And the better it is for you as an employer, to see what they’ve got, you know. Yeah, I mean you accept a CELTA and a DELTA because you know what’s in there, you know. Some have got a CELTA and nothing more, you know, that’s all they’ve got, so you can say, ‘oh well, this is where you are now, and this is what you need to do’. If they’ve got a DELTA, then they’ve had a bit more advanced training, and if they’ve got a Masters, well again, you understand what they’ve got. So, I would think that a qualification of that kind, for a credential-bound organisation like say Cambridge- I think it’s called Cambridge Examinations now, isn’t it?- would be a really useful thing to be doing.’

(Professor Smith)

‘I think an RSA Diploma in EAP or ESP might be the way to go. So you’d be talking about a one year course, with an awful lot of teaching involved, but also the balance between the classroom and being observed in the classroom, but also the theory as well. Doing reading and err input sessions every week and so on... if there’s a syllabus for an RSA Diploma, then why shouldn’t there be a syllabus for an RSA in EAP?’

(Dr. Jones)

‘I think that maybe the way to go is to have a sort of add-on, a sort of ‘DELTA-plus.’
(Mann)

Though generally wedded to the idea of EAP-specific teacher training and development courses in *principle*, Gillett expressed his concerns about the feasibility of such courses to do adequate justice to the current depth and breadth of the EAP field. For Gillett, a longer-term approach to teacher professional development using e-portfolios, as is currently under trial by the professional body BALEAP (British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes), would be preferable, and in his view, might actually work much better:

‘My theoretical answer would be ‘yes’ but, in practice, I’ve no idea if it ever could be done. I mean, EAP is pretty wide these days and it is taught in the private sector and can also include supervising PhD students and things like that. I don’t know your answer to that question, but I think you’re probably right. I’m very interested in the BALEAP Competency Framework that I know you were involved with, and I’m very impressed with the way that that is being taken forward to the BALEAP e-Portfolios and I think that’s a good way forward. I think that’s probably the right way and I was part of the committee looking at that.’

(Gillett)

Swales echoed some of Gillett’s concerns, commenting that there might be some challenges around what/what not to include in an EAP training and development course curriculum, and that prospective EAP teachers’ needs might be more effectively served via broader and more extended offerings at the Master’s level:

‘If I were asked to design what might be a top-level qualification for an EAP teacher, I really don’t know, if I would expect them to know anything about the history of it; how much of the literature would I expect them to have read; how far and what insights can they make with experience... I don’t know whether you’d ever get such a qualification to fly. And then, I’m not sure whether I would really go for that, because you know, there is a certain sense in which teachers should be encouraged to do what they do best, and you can often see that ESP teachers fall into two groups: there are the methodologists – Alan Waters and that kind of thing – and then there is the kind of investigators of the particular language and discourses and genre and so on, and most people aren’t brilliant at both. They can do one or the other... When we designed the Master’s course in ESP in Aston, starting in 1981 I think, yeah, we had a fairly clear idea that there was going to be work on the syllabus; there was going to be work on the curriculum; there was going to be work on methodology; there was

going to be work on materials' development and there was going to be work on varieties of English, which was the course that I taught. You know, not just register-based varieties such as Australian English, Canadian English or whatever, but also Science English, Legal English and Commercial English. I mean we didn't have a huge research database at that time, but there were still things that we could say'.

(Swales)

Though very much in favour of training and development for teachers specifically focusing on EAP, like Swales, Flowerdew also felt that the best vehicle for this would be a university-based Master's programme. Unlike Swales, however, who seemed to be leaning towards Master's programmes focusing entirely on EAP/ESP, Flowerdew felt that it would be better to offer EAP training and development only as a specialist elective. In his view, this would allow teachers to retain the option of following a career in more general ELT, and thus avoid narrowing their focus, or unduly restricting their future employability:

'I think a better way of doing it is to offer an MA in TESOL but with a specialism in TEAP. That's what we tried at Leeds... If they decide to do an MA in EAP, then they may think that an MA TEAP is too specialized, that it's going to limit their options, which is why they go for the more general MA, because they think that that will allow them to get a more general English Language teaching job.'

(Flowerdew)

For his part, though appearing to be broadly in favour of courses focusing explicitly on EAP, Widdowson was keen to make explicit the clear distinction between training and education, suggesting that in his experience, teacher training courses from the traditional canon have tended to lack depth, and as a consequence, have been over-reliant on merely prescribing sets of procedures and techniques. As a result, even if well-intentioned, such training may in fact have missed the mark, and have only had a very limited impact on influencing teachers' longer-term behaviour:

'This may seem pernicky, but let me pick you up on the term training... I feel there is a tendency to think of teaching as a matter of going through certain procedures and using certain techniques. But what I think often, if not always, that they fail to do, is to get prospective teachers, or actual teachers, to an understanding of what it

is, what it means to communicate in a language; what does it mean to use language for a particular purpose? what are the underlying strategic issues here? And I think that this is a matter of education, not training; it is a matter of educating teachers for an understanding and an awareness of the nature of linguistic communication; the nature of the pragmatic uses of language. And if that is successful for General English Teaching, then the transition into specific English teaching is relatively straightforward, because although these are different kinds of purposes, once you've defined them, then the procedures for achieving them are essentially the same... If you get educated teachers, in the sense that there is an awareness of the underlying principles, then I think the transition to a different realisation of those principles in EAP is relatively straightforward. Now, if these courses fail to do that, then, yes, for EAP teaching, you need to provide it. But the EAP courses should not, or cannot, be training courses in that sense, but courses for educating teachers and prospective teachers into the underlying principles of communication, and how these are realized in the particular cases of particular subject areas.'

(Widdowson)

As Widdowson went on to explain at some length, from his personal experience and perspective there can be a danger with *all* training that unless there is a deeper understanding and appreciation of the underlying educational principles, teachers may fall back on their old habits, and simply continue to do what they feel most comfortable with:

'Going back now to when I first went to Sri Lanka, the idea there was to cascade courses for teacher training and you would have groups of teachers coming in for a course, and the same was true for India later, which would prepare them to teach in the approved way, and you had British Council officers demonstrating to them how to teach, whether it was the structural approach or whatever approach was deemed to be the one and only effective one, and the teachers, because they were simply trained in these procedures, these techniques, didn't really understand, really why they were doing things in this way, and so they were therefore not educated into an understanding of this approach and, of course, within a matter of a very short time they forgot all about these procedures and reverted to what they were doing before. And English Language Teacher Training is full of examples of this kind...because there's a lack, because they didn't address the basic education question.'

(Widdowson)

5.3 The Desirability of Introducing Recognised Industry Standards for EAP Teaching [corresponding to interview question 13]

The majority of the respondents were in agreement that EAP as a

discipline would benefit from the introduction of a series of recognised professional standards to define what constitutes good practice. However, some individuals expressed their concerns that if such standards were to be set, then these might become too restrictive, or end up being used against practitioners in an exclusive, or even punitive way. There were also questions raised about who exactly the people responsible for setting such benchmarks should be. Furthermore, doubts were expressed that we may not know enough about EAP as an emergent field to be able to start specifying codes of practitioner behavior at this stage:

‘I’m not sure about a universally-agreed industry standard, because that sounds a bit scary to me, that there would be one standard, because contexts do vary so much. That sounds a bit hard line, and I would also be a bit worried about who these people are who think they know what the standard or benchmark is, because as I was saying before, I think we all need to be a bit more humble (*laughs*) because again, we are all in the process of developing our knowledge in this emerging field. But I think definitely there should be some EAP sort of teacher development programmes out there, and you know, over time, they could move towards some sort of standards, but I think we will have to be very careful about not enforcing one group’s standards everywhere, because I think the range of EAP work is very varied and I don’t think we exactly know all about it now; I think we are learning about it.’

(Basturkmen)

‘I don’t think it’s that important because, for one, I don’t particularly like standards anyway, because they tend to become monolithic in many ways and that can create problems. There is no right answer to anything, but when you set up standards, quite often you are saying that there is a right answer. So, personally, I don’t particularly like the idea of standards, but I acknowledge that they often have to be created.’

(Watson Todd)

‘I’m kind of cautious about over-assessing people, you know, I think we evaluate too easily and there is a kind of administrative drive towards reducing everything to a number or whatever, but I mean, yes, I think it would be satisfying for a lot of teachers to have something that they could present as a certification of competence, but umm, should we expect it? Umm, I’m not sure. I’m not really sure if the field is kind of ready for it either. Umm, it does imply that there’s a sufficiently large area of agreed-upon knowledge and skills about what should go into this and what people should be able to do in order to demonstrate competence, but do we have that? I don’t know... I mean, are there things that are agreed? That there’s sufficient, umm, *consensus* on what people should be able to demonstrate and show competence in?’

(Hyland)

By contrast, those that were strongly in favour of trying to set professional benchmarks and gain consensus on a set of universally-recognised standards cited the benefits that these would bring to the field as a whole in terms of its kudos and academic respectability. It was also felt that having a more clearly recognised set of professional standards would help EAP to grow as a discipline, and to gain more recognition for its research base. Finally, it was suggested that introducing recognisable standards and codes of practice for EAP would bring it more in line with what currently happens in English Language Teaching in general, and in so doing, make things easier for prospective employers:

‘Yes, well I think it probably would be desirable. I think it would give EAP- and I’m just thinking now of EAP as it is taught in universities in this country [the UK]- a bit more kudos than it often has in relationship to the powers-that-be within individual universities. Umm, I mean, for example, at Essex now, EAP was done as part of a unit within a unit in Language & Linguistics, but it’s now- and I think this is a negative- it’s now been hived off to a Skills Centre, and that in turn has been hived off to Learning Development, so it is being thought of as ‘just’ skills that you teach, and that has downgraded the research base of EAP. And I’m sure that this is not just the case at Essex. And it’s all become much more overtly a business- I mean it always was a business, but it’s now more obviously a business- and the university is just not interested in research that is done in ELT because it’s not the same kind of subject in terms of its respectability as others. I think that’s a pity, and I think that if you did have more of an industry standard based on a solid qualification, then that might reverse that trend a bit. But in principle, yes, certainly that [setting up an industry standard] would be something worth pursuing.’

(McDonough)

‘Yeah... I would’ve thought that there was definitely a case for that kind of thing. It’s not a question of prescribing a straitjacket, or a particular mould of EAP teacher, it’s just a way of trying to ensure greater possibilities for professional development, and of course you have to have some kind of yardstick to be able to do that. It’s not a limit on people’s teaching ideas and development, it’s a building of- a shoring up of- the foundation, I would say... it’s basically about professional standards’

(Waters)

‘It seems to me that to be taken seriously, you have to have appropriate qualifications. So you know, if a Dean asks someone from the Language Centre to come and talk to them about language teaching, and they work out that this person hasn’t even got a Master’s degree and yet he’s giving them a talk about what students need, it doesn’t kind of work really; so I think that you know, Directors of Studies in universities – who, frankly, in my view should have a PhD – and as a

minimum, a Master's degree, and with the increased competition for jobs- certainly where I'm working- teachers who didn't have Master's degrees are now going on to get them because they want to keep their jobs... So, I think it's all about increasing teachers' qualifications, not just for the sake of having qualifications, but also for them knowing more about what they do, so that they can do a better job. I think that this is one way of professionalizing the field and giving it greater standing within institutions. And also encouraging these people to do research'

(Professor Smith)

'Absolutely [*laughs*] Yeah, absolutely. I think there needs to be [a recognized set of standards]. And I think that the Competency Framework for Teachers of EAP for BALEAP, which I was involved in a bit, was a step in the right direction, but the thing with becoming part of the academy is that you can get accreditation frameworks and competency standards and I think those are all good, but I also think it's about making a name by doing research; it's getting the publications, it's being a critical academic and it's on a much more individual level. This will give it the academic credibility that it should have.'

(Bruce)

'I think it would be institutionally desirable in that all of these qualifications are really there for the convenience of employers ... if there is something for General English Teaching, it makes sense institutionally that there then should be something also for EAP.'

(Widdowson)

Echoing Gillett's earlier comment about the potential value of the proposed BALEAP accredited e-portfolio scheme, Alexander expressed her belief that if recognised professional standards for EAP teaching were one day to be set, then they should have at their core an element of evidence-based teacher reflection on practice:

'I would say 'yes' because BALEAP has been busy setting up just such a qualification, but for me, to become an EAP teacher, you need to be reflective, and for that reason, I think, that's why we're setting up an e-Portfolio accreditation scheme. And I don't know if you're aware of the Higher Education Academy professional standards framework here in the UK but the BALEAP scheme's a lot like that... ummm, we started thinking about ours before they published their framework, but we see a lot of parallels between that professional standards framework and the BALEAP Competency Framework in terms of the areas that they're targeting for professional practice. So I think that a teacher needs to be able to take a framework like that and apply it to their practice and say how is what I do an instance of this kind of thing in a reflective umm, statement. So that, for me, is the sort of development that an EAP teacher needs. I don't think necessarily that you can get this by just sitting in a lecture theatre and being talked to by so-called EAP specialists; I think you actually

have to engage with ideas and think about how they apply to your practice and then write down a claim of competence which is supported with evidence showing that this is the case. So that's what BALEAP's putting together and to my mind, that's what we hope will become the industry standard, but whether it will or not, of course we don't know for sure, but the idea, certainly, was to make teachers portable across different institutions; if they had, if they were developing this portfolio, and there were different levels of it, then they could say, well, I'm an associate, an accredited colleague and that would mean something for employers. So yes, I do think that there's a need for a recognised... for recognition of some sort.'

(Alexander)

Although seemingly initially sceptical of setting universally-recognised standards of practice in EAP at this stage, after further consideration, Hyland reflected that from an employer's point of view, doing so would certainly make it much easier to control some of the inherent quality issues around EAP teacher recruitment. It might also help to improve the status and employability of non-native speaker EAP teachers:

'There are professional qualifications in a lot of fields- law, dentistry, medicine, engineering and I mean, engineering communication, as well- and in fact one of our staff has one, but these are disciplines, err, fields, with fairly *established* practices. I guess, again, you'd have to identify broad principles rather than specific, you know, activities. Umm, and yes, I suppose that that's what you were trying to do with those BALEAP can-do statements; it's an understanding of how you might go about things... We *do* kind of owe it to students to put the best people in front of them that we can...umm, and it might make the HR job of a Centre Director easier if he or she could *identify* who those people are to begin with, rather than taking them on and just letting them go, you know, which is a kind of fraught practice. If they came with a seal of approval, well...You're kind of making guesses on the basis of the err, paperwork, and then an interview, and umm, even with the best will in the world, somebody cannot make themselves a great EAP teacher and umm, well, I'm kind of half-persuaded now (*laughs*) that this might be a good idea. But we would need to agree on what it should contain; what the learning outcomes might be; how they might look like; and how you might move *towards* those learning outcomes, you know, so I think the learning outcomes could be expressed as the kind of can-do competencies and then... umm, yeah, the more I think about it, yes, in terms of recruitment, it *would* be very valuable and if it had international credibility, it would be good for teachers as well. And I think that what it might do as well is to raise the perceived competence of the non-native English speaking EAP teacher, because then we'd have an objective measure of their ability as an EAP teacher, which is not just based on what their first language happens to be. So yes, I think it *would* be valuable in that way.'

(Hyland)

5.4 How Institutions Might Best Measure EAP Practitioner Expertise & the Specific Role of Classroom Observation in EAP Contexts [corresponding to interview questions 14 and 15]

As a sequitur from my questions around the desirability of establishing universally-recognised standards for EAP teaching, the respondents were asked to comment on how institutions might best go about measuring the expertise of their EAP staff. As most of the respondents, not surprisingly perhaps, immediately made mention of assessed and peer observation of classroom teaching, the discussions then naturally broadened into what role classroom observation might play in EAP settings, and whether or not EAP teacher observations should be following the same format and looking for evidence of the same skills as observations in General English Language Teaching contexts, or if observations of EAP teaching, do in fact, warrant a different approach.

Commenting firstly on the broader question of how institutions might measure their EAP teachers' expertise, a number of the respondents emphasized that ideally speaking, it would be desirable to approach this from a multi-faceted, holistic standpoint, and to try and evaluate the EAP practitioners' competency and performance across a *number* of different dimensions, rather than just focusing on the observation of their classroom teaching alone. It was felt that this would allow teachers the opportunity to present a more rounded portfolio of their individual competencies and strengths:

'The observation thing for all the basic teaching and educational issues is fine, but other than that, it might be better to be looking at things like teacher preparation for the EAP knowledge side, or even how to apply the knowledge. Preparing and planning, especially if it's not about following a given text, but means doing your own stuff, is maybe a bigger insight than actual observation. If you say, OK, you've been asked to teach a group of Master's students who are working towards their thesis which they will need to write in English and there seems to be problems in organising a literature review and citing and plagiarism and things like that or whatever and you've got six hours of teaching, so what would you plan and prepare for that. That would probably give you one, insight into their knowledge of what the issues involved are and possibly also two, an insight into how they approach presenting

those issues to the students.'

(Watson Todd)

'I think you'd have to have a multi-pronged approach, wouldn't you? That's part of the thing. So you'd have to observe people in their teaching; or see if they could handle some sort of innovation, or maybe taking on roles within a programme and then monitoring how well that's gone... and maybe undertaking some sort of training and a certificate...'

(Coxhead)

'What strikes me about EAP and what you can observe, is that it's not all going to be evident in a classroom, but I suppose that you would follow some of the threads and say, you know, 'can I see some of the documentation? Can I see the process?' or be interested in that process which has led to the design of the materials. If you talk about collaborating with other people, or you know, providing a Moodle environment for people to access resources, or to test themselves, there's so much happening, I think, in EAP outside the classroom that that's err... it's not all observable in the classroom, but maybe connections to those things are, so I think it's good to give space to the whole process.'

(Mann)

'We already have an accreditation scheme in BALEAP for institutions, so we see those as being similar for individuals. And really, an institution when it goes through an accreditation, and I'm not sure if you've ever experienced a BALEAP accreditation, but it puts together a portfolio of its practice and there are areas that are itemized and that you need to provide evidence of to say that you are doing these things in this way, so effectively, we're using the BALEAP TEAP competencies to do the same kind of thing, and they're being teased out with suggestions for how you might collect together evidence of your competence in the different areas from within the framework and then you write what's called a 'Reflective Account of Professional Practice', which ties together all this evidence, and shows that it's related to each of the competencies that you're going for. So then, in the same way that the accreditation scheme has a committee that looks at reports, it will have a group of people that looks at individual portfolios, and if they meet the criteria for being an Associate of BALEAP, a Fellow of BALEAP or a Senior Fellow of BALEAP, and that process is going through now, so we have a cohort of people, and I'm trying to do this myself, who are compiling evidence and writing their Reflective Account of Professional Practice. The idea was to complete in July but I think we're not going to manage that at this stage, and in order to build a sort of bank of examples of practice and examples of portfolios, to inform the umm, assessment of them, but also to inform umm, supporting teachers to build their own portfolios. And eventually, these are the ideas... it'll be electronic and it'll be held on the BALEAP website and there'll be a space on the website with a log-in that you can provide to an employer and they can go and have a look at your portfolio electronically...'

(Alexander)

With regard to the specific matter of classroom observation, there was a distinct polarization of opinions, with at least half of the respondents expressing the view that observations in EAP contexts are *not* exactly the same as observations in other English Language Teaching contexts, and that the parameters and mechanisms around EAP observations should be constructed in such a way as to reflect that. For the remaining respondents however, the prevailing opinion was that there was not really that much difference between observations in EAP and observations in more general English Language Teaching settings.

For those that saw EAP observations as being quite distinct from observations in ELT, and were consequently of the opinion that the observer should be looking for the application of *different* sets of skills and practices, the root of the issue was once again to do with EAP teaching's inherent sense of purpose, and the belief that in EAP contexts, observers should be seeking more *direct* evidence of whether or not particular objectives have been reached; whether time has been used appropriately; whether adequate critical reflection has taken place; and whether academic discourse has been sufficiently unpacked and understood:

'What goes on in an EAP class is different to what goes on in a General English class, so you would be looking to see whether or not those features are present or not in your observation. So, you know, err, are the tasks designed to work towards a particular need, or are they just having a bit of fun- that would be one thing- and what is the place of the language? Is the language being focused on appropriately? And then, you know, the study skills- are these being introduced and developed, and are they appropriate or not?'

(Flowerdew)

'I think with EAP, you're trying to be quite *precise* about what your learning outcomes are. In ELT, it seems to me that that's not always the case...It's looser. It is more fluid. I see EAP as more focused and more, umm, outcomes-driven'

(Hyland)

'I think that they should be looking for *different* sorts of things and I think those guidelines that we were talking about before [the BALEAP Competency Framework] are really a way of framing what the sorts of things are that we should be looking for; what an observation framework would look like. You know, it's issues to do with an

understanding of academic discourse and of course disciplinary differences; ways of fostering learner autonomy; critical thinking- people need to understand what that actually means- all of those kinds of things. So yeah, I think they are quite different actually from the general observation scheme.'

(Professor Smith)

'I think that observations in EAP should be quite distinct... There's got to be a different kind of a focus. You've got to see whether they have a handle on discourse and they can get students doing it; you've got to see whether they can... whether they're bringing in the practice of critical reflection through the lesson: you know, why do you think that? Where's your evidence? All those little teacher questions that can keep the students all the time thinking 'I've got to justify what I say here'. So I actually think that the typical British Council or whatever type of observation is probably not much use at all, if you want to measure whether you've got a good EAP teacher.'

(Alexander)

'I think they should be looking for something a bit different. Now, I'm biased towards text analysis, and genre and that kind of stuff, because I think that's a really essential tool... But I think I would be looking for a course delivery that's research-informed; I like to see the lesson coming from somewhere, in terms of their knowledge of texts and knowledge of discourse and knowledge of research methods, that kind of thing. I think the depth of the basis of what it's all coming from is really important with EAP... But I think with umm TEFL, you're looking for certain aspects of classroom practice, like reduced teacher talk time and learner-centred lessons. In some ways, those things still apply, and there are elements of good practice in all kinds of teaching, but in the EAP classroom, there has to be a bit more give and take in terms of the kinds of academic English teaching that people are involved in and the needs of the lesson and that kind of thing... That's what's required.'

