

ESL: SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING
AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the development of English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching for adults as a distinct discipline from the period of its inception until the mid-1980s when it appears to have been well on the way to its constitution as and acceptance as a separate discipline. The history of ESL provision is established from interviews and from the literature, and competition between paradigms is discussed. The ESL provision in one borough in the London region is examined, and particular attention paid to the ideas and views of teachers who appeared to be undergoing a transformation from what could best be described as voluntary workers to professionals. Interviews with potential students are discussed because their ideas and concepts not only came into conflict with the received wisdom of ESL, but also had an effect upon the development of the subject. Particular attention is paid to women students because of their importance to the development of ESL.

The thesis addresses itself practically to debates within ESL about its context and its politics, and academically to discussions about the relation of education to "race", gender and class. Additionally, it discusses the relationship between changes within the curriculum and outside social aims and social forces. Here the professionalisation of ESL is of importance: the thesis links the claims and practices of the new professionals to their working-conditions on the one hand, and issues of social control on the other.

A crisis accompanied the establishment of ESL as a subject which was both financial (fear of cuts) and ideological (challenges to the old approach). Two ways of seeing the work have competed: assimilationist views linked to ESL's welfare origins which saw "the need for English" as self-evident; and a pluralist discourse emphasising "bilingualism". Interviews with potential students showed that "the need for English" was not straightforward; but the pluralist discourse in ESL was stimulated by a struggle for professional status within education rather than by increased proximity to students. It was found that though pluralist views were put forward in ESL publications, the assimilationist discourse was widespread among tutors, who were unlikely to give up their freedom to define the work as they chose unless improvements to their working-conditions were available. The need for an alternative to both is discussed.

The thesis is in three parts. Following a chapter on theory and method, the first section (chapters 2 and 3) examines the development of ESL up to the mid-1980s. The welfare origins of ESL and its development into an educational subject are discussed.

The second section (chapters 4 and 5) draws on fieldwork in an outer London borough in 1984-5 to describe the different sorts of ESL provision there and discuss the teachers' views of the work.

The third section (chapters 6 and 7) explores issues of potential students' approaches to ESL classes. Chapter 6 considers factors affecting adults' approaches to learning new languages and to formal education, and chapter 7 discusses interviews with potential students of ESL in the same outer London borough to compare with the ideas of providers.

In conclusion, chapter 8 discusses the implications of the work of ESL in terms of social control. The importance of the curriculum is stressed, and alternatives to assimilationist and pluralist conceptions argued.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated, with my love,
to you who have lived through it:

Rafeef

Najla

Shadin

and Fawwaz.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACACE	Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education
ACFAL	Association de Coopération Franco-Algérienne du Lyonnais (Grillo 1985)
AE	adult education
AEFTI	Association pour l'Alphabétisation et l'Enseignement du Français aux Travailleurs Immigrés (Grillo 1985)
AEI	Adult Education Institute
ALBSU	Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit
ALTARF	All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism
Appdx	Appendix
ATEPO	Associations for the Education of Pupils from Overseas
BASCELT	British Association of State Colleges in English Language Teaching
BAVTE	Birmingham Association for the Voluntary Teaching of English
BLC	Borough Language Coordinator
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (France)
ch	chapter
CIT TESLA	Certificate of Initial Training in Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults
CPVE	Certificate in Pre-Vocational Education
CRC(1)	Community Relations Commission
CRC (in Denton)	Community Relations Council
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CTEAI	Certificate in Teaching English to Adult Immigrants
CUEFL	Communicative Use of English as a Foreign Language
DES	Department of Education and Science
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission
ESL	English as a Second Language for adults
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
ESN	Educationally Sub-Normal
E2L	English as a Second Language for children
FE	Further Education
FEU	Further Education Unit
F/T	full-time

GLC	Greater London Council
HT	Home Tuition (my own abbreviation; not current)
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
ILT	Industrial Language Training
ILTU	Industrial Language Training Unit
JMB	Joint Matriculation Board
L1	first language
L2	second language
LEA	local education authority
LLU	ILEA Language and Literacy Unit
LMP	Linguistic Minorities Project
Min. Ed.	Ministry of Education
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NAELS	National Association of English Language Schemes
NAME	(1) National Association for Multi-Racial Education; (2) (then) National Anti-Racist Movement in Education
NATFHE	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education
NATESLA	National Association for Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults
NATECLA	National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults
NCILT	National Council for Industrial Language Teaching
NEC	National Extension College
NEC(1)	(in chapter 2) Neighbourhood English Classes
NHS	National Health Service
NNews	"NATESLA News"
NUT	National Union of Teachers
P/T	part-time
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
* TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TESL	Teaching English as a Second Language
TESLA	Teaching English as a Second Language to Adults
TESL FACE	Teaching English as a Second Language in Further, Adult and Continuing Education
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOPS	Training Opportunitites Programme
UB	Unemployment Benefit
YOP	Youth Opportunities Programme
YTS	Youth Training Scheme
* SCOPE	Schools Council Project on English for Immigrants

INTRODUCTION

The teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) to adults developed from a voluntaristic and largely peripheral area into a much more professional subject between the 1960s and the 1980s, following the growth in numbers of bilingual people living in Britain. The constitution of ESL as a new subject presents us with an opportunity to examine the process of how and why a new subject develops, and the effects upon those who organise and teach the subject and on those who are taught.

A number of important issues are raised. In descriptive terms we find that professionalisation of the subject and its official recognition occurs in parallel with a movement from what Bernstein calls weak classification and framing to stronger classification and framing (1971). The thesis allows us to examine the extent to which the strengthening of subject boundaries and associated development of its own pedagogy are paralleled by a professionalisation of those who teach the subject. It also allows us to look at an issue raised by many sociologists: that the constitution of a subject may be related to social control. Further, it allows us to examine issues of gender and racism in relation to the development of a subject, because ESL was aimed at particular migrant groups.

My own work as a part-time tutor of ESL led to my developing an interest in the development of ESL teachers' and practitioners' views of what they were doing, and the way students and potential students saw the aims, purposes and outcomes of ESL programmes. My experience with a new and growing subject led me to "make" ESL provision itself open to question, rather than to "take" providers' problems as the focus of research (Young 1971). At the beginning of my work, concerned with issues of racism and sexism, I saw ESL as monolithic, with a single, or uniformly-changing approach. When the research showed that in contrast, not only were there several approaches, but that the new subject could be said to be at a point of crisis, this became a central focus of interest.

Between the 1960s and 1980s, "ESL" developed into a subject, and carved a place for itself within educational institutions, developing not only a curriculum but a pedagogy. The thesis considers not only the newly constituted field but also the ideas and material pressures involved in the process of its constitution, and the effect on both the teachers and students. Why did this new subject appear? What does it do? What are the implications of its growth and of changes within it? What different groupings within and beyond ESL struggle to control the definition of the subject? What purposes do the groupings want ESL to serve, and does it serve them? ESL is represented as existing for the benefit of its students, but does it - in common with other parts of education - also have social control functions? How do these relate to the overt politics within ESL, and to radical ESL tutors' accounts of the politics of their work, and also to that of black critics? How does ESL relate to inequalities of power (race, class, gender)?

In order to concentrate on the development of the new subject, linking the claims and practices of the teachers, the new professionals, to their work and to broader issues of the outcome and its relationship to social control, I decided to undertake a broadly empirical look at ESL provision in one borough, conducting broadly ethnographic surveys of its practitioners and recipients; and to examine ESL literature.

Hence this study is first of all an account of the development of English as a Second Language teaching for adults in England up to the mid-1980s. It seeks to remedy the lack of academic attention that has until now been paid to the field despite its relevance to debates about education in general and issues concerned with race and adult education. My purpose is to address the debates within the field about its context and what we can describe as its politics.

Secondly, a discussion of the development of ESL means that one must look carefully at its potential students. The thesis therefore focuses upon questions relating to race, gender and social class.

Thirdly, the study comments on debates within the sociology of education about the constitution of subjects. It focuses in particular on overt and covert aspects of the development of a subject and of its purposes in relation to a social context.

In conclusion, the thesis argues that ESL has not been simply a response to the "language needs" of bilingual people, but rather to the perceptions and material interests of various groups within and outside

ESL. While government funding aiming to prevent urban unrest and the needs of white state employees to communicate with bilingual people have supported the development of ESL, its history has not only been formed from outside. Within ESL, we find divergent views of the aims of the work, but ultimately teachers' working conditions and career aspirations have been important both in carving out a space for ESL, and in forming its approach. In a sense, the fight for professionalisation has also been an acceptance of the social division of labour, so though there have been fights within and around ESL to adopt a bilingual approach, or an actively anti-racist approach, the careerism of those attempting to change the old, "welfare" model has itself limited any critique within the curriculum which might fundamentally threaten to rock the social boat.

ESL is defined here as voluntary and state teaching of English to adult bilingual migrants. The definition is distinct from that made within EFL (Croft 1972, Arthur 1979, Prator 1979), and follows that made by ESL practitioners who attempt to distinguish their work from English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching, which is largely intended for people who plan to use English in other countries (NNews, 5, back page; Arora 1980). "Education" is taken to mean formal education at school level and beyond. This does not imply that all learning experiences take place within such structures. The term "bilingual" is used to refer to people who have been brought up with languages other than English - "who function ... in two language environments regardless of fluency and literacy" (Saifullah Khan 1977a p1). The term "race" does not imply biological differences between the groups referred to: although I have not chosen to use inverted commas, my usage is like that of those who have done so (eg Husband 1982, Gilroy 1987; see p31). The "warmly persuasive word" "community" (Williams 1976, quoted by Jackson 1980b) will be avoided, because it can be used to avoid being understood exactly (Jackson 1980b p39), or to imply an organic unity of groups, eg "the Asian community", concealing differences in class, background and allegiance in those spoken of. The term "migrant" is used to refer to people who have moved from one country to another, and not used for their children. It is distinct from other usages of the term, not implying a necessary continual movement between countries; not limited to those entering Britain on work-permits. The word "immigrant" has come to have a particularly negative connotation, "heavily penetrated with the resonant images of 'invasions' and 'floods'

of aliens", "conflict, threat and opposition to the black presence" (Husband 1979 p184), and is not used.

The terms "Asian" (or "Indian" etc) and "of South Asian origin" (or "of Indian origin" etc) have been used interchangeably in this text. This represents a dilemma. It has been argued (e.g. by Saifullah Khan) that the implication of calling people who live here "Asian women" (etc) is that they are not British. She regrets the lack of use of "hyphenated identities" in Britain - such as "British-Pakistani", and, in her work, refers to "people of Pakistani origin" (etc). While supporting her concern, however, both sorts of term are used here, for three reasons. Firstly, "...of South Asian origin" is very long, especially where it needs to be frequently used. Secondly, the other type of term enters the thesis frequently in the work of other writers. Thirdly, "Asian" is used colloquially, including by activists of South Asian origin; and, because of the unwieldiness of the alternative term, it seems less likely that it becomes commonly used than that "hyphenated identities" become more widely used.

ESL represents the English example of efforts at "second language" teaching to migrants which have occurred in many Western countries, though they have not been properly compared (though cf Jupp 1982). There are some clear differences with the situation that will be discussed below: in Scandinavia, paid time off work is available for learning the official language (Merdol 1982, Stock and Howell 1976); in Australia, well-equipped classrooms arouse the envy of English ESL staff (Claydon 1980). Some similarities are also evident: links to assimilation, eg in Norway (Swetland 1982), the US (Boss 1983), seeing the official language as an evident necessity (Germany: Seligman 1976); "citizenship education" linked with English teaching in Canada (Selman 1979, Selman and Blackwell 1971, Mackenzie 1971, Brookes 1983) and Australia (Australianisation Conversations 1966); promoting basic rather than advanced levels of language tuition (France: de Montety 1976); a "welfare" input in the US (Harman 1979) a concern with "usefulness and relevance" (Canada, Laylin 1977); the use of volunteers (US: Harman 1979); hourly-paid tutors doing "their own bush-beating for students" (US: Heaton 1981); while elsewhere, too, there has been increasing interest in an integration of ESL with training and education (Canada: Selman et al 1981; US: Fleming and Ankarberg 1980).

CHAPTER 1
MAKING AN ACCOUNT OF ESL

SOCIAL CONTROL AND THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

This chapter looks at ways of analysing the social control functions of any part of education, considering the significance of carving "knowledge" into "subjects", and of work done on the hidden curriculum of other parts of adult education. It goes on to consider debates about the relation of education to gender, race and class. // CCCS distinguish four different types of sociology of education: (1) policy-oriented; (2) critical policy-oriented; (3) "taking the side of the people"; (4) critical studies of discourse (CCCS 1981). They criticise sociology of education which attempts to produce educational policy (1): and try to adopt aspects of (2), (3) and (4) in their work. My work fits neatly into none of these, for if it is able to provide arguments for changed policy, that is not its aim as such. It is not a critical study of discourse as in a text or body of texts, although the discourses within which ESL workers conceptualise their work become a major interest. Moreover - as CCCS themselves agree - "taking the side of the people" had problems as a statement of perspective: who are "the people" in relation, say, to ESL? Such a statement is not a theoretical help but a political commitment, and, though we work in a context of unequal power, wanting to change it, that will not tell us how to proceed with our work. This chapter concludes, therefore, with an account of the method of the thesis.

As we will see in the next two chapters, the history of ESL has been marked by conflicts over aims and methods. Our first step is to develop a conflictual model which could be used to describe and explain these changes. A good starting point is the various Marxist accounts of educational conflict and change, which suggest that these struggles are one facet of the recognition of the importance of education in maintaining social control. Studies of individual institutions suggest that there are likely to be struggles at this level too, between

groupings with different ideas and different positions in relation to education.

Most Marxist accounts attempt to explain the importance of education as one factor sustaining capitalism, firstly by dividing people into different classes; secondly by working on the consciousness of the working-class to try to prevent revolutionary activity. Economistic interpretations of Marx have encouraged some to look at the services education offers capitalism in a functional way, as a "tool of ruling-class interest" whose job is to teach those skills required by capitalist industry and the labour market. The "skills training" argument is extended into an argument that education tries also to affect "attitude", where "attitude" is adjacent to a work-enabling skill, teaching punctuality, discipline, etc - the "norms and dispositions which are suitable to one's place in a hierarchical society" (Apple 1979 p19). Others, however, CCCS (1981) for example, argue that the "skills" notion - which indeed is partly what the schools, etc., say they are there for - is misleading at a time when capitalism is not really requiring workers with higher training, but is de-skilling (Braverman 1974); so education is important in capitalism in order to teach students a pliable attitude, and prepare them to become workers in a capitalist system:

"children at school ... learn the 'rules' of good behaviour ...; rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of order established by class domination" (Althusser 1971 p127).

It has also been argued that schools and other educational institutions play an important role in sustaining the division of society into class, via the provision of different schools or streams and the creation of examinations and qualifications as a dividing line (Gorz 1977). Schools and colleges seem to make educated status available to everybody - "masking the naked exploitation of the capitalist system" (Westwood 1980) - but in practice they favour the most privileged (Bourdieu 1974). Working-class children continue to become working-class ex-scholars, both because they reject the lure of mental work held out by schools as unrealistic for them (Willis 1978), and because schools' offer of social mobility is not designed for everyone: they build on concepts and a context which is more easily taken up by the children of middle-class parents (Bernstein 1975a, Bourdieu 1974).

Wright and Perrone argue that education is falsely held out as the basis of class:

"despite theories of the managerial revolution, the post-industrial society, and other perspectives which claim that authority and/or knowledge stratification has superseded property stratification ... the class division between property holders and non-property holders is still very real, even when only small property holders are considered" (Wright and Perrone 1977).

The promise of "status" via education seems to justify the class system. Although it is not possible for everybody to get educational qualifications, it suggests that the divisions in society are the result of "ability", not of unequal relations to property, etc. It is also an appeal to people to think of themselves as individuals, not as part of a class. Thus education's important contribution to social control is the minimisation of protest.

Beyond "attitude" in a narrow sense, moreover, education may give messages that promote the inevitability of capitalism. The content, style and context of teaching - the ways in which "knowledge is processed" (Young 1971), and the "hidden curriculum" (see p18) - can be linked to discussions of the importance of ideology/hegemony in sustaining the divisions of capitalism. Schools and colleges often present the capitalist world as "commonsense", a division into individuals as inevitable, and working-class struggle as conceptually impossible:

"broadly, educational systems are directed to what Parsonians call 'system maintenance' and Marxists call 'ruling-class hegemony' and 'ideological reproduction'" (O'Brien 1984 p3).

Thus for Althusser the educational system consisted of

"Ideological State Apparatuses, working on behalf of the state and capital, though with a 'relative autonomy'" (op. cit.).

For Gramsci, too (1971), the content of the so-called "knowledge" in schools and the process of creating a "commonsense" in a given society were political, linking to the struggle for ideological hegemony between different groups in society (see p51).

However, education systems are not automatically successful in presenting a capitalist view of the world or in defusing opposition to it. Working-class people have historically been involved in pushing for an extension of education on their own behalf, and there have been radical arguments for extensions and changes to education. Educational institutions do not have to be regarded either as mechanically attempting to fulfil the needs of capital, or as automatically

successful in such an endeavour (Nice 1978). Even where the state/capitalism seem to have a clear intent vis-a-vis the educational institutes, the student groups are not passive, and may subvert this (Ball 1984), as may teachers involved in running education. Gramsci's discussion of the attempts by different groups and classes to gain hegemony, emphasises once again the notion of struggle.