(Bruce)

Building on these points, two respondents suggested that in EAP contexts, the classroom observation instruments themselves may also be quite different in their design and focus, when compared to those typically used in mainstream ELT:

'I did some research a year or two ago with XXX [one of the private educational providers], looking at a possible revision of the observation instrument that they use for their, err, I think it was their Diploma course. And one of the things that struck me about it was an inherent bias in terms of the kind of methodology that was regarded as being appropriate. You know, much too much on the communicative side of things, I felt, and nothing like enough of a focus on the building up of a systematic understanding of the language. So, I think that the first thing would be that any observation instrument for EAP would need to be more neutral really; more open-minded; more balanced methodologically. It's impossible to really cater for all

eventualities, but not to make assumptions... not a prescriptive approach; not one way or the other, but a descriptive one; much more, I think, that would be essential. In terms of what that instrument should attempt to describe, it would be things of the kind that we've talked about already today, the extent to which there was an engagement with the students' subject matter specialism and interest; and the extent to which they were properly respected and treated as adults; the extent to which there was an appropriate introduction to and use made of skills work or language work. What you really want, is an observation instrument that is learning-centred, rather than the overly learner-centred type of instrument that you so often see instead... Learning may be learner-centred or it may be relatively more teacher-centred, it doesn't matter, as long as it's the most appropriate thing to do at that particular point.'

(Waters)

'The fact is that observation schedules are designed so that they are fairly reliable in the sense that you can tick off things like participation of the students, following the lesson plan etc, though this doesn't necessarily make them valid. You know, you can look at things like full participation of students, and say good, tick that one off, or followed the plan, good, tick tick tick, but what I think is often forgotten are certain basic things which are not very easily measured. So one issue here is the difference between what I call 'engagement' and 'participation'; you can have a class which is very busy participating, but not necessarily engaged and, similarly, you can have a class that is engaged, but not participating. So when one looks back at one's own education, you can think of teachers who, in terms of current pedagogic theory, were totally useless, with you know, no class participation, with the teacher at the front of the class, but who had their students really enthralled and fully engaged and we learnt a lot, even though we didn't participate. In fact, participation interferes with learning. And this is a matter of what we were saying before about education versus training. If you are trained in the idea that you've got to get the children talking, and that if they don't talk in your class then they call that teacher-talk and this class is useless because there is so much teacher talk and the learners, the pupils, are hardly talking at all. But this doesn't make it a bad lesson at all; it depends on what is being taught, and what your purpose is and what the outcomes are and so on.'

(Widdowson)

For those that saw EAP observations as *not* being markedly different from observations in more mainstream ELT, their argument tended to be based on the premise that good teaching is simply good teaching, and that there are elements of good practice that should be common, therefore, to *all* English Language Teaching classrooms:

'I can't, myself, see- unless I'm misunderstanding- that there's a huge amount of difference in the kinds of things that you're looking for. I mean you're looking at things like sensitivity to your students; attention to what's going on in the classroom;

the ability to think on your feet whilst remaining within your general strategic plan. Umm, to me, and again to go back to an earlier point, the bigger difference is not between so-called General English and EAP but between things like teaching adults and teaching young learners, and I would've thought that teaching young learners was a much more specialised thing than teaching EAP. But let me put it another way- I think you could go from teaching General English, as long as you'd developed certain sensitivities and understanding and knowledge, to teaching EAP without too much difficulty, umm, as long as you had the right attitude towards the students, but it's far more difficult to get into teaching young learners from being a General English teacher to adults. So that would be the bigger difference to me.'

(McDonough)

'I'm not sure what you would be looking at which would be different. Presumably, in all cases, what you are trying to find out is whether the teachers can actually activate the learners and get them interested and get them to use the language effectively...'

(Widdowson)

'Generally, I think they should be focusing on the same things, which is good teaching skills, but that would be the same whether you were teaching a language or not even. But this is going back to the education versus linguistics style stuff as well, and I'm a very strong believer that all teaching has a core of good abilities in teacher presence and being able to explain clearly and to illustrate points; giving clear instructions. Those things apply across all teaching, and those are the things which are clearest in observations, and can only really be done through observations.'

(Watson Todd)

'I think they share some commonalities; you know, managing a class is managing a class in some ways, isn't it, but I think that if you're doing an observation, well, it depends on whether or not there's a teacher volition thing happening there too; I think that if you're going in from an institutional point of view to say, well, you know, err how well is this teacher teaching, if it's an EAP class, then it has to be central to it to say how well is this person actually teaching EAP.'

(Coxhead)

Irrespective of whether or not they made a distinction between observations in ELT and observations in EAP, a number of the respondents were strongly of the opinion that traditional 'top-down' classroom observations by supervisors and managers are inherently not as valuable as observations that are conducted from peer to peer.

For the respondents subscribing to this belief, it was clear that assessed observations were generally viewed in a very sceptical light, tending to

be seen as an expression of management wielding power and control. By contrast, peer observation was considered to be a genuine tool for enhancing teachers' professional development:

'I tend not to be too keen on top-down observation because it tends to be used as an instrument of control, rather than as a way of improving performance, so I would favour peer observation, where people team up and they agree to probably watch each other. I think that can be more productive than you know, people worrying that, oh, the director's going to come and I might not get my contract renewed and all of that sort of thing.'

(Flowerdew)

'I think the first thing I'd say about observations is to make a very clear distinction between observation to check whether people are doing a good job... and observation which is part of a development programme, where people have got more choice about who observes them; setting the agenda for that observation in terms of their own development and also what happens with any outcomes of that observation... Umm, so my interests are much more in developmental observation, peer observation and making feedback dialogic and handling what is potentially a face-threatening set of procedures, a set of... I can't think of the right word, but you know, the whole kit and kerboodle is something that isn't handled very well and usually does tend to be a top-down... my interests are mostly in how do you make the feedback on those observations, err, work, and in simple terms, that's by making the object of the observation and the focus of the observation at least collaborative... and making it a conversation, rather than an expert telling people where they went wrong, to put a stereotypical view on what might happen.'

(Mann)

'I think that maybe we're talking about 2 different aspects of observation, umm, I mean I was seeing it as a kind of professional development, collegial activity. So I'm slightly worried about this, because if we are looking at it in a professional development light, and in an improvement light, then saying that we're using it to evaluate someone's competence as an EAP teacher in terms of some err, general standards, then we're doing something very different with our observations. And err, you can't do them both together.'

(Hyland)

'I'm somebody who believes in observation... We have an informal observation thing and I often make use of that. So peer observations... I also try and do team teaching and working closely with other classroom teachers. I think that team teaching and observation are fantastic opportunities for professional development, because what you're doing is seeing somebody else really working on what's going on...'

(Coxhead)

5.5 The Pros & Cons of EAP as A Career

[corresponding to interview question 16]

When the respondents were invited to comment on the pros and cons of EAP as a choice of career, a number of shared beliefs emerged. Under pros, mention was consistently made of three specific points:

- That EAP teaching generally offers better working conditions and career prospects than other areas of ELT.
- That EAP teaching represents a growth area.
- That EAP teaching is generally much more interesting and intellectually stimulating than mainstream EFL.

With regard to the first claim, that EAP teaching offers better working conditions, it was repeatedly stressed that in EAP contexts, teachers are usually afforded much more kudos and respect than those who work in more general English Language Teaching settings. It was suggested that this is probably because EAP most often takes place in universities, and that by extension, the tertiary environment *may*, in general, be more highly respected than other sectors of education:

‘In the academic context people get kudos, people get respect, when they do research and when they do publications... I think teachers in EAP are in a very good position to do publications; research presentations; go to conferences and do all of those academic activities. I can’t see why not... respect is very hard won in an academic community for *anybody*, and it doesn’t really come from teaching wonderful lessons; it comes from teaching wonderful lessons *plus* doing the more academic things as well. I would certainly recommend it to any teacher, who said to me, you know, ‘I have two different training options, or professional development options, General English Language teaching or EAP- what do you think, Helen?’, then I would suggest the EAP, definitely. I think they will move *further* in their career path, and *quicker* in EAP, than in General English language teaching, and they will probably be able to pick up some additional qualifications along the way.’

(Basturkmen)

‘I think EAP does have some respectability within the academy- I know that this is a question that you’re also interested in- err, it doesn’t have enough, but it has more than teaching housewives in a language school somewhere, so academically, it’s rich;

it changes; you work... you know, the content is interesting; I think if you have the right mind-set, you learn a lot. So I think it's a good career choice.'

(Mann)

'The main pro is probably that generally speaking, in teaching EAP you have a more professional working environment, and probably a more helpful working environment, because most EAP happens either in top level schools or in universities and, generally, those are better places in terms of working environments than language schools for example. Also, often they are more professional, because in language schools you often get instances where people are sacked for no reason; or they are asked to do ridiculous amounts of work; and that doesn't generally happen in most universities. I would say that was probably the main pro: the working environment and the support and the professionalism is generally higher in EAP.'

(Watson Todd)

'People in ELT tend to see getting into EAP as a way to get a better job; a way to go back home after they've been travelling the world and enjoying that experience. Although very often, you can get into EAP, I think, abroad. It certainly used to be the case that you could get good positions in Japanese universities and develop your EAP practice that way. Now, I don't know enough about that to be able to tell you for sure, but I do think EAP is probably seen as maybe giving you an opportunity to have a bit more stability in your employment profile. That's probably why people do it.'

(Alexander)

'The *good* side, I suppose, and a lot of teachers would tell you this straightaway, is that compared to EFL teachers, we've actually got high status; compared to General ELT teachers, we've got better pay; we've got better working conditions; we get more holidays; so yeah, you know, compared to a General EFL teacher in a not-particularly-good school, yes, EAP teachers are high-status...'

(Dr. Jones)

In terms of EAP's growth, respondents stressed the current dominance of the English Language in Higher Education, the variety of jobs that are available in EAP teaching, and therefore the strong concomitant prospects for future career mobility and progression:

'I think it's the growth area that's the plus. I think that people who want a career in English Language Teaching to adults, and who have the bent towards the academic side, should definitely go into EAP. I think that there's a career progression in EAP that you probably can't have in the same way in TEFL, unless you go into management; unless you're interested in managing language schools and administration and that kind of thing.'

(Bruce)

'I suppose that the pro would be that this is, if you like, a growth area. If one looks at the global rise and development of education, it's clear that English is being used more and more, particularly when you get into Higher Education. And at the moment anyway, English appears to be dominant. I mean, science, economics, business, you name it, this is what makes English the effective global lingua franca, and so you are coming into what is currently a major global development.'

(Widdowson)

'I think it's a good career choice because I think it's a growing field. I think there will be plenty of work opportunities in the future, and I think that may be less the case in General English language teaching, to be honest. I think a lot of General English language teaching may be picked up by online packagey-type things. I think it's a really good career choice, and it's a growing area of research and umm, publications. I think that teachers moving into this, who themselves have an academic interest, you know- they may themselves want to go on to future studies- I think this will be very good for them, to be honest.'

(Basturkmen)

'It's also a long-term market which is likely to continue, I think, looking at the growth. It's also an area that I think is easier to move around the world in, if you were getting into it as a possible career choice.'

(Mann)

Finally, almost all of the respondents stressed that when compared to teaching in General English contexts, content-wise, EAP teaching tends to be inherently richer and more intellectually stimulating. As an adjunct to this, it was suggested by some respondents that by contrast, General English teaching can often lack depth and appear quite frivolous:

'Ultimately, I think it's perhaps more interesting and rewarding than General English teaching, and also you've got more of a sense of where students are going with their work. With General English teaching, you can be teaching English for no obvious reason sometimes and you never quite know whether or not the students are measuring you based on how good a time they had. I remember an EAP teacher saying once to a student 'I'm not about entertainment' and I thought that was quite an interesting kind of comment. You know, 'I'm not here to entertain you; I'm here to help you learn'. And actually, this is a serious matter, you know, which is quite a difference between EAP and General English in those kinds of senses.'

(Professor Smith)

'If you like the academic life, EAP is good; you meet a lot of nice students. And I like that. I would never want to have to pick up a Headway and go into a classroom and

teach it again, although I do know people who like that... A friend I worked with in Hertfordshire, and who was also made redundant, finished up teaching General English and he said 'It's great. We can talk about anything. We can talk about their favourite pop groups'. But it didn't last long; it didn't last long. That enthusiasm to be able to teach and talk about stupid things all the time just doesn't go very deep and it doesn't keep people interested.'

(Gillett)

'Well, I think it's satisfying to look carefully at how language is used in a specific context. I mean, so that you can... err, because language is a way of... of how people represent who they are and the ways that they think; it tells you a lot about people; and about disciplines; and about, umm, you know, perspectives on the world. And this is not something that you get by reading fiction or popularisations or whatever; you get it by trying to understand how a particular discipline likes to communicate; you know, what are its preferred options? And I think that getting those insights is a real umm, thrill, you know. That's what I've always been curious about... For teachers, if you're going into EAP, then I think it does have advantages that other areas of teaching don't have.'

(Hyland)

'One of the things about EAP that I particularly enjoy, is working with cuspy people, you know, those people who are almost there, and I think that for me, I really carved out a bit of a role within the programme to really drive these people; to get them into their university. And it's that idea of autonomy. Students sustain me and it's fabulous to try something - that's the great thing about EAP; you can try something out and you can reflect on it and you can make it better, fabulous, that's just great. For somebody who is creative... I enjoy the creativity of teaching. I used to enjoy that in my General English teaching and now it's part of my EAP teaching as well, and I think that's fantastic. So the chance to make a change, to implement it and to see things grow...I love the fact that there's no rolling enrolment like you have in General English classes; your group is your group- that's you- and I think that tight bond that you have within the programme with students and teachers is enormously powerful stuff.'

(Coxhead)

'Generally speaking, I think EAP students are quite motivated and quite interested and quite intelligent... they're generally a good group to work with... Academically, it's rich... you know, the content is *interesting*; I think if you have the right mind-set, you learn a lot... you get bored of Headway [**when teaching General English**]; and ordering food in a restaurant; and menus; and how to get to the train station; and directions and all that bollocks (*laughs*)...'

(Mann)

When discussing the perceived cons of working in EAP, the respondents also highlighted three main areas of concern:

- That the levels of professional recognition and support afforded to EAP practitioners and departments are often highly dependent on individual relationships, and that as a result, there is almost always a lack of awareness and understanding within the academy as a whole, of what it is that EAP professionals actually do. Even when there is some acknowledgment, the dominant perception is that EAP practitioners are simply there to 'fix' the students' language problems.
- That EAP teaching is generally afforded much lower status and respect than other academic subjects in universities, and that as a consequence, the working conditions for EAP practitioners are comparatively poor.
- That EAP research tends to be marginalized and not given the same recognition as research in other academic disciplines.

With regard to the first point, a number of respondents shared personal experiences from their own careers:

'My first Dean was very supportive- and he was a famous Dean, a very famous Dean and we all had great respect for him- but he died and then apart from interim Deans, the next Dean was benignly indifferent – as long as I flew under the radar and didn't cause any ripples, they let me get on with the job. The Dean for the last nine years has been a horrible Dean for us because he has the kind of view of what a department is and what an institute is and what a programme is, and we don't fit his model, so he's been determined to reduce us and reduce us to just a service department... So you can spend all your time trying to educate people... about what you are doing and why you're doing it, but there is an increase in ignorance every time there is a change in the senior administration. No sooner have you got one Vice Rector, or whatever it is, trained up to appreciate what you do, when he or she disappears and somebody else comes in with a different agenda.'

(Swales)

'It's always a struggle. And it often depends on individuals. When you're interacting with Faculties, you can meet someone who's very very supportive and recognises the value of it, and you know, you can do joint courses, and it's all very exciting and professionally fulfilling, and then that person finds another job and you have to start again. So it's too individually dependent...'

(Hyland)

'I once heard somebody say – a very wise thing – that every time there is a change in the higher administration of the university, the EAP programme suffers, because very rarely does anyone come in, who really knows about it.'

(Swales).

'I remember in Kuwait, some of my colleagues used to refer to us as, err, I'm not sure if you know the word or not, but there's an Arabic word, '*farash*', and it means something like, 'porter' or 'factotum', so we used to see ourselves as the sort of 'language *farasheen*' This is what we regarded ourselves as being seen as...'

(Waters)

'In the disciplines, they seem to think that you're just the grammar guy'

(Flowerdew)

Around the issues of status and professional respect, almost all of the respondents were in agreement that when compared with other disciplines in the academy, there can be a strong tendency for EAP teaching to be looked down upon:

'I think teachers of EAP and language teachers within the institute were seen as umm, lower down the pecking order, and I think the whole institute was seen as lower down the pecking order, and I think that is definitely still a widespread problem... I think it [EAP teaching] never was seen as being on a par with degree level teaching, or that EAP teachers were ever seen as full academics, in the same way as other colleagues were.'

(Waters)

'... not having any acknowledgment that you were doing something that was academically respectable; being treated as just 'skills' providers...'

(McDonough)

'I think there's a tendency towards de-skilling of English teaching, or actually, I think there's a tendency towards de-skilling of teaching as a profession. And within the universities, I think there's this same tendency, and within university hierarchies there's this same tendency to perhaps look down on the language teachers. You know, we just want people with an MA, you don't need to do any research, and we'll pay you a lower salary and you can just fix up the grammar- that sort of thing. I think we need to strive to overcome those sorts of tendencies...'

(Flowerdew)

'Language is often seen as this peripheral thing, however you do it. You know, translators are always translating something that someone else has done, has created, and the same goes with interpreting... [and in EAP] you're often dealing with awkward and difficult people in Faculties, who don't, you know, have a lot of respect

for what you're doing.'

(Hyland)

'My feeling is that in a lot of UK institutions, there's still a massive gap between the sort of academic members of a faculty and the sort of EAP tutors...who are not very well-supported; who are working often on different contracts and who have, umm, very different working conditions. And I don't think the situation's getting any better... A lot of EAP practitioners are not given enough recognition within the academy... But you know, I think there is an issue with just teaching, never mind whether it's ELT, EAP or PGCE teaching. Anything with the word teaching in it has got lower status than something which has got research in it, or you know, a pure science-based thing or a medical thing or a business-related thing; it just has a lower status and it's hard to argue that that's not the case. I don't agree with it, but it's something that I personally have to fight against all the time: to justify the fact that teacher development is an area of research interest which is as interesting as corpus analysis or intercultural stuff or systemic functional grammar, never mind things like discursive psychology or umm, you know, management, business management. You're always having to establish the fact that teaching is a legitimate area to be interested in... certainly within universities in the UK, there is a real problem with status and people just being treated differently in terms of pay and conditions and nobody could argue that that's not the case.'

(Mann)

'I see EAP as a profession that has poor pay; I think it's very badly paid; I think it's very insecure, it's an insecure profession, and the last few years have just been dreadful...also there's low status with regard to who they [EAP practitioners] are in the university... If you think about a research-based university like in your case Nottingham, and in my case X, you know, if you look at those research-based, research-led universities like that, you've got the superstars who do all the research, and are world-famous for this, that and the other, but where are the EAP teachers? They're at the bottom of the heap, aren't they? I mean they're not even in the middle; they're right at the bottom. So as I said, there's a very low status, I think, associated with EAP, and once again of course, this comes back to what we've been talking about the whole interview long, about the EGAP and ESAP thing and how much subject knowledge the EAP teachers are supposed to have, and how academic they are and all the rest of it. Are they just trying to teach what a topic sentence is, or are they actually researching academic discourse?'

(Dr. Jones)

As evidenced by the comments above, while a number of respondents suggested that the relatively poor status of EAP parallels the poor status afforded to other disciplines that are primarily involved in teaching, for others, this sense of 'second-class-citizenship' has also been extended to the domain of research, with EAP-related activity often not being

valued, or fully recognised, there either:

‘Even if you are producing research into EAP, if you’re not doing degree teaching, then you’re unlikely to be counted or recognised properly for it, so it’s a really tricky one, a difficult one...’

(Waters)

‘I don’t think EAP teachers look at the field and see themselves reflected in the research... I think that there’s a real problem. Like, I did qualitative research for my PhD, and there’s a problem in getting that sort of thing published. None of it gets out there, because people need to publish in top journals... Now, if I’m doing research that isn’t necessarily guaranteed to get into top journals, then what can I do about that?’

(Coxhead)

‘Having to do the right kind of research, which if you’re involved in teaching, is by definition, not the right kind of research, because it’s got teaching in the title. And that’s something that was actually said to me by the Vice-Chancellor (*laughs*), he said, ‘If you’d written a book called ‘Research Methods for Linguistics’ then that would have got you your promotion, but you wrote a book called, ‘Research Methods for English Language Teachers...’, so all those attitudes basically... there are loads of cons’

(McDonough)

5.6 Desired Future Developments in EAP

[corresponding to interview question 17]

When discussing the future developments that they would personally most like to see in EAP, not surprisingly perhaps, the majority of the respondents first talked about resolving the issues that they had earlier identified as being weaknesses or cons. Top of this list, was the need for EAP to be given greater recognition as an academic discipline in its own right, and for the field as a whole to try and achieve a more professional standing:

‘I just want it to become recognized as a core academic subject. And I want institutions... I mean, I’m campaigning to not get it seen as some kind of service activity on the fringe of the university; as I’ve said, I think it’s at the core of the university because it’s about how people express themselves when they write and in their communication of their subject knowledge. And we can’t assume in English speaking countries that even the majority of people will necessarily have English as their heritage language, so I think it’s a really important area.’

(Bruce)

'This is something that I don't think will necessarily happen, but more of a professionalizing of the profession. In some respects, it's very unprofessional. I mean, I find the attitude of some teachers very casual and the whole enterprise is such high stakes for students that I find that kind of appalling. But it comes from ELT; from the fun activities in the classroom idea, you know, and also the motivation that teachers have for getting into it anyway, so I'd like to see a better professionalizing of the profession, and I think that that's what we're doing in BALEAP with the Competency Framework and with the e-Portfolio.'

(Alexander)

'More respect for English teachers, umm, and more, umm, professional self-respect.'

(Hyland)

'I think I'd like to see EAP teachers perceived in a more positive way. That would be something which would be good.'

(Flowerdew)

'What I'd really like to see, I think, is a greater professionalization of the field. ... we need greater professionalization... Doing EAP is something very difficult'

(Dr. Jones)

Expanding on the view that EAP practitioners *themselves* have an important role to play in raising EAP's status and in securing greater professionalization of the field, some respondents suggested that in order for this to happen, there first needs to be a more critical involvement of EAP teachers with research, particularly the kinds of research that can be more directly linked back to professional practice:

'It's about EAP teachers knowing about, and reading about, the research. And we often talk about the theory-practice divide in teaching, where it's often said, disparagingly, that these guys who are doing all this research have not been in a classroom for years and this that and the other, but umm, wouldn't it be nice if there was less of a gap between the people doing the research and the people reading it?... I can't see anything bad about there being a serious, Diploma-type, year-long course that gets people to read about all this stuff and to do research themselves... That would be something that I'd like to see- definitely.'