Williams argues that the nineteenth century laid down the basic parameters for education in this country in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, formal education institutions, created for different groups of society, consciously geared themselves towards teaching different classes their relevant skills, attitudes and "place". For the wealthy there were private schools, classical education as a marker-fence, and universities. While the twentieth century has seen changes and extensions to the curriculum (for example, "English" has come to be regarded as a subject (Ball 1985), Williams demonstrates that many of the modern arguments about education itself were being debated at that time. Williams finds three main arguments for the existence and extension of education to people in general: (1) a response to democracy; (2) "moral rescue" of the poor; (3) the needs of industry. He suggests that while the "industrial" argument was in practice the strongest, the type of education that emerged was a compromise between the three. His argument is valuable in pointing out that what has developed is not a necessary choice but one possibility among many (Williams 1965).

However, his emphasis is on the eventual compromise - how exponents of each of these arguments borrowed each other's arguments, rather than on the conflict between different groups and its relation to material interest. He looks at the forces that have acted on education as a whole (the rise of the working-class plus the needs of industry, for the extension of primary education; the rise of the middle-class for the extension of secondary education); but does not look at the reasons for different groups espousing the different ideas he mentions. This may relate to his plan to set out what would make a more "real" education rather than discuss the forces that would support or oppose such a project (his p174).

In contrast, an account such as that in "Unpopular Education" (CCCS 1981) relates the development of education to struggles in and beyond the institutions, between groups trying to align the education system for what they perceive as their own interest. Like Williams, these

authors believe that the particular forms of the educational institutions, with the type of "knowledge" (etc.) which they claim to teach, are not inevitable. Their emphasis, however, is on the struggle between political right and left for influence on the schools and the teachers (cf. Ball: "the battle for the school"). Where the right favour versions of what Williams calls the "industrial argument", arguing increasingly hard for the link between education and training (cf. ch 8) and many of the left educators cling to a "democratic argument" (Williams) which, however, allows itself to get pulled towards the "commonsense" of the right, others on the left work to introduce a new, critical curriculum.

The concept of the hidden curriculum

Accounts within the sociology of education have looked not only at the services that education can be said to perform for the capitalist system, but at the aspects of education which can be said to make such a difference. Early concerns with the role of education in stratification (eg Floud and Halsey 1956; Bernstein 1975), and the equation of stratification with class, have been attributed to the influence of Fabian socialism on the early sociologists of education (Young 1971). Westwood contrasts the attempts made to change education policy by extending access to education or altering selection procedures in the 1950s and 1960s - for "the mood of the time was optimistic" (Westwood 1980 p34) - to the sociology of education of the 1970s, which emphasised the importance of capitalism in defining the terrain of education in more complex ways. Not only access to education, or who was allowed to share in knowledge: but also what counts as "knowledge" within education, and the messages this conveys have come to be seen as important. People are processed by the "processing of knowledge" (Young 1971 p32) - the selection of "knowledge" affects the ways people think, for example about the possibilities open, or about the divisions of society, and the conscious choice of what is taught is an attempt to shape people to particular social ends.

Beyond the conscious curriculum, however, implicit messages in the selection from knowledge, methods and arrangements for teaching have come to be seen as part of a "hidden curriculum", which can contribute to the effort of bringing students into line with a society stratified along lines of class, race and gender.

"The notion of the 'hidden curriculum' has pulled back a curtain to reveal how patterns of organisation, sets of relationships and sets

of attitudes can be the real determinants of what a school, or a class, really conveys to the students involved in them" (Fordham et al 1979 p191).

Apple has pointed out that deep messages relating to social control have not always been covered up in schools.

"Historically, the hidden curriculum was not hidden at all, but was instead the overt function of schools during much of their careers as institutions" (Apple 1979 p49).

Notions such as "the needs of the individual", he points out, are modern concerns in schools, which used to be "dominated by the language of and an interest in production, well-adjusted economic functioning, and bureaucratic skills" (op. cit. p49). The importance of such ideas remains, just "hidden" because the old structure had become the accepted, deep structure (Apple 1979).

Apple identifies three important areas of school life that make links between the curriculum and the hegemonic ideology. These are:- (1) the day-to-day regularities of school life; (2) specific forms of curricular knowledge; (3) the fundamental perspectives of the educators (op. cit.). It is for the first that he reserved the term "hidden curriculum". Arguably, however, aspects of (2) and certainly aspects of (3) also contribute to

"the tacit teaching to students of norms, values, and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of schools day in and day out for a number of years" (op. cit. p15).

The notion of the hidden curriculum suggests the importance in social control terms not only of conscious choices but of the available knowledge that is not chosen; and the ways in which chosen knowledge is separated from other things, and presented. Here, the concept of an educational "subject" is of importance.

The construction of subjects

The work of Goodson et al on the development of school subjects is of relevance to the question of change in the curriculum of schools. They argue that their analysis presents the statics, as opposed to the dynamics, of power (Cooper 1984). As well as considerations of how subjects relate to the curriculum, this work offers an explanation of the relation of educational change (or the absence of it) to the material forces in society. The depth in their work lies in a consideration of the role of the people involved in the development of a

subject; and the influence of their own material interest on their perceptions. They define their area of interest as with

"the internal structure of the subject community, the material interests, status and resources of its members, and the importance of changes of climates of opinion and forms of external relationship which affect the subject" (Goodson and Ball 1984 p8).

Two main aspects of the work of these subject theorists concern us: the development of a subject in the first place; and the possibility of change once started. They suggest that a typical course of development for a subject is: firstly, utilitarian preoccupations; secondly, pedagogy; thirdly, academic knowledge (Hammersley 1984, Goodson 1985b). However, any subject is one among a number of possibilities, not just in logical terms, but at a given time. Many different potential "subjects" begin, but only some become school subjects due to the balance of forces both in and out of education. Crucial in the initial development of a subject, they say, are "subject entrepreneurs", who try to "play" both groups of forces, arguing for the existence of the subject; the development of "subject associations" to promote the chosen field or range of concerns as a subject; and "networks" - contacts within a subject community, and beyond education to "external constituencies" (cf Cohen's description of the development of "issue-networks" linking the DES and an LEA (1982)). Even when in existence, a subject is not monolithic: but, borrowing a quotation, they make an analogy between a school subject and a profession:

"loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manners and more-or-less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history" (Goodson 1985, quoting Bucher and Strauss).

They also discuss who is likely to promote or oppose change in a subject once it is established. Crucial is the notion of "segments" with different "missions" in relation to the subject, not only intellectual, but primarily material. The teachers who have come to work in the area now carved out as a subject have career interests in its preservation; and while more powerful groups, often those involved in academia, may urge changes, it is possible that those involved in teaching resist: or that particular groups may be keener than others on change: the younger ones to oust the older ones, and so on (Cooper 1984). Ben-David and Collins also thought the individual ambitions of people crucial in turning an area into a subject. They thought a better competitive position in the new field would have to be combined with low status, so

"the younger men (sic) in the low-status field may attempt to upgrade themselves by borrowing the methods of a high-status field" (1966).

This analysis of changes within a subject will not allow that these come from the "top" down. Goodson argues that rather than the socialisation of teachers (cf Young 1971, Bernstein 1971), the important aspect is the power of the teaching force and the active, rational decisions made by the teachers, which can relate to their own career prospects in a context of "negotiation and action". Goodson however goes on to argue that it is then the "solicitous surrender of subordinate groups" (Goodson 1985a p38), not the domination of the powerful, that gets them to align with powerful "segment missions" (Goodson 1985a p27). Certainly teachers at lower levels have some independence of action (Apple on resistance by proletarianising teachers, 1981). Yet forcing teachers to collude, or to solicitously surrender, indicates itself domination. We want to link their discussion of the material basis of alignment in education into a discussion of the wider framework of society.

Cooper indicates how we may do this by an insistence on the role of "outside publics" (1984). These publics may (or may not) be mobilisable in defence of a given subject, type of school, or curriculum change; and are important, for without them arguably a subject cannot be made, and change cannot be effective. Reid argues that teachers also need to work within categories understood and approved of beyond the school if they are to have the support and enthusiasm of students; and some innovative approaches by educational institutions founder on their ability to do that (1984).

There are some problems with these accounts. Goodson et al pay little attention to funders of education, seeming to assume that the organisation and source of funds is of little immediate importance for the development of subjects (cf ch 8). Their analysis is also limited by their acceptance that the highest status is necessarily given by "academic" knowledge. This is odd, given an awareness that one should ask who shares in any given consensus (cf. critique of Young by Cooper, 1984). Their argument here is not that developing ways of tackling a practical problem can precede theorising, but that teachers/subjects necessarily get status from academic/theorising associations. This, just as the present influence of the university on the whole of education (Bernstein 1971) must be seen as specific to the way education

is organised here and now. We shall argue that it is possible for status (and a consequent alignment of career interest, etc.) to come from a number of different sources: which vary with the allocation of resources, including jobs, which vary in turn with the state of struggles around a given area.

These accounts remain important, for they suggest that the economic and political context does not provide the whole story with regard to the school curriculum.

"These contexts might be crucially important in setting the limits for possible contents, but even here there is substantial evidence of 'time lags' and 'contradictions'" (Goodson and Ball 1984 introduction).

One might go further than they do, and consider the struggles between the "outside publics" more central (though Cooper(1984) mentions the interests of "industrial and commercial enterprises" in the curriculum). While CCCS argue that "education is more determined than determining" (1981), the areas that these writers prompt us to examine show the possibility of action within education itself. Although they prefer concepts such as "subgroup" to concepts such as "struggle", they suggest that struggle is situated in the practical realities of the subgroups we identify.

Teachers as workers

This work can link to that of others within the sociology of education who locate teachers as workers within schools, and explore their conceptions of the work they do along with an examination of the pressures on them as workers. Recent accounts of schooling argue that teachers are not merely "more or less well controlled agents of the capitalist system" (Bowles and Gintis 1976) but are "key actors in the social processes affecting education" (Connell 1985). Keddie points to the importance of teachers' conceptions of their students and their work in structuring the outcomes for their students (Keddie 1971). Sharp and Green also note the development of a "commonsense" and common vocabulary among the teachers of a primary school but argue - against the phenomenological account of teachers' "meanings" - that these meanings have structural constraints: teachers are subtly and overtly pressured to accept common meanings, for

"the words in the common vocabulary become badges or ritual symbols of commitment to the reigning political structure of that institution" (1975 p181),

and teachers' commitment to that structure is a condition of their progress upward within it.

Connell sees the labour process of teachers as a point of departure - though when he comes to talk of teachers' class position he bluntly dismisses Wright's notion of "contradictory location" as "absurd" (Connell 1985, Wright 1980). This is disappointing, for Wright's work allows us to acknowledge the complex situation of teachers (among others) who are both involved in ruling-class practice; and, as employees, subject to a lessening of their control over their own working practices (Braverman 1974, Apple 1981). Work that identifies teachers' interest with the capitalist bourgeoisie misses these tensions, evident in the teachers' strike of 1984-6 (Pietrasik 1987); while work that identifies teachers squarely amid the working-class has to explain why it is that teachers have not located themselves there. There is nothing absurd in the notion of contradiction, which can explain the struggles within the group of teachers over the work itself and over their relation to students, to employers, and to changing pressures on themselves as workers.

There is much evidence that teachers in schools experience their workplaces as places of great daily struggle. Within schools themselves there are struggles between teachers and students such that Willis describes teaching as "essentially a relationship between potential contenders for supremacy" (Willis 1978 p63). Ball argues that in each institution, personal styles of headteachers interact with factors such as age, career goals and interests of particular groups of staff in such a way as to make up a "micropolitics" within each institution (Ball 1987).

Woods argues for the concept of "strategies", applied by teachers so they can "cope" in an environment of great tension. Though his work concentrates on secondary schools, it links to ours in an interest in school "processes", which, he argues, is the area where micro (interactionist) and macro (neo-Marxist) sociologies of education meet. Woods is clear that what teachers say that they do when they teach cannot be a complete account of what they actually do:

"either because of an inevitable distinction between ideals and practice, or some confusion in communication and interpretation" (Woods 1980 p9).

Yet an account by a head (or, in ESL, an organiser) will not describe the actual practices. There is, says Woods, a hidden curriculum within

the strategies employed by the teachers, in the sense of "the unseen action of the 'autonomous teacher in the fastnesses of his (sic) classroom" (his p19). Central to his analysis is the conflict experienced by teachers because of their membership of a group which lays claim to "professional" expertise, and by the actual time teaching, "faced by the harsh realities of the classroom, which impede and often frustrate the practice of the expertise" (p19).

Mardle and Walker believe that Woods' account underplays the importance of "latent culture" in accounting for the strategies teachers chose to use. Not only teachers' training, but their whole life-history and especially their "total experience of the educational system" contain a hidden message or curriculum - telling teachers "what is acceptable behaviour and what is not, what leads to rewards and what to sanctions" (Mardle and Walker 1980 p102). Therefore, they argue, the shared "career paths" of teachers have an effect on the place that they teach. While their accounts cannot be read as objective in detail, the ways they see their work, their students and their aims (including the "front" (Woods 1980) that they feel they should give) will have in turn an effect on the hidden curriculum for their students.

Grace looks at the history of school teachers of the urban working-class and finds that they were recruited from among the working-class itself but given the task of controlling working-class youth. It was important from the employers' perspective to prevent them from becoming militant as workers, or encouraging insubordination in the classroom: and notions of "dedication", a "missionary ideology", along with a picture of demoralised and disorganised working-class life were used to unite teachers to control the children in their classrooms. Further, an intermediate social position, separate from the working-class, had to be found for teachers "since it was unthinkable that teachers should be recognised as the equivalent of clerics or lawyers" (Grace 1978 p18). Hence, argues Grace,

the "language of professionalism. No attempt to locate the teachers of the people historically and sociologically can escape their long preoccupation with notions of professionalism and with the concept of a profession" (op. cit. p15).

For teachers, the notion of professionalism legitimated individual and group mobility; greater occupational control; claims for greater autonomy in their work. It helped teachers develop their "classless

individualism" and their collusion in education's legitimation of the class structure (Lee 1987).

"For their employers on the other hand it could serve as a device to separate the teachers from the rest of the working-class and from any tendencies to militant unionism by encouraging loyalty in anticipation of greater social honour and by associating professionalism for teachers with the notion of vocation and disinterested dedication... professionalism in the latter sense became the 'modern' version of the missionary ideology" (Grace op. cit. p15).

Ozga and Lawn argue that employers' aims are not always promoted by the use of the concept of "professional". At different times, professionalism has meant different things for different groups, and it is not always true that "professionalism" is an opposite to militancy, or that teachers should be condemned by activists for trying to be professionals as this separates them from the working-class. Indeed, teachers have unionised, and teacher unions have used the notion of "professional" to resist state interference in their work in the face of the state's declining use of the concept as it tries to proletarianise teachers and reduce the level of autonomy that they have in deciding on the input to their teaching. While teachers have felt that they have high levels of autonomy, Lawn and Ozga argue that technological and social changes are separating conception from execution in teaching work (cf Braverman 1974), so teachers are becoming a unit in a production process "with the mass of teachers operating routinised, standardised tasks, and the remainder acting as supervisors and managers" (Ozga and Lawn 1981 p132). School subjects are becoming proletarianised and de-skilled, they argue, with an increasing amount of "low grade material in which value has been replaced by social control" (op. cit. p135), with less concern for the educational aspects of teaching, and more for disciplining and ideological control functions.

This work suggests that the approach of teachers as workers to the subject within which they work is likely not to be purely on an intellectual level, but to relate to their perception of their own material interest. Thus an understanding of the development of a subject on the margins of formal education, and of changes in its curriculum, is likely to require an examination of the working conditions and potential career paths of the teachers.

The hidden curriculum of adult education

The sociology of education has concentrated largely on education at school level, although recently some academics and practitioners have begun to work on developing a sociology of adult education. There are definitional and conceptual problems involved in delineating such a field. In some cases writers have been happy to talk of "adult education"; in others, they have recognized that "adult education" as an institutional label does not cover all those institutions aiming to give a formal education to those who have left school. Replacement labels - "continuing education", "lifelong education" (see Lovett et al 1983 p1) etc.- continue to leave out the universities: and what of the place of work training, government training schemes, and so forth? What is called adult education "is in fact, only a small part of the post-school education available to adults" (Thompson 1980a p21). It is non-mandatory; there is no national adult education service (Hoyland 1976).

Numerous institutions colloquially fall into the area of adult education. Percy identifies "five sectors of providers" (English teaching for adults can fall into each):

"public sector provision (mainly but not exclusively, local authorities and Responsible Bodies); ... vocational training provision by government agencies, trades unions, employers, etc; ... learning activities organised by voluntary organisations (including churches); ... learning provided commercially by private agencies and individuals; ... learning activities organised by community associations, community arts groups, neighbourhood councils, and others which we characterise as the community development sector" (Percy 1982).

Some have seen adult education as distinct, with "andragogy" the adult equivalent of "pedagogy" (Knowles, discussed in Brookfield 1983); or contrasted adult education to schools and universities because it is "small, haphazard and underresourced" (Thompson 1980), with borrowed buildings, part-time teachers and use of volunteers (Else et al 1983). Its origins are outside state education with its emphasis on the education of children: working-class and radical groups as well as the middle classes have organised various forms of adult education throughout the past two centuries (eg Brown 1980, Connor 1982). In many times and places there have been great hopes for change through adult education in particular: perhaps instead of waiting for social change from a future generation, one can help change adults who are already there (eg Soko 1980). Recently in Britain, particularly in what Jackson identifies as the post-war years of liberal hopes for education (1980b),

many have hoped that the voluntary nature of adult education provision would allow people who had missed out on education in the past to "catch up" and take advantage of the supposed "equal opportunity" influences of education.