(Dr. Jones)

'I guess in my situation, the hardest thing has been university politics, although you have those everywhere and you can't really avoid it. The one thing that breaks down all of those barriers though is if you can get a book, or a couple of books published,

just the usual kinds of research outputs; it deals with the gainsayers if you like.'

(Bruce)

'Researchers have to show the impact of what they're doing on the wider community, and so I think that those Applied Linguistics researchers somehow need to make sure that what they're researching comes back into our classrooms; you know, they don't just finish their papers with 'this has implications for teaching... but actually I can't be bothered to tell you what those are', but that they do really grasp that nettle and ask themselves, 'how do I see this as playing out in the classroom?' and 'how does that impact on the kind of research that I've decided to do?' So I think those are probably the areas that I'd like to see develop.'

(Alexander)

'I think that there are times... in fact I'm sure that there are times, when the research is so far behind what is actually happening in the classroom, we really need- and I think you made that point in your paper- we really need to be looking and working in the classroom and saying 'look, here's ground that's not been broken before', although teachers are doing it every day... and extraordinary things are happening but it's not being documented... If you've got teachers that don't do much reading, then I think that this is part of the problem. When you've got teachers that don't do much reading, why is that? Is it because they look and they don't see anything that resonates with them? I think perhaps there's room for a journal that looks at EAP practicioning, but with a theoretical side to it, and maybe it's the theory side of things that gets put off; we haven't done much theory-building in EAP... we have these basic ideas, but it's a bit like vocabulary studies, we don't really have any centralized theories of that either- we draw heavily on cognitive psychology, for example, and we draw heavily on theories from second language acquisition...I think there's so much more research that can be done and should be done.'

(Coxhead)

'My own particular bee in my bonnet that I would like to see much more is much more, in inverted commas, 'research' being done in a localized sense; err, Action Research really, err, small projects, and I think that you can do that even with busy pre-sessional teachers and teachers that aren't used to the notion of research, where they're actually questioning some of the assumptions, the canons of EAP.

(McDonough)

Still dealing with research, two respondents posited that within EAP itself, they would like to see a much greater research focus on methodology, and what actually goes into the *teaching* of EAP, rather than it continuing to remain preoccupied with linguistic analysis:

'I've stopped reading anything other than only very occasionally, the table of contents of the EAP and ESP journals because, I find the subject matter of the articles to be so, err, how can I put it, umm, specialized, and generally much more to do with

advanced aspects of language analysis, rather than anything else. I mean err, yes, all of that's got its place, definitely, but I think there should be a much more central concern with methodology really, and with pedagogy in general... There's no point in knowing about some rarefied aspect of English, if you lack a good understanding of how to put that knowledge over in the classroom; so I think that a good understanding of classroom methodology must definitely come first and foremost. I think a lot of the time, we've got things the wrong way round basically... There's been an inversion of the real priorities, and I think this is true of English Language Teaching in general actually. More and more of the academic work tends to be top-down theorising, rather than starting by looking at the pedagogy, and seeing what really needs to be appreciated about that, and then looking at theories that might illuminate existing practice.'

(Waters)

'Based on what I said in my article [Watson Todd, R. (2003). EAP or TEAP? *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 2, pp147-156], I think there should be more concern about how things are done and not just what's done and that is still an issue.'

(Watson Todd)

A further two respondents expressed their concern that EAP may be losing sight of its role for improving the students' English Language abilities, and that the attention currently given to skills development, may be in danger of overshadowing EAP's linguistic priorities:

'It seems to me that there's just not enough English in EAP. It's gone so much towards the umm, target context analysis and the nature of critical thinking and so on- about which I'm very dubious but that's just a by the way- that I think the 'E' is going out of EAP. Joan Turner wrote an article about this some years ago, you know, where the English is in EAP, and a lot of EAP students do want to learn English. I'm just reviewing some materials at the moment, which I'd better not name (*laughs*) and they're very very worthy, but I'm looking very very hard to find anything that teaches them English, and I worry quite a lot about this critical thinking and teaching skills and so forth, when you might in fact be dealing with mature, postgraduate students... So in other words, I think I would like to see, as part of.., well, if ever EAP training were to come on stream in the way that you were talking about earlier, I would like to see as part of that, some questioning- and by teachers, not just by the course designers- of some of these assumptions, so that they think about it for themselves. I think we see too much just ritualized teaching, you know, you switch on the Study Skills and that's what you do, but is that always appropriate? I would like to see obviously a moving-ahead with what's already happening now, but a much more questioning of things that have become established canons. And more questioning of the role of language as well. Umm, those kinds of things'

(McDonough)

'I hope there's going to be more of a focus on the language and what's happening

with it, rather than getting into these highly specialized... you know, you can't do this because you don't know about that and you don't have control over... A thing that I find frustrating in the field is this idea of critical thinking; and I really worry about people who say things like, you know, 'first we have to teach the students to think critically!', and I just think that's a load of crap! I have to say that just because people don't think using the same western ways of thinking, it doesn't mean that they don't [have the capacity for critical thinking]... it really makes me cringe!

(Coxhead)

5.7 What the Future Holds; Where EAP is Heading

[corresponding to interview question 18]

In the closing stages of each interview, the respondents were asked to comment on what they feel the future holds for EAP, and where EAP as an academic discipline might be heading. From the ensuing discussions, it became apparent that there was broad agreement from the respondents on a range of themes, each of which will be considered below.

The first point on which a number of respondents agreed, was that in the coming years, EAP is likely to become even more specialized in its nature, with a greater push towards the teaching of varieties of English for Specific Academic Purposes:

'I think that the way we're heading is towards greater specificity; towards a recognition that one size doesn't fit all; that different departments have different needs; that the kinds of writing and talking that people do are different and that we have to address those differences. And that in doing that, it requires a particular kind of competence, and a particular kind of interest and curiosity about language, and about different contexts of language, so I think that it's going in that direction'

(Hyland)

'It seems to be maybe getting more fragmented. Hyland is pushing the disciplinary differences at the moment. Previously in EAP, it was seen as being a fairly cohesive field in many ways. You had the AWL [Academic Word List] and that applied to everything, but now you are getting more of a view that no it doesn't, and there are some big differences between disciplines, which might mean that as a field, EAP is getting more specialised and more fragmented.'

(Watson Todd)

'I think there is a real increased understanding of the importance of disciplinary differences, because you know, you get all these books like say, Oshima and Hogue, that teach how to write 'the essay' but then no-one actually writes that essay, and Ann Johns has been saying that for quite some time, and so I think there's really some increased understanding of that... We have a course on academic writing for Master's students here which is really informed by the academic literacies approach to understanding the expectations and values of particular academic disciplines and we get students to do tasks where they go and interview their teachers and ask them what they want them to do in this piece of writing- sort of like a mini ethnography- so I think these kinds of ethnographic understandings of why people write is a really important movement that is going to influence a lot about what people do.'

(Professor Smith)

In keeping, perhaps, with this move towards greater discipline specificity, some respondents felt that in terms of research, there will continue to be a focus on linguistic analysis and on identifying different academic genres:

'I think the kind of research that has already been going on will continue going on and I think most of that research is to do with descriptions of specialist discourse, or academic discourse in general. I think that will continue...'

(Basturkmen)

'I think that what EAP forces teachers to do is to become researchers of the texts that they need to teach....I think that a research competence is very important and a lot of our staff here present at conferences and you know, present workshops to us, write in local journals and so forth, and it's really really very valuable.'

(Hyland)

Building on these points, Basturkmen reflected that if it follows the same developmental trajectory that English Language Teaching in general did, then in the future, we can expect EAP to broaden its scope and include a greater focus on issues around teaching and learning, as well as linguistic analysis alone:

'I think there will be increasing interest in the teaching and learning aspects of EAP as well. So I think it will end up being more rounded and not so much just the language or the linguistic description, but thinking about teaching and teachers, and learners and learning, and bringing it all together. And I think that is how the field of General English language teaching developed too; you know, for many years, people thought it was all about linguistic description- you know, what's a sentence- and then, of course, people said, 'yeah, but teachers are important' and then, 'oh yes,

learners are important in all of this too.'

(Basturkmen)

For his part, Widdowson suggested that as a result of globalisation and the spread of EAP worldwide, brand new genres and modes of academic discourse are likely to emerge and that EAP practitioners will be at the forefront of dealing with these:

'I think that EAP, like all English teaching, needs to be aware that as the language has globalised, has spread as a lingua franca, so its nature has changed. And I think this is a particularly interesting point about EAP, that if you are talking about general English then the model, the norm, is the kind of language supposedly spoken by native speakers in their everyday life: you see what the natives say and do and behave and you imitate it. [But] the point about academic work, is that it isn't confined to the English speaking world, that there are academics all over the place; there are physicists, rocket scientists, economists and business people and so on all over the place and they are not going to conform to native speaker behavior... As the language spreads and is appropriated by academics and others in a whole range of different areas as they become members of discourse communities and communities of practice who are not native speakers and who will not conform to native speaker norms. What they do need to conform to is an agreed discourse of their particular area, but that discourse may not be textually the same as it has been in the past, in the sense that you may well find that physicists, who are talking to each other in English as a lingua franca, and neither of whom is a native speaker, may develop modes of communication which are consistent with the discourse of their subject, but which don't conform to the modes of native speaker correctness. And this is one of the challenges of EAP... Again this takes us back to this notion of awareness in education: it's not just a matter of teaching the current convention; it's understanding where these conventions come from, and how they might change because of globalisation and because of the spread of EAP.'

(Widdowson)

For many of the respondent, technology, not only for EAP but for the delivery of Higher Education in general, was also seen as being likely to play a greater role. MOOCs (massive online open courses), for example, were seen as potentially changing the whole nature of how teaching and learning in universities takes place, and it was acknowledged that advances in technology will also open up greater possibilities for internationalization and student collaboration worldwide:

'Technology is a big thing, so both within terms of classroom methodology and in research, technology is being used more and more... students can now do just about everything on their mobile phones, which they couldn't do before, so you know, you can give them a booklet of course notes, but they'll just turn up with their phone, so that's something that we have to keep up with.'

(Flowerdew)

'It's an interesting challenge to innovate and to use technology in appropriate ways for our students. And I'm certainly interested in that and there's nothing... err, EAP has got more reason to do that arguably, because people have more specific targets and they know what they want to know about and what they want to be better at.'

(Mann)

'I mean, now- and I might be involved in part of one- the top American universities are offering all these courses [MOOCs] online for free. I mean, you can go to famous professors at Stanford and Harvard and sign up for free...'

(Swales)

'Internationalisation- that's a big thing too. I mean, our students are working on projects with other students in the US or Europe or wherever, which is not really something that happened before we had the technology to do it.'

(Flowerdew)

For Hyland, Coxhead and Dr Jones, it was felt that in the future, EAP will start to switch its focus more from the Higher Education environment to the pre-Higher Education environment i.e. from universities to secondary schools. In some cases, it was clear that work in this area has already commenced:

'It's also important to be able to identify this register of academic English where we can facilitate the umm, you know, bridge this gap, or bridge this process of moving from school to disciplinary studies. Because the English that kids get in school is very different, you know, and if we can prepare them a bit better for disciplinary studies before they get there, then we should be trying to do that.'

(Hyland)

'In my current research projects, I'm deliberately looking at secondary schools and EAP because I think, err, I don't agree that it's just a tertiary endeavour...'

(Coxhead)

'One thing that comes to mind is that some people talk about how there needs to be much more research about EAP at secondary school level, rather than at university level, because you know, so much of the research that you read is at university level, but I'm not sure about that; I'm not sure about that at all.'

(Dr. Jones)

Other respondents posited that in the future, EAP will also have closer links with the academic literacies movement, and, as a result, will be likely to include the teaching of students for whom English is their native language:

'I think the work in the UK on academic literacy is going to become extremely important in EAP. Up until recently, it has kind of been left out actually, and genre people hardly talk about it, but I think it is huge. And you know, we are being really quite influenced by that here. We have a course on academic writing for Master's students here which is really informed by the academic literacies approach to understanding the expectations and values of particular academic disciplines... There certainly is a place for a lot of the things that we've learned within the area of EAP to be moved on to native speaker students as well. Absolutely'

(Professor Smith)

'I would like to see us engaging with academic literacies, whatever we think that is, but definitely with this participatory metaphor of the language because that's what EAP is really- it's communities of practice, learning together, learning to become members of a community who research together and build knowledge.'

(Alexander)

For some of the respondents, despite their earlier concerns about the current weaknesses and challenges in EAP, it was clear that they view its future direction and development in a very positive light, citing their expectation of greater recognition for EAP as an academic discipline; an increased sense of professionalism; and perhaps a wider acknowledgment of the importance of EAP's role within the academy:

'Isn't it exciting that there are these major centres, who now call themselves EAP; that EAP is what we do... I can see moves in the field... I've witnessed from afar the rise of, for example, universities in Germany now teaching in English; clearly it's happening here [Turkey], and I hadn't thought about the fact that along with that, goes a great wave of EAP, or, in front of that goes a great wave of EAP, and I think that the field is much bigger than I had ever thought before... I think there'll be more recognition of the fact that EAP is a completely valid thing to do and teachers can go and get professional development and go to conferences...'

(Coxhead)

'One thing I would say - and it's often said, isn't it- is that the field of EAP research is tremendously vibrant... I don't see the discipline being in any danger of dying out, or anything like that; I think BALEAP will continue to grow. I mean, I know that the last BALEAP conference I was at was by far the biggest BALEAP that I've ever been to, and I've been going to them for maybe 10 years or something like that... I can imagine

BALEAP, or a comparable body or comparable bodies, you know, disseminating knowledge, becoming much more influential, and this could impact upon training and conferences and so on. I mean there's obviously a journal- there's the Journal of English for Academic Purposes, JEAP; that's not that old now; that's just 10 or 15 years old; something like that, and from what I've been told, submissions are on the increase. So there's a lot of research going on; there's a lot of dissemination of the research, and umm, the idea that we've been discussing of this Diploma in EAP; that would also help to raise awareness of what's required to be an EAP teacher, and what the EAP teacher needs to know and all the rest of it, so yeah, in that sense, there's going to be perhaps greater professionalization of EAP.'

(Dr. Jones)

'EAP is so vital, and especially with globalization and with the diversity of the student body, it has to become more important. I'm encouraged by what I see happening over here [the UK]. I think that in many ways, that BALEAP, through their accreditation system and the Competency Framework, BALEAP is pushing EAP as an academic subject and giving it credibility.'

(Bruce)

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have sought to report 'horizontally' on the main trends and themes which have emerged from the second half of each interview, when compared across the 15 respondents and four decades of my research as a whole.

In the chapter following, I will present my analysis of what I believe these, and also the earlier results reported in Chapter 4, are likely to mean when considering the developments which have occurred within EAP as a field and the concurrent changes to the work of EAP practitioners.

CHAPTER 6

Analysis of Research Findings

Introduction

6.1 Historical Developments & Changes to EAP as a Field: Historical Developments & Changes to the Work of EAP Practitioners

- 6.1i EAP as an Academic Tribe
- 6.1ii A Bernsteinian Analysis of EAP
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- 6.2i The Knowledge Base of EAP
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Chapter Summary

Introduction

In this chapter, I will present my analysis of the various patterns and trends, which I consider to have emerged from the study as a whole. In terms of its structure, the analysis itself will consist of two main parts, each divided into appropriate sub-sections, as and where I consider that such structuring can assist with the overall flow and clarity of my arguments.

In the first part, I will present an analysis of the findings as I believe they relate to my research questions: how the pedagogic field of EAP has developed and changed over time, and how the work of EAP practitioners has developed alongside this. As a theoretical framework for this analysis, I will be drawing predominantly on the work of the French social philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu, making particular recourse to his now well-known analytical constructs of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* (1977). Where relevant, I will also make reference to the earlier work of

Basil Bernstein (1971), using in particular, his notions of *classification*, *framing* and *the pedagogic code*. As a means of initially setting the scene, I will draw on aspects of the landmark studies of disciplinary differences proposed by Tony Becher (1989; 1994).

In the second part, my analysis will examine one specific aspect of EAP's recent historical development, the matter of professionalism, and as an extension of this, how EAP teachers develop their knowledge and skills and how professional expertise is then conceptualized and understood. While some aspects of Bourdieu, Bernstein and Becher's work will continue to be of relevance here, my theoretical underpinnings for this section will, by necessity widen, and I will thus draw selectively from the work of educational theorists such as Lee Shulman (1986), Donald Schön (1983) and finally Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991; 1998).

6.1 Historical Developments & Changes to EAP as a Field: Historical Developments & Changes to the Work of EAP Practitioners.

Perhaps the most obvious point to emerge from this study, when considering the historical developments and changes that have taken place in EAP since its birth in the 1960s until the present day, is the sheer rate of growth and current scale of the field. From its relatively humble beginnings as a fairly localised sub-branch of ESP/ELT, in the UK context at least, EAP has now blossomed into an academic discipline in its own right, with a dedicated journal (JEAP); its own professional organisation (BALEAP) and to some extent, its own particular terminology and discipline-specific meta-language (e.g. EGAP-ESAP).

As discussed in Chapter 2, this boom in the demand for EAP has been precipitated by a series of significant changes to the course and conduct of tertiary education in general, particularly in terms of what

appears to be a current worldwide vogue in academic institutions for ever-greater internationalisation. However, when considered beyond the educational rhetoric and viewed in more pragmatic terms, within the UK context at least, the burgeoning internationalisation agenda appears to have essentially boiled down to a growing economic reliance of UK universities on fee-paying overseas student enrolments. As part and parcel of this, an urgent need has thus been created for organisations to invest in the necessary systems and services that will allow such income generational models to be sustainable in the longer term. By dint of its direct pedagogic links with the international student body, EAP provision clearly has a pivotal and critical role to play.

However, it must be said that while the massive growth and expansion of EAP in recent years can be seen as a positive development, insofar as this has undoubtedly created many more opportunities and contexts in which EAP as a practice can take place, in another sense, it can also simultaneously be viewed as a weakness, as the boom itself has contributed to a neo-liberal view of education as being little more than a business enterprise made up of customers, products and suppliers. As Helen Gunter has commented in her critique of this development across the UK tertiary sector as a whole, *'Education is [now] a product and a service to be marketed, bought and sold, as the most efficient and effective way of organising and meeting consumer needs'* (2002, p18).

The dramatic growth in EAP provision has arguably also helped to foster a pernicious and cynical outsiders' perception that EAP programmes themselves are little more than economic cash cows for the processing of international students. This in turn, as discussed in the previous chapter, has helped to spawn an industry of private EAP providers, all now competing for ever-greater slices of the international student market share. When viewed from these perspectives, it could be

argued that to quite a large extent, familiarity in EAP has unfortunately just bred contempt.

Within the academy as a whole certainly, as evidenced by many of the comments which emerged from my interview respondents, and as already discussed in the preceding chapter, there can be little doubt that EAP is rarely, if ever, afforded the same professional kudos and respect as that awarded to other academic disciplines. On which note, it is worth briefly revisiting a selection of the interview respondents' comments again now, just as a reminder of how such treatment typically manifests itself, and what it then feels like in practice for those on the receiving end:

'In the disciplines, they seem to think that you're just the grammar guy'
(Flowerdew)

'I think teachers of EAP and language teachers within the institute were seen as umm, lower down the pecking order, and I think the whole institute was seen as lower down the pecking order, and I think that is definitely still a widespread problem... I think it [EAP teaching] never was seen as being on a par with degree level teaching, or that EAP teachers were ever seen as full academics, in the same way as other colleagues were.'

(Waters)

'My feeling is that in a lot of UK institutions, there's still a massive gap between the sort of academic members of a faculty and the sort of EAP tutors...who are not very well-supported; who are working often on different contracts and who have, umm, very different working conditions. And I don't think the situation's getting any better... A lot of EAP practitioners are not given enough recognition within the academy... You're always having to establish the fact that teaching is a legitimate area to be interested in... certainly within universities in the UK, there is a real problem with status and people just being treated differently in terms of pay and conditions and nobody could argue that that's not the case.'

(Mann)

'I see EAP as a profession that has poor pay; I think it's very badly paid; I think it's very insecure, it's an insecure profession, and the last few years have just been dreadful... also there's low status with regard to who they are in the university. If you think about a research-based university like in your case Nottingham, and in my case X (*response withheld to protect anonymity*), you know, if you look at those research-based, research-led universities like that, you've got the superstars who do all the research, and are world-famous for this, that and the other, but where are the

EAP teachers? They're at the bottom of the heap, aren't they? I mean they're not even in the middle; they're right at the bottom. So as I said, there's a very low status, I think, associated with EAP...'

(Dr. Jones)

As Martha Pennington (1992) has argued at some length, the reasons for what she describes as the '*second-class or economy*' status of EAP in the academy are complex and multi-faceted. However, for the purposes of this current analysis, I will argue that at root, the matter can be traced to the ways in which different academic disciplines create, construct, disseminate and guard their particular forms of knowledge, and that this in turn then leads to a differentiated accrual of power, status and influence within the academy. As support for my claims, I will first examine the question of EAP's positioning and status through the lens of Tony Becher's work on academic tribes and territories (1989; 1994). I will then apply some of the earlier theoretical constructs which have been posited with regard to the sociological categorisation and distribution of organisational power, first by considering the work of Basil Bernstein (1971) and finally by using some of the analytical tools developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977).

6.1i EAP as an Academic Tribe

Building on the earlier work of Biglan (1973) and Kolb (1981), which had sought to examine the classification of academic knowledge across different subject disciplines, Becher (1989; 1994) has argued for four particular domains under which academic disciplines may be categorized and grouped: '*hard pure*', '*soft pure*', '*hard applied*' and '*soft applied*'. Some examples of how this categorisation might be realized in practice are listed in the table below:

'Hard Pure'	'Soft Pure'	'Hard Applied'	'Soft Applied'
Sciences e.g. Physics	Humanities e.g. History Social Sciences e.g. Anthropology	Technologies e.g. Mechanical Engineering	Applied Social Science e.g. Education; Law

Fig. 1: *Categorisation of Academic Disciplines Following Biglan (1973) and Becher (1989; 1994)*

Becher's central contention was that different academic disciplines behave as distinct 'tribes', each with their own internal rules of conduct, and each with different ways of approaching, defining and disseminating knowledge. Like tribes in the original sense of the word, academic disciplines metaphorically mark their own territory, go to war with others, build alliances when needed and have their own accepted styles of communication (Becher, 1994). It must also be stressed, however, that despite these inherent differences, each tribe possesses a common, unifying culture in the form of the university, which generally helps to direct '*interaction between the many distinct and often mutually hostile groups*' (1994, p152).

When viewing and positioning EAP using Becher's tribal metaphor, it soon becomes apparent that there is some difficulty in deciding to which of the four categories it should owe its allegiance. Should EAP be considered as belonging to the 'soft pure' Arts and Humanities category such as Modern Languages, for example, or does it fit better within the 'soft applied' Social Science disciplines, such as Education or Applied Linguistics? The practical, operational validity of these questions is perhaps best illustrated by an examination of how EAP units are typically treated within universities. For example, in the course of my own 20 year career to date as an EAP professional, my EAP 'teaching unit', 'section', 'centre', 'division' or 'school' (the exact terms have always differed) has been grouped and geographically located within tribal structures as varied and diverse as 'English Language and

Literature'; 'Modern Languages'; 'Education'; 'Business' and in one former institution, even the markedly non-academic tribal community of 'Student Support Services'. This matter of deciding under which structure EAP should 'sit' within the university hierarchy is not just a question for philosophical debate however; as we shall see, within the academy as a whole, such decision-making is very closely connected to a host of other key considerations pertaining to the allocation of resources; the working conditions for staff; the overall perceived value to the institution; and ultimately, the conferral (or non-conferral) of respect, kudos and professional academic status.

6.1ii A Bernsteinian Analysis of EAP

As Becher and Trowler acknowledge (2001, p37), when considering the ways in which different academic tribes operate and are then categorised in terms of their relative power relations, if we wish to address such matters from a sociological rather than an epistemological standpoint, it is useful to invoke some of the analytical constructs introduced by Basil Bernstein (1971). The Bernsteinian concepts of *classification*, *framing*, and *pedagogic code* are all particularly suitable in this regard.

In his use of the term '*classification*', for example, Bernstein was referring to the extent to which the content base of given disciplines is kept distinct and insulated from those of other academic subject areas. Some disciplines may be considered to have *strong classification*, if we compare, for example, German and Physics, whereby there is clearly very little overlap or shared knowledge between either of the two subject areas. For others, the knowledge boundaries will naturally be much looser, for example, Social Studies and History, which then results in a designation of *weak classification*.

Running parallel to these constructs, Bernstein argued that when comparing academic disciplines, it is also important to consider 'framing'. In Bernsteinian terms, *framing* refers to the extent to which a given subject area has an agreed and specified content which can be taught to students, and also to the level of control that academics then have over such teaching. As with *classification*, *framing* can be designated as either strong or weak. *Strong framing*, for example, generally results in fairly rigid syllabi, with particular topic areas needing to be completed in a predetermined order; by contrast, *weak framing* generally means more freedom for both the teacher and the learners in choosing what exactly should be studied and when.

Beyond *classification* and *framing*, Bernstein further distinguished between two different types of pedagogic knowledge, or as he collectively termed these, 'the pedagogic code': a 'collection code' and an 'integrated code'. In the *collection code*, subjects have distinct boundaries, are kept well insulated from one another, and the knowledge that is generated tends to be cumulative; under the *integrated code*, as the name suggests, different areas are likely to overlap, and the knowledge that is generated will therefore be agglomerative. *Strong classification* can thus be seen as a characteristic of the *collection code*, and *weak classification* as a characteristic of the *integrated code*. As Becher and Trowler (2001, p37) point out, when an academic discipline has *strong classification*, *strong framing* and also possesses a *strong collection code*, its members will feel empowered. If these conditions are reversed, then naturally the opposite will apply. Where an academic tribe is situated with regard to the ebb and flow of institutional power thus has a very important effect on the way it constitutes its disciplinary knowledge, and of course, to some extent, the converse also then becomes true. As Bernstein (1971) explains:

'... principles of power and social control are realized through educational knowledge codes and through the codes they enter into, and shape, consciousness... [A] change

of code involves fundamental changes in the classification and framing of knowledge and so changes in the structure and distribution of power and in principles of control. It is no wonder that deep-felt resistances are called out by the issue of educational codes.'

(Bernstein, 1971, p54 and p63- quoted in Becher and Trowler, 2001, p37)

Bernstein's concepts of *classification* and *framing* are particularly useful in helping to shed light on how teachers construct their professional identities. When discussing the *collection code*, for example, Bernstein has argued that strong educational identities are established very early on, because *strong classification* allows for a strong system of grading i.e. people know exactly where they are within the academic hierarchy, and as a consequence of this, are able to develop a strong sense of identity and strong subject loyalty. By comparison, in the *integrated code*, with its weaker *classification*, teachers' professional identity is likely to be much more uncertain and may have to be negotiated with colleagues.

I believe that these points are particularly relevant to the specific case of EAP, with its *weak classification*, tendency to rely on an *integrated code* and rather poor insulation from other academic subject areas. As evidence for this, I would propose that one only has to consider the wide variety of possible entry routes to the profession, and the fact that in terms of qualifications at least, the field as a whole remains comparatively easy to get into. For instance, while most disciplines in the academy require their practitioners to hold doctoral qualifications, in EAP a Masters' degree will usually suffice. The effects which this difference can and does have, and the poor insulation that it consequently gives EAP from other academic disciplines, have been pithily summed up by Pennington (1992):

'Like other professional areas, ELT must be perceived within academia and by the public at large as an educational specialisation with unique requirements for the preparation and evaluation of its practitioners... We can go a long way toward making this goal a reality if we insist that those without the proper qualifications are not, in fact, properly qualified to teach ESL, nor to evaluate the efforts of its

practitioners. ELT has a history of being lenient in this regard, much more so than other tertiary level fields. Can you imagine, for instance, someone being hired for a tenured position in a History department who had a degree in TESL? Yet there are many with degrees in History who are teaching ESL'

(Pennington, 1992, p15. My emphasis)

Aside from the obvious relevance of these points to my main line of argument, Pennington's commentary here is revealing in itself, in that she does not use the term 'EAP' directly, preferring to talk in more generic terms of ELT and ESL. By definition, however, the ELT taking place within the tertiary environments that she is describing is very clearly EAP, so why was this terminology not directly used? The article was written in 1992 after all, so relatively recently, and certainly long after the term 'EAP' had passed into common usage within ELT circles. Perhaps one way of interpreting Pennington's choice of language here is that even for insiders within the field, as indeed Bernstein has claimed when considering disciplines with *weak classification* and *integrated codes*, the professional identity of teachers may continue to be uncertain. It is also conceivable that Pennington deliberately chose to talk in terms of ELT/ESL rather than EAP because this is the area in which the majority of EAP practitioners continue to gather their main language teaching qualifications and professional credentials. I will be returning to discuss the role that academic qualifications play as gatekeepers to the profession in more detail in a later section, but for now, I would propose that from a Bernsteinian perspective, it is simply worth noting the role that this particular dimension evidently plays in accounting for EAP's *weak classification*, contributing as it does, to the highly permeable nature of its subject boundaries.

One further point with regard to the *weak classification* of EAP is also worth making. As outlined in Chapter 4, the first stage of the interviews which were conducted for my research initially drew on the reminiscences of 15 individual EAP professionals representing four

separate decades (1960s-1990s) of different career trajectories. A key finding to emerge from this particular data set is how *arbitrary* English Language Teaching appears to have been as an initial choice of career. Indeed, nearly *all* of the respondents claimed that their first involvement in the field had been almost entirely circumstantial. To appreciate the full flavour of this, it is worth reviewing a selection of those comments now:

‘I started teaching English Literature and then moved on to English Language Teaching only because of circumstances really’

(Widdowson)

‘I don’t think I really had the conception of EAP in my mind at all (*laughs*) before making the career transition... that wasn’t originally part of my thinking, I mean I wasn’t consciously looking out for EAP; I mean, I had no idea at that time (*laughs*); I hadn’t thought of such a thing at all (*laughs*)...’

(Waters)

‘I drifted into it [ELT] really... it was very much a drift and very much by chance; not entirely intended, if you see what I mean.’

(McDonough)

‘I didn’t have any intention of becoming a teacher...’

(Flowerdew)

‘I just wanted to go and do something different... I did two years in Hong Kong, then Japan and that’s really how I got into ELT’

(Mann)

‘I don’t think I made an active choice. You try to plan your life but then things just happen, don’t they?’

(Gillett)

For some, notably McDonough, Mann and Flowerdew, it was clear that ELT had not featured in their original career planning at all. Given the vocational nature of teaching in general, one might have expected at least some of my 15 respondents to have identified ELT as their primary calling, but somewhat surprisingly, not a single person did so. Instead, the most prevalent common denominator linking all four decades of my interviewee responses was the repeated admission that they had

joined the field in order to satisfy an urge for international travel. In fact, the only *marked* divergence from this pattern was to be found in the responses of the interviewee Dr. Jones, who emphasized that he had expressly not gone into ELT for travel purposes:

‘There’s this idea of it being not a very serious profession, and I have to say, without sounding too self-righteous I hope, umm, I never did it for the travel; I never did it for the lifestyle... Frankly, I wasn’t interested in travel, but that view would be anathema, I think, to most British EFL teachers- they would look at me very oddly, if I was to tell them that. You know, it wasn’t my intention to go to all these marvellous places and experience foreign climes and all the rest of it. I was actually doing it for a *profession*. But all of what I’ve just been saying there speaks to this idea of EFL not being a very serious profession or career choice’

(Dr. Jones- original italicized emphasis)

Nonetheless, it might still be argued that this exception proves the rule, as Dr. Jones himself clearly saw his own entry to ELT as very much untypical, and indeed opened his commentary by acknowledging that the field of ELT tends to be viewed as ‘*not a very serious profession*’. When such a comment and the shared experiences of my respondents are considered across the board, I believe they collectively add to what has now become a very common outsiders’ perception of ELT as being a rather frivolous and easy field to get into. They also help to bolster the image of ELT as being an activity that basically *anybody* who speaks English can undertake. As indeed my respondent Ken Hyland wryly posited, when reflecting on the state of ELT at the start of his own career, ‘... *if you had a degree and four limbs, you could go anywhere in the world and teach English...*’. While this was just a throwaway comment, and was largely meant ironically, I do feel it nevertheless reveals quite a lot about the early historical development of ELT. Comparatively speaking, I believe it would be very difficult to imagine an academic from say Biology, Engineering or Philosophy, describing either their field, or their early teaching career experiences, in similar terms.

While the situation in ELT (and EAP) is thankfully no longer quite so extreme, these aspects of its early history do, I feel, go a long way towards explaining the current poor status of English teaching vis a vis other disciplines in the academy. As a Bernsteinian analysis shows, with its *weak classification*, *weak framing* and a tendency to follow an *integrated* rather than a *collective code*, it should come as no great surprise that EAP usually finds itself placed low in the academic pecking order. There are, however, as I will argue, a number of other contributory factors at play here; in uncovering these, my analysis now turns to incorporate the sociological theorising of Pierre Bourdieu.

6.1iii EAP through a Bourdieusian Lens

As Grenfell (2012, p2) has pointed out, the work of Pierre Bourdieu has been found to have considerable resonance and applicability across a wide variety of different areas. One reason for this has been the successful link that Bourdieu's work makes between theory and practice; a further reason is the broad relevance of Bourdieu's '*thinking tools*', which as Grenfell states, '*embody a dynamic epistemology which makes them active tools for deployment in the social sciences*' (2012, p3). With regard to my present analysis of historical developments in the field of EAP and the work of EAP practitioners, I will be drawing explicitly on three particular Bourdieusian constructs: *habitus*, *field* and *capital*.

As Maton (2012, p48) has proposed, though central to Bourdieu's sociological approach, *habitus* largely remains an '*enigmatic*' concept. In its simplest terms, however, *habitus* can be seen as representing the experiences, forces and influences which unconsciously govern our thoughts and actions, dictate our behavioural dispositions, and essentially make us who we are. It would be a mistake, however, to perceive *habitus* as something exclusively rooted in and dependent on our upbringing and past experience, and

therefore classify it as a construct which is largely static and unchangeable; our *habitus* is in fact highly dynamic, and continues to be shaped by new experiences and events. As Bourdieu himself has stated, '*habitus is not a destiny*' (2000, p180) and is highly '*relational in that it designates a mediation between objective structures and practices*' (1989, p43).

I believe that *habitus* can be a particularly useful analytical tool for examining the changing work of EAP practitioners, in that it allows for an exploration of not only the subconscious 'baggage', pedagogical and otherwise, that such teachers bring with them when they first join the field, and the effects that this then has cumulatively on the wider discipline as a whole, but also for considering how the field of EAP itself then shapes such teachers' *habitus* in return, and forges their ongoing cognition and academic practice. I will be considering the two-way interplay of these issues in some detail in the sections that follow.

One *habitus*-related trend from the early stages of my interview data, for example, concerns the actual nature of the interviewees' move from ELT to EAP. The first point to be noted here is that while respondents from the more recent decades all *started* with General English, and then moved into EAP teaching later, having typically served what might be termed a General ELT apprenticeship first, two of my three respondents from the 1960s (John Swales and Henry Widdowson) were quite explicit in their claims to have had involvement in EAP from the very beginning of their careers. Widdowson, in particular, was very clear in articulating that he had *started* his English Language teaching career with EAP, and that in terms of language teaching pedagogy, EAP had therefore led the way for ELT, and not the other way around. Taking this point further, Widdowson also stressed the centrality of Communicative Language Teaching to EAP methodology, an observation which was also ventured, completely separately, by my respondents John Swales, John Flowerdew, Andy

Gillett, Ken Hyland, Dr. Jones and Olwyn Alexander. As a personal note, I must say that I found this insight particularly interesting, as prior to conducting my interviews, I would not myself have made such a direct link between the Communicative Language Teaching movement and EAP. Intuitively speaking, I would have almost certainly placed the former more directly in the General ELT camp. However, given the high number of independent comments on this point from a range of different respondents across different decades, it does now seem probable that the original tenets of Communicative Language Teaching did indeed stem from ESP/EAP, and then influence General English Language Teaching, and not, as I had originally surmised, the other way round. I will consider the wider significance of this issue in Part II of my analysis.

Returning to the first half of my interviews, when viewed through a Bourdieusian lens, the different journeys that EAP practitioners have historically taken when joining the field can be analysed from a number of angles. First of all, it must be said that for teachers migrating from ELT to EAP, it seems clear that their *habitus*, particularly their ‘*pedagogic habitus*’ (Grenfall, 1996, p292) will owe much to their initial apprenticeship in General ELT. It can be expected, for instance, that such teachers will both consciously and sub-consciously attempt to carry out their work in EAP using the pedagogic approaches and techniques that have already served them well during their exposure to ELT in other contexts. However, there is an immediate problem in applying this *modus operandi*, because as already discussed in Chapter 2, EAP can be seen as requiring quite different sets of teacher knowledge, aptitudes and skills. This means that when teachers migrate from ELT to EAP, unless there is some form of EAP-related induction or training, and therefore a direct and concentrated intervention to change and condition their *habitus* to the new requirements, there will almost certainly be a significant mismatch. Upon investigation, this

claim does, in fact, appear to be well borne out by some of the examples and case-studies which have been covered in the academic literature. Ding, Jones and King (2004), for example, have reported that teachers who are experienced in General ELT, but new to EAP, typically feel 'de-skilled' and consequently suffer from a significant lack of confidence; Hamp-Lyons (2001, p130) has claimed that ELT teachers may not be sufficiently prepared for the '*more complex and potentially problematic*' environment of EAP, while Alexander (2007, p7), following an extensive survey of 175 EAP teachers, concluded that '*teachers need a thorough induction and on-going support if they are to teach effectively in university contexts*'.

Slightly extending this line of argument, for teachers whose *pedagogic habitus* has been strongly framed by their training and experience in ELT, it also seems very likely that they will need to go through a process of active *unlearning* as they adapt their approaches to meet the demands of the new teaching environment. Once again, there is some evidence from examples cited in the literature (e.g. Bell, 2013) that this very often takes place, and as Michael Eraut (1994) has argued, it is also quite clear that going through such a process results in significant amounts of stress and discomfiture for teachers:

'...I would like to draw attention to the problem of unlearning or abandoning existing practices and routines. Changing one's teaching style involves deskilling, risk, information overload and mental strain, as more and more gets treated as problematic and less and less is taken for granted.'

(Eraut, 1994, p36, my emphasis)

Two further points in relation to my arguments around the *habitus* of EAP teachers are also worth making. The first, as evidenced by many of the comments garnered from my interview data, is the very strong sense that accomplished EAP practitioners have often learnt a lot about their trade simply through the process of being a student themselves. A number of my respondents from each of the different

decades, but notably Henry Widdowson, Averil Coxhead, Ken Hyland, Ian Bruce and Olwyn Alexander, all mentioned that the process of studying for their own MAs, and in some cases PhDs, had in fact taught them a lot about the challenges that would be faced by their students, and that this in turn had then had a considerable influence on their later approaches to teaching. Indeed, when reviewing the responses from my interviewees across the board, there was the frequent expression of a very strong belief that in order to be *truly* effective in teaching EAP, teachers do need to have experienced and been involved with a significant amount of higher level academia themselves. A number of respondents, but notably Alan Waters, Professor Smith, Helen Basturkmen, Olwyn Alexander, Ian Bruce and Dr. Jones, were quite explicit in their views that EAP teachers could be expected to have very little credibility or know-how in teaching Masters-level students, for example, *unless* they themselves had first gone through the experience of completing a Masters of their own. There is, of course, a compelling, common-sense kind of logic to this line of reasoning: if a teacher has had to write a Masters' thesis him/herself, then it does seem likely that such a person will be much better positioned to take students through that same process, than someone who has never studied beyond the undergraduate level. In Bourdieusian terms, it thus seems quite reasonable to conclude that the *habitus* of effective EAP teachers is largely forged in the fire of their own academic experiences.

A second, and closely related point, is that owing to the general lack of pre-service EAP-specific training and development programmes, as I have argued elsewhere (Bell, 2005; Bell, 2007) for most incoming EAP practitioners, their *pedagogic habitus* is predominantly influenced and further developed via a forced trial-and-error process of immediate on-the-job learning. That this has historically pretty much always been the case was borne out by many of my interviewees' responses when asked about their own early experiences of teaching EAP, the extent to

which they had encountered a learning curve, and whether or not they had undertaken any prior training or development. To appreciate the exact nature of this, it is worth reviewing some of those comments again now:

‘I was totally unprepared for English Language teaching’

(Swales)

‘I didn’t attend any formal introduction to teaching EAP... None whatsoever... back then it was still The Wild West (*laughs*)...I think it was much more a question of having to learn on the spot, err, learning on the job, and in terms of interactions with colleagues and reading certain journals... I did feel, yeah, that this was a new kind of teaching, and I needed to get my bearings... umm, I did make use of a number of sources to try and get my head round it a bit more, and I felt the need, definitely, I felt the need to do that, because it was, and err still is, a different type of teaching in certain respects’

(Waters)

‘It was quite a shock to my system. I mean, working with students who were chemists and computer scientists and so on, because I’d never met students like that before... So that was when I cut my teeth... and we gradually developed more and more courses which then drifted into EAP...’

(McDonough)

‘I think we were all trying to umm, do our best, umm, with an inadequate kind of experience. You know, we were feeling our way... it was very much experimental... But we had no idea really of what we were doing; whatever worked, we tried and it was a case of umm, picking up a little bit of science along the way...’

(Hyland)

‘It was certainly a learning curve; it was nothing but a learning curve! As I said, I’d never before dealt with students that were not English majors, so their beliefs about learning English were very different from the kinds of students that I’d dealt with up to then. I’d never taught non-Europeans, so that was a learning curve; I’d never had to work with other departments of the university, so that was a learning curve; aside from the actual teaching, I’d never had to hire teachers before, so I was suddenly in the business of hiring teachers, and also writing materials, umm, developing courses; I’d never done anything like that before, or at least only in the most minimal sense, so yes, the whole thing was a learning curve’

(McDonough)

‘We tried developing some of our own in-house materials ..., but I think we mostly did so from the basis of lack of knowledge and no specialist knowledge (*laughs*) but just making it up as we went along, I’m afraid to say. But that’s how it was.’

(Basturkmen)

While on-the-job learning can clearly be a valuable, even necessary, form of professional development, and I would certainly not wish to reject its relevance or importance entirely, it must also be said that this nonetheless raises some pointed questions about the levels of teaching quality which some EAP practitioners may, initially at least, be providing for their students.

As I have argued elsewhere:

‘...the simple fact is that most new EAP practitioners gain their knowledge and skills via what might be termed ‘on-the-job apprenticeships’, and while such a system has its merits, it is clearly not the most effective or efficient approach. Just imagine if the same was applied to medical training- how comfortable would you feel about going for an operation, if you knew that your surgeon was picking things up as he went along, or about buying medicine from your local pharmacist, if you heard that she was learning to prescribe drugs simply by trial and error?’

(Bell, 2007, p2)

Of course, the consequences of ‘getting things wrong’ in English Language Teaching are not quite as critical as they are in clinical pharmacy, but by the same token, this does not absolve EAP practitioners from the responsibility of providing their students with the best possible teaching and learning experiences. I believe this to be particularly true in the current educational climate, when attending university has become much more of a transactional business consideration, and typically involves the personal investment of large sums of money, along with the strong likelihood of incurring significant financial debts. Operating in such a milieu, all students naturally have the right to expect the best possible return on their expenditure, and I would personally contend that this then opens up a whole host of questions around the ethics of what constitutes a fair service and the best pedagogical ‘bang for their buck’. On this note, even if we adopt a pedagogical stance which views the practice of learning on the job more constructively, there are surely still base criteria that need to be satisfied. As Michael Eraut (1994) has argued, for example, if

practitioners are to benefit and learn from this kind of trial and error approach, in order for true further learning and development to take place, an important cognitive loop somehow still needs to be closed:

‘Learning from experimentation is dependent on feedback and access to a range of perspectives on what was going on...’