Despite its separate origins, its marginal status and the fact that age is an important organising concept for the institutions themselves, however, Jackson makes a strong point when he doubts if a theory of education based on age can be explanatory. There is much that argues that for students, the connections between school and adult education are more important than their differences (cf ch 7):

"in many ways [adult education] exists as a microcosm of the wider educational system, with the same inbuilt hierarchy operating to consolidate the educational and social divisions pre-empted by schooling in a capitalist society" (Thompson 1980a p22)

Thompson, however, suggests that the hidden curriculum is less important in adult education than it is in schools. While schooling promotes "the dominant system of values", adult education does not exist chiefly to measure and label people, and recognises that students are adults - as she defines it, people with political rights already (in the case of ESL for migrants, however, many students are adults with no political rights). She thinks also that adults are more likely to challenge hidden messages on the basis of their experiences.

Westwood adds to this that "children have already been schooled when they arrive in our classes as adults": it is not so important to teach them to accept the basic divisions in society: schools have done that. Besides, adult education caters largely for

"the few who represent the successes of the system, and who because of this have little need for further inculcation into dominant modes of thinking" (Westwood 1980 p38; here see p215).

However, if the old class composition of adult education students was the reason for the hidden curriculum in adult education being less important than in schools, changes consequent on the expansion of adult basic education may have made this newly important: while in the case of ESL, students have not been "schooled" in Britain.

Filson's critical analysis of adult education in Canada is relevant because of his theoretical approach and his interest in what he calls the "back to basics movement" (Filson 1980). What he labels "adult education" covers different provision from that in Britain: very largely courses for workers. In his view, adult education services the needs of capitalism, and should be looked at in relation to the up and down turns

of the accumulation cycle. One should expect a "back to basics" movement at the downturn, when "frills" become too expensive. He argues that adult education has social control functions: a role in the transmission of class, and of values that uphold the class system; providing "training" places that cover up unemployment. His argument fits with arguments that capitalism is presently de-skilling (Braverman 1974; here p15).

"The view that unemployment is mainly due to a poor match between workers and jobs caused by a shortage of information and an insufficiently trained workforce is based on the false assumption that the work crisis is educational instead of economic. The educational argument fails to account for both the preponderance of skills amongst today's unemployed and the shortage of demand for most categories of workers" (Filson 1980 p25).

Filson argues that adult education for the working-class teaches skills to fit the potential worker for work in factories:

"rewarding personality traits like punctuality and diligence more than creativity and progressive reconciliation of potential secondary labour market workers to their eventual lowly positions through the steady failure of those individuals to the point where they come to blame themselves for the alienating conditions of work that they wind up with" (op. cit. p20).

It is, however, he argues, not in the area of teaching "skills" that adult education for the working-class contributes most to the maintenance of order under capitalism, but in the hidden curriculum. In the courses themselves - in the very teaching of literacy, for example, not only in exams and qualifications - Filson identifies "the hegemonic ideology of credentialism" (his p19). Beyond adult education, he argues, the need to have credentials is used to exclude people from particular jobs, while, within adult education, students are taught to seek credentials through educating themselves. This, he argues, diverts people from a search for the causes of the present crisis and the struggle against the system; and persuades people to see themselves not as members of a class, but only as individuals who potentially could advance themselves through study.

Moreover, he suggests, teaching methods presently becoming fashionable encourage specialisation and fragmentation of knowledge in an attempt to limit people's broad view - in particular, of the total productive process. He sees "individualised learning" as a method of reinforcing people's separation from each other and of turning a teacher into a technician dealing with work designed not, as implied, by the student concerned: but, instead, from higher up:

"wherever possible, community college programmes are being individualised for students and behaviour modification techniques are regaining popularity. Group oriented methods tend to build solidarity and conscientize participants through the promotion of open dialogue. Individualised learning modules socialise future working-class members in much less threatening ways to capitalists" (Filson op. cit. p16).

These arguments that it is important to consider the hidden curriculum in adult education are important though the more mechanical aspects are open to criticism. Mbilinyi, for example, criticises "functionalists" among Marxists, arguing that struggle is possible that can make adult education a place for consciousness-raising:

"it is not possible ... to prejudge the form that the critique of adult education will take, as to whether, for example, state funded programmes are actually functioning to facilitate social control or consciousness-raising. Indeed, to pose such questions slips into a functionalist analysis contrary to historical materialist analysis" (Mbilinyi 1980 p28).

Filson does not discuss the possibility of struggle within institutions, of differences between institutions, of action by the students, or even of "time lags". He deals poorly with the issue of women and sexism in adult education, suggesting women have suffered from unequal access to adult education although his analysis suggests that adult education offers no benefit to students! He barely touches on the issue of racism, though an interesting comment is that "Canadianization" programmes in adult education colleges serve to reinforce

"the marginality of the surplus population; a persistent theme to be found in these efforts is the use of adult basic education to deflect class-consciousness among the relative surplus population in conformity with the needs of capital" (p30; cf ch 8).

THE CONTEXT OF ESL: RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER

It is clear that conflict between groups within education has a wider context than the educational institutions themselves. ESL in 1984-5 was part of non-compulsory state education provision in Britain in the mid years of the second Thatcher government. Education was increasingly a publicly political issue, due to become a major election issue (1987) as the Conservatives set out to change institutions that had already been the focus of a great deal of struggle. It was also a time of struggle between the Government and local authorities, and of sharpening tensions around race (see p119) and class. Many local Labour administrations in urban areas like Greater London were attempting to expand their areas of concern beyond traditional working-class trade

union concerns to counter sexism and racism. Part of the time of our study coincided with the GLC Anti-Racism Year. Meanwhile, the government were attempting both to limit public spending on areas such as education and welfare, and to counter the campaigning power of the local Left administrations. This was the time of the struggle over "rate-capping".

Cuts in public spending created insecurity within state schools, compounded by the government's changes to state education. Some teachers were taking to schools and colleges the issues of anti-sexism, multiculturalism, anti-racism; while the government was using unemployment, recession and an argument about "falling standards in schools" to turn the teachers' struggle for more pay into a prelude to reorganisation of the schools, education authorities and the curriculum itself (Education Act 1988). The government planned a national curriculum, supported private education and limited the power of local education authorities; it also argued for an increasing of alignment of education with training. The Manpower Services Commission (MSC), started in 1974 (later the Training Commission and the Training Agency), became newly important in the field of education, which had previously been the domain of the Department of Education and Science (ch 8).

The major battleground in these struggles was the state schools; but the additional pressures on adult education from financial cuts, rate-capping, and the marginal nature of these organisations when the local authorities were under pressure, made these issues crucial here too. Indeed, state adult education provision was almost party-political, existing to a greater extent in Labour controlled areas than in those with Conservative authorities. However, the new importance of "training" in post-school education meant that the MSC was becoming even more important in further and adult education than in schooling.

Race, gender and class are all important in setting ESL in the context of these struggles: the relation between them is discussed below (p232). Social class is relevant in a capitalist society, and is seen to refer to people's relation to ownership and control of the means of production, while groups of people may be in "contradictory class locations" (Wright 1980). People do not necessarily fit into one class or another in a neat way:

"it is partly an empirical question rather than a purely theoretical one, how neatly and unambiguously individuals can be placed into the slots" (Wright and Perrone 1977 p35).

Gender differences, though they cluster round biological differences, are attributed to men or women by social convention, differently in different places and at different times (eg Reiter 1975).

Racism can perhaps be defined as the means by which a people in power find a biological or social excuse to differentiate itself from another people (or other peoples); and allocate goods, jobs, money and power to different people on an in-group/out-group basis. "Races" are not biological givens, and power differences cluster round perceived differences between groups of people, differently in different contexts (see p12).

Skin colour has been a major signifier in Britain since the days of slavery, and people of Afro-Caribbean or South Asian descent - are subject to fierce and persistent forms of racism. However, other migrants and their children, whose ancestors come from the parts of the world colonised by the west, are subject to racism in this society - sometimes only in certain situations. The term "racism" then covers not only individual prejudice and explicit fascist racism, but also state racism (see p32), while many writers now refer to the concept of "institutional racism". Though this is often contrasted to "individual racism" (and in some cases, also to "state racism": Sarup 1986), it is, as Troyna and Williams point out, not usually theorised.

Mullard, with his use of "it" implies one constant racism:

"from its historical emergence in pre-capitalist societies, its massive mobilisation during the development of western capitalism, to its structural role in advanced or late capitalist societies, racism, as an ideology, has been consistently used to position, control, exploit, and furthermore justify the exploitation of black groups" (Mullard 1983 p144).

Solomos in contrast argues that there is no "unitary fixed principle of racism": there are a plurality of racisms, including a new form of racism in Britain in the 1970s and '80s, which prioritises cultural notions of "criminality" etc. over "racial superiority". Indeed, people trying to define racism tightly have often defined racism as a doctrine based on theories of biological difference: but find modern British racism, often resting on cultural distinctions, therefore distinct (Banton used "racialism": 1969). However, those who link racism only to "colour" would not notice (for Jews and Palestinians are both Semites) that Zionist systematic mistreatment of Palestinians is racist.

People "black" in one context, are not "black" in another. A North African who is "noir" in France (Bennoune 1975) may not always be seen

as "black" here (Allen et al 1977; Foot 1965) - and yet experience racism within Britain that is condoned officially by the Immigration Acts:

"once a group of workers becomes subject to tight immigration control, then they are officially stamped as unwanted and problematic, and this applies irrespective of the colour, nationality or gender of the individual migrant" (Phizacklea 1983b).

Many, if not most, of the students of ESL are subject to racism because they are migrants, whether or not they would describe themselves as black. It may be possible for people to be in contradictory situations with regard to race also; while "black" can be used as a political term, not limited by skin-colour:

"We see the word 'Black' as a political term, referring not only to skin-colour, but also to the similar position we find ourselves in due to our common experiences in our countries of origin. Our history of colonial and imperial domination continues with the oppression and exploitation we face here as a result of the racism in this society" (Camden Black Workers Group 1984).

Education and race

ESL's establishment as English language teaching for migrants makes issues of race of evident importance. Firstly, its links to parts of the state "race relations machinery" - both in the time it arose, and in sources of funding - mean that some analyses of race relations are of relevance. Secondly, debates within education itself - to a lesser extent within adult education - about links between English and racism, are important.

Problems with the analysis of race and racism cannot be discussed here (cf Gabriel and Ben-Tovim 1978); but racism is seen to link not only to actions by openly fascist groups and individuals, but to actions of the state (cf Williams 1979b). The state has been involved in various types of action ostensibly designed to end racial discrimination including the passing of race relations legislation (in 1965, 1968, and 1976); the establishment of institutions to promote "community relations" (National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1964; Race Relations Board, 1965; Community Relations Commission, 1968; Commission for Racial Equality, 1977). Race linked to a new analysis of "urban decay" from the early 1970s on. Government programmes directed money to areas with a relatively high black/migrant population, such as "Section 11" money available under the Local Government Act, 1966; Urban Aid

under the Urban Programme (1968), Educational Priority Areas, Housing Action Areas and Community Development Projects (1969).

Criticisms of the state actions on racism have come firstly from those who complain about their weakness and marginality (Campbell Platt, 1976) (in 1973 Mullard compared £200,000 per annum for the CRC to £5,000,000 per annum on military brass bands!), while others criticise the institutionalisation of "community relations", arguing that this decreases ordinary individuals' daily responsibilities, while creating a false notion of local minority "communities" with "leaders" to represent their views (Saifullah Khan 1983b). Others again argue that these state actions are calculated to divert white energy and black resistance against racism, while the state helps generate and sustain racism elsewhere.

Phizacklea talks of the establishment of a "dual policy" - not only in Britain, but Western Europe - which on the one hand controls or halts new entries; and on the other introduces means aimed at the "integration" of foreigners. The Race Relations Acts, then, cannot be seen outside the context of immigration laws and harrassment of blacks (Phizacklea 1983b). The immigration laws have been shown to be preoccupied not only with "numbers", but with numbers of black people in particular (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980, Moore 1975, Solomos 1982). When Parekh wrote that as

"the controversy concerning the number of immigrants to be allowed in Britain is coming to an end, a far more important question as to how she is to deal with those already settled here is at last beginning to receive serious attention" (Parekh 1974 p220),

he found himself echoing an excuse for limiting numbers of black people, while it can be shown that the effects of these laws is the opposite: they continue to influence the lives of black people, even when they have settled here. Phizacklea points out that by banning more workers from abroad, "those workers are officially stamped 'unwanted surplus'" (Phizacklea 1983b p96). Police intrusion into the lives of black people here on the ground of suspected "illegal status" becomes permissible. Lord Scarman found evidence of racial prejudice, harrassment and "unimaginative and inflexible policing" in Brixton, and nightmare experiences of migrants of South Asian origin can be found in Asian newspapers. Moore argues that "the extent to which the whole issue of coloured migration is treated as a police problem" (Moore 1975 p56) can affect any aspect of the life of a black person or migrant. Receptionists in hospitals, clinics, and schools have become legally

entitled to ask to see passports, extending immigration checks inside the country - basing their choice of whom to ask on their own perceptions of who is likely to be illegal (Zeidan 1986).

CCCS argue that the immigration rules can be seen together with "various policy packages to deal with the 'problems' which were seen as associated with a black presence" (Solomos et al 1982 p15) in education, employment and the social services up to the early 1970s, and, thereafter, a change in emphasis to "crisis management" - a "shift in the balance of state responses from amelioration to repression" (op. cit. p31). The laws link to the construction of a "commonsense" of racism, centring on the notion of a "nation" under threat from an "enemy within", but arise in fact from the crisis of the late capitalist state (cf Offe 1976).

"The construction of an authoritarian state in Britain is fundamentally intertwined with the elaboration of popular racism in the 1970s" (Solomos et al 1982 p9).

If this is so, then to the extent that ESL links to the race relations machinery, its benign role must be open to question.

Work on schooling and black children also brings out issues of relevance to ESL for adults. Struggle around schooling has forced shifts of policy, of which the most discussed has been ostensible moves from "assimilation" to "pluralism" as an aim (Mullard 1980). The arrival in schools of bilingual children also made the issue of English language teaching central in schools, with debates on the politics of "withdrawal" for E2L (CRE 1986). Though the institutions of school E2L and adult ESL have developed separately, the debates are often parallel.

In contrast to the educational establishment's discussion about "problems" of black children or their "low achievement", black writers locate the problem in the schools.

Bryan et al argue that

"education has been a crucial issue for the Black community, for it has highlighted the true nature of our relationship with the State. The education system's success can be measured directly in terms of Black children's failure within it" (1984 p58).

Dhondy describes how in state schools he taught in, there was a clustering of black students in the lowest streams; and he also discusses black school student resistance to education, ranging from organised demonstrations to individual non-cooperation with teachers, which at its most extreme resulted in no schooling for "those who have

refused to live at peace with the school institution" (Dhondy 1978 p83; nb parallels with the white working-class: Humphries 1981).

The Institute of Race Relations told the Rampton Committee of "institutional racism within the education system as a whole, in which large numbers of children are consigned to ESN and 'sink' schools, and streamed out of exam entry classes or directed away from academic subjects to craft and manual subjects" (1980 p82, quoted in Troyna and Williams 1986 p145: cf Mullard 1982c, Burchell 1984).

Pressure on the education system, for example by black parents, has led to changes not only in practices - such as the notorious "bussing" of black children (CRC 1973b) but to the stated aims of schools in relation to black children.

In the 1960s there was mainstream political consensus about the aim of assimilation. For example, Hattersley, of the Labour Party (which had at first opposed immigration controls but later administered and refined them) spoke of trying to

"impose a test which tries to analyse which immigrants... are likely to be assimilated in our national life... (quoted in Foot 1965 p193).

The English language and English ways of doing things were expected to be unchanged by the arrival of black people, whose different languages, etc., were therefore seen as a problem to them and to others. The concept behind assimilation was expressed in 1962/3 by the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council in this way:

"A national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties the same as those of other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture and another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups" (Report to the Home Secretary, quoted in Mullard 1980 p15).

Teaching English as a second language was intended to make migrants "more likely to be integrated" (German 1983 p5). Schools were "to perpetuate... the culture and ethos of the community" (Schools Council 1967 p7) As in the USA, it was held that

"in coming to a country like the US, a non-English-speaker is implicitly making a choice about language, in which the everyday use of his (sic) mother tongue may be seen as a hindrance to full participation in the new milieu" (Edwards 1977 p262).

By the mid-1980s, there had been extensive critiques within education of assimilationism. Multiculturalist critics argued that it was damaging for migrant children and adults to devalue their home culture (NATE 1979, Tomlinson 1982). Arguments were made that it was

only public aspects of behaviour that needed changing (Johnston 1963). Logical critiques of assimilationism could point out that it was developed in the context of the "host immigrant" framework - but that Britain was already a multicultural, class society with more than one, single way of behaving (Islam 1976). More powerful still is the observation by Troyna and Williams that, despite the claims of the assimilationists, there was not a genuine attempt to assimilate.