(Eraut, 1994, p36)

Regrettably, with the exception of systems for peer observation, a point I will be returning to in my analysis in Part II, and similar formally structured EAP teacher development schemes, from my own personal experience of working within the field, I would contend that there is actually very little evidence in many of the current day-to-day EAP teaching contexts that the conditions which Eraut is describing here are ever met. This naturally has a number of important consequences for how professional practice in EAP teaching is currently conceived, constructed and maintained, and also opens up a range of further questions and considerations. I will therefore be revisiting this theme in more detail in my analysis in Part II, as a core component of my discussion around professionalism and what constitutes an understanding of professional expertise in EAP.

Beyond the concept of *habitus*, a further analytical construct popularised by Bourdieu is that of ‘*field*’. In Bourdieusian terms, *field* represents ‘a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p72). With specific regard to EAP, while the discipline itself can be regarded as a specific *field*, and is obviously the main arena in which practitioners most commonly find themselves positioned from day to day, it may be argued that those involved in EAP are also required to operate within a series of other overlapping *fields*, each of which has its own particular structures, expected codes of conduct, and both explicit and implicit ‘rules of the game’. As van den Berghe observed over four decades ago:

‘Every academic belongs to at least three discrete status systems: he is a member of the larger society, of his college or university, and of the group of people who share his specialty... Professors belong to two large groups of colleagues: the staff of their college or university, and all fellow specialists in their discipline. Only the members of a given department at a given university share common membership in both of these larger groups. Thus the department is the academic habitat par excellence, the principal scene for the enactment of competition for prestige. Only fellow specialists can fully evaluate one’s prestige, and one regularly interacts only with those specialists who teach at the same university. Yet, both of the larger groups contribute to a scholar’s sum total of prestige in a complex and partly reciprocal fashion.’

(van den Berghe, 1970, pp10-11)

Thus, while EAP itself is a *field*, historically speaking, as I have charted in Chapter 2, it has traditionally also been part of the much larger *fields* of ESP and ELT, some of the effects of which I have already explained. When viewed from the more holistic standpoint of the academy, EAP can also be said to be situated within the *field* of tertiary education in general. As part of this designation, as already discussed, it may then in turn find itself positioned within narrower disciplinary *fields* such as Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences or even Business. Like an evolving solar system, it is thus possible to map out a series of *fields* within *fields*, each ostensibly operating independently, and with their own internal structures and power struggles, but at the same time, each constantly revolving in one another’s orbit and falling under the powerful, but often unseen, influence of each other’s gravitational pull. As Bourdieu himself has stated, ‘*There are as many fields as there are interests*’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p117).

As I have already explained, *habitus* influences how individuals perform and interact within a given *field*, but in turn, *habitus* is also influenced by the *field* itself i.e. in Bourdieu’s own terminology, it is both ‘*a structured and structuring structure*’ (1977, p170). In order to fully appreciate the complexity of how all of this operates, however, and with regard to the immediate task at hand in understanding the specific struggles within the different overlapping fields in which EAP

finds itself, it is now necessary to bring into play the final component of Bourdieu's most commonly cited tri-partite analytical construct, that of '*capital*'.

Though the term '*capital*' has perhaps been most often used in the economic, monetary sense of the word, as Moore (2012, p99) has explained, for Bourdieu the meaning has been extended to cover '*a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields*'. In the Bourdieusian sense, '*capital*' thus equates to much more than money, and can be related to '*a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations of which the economic is only one (though the most fundamental) type*' (Moore, 2012, p99).

For his part, Bourdieu identified three different- though inter-related- varieties of capital: the economic variety, as already discussed, but then on top of that, what he termed *social* and *cultural* capital. As an umbrella term arching over all of these, he also talked about *symbolic capital*, which as English and Bolton (2016, p55) have described, essentially relates to '*anything that is recognized as being capital by a particular field or social group*' (my emphasis). As an analytical tool to be used in the way that Bourdieu originally intended, however, it must be stressed that *capital* always needs to be considered in relation to, and working in operational tandem with, both *habitus* and *field*, and cannot be dealt with in isolation. In the discussions that follow, I will therefore now focus on drawing each of these constructs together, as I continue in my analysis of the developments and changes which have occurred within the field of EAP and within the work of EAP practitioners.

As I have already proposed, it can be expected that when teachers join the *field* of EAP, many of them do so with a predictable and very particular kind of *pedagogic habitus*, which has been forged both from

their experiences of working in ELT and also from their personal experiences as students. As I have also already discussed, upon entering the academy, EAP practitioners simultaneously become members of a number of overlapping fields. Bourdieu's construct of *capital* is therefore extremely useful in helping to shed light on how each of these fields relate to and differ from one another, the various ways in which they identify and define themselves, and the different forms of internal currency that each subsequently recognises, values and respects. As Bourdieu has continually stressed, '*to think in terms of field is to think relationally*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p26).

As far as EAP is concerned, as with any other academic discipline, the relationship between *capital* and *field* is complex, and operates on a number of levels. As I have already posited from my analysis of EAP's current positioning in the academy using Becherian and Bernsteinian frameworks, EAP typically finds itself much lower down the academic pecking order, because as a discipline, it is not afforded the same kudos and respect as those with stronger *classification* and historically higher levels of subject insulation. When considering this state of affairs from a Bourdieusian perspective, we can now invoke his construct of *capital* to gain a more finely-grained understanding of exactly which commodities carry the most value and weight within the various academic fields in which EAP plays a part.

In considering the academic field at large, perhaps the most obvious form of symbolic capital, as I have briefly touched on in this chapter already, is that connected with formally recognised academic achievement, most typically represented by higher level qualifications and credentials. On this point, I believe there is simply no escaping the fact that as long as EAP practitioners can be hired with only Masters degrees, while lecturers in other disciplines require doctorates, as far as the academy is concerned, EAP will always be classed as a lower-status activity. As Pennington (1992) states:

'We must... face up to the fact that as long as are a Master's rather than a Doctoral level specialisation, we will have problems being recognised within tertiary institutions. The importance of the PhD, or for that matter, of any kind of specialised on-paper qualification, cannot be overestimated. There is a yawning chasm between the A.B.D. ('all but dissertation' doctoral student) and the person who holds a PhD... Although people who have a Master's level qualification in ESL *have* specialised skills and are appropriately qualified for teaching English at tertiary level, we must work to bring the qualification of the ELT professional up to a PhD level, or else settle for being second-class citizens in a society of PhDs.'

(Pennington, 1992, pp15-16, original italicized emphasis)

However, when surveying the historical development of EAP- and as a pre-cursor to this, the development of the parent discipline of ELT in general- it is interesting to trace how attitudes to qualifications and professional credentials in the field have gradually changed over time. As evidenced by the life and career histories encapsulated in my interview data, it was very clear that for my respondents from the first two decades in particular, employer expectations around qualifications were surprisingly low key and generally very relaxed. Both John Swales and Henry Widdowson, for example, had taught English for a good number of years without *any* formal teaching qualifications whatsoever. Indeed, in Widdowson's case, it ultimately became a matter of *him* asking his employers about the possibility of gaining a professional qualification, rather than the other way round:

'I said to the British Council that it would be a good idea if I gained some credibility by getting some form of qualification. And their response was to send me to what is now Bangladesh, East Pakistan, and I was there as the Exams Officer, and they asked me if I could give them my expert advice on the teaching of English, and since I had no expertise whatever, my advice was not particularly credible, so, again, I said to the British Council that it would be a good idea if I got some qualifications, and eventually they agreed...'

(Widdowson, my emphasis)

Even in the 1970s, a decade or more later, the ELT industry in general had evidently still not fully formulated which, if indeed any, teaching qualifications should be either formally recognized or required. The lack

of importance attached to practical teaching qualifications at this time was foregrounded by Jo McDonough in her description of her MA:

‘The only thing that’s remotely a ‘qualification’, quote unquote, in *ELT*, would be the MA in Applied Linguistics, which probably these days wouldn’t be regarded as a proper teaching qualification, but in those days, it was counted sort of as more. I mean these days (*laughs*), I probably wouldn’t even get a job in a summer school, because I’m not ‘qualified’ (*laughs*) to do ELT in that sense, but in those days, an MA in Applied Linguistics was regarded as a ‘proper’ qualification. In universities (*laughs*), nobody bothered too much about whether or not you were qualified to teach; they were bothered that you had academic qualifications, which I’m not saying is good, but that’s just the way it was... I’m sure that if I was starting again now, then I’d be doing the CELTAs and DELTAs’

(McDonough, my emphasis)

The distinction that McDonough makes here between academic qualifications such as MAs, and professional qualifications intended as more practical preparation for teaching, such as the CELTA and DELTA, is also supported by my data from the other interviews. For example, in contrasting the ELT qualifications held by my respondents from the 1960s and the early 1970s with those held by my respondents from the 1980s and 1990s, it becomes apparent that in the later decades, ELT practitioners were much more likely to have started their careers by doing a CELTA. Before doing their MAs, these more recent respondents were also much more likely to have completed a professional teaching Diploma, such as the DTEFLA or the DELTA. While this was not true of everyone- Olwyn Alexander, for instance, made it very clear that she had not personally felt the need to do a DELTA-, since the very early days of ELT in the 1960s, practical teaching qualifications such as these have undoubtedly gained a lot of ground, to the extent that they have now become common and expected currency. In the modern ELT climate, as evidenced by even a cursory scan of most job advertisements, for anyone wishing to start their career and find a

¹⁴‘proper’ job in ELT, a CELTA or equivalent qualification has now become an absolute *sine qua non*, and for progression to more senior ELT positions, or indeed to get involved in EAP, a Diploma qualification is turning into much more of a ¹⁵desired commodity. Setting her personal views on the relevance of the DELTA aside, as Alexander herself recollected, it is worth noting that when she had first approached universities in Edinburgh to inquire about EAP work possibilities, her own *lack* of a Diploma had in fact significantly counted against her:

‘When I got back from New Zealand with my husband, I needed a job of some sort and I realized very quickly, because I applied actually to the Institute of Applied Language Studies at Edinburgh University and they told me that they had plenty of teachers with far better qualifications than mine, and that they wouldn’t need me, thank you very much, until I had a Diploma.’

(Alexander, my emphasis)

A further related trend from my early stage interview data, and an area in which the majority of the respondents were in agreement, was with regard to their perceptions of the ELT qualifications’ relevance to EAP. Almost all of the interviewees stressed that their ELT qualifications had actually been of very *little* use as preparation for their later EAP work. Some of the respondents from the earlier decades, notably John Swales, Alan Waters and John Flowerdew, were quite gracious in their criticism of this, opining that as the field of ELT was still in a state of developmental flux at that time, this would naturally make it very difficult for *any* qualification to be fully up to date and relevant. By contrast, later respondents, such as Helen Basturkmen, Dr. Jones and Ian Bruce, were rather more overtly critical, and of the opinion that there is in fact a considerable *gap* between what the standard ELT

¹⁴ At time of writing, it is still occasionally possible to find work in ELT without formal qualifications in a number of the lesser-developed parts of the world, but such positions tend to be very poorly paid and lack the security and kudos offered by more recognised employers.

¹⁵ As evidence of this, in the Appendices, I have included a recent sample of a typical EAP advertisement.

qualifications such as the CELTA and DELTA provide as preparation for employment in English Language Teaching, and what is then subsequently required when teaching EAP. This latter point is, of course, highly relevant to any discussion of how professional expertise might be defined and understood in EAP, and will therefore be dealt with in greater detail in my analysis under Part II. For now, for the small number of respondents who felt that their initial ELT qualifications *had* been useful (essentially Professor Smith, Averil Coxhead and Olwyn Alexander), it should be noted that they were each referring to *general* teaching skills, and as a large part of that, to the acquisition of generic teaching techniques specifically to do with the development of classroom management and practice. These respondents felt that *without* such a grounding in the basic teaching skills which had been provided by their ELT qualifications, they would ultimately have approached their EAP classrooms in a very different, and probably less effective, way.

As Averil Coxhead explained:

‘It [the CELTA training course] set the ground for things like how do you run a classroom, how do you work on things, and it gave me time... it gave me a chance to observe other teachers and see what was happening... It was a great environment to just be in and to learn to be a teacher... and I think that if I didn’t have that grounding, I think that I would’ve been a different kind of beastie.’

(Coxhead, my emphasis)

As I believe all of this shows, the relationship between formally recognised qualifications in ELT, how these should act as gatekeeping devices for entry to the profession as a whole, and as an extension of this, the extent to which they can then be considered suitable preparation for EAP teaching, is clearly a very important one. Wrapped up very tightly around all of this, however, there is still the knotty problem of *outsiders’* perceptions, and the matter of which form of academic capital is likely to be recognised and most valued by the academy. While those working on the inside of ELT and EAP evidently

now appreciate the inherent value of qualifications such as Certificates, Diplomas and Masters, and while it might be argued that the fields themselves have historically made great strides towards setting higher levels of professionalization in the process of introducing such credentials, for those directly involved in the academy, what evidently still matters most to the powerbrokers on the outside are PhDs. Until such a time as EAP as a discipline actively engages with this issue, as far as the accrual of credentials-based cultural capital goes, it is difficult for me to disagree with Pennington's rather pessimistic conclusion that most EAP practitioners are doomed to remain '*second-class citizens in a society of PhDs*' (1992, p16).

As an adjunct to this, it must also be said that the very way in which EAP has attempted to engage with a credential-based professionalization agenda stands in marked contrast to that of other academic disciplines in universities. While EAP requires its practitioners to hold pre-service teaching qualifications such as recognised Certificates and Diplomas in ELT, this is expressly not the case in other academic subject areas. Indeed, it still remains possible to be appointed as a lecturer in almost any other discipline with no formal teaching credentials whatsoever, as long as one holds a doctorate. Within UK Higher Education at least, the introduction of the Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education (PGCHE) and the move to make successful completion of this qualification mandatory for new lecturers appears to have been an acknowledgement of this paradox, but once again, one might argue that it only serves to highlight further how the professionalization agenda for EAP is moving in a different direction to the academic mainstream, as EAP tutors are usually either not deemed eligible for PGCHE enrolment or are automatically granted exemption.

Beyond credentials, a second, and closely related form of valued *cultural*, and to some extent *economic capital* in the academy, is that

connected with the peer recognition of scholarly activity and research. The importance of research outputs in academia has long been recognised, probably to the point that even those unconnected with university life are now quite likely to be familiar with sayings such as '*publish or perish*', which have arguably now largely passed into popular public parlance. On that note, even non-academics are almost certainly aware that in the more prestigious tertiary institutions, research is usually much more highly prized than teaching. As van den Berghe (1970, p14) has somewhat ironically explained, in some institutional cases, research can even trump teaching to the extent that '*a top prestige symbol in academia, is how little one teaches. The higher one's rank and the more exalted one's reputation, the fewer defiling "contact hours" one has with students...*' (my emphasis).

This stands in sharp contrast to the situation faced by most EAP practitioners, for whom the potentially strong *cultural* and *economic capital* which might be gained from winning research grants and producing recognised research outputs still remains as an enticing, but highly esoteric and hallowed fruit, dangling as it does, more often than not, simply too far from their reach. As already discussed, aside from the fact that the vast majority of EAP practitioners only experience academia as far as the postgraduate Diploma or Masters level, and may therefore be somewhat limited and inexperienced in their personal research ability and capacity, there is first the much more formidable pragmatic barrier to be overcome of them simply not being given sufficient institutional time and space for research pursuits. While mainstream academics in other disciplines typically have agreed research outputs built into their key performance indicators, and their contact teaching hours are adjusted accordingly, all but a very select handful of EAP practitioners usually find themselves with high teaching loads (16-20 hours per week is not uncommon) and employed on contracts which are emphatically defined as 'teaching only'. This means that even for those who do have the interest and academic

wherewithal to engage in formal research, such activity will not usually be formally recognised by their institutions. The net result is that EAP as a discipline remains largely unable to trade using the same cultural and economic capital as others in the academy, which of course works to disadvantage its practitioners, maintain the *status quo* and keep EAP firmly in its place, which as we have seen, is usually significantly lower down the academic pecking order.

As part of any discussion of *symbolic capital* in the academy, one further form must be mentioned, which is the matter of the exit awards a given discipline teaches towards. Generally speaking, the higher the category of award, the greater the prestige and cultural capital to be gained for a given subject area. Thus, disciplines awarding bachelor degrees trump those only offering certificates and diplomas, while subjects offering postgraduate degrees trump those only offering bachelors. For EAP, which typically confers no exit awards at all, other than occasional in-house certificates for the successful completion of pre-sessional programmes, and in some cases, the English language component of foundation courses, this form of academic *cultural capital* is therefore automatically denied. As my interview respondent Alan Waters lamented:

'Even if you are producing research into EAP, if you're not doing degree teaching, then you're unlikely to be counted or recognised properly for it, so it's a really tricky one, a difficult one...'

(Waters, my emphasis)

For many in the academy, the fact that EAP is therefore largely perceived as an ancillary or preparatory activity, as opposed to an academic subject which students choose to study in its own right, immediately puts it into the category of 'service' rather than 'academic'. Given that in the hierarchy of most universities, there is an immediate dichotomy (and tension) between those functions classed as administration and support (service), and those classed as vital to the entire *raison d'être* of the institution (academic), neither the weak

classification of EAP in the Bernsteinian sense, nor its poor reserves of *cultural capital* in the Bourdieusian sense, are ever going to be particularly helpful in allowing for such 'service provider' perceptions to change.

In the examples of *capital* which I have provided thus far, I have examined EAP's positioning and potential contributions in contrast to other academic fields and in its relations within the academy as a whole. It is also possible, however, to consider the notion of *capital* as it has played out, and indeed continues to play out, within the more immediate field of EAP itself.

Beyond the expressions of *cultural capital*, an important point for consideration here is also that of *economic capital*, particularly in the sense, as I have already touched on at the beginning of this chapter, that EAP now finds itself very closely linked to wider internationalisation agendas, and therefore the recruitment of large numbers of fee-paying international students. From an optimistic perspective, it might have been anticipated that the ongoing boom in international student numbers would be a good thing for EAP, and would help to cement its academic status and secure its longer-term future. As I have argued already however, one of the potentially more damaging aspects of this boom is that it has also helped to spawn an industry of EAP private providers. I have deliberately chosen to frame this development as '*potentially damaging*' because it seems to me that there are essentially now two different EAP communities, each actively pursuing and trading on quite different forms of Bourdieusian *capital*, and each following markedly different agendas. While the traditional, university-based EAP units, with the help of professional organisations such as BALEAP, have been striving in recent years to raise the professional status of EAP as a field and gain greater levels of status and acceptance for EAP practitioners within the academy as a whole (*cultural and social capital*), the private sector providers have been

much more explicitly concerned with the business side of things (*economic capital*), offering universities that are willing to go into partnership with them highly attractive financial carrots of well-established international student marketing and recruitment networks, the delivery of more face-to-face teaching hours at a lower cost and, in some cases, even the possibility of constructing new buildings. In the current cash-strapped times that most UK universities are finding themselves, it is perfectly understandable that such offers are likely to appear highly attractive to Vice Chancellors, Pro Vice Chancellors, and other senior university powerbrokers, all of whom are now under ever-mounting pressure to generate viable streams of income. In the face of such demanding economic imperatives, It seems to me equally likely that the protestations of EAP departments about the need to maintain the academic integrity of their discipline, along with what might easily appear from an outside perspective to be rather petulant complaints that their field of EAP is not being given its proper recognition, will be deemed inconsequential, and regarded as no more than a minor irritation to most senior university powerbrokers, not least for all the reasons that I have already covered.

Aside from the more obvious economic issues, however, I believe that the proliferation of private EAP providers is also potentially damaging to EAP because comparatively speaking, the private sector represents a very different ideological and pedagogical approach to the field. While 'traditional' EAP has been striving to legitimize the academic nature of its work by identifying discipline-specific genres, collaborating more closely with other subject areas and attempting to teach more finely nuanced forms of ESAP (English for Specific Academic Purposes), for many, if not most of the private providers, by the sheer necessity of them being *outside* the academy and therefore not directly privy to insider information, nor able to engage in inter-disciplinary collaborations, it follows that their approach to EAP teaching has had to be much more generic in nature. It seems to me that the wider

ideological trouble with this, particularly when such teaching is offered at a significantly cheaper rate than what traditional university pay scales would ordinarily pay their EAP staff, is that it helps once again to blur and confound the boundaries between ELT and EAP. Part of EAP's drive for greater recognition and academic respectability has rested on the claim that it is a higher order and more demanding form of English Language teaching than that which is typically practised in most conversation schools. If the powerbrokers in the academy are now unable (or for economic reasons unwilling) to acknowledge these distinctions, and therefore essentially end up treating EAP as being not much different from ELT (as my respondent John Flowerdew remarked, *'They seem to think you're just the grammar guy'*), then I believe the professional future of EAP in academia looks much less certain. As Michael Eraut has cautioned, *'The power and status of professional workers depend to a significant extent on their claims to unique forms of expertise, which are not shared with other occupational groups, and the value placed on that expertise'* (1994, p14). From this perspective, it is very hard not to draw the conclusion that the current proliferation of private EAP providers, with their cheaper and more generic offerings, is strongly contributing to a major de-professionalisation of EAP and all that the discipline stands for.

When considering all of this from the Bourdieusian perspective of *field*, while there continues, not surprisingly perhaps, to be a certain amount of tension between the 'traditional' EAP community and those now employed within the private sector, I must stress that as far as the individual teachers are concerned, my intention here is certainly not to extol the virtues of one group and then demonize the other; nor do I wish to suggest that EAP teachers employed by the private sector are necessarily any less professional in their personal approaches to teaching EAP. However, when viewing the current split in the field as a *whole*, I do very strongly believe that the recent rise in private provider

partnerships and, as a by-product of this, the reduction of EAP teaching to what has now largely become just an economics-driven endeavour, simply cannot bode well for the future of EAP's wider disciplinary positioning and academic status. Aside from the issues already discussed, and of course the pragmatic day-to-day concerns around the adoption of different working conditions and poorer rates of pay, as the private operators typically do not need to engage in the kinds of research and academic scholarship which are most valued by universities, there can be little escaping the fact that their proliferation is likely to further diminish EAP's stability within the academy, and in so doing will only continue to strengthen the perceived 'service industry' status which the field has been struggling so hard in recent years to shake off.

Before moving to Part II and a consideration of professionalism, it is worth me now briefly mentioning some of the other ways in which I believe my research findings have shed light on the historical developments in EAP and on the work of its practitioners.