Cox had argued in 1959 in the USA that racism against blacks was precisely the refusal to allow assimilation. He contrasted this to anti-Semitism, which he thought different, because Jews were encouraged to assimilate. "Assimilation diminishes the exploitative possibilities" (Cox 1970). In contrast, in Britain

"The key to 'assimilation' was not an attempt to assimilate, but rather an implicit but powerful rejection of black experience, or possible new approaches to schooling, on the grounds that "differences" amounted to "deficiencies" and should be eradicated (Troyna and Williams 1986).

The 1960s and 1970s they call a time of "de-racialisation" in educational discussions, in contrast to recent "racialisation". Although messages about race were covered up,

"what is most striking about the 1960s...is the divorce of this educational rhetoric [of assimilation and racial inexplicitness - ND] from politics and provisions in almost every other area of social life. After all... this was an era when other state policies were becoming increasingly 'race specific'".

The 1962 Act which began to limit black migration and the importance of the "colour bar" in the 1960s suggests that far from being an analysis of the intentions or practices of education (or presumably, of politicians), assimilation was always "political rhetoric":

"the general pressure from the majority remains... that of cultural assimilation, which popularly implies a one-way process of adjustment and adoption of English values and patterns of behaviour" (Saifullah Khan 1980a p81)

From the mid-1970s, a "pluralist" discourse, asserting the value of other languages and cultures than the English, began to compete with assimilationism (Engle 1976). It was stressed that bilingualism was of potential value, not only to bilingual individuals but to society as a whole; while assimilationist assumptions cut against the real advantages of linguistic diversity for the whole society; and held back bilingual youngsters, by putting English and their first languages into a competitive situation (LMP 1983). In schools, there was a "growing

swing away from assimilationist thinking towards one of acceptance of pluralism" (Garvie 1982) - though doubt has been cast on the extent to which crucial practices were transformed (eg Stone 1981, Sarup 1986). In 1975, the Bullock report urged the recognition of bilingualism as a real skill (DES 1975). By 1977, the DES talked of "a multiracial and multicultural society" (DES 1977).

In schools, too, this posed challenges to accepted models of English teaching for bilingual children. Withdrawal for English teaching (Hodgkinson 1968) became widely condemned for "ghettoising" bilingual students and holding them back from other aspects of education (Manley 1968, though cf AFFOR 1982 p25). Saifullah Khan contrasted withdrawal that held bilingual students back from their education, which was racist, with potential withdrawal for mother tongue classes which could be to the advantage of bilingual children (Saifullah Khan 1985), but a critique of all kinds of withdrawal was used by the Swann Committee (1985) to argue against mainstream provision for mother tongue teaching or bilingual education. By 1985,

"it was generally agreed that segregation, through withdrawal, was generally racist, and that Language Centres in themselves could be said to be racist" (LICS 1985 p24).

Criticisms of "pluralism" from an anti-racist perspective in turn suggest that it has led to only surface changes from the assimilationist status quo and that it has attempted to defuse black struggle (IRR 1980, Brent 1985; see ch 8).

METHOD

We have argued above the importance in education of the conscious and unconscious messages involved in the curriculum and hidden curriculum; and of the struggles around the development of a subject which relate the content of an area of education both to the work-conditions of those teaching in that area, and to wider struggles in an unequal society. We plan to examine the development of ESL in one area in this light, and to examine also the transmission of ESL - and the approaches to the provision by students and potential students.

To date there are some descriptions of the work by practitioners of ESL, but it is not a field to which academic attention has been drawn despite the growth on the one hand of a body of work studying adult education in general; and on the other of work looking at education as it relates to issues of class, gender and race. Our account will,

therefore, both provide a description of the work of ESL and analyse its implications in the terms we have chosen.

Two of the areas we wish to examine bring out important issues of research method. These are work about adult education provision and its students; and work about bilingual migrant women, particularly women of South Asian origin. There is little work that looks at the two together (Matthew and Ayres 1981 is an exception), though some writers have considered the approach of women of South Asian origin to institutions such as libraries (Gundara 1981); and also - separately - to language (LMP 1983). From these works we can draw out two areas of concern in our own work. Firstly, the method itself, in particular the tension between qualitative and quantitative design, which can be envisaged on a continuum between a social survey using a questionnaire (Atkinson 1971) and participant observation/case studies of people analysed interpretatively. Second, the methodological implications of working in a context of unequal power.

(a) Work on adult education provision itself

Provision has been examined by looking at its history (eg Devereux 1982), by surveys of provision (eg Haviland 1973), by examining the content of material (eg Handa 1980: though the pre-determined categories that he chose should be questioned). However, the theoretical basis of much research has been rightly criticised as it often assumes the benevolent nature of that provision, looking for students' "needs" and their fulfilment (Lees and McGrath 1974). In contrast, we argue above the need to examine struggles in the development of ESL and the ideas that have gone to form it; and to bring concepts such as the "hidden curriculum" and notions of the importance of teachers' work situation from the study of schooling.

(b) Work on adult education students

Research about the approach to adult education by potential students is also of importance, though there is less of this than some accounts would imply. It has been suggested, for example, that a result of adult education's preoccupation with "community", "need" and "motivation" is that it is integrally linked to surveys of students and potential students; that adult education institutes do a survey of "need" locally before setting up a new course; and that it is only lack of time that results in some courses going ahead without such surveys

(Brookfield 1983). If this is the case, such surveys have not been published. In contrast, National Institute of Adult Education surveys have been published, which aim to look at the relationship between the "intended result" of adult education and the "means" (that is, provision). In a chosen area, NIAE organised (1) questionnaires to a random sample of a population; (2) questionnaires to a random sample of students; (3) questionnaires to part-time tutors in order to look at the provision and potential students' requirements of it (NIAE 1970a). To some extent these areas parallel our areas of investigation of ESL, but there is a difference: the "intended result" is not questioned; nor is the "means" set in any context.

Fordham et al (1979) also aimed to look at adult education provision in a given area, and at potential students' response to and thoughts about it. They examined the provision through interviews with some organisers and a questionnaire to part-time staff. They aimed to research their primary question - local working-class people's approach to available provision - by giving questionnaires to (1) a random sample of the local population who did not go to AE courses; (2) students at AE classes. However, the response rate to (1) was extremely low: perhaps, argued the researchers, because adult education was seen as not relevant at all. The other problem with a questionnaire was keeping the number of questions reasonably low: for a high number increased the likelihood that people would not complete it. For the same reason, they chose a questionnaire with closed questions (for example, pre-coded answers could be ringed). More information might have been forthcoming from open questions, but harder to code for statistical analysis.

From this work, Fordham et al can demonstrate that "participants" in adult education in their chosen area are more likely to have spent years in educational establishments, and left more highly-qualified than "non-participants". However, when they asked people what took them to adult education, they also presented a list of alternatives. Though these had been piloted, they did not allow respondents to expand and explain sufficiently. It is interesting that of the options they provided, a majority claim to have started courses hoping for "training" or "vocational advantage" (rather than "interest", "meeting people" or "fitness" (their p159-60)). However, having provided restricted categories for people to choose, it is wrong to claim, as they do, from these results, that most people who go to adult education classes go there for "well-defined reasons" (p167). It may be the case that adult

education students have clear reasons for going to classes; but we cannot define "vocational advantage" as well-defined while "interest" ones are not; or assume that because someone chose one of a number of given options, his or her reasons were not more complex. This work shows, in other words, the limitations of quantitatively-designed work in allowing us to interpret.

Many anthropologists have challenged the usefulness of social surveys, developing the method of participant observation with the aim of understanding "social life in the round ... the appreciation of context and meaning" (Wallman et al 1980 p6):

"a social field does not consist of units of population but of persons in relation to one another" (Leach 1967 quoted in Wallman op. cit. p6).

Sociologists have also often sought to emphasise qualitative work - though Oakley suggests that a "masculine" notion of scientificity often requires "hard data" in the form of numbers (Oakley 1981). While participant observation has consequently been less pursued, open interviews have been an alternative method. Brookfield, researching informal as well as formal "learning projects", chose neither questionnaires nor observation, but used interviews with people he called "community leaders" - without specifying what counts as such; and then interviews with people involved in learning projects (1983). Although interviews have greater potential for showing the complex interrelation of factors when we consider real people than have questionnaires, a consideration of his work shows other problems. Firstly, there is the question of how representative interviewees are: thus the notion of a sample is relevant here as with questionnaires. Secondly, Brookfield found that in order to get interesting answers to his interviews, he had to probe and jostle interviewees' memory, thus being quite intrusive; while his work contrasted with participant observation in being able to offer a thinner picture of the structures of meaning and the context for the respondent.

Issues of "quality" and "quantity" apply not only at the point of collecting data, but of analysis. In a study of Asian women and further education, Matthews and Ayres chose to interview via questionnaires, and to allow open questions in contrast to closed questions:

"Although this method is time-consuming in terms of analysis, we found that as there had been little fieldwork done specifically on Asian women there was the necessity to develop measures from the data rather than being able to rely on past records" (1981 p28-9).

After interviewing, they coded their data, defining 20 variables, and analysed it quantitatively. Their work, carried out by bilingual women of South Asian origin, might have enabled them to discuss individual interviews, or discuss in another way the complexity of factors. Instead, it offers little theoretical discussion, but offers percentages (below pp231ff).

(c) Research about women of South Asian origin

Research about women of South Asian origin brings out issues both about research method in a narrow sense, and about power inequalities and their relevance for research. Both survey methods and participant observation have been recommended by different authors: yet while power inequalities accentuate the problems of inaccuracy in the first, they also magnify problems of intrusion in the second.

Issues of method

The problems of accurate sampling have been stressed by many in relation to research about people of South Asian origin, or indeed other groups of migrants. Merdol found it impossible to find accurate numbers of Turkish immigrants in Sweden on which she could base a sample (Merdol 1982). In Britain, similarly, there is no detailed knowledge of numbers of migrants in a particular area, as, for example, the census does not tell us this (Jeffery 1976; Smith 1982a,b).

Issues of social position present further problems for surveys and accurate samples of migrants, because of the pertinence in migrants' experience of problems with the state and official bodies. For many people, migrant or not, interviews are usually official, and equated with worry and fear: police/ employers/ benefit office/ immigration. In interviewing migrants, where this may be accentuated, the issue of trust/mistrust becomes central; and it is often not possible to elicit in-depth information from a mathematically-chosen sample. Questionnaires, with resonances of official enquiries, have been found unwelcome. Islam argued that Bengalis he researched would not trust an official form (Islam 1976). Sadanand set out to use a formal questionnaire with attitude-scale questions, but found that of 50 women she met, only 10 were happy to complete it (Sadanand 1976). Caulker and Bishop gave a questionnaire to migrant ESL students who were, in a sense, captive in the classroom. Though this could yield information about present students of ESL, they did not discuss the probable levels of

accuracy in response, or the conditions under which the questionnaires were completed; and such a questionnaire was not taken to people who did not at the time attend ESL classes (Caulker and Bishop 1984).

Consequently, many researchers stress personal approaches as essential in research about migrant groups. Anwar argued that a "case study" approach would give a detailed awareness of "relational aspects" that research through questionnaires would not yield (Anwar 1977). Islam noted a reluctance to answer direct questions, which could lead to misleading or superficial answers, particularly in areas where people felt vulnerable (he singled out employment). For his work, he wanted quantitative information and had a structured questionnaire, but he chose participant observation, as he felt that staying in a house was the only way to get "reliable and valid data":

"The best thing was found to be to stay with the respondents for a time to observe them, make informal conversation with them, and when sufficient rapport had been established, and only then, to ask them direct questions" (1976 p21).

Others agree that a researcher has to establish his or her credibility and a relationship of trust, yet believe that participant observation is not likely to be feasible in an urban setting (Wallman op. cit.). One approach is to seek interviews, or a series of meetings, with migrants, based on contacts who are already known and trusted (Crishna 1975). Thus Ghuman's "sample" came from his group of friends (1980); Sadanand sought contacts via "community leaders" (1976); while Curren (1983) asked a series of different people, workers with women of South Asian origin, to ask the women and their husbands if she might come and talk.

Curren asserts a further difference in research method relevant to women of South Asian origin, in contrast, she believes, to white, English people. Labelling interviews with individuals an "individualistic methodology", she suggests that individual interviews are less important for women who see themselves primarily in relation to their family, so she makes group interviews a part of her method. She realises that when she goes on to talk to women individually after a group interview she will have affected responses as the subject will have been raised already; but she believes that because of her presence as a white outsider, responses are unlikely to involve anything a woman is not happy to say publicly. Curren argues that group interviews are most practical; that they do not force any unusual divisions; and that they are just as productive as individual interviews. A further reason

for doing group interviews is that they can stimulate discussion across the group itself: thus Currer rejected a rigid questionnaire in favour of a checklist of subjects to cover in discussion (1983).

Issues of power

Many black writers have brought up the question of white researchers researching black people, emphasising the political situation that is always present.

"The question ...is not one of good intention on the part of the white researcher or his/her ability to empathise or establish rapport with those being studied, but rather it is a question about the politics of the unequal relationship between the researcher as a member of the dominant group when the researched are an oppressed minority" (Brah 1980).

As such there are parallels with middle-class people researching the working-class, or men researching women. Bourne and Sivanandan have looked at work by white sociologists and anthropologists about black people, and located different paradigms historically. Despite the differences between the work of people arguing for assimilationism or pluralism (see p36), they have argued that there is an underlying continuity between white research abroad at the time of the empire, and more recent types of "sociology of race relations". This they call "a dangerous sociology ... and dangerous to the black cause that it seeks to espouse" (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980 p331).

White sociology about black people has been subject to criticism for three reasons. White people may be less well able to do the work than black people; white people set up as "experts" on black people, though black people are not so-recognised if they do such work themselves; and, more generally, because it is claimed that this work relates to a wider context of white power over black people. The paradigms used come under criticism, for while looking at "culture", "community", "ethnicity" or "family", racism - the power inequality in the context of which the work is done - is often left out of account completely. Parmar talks of a "glaring absence and ignorance of state and institutional racism" (1981 p24); and Lawrence notes a parallel to problems when men study women:

"What we are arguing is not so much that white bourgeois sociologists cannot study black proletarian people - though much of what we have read may incline us toward such a view, but the more important point we wish to make is that none of these researchers actually take into account the extent to which the replies they get may actually be determined by their position as white 'authority

figures' in a situation where power relations are produced in and through racism" (Lawrence 1981 p9).

Further, the work of such sociologists "wanders into counter-insurgency territory" (Gilroy 1980) by passing into the hands of official policy-makers as well as everyday discussion, becoming fuel for the extension of racist policy-making. While Mullard in 1973 called for research that would translate into real policies, by the 1980s much research was clearly "policy-oriented" or, even unintentionally, translated eventually into social policies

"formulated to DEAL with black people and black youth, and which also contribute to the 'common sense' of racism, especially to the ideas of black 'pathology'" (Lawrence 1982).

Clearly most social research involves issues of power, with an unequal relationship between researcher and researched, compounded by inequalities when men research women, middle-class people research working-class people, or white people research black people, as in my research. Saifullah Khan and others have argued that consultation with those being researched together with active dissemination of the results of the research to the researched (who are more usually kept in ignorance of the results - Georges and Jones 1980) diffuses the power of the researcher, creating a responsibility to those who are researched rather than to policy-makers (LMP 1983). If those concerned in the research determine the questions to be asked, it is likely that different questions will be answered.

Some feminist sociologists have pointed out further issues of power in devising research method. Oakley suggests that the methodological textbooks give a representation of "proper" interviews that links strongly to a "masculine social and sociological vantage point":

"the paradigm of the 'proper' interview appeals to such values as objectivity, detachment, hierarchy and 'science' as an important cultural activity which takes priority over people's more individualised concerns. Thus the errors of poor interviewing comprise subjectivity, involvement, the 'fiction' of equality and an undue concern with the ways in which people are not statistically comparable." (Oakley 1981 p38).

Moreover, she points out, "interviewers define the role of interviewees as subordinates; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the convention of the interviewer-interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees" (op. cit. p40).

In contrast, she argues, a feminist interviewing women cannot morally defend using prescribed interviewing practice; and

"in most cases, the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship" (p41).

The practice of research

Georges and Jones have argued that when "people study people", personal events (often agonies), compromises and changes are often concealed in writing up (Georges and Jones 1980). Feminist writers have also argued that the search for "objective" results involves suppressing the personal - writing out the "I" in reports and theses (Pettigrew 1981) to uphold the "mythology of hygienic research" (Oakley 1981, p58). In contrast, a proper account of the research method chosen here shows a contrast between what could be decided relatively dispassionately - to look at a borough, the ESL teachers and some potential students - and what was feasible for me as a person. For example, the decision to interview potential students did not lead simply to designing a method, sampling and intensive interviewing (cf Atkinson 1971), but on the one hand to a process of debate about the politics of research in the context of racism, and on the other hand to an exploration of how far I could personally "manipul[ate] ...interviewees as objects of study/sources of data" (Oakley 1981 p33), considering the personal relationships involved in researching other people; and then a lengthy period of seeking out women who were prepared to be interviewed on the terms that evolved.

The part of the work concerned with migrant women went ahead in order to explore the experience of those for whom ESL was intended, and to contrast this with the views of the providers. The areas of interest were decided from outside, and I was a white woman researching black women. If "sisterhood" is not unitary, it is not always the case that "a feminist interviewing women is by definition both 'inside' the culture and participating in that which she is observing" (Oakley op. cit.). Wilson suggests that the context of racism is likely to make women of South Asian origin reluctant to discuss their inner feelings with a white woman they don't know well (1978 p167-8). The research does not seem open to racist misuse, but the context of society's racism must be stressed. A black researcher could do deeper work on black perspectives on ESL.

THIS ACCOUNT

(1) The history of ESL

The history of ESL was investigated using a number of sources: published and unpublished accounts of the work, DES official documents discussing ESL work, and interviews both in the chosen area and beyond it with practitioners. Interviews with ESL providers in the chosen area included questions about the history of ESL (Appdx C), while interviews were sought with individuals in other areas of London who had long been associated with ESL. Information about the current state of debate within ESL nationally was obtained from NATESLA journals, national conferences and London meetings and ILEA conferences.

An account was developed which looked critically at both written sources and interviews. Writers on "official discourse", for example, have stressed the need to "interrogate" official documents, to read them not as a direct reporting of facts, but as a representation which seeks to incorporate the reader into a particular view of reality (Donald 1979, Weedon et al 1980b, Burton and Carlen 1979). Other written accounts have also arisen at a particular time to serve some purpose on the part of an author, and are necessarily both partial and interpretative.

Interviews with participants were a type of "oral history" - though of the relatively recent past (contrast Gittins' definition: 1979 p82), and have attendant problems. Though oral history "provides a rich and varied source for the creative historian" (Thompson 1978), individuals' accounts of past happenings will vary with their recollection, and both conscious and unconscious changes occur because of their present view of their history and the present wish they chose to make of it. It is as true of individual interviewees as it is of researchers that:

"all historical research is essentially a process of reconstruction, greatly influenced by ... present day theoretical frameworks and perceptions" (Gittins op. cit.).

Gittins argues that recollection is a valid source for analysing aspects of a respondent's life which seem to be most important to him or her; ESL providers, interviewed in 1984-5, will similarly remember the aspects of ESL history that seem to be most important in 1984-5.

In the mid-1980s a reinterpretation of the work of ESL involved a reinterpretation of its own history. Interviews, in this context, were very useful, for while they lead to a descriptive history - inasfar as

this is ever possible - only in connection with such written sources as are available, they are "a technique for generating interpretative work on the part of participants" (Brenner, Brown and Canter 1985 p269).

(2) ESL provision 1984-5

Current ESL provision was examined in one borough of Greater London. After a preliminary survey, two boroughs were chosen which each had a wide range of ESL provision and a substantial number of bilingual speakers of Hindi/Urdu (below p116). One was a borough in the ILEA, which had special relation to the growth of ESL (p95), and the other was a borough of outer London, arguably more representative of the type of ESL to be found in urban areas in the rest of England. Originally a comparison of the provision in the two boroughs was hoped for, but the idea was dropped, as it was decided that it was more productive to focus on the differences between the types of provision in one borough and look also at potential students there. Secondly, the bilingual populations of the two boroughs (more mixed in origin in the inner London borough) seemed to provide more dramatic contrasts than the available ESL provision, though it was the latter we hoped to discuss. Written information on the ILEA was also more easily available than descriptions of work elsewhere, so it was decided to use ILEA documents for a contrast of ideas, and concentrate fieldwork on the outer London borough renamed "Denton". Pilot interviews with teachers and students were carried out in the ILEA borough and an adjacent ILEA borough.

A description and analysis of the different types of ESL provision within the borough was sought. For this, both organisers and tutors were interviewed in each ESL-teaching organisation. It was important not to concentrate only on "key personnel": the part-time workforce became central. In the absence of laid-down curricular guidelines or systems of evaluation, the interviews were important to gain an understanding of the curriculum, for tutors themselves chose what they planned to teach. Common and contrasting themes in their accounts of the reasons for ESL-teaching were sought as well as their accounts of the provision itself.

Although some classes were visited, the alternative method of examining the curriculum by attendance at classes was not chosen (cf Sharp and Green 1975). While it can be shown that teachers' organising concepts affect the education given (Keddie 1971), the curriculum is not coterminous with teachers' ideas; and nor are teachers' accounts

expected to tally directly with "the truth" (Woods 1980b). Each research situation has

"its own situational, ideological and political correlates ... bound to affect the understandings and typifications realised within it" (Grace 1978 p124)

- such that teachers may feel pressure for various reasons to give certain types of answer; and answers to question also vary with the person who asks (Rogers 1977). Nevertheless, an interview with the teacher was likely to give more information about the input to classes than attendance at a single class. The range of ESL teachers could be interviewed allowing discussion of different approaches to ESL, while it was not feasible to do a longitudinal study of every type of ESL class in the borough. Further, interviews with teachers about their work could focus both on the content of their teaching and on their conditions of work, and allow us to locate teachers' views in their struggles in the workplace.

Organisers of each ESL scheme in the borough were interviewed using a checklist (Appdx C(i)), and met again as questions arose about their work in the course of the research. A simple questionnaire was not judged sufficient for a picture of the working of the provision or the ideas that informed it. All proved happy to talk about their work, and eager for me to understand what went on: I was invited to a number of meetings, given access to statistics on students, handouts, etc. Teachers of ESL from each organisation were interviewed, and in the AEI, the main ESL-teaching organisation, every teacher was asked for a formal interview, which was taped (except in those cases where teachers preferred me to take notes), transcribed and analysed. Volunteer tutors working for the home tuition scheme were also interviewed: a random sample (every 6th from a randomly-selected point on the organiser's list) were met at home. As the main ESL-teaching organisation (the AEI) kept no figures on students' place of origin, language, etc., teachers were asked to complete a survey, which is described in chapter 4.

Because the organisations concerned were small, it was possible to approach all the tutors of the main organisation, and issues of the representativeness of the sample did not occur. Questions of quality/quantity applied to the content of the interviews, however. Though some biographical details would be quantified, closed questions (easy to code for statistical research) were rejected, for it was hoped to interpret the teachers' answers about their work, and therefore to allow them to answer in the way they wished. Questionnaires (piloted in an ILEA

borough and much rearranged) were used, however, with fixed questions, for - in contrast to the organisers on the one hand and potential students on the other - it was not envisaged that there would be a chance to return if an area of discussion was missed in the original interview. Separate questionnaires were produced for teachers and home tutors (Appendices C(ii) and (iii)). Prompting was used, marked in if anticipated, but if a tutor introduced a new area or issue, new questions were added at the time. Strict comparability of interviews was judged of less importance than following teachers' interests, when this arose.

Home tutor interviews were not taped, but extensive hand-written notes were made. It was judged from the pilot interviews that paid teachers were usually at ease talking with a tape-recorder on. They sometimes asked for the tape to be stopped in order to tell me confidential information; and in two cases I was asked not to use the tape at all - so I took notes. A further 3 tutors working on one site asked to be interviewed together and not to be taped. Home tutors in pilot interviews preferred me to take notes rather than tape; while in the case of potential students I did not tape at all, and though I used a checklist which was used as a brief questionnaire at the end of an interview, and wrote down what had happened when I left, I kept note-taking also to a minimum.

In pilot interviews I found that an extensive questionnaire or meticulous note-taking created different resonances when used with tutors and with bilingual women. The tutors had a notion of what my research might be, and felt entitled to demand that certain issues were taken note of. Despite the power of a researcher to write up her own way, there was an equality between us, in most instances, as middle-class white people. This was in contrast to interviews with bilingual women, especially when they had a less educated background than my own. Professional/educated bilingual women potential students also felt free to ask what I was doing, and to say what should be included. But in particular in the case of women of rural origin who had had little education, formally-presented interviews by a white researcher taking copious notes produced very brief answers: there were resonances of interviews by powerful officials. In these cases both taping and formal interviewing with a schedule were dropped.

A further issue was how I presented myself to interviewees. As I was a part-time ESL tutor in another area, it was open to me to tell

this to tutors, or to present myself solely as a research student of education. Although concealing my own relation to ESL produced a tension in myself, I chose this course for two reasons. Firstly, when I met potential students of ESL, I did not want to be understood to be a local ESL tutor recruiting (cf p282). Secondly, when I met tutors, I wanted to be free to ask in detail about issues that it might be assumed another ESL tutor would know of, or see in a certain way; I also wanted to think as freshly as I could about ESL in the borough, and not to depend on my prior knowledge. Sometimes a complete separation of the two could not be made. After the fieldwork was completed, I applied to an ESL conference as a tutor, and felt very mixed when I found my name on the attendance list as a researcher! Also two of the staff at the college recognised me as a teacher from an ILEA borough; but it was still open to me to ask questions in detail, as a tutor in a very different organisation. Since the research was done (and particularly the conference referred to) I have felt less happy about this "manipulation of the truth" (cf Bulmer 1980; Homan and Bulmer 1980), though my research was in no way covert.

Tutor interviews were analysed firstly by searching their accounts for descriptions of the work. The ESL curriculum was seen as teachers' choice of teaching content, and the messages they were choosing to give their students. In addition, the messages in materials, method and teachers' views about the work contributed to the curriculum, although owing to a lack of certainty about the curriculum in ESL, there was no clear division between "hidden" and conscious curriculum in ESL. Secondly, themes in teachers' views of the work and its relation to the students were sought. The concepts of "discourse" and "commonsense" are used: the latter, in contrast to the colloquial sense, referring to the assumption that a particular way of seeing the world is obvious, and its acceptance as obvious by a particular group of people. Some of the most interesting work of followers of Marx and Freud explores the material production of different forms of "knowledge", located at the intersection of the individual and society. Of many questions raised, the most important for sociologists are the ways that individuals are affected by the various forms of "knowledge" at a given time: and recognise themselves in ways that relate to their position in a particular society.

The material importance of ideology has been stressed by Marxists such as Althusser, and shown to be crucial to political struggle in

particular by Gramsci, with his notion of competing views of the world: different representations of how the world/society is and can be. Different classes in society, he suggests, produce different frameworks of thought: and, as they struggle for control of society as a whole, they struggle for ideological hegemony: that is, to make their own world view dominant, so that it seems "common sense" in the colloquial sense to most people (Gramsci 1971). Foucault relates power to knowledge:

"there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (1977 p27).

What seems "common sense" about the work that ESL does needs scrutinising for its relation to inequalities of power.

Though the term "discourse" does not come from Gramsci, it is his notion of competing bodies of ideas that we follow in labelling self-coherent themes "discourses". In this sense a "discourse" does not make up the whole concept of the world of any class or any group of people, and people of apparently competing political standpoints can share a given discourse. Laclau posited "ideological elements" of the ideology of a given class: it is on this basis, he argues, that a class might seek "hegemony" (after Gramsci), by seeking to incorporate "elements" dear to other groups into a "common sense" of its own (Laclau 1979). Gilroy has criticised the notion of the neutrality of "ideological elements": one such, for example, is the "British nation", which cannot be "neutral" where it asserts that white people can be "British" and share a nation, but excludes black people. Gilroy is, however, happy to talk of "the discourse of 'the British nation'", and the way in which both right and left in British politics share this (1982): and it is in a sense close to this that we use the term. Discourses in this sense (post-Foucault) are themes (put together in different ways by different groups of people) which are important not only because of frequency of occurrence, but because of their centrality in forming the ways people do things (cf Sarup 1986 on Foucault 1972).

Hence an analysis of the perspective of the ESL educators will involve looking both at what they say and what they assume without stating it: also a part of their common sense. These are assumed to feed into the content and hidden curriculum of ESL.

(3) The transmission of ESL

In order to expand the picture of ESL and get a perspective from people it is intended for, I asked the experience and opinions of potential students, who were bilingual migrants, which brought out contrasts with some perspectives of the ESL staff. It was decided to do this by interviewing both students and other "potential students": that is bilingual people who defined their English as needing improvement. The choice of method to research actual and past students and others for whom ESL schemes are intended (all described in brief as "potential students", here) presented fundamental problems of social research even more clearly than research on ESL provision. ESL tutors and organisers were a small number, and accessible via the organisations; moreover, as ESL was their work, they could be expected to have thought about it, however contradictory or unfinished their answers were: it was central to their lives. While "being researched" can be a threatening situation for anyone, tutors had access to other works of research in English because of language, culture and level of education: they were in a sense peers of a white, female, middle-class interviewer; the one black tutor interviewed was also middle-class.

Potential students, however, included people outside classes. There was no way of knowing how many people this covered in the chosen borough, though guesses were made by people working in the field. Keeping records of numbers of migrants or black people has been a contentious area (eg JESC 1973, DES 1974), so there was no "ethnic question" in the 1981 census. The potential students were not easily accessible to me, not only because of differences in language, culture etc but because in a racist society, black people do not always trust white outsiders' motivations for research. Further, the issues under discussion could not be assumed to be of interest to the potential students. ESL and learning English could not be assumed to be central to their lives. There was a tension between the quantitative and the qualitative (see p39), and also the question of what was possible with myself as researcher.

Women of South Asian origin who spoke Hindi/Urdu as a first or second language were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, women of South Asian origin have had a special role in the development of ESL: they have often been seen as the classic potential students (p65). Secondly, Hindi/Urdu gave us a common language as I had learnt it as a second

language in India and spoke it reasonably. It was usually an official language or second language for the women concerned.

Both students and women who were not students of ESL but who defined their English as in need of improvement were sought in order to consider the place of the English language, of formal instruction and (separately) of ESL provision in their lives. Community activists, individual workers or potential contacts and groups of women of South Asian origin in the borough were contacted, and discussions held to find important areas or themes. Attempts were made to meet potential students through these contacts and by attending groups for women of South Asian origin within the borough.

Pilot interviews in another borough were important. It became clear immediately that the assumption that a potential student of ESL would have a low level of English was wrong. I asked a woman who had fairly fluent English if she knew of potential students, and was at that time surprised when she suggested herself. Further evidence of my presuppositions was given when I asked a woman if anyone helped her by interpreting and was told that she herself helped others. It clearly was not easy to judge from outside who would feel their English was inadequate, so "potential students" was taken to mean those who, on their own definition, were potential English-learners, except in cases where their low level of English was unambiguous.

In the light of the above points it was necessary to develop an appropriate research method. While participant observation might yield deeper information about the place of English and other languages in the lives of some women of South Asian origin in the chosen borough, this was not chosen for several reasons. Firstly, this would require concentration on a very limited number of women, and the question of their representativeness was relevant. Others had already done studies of the lives of particular women in which language was mentioned, though interestingly English was sometimes of little relevance (cf chs 6 and 7). Secondly, this was an intrusive method which I felt I could not carry out as a white woman researching black women. While I spent much time with these women in my original plan to draw up case studies, this was not attempting to be a participant in their place, but as myself, an interested white outsider.

A lengthy formal questionnaire was drawn up and piloted in three versions, firstly with bilingual friends and then in an ILEA borough.

This confirmed that a questionnaire added an official formality; it led to a feeling of unease on both sides, restricted flexibility, preoccupied me with writing, and, on examination, yielded very thin answers. Open discussions held with women met several times in the pilot borough were of greater interest: and a case could be made both for discussions with individuals and with groups. Here I explained my work, introduced topics and was open to questions (which were sometimes in connection with my work, but more often personal). I had a checklist of topics, rarely covered in one discussion (Appendix D(i)).

A method was devised which drew on both types of method. No accurate sample could be made, both because numbers of potential students could not be accurately established (p117), and because it could not be predicted that women, chosen as part of a sample, would be prepared to talk to me. A major part of the work was finding potential students through personal contacts or meeting and establishing a relationship (what Ball calls an "opportunistic sample" 1987 pix). Official contacts (through classes, CRE, health visitors etc) were avoided, and personal contacts sought. Attending meetings of women's groups on a regular basis allowed me to meet further women. There were many false starts, and attempts to meet people through some contacts and supposed "community leaders", local shops etc that led to nothing. This could have been because they knew noone they could refer me to, or they were suspicious of, or attached no priority to, my project. However, once contacts had been made, these yielded further contacts, as women introduced me to friends, relatives and neighbours (a "snowball method" - Seldon and Pappworth 1983). I sought potential students in a number of contexts in order to maximise the range.

Originally I hoped to get to know a few women well enough to build up case studies of their relation to ESL/English learning. Indeed, I could write such case studies from the work I did, but found these were of a particular sort of potential student, so sought a wider sample in order to make comparisons and contrasts. I wanted to meet women who worked outside the home as well as within it; and women who went to ESL classes, and others who had done so in the past, as well as women who had not. At first I met only women with small children who did not work outside the home, and therefore made contacts with 2 factories (of several approached) where women of South Asian origin worked. Later, because I at first met few women who went to ESL classes, I went to

three ESL classes to see if women would meet me outside the context of the class to talk.

In addition to problems of access and sampling, issues of power were more acute in interviews of potential students than in interviews of ESL tutors. First was the issue of race (p43). However, issues of interview method caused further thought. While in both cases I was interviewing women (the majority, in the case of the teachers), with ESL tutors I was asking about their work; with potential students about their lives. While with the former a more "professional" relationship was typical, with questions on the one hand about their work and on the other about my research, in the case of the latter our meetings, particularly initially, involved discussions of eachothers' families, children and family histories; my research was more clearly embedded in establishing a relationship as people.

Therefore, neither participant observation nor interviewing with a questionnaire at a first meeting were possible. I met and spoke to women at least once before an interview that (consequently) took off from what we knew of each other previously. Discussions were in all cases but 3 in Hindi/ Urdu. A checklist was drawn up, handwritten in English only, so it would fit on a sheet of A4 and sit on my knee (Appdx D(ii)). Although the actual interview could be said to be when the checklist was used, it was not always possible to complete this on one visit, as interruptions were common, from visitors or family: most often, from children and their needs. The functions of the checklist were three: (1) a reminder of areas to cover; (2) to be filled in together with the interviewee at the end of the interview, often stimulating further discussion; (3) immediately after the interview, a reminder of areas covered as an aid to noting what discussion had taken place.