As an extension of the theme from which this chapter started, perhaps the first point to be made here is that despite the concerns I have outlined above, in comparison with its modest beginnings, the professional scope of modern EAP teaching has now significantly widened. As the interview respondents confirmed, and as indeed I uncovered myself in my review of the academic literature in Chapter 2, EAP is now practised not only at the university level, but also increasingly in high schools. As we have also seen, within the academy itself, thanks to the increase in demand for academics to publish their work in English, there has also been a growing role for what I earlier termed 'advanced EAP' in the form of the editing and proofreading of journal submissions. A further development, and one with even wider ethnographic and sociological significance, is that there are almost certainly now many more non-native speaker teachers of EAP than

there are of those using English as their mother tongue. It strikes me that this particular point contrasts very sharply with the prevailing situation when EAP and ESP first emerged out of ELT some 50 or more years ago, as the field back then appeared to be populated much more predominantly by English native-speakers, often trading their strong *social and cultural capital* in what were often essentially post-colonial environments. Certainly when compared to the period of EAP inhabited by my respondents John Swales and Henry Widdowson, for example, the times do now very much seem to have changed. I believe that one outcome of this, certainly as far as political and sociological ideologies go, is that there has been a loss of a certain naiveté. Swales, for example, has openly acknowledged that at the start of his involvement in ESP and EAP teaching, he was probably not as cognisant as he might have been of the tensions and inherent political sensitivities which were encapsulated in the growth and further promotion of English as the dominant world language:

'I have belatedly come to recognize a certain self-deception in my 30-year involvement with English for Academic Purposes. Certainly in the 1970s, I accepted the position which argued that what Third World countries needed was a rapid acceleration in their resources of human capital, which could be achieved by a hurried transmission of Western technical and scientific know-how delivered through the medium of English and supported by appropriate EAP programs. I also believed that working overseas in scientific English, as researcher, materials writer and teacher, was, in essence, a culturally and politically neutral enterprise, and thus one somehow distinct from the oftentimes-quiet efforts of the British Council, USIS, The Alliance Française and the Goethe Institute to promote the glories of their national cultures in unlikely exotic and underprivileged venues. In doing so, I conveniently overlooked the links between the teaching of technical languages and the manufacture and export of technical equipment. So, when I read, say, Phillipson's counter-culture account of how ESL created an academic and commercial base for itself, I find myself caught up in some serious reflection. I now see how ESP's 'accommodationist' and 'technocratic' stance about the value of English as a wider window on the world has paved the way for the enormous resources that, both publicly and privately, have accrued to ESL... I am taken...by the implication that the more crassly commercial interests in ESL are running enterprises dangerously close to language trafficking.'

(Swales, 1997, p377)

While not going quite so far down this particular track as Swales, as evidenced by some of his comments during our interview, Henry Widdowson also seemed to be much more critically and ideologically aware than I would suspect he was at the start of his career, of the potentially narrowing effects of native-speaker dominance in English language teaching:

‘It’s not the dominance of *English*; it’s the dominance of a certain set of *norms* for English: textual norms, which have been determined by native speakers. Now, of course, it may be expedient to conform to these norms, but you have got to ask where they come from and how legitimate are they? Does it mean that if you don’t conform to the norm which journals or periodicals impose you’re not doing science? Are these norms actually intrinsic to the discourse of science, or are they simply an historical accident? Now, increasingly there is an awareness that this domination by a set of basically native speaker conventions – basically *textbook* conventions – conventions such as are they using the right idioms; have they used the right word; this is a funny structure; please get your paper read by a native speaker kind of things... These are not discourse norms, they are text norms, and you’ve got to ask, well, is there anything *crucial* about it that affects the actual communication of scientific information. And the fact is, I think, and this is an area that is wide-open to research and one of the challenges of EAP, if you like, to ask precisely this kind of question.’

(Widdowson)

As I believe both of these examples show, and as also evidenced by the work of critical EAP commentators such as Sarah Benesch (1993; 2001) and Alastair Pennycook (1994), in contrast with the earlier days of the profession, it is now all but impossible for practitioners entering the field to do so with the belief that EAP is somehow ideology-free. While I would personally contend that some of the points made around the critical and socio-political elements of EAP teaching occasionally run the risk of being taken too far, and as a result, have a worrisome tendency to divert practitioners’ attention from what I would consider to be much more immediate pragmatic and pedagogical concerns, I nevertheless agree that in the greater scheme of things, such raising of critical ideological awareness in EAP can only be a good thing.

Returning to my earlier point about the widening scope of modern EAP, it might also be argued that when viewed from the perspective of teaching English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) and its closely related work on genre analysis, we can say that in the course of its historical development, EAP as a practice has now become much narrower and more fragmented. As I have already touched on, given that taking an ESAP approach to EAP teaching tends to involve much closer co-operation with other academic disciplines, and in many cases, the ability to conduct high-level linguistic analysis, it is possible that this narrower focus of the modern practice might yet offer EAP as a discipline the chance of winning greater academic respectability and acknowledgement. However, as Hyland and Hamp-Lyons have already flagged (2003, p3), in order for this to occur, EAP must first overcome its propensity for working *for* subject specialists instead of working *with* them. Somewhat more pessimistically, however, as I have already cautioned, if there is now a dangerous and steadily developing outsiders' perception in the academy that EAP is essentially not all that different to mainstream ELT, and that it can basically be bought and paid for at the same low rates of pay and with the same working conditions, then there can be no guarantee that the current professional freedom which EAP practitioners have to engage in ESAP-type approaches and inter-disciplinary collaborations will itself not one day come under serious threat.

In my discussion thus far, I have analysed some of the developments and trends which I believe to have emerged from this study with regard to the historical course and conduct of EAP and the work of its practitioners. I have attempted to ground my analysis theoretically, first by using the sociological frameworks which were introduced by Tony Becher and Basil Bernstein, and then, more extensively, using three specific theoretical constructs from Pierre Bourdieu.

In the following section, my analysis will examine one further issue which has emerged relatively recently in EAP, and which I believe to be of particular relevance to *all* EAP practitioners: the matter of professionalism and understandings of what can be said to constitute professional expertise.

6.2 Professionalism and Professional Expertise in EAP: Understandings and Consequences

As already discussed, it has been observed that power and status are often dependent on claims to unique forms of knowledge and expertise (Eraut, 1994, p14). Building on some of the arguments which were put forward in Part I, I would contend that given some of the issues I have highlighted earlier in this chapter around the diversity of current qualifications, the lack of agreed professional benchmarks and the contested knowledge base of EAP, I believe it is now worth considering in some detail issues around professionalism, how professional expertise in EAP is achieved and understood, and what the implications of such understandings might be.

Developing as it did from the wider and much longer-established academic practices of ESP and ELT, in considering aspects of professionalism and how professional expertise might be conceptualized in EAP, I believe it is useful first to revisit the particular features which make the knowledge and skills required for EAP unique from those found in other forms of English Language Teaching.

Identifying and mapping the boundaries of respective knowledge in this way will resonate to some extent with aspects of my earlier analysis in Part I which used the Becherian metaphor of academic tribes; the Bernsteinian constructs of *classification* and *framing*; and the Bourdieusian concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. However, while these, and perhaps also some other features of the earlier cited

theorists' work, will continue to be broadly relevant, for the specific purposes of this current section, I will be drawing more directly on the theories of a different and slightly broader range of educationalists, such as Lee Shulman (1986), Donald Schön (1983), and finally, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991; 1998).

6.2i The Knowledge Base of EAP

First of all, with regard to the uniqueness of EAP, as related in Chapter 5, all of my interviewees were emphatic that EAP should indeed be considered as being very different in terms of its nature and content to mainstream ELT. Some, such as John Swales, Averil Coxhead, Professor Smith and Dr. Jones stressed EAP's inherent seriousness, and its highly demanding time pressures, while others, notably Alan Waters, Steve Mann, John Flowerdew and Andy Gillett emphasized that in EAP, the main distinguishing feature is its overarching concern with meeting specific needs. An adjective which was frequently mentioned by a great many of the respondents was '*purposeful*'. Unlike General ELT, which may or may not be taught with particular outcomes in mind, it was agreed that in EAP teaching, a strong sense of purpose should be ever-present, and can therefore be seen as a core feature of the discipline.

When discussing the required knowledge base of EAP practitioners, almost all of the respondents identified knowledge of discourse analysis as being highly desirable. Given that EAP practitioners typically need to work with a range of different text types and genres, the fact that an ability to apply discourse analysis techniques should be highly valued is perhaps only to be expected: EAP practitioners are, after all, primarily language specialists, so one might argue that it follows quite naturally from this that their main store of professional expertise should be largely linguistic in nature. As my respondent Ken Hyland stated:

'I think that in terms of knowledge or disposition, you definitely need an interest in and an ability to do analysis of discourse. So it's not just conveying your impressions of what goes on, it's *understanding* what goes on by being able to look at a text and see how it works as communication. And I think unless you have these kind of discourse-analytic skills, then I don't think you can be a good EAP teacher.'

(my emphasis)

However, from the perspective of teacher training and professional development, it might be argued that this positioning of discourse analysis skills as a central concern in EAP is immediately problematic. As I have already discussed at some length earlier in this chapter, most teachers migrating to EAP from ELT in general do so without the benefit of any EAP-specific training or professional development: if it is believed by those already active and successfully established in the field that an ability to carry out discourse analysis is an absolutely essential EAP practitioners' skill, then questions must immediately be asked of how, when and where incoming teachers are to acquire and develop such a skill-set. To the best of my knowledge, none of the current ELT pre-service professional qualifications include an explicit or extended focus on discourse analysis as part of their syllabi, and certainly not every Masters TESOL programme includes such instruction either. This suggests that teachers who find themselves brand new to the teaching of EAP would be starting out in the field with a considerable knowledge and skills deficit. How such a deficit might then be accounted for and remedied is hard to say. For EAP teachers employed on longer contracts, it might be argued that they will have enough time to develop the requisite knowledge by themselves, possibly by attending professional development workshops and/or being mentored by more experienced colleagues, a point that I will return to later in this chapter. For teachers employed on short-term EAP intensive programmes, however, the sheer time and logistical constraints that come with this territory are likely to mean that such opportunities will be unavailable. This suggests that initially at least, such teachers are being forced to continue operating from a knowledge and skills baseline of somewhat

less than they should be professionally equipped for. This is worrying on a number of counts.

To a greater or lesser extent, the same argument can be applied to the other areas of EAP knowledge and skills, which my respondents identified as highly desirable. Knowledge of EAP's historical development, for example, and the ability to conduct needs analysis are also areas that would not ordinarily be covered in any great depth, if at all, in the preparatory syllabi of most ELT professional qualifications. Furthermore, an awareness of how other academic disciplines operate is not something typically found on the CELTA and DELTA courses, nor indeed are the 'soft' skills of having the confidence to deal with senior academics, collaborate successfully with other disciplines, or work effectively in academic teams. When the different knowledge, skills and aptitudes identified by my respondents as highly desirable for effective EAP teaching are matched against the typical professional profiles of teachers experienced in General ELT but new to working in university contexts, the gap becomes quite considerable, and echoes the earlier concerns about the urgent need for appropriate teacher training and development programmes, which were expressed by Jack Ewer (1983) when discussing the state of ESP over three decades ago. As I have already commented with regard to this particular issue in Chapter 2, the sense of history repeating itself here (unnecessarily, in my view), is more than a little frustrating and disturbing. I will return to the recursive aspect of knowledge development in EAP later in this chapter.

Stepping back for a moment from the specifics of the teacher knowledge that is deemed to be a requirement in EAP, however, it is worth considering the matter more analytically through the wider theoretical lens of those who have examined the issue of teacher knowledge and how it might be successfully developed in more mainstream educational settings.

6.2ii *Formal Teacher Knowledge in Educational Research*

From the outset, it must be said that the question of teacher knowledge has been approached from a number of different angles in terms of educational research. For the purposes of my current analysis, however, I will follow Fenstermacher (1994, p6) in drawing an immediate distinction between *formal* teacher knowledge, that is to say, knowledge of the variety that has been uncovered by conventional behavioural science research (referred to by Fenstermacher as TK/F: teacher knowledge formal) and which has largely tended to emerge from research studies investigating characteristics of effective teaching (e.g. Brophy and Good, 1984), and then the more *practical* types of knowledge which teachers have accrued from their actual experiences of teaching (referred to by Fenstermacher as TK/P: teacher knowledge practical), and which can be said to have been generated by the teachers themselves, and which are typically uncovered in their personal stories and narratives (e.g. Elbaz, 1983).

In uncovering what theorists have suggested about the nature of formal teacher knowledge and then relating this to EAP, I believe that it is particularly useful to draw on the work of the American educationalist, Lee Shulman (1986; 1987).

In his presidential address at the 1985 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (which was duly written up and published in the *Educational Researcher* in 1986) and then in an article which appeared in the *Harvard Educational Review* (1987), Shulman put forward an argument which was intended to capture '*the content, character and sources for a knowledge base of teaching*' (1987, p4). In essence, the main thrust of this argument was that in discharging their duties, teachers typically draw on three different types of knowledge. These were duly identified by Shulman as *content knowledge*, *pedagogic knowledge* and *pedagogical content knowledge*.

The first and second of these constructs, *content knowledge* and *pedagogic knowledge*, were hardly revolutionary notions- few would disagree, or be shocked to learn, after all, that teachers should first possess knowledge of their particular subject matter- *content knowledge*- but then also have some awareness of how to teach- *pedagogic knowledge*. Shulman's third dimension, however, is a somewhat different matter and much more slippery to pin down, dealing as it does with a subtle blend of both content and pedagogy, and therefore representing a *special kind* of teacher knowing; the knowledge of how to cope with the particular variables and peculiarities that come as part and parcel of teaching any given subject. As Shulman himself explained:

'When [a] novice teacher confronts flawed or muddled textbook chapters or befuddled students, how does he or she employ content expertise to generate new explanations, representations or clarifications? What are the sources of analogies, metaphors, examples, demonstrations and rephrasings? How does the novice teacher (or even the seasoned veteran) draw on expertise in the subject matter in the process of teaching? What pedagogical prices are paid when the teacher's subject matter competence is itself compromised by deficiencies of prior education or ability?...How does the teacher prepare to teach something never previously learned? How does learning *for* teaching occur?...How do teachers take a piece of text and transform their understanding of it into instruction that their students can comprehend?...Pedagogical content knowledge...includes an understanding of what makes the learning of specific topics easy or difficult: the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons.'

(Shulman, 1986, p8 and p9)

In applying Shulman's three categories of knowledge to EAP, a number of points can be made. With regard to his first dimension, *content knowledge*, it might be argued that there is still some uncertainty over what exactly this entails in EAP contexts, particularly when EAP is contrasted with ELT in general. While it seems fairly indisputable that the content knowledge of General ELT largely equates to knowledge of how the English language operates, i.e. its grammar, its syntax, its lexis, its phonology, the ways in which it differs from other languages etc, in

the case of EAP, the boundaries are less clear. As Wu and Badger (2009) have argued:

‘When applied to ESP, the division between pedagogic content and subject matter knowledge is often further complicated because of the potentially fuzzy and occasionally disputed distinction between the ESP teachers’ knowledge of the subject and that of the subject specialist’

(Wu and Badger, 2009, p21)

While EAP specialists are automatically expected to share the knowledge base of those in General ELT and have expertise in the workings of the English Language as a matter of course, in practice, this may manifest in different ways. As I have already discussed, for example, the linguistic knowledge base of EAP professionals is also expected to include knowledge of how to carry out discourse analysis, along with a good understanding of how language operates at a textual level and in specific academic contexts. On this latter note, returning to Wu and Badger's point above, it might also be argued, as I explored in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5, and indeed as a number of my interview respondents themselves commented, that EAP professionals should also have specialist content knowledge relating to a range of different academic subject areas:

‘If they [EAP teachers] are going to relate the language to some specialist content, then it would be well if they knew the specialist content. It may well be- and this is something that we discussed in quite some detail many years ago- that the best EAP teachers are not English teachers that you persuade to teach in relation to a particular content area, but specialists in a content area who are able to see what the linguistic consequences are. In other words, you start with your content teachers...’

(Widdowson, my emphasis)

‘If you want an ESAP teacher [English for Specific Academic Purposes], I would think, ... you’re umm, looking for somebody, err, in terms of their knowledge, what you really want, is someone either who’s versed in the subject area, or who has the skills to become versed in the subject area’.

(Dr. Jones, my emphasis)

Irrespective of the stance one chooses to take on the specialist content knowledge issue, EAP teachers clearly need to be knowledgeable about their students' needs, and as an adjunct to this, have knowledge of the different ways and approaches in which such needs might be met. Looking at the required knowledge base more broadly, and as indeed a number of my interview respondents themselves stated, we might further posit that unlike teachers of General English, EAP specialists also need *institutional* content knowledge of how universities operate, and of the different environments in which they and their students typically find themselves. When viewed in these terms, it soon becomes apparent that the required *content knowledge* base for EAP is considerably broader, and at the same time much more specialized in its focus, than that of mainstream ELT. As I have suggested in this thesis already, this is, of course, one of the key lynchpins on which EAP's argument for receiving greater recognition of its academic status rests.

In the case of *pedagogic knowledge* and *pedagogical content knowledge*, EAP and mainstream ELT can also be differentiated. As with *content knowledge*, there are certainly some areas of EAP pedagogy that carry over directly from ELT, such as general awareness of classroom management and how to structure and set up language learning activities, but there are also some areas which are different. The question of whether or not EAP requires its own distinct methodology, for example, has been an ongoing debate in the field for quite some time now, and is still very much a contested issue. Indeed, in a number of cases, we might even go so far as to say that the pedagogic approaches valued and most often found in EAP contexts are sometimes the complete antithesis of those typically extolled as good pedagogic practice in General ELT. My respondent Professor Smith provided a useful example of this in his discussion of the very different perceptions of teacher talking time:

'There is in a sense, err some ways, in which as an EAP teacher, you are much more expert than your students in some sorts of things, and the CELTA and DELTA approach, when I did it anyway, was all about, you know, eliciting and the discovery approach and finding out what the students know, or a lot of what they don't know. And err, you know, sometimes there is definitely a place for standing there and just talking to students- and of course that can't be *all* that you do- but when I was trained as a CELTA teacher, it was a major *crime* to have teacher talking time, whereas I think in an ESP context it's not always a bad thing, because you might be telling a story, an anecdote or an example, and you're the only one who knows that; the students don't have that. So there are times when, you know, teacher talk can be a good thing.

(Professor Smith, my emphasis)

A further methodological distinction between EAP and General ELT was drawn by my respondent Andy Gillett, while commenting on the fact that in EAP teaching, the entire pedagogy usually stems from an awareness of student needs:

'EFL teaching is *activity*-based whereas EAP and ESP are more *purpose*- based... [In EFL] whenever a grammatical structure came up, we wracked our brains to try to find in what context and for what purposes our students might use that grammatical form. The text books were not good at it and so when I was teaching the past tense in Japan, I had to think 'ok I've got a group of mixed professionals in my class, why do I think they might use the past tense'. Which means that it was hard for me to find a purpose. I find ESP much easier because those purposes are given... A lot of EFL, I think, starts from a text and you have to think, now what can I do that is fun with that text? Whereas I think that in ESP and EAP, it normally starts with knowing my students and who are they and what do they need and what do they want. Which is why I think that ESP is very humanistic- although people disagree with me on this- because you start by thinking about your students: who they are and what they want. What are they doing. Then the language and the texts come more easily from that, I think.'

(Andy Gillett, my emphasis)

As I believe these examples successfully illustrate, as with *content knowledge, pedagogic knowledge* and *pedagogical content knowledge* in EAP contexts thus equate to a kind of ELT+, with some crossover and shared common ground between the two fields, but then a number of areas in which the two are markedly different.

One particular point on which I believe the *pedagogical content knowledge* base of EAP and General ELT diverge is with regard to the underlying ethos of each endeavour. As discussed a number of times already in this thesis, a key hallmark of EAP teaching is its purposefulness and central preoccupation with student needs, issues which I would contend have traditionally tended to receive much less emphasis in mainstream ELT, and which, as a result, have important pedagogical implications for everything else that has since followed.

As discussed in Part I of this chapter, for example, even if I am now persuaded that the Communicative Approach came out of ESP teaching and then moved across to ELT in general, rather than the other way round, it must still be said that the *manner* in which the Communicative Approach has been interpreted and applied in General ELT is very different from the way in which it operates in EAP, and arguably, from the way in which it was originally intended. The underlying implications of this with regard to *pedagogic knowledge* and *pedagogic content knowledge* are perhaps best summed up in the exchange that I had on this matter with my interview respondent Alan Waters, an excerpt from which, though admittedly quite lengthy, I feel it is worth reproducing now:

DB: Is the methodology or the approach different when we talk about EAP or ESP teaching as opposed to General English teaching? Could you say a bit about that Alan, in your experience within the profession?

AW: Yes. I was thinking about this before, in the process of reading through your questions. It made me think that I ought to make a distinction – err, you use the word ‘pedagogy’, quite rightly- and I think that that makes it possible for me to make a distinction between curriculum or course design matters, and matters of *content* to a great extent on the one hand, and matters of methodology, you know, actual teaching methods, on the other. I mean, there’s obviously not a hard and fast distinction between the two, but umm... on the methodology side, well, I think the first thing I’d say is that I probably didn’t give it as much thought as I should’ve done; ... I think this actually crystallised for me later on and I became more conscious in my mind that it’s really important in EAP- because of the subject matter of a lot of it- that it’s easy for it to become dry (*laughs*) and dull, and therefore all the more need to transfer over from mainstream ELT the techniques of

teaching that will allow it to be a bit more interesting and lively... you know, I think the *best* aspects of General English Teaching in many respects are required all the more for the teaching of EAP or EOP; that's certainly how I see it; I see a very strong connection in terms of the methodology aspects, but umm, I think at the same time, the other aspects of pedagogy are significantly different, and maybe we can talk about that a bit more later on.

DB: Yeah. For me, this idea of approach or methodology-and I think I would try to differentiate the two there- I would agree absolutely with what you've just said; in EAP or ESP sometimes the subject matter *is*, on the surface, quite dry and there's a danger, I suppose, that you end up dealing with something that is so dry that it's actually quite demotivating, so as you say, you need to harness your General ELT techniques to make it interesting.

However, I think there's the other way of looking at it as well, if I can just play devil's advocate, that I think one can go too far in that direction and you end up with the extreme of the General English approach, which I think can be very frivolous sometimes, and more about *entertaining*. I would posit that that's no good as well- you know, I think we need to be somewhere in the middle.