In addition to 42 individual interviews, interviews with groups of women were held. Group interviews were held with women workers in 2 local factories (at lunchtimes, several visits each). Two organisations for women of Pakistani origin also arranged groups to talk to me; I was asked to give a talk to a women's group organised by the local council. In each case we used Hindi/Urdu, and a checklist of general issues (Appendix D (i)). These group meetings led to further individual interviews.

Summary

I worked, then, from interviews and texts to build up a picture of the development of ESL over the past three decades, the provision in one borough in 1984-5, and to go on to a critical examination of the assumptions underlying it. The first section of the thesis examines the development of ESL up to the mid-1980s (chs 2 and 3); the second section looks at ESL provision and teachers' views of the work in an outer London borough in 1984-5 (chs 4 and 5); the third section explores issues of potential students' approaches to ESL classes to compare with the ideas of practitioners (chs 6 and 7). Chapter 8 discusses the implications of the work of ESL in terms of social control.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ESL AND ITS AREA OF CONCERN

The history of ESL and its constitution as a subject can very roughly be divided into three periods: the postwar period up to the mid-1960s, the period from the mid-1960s to 1978 and finally the period from 1978 until the mid-1980s. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the first two phases of the development of ESL, paying particular attention to the constitution of the field and its methods, and the reasons why it became important as a subject. The following chapter deals with the period from 1978 until the mid-1980s.

The early periods which are discussed in some detail in the chapter are important because they laid the foundation for what was to develop subsequently, and many of the ideas and methods developed during this time have remained influential in the field. The present chapter argues that voluntary effort played a key role in the constitution of the field. Behind the early development of ESL lies an approach stemming from what can best be described as welfare reasoning and concepts of the students as in need of help.

At the beginning of the period under consideration in this chapter, ESL was poorly and patchily funded across the country, but was in the process of becoming the recipient of central funding largely, as many commentators including the DES argue, to avoid racial disharmony in the inner cities where many migrant groups were settling. ESL was seen as playing a vital role in dealing with what was portrayed as "the immigrant problem", and this "welfare" approach conditioned the development of its scope and methods.

In that sense we can argue that the development of ESL was intimately bound up with assimilation and social control, especially aimed at women. When we examine the discussions of the DES about English-language classes for Asian women, in particular, we find suggestions that the classes exist for the sake of their children, or the schools, or - more broadly - (white) society in general; and less of the notion that they are useful to the intended students, enabling them

to deal with their own problems independently, than was the intention of the organisers of the voluntary ESL schemes when these were first developing.

The social context in which ESL developed also conditioned the methods and practices that developed within ESL. Early ESL used "direct method" and developed an approach to teaching through "situations". These are, we argue, reflections of what we have called the welfare approach.

DEVELOPMENT OF ESL PROVISION

(1) Piecemeal provision: up to the 1960s

Before 1945 there had been some English language classes intended for adults coming from other parts of the world.

"For many hundreds of years the population of London, particularly in the East End, had been used to absorbing immigrants from non-English-speaking countries. Voluntary organisations and statutory evening continuation schools and evening institutes had made special provision for them to learn English and be helped with their general education" (Devereux 1982 p217).

Devereux pointed out how London's evening institutes had taught English to Jews in the 1930s, and to people from many other places.

"Rather than separate them into special classes, principals at that time thought it best to give them basic educational help in the existing framework of the general education class" (ibid. p217).

While challenges can be made both to the peaceful image of London "absorbing immigrants" (cf Buckman 1983, Fryer 1984, Visram 1986) and to "absorption" as an aim, the point here is that no body of 'ESL' could yet be said to exist.

The Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 was notable for its establishment of a Polish Resettlement Corps aimed at helping Polish migrants (mainly ex-army) to resettle in Britain, and to provide language education as well as housing and employment. The Committee for the Education of Poles in Britain was formed by the Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland, aiming

"to provide the Poles with instruction in English as soon as practicable and to reduce, in number and scale, educational institutions maintained by the Committee as soon as Polish students could be safely transferred to British educational institutions" (Rees 1982 p80).

This centralised effort contrasts with the treatment of other groups, including European voluntary workers in the 1940s and Hungarian refugees

in 1956, who were given formal English teaching - if at all - in local colleges.

In the 1950s and early 1960s excited descriptions were written of organising and teaching what seemed to be very "pioneering" classes for "foreigners" - though the "foreigners" (Williams 1958) or "strangers" (Chisholm 1965) referred to were different groups of people in different places.

In 1958 the "English for Foreigners" that had been taught for a few years at Hendon Technical College (established 1939 - Williams 1958) was aimed at three main groups of people. These were (1) refugees from Central Europe during the war, and from Hungary in 1956 (the "Displaced Persons... who intend to remain here" that Lockwood speaks of with reference to her class in Birmingham (1951 p199)); (2) "foreign girls (who)...come here for a year or sometimes more as children's nannies or part- or full-time domestic helps" (Williams op. cit. p117); and (3) foreign workers - mainly middle-class expatriate workers - "people working in the English branches of foreign firms" (p118) - rather than working-class migrant workers.

What was new in these courses was that "whereas the refugees" (who had previously been the majority of the students in the new courses started during the Second World War)

"were here through no wish of their own and were learning the language out of necessity, the foreigners learning English here now have come to England at their own wish, and, often, inconvenience, specially to learn the language" (Williams p116).

Courses leading to Cambridge or RSA certificates in English were evidently both in terms of intended students and style precursors of today's "EFL" courses (p12), though by 1960, the titles 'EFL' and 'ESL' had not become distinct. When Derrick wrote about the professionalisation of ESL in the early 1960s, she was talking about what would now be a branch of EFL (Derrick 1966). While such courses were seen as new and challenging (Ministry of Education 1954), and teaching overseas students a challenge with political significance ("as possible influences in international relationships, their importance cannot be over-estimated" Chisholm 1965 p327), it was of these, and the numerous courses abroad, which today might be labelled "EFL", that G.E.Perren wrote in 1960:

"the teaching of English as a second language is the biggest educational undertaking in the world today" (TES 1960).

In other institutions, however, different students were being taught English in schemes not yet labelled 'ESL'. In 1958, for example,

there were evening classes at Clifton Institute, Birmingham. "English for our coloured citizens" meant evening classes for "working men" which emphasized both the development of skills in the English language - and grammar and correctness were very much insisted on - but also the understanding of the "English...way of life" (p271), with all opportunities taken

"to introduce and expatiate on aspects of our national and civic life, for these men were now members of the community and should possess the cultural qualifications of responsible citizenship" (Mayell 1958 p273).

This scheme Mayell thought unique at the time: and clearly it influenced other institutes in their teaching of "English to immigrants", still described as an "unfamiliar situation" (cf. in Smethwick, TES 1962).

Outside the institutes, this period saw the creation of English-teaching schemes aimed primarily at migrant women. Merryweather (1981) talks of voluntary schemes for the teaching of English starting in the 1950s, though Mobbs (1971) dates them back no further than 1963. By the mid-sixties there were a series of scattered English-teaching schemes across the country. Often, like for example the Cambridge House Scheme in South London (Forster 1984 p63), these were schemes for "home tuition" - that is, voluntary, usually one-to-one teaching of English by an English-speaking volunteer in the home of a woman (or, rarely, man) student. Such schemes were organised in different areas by local Community Relations Councils (CRC 1973a, 1973b, 1975b); by colleges of further education or adult education institutes; by churches (Arora 1980 p8)); later - in the 1970s - by independent charitable trusts (such as the Cambridge House Scheme), adult literacy schemes (Mobbs 1977 p20), or non-institutional, voluntary groups - which varied from schemes where one individual did much of the work herself (Mobbs 1977), to small groups, such as the Birmingham Association for the Voluntary Teaching of English (Turk 1968).

In 1966 the Wandsworth Home Tuition Scheme was started through the combined efforts of the local CRC, AEI and some immigrant organisations (Hinchliffe 1975). The organiser of this scheme explains that

"the first language teaching of immigrant mothers began in Wandsworth after attempts to provide a class in the usual way had failed" (ibid p342).

Perhaps influenced by this article, the suggestion has been made that in general the origin of schemes of home tuition followed the failure of existing classes (Saifullah Khan x). However, evidence from other

schemes does not bear this out as a general description. Schemes such as the Cambridge House Scheme were for voluntary home tuition in the first instance; while in other instances the provision of home tuition preceded the establishment of classes. In 1977, Little talked of

"the growing popularity of group or class teaching as an alternative to, or follow-up from, one-to-one tuition in the home" (Little 1977 p3).

East Anglia, for example, shared the "national trend of moving towards language groups rather than one-to-one tuition" (NNews 4 p3). The group classes that were formed were often outside institutes, "in the community", in order to remove

"many of the physical and psychological barriers faced in learning English in a formal institutional setting" (Selman and Blackwell 1977).

The origins of English as a Second Language for schoolchildren ('E2L') also took place in this period - with the first special help from the DES to LEAs for E2L in schools in 1963 (Little et al 1982), the Schools Council SCOPE project from 1966, and an increasingly-fierce debate from the mid-70s on issues and methods of teaching English to "minority group children" (Derrick 1977).

English language teaching for bilingual children began often as part-time extra tutorials (recommended by the Ministry of Education 1963), but as more children were involved, withdrawing pupils to join special English language courses became more frequent (Burgin 1964, Grayson 1974, Tomlinson 1982). As different LEAs had different policies, it could be argued that "the overall result has been haphazard" (SCRRI 1973a p11). Children of Afro-Caribbean origin were offered no special language support, due to conceptions that their native language was English (if "wrong" English because different from standard or English English). It has been argued that teachers attitudes to dialect differences held back Afro-Caribbean children (Wight 1978; Goodman and Buck 1973). Their culture - for example, family structure - was seen to be at fault (Carby 1982).

English teaching for children of migrants began in a context of unchallenged assimilationism, where it was the migrant children who were seen as the problem:

"the concentration and rapid build-up in the numbers of children arriving from Commonwealth countries... began to create serious educational difficulties" (DES 1971 p1).

As "schools in London, Birmingham, Bradford and other cities (began to) note their changing intake" (Tomlinson 1982 p161), public notice and

concern focused most intently on children of South Asian origin, and in particular on the fact that they spoke languages other than English. This was conceived of, rather, as "lack of English", or "inadequacies of language" (DES 1971 p65):

"unfamiliarity with English is the obvious immediate problem for immigrant pupils and their teachers" (SCRRI 1973b p4).

As the Select Committee on Race Relations put it,

"...in understanding and providing for the difficulties of minorities, care has to be taken not to overcome them by reversing well-tryed policies, or, in deference to real or imagined susceptibilities, by bending a system evolved to suit the majority so far as to unhinge it altogether" (SCRRI 1973 p3).

While there were some links between ESL and school E2L (ATEPO, the Association for the Education of Pupils from Overseas, started 1967, was for school teachers, but included references to early adult ESL), the origins of ESL for adults were often separate. For example, though debates around multiculturalism (ATEPO became the Association for Multicultural Education), the importance of the mother tongue (Harrison 1973) and arguments against withdrawal (Garvie 1976) began in schools in the mid 1970s, for ESL for adults this was still a time of ad hoc adjustments of existing English-language classes for adults, and a piecemeal and uneven pattern of voluntary effort around the country.

In ESL for adults, voluntary efforts with a welfare motive were important. The origins of Neighbourhood English Classes in North London (NEC(1)) have been attributed to the sudden concern of one woman, Ruth Hayman, in 1969:

"I suddenly said to him, 'What about the immigrants coming into this country? Who is helping them to learn English?'" (in Hallgarten 1984 p7)

The answer was that a number of existing day and evening classes were doing so; while a refocussing was producing purpose-created schemes of home tuition and local classes. In 1975, Trim spoke of immigrants as (unquestionably) "a special class of adult language learners" (Trim 1975 p81). In the mid-1960s this view, which would be so certain by the mid-1970s, was being formed, and people within and without existing educational institutions were beginning to pay attention to migrants as English-learners - perceived as people with problems.

"They are often disadvantaged, with severe social and educational problems in addition to their linguistic difficulties" (Trim op. cit.).

The origins of the Wandsworth Scheme (above p60), for example, were not only in "immigrant mothers" not coming to existing classes but

in a special interest in those "immigrant mothers", so that this could be noticed.

By the mid-1960s, there were courses teaching English to migrant adults and some specifically-designed courses for this purpose: yet no uniform, or even connected body of ESL teachers or ESL schemes could be said to have formed. At this point, the term "ESL", and the demarcation between ESL and EFL, had not stabilised.

(2) The formation of ESL: mid-1960s to 1978: home tuition and "community classes"

During the late 1960s and the 1970s, more specialised provision of English language classes for adult migrants was organised. In some areas there was a sudden growth in numbers and size of schemes in the 1970s, because there was money and enthusiasm for the development of ESL. At this time there was disillusion, too, with the claims of adult education in general in relation to its practice.

In the early 1960s, Raymond Williams had argued that the working-class link to adult education had left a legacy: students could choose their subjects; disciplines in education should relate to actual contemporary life; general discussion should be accorded parity with expert instruction. (Williams 1965 p165). By 1980, however, Jackson rejected the

"scores of self-congratulatory conferences in which the virtues of liberal adult education were extolled, its freedom and open debate, its rigour combined with relaxed presentation; the friendly relationship between teachers and students who joined together in a disinterested search for truth"(Jackson 1980a p10).

The challenge to the "liberal consensus" allowed into mainstream adult education debates and agonies about students, subjects, teaching methods and relations to the world beyond adult education (see also ch 6). New subjects gained importance and adult education became linked to voluntary initiatives in community work: the first links with literacy and, also, education for newly arrived migrants.

"The literacy campaign itself was a remarkable illustration of the new approach of those who, hitherto, had been largely ignored or who had felt that any form of community education was not for them. It had shown that those who had not set foot in an educational establishment since leaving school could, by the adoption of a sensitive approach and tuition relevant to their individual circumstances and needs, be encouraged to seek help. The philosophy of this approach was the philosophy of the outreach worker and of an educational service for the whole community" (Devereux 1982).

The Russell Committee (1969-73) was, argued Devereux, a catalyst for further change: resulting in "heightened community consciousness" in the ILEA, and an increased concern with provision of adult education for those he labels as "the disadvantaged" (cf Thompson 1980b). Jackson describes this period as that of the breakdown of the liberal consensus on education: of the notion that via education could come a restructuring of people's chances in society - although the effect of this view remained in the form of the Community Development Programme (CDP) and community education initiatives.

The table shows a rapid expansion of ESL classes in the ILEA from none in 1968-9 to 337 per week six years later (1974-5) and 724 per week ten years later (1978-9), as Basic Education expanded.

TABLE 1 - The growth of ESL* in Inner London (figures from Devereux 1982, Appendix B)					
CLASSES PER WEEK	1950-1	1960-1	1968-9	1974-5	1978-9
All Basic Education	36	176	177	879	1552
EFL (sic*)	-	-	-	337	724
Literacy	-	-	-	197	541
General Education (in English & arithmetic)	36	176	177	345	287

* (As Devereux discusses ESL classes, perhaps "EFL" is a slip)

Evening classes in adult education institutes continued to expand; while other bodies also set up classes, such as the CRC in Camden (Hallgarten 1984) and independent organisations, such as NEC(1) (above, p62). From the beginning, NEC(1) aimed to be "professional", with trained teachers and a small fee for classes (Hallgarten 1984). Eventually its efforts were incorporated into local education authority schemes.

Beyond ILEA, too, where ESL classes were to expand it was at this time that they did. Sutcliffe, writing in 1984 looked back to "a handful of classes in 1971" in Harrow, which then "expanded dramatically." It was at this time that the label 'ESL' can be said to have been made its own by this developing field. Although some teachers had 'EFL' training (Romijn 1984 p43), the work was defined as separate from 'EFL'. ESL was intended as English-teaching for people who had come to live (not, for example, just to study) in the UK, and these

"immigrants" were seen to have special characteristics which would affect the types of courses planned for them:

"The teaching of English to these Asian students is bound to respond to the learner characteristics... and to differentiate itself from mainstream English as a Foreign Language teaching in this country" (Mobbs 1977 p17).

Mobbs wrote specifically about ESL schemes for Asian women - but was not alone in emphasising

"factors which are common to most Asian women students, and which mark them off as a class from other learner groups" (his p14)

Hinchliffe described the Wandsworth home tuition scheme (p60) as "Teaching English to Asian men and women" (1975), while other descriptions of early schemes make equations between "our students", "Asians", and "women":

"students were slow to come forward at first - perhaps because many Asian families had not realised the many occasions on which women would need to understand English..." (Thomas 1984 p18, my stress). Publicity posters and teaching material echoed the image of ESL students being Asian women.

People of South Asian origin in particular were sought to be students in the early schemes partly because these were the times of sizable migration from the subcontinent; but the migration of bilingual migrant workers from other parts of the world (Turkey, Phillipines, Hong Kong, etc.) has not attracted proportionate comment. In general, black immigration from the Caribbean has also been a major issue, but white immigration, from not only Europe, but ex-British colonies (Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Australia, etc.) has not been seen in the same context. Similarly, it is not the "fact" of immigration that has led to the emphasis on Asians as ESL students, but a particular public perception of "problem" (see ch 6).

Both the early development of ESL and the image of the main student-group as Asian students were further encouraged by the expulsion of Ugandan Asians in 1972, many of whom came to Britain, as did also other East African Asians. Nicholls of the ILEA records that

"the development of specialised provision... received an impetus with the arrival of the East African Asian refugees from Uganda in the early 1970s" (1983).

The impetus, however, was not directly to state provision, although groups argued that this was needed (LCSS 1976), but to independent organisations. One NEC(1) teacher wrote:

"the authorities had thought it would not be necessary to make special English language provision for (East African Asians), since

the majority would have spoken English in Uganda. I remember Ruth [Hayman] saying, very strongly, how wrong the authorities were" (Weinreich 1984 p37).

In the event, the Ugandan Asians "were the first refugees to stretch the resources of the still-new NEC[1]" (op. cit.). In many areas there were local, volunteer-based schemes, which were to some extent kept on touch with one another by the CRC. The CRC published lists of English-language-teaching schemes, which, even if they were not complete, demonstrate clearly the increase in the number of schemes in this period. In 1973 the CRC knew of over 70 home tutoring schemes (CRC 1973c). Volunteers remained important, recruited from adult literacy schemes (Mobbs 1977 p23), or seeking specifically to teach English (Kanji 1984 p83).

Early ESL method

Early ESL grew up with a set view of its potential students, and with a characteristic style of teaching. Early ESL teachers found formal training - if at all - beyond ESL (eg in EFL training courses, Grant and Self 1984), and there was more emphasis on the need to be flexible than on discussion of technique. However, as local training-schemes and ESL materials were developed, it was clear that there was a consensus on appropriate language teaching method, which linked, via a concern with usefulness and relevance, to a particular view of the students. This was "classic ESL situational dialogue teaching" (Romijn 1984 p41).

The development of ESL in schools had emphasised oral language (Robin 1963 and 1965); and Derrick - director of the SCOPE project (p61) - emphasised "a structural-situational approach" (Derrick 1966), which also became characteristic of ESL for adults. "Situations" in ESL emphasised the link between the learning of English and women's daily lives (Turk 1970).

Jupp and Hodlin (who advocated a different approach, see chapter 3), pointed out that "situational method" was "not a full theory of language teaching, but rather an appendix to the structural method" (Jupp and Hodlin 1975). This is supported by a description of the attempt by NEC(1) to develop ESL materials - moving from an emphasis on the structure of the English language, to a context of expected "situations" (Romijn 1984). On the other hand Garvie suggests that it

is the "throw out linguistics brigade" who "would have us teach all learners through situations" (Garvie 1975). Reibel, teaching bilingual children in the late 1960s, emphasised "situations", structures (taught by drill), and only small doses of grammar:

"grammatical explanations probably do no positive harm to the learner; on the other hand, their productivity is probably pretty low" (Reibel 1969 p29).

It seems from our research (ch 5) that teachers using "situations" could sometimes emphasise the situation itself, and sometimes the form of the language.

A second characteristic of ESL method at this time was "direct method", which emphasised speech, "living language" (Christophersen 1973), and discouraged translation (Howatt 1984). Because it

"excluded all use of the learner's first language and attempted to have him learn the foreign language 'just as a child learns his native tongue'" (Hall 1960 p212),

it has since been contrasted to bilingual methods. It is wrong to uphold a fierce distinction between two periods in ESL - some teachers were pleased to have translators in early ESL classrooms (Foden 1971, about BAVTE), argued for the importance of students' culture (James 1969, Denley 1970), and also protested against "withdrawal" for English teaching (Manley 1968). But many tutors, like school teachers, believed "that English should be the prime medium for teaching and learning at all stages and especially in the initial stage" (Beaumont 1976 p69).

The English language was not the only target of the teaching. The "situations" (eg Nicholls 1980) were not only context, but information on behaviour patterns and living in Britain (see p177). School teachers put great emphasis on the "English Way of Life" (Hodgkinson 1968):

"We preach, as we would to English children, the need to clean their teeth" (Scott 1968).

For adults, also, often work focussed on health issues (Jackson 1984). Other teachers emphasised "access", which within ESL meant information on how to use the system (MacFarlane 1978).

"In practice, ESL was considerably more than the simple transfer of linguistic skills, frequently operating on the terrain of 'coping skills' or basic education" (Gilroy and Amos 1980 p7).

"tutors are helping students to adapt to the way of life of this country...the contribution which ESL can make to good race relations should not be under estimated" (ACACE 1979 p63).

English language teaching in the workplace

When Trim had the impression that, for adult language-learners, "the workplace has generally been the focus of contact" (1975 p81), his sources were in fact German; while in Britain, in contrast, what he described as "volunteer schemes ... more directed to social integration" were in the mainstream of ESL. However, new schemes began to teach English to bilingual workers in industrial workplaces. Although there were sometimes local connections with other ESL schemes, the "Industrial English" schemes were separate in organisation, funding and method; and, working within industry, had particular dilemmas.

The first such scheme, Pathway, in Ealing, began in 1970. Employers and industrial training boards (since disbanded) gave financial help to Industrial English schemes (Pearn 1977, Sengupta et al 1977, CRE 1978). From 1974, central government funding was possible through the MSC. In 1974, national coordination was established; the National Centre for Industrial Language Training (NCILT), funded by the Training Services Agency (Davies and Jupp 1976). From 1978, Industrial Language Training Units (ILTUs) were entirely MSC funded. Oriented to industry, with teaching-packages to "sell", the ILTUs had criteria of efficiency and business presentation which differentiated them from the volunteer schemes and community classes. Although women workers were among those taught, women were not so central as students as they were in the ESL schemes.

The Industrial Language Teaching (ILT) schemes developed a characteristic "functional" method, basing their choice of language taught on a survey of language use in the workplace, and breaking language into "functions" used in certain contexts. Though the workplace situations envisaged in ILT contrasted with the domestic situations of other classes, there was in common both an emphasis on language in use, and, indeed, on expected "situations": Jupp and Hodlin defined a "functional language course" as

"a course which has the goal of training a student to use English in the real situations where he needs it" (Jupp and Hodlin 1975; note the male gender of the student envisaged).

Other schemes adopted the concept of "functional language" (cf Van Ek 1977, Furnborough et al 1980, Nicholls and Naish 1981) and also later followed an interest initiated by ILT in communication breakdown and ways of dealing with it. This emphasis led to teaching not only English language but ways of effective communicating (Davies and Jupp 1976) and

to work together with Gumperz (see ch 6), discussed further in the next chapter (p101).

Working in industry led to an implicit dilemma for ILT: on whose behalf was ILT working: for bilingual workers or for management? Though this was expressed bravely by ILT trainers, as part of their attempt to "sell" the programmes on behalf of bilingual workers, as their trying

"to achieve a much greater opportunity for both efficiency and for social reasons" (Jupp and Hodlin 1975),

it was not clear that the English language training that managers would want taught is the same as that that workers would benefit from. ILT "sold" English language teaching as "training" with advantages for management:

"a reduction in supervisory time; less risks of disputes and stoppages arising from misunderstandings; an increase in production, as a result of lessened tension and greater flexibility among coloured workers; a reduction in absenteeism; and, finally, reduced costs because interpreters and notices in foreign languages would no longer be required" (Pearn 1974 p35).

As Jupp said,

"the issues ... are ...not ones of being nice to people or fulfilling some sort of historical guilt complex, but about workers who are vital to the survival of major industries in the economy" (CRE 1978 p8).

One consequence of this presentation, however, was that it might be hard to teach English for out-of-work situations if that is what workers wanted; or a level of English that might enable them to move to new grades at work. In America in the 1850s English classes had taught the lessons of work - "I hear the whistle... I must hurry" (Hobsbawm 1977 p233). In ILTU in 1980 it was still true that "the Company ...after all, pays the fee" (Munns and Strutt 1980 p83).

Castles and Kosack believed that bilingual migrant workers needed to learn English, but that managements were failing to teach them. They found an example of a Birmingham bakery where "instead senior staff are learning Urdu at night classes" (Castles and Kosack 1973 p190). While this, and the shortlived effort by the Cotton Industrial Training Board to provide safety notices in workers' languages (Sengupta et al 1977) seem to be exceptional, Castle and Kosack's main contention seems likely:

"unless language teaching does increase the workers' efficiency at work, employers are not only uninterested in the education of their foreign employees, but are even afraid of it ... they might become aware of their rights and employment possibilities" (op. cit. p191).

BBC courses for teaching English to migrants up to 1978

The BBC's radio and television programmes for teaching English to migrants have both followed from and stimulated initiatives in the ESL field proper. In the mid-1960s the BBC organised meetings with Asian people prior to the establishment of Asian-language programmes. "English by Radio" was well-established by 1970 (Denley 1970). In 1966-7, the "Look, Listen and Speak" programmes - "English for Immigrants by Television" - had 3 accompanying workbooks in Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, Gujarati and Urdu. These taught the structure of the language; an emphasis on situations was not present (Chapman and Huggins 1966-7). There were also programmes in conjunction with the schools council project "SCOPE". By 1976 the BBC aimed to mix English-learning - and the incentive to learn English - into general programmes for Asian people: they aimed "to give Asian women at home the opportunity and the confidence to start learning English" (Matthews and Cooke 1976). Thus even prior to the 1976 Political and Economic Planning report (Smith 1976) whose "revelations" according to one historian prompted the BBC to turn its attention to ESL (Nicholls 1985 p103), the BBC's programmes had aimed to stimulate Asian women in particular to learn English.

There is no doubt, however, that the "Parosi" project of 1977-8 was in itself a new step. This was a series specifically "designed to help Asian families to deal with English-speaking situations" (Laird et al 1977). Following the successful adult literacy programme "On the Move" (1975), it hoped to stimulate an interest in ESL provision among potential students and simultaneously to encourage volunteers to teach (Stock 1977) Though not as influential as had been hoped in the way of encouraging referrals to ESL schemes, it was itself an influence on those schemes. Other BBC English language programmes such as "Take-away English" - (1977) - were meant for listeners abroad, and were regarded by teachers of ESL as of little relevance (Arora 1980), but "Parosi" was aimed at bilingual people living in Britain, and notably at "housebound Asian women" (Lo 1982 p18), especially of North Indian/Pakistani origin (it was in Hindustani). It had the same emphasis as the ESL teaching schemes:

"there is basic information about social matters, education, housing, health and employment ...The aim of the BBC's Parosi project is to encourage Asian families, particularly women, to learn more English" (Laird et al 1977).

"The series did not set out to teach English directly but attempted to motivate housebound Asian women to pursue the possibility of local tuition" (Lo 1982 p18).

Organisers of ESL had mixed reactions to the programme. For the adult literacy programme, one million pounds had been set aside for new staffing, but similar funds were not made available for the ESL initiative. Organisers protested that local schemes had poor resources and even organising new volunteers could be a problem (Mace and Harding 1977, ACACE 1979). Some money was set aside under phase 16 of the Urban Aid Programme for new materials and equipment. Although the number of referrals to classes was not as high as had been anticipated, nor were the available funds all used (Arora 1980), "Parosi" was important in two ways. Firstly, it indicated the spread of the conception that had stimulated the beginnings of ESL classes: that "Asian families, particularly women" (Laird et al 1977) needed to learn English. Secondly, the programme had a formative effect on ESL, beyond the production of the programmes and distribution of the booklets. Preparations for "Parosi" involved the organising of two big conferences of ESL organisers in Britain, from north and south, in 1977. The value of a meeting-place was felt (Rosenberg 1984 p99), and this led to the establishment of NAELS (National Association of English Language Schemes), later NATESLA, which had its first conference in 1978.

New communications: the RSA and NATESLA

In 1979, an ACACE survey listed these as providers of English-language teaching (my numbers):

- (1) ILTUs
- (2) Colleges of FE
- (3) LEA adult education services
- * (4) National Language Unit of Wales
- (5) Voluntary organisations
- (6) CRCS
- (7) Ethnic minority organisations (ACACE 1979).

In her survey in 1980, Arora lists in addition to the above (leaving out the Welsh body and dividing (7) into (7a) self-help groups and (7b) community organisations):

- * (8) Private language schools (Arora 1980 p9-11).

When Lo lists the available schemes in 1982, she adds:

- * (9) Embassy schemes
- * (10) Vietnamese refugee centres (Lo 1982).

All types of scheme, except the starred ones, were in 1984-5 in evidence in Denton (ch 4). Even in the absence of local full-time language coordinators, there was often cooperation between different schemes at a local level. For example, NEC(1), which usually ran classes in "a splendid motley variety of places" close to people's homes (Romijn 1984 p48), did some workplace teaching in a hospital, which was later taken over by the local ILTU. Cooperation between FE colleges and ILTU was not unusual (Davies and Jupp 1976; see below p131), while the CRE, which in various areas, under CRCS, had its own English-teaching provision, was also keen to promote ILTUs (CRE 1978).

Though it was still the case in 1979 that

"unfortunately in some areas where more than one of these providing bodies is working, communications between the organisations are inadequate" (ACACE 1979 p59),

two developments were to create more interrelations for the new schemes: firstly, the RSA certificates in ESL teaching; secondly, the establishment of the ESL teachers' organisation NATESLA. In 1975-6 the first RSA course on teaching of ESL to adults was piloted, at Westminster College (ILEA). In the next few years further RSA courses were started, but by 1980 still "in fact teachers with initial ESL training are few and far between" (Arora 1980p30). However, the creation of a course and its extension to further colleges gave the RSA a role in handing on and spreading these views (p89). NATESLA is discussed in chapter 3.

OFFICIAL CONNECTIONS

ESL in the 1970s remained poorly funded overall, but new sources of funding became available, in particular from government monies allocated to deal with urban unrest. This section looks at official conceptions of the work of ESL by the DES (top of the educational hierarchy where the LEAs are organisers of major parts of ESL). Although there was no central planning or policy in relation to ESL, statements from the DES demonstrate, along with these new sources of funding, that ESL was viewed as a benefit to other people as well as intended students. We then go on to explore a notion of ESL as welfare.

Funding

ESL schemes often started through voluntary efforts, and thus had low costs and ran cheaply. Due to a growing public equation of "immigrants" with "problems" (cf. CCCS 1982), an acceptance that the "need for English" was evident, and a hope that funding would divert the "problem", some public funds became available for ESL. Gradually, some of the demands for payment for tutors and proper organisation of ESL schemes were met.

ESL schemes continued to feel underfunded. Describing the state of English-teaching in these sorts of schemes in Oldham in 1976, Hoyland mentions a "literacy scheme" run by the local CRC, started in 1972 with funding from the education department and "Section 11" that allowed the originally-voluntary scheme to have a part-time organiser. By 1976 "small groups of women are also being taught in rented premises, with playgroup provision being made for under-fives", while there were hopes to expand these classes for men. But the

"main problems are finance to pay for tutors, play-group supervisors and materials, plus rent for premises when suitable premises can be found" (Hoyland 1976 p33).

Of 110 schemes known to the CRC in 1976, only 57 had paid organisers - and of these, only half were full-time (Mobbs 1977 p21). Arora estimated that in 1977 there were fewer than 500 paid ESL tutors in the country, while the BBC estimated that 10-15,000 people wanted help with English (Arora 1980). The DES appears to have exaggerated the amount of special provision when it said in 1971 that

"most further education establishments serving areas with an immigrant population have offered classes in English language for immigrant parents: many have offered such classes specifically for immigrant mothers" (DES 1971b p94).

For example, a CRC survey of LEAs found that of 49 LEAs who responded, only one organised English-language teaching itself; while 24 of the 49 gave such assistance to schemes for the teaching of adults or children as free use of premises, equipment, or a salary; training for CRC volunteers on a home-tutor scheme; or, in some cases, grants (CRC 1974). When money was made available for ESL schemes under Phase 16 of the Urban Programme, 1977-8, at the time of the "Parosi" Project (see p71), only 50% of what was available was taken up (Arora 1980). Local political priorities were reflected in the choice to take up funding under Section 11 (below), for LEAs were required to meet a percentage of the cost themselves. Much of ESL continued to be run on a shoestring.

Funding came from a number of sources: local fundraising efforts; charitable organisations; CRE grant aid for CRE staff; employers and Industrial Training Boards, then MSC (for ILTUs at first, and other schemes later); section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act (from the Home Office) and Urban Aid/Inner City Partnership (from the Home Office and later the Department of the Environment). Local education authority money was also sometimes available, and, particularly in association with central government subsidies, became a major source of funding for all areas of ESL except ILTUs. One project could have a patchwork of funders, for example getting money from a local AEI, Polytechnic, ILTU, LEA directly and Urban Aid (THIF 1983). ILTU funding was quite separate from that of AEIs (Pearn 1977). From November 1978, ILT was completely funded by the MSC.

The source of government funding most relevant to the borough we study was funding under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966. As other sources of funding were for short periods (Urban Aid, typically 3 years; MSC, for short courses) this was the main way to fund staff for long-term programmes (NATESLA 1982).

The Local Government Act 1966 was stimulated by urban unrest, and a perception of the "inner cities" as a potential area of trouble, in particular because of a perceived threat of racial unrest. It sought to preempt problems by funding

"special provision... in consequence of the presence... of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the community" (Local Government Act 1966, Section 11, (1)).

At this time, too, fears of racial tension around the time of Powell's famous speech linked notions of city problems together with concepts of "race" and led to the Urban Programme, which made 1968 "the take-off year for community work" (Van Reenan and Pope 1982).

The Local Government Act's definitions of "immigrant" extended to the children of migrants from the Commonwealth (though there were worries about the term: NUT 1978, and p12) - but

"the relationship between the amount of grant claimed and the number of immigrants appears to be tenuous in some places" (NUT 1978 p9).