Perhaps part of the reason why I've got such a strong interest in this, and why I want to do my PhD work on it, comes because I'm a head of department and have been for some time now, and one of the things that comes with that is watching teachers teach- for my sins, I get to go into the classroom and watch a lot of teachers- and I often see this coming out, you know, teachers will come into EAP or ESP from General English, and they've got the sort of bag of tricks that they've learned and that they've been told is good practice in General English Teaching, and some of them will then apply that wholesale to EAP/ESP and they'll come unstuck, because observers like myself will be saying to them afterwards, 'Well, yes, OK, you've done whatever you've done, but how was that relevant to the students' needs? How did that address the aims of the lesson? Yes, it was certainly very entertaining and you had them bouncing round the classroom, but did it meet their needs?' Conversely, of course, you've got people who will see EAP and ESP as something awfully high-brow and they'll say, 'Well, it's academic, I daren't have fun; I daren't do anything engaging in the classroom' and I've had teachers say to me, 'Oh, I didn't know that I was *allowed* to do the activity you've just suggested because, well, it's EAP, isn't it- I have to be austere or something' and I would say to them, 'No, it's not that you *can't* do those things, but you've got to think about *why* you're doing them; you shouldn't just be doing things willy-nilly'

AW: Yes, and I think that's a very good point that you've just made about most people, you know, falling between two stools, and erring towards one extreme or the other, in terms of their approach to EAP teaching. And I think the problem- the first example you mentioned of the teacher who does a lot of fun things and so forth, but there might not be a very obvious

point or purpose behind it- umm, I think that problem is one that has occurred more recently in terms of methodology since the time when Tom [Tom Hutchinson] and I wrote our book. Umm, I think the methodology has become, err, there's been a *trend* for it to become, well, *unhinged*, I would say really (laughs) because it's become a matter of entertainment and so forth, of being seen as an end in itself, and the idea of linking that to some clear purpose, so that at the end of the lesson, you can say quite clearly what it is that the learners have actually learned- what they didn't know before the lesson started- you know, *that* dimension seems to have been umm, forgotten about at the expense of lots of, well, injecting lots of fun and games.

And clearly, that's a false dichotomy; there *shouldn't* be that kind of contradiction, but I very much agree with what you've just said about that being a problem.

(my emphasis)

As I hope that each of the examples cited above will have now demonstrated, the teacher knowledge base which is required for EAP, whether classified as *content knowledge*, *pedagogic knowledge*, or *pedagogic content knowledge*, evidently differs in a number of important respects from that of mainstream ELT. As I have already argued, given that most modern EAP teachers migrate to EAP having first served an apprenticeship in General ELT, and also having usually taken their formal training and qualifications in that field, when teachers first join the EAP community, they are likely to do so with a significant gap in their knowledge. Shulman's theoretical constructs have been a very useful tool in shedding light on the specifics of this.

As I have argued earlier in this chapter, one of the cornerstones of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* is that our process of creating a particular disposition or approach to something is largely *subconscious*, and only becomes conditioned and further developed through raw experience and particular life exposures. Given that most new EAP practitioners find themselves forced into situations that demand high levels of immediate on the job learning, it seems quite likely that much of their daily repertoire will therefore develop subconsciously and via a

process of trial and error. There is certainly some evidence from the literature (e.g. Wu and Badger, 2009) that with regard to the various forms of subject-specific knowledge needed for ESAP teaching, teachers do indeed appear to develop their own coping strategies and pick things up over time, rather than sitting down to learn about them in the more traditional sense, although in the general current absence of formal EAP training courses, it might be argued that such an approach to learning is, in any case, largely Hobson's Choice. That said, in the specific case of ESAP, given the large variety of different academic disciplines with which EAP teachers might potentially be required to become familiar, it is doubtful whether or not a more formal and traditional approach to training and development could ever be truly effective or logistically viable. Under such constraints, perhaps the most that the more formally structured EAP teacher training and development programmes could ever be expected to achieve would be in laying a foundation of core discourse analytical skills- it would then be up to the practitioners to apply these to the specifics of their own particular contexts, and thus further develop their competencies by themselves.

A useful theoretical construct which can be applied to help explain how this process might work is the idea of the '*reflective practitioner*' put forward by Donald Schön (1983). As Schön has defined it, knowledge is essentially bound up in action and he explains this via his concepts of *knowing-in-action*, *reflecting-in-action*, *reflecting-in-practice* and *framing* and *re-framing*. When taken together, these constructs represent an '*epistemology of practice*', which for Schön essentially serves as a means of distinguishing theoretical, formal knowledge from practical knowledge. In putting forward this distinction, Schön (1983, p42) has argued that while the formal knowledge of science belongs to the '*high hard ground*' and is dependent on research-based theory, the knowledge typically drawn on by professionals is the knowledge of practice (my emphasis), which

belongs to the 'swampy lowland where situations are confusing messes incapable of technical solutions' (1983, p42). Schön's model thus places more significance on the knowledge that teachers gain from their own experience, rather than positioning knowledge simply as a commodity that can be formally transmitted from one person to another.

Schön's work has been extraordinarily influential in the mainstream educational thinking on teacher development, and in this regard, EAP has been no exception. For example, the idea that ongoing critical reflection on one's practice can lead to the development of higher order performance is squarely reflected in the BALEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of English for Academic Purposes (2008) under the fourth category of competence, '*Personal Learning, Development and Autonomy*', where '*the importance of critical reflection on own practice*' is directly listed as a desirable performance indicator (2008, p5).

Schön's influence can also be discerned in the growing use of assessment tools in EAP such as learner diaries and reflective journals, not to mention the popularity of Action Research as a common construct for EAP teachers' continuing professional development. In sum, there can be little doubt that as an inherent part of their knowledge and skills development, 'good' EAP practitioners are now expected to engage in active critical reflection, possibly even to the extent that *not* doing so would be seen as somewhat deviant behaviour and almost a form of heresy. Similarly, it is clear that 'good' EAP practitioners are expected to engage with the broader research literature and to take an interest in classroom-based research. This point was particularly stressed by my interview respondent, Ian Bruce:

'Andy Seymour made a comment to me in 2009, in that the teachers he has that *aren't* really interested in EAP, that just want to do TEFL, don't particularly want to go to conferences, they don't want to do classroom-based research or read journal articles, whereas he said that people that *are* interested in the theoretical and

research foundations of the subject, he saw as ideal EAP people... I think for someone to position themselves as an EAP teacher, rather than as an EFL teacher, they have to see themselves as part of the academy; as interested in research, as willing to go to conferences, do classroom-based research, work on their higher degree, have an interest in the theoretical underpinnings of the subject... and I think that's what makes it quite different from TEFL'

(Bruce)

It is difficult to argue with the view that as part of their commitment to professionalism and general accountability to practice, EAP practitioners should be prepared to engage in the types of ongoing professional development represented by attending conferences and reading the relevant academic literature. However, with specific regard to the matter of critical reflection, I also feel that an alternative viewpoint must be acknowledged here, namely that reflection alone, without the anchor points of feedback and access to other perspectives, can only take professionals so far (Eraut, 1994). In the specific case of ELT certainly, there is also some evidence from the wider literature (e.g. Farrell, 2013) that not all experienced teachers do in fact *'readily consciously reflect on the different experiences they have had throughout their careers'* (2013, p1072) and may have to be actively encouraged to do so. In this regard, it seems that there often first needs to be a catalyst for reflection, something to set the whole process off and to give it a more grounded and practical meaning. On this note, I believe that observation of teaching, particularly peer observation of teaching, can play an important role in providing the right kind of structured context from which critical teacher reflection on practice can then naturally and most productively take place. The efficacy of observation as a powerful tool for the development of EAP teachers' knowledge in this way was also articulated by some of my interview respondents:

'I'm somebody who believes in observation... We have an informal observation thing and I often make use of that. So peer observations... I also try and do team teaching and working closely with other classroom teachers. I think that team teaching and

observation are fantastic opportunities for professional development, because what you're doing is seeing somebody else really working on what's going on...'

(Coxhead)

I'm a very strong believer that all teaching has a core of good abilities in teacher presence and being able to explain clearly and to illustrate points; giving clear instructions. Those things apply across all teaching and those are the things which are clearest in observations, and can only really be done through observations.'

(Watson Todd)

'My interests are mostly in how do you make the feedback on those observations, err, work, and in simple terms, that's by making the object of the observation and the focus of the observation at least collaborative... and making it a conversation, rather than an expert telling people where they went wrong, to put a stereotypical view on what might happen...What strikes me about EAP and what you can observe, is that it's not all going to be evident in a classroom, but I suppose that you would follow some of the threads and say, you know, 'can I see some of the documentation? Can I see the process?' or be interested in that process which has led to the design of the materials... it's not all observable in the classroom, but maybe *connections* to those things are, so I think it's good that you're giving that space to the whole process...What the job of the observer is, is to find those bits of evidence, or detail, which can fuel that wider-ranging conversation about their practice.'

(Mann)

Peer observation in EAP contexts can thus serve not only as an important catalyst for personal critical reflection on the part of individual teachers, but also as a type of informal mentoring by more experienced colleagues. Building on this, I believe that peer observation may therefore further function as an induction mechanism by which neophytes can be helped to gain access to wider communities of practice.

6.2iii Teacher Knowledge as a Social Construct

My mention above of the term 'communities of practice' now brings me to the final theorists' work I would like to draw on for this part of my analysis, that of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991; 1998).

In 1991, in what has since been widely recognised as a seminal work, Lave and Wenger extended existing notions of apprenticeship, and in

so doing, introduced a new theoretical construct, which they termed *legitimate peripheral participation* (LPP). One of the core tenets of LPP was that novices develop their knowledge and skills by interacting with and learning from those more experienced than themselves in specific communities of practice:

‘The concept of community of practice underlying the notion of legitimate peripheral participation, and hence of “knowledge” and its “location” in the lived-in world, is both crucial and subtle... A community of practice is a set of relations among persons, activity and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice. A community of practice is an intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge, not least because it provides the interpretive support necessary for making sense of its heritage’

(Lave and Wenger, 1991, p98)

As Lave and Wenger explain, based on this view, participation and social interaction move beyond their usual status as mere aids to learning and development to be seen instead as vital components of effective learning itself:

‘... participation in the cultural practice in which any knowledge exists is an epistemological principle of learning. The social structure of this practice, its power relations, and its conditions for legitimacy define possibilities for learning (i.e. for legitimate peripheral participation).’

(Lave and Wenger, 1991, p98)

When the community of practice and LPP concepts are applied to EAP, a number of points can be made. Firstly, it must be said that the notion of communities of practice itself chimes very well with the now familiar EAP-related construct of discourse communities, so commonly found in discussions of genre (e.g. Swales, 1990; Casanave, 1995). As I have discussed earlier in this thesis, one of the central pillars on which genre analysis rests is that different discourse communities have their own specific ways of communicating, and that in order to be admitted as members of such communities, newcomers must first learn the rules of the game. As Flowerdew (2000, p129) has pointed out, ‘*this is*

normally done by some form of formal or informal apprenticeship', or as Kuhn (1970) has termed such a process, 'professional initiations'. In this sense, the term 'communities of practice' also resonates very well with the Bourdieusian construct of 'field', which as I discussed in the first part of this chapter, in EAP's case typically represents a number of different overlapping spheres of activity. EAP practitioners may thus simultaneously find themselves belonging to a series of communities of practice, each of which will further develop and have an influence on their professional learning. That this often appears to be the case was borne out in the descriptions of early development and learning which were offered by a number of my interview respondents. When asked about her experiences as a teacher brand new to EAP, Averil Coxhead, for example, made explicit mention of the way in which simply being a member of an academic university department taught her a lot of what she needed to know. In this regard, Coxhead's account represents almost a textbook case of LPP in action:

'...the other kind of learning was to get to grips with what was happening with the institution and how this worked. Graeme Kennedy had worked extremely hard to make sure that our school, the English Language Institute, was a fully integrated part of the university. I think he was a pioneer in that way; he very much fought to make sure that people who were teaching on our programmes and working within our schools were well respected and well known within... and he really led by example; he went for policy changes... So the learning curve really was working in the programme, working with other teachers where you learn more about it, and of course I had been... I went from being a part-timer into being a full-time member of staff, and then you end up running the programme. So at one point I was the course co-ordinator of 22 classes and you know, managing quite a complex thing...'

(Coxhead, my emphasis)

Other interview respondents also talked about the ways in which their different communities of practice had shaped their development. Swales, for example, discussed his extensive professional networking with contemporary fellow ESP professionals such as Jack Ewer, Vijay Bhatia and Henry Widdowson, while for Richard Watson Todd, it was actually the *lack* of a clearly defined community of practice, which he drew explicit attention to:

'I mean, the big problem with working in Thailand is that there is no one here to be a mentor or a resource ... If you are going outside your area and looking at combining it with another area, then ok, but within English Language Teaching or Applied Linguistics, the main problem with working here is the lack of people to ask about things.'

(Watson Todd, my emphasis)

On a larger scale, the importance and relevance of LPP and the community of practice concept for EAP practitioners is arguably also illustrated by the emergence and steady growth in influence of the professional organisation BALEAP. As I described in Chapter 2, in the early SELMOUS days of its existence, BALEAP had originally come into being principally because practitioners were *'beginning to feel the need to discuss their difficulties with their counterparts'* (Jordan, 2002, p71). In its current configuration as the pre-eminent UK professional organisation for those involved in EAP, BALEAP has become a very well-developed community of practice in its own right, whose influence permeates the wider EAP field in the form of institutional accreditations and the formal dissemination of guidelines for professional practice, and whose members can readily share their experience and resources via conferences, blogs and participation in regular professional interest meetings.

As I believe the examples above illustrate, LPP and the twin notions of discourse communities/communities of practice are highly relevant theoretical constructs for shedding light on how EAP practitioners further develop their knowledge and skills and move towards expertise. However, as Flowerdew (2000) has pointed out, although these concepts are undoubtedly useful, we must not lose sight of the fact that other forms of teacher learning remain equally valid. Indeed, it seems that teacher knowledge, particularly with regard to classroom practice, develops from a variety of different sources. As Tsui (2003) has commented, *'teacher knowledge as manifested in teachers'*

classroom practices is often an integrated whole that cannot be separated into distinctive knowledge domains' (2003, p2).

In the specific case of EAP, there is evidently still considerable value placed on more traditional modes of instruction, as reflected in my interviewees' responses when asked whether or not the introduction of EAP-specific training and professional development courses might be desirable. However, rather than seeing LPP and more formalized modes of teacher learning as being in competition with one another, it might be more productive to consider ways in which the two might work in tandem. As indeed Flowerdew (2000, p132) concludes, *'...classroom time can be seen as an opportunity for facilitating and reflecting upon legitimate peripheral participation as opposed to an opportunity for the transmission of knowledge'*.

6.2iv The Recursive Knowledge Base of EAP

Before closing this chapter, one final point I would like to address in connection with issues around professionalism in EAP is that the knowledge and understanding developed within the field itself is often surprisingly ephemeral and recursive in nature, and can involve a considerable amount of reinventing the wheel. This issue was evidently also of concern to my respondent, Henry Widdowson:

'What I'm struck by always is the way in which there seems to be a disregard or an ignorance of what has happened before in our field... what I would want EAP people to think about is where they come from, and what the history of EAP has been, and how it relates to the current developments.'

As I have suggested already, to some extent this phenomenon may well be a feature of all human endeavours, but I suspect that it is particularly prevalent in EAP. Having now analysed some of the different ways in which professional knowledge is generated in EAP, I firmly believe that the general paucity of agreed benchmarks for the field, along with an equal lack of shared practitioner understanding of

the main features of its historical development, have together resulted in a considerable amount of unnecessary replication. As I described in Chapter 2, this is evidenced by the way in which the same issues are often presented for discussion and analysis, even though such topics have been extensively covered decades earlier.

While a certain amount of knowledge recycling is of course healthy and can contribute to the development of new perspectives and discoveries, when this morphs into the frequent reinvention of existing wheels, then surely questions need to be raised about how effectively knowledge is being retained and accessed by members of the field. To take a medical analogy, while modern articles in *The Lancet* might well debate at length the pros and cons of different contemporary antibiotics, it can be taken as read that *all* medical practitioners will be familiar with the development of penicillin- it would be very worrisome indeed if a modern medical practitioner claimed to have never heard of Alexander Fleming. And yet, as I have already argued, this kind of situation is played out with alarming frequency in EAP, which suggests not only a strong disconnect between practitioners in the field but also a very poorly shared collective memory of the available knowledge pool. While there are undoubtedly a number of factors contributing to this issue, it is my view that the introduction of more formal training and development programmes for EAP, in which newcomers to the field might be more rigorously and systematically inducted into the field's history and accepted practices, may be one possible means of offsetting the recursive knowledge trend, a possibility I will be considering in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Summary

Drawing on the data which emerged from chapters 4 and 5, in this chapter I have analysed the various developments and trends which

have occurred within EAP, and considered the effects that these have had on the work of EAP practitioners.

In the first part of the chapter, I applied socio-cultural theories from Becher (1989), Bernstein (1971) and Bourdieu (1977) in order to account for the ways in which EAP has been positioned within the academy at large, and to help explain its relatively poor academic status in comparison with other academic disciplines.

In Part II, I then focused more explicitly on one particular development in EAP, the matter of professionalism, and as an extension of this, how professional expertise is conceptualized and understood. My analysis in this regard has drawn on theories of how teachers develop their professional knowledge proposed by Shulman (1986), Schön (1983) and finally Lave and Wenger (1991). As I hope to have shown, professionalism in EAP is evidently a multi-faceted affair, with practitioners developing their knowledge, skills and expertise via a number of different means.

In the following and final chapter of this thesis, I will be turning my attention to what the implications of my findings from this study might now mean for the further development of the field and the work of EAP practitioners as a whole.

CHAPTER 7

Implications for Practice

Introduction

7.1 The Changing Nature of EAP as an Academic Field

- 7.1i The Implications of Growth
- 7.1ii The Implications of Linguistic Change
- 7.1iii The Implications of Technological Developments
- 7.1iv The Implications of Internationalization
- 7.1v The Implications of Economics & Market Forces

7.2 The Changing Nature of EAP Practitioners

- 7.2i The Implications of Specialization
- 7.2ii The Implications of Professionalization

7.3 Conclusion

Introduction

In what is now the closing chapter of this thesis, I will consider the wider implications of my research, and in so doing, offer some suggestions for what I believe the findings are likely to mean for the course and conduct of EAP in the future.

In keeping with the content areas represented by my original research questions, the discussion which follows will be divided into two main parts. In the first part, I will review what I see as being the main implications of my research findings in relation to developments in EAP as an academic field. In part two, I will then consider the implications of these research findings for the work of EAP practitioners.

7.1 The Changing Nature of EAP as an Academic Field

7.1i The Implications of Growth

As I described in the previous chapter, since its emergence some five decades or so ago, there can be no doubt that in more recent years, EAP has come of age, and has experienced a period of significant growth and expansion. One immediate outcome of this has been a shift in the dynamics around supply and demand. While EAP in its original configuration was traditionally and predominantly concerned with the sciences (as I described in Chapter 2, in the early days of their existence, both EAP and ESP were essentially synonymous with EST: English for Science and Technology) nowadays the discipline has permeated almost every subject area of the academy. In the course of a typical working day, modern EAP practitioners may thus find themselves engaging with a much broader range of academic disciplines and subject-areas than was traditionally the case. This change in EAP's breadth and scope has important implications, not only for the wider role which EAP as a discipline evidently now plays within the academy, but also for the requisite knowledge and skill-set of those involved in its delivery, a point I will be returning to consider under 7.2ii below.

A further implication of EAP's growth and its broader disciplinary reach is that this has led to demands for ever-greater specialization. This has been particularly prevalent in more recent years, with EGAP, the teaching of English for General Academic Purposes, steadily giving way to a much greater focus on ESAP, the teaching of English for *Specific* Academic Purposes. The implications of this greater specificity for EAP practitioners will be revisited and considered in more detail under 7.2i. However, as I have argued already, one potentially positive implication of such specificity for the field as a whole is that it offers much greater opportunities for inter-disciplinary collaboration, which

may, as a consequence, be instrumental in winning EAP more kudos and prestige as an academic discipline, and in bringing it more firmly into the academic fold.

In many current UK EAP contexts, militating against such lofty aspirations however, as I have discussed in the previous chapter, is the fact that the recent boom in EAP and its linkage with potential for significant income generation have resulted in the emergence and steady proliferation of a series of private educational providers. The wider implications of this development, both for EAP as an academic field and also for the day to day work of EAP practitioners, will be revisited under 7.1iv and 7.2ii.

7.1ii The Implications of Linguistic Change

As flagged by a number of my interview respondents, changes to the way in which English now operates as the dominant world *lingua franca* are also likely to have important implications for the future practice of EAP. The rising numbers of non-native speakers using English as the main medium for publishing their academic research, for example, can be expected to lead to the development of new genres and different expectations around what constitutes acceptable academic writing. As one interview respondent in particular stressed, the strong likelihood is that non-native speakers of English using EAP as a *lingua franca* will *not* be bound by the same linguistic rules as those using English as their mother tongue:

‘There are physicists, rocket scientists, economists and business people and so on all over the place and they are not going to conform to native speaker behaviour... As the language spreads and is appropriated by academics and others...they will not conform to native speaker norms... you may well find that physicists, who are talking to each other in English as a *lingua franca*, and neither of whom is native speaker, may develop modes of communication which are consistent with the discourse of their subject, but which don’t conform to the modes of native speaker correctness. And this is one of the challenges of EAP...’

(Widdowson)

A further consequence of linguistic change, as I hope to have captured during the historical mapping which I have attempted in this thesis, is that while EAP in the early decades of its existence was very clearly dominated by native-speakers of English, and was operating under a highly UK-centric, post-colonial model, for the delivery of EAP in the future, this trend is almost certain to be reversed.

The considerable growth of EAP in countries such as Spain, Turkey and China, for example, as well as in a number of other countries in the Middle East, suggests that the UK is no longer likely to remain the main centre of gravity for EAP, nor to be the only country with exclusive claims to EAP know-how, excellence and expertise. As my interview respondent Professor John Swales was keen to point out, Spain alone currently has '*more PhDs in EAP than any other country in the world*'. Indeed, it may well be that the main movers and shakers in EAP's future development will come not from universities in the UK, but from locations in which English is spoken and taught as either a foreign or second language.

7.1iii The Implications of Technological Developments

Few would deny that modern technology is playing an increasingly important role in the ways in which education is delivered, and as with any other academic discipline, this naturally has a series of important implications for EAP. This particularly holds true for the ways in which technological developments are driving new pedagogies, new modes of delivery and new genres of academic communication.

The availability of online material, and the fact that this can be repeatedly accessed over extended periods, has already had significant implications for the 'traditional' forms of EAP delivery. Notetaking skills, for example, once a staple ingredient of almost all EAP courses, are now becoming much less critical than they used to be,

simply because modern technology allows students the option of bypassing their handwritten lecture notes and downloading recordings of the lectures themselves, which they can then review at their leisure. The proliferation of online virtual learning environments such as Moodle has opened up similar possibilities for how students may now choose to engage with their studies and the recent emergence of MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) is yet a further example of how the delivery of education readily transcends the limitations of institutional and international borders. In each of these cases, there are clearly important implications for how EAP as a discipline might wish to engage with the opportunities which such educational developments represent.

7.1iv The Implications of Internationalisation

As I described in Chapter 2, the recent boom in international student numbers and the marketization of education in general has had a number of important implications for EAP as a discipline, not only in terms of the way in which EAP itself is now practised, but also with regard to the manner in which its role and purpose is positioned and then viewed from within the academy as a whole.

One particular consequence of the influx of international students is that it has created a need for EAP to engage more directly with issues around the development of academic literacies, and to question what the acquisition of these might mean from cross-cultural perspectives. As a corollary to this, in many UK institutions, this has essentially led to EAP departments assuming the role of institutional gatekeepers when it comes to issues around academic integrity and investigations of student plagiarism. While academic misconduct is clearly not the sole preserve of international students, the fact that cultural differences and different rhetorical conventions in academic writing often play an important role in this area means that EAP departments, by dint of their

daily involvement with both English language affairs and also the international student body, can often find themselves called upon to serve as members of the front line, when institutions create policies and attempt to marshal formal responses to such issues. In many ways, this may be seen as a positive development for EAP, in that it can provide an opportunity for practitioners to showcase their particular expertise, but from another perspective, there is also perhaps the danger of EAP once again being viewed as little more than an ancillary 'fixing' service, particularly when it comes to the matter of dealing with international students' language errors. By way of contrast, the opportunities for EAP's involvement in the wider field of academic literacy development are perhaps a saving grace however, in that such services are typically applied to the entire student body, not just international student cohorts, and are generally recognised within the academy as a vital component of the university experience. This is certainly the case in my current geographical location in Australia, where EAP and academic literacies have essentially joined forces under the broader banner of university enabling programmes. As a number of my interview respondents commented, it will be very interesting to see in the years to come if EAP departments in UK contexts find themselves following a similar trajectory. As with my earlier point about inter-disciplinary collaborations, developing a greater linkage between EAP and academic literacies may in fact ultimately help to safeguard EAP's position within the academy.

One further aspect of internationalization particularly worthy of mention, are the considerable opportunities afforded to EAP as part of transnational operations between UK universities and tertiary institutions overseas. As I will discuss in the following section, paradoxically, although in many ways the future of EAP in UK university contexts now looks far from rosy, by comparison, EAP as practised in international settings is still afforded considerable respect. In the case of

¹⁶transnational operations in particular, EAP practitioners working in English-medium universities can still command impressive salaries and occupy relatively high positions of power and prestige. Perhaps the key factor in each of these cases is that hitherto, logistical challenges have made it difficult for private providers to gain the same market foothold as they have in the UK. In the coming decades, however, it will be very interesting to see how these current trends continue to develop. As I have posited above, as part of the future growth and development in EAP, it may indeed be that the future centre of gravity for EAP as a recognised academic discipline will switch from universities in the UK to establishments located in more international settings.

7.1v The Implications of Economics & Market Forces

One major consequence of the recent boom in international student numbers at UK universities has been an influx of private educational providers to the UK market.

As I have argued in the previous chapter, I believe on both economic and ideological grounds that this poses a serious threat to the future professional status and stability of UK EAP, and that as a result, there is a very real danger that EAP may lose its claim to the wider academic status and recognition which it has been fighting so hard in recent years to achieve. Indeed, in a number of UK institutions, it may already be too late for this damaging trend to be reversed, as once well-established and highly regarded EAP departments have been closed down, their staff dispersed and the work taken over by private providers.

¹⁶ Good examples of these include academic partnerships between the UK and China e.g. the University of Nottingham in Ningbo and Liverpool University in Suzhou, and similar transnational operations in other locations worldwide e.g. University College London's work in Astana, Kazakhstan; Coventry University's involvement in Oman.

While I have no desire nor intention to demonize or disparage the efforts of individual teachers working for such organisations, the fact remains that as long as EAP can be offered in this way as a cut-price service, typically delivered by staff with fewer academic qualifications and less experience, and employed on significantly less attractive terms than those working within the mainstream academy, when considered from the wider perspective of academia as a whole, it seems inevitable that EAP as a discipline in the UK will continue to be regarded as an activity with lower academic status.

7.2 The Changing Nature of EAP Practitioners

7.2i The Implications of Specialization

As I have described under 7.1i above, one of the changes in recent years to EAP as a discipline has been a gradual move from teaching generic academic English, EGAP, to more specialized forms of delivery, ESAP.

One major implication of this shift for practitioners is that in contrast to the earlier days of the discipline, contemporary EAP now requires its practitioners to have a higher degree of familiarity with different styles and genres of subject-specific academic writing, and as a consequence of this, to be comfortable in carrying out their own analyses of academic discourse. This in turn, as I have also argued already, has very important implications for the training and development of new entrants to the field, a point I will return to again under 7.2ii.

In my view, one further implication of EAP's greater specialization, however, is that it simply underscores the differences between EAP and more mainstream forms of ELT. As I outlined in Chapter 4, all of my interview respondents were emphatically in agreement that EAP does indeed differ on a number of counts from General English teaching

and that these differences can have a variety of knock-on effects. One such consequence of the differences between EAP and general ELT is that the teacher evaluation criteria and mechanisms typically used in assessed classroom observations for General English teaching should be tailored more specifically towards measuring EAP outcomes. Although I must acknowledge that not every interview respondent came out explicitly in favour of this view, those that did do were emphatic enough in their beliefs to convince me that this is an important issue for future attention and indeed also confirmed what I have learned from my own personal experience, that generic observation instruments designed for use in General English classrooms are not likely to be fit for purpose when applied wholesale to EAP.

7.2ii The Implications of Professionalization

As I hope to have shown in the course of this thesis, the practice of UK-based ELT in general has become increasingly regulated and professionalized. As evidence for this, one need only compare the situation as described by my interview respondents in the 1960s and the 1970s, when no formal teaching qualifications or credentials were required at all, with the current state of play and the hegemony of qualifications such as the CELTA, DELTA and Masters degrees.

Given this trend towards ELT practitioners requiring more formal credentials, it seems quite likely that in time, the same rules and expectations will start to be applied to the teaching of EAP. However, as I have already discussed, at the present time, it must be stressed that there is still a very noticeable lack of EAP-specific qualifications, and in terms of its professional status, the field itself would therefore clearly benefit from the introduction of more formally recognised standards. To some extent, it might be argued that this process has already started with the introduction of initiatives such as the BALEAP TEAP Competency Framework, the BALEAP institutional accreditation

scheme and the opportunity for individual EAP practitioners to gain recognition via the BALEAP professional portfolio accreditation process, but much wider coverage and a greater take-up of these services is needed if there is to be any significant impact on the field as a whole, as there is evidently still quite a broad range of different practices across different institutions.

With regard to the matter of formal qualifications, as I have discussed in previous chapters of this thesis, there is also still the thorny issue of which qualifications are likely to carry the most weight, and to be most widely recognised by the academy in general. From this perspective, doctoral degrees remain the qualification *par excellence* and it seems highly unlikely that this situation will change any time soon. As I have already argued, it is hard for me to disagree with Martha Pennington's conclusion (1992), that unless more EAP practitioners invest in PhDs and thus conform to the broader expectations of the academy in general, as far as academia goes, they will always be perceived as second-class citizens. As I have also already argued, it is worth reiterating that the ways in which EAP has approached its professionalization agenda to date continue to stand in marked contrast to the paths taken by other disciplines from within the academy.

In more immediate terms, however, the question remains of how new entrants to the field should most effectively develop the specific knowledge and skills which modern EAP requires. As my current research findings have shown, an ability to analyse discourse has been identified as a core EAP practitioners' skill, but instruction in this area is not typically found on ELT preparatory courses, nor is it always covered by Masters programmes. The introduction of EAP-specific training and development courses, in which the development of skills in discourse analysis might play a key role would seem to be an obvious solution, although questions still remain around who the providers of such training should be, and which professional bodies the training should

then be regulated by. As already discussed, early attempts at bridging this gap, such as the postgraduate certificates in teaching EAP offered by UK universities such as Plymouth, Nottingham, Sheffield Hallam and Leicester have certainly made important inroads, but in relative terms, their impact on the field at large has still been quite small. It remains to be seen whether or not the continued internationalization of education and the parallel expansion of EAP will lead to a greater proliferation of Postgraduate Certificates in Teaching EAP, Masters programmes in EAP and other qualifications of their ilk, or if a different solution to the training of new entrants might yet emerge. Perhaps the most obvious contender in this latter regard would be for organisations to start offering more formalized in-house training and development sessions of their own, as this would then allow them to grow the levels of professionalism and expertise of their staff from within. To a greater or lesser extent, a number of UK universities already have in fact attempted to do this, although in the continued absence of agreed benchmarks across the industry as a whole, as indeed with many EAP practices in general, it becomes difficult to set and then maintain consistent levels of quality.

Given the many differences between EAP and General English which have been acknowledged during this research, however, I do now firmly believe that EAP as a discipline must stop relying on preparatory training and development programmes which have been designed for General English, and start seriously investing in the creation of products which are a better and more direct match with the needs of EAP.

As I have touched on a number of times already in this thesis, a final finding which has emerged from this research with important implications for practice concerns the role and outputs of EAP practitioners in academic research. If the professional status of EAP in the academy is to have any chance at all of being more widely recognized, then I believe it is absolutely imperative that more EAP

practitioners become active in the dissemination of peer-reviewed research. Firstly, however, the gap between research and practice in EAP itself needs to be narrowed, as it seems clear from the current research findings that the majority of practitioners do not always see themselves or their experiences reflected in much of the current research literature. Thankfully, there finally appears to have been some acknowledgement of this issue in a recent editorial for JEAP (2015), in which the outgoing editor, Liz Hamp-Lyons, lamented that some of the research articles submitted to JEAP ‘...seem to grow out of theoretical interest in how academic language works with little attention to context’ (2015, A3. my emphasis). As a new initiative for the journal, Hamp-Lyons has therefore put out a plea for:

‘...more submissions from practitioner-researchers...that would bring the voices of the teachers and the learners into the pages of the journal, but in a way that would make teacher-researchers’ solutions to practical problems in their own teaching contexts generalizable and accessible to EAP teachers’

(Hamp-Lyons, 2015, A3)

In light of the findings which have been generated from this thesis, this certainly strikes me as a step in the right direction, and it is to be hoped that the new ‘*Researching EAP Practice*’ strand of JEAP will be successful in generating a much greater interest in research from EAP practitioners- as I have outlined in this thesis, this may then help to close what I feel has been a steadily widening and worrisome gap between EAP research and EAP practice.

7.3 Conclusion

As I have explained in Chapters 1 and 3, my original motivation for writing this thesis stemmed from a strong personal desire to better understand how EAP as an academic discipline has developed and changed, and what the impact of this has been on the work of its practitioners.

In charting the professional life histories of individuals who have been particularly prominent in EAP, I hope to have provided a unique historical snapshot of some of the different stages in EAP's development, and also to have highlighted some of the particular issues and challenges with which I believe EAP will now have to grapple as the discipline and the work of its practitioners moves forward.

As I have already discussed, as a core outcome of this thesis, it is my belief that EAP as currently practised in UK contexts has now reached an important crossroads in its historical development, and it is not yet entirely clear what exactly the future will bring. EAP may yet ascend to achieve the recognition and status it craves as an academic discipline in its own right; conversely, it may simply be more firmly relegated to the function of a non-academic supporting role.

Irrespective of the impact on the EAP industry by private educational providers, it is certainly a regrettable and undeniable fact that more and more EAP work in British universities is being carried out by casual staff on short-term contracts. This has important implications for the status and overall professional recognition of the field, but also has a significant knock-on effect for practitioners in how attractively EAP is then perceived as a choice of career, and the extent to which those who do choose to work in EAP are prepared to invest their time and money in gaining further professional qualifications. Practitioners may, understandably, be reluctant to pay for such forms of credential-based professional development if they feel there is little possibility of them gaining a financial return on their investment, or if they discern there to be poor prospects for future career stability. As I have outlined already, it is certainly true that there remain a number of areas into which EAP might yet conceivably expand, but not all of these would confer the same kudos and recognition as that awarded to recognised academic

disciplines, and for most EAP practitioners, I would contend that this is likely to remain a highly contested issue.

Whatever the future for EAP ultimately holds, it is my fervent and sincere wish that its practitioners will continue to strive to provide the best possible experience for their students. I would contend that no matter what new developments the future may bring for EAP, it is this, more than anything else, which should remain at the core of what those of us involved in the discipline do.

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APPENDICES

A. Email communication with potential participants

a.1 Sample initial exploratory e-mail asking about the possibility of participation in my research:

Dear Professor Widdowson,

I don't think we've ever formally met, although as a fellow (albeit much more junior!) academic in the field of English Language Teaching, I'm obviously more than familiar with your name and work, particularly your 2003 book, 'Defining Issues in English Language Teaching', which I see as an absolutely seminal text.

At the risk of appearing sycophantic, I must also say that your opening chapter in the more recent publication, 'Theory & Practice in EFL teacher Education. Bridging the Gap' (2012) also resonates very strongly with a number of my own beliefs and findings over the past 20 or so years of my ELT career, and has been a most refreshing read.

If you'll forgive this direct approach, the reason I'm getting in touch is to ask if you might be willing to take part in some research that I am currently carrying out as part of my PhD. Without going into all the gory detail at this stage, building on some of the findings from my earlier work in helping to develop the BALEAP Teacher Competency Framework (2008), I'm basically looking at how EAP has developed/is continuing to develop as a distinct sub-field of ELT, and what the ramifications of this development are for teacher training, EAP practitioners' own continuing professional development, and some of the wider issues around 'quality control' in tertiary-level institutions, such as my own, offering extensive EAP programmes.

As part of my research, I'm compiling vignettes of key contributors to the ELT/EAP field, and as someone with a long-standing and very active profile in this area, I think you would be an absolutely fantastic addition to my portfolio of informants.

If this sounds like something you might be willing to get involved with, what I would require is about 45 minutes to an hour of your time for an informal, semi-structured interview, in which we would discuss your own take on aspects of the topics already mentioned above.

Given our geographical differences, I would see this interview as being conducted via either video conferencing, skype or an audio conference call, but am presuming that this wouldn't present an insurmountable problem, assuming that you were happy to get involved and if we were able to establish a suitable time.

I look forward to hearing from you in due course and hope very much that you will be able to take part.

With kind regards from the University of Nottingham Ningbo China,

Doug

Douglas Bell
Associate Professor
Head of Centre for English Language Education (CELE)

a.2 *Template for my follow-up e-mail confirming participation and providing further details:*

Dear ...

Thanks once again for agreeing in principle to take part in an interview with me as part of my PhD research project examining issues in EAP.

As I mentioned in my last message, I am writing to you again to outline the procedures that I intend to follow more formally.

Do please read through the sub-sections below carefully, as they describe your involvement in my research project in a little more detail, and also how the data that will be generated is intended to be stored and used.

Interview Format

The interview will last for 45 minutes- 1 hour and will be audio recorded using an MP3 device. Within 8 weeks of the interview date, a full transcript of the interview will be e-mailed to you, at which time you will have the opportunity to review what was discussed, and if necessary, request any modifications or deletions.

The transcript of the interview will not be published/put in the public domain without your full consent and you will have the opportunity to see/confirm your acceptance of the final copy.

Anonymity

My intention is to identify all interview respondents by name. However, if you prefer that your name not be used, your participation in the interview will be coded anonymously in order to protect your identity.

Neither your participation in the interview, nor the data that it generates will be disclosed to third parties without your written consent.

Right to Withdraw

You have the right to withdraw from the interview/research project at any stage.

I'd be grateful if you could now confirm to me by return e-mail that you are still willing and available to get involved in this project.

Thank you for your time and trouble- I very much look forward to collaborating with you.

Best wishes,

Doug

Douglas Bell
Associate Professor
Head of Centre for English Language Education (CELE)

B. Research ethics proformas

b.1 Participant Consent Form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Project title:

'Practitioners, Pedagogies & Professionalism in the Teaching of English for Academic Purposes (EAP). A Contested Field.'

Researcher's name: Douglas Bell

Supervisor's name: Professor Christine Hall

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that information gained during the study may be published and that unless I have expressly requested anonymity, I may be identified by name.
- I understand that I will be audiotaped during the interview.
- I understand that all research data will be held solely by the researcher and that it will not be released to other parties without my consent.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed (research participant)

Print name

Date

b.2 Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Please read through the sub-sections below very carefully, as they describe your involvement in the research project in more detail, and also how the data that will be generated is ultimately intended to be stored and used.

Interview Format & Data Storage:

The interview will last for 45 minutes- 1 hour and will be audio recorded using an MP3 device. Within 8-12 weeks of the interview date, a full transcript of the interview will be e-mailed to you, at which time you will have the opportunity to review what was discussed, and if necessary, request any modifications or deletions.

Neither the transcript of the interview, nor any audio recording will be published/put in the public domain without your full consent, and you will have the opportunity to see/confirm your acceptance of all final transcript copies.

Anonymity:

My intention is to identify all interview respondents by name. However, if you prefer that your name not be used, then your participation in the interview will be coded anonymously in order to protect your identity.

Neither your participation in the interview, nor the data that it generates will be disclosed to third parties without your full consent.

Right to Withdraw:

You have the right to withdraw from the interview/research project at any stage and without prejudice.

Contact Details:

You have the right to contact either the researcher or his supervisor should you require further clarification on any aspect of this research project.

Should you wish to lodge a complaint on ethical grounds, you may contact the University of Nottingham, School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator directly (see relevant contact details below).

RESEARCHER:	Douglas Bell
CONTACT DETAILS:	douglas.bell@nottingham.edu.cn
SUPERVISOR:	Professor Christine Hall, School of Education, University of Nottingham
CONTACT DETAILS:	christine.hall@nottingham.edu.cn
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION RESEARCH ETHICS COORDINATOR:	educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

C. List of Interview Questions

1. For how many years now have you been involved in English Language Teaching? What first got you started on this particular career path?
2. What are your main academic and/or professional qualifications? When and how did you do these? At which institution/institutions do you currently teach/have an affiliation with? How long have you been working there?
3. What has been your specific involvement in teaching EAP- English for Academic Purposes? Where did you first cut your teeth?
4. What first prompted your move into teaching EAP? How long had you been in English Language Teaching up to that point?
5. Did you undertake any specific preparatory training before starting to teach EAP? For example, did you complete an academic or professional qualification, or take a particular career development course?
6. What was the name/nature of that preparatory training, and how well do you feel it prepared you for the realities of teaching EAP?
7. If you cast your mind back to when you very first started teaching EAP, aside from the nature of what is actually taught, in your professional opinion, is there anything particularly distinctive about the how of teaching EAP, when compared with English Language Teaching in general?
8. Did you find yourself on a learning curve in any way? If you think back, how might that curve have been made a bit less steep for you?
9. How well do you feel that your previous ELT experience and/or general qualifications prepared you for teaching EAP?
10. We've been talking about the differences, but how about the similarities: were/are there any areas of your previous English Language Teaching and your teaching of EAP that you basically feel were the same?
11. In order for them to be effective practitioners, are there any pre-requisites that teachers of English for Academic Purposes must meet in terms of their knowledge? How about in terms of their skills, or their general disposition?
12. If I could ask you to summarize, what do you see as being the main features, the key 'ingredients' if you will, that all 'good' EAP practitioners need to possess?
13. Given what we've just discussed about some of EAP's unique features, is there a place or need, do you think, for specific training programmes in EAP? Should there be a universally-agreed industry standard, for example? How might this be achieved?
14. Just thinking again about professional standards, could you share your views on how institutions might best measure their EAP practitioners' expertise? What do you think, for example, about the role of classroom observation?
15. Should classroom observations in EAP settings be focusing on the same things as observations in more standard EFL contexts, or should they be looking for something different?
16. What do you see as the main pros and cons of teaching EAP as a career choice for English Language teaching professionals?
17. As an English Language teaching professional, what developments would you personally most like to see in the teaching of EAP?
18. And finally, where do you think the field of EAP is heading?

D. Sample EAP Job Advertisement



English for Academic Purposes (EAP) Pre-sessional Tutors Plymouth University - English Language Centre

Location: Plymouth
Salary: £28,982 to £31,656 per annum pro rata
Hours: Full Time
Contract Type: Contract / Temporary
Placed on: 1st March, 2016
Closes: 17th March, 2016
Job Ref: A4727

The English Language Centre (ELC), which sits within Academic Partnerships at Plymouth University, organises year-round in-sessional and pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes provision for Plymouth University students whose first language is not English. In the summer the Centre requires a number of qualified and experienced EAP tutors to work on the 8 and 6-week EAP pre-sessional courses. These students will have an English language level of IELTS 5.0 and 5.5 for the eight and six week courses respectively. Those students who pass the pre-sessional then attend compulsory EAP classes throughout their first term alongside their degree programmes.

The pre-sessional courses are based on the Plymouth University campus which is a five-minute walk from the city centre and ten from the sea. Dartmoor and Cornwall are accessible via public transport and the area has lots of other beautiful places to visit.

You will need to be a qualified and experienced EFL/EAP teacher preferably with recent pre-sessional experience in a UK university or very recent experience as a student in UK HE. You will also be a hard-working, organised, flexible and team-working individual who can cope with an intensive workload with enthusiasm and always with a positive student experience in mind.

Qualifications: **First degree and CELTA or equivalent (essential)**

DELTA or equivalent and /or relevant master's (desirable).

Single, self-catering en-suite accommodation in university halls on campus will be available at a subsidised rate of £16.00/night.

(my emphasis)