Moreover, the stipulation that relevant "immigrants" had to be of Commonwealth origin meant that many bilingual migrants were not included (among them, people from Pakistan after 1973) (NATESLA 1982). Nevertheless, the amount of money allocated under Section 11 grew

rapidly; by 1978 education authorities received 80% of the grants paid out; and, as the NUT put it:

"the need for the teaching of English is unquestioned and should remain as a top priority in the use of Section 11 staff" (NUT 1978 p16).

Money from "Urban Aid" and "Inner City Partnership" was allocated on a similar understanding. The Urban Programme was started in 1968, arguably partly as a response to Powell's speeches, to provide money to areas with a high concentration of residents and also a "high immigrant population". Glennerster and Hatch argued that it was smallscale, and notable at first for its high propaganda value (1974). In 1977 as part of a "new policy for the inner cities", the Urban Programme was expanded, and its administration moved from the Home Office to the Department of the Environment. Although it has been stressed that the Urban Programme was "defined in vague terms when first conceived", and that its practice constantly shifted (Greve 1978), it was "one of a number of area-specific positive discrimination programmes" based around a social pathology model of "urban deprivation", to provide funding for social projects based in older urban areas (Edwards and Batley 1978). However, as with Section 11, its context was in particular "concern over the effects of commonwealth immigration" (Rees 1982 p92).

In 1978 the Home Office proposed a new grant for alleviating the "disadvantage suffered by the ethnic minorities", which would have as part of its purpose the funding of language teaching, interpreters - and "language needs of the under 5 year olds including mother tongue". As a change of government prevented this move, however, Section 11 continued to provide resources under the guise of dealing with urban problems. Whatever the intentions of the schemes' organisers, therefore, they were intended by funders to appease, divert, and change the language and culture of migrants.

DES views of ESL

Despite the looseness of the connection between the DES (previously the Ministry of Education) and the LEAs, at a time when the DES was also accused of using decentralisation as an excuse for non-action in the issue of race altogether (Little and Willey 1981, Dorn and Troyna 1981, Jones and Kimberley 1982, cf Mollie and Lloyd 1983), the DES was the top layer of the educational hierarchy in the 1970s, below which the LEAs had responsibility for major parts of ESL (The MSC, started in 1974,

became involved in education mainly under the Thatcher government of the 1980s).

It is evident from those DES reports that consider ESL (1960s onwards) that ESL for adults was not considered as part of adult education, but that it was located as a special issue of education to do with "immigrants", who were identified as "problems". Moreover, ESL was discussed usually as concerning women in particular, viewed as mothers of children. Thus ESL for adults was thought of as an offshoot of schooling. It is of interest therefore to consider official DES accounts of the work of ESL in 1963, 1965, 1971 and 1974.

In 1963, a Ministry of Education booklet was published which dealt specifically with the issue of "English for Immigrants" (Min. Ed. 1963). Though this dealt primarily with "immigrant" children of school-age, it concluded with a section on ESL for adults, including advice on methods. While non-"immigrant" children were portrayed as welcoming to the "immigrant" children (op. cit. p11, p4), it was the "disadvantages" of the latter that were to be discussed. Chief among these was a lack of English, to be dealt with by separating "cliques.. with tactful care" (p14) and sitting "the little stranger from overseas" (p4) next to an English child. The Ministry of Education insisted that direct method was the only way of teaching (p24) and implied that "mother-tongue" teachers were not to be in the ESL classroom, though they might be useful as school-parent go-betweens (Power 1967).

The discussion of adult ESL is of interest, especially the reasons why the Ministry of Education wanted bilingual people to learn English. Firstly, the schools wanted parents to speak English, for they felt a need to communicate, for example, school policy (p10). Secondly they felt it would help the children if English were spoken at home. It was acknowledged "not... unreasonable that parents should continue to speak their own language" (p7): but it was seen as in the children's interest to develop their English, with no reference to their other languages. For both of these reasons, adults were to learn English because of their role as parents. There was a further reason for teaching English to all adults, parents or not - again on behalf of others, not of the English-learners.

"A sympathetic and helpful approach by the teacher will create a more lasting impression than any number of lectures on the British way of life... the teacher of English and the institution in which the teaching takes place can play a vital role in influencing the attitude to this country of the foreign student" (Min.Ed. 1963 p23).

In 1965 the DES linked the importance of teaching English to "immigrant children" in order to assimilate them, to the later-notorious policy of "spreading the children" to ease "problems" and "strains" and to show parents of non-immigrant children that their own children's progress would not be impeded (DES 1965a). Circular 7/65 also discussed the importance of adult immigrants having

"an induction course in English ways of living and learn to speak English intelligibly." (DES 1965b p6)

It was proposed that local state organisations (Ministry of Labour, National Assistance Board, employment exchange) would promote English classes, while employers were encouraged to give workers time off, pay fees or provide premises for English classes. Special importance was given to reaching "mothers", to teach not only English but "English social standards".

"...authorities will no doubt consider making direct contact with the Personnel Officers of large undertakings and bodies representing the employer and employee sides in industry and commerce ...They should also make special efforts to reach the mothers in the immigrant communities and to provide for them education in the English language and in English social standards at times and in places that will encourage good attendance. It is recognised that this may be difficult, but it is of particular importance that it should be done." (DES 1965b p6)

By now, to the DES, "immigrant" children in schools had become almost coterminous with "problem" (requiring extra staffing, DES 1965a): and in the same breath, ESL provision for women was called for. In 1971, Education Survey 10 discussed a 1969 survey of LEAs regarding the educational assessment of pupils from overseas. Education Survey 13 looked at the education of "immigrant" children, and focussed immediately on the issue of the English language.

"The most urgent single challenge facing the schools concerned is that of teaching English to immigrant children" (DES 1971b p9)

By now the 1963 picture of the "warmth and kindness of the welcome so often extended to the little stranger from overseas" (1963 p4) had adjusted to acknowledge that the child may encounter "hostility from members of the white community" (p5-6). But there was no deeper consideration of racism or "prejudice" (p11) than a wish for "a climate ... in which colour and race were not divisive". Now "AN immigrant" teacher was seen as one way towards "healthy race relations" (p12; my stress) They saw immigrant children themselves as the problem to be tackled, aiming to

"safeguard against any lowering of standards due to the presence of large numbers of non-English speaking children, which

might adversely affect the progress of other children" (DES 1971a p15).

This 1971 formulation again revealed that white children were really the main object of concern; equated (falsely) all "immigrant children" and "non-English-speaking children"; and used the supposed uniformity of low levels of skill in English to propose that black children and the children of migrants were a "problem" in schools. The notion of "poor English" clearly linked to racist notions of "inferior people" and "low standards".

Survey 13 examined several sorts of ESL provision for adults; evening classes, where "inspection reveals that the response of immigrant groups is 'enthusiastic and appreciative'" (DES 1971b p93); day release from work; industrial language training; home tutoring schemes run by volunteers, very largely for Asian women, and intended to send women on to classes; and also "classes for immigrant mothers"; though

"in the majority of cases the response to and enrolment in these classes have been poor, attendance has been unsatisfactory, and in many cases they have been discontinued" (p94).

The aims of ESL teaching as seen by the DES seemed to be different for children and for adults. For children, they aimed

"to make the child literate in the language of the community which the school exists to serve [and] to provide... the means where by the child becomes part of the community" (DES 1971b p56).

But what were classes like the women's classes intended for? There were clear similarities to the view expressed by the Ministry of Education in 1963. Firstly,

"the schools require ... to make clear to immigrant parents what they are trying to do for their pupils - no easy task because of the difficulties of communication" (1963 p7).

Secondly, in order to help the children's English:

"Nor do the homes of immigrant children do much to reduce the adverse effects of inadequacies of language" (p3).

FE establishments, they said,

"realise how necessary it is for immigrant children who are learning English at school to be able to return at the end of the day to homes where English still continues to be spoken and understood, if only for part of the time" (p93).

Thirdly, the survey asserted that the English language was essential if women were to "play a full part in the new community where they are living" (p94). However, in discussing the need of those organising classes to collect names and actively recruit for them, the

DES produced the stereotype of shy, housebound Asian women (see our p219), seen as the main group of students. The stereotype implied that the part that they would play in "the new community" would be very specific; not the "full part" that middle-class white men might envisage playing. For if the English language was taught to encourage women "to play a full part", one of these options must pertain: (1) the stereotype is wrong, and should not be echoed; (2) the English language is to be taught to change the women's way of life and their relation to "the new community"; or (3) that this assertion is vague, hopeful, and not something to which the authors of the survey attach much priority. Some support is given to interpretation (3) by the fact that there is no consideration of what, beyond language issues, prevents migrant, bilingual women from playing "a full part in the new community" - racism, for example. Support, too, is given to (2) by the discussion of the failure of "orientation" classes, and the link that is made to the need for English classes.

The DES discussed "orientation courses for immigrant adults" which were started on such topics as "The English way of life" and "Living in Britain". We are told:

"in at least one area there is a tendency to believe that possibly immigrant adults feel a sense of resentment that such courses should be offered. Many immigrant adults are certainly in need of the help that the content of such orientation courses offers but it may be that this content can be more acceptably and efficiently put across in the material used in English language courses" (DES 1971b p95).

Therefore women were encouraged to attend English classes, to "play a full part in the new community" along lines that the teachers and organisers thought helpful, but to which some resistance and resentment had already been perceived on the part of the target learners.

In 1972, the DES emphasised the importance of English-learning beyond initial stages for bilingual children in schools (DES 1972). In 1974, the DES gave a cautious response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration report "Education". They acknowledged the "disadvantage" suffered by migrant groups and planned to set up an "Educational Disadvantage Unit" to identify and research problems and promote projects:

"to serve as a focal point for consideration of matters, at all stages of education, connected with educational disadvantage and the education of immigrants" (DES 1974 p15).

It pointed out, however, that

"others, including many children and adults of indigenous origin, also have particular problems to which the education authority must

respond" (ibid p1);
and this became a reason for the DES to hope, rather weakly, for action at a local level by LEAs, teachers and voluntary bodies.

In the midst of this restrained reaction it is interesting to note that the DES was enthusiastic once again about the "crucial" importance of teaching English. This represented no problems for the DES, though it did not make moves to provide additional funds. The reasons for teaching English were put very clearly. Once again, educational provision for adult migrants was equated with ESL, and hailed thus:

"Such provision will be for the sake of the adult immigrant themselves (to enhance their opportunities of self-fulfilment and of integration in our society), for society's sake (to assist racial harmony and enable immigrants to make their fullest contribution to national life) and for their children's sake (to increase the number of immigrant homes where English is spoken)" (DES 1974 p4).

These DES policy statements of the 1960s and 1970s suggest that although matters concerning race and education were becoming controversial, it was not problematic for the DES to put forward ESL for parents: it was indeed a "commonsense" solution (see p51) to a number of problems. Secondly, adult education for black people and migrants was equated solely with English provision. The DES consideration of adult education looked at the "needs" for adult education in three categories: (1) present demand; (2) (presently) unmet needs; (3) future needs - but did not discuss ESL or issues of race (DES 1973).

Thirdly, most of the reasons given for teaching English were for other people's reasons rather than those of bilingual migrants. While all adult "immigrants" tended to be characterised as "parents" or "citizens", women in particular were seen as mothers of children: and discussion of adult education and race for adults was merely an offshoot of the more important area of schooling. ESL was seen to serve their children's integration, and thereby society: or else, more directly, "society".

ESL as welfare: philanthropy or control?

In its origins, ESL can be considered to be an area of "welfare", built on the largely-voluntary efforts of middle-class white women, and directed largely at women of South Asian origin. Its raison d'etre at the start was to help this second group of women with a number of particular problems as perceived by the first group of women. Tutors on the new ESL schemes aimed to help the students to communicate better in

the workplace to cope with life in Britain or to a "smoother youth-parent relationship" (Morrison 1976). There is no doubt of the great involvement of many tutors in the lives of their students (Molteno 1987).

Yet these very formulations of the reason to learn English, which centred on the notion of students with "problems" (Selby 1970), aiming to give advice on "budgeting, nutrition, health and clothing" (Taylor 1976 p40), indicate parallels with other voluntary and statutory welfare initiatives that contain within them elements of philanthropy and also of attempting to reform the recipients: social control. Lewis (1986) discusses how working-class women, and Bryan and al how black women, have resented intrusion by welfare workers such as health visitors, who are ostensibly kind and there to help, but are ultimately "a thinly-disguised form of social control" (Bryan et al 1985 p111). Such workers give a false image of philanthropy, argue Bryan et al -

"the provision of welfare is designed to make us believe in the myth that we are living in a society that is fundamentally humane" (op. cit. p111) -

but they have links to coercive parts of the state.

The proximity of the origins of ESL to the welfare services is indicated not only by the physical location of many of the schemes in the buildings of the local state ("nursery or infant schools and in clinics and community centres" (Stock and Howell 1976 p123), but by the emphasis on these services in the methods described:

"The teaching is by direct method ... concentrating first on the language most urgently required to participate in English life ... above all, visiting the clinic, doctor, hospital or school" (Turk 1968 p24)

While ESL's original philanthropic notions have been criticised by those rejecting blanket notions of "disadvantage" and "deficit", in particular because they pay little or no attention to racist structures (ch 8), equally important is ESL's link to the social control motives of the state, indicated by its sources of funding. The funding of ESL schemes is traceable to fears of urban unrest; while the reasons for funding ESL in particular are on behalf of parts of English-speaking society, not of bilingual people themselves. Thus the DES finds reasons on behalf of professionals and schools, as well as more general aims of "integration"; while ILTU schemes are designed to be acceptable to employers.

While workplace schemes often aimed at men (Gilroy and Amos argued that women, often in smaller workplaces, often missed out for that reason: 1980), the majority of ESL schemes concerned largely women, both as teachers and as students. Again, this paralleled other welfare initiatives which involved "middle-class women ... in judging the lives of working-class mothers". Dale and Foster characterise welfare initiatives as sexist: concerned largely with women, conceptualising them as mothers, and pushing them to accept a domestic role within a "bourgeois family" model (Dale and Foster 1986). Lovell et al describe welfare more widely as often "premised on the domestic incarceration of women" (1983 p18).

Although ESL providers were concerned with women's problems, such as "social isolation" (Davies and Jupp 1976), they sought to teach them English in their role as mothers, for their children's sake, or for "society's sake". They also sought to affect their behaviour. When "orientation classes" did not get a good response from Asian women, English classes were seen as a place for sending the same message.

Conclusion

Between the mid-1960s and 1978, the small number of specific English-teaching projects for migrants expanded, and took on the name ESL. By 1977 the pattern was still very patchy and varied: the different schemes

"are all in different stages of development: this is reflected in the simple question of age; while some have been in existence for ten or more years, others are just now getting off the ground, or even are still in gestation" (Mobbs 1977 p20).

Despite the relatively short history, many schemes felt well-established, and had established a method of teaching, through "direct method" and "situations":

"the expertise of the schemes has now grown considerably and their methods have created a wide interest among those concerned with community relations and education" (Mobbs op. cit. p3).

We have noted the new sources of official funding for ESL; and though the field remained poorly funded, we have noted the implications of the interest of official funders in ESL. ILT was funded by employers, but mainstream ESL schemes had voluntary welfare origins and gradually came to be funded through welfare moneys aimed to prevent urban unrest. Early notions of the work have been influential in conceptions of what ESL is, ever since. We will discuss further in the

rest of the thesis the welfare/helping reasoning; the notion of students having problems; the discourse of the need for English; a particular interest in teaching English to Asian women; and particular concepts about what should be taught, that can be characterised as "English for coping".

CHAPTER 3

HOW ESL BECAME A SUBJECT

The last chapter was concerned with tracing the origins of ESL from its beginnings in voluntary teaching without a specifically trained teaching force or a clearly demarcated curriculum or pedagogy towards the development of a loose framework. This chapter seeks to trace its development into a recognised subject with a trained teaching force and its own curriculum and pedagogy. By the early 1980s, it was possible for ESL tutors to declare:

"ESL has found its voice" (Nicholls 1985 p101);

"We have a nice, tidy little sub-discipline of the language teaching field" (Baynham 1982c p2).

During this period (1978 to mid-1980s), ESL began to employ full-time trained teachers in the subject who played an important role in creating more conscious concepts about the work of ESL. Particular spokespeople - notably, though not solely, full-time employees in the ILEA hierarchy who had had contact with ESL for some years - found a space to debate in the subject association, NATESLA.

At this stage, ESL began to exhibit other characteristics of established subject areas. The location of ESL within formal education gave rise to new pressures on ESL staff. The possibility of full-time employment led staff to raise new questions about their own position - financial, professional and political. It also helped determine new debates, about the content and methods, such as "bilingualism", and about the long-term purpose of ESL, such as the idea that ESL was concerned with "moving students on" to further education or training.

GROWTH IN COURSES 1978-1985

By 1978, with the spread of schemes, establishment of specific training courses and certificates, and the creation of the national organisation NATESLA (see p71), ESL had become a subject with professional ESL teachers working fully or mainly within it. In 1984 one teacher could write as if ESL's origins were in a distant past:

"As the years sped by, the teaching of English-as-a-second-language-to-adults progressively shed its 'pin money', almost amateur, image; and it has now rightly attained the status of a recognized educational discipline with proper professional standards and required qualifications, training-courses, text-books and cassettes, learning/teaching packs, TV programmes and its own nationwide association, NATESLA" (Grant 1984 p3).

Where there were ESL schemes and money, this was a period of growth. Sheffield in 1982 had ESL classes of different sorts at the Polytechnic, an FE college, at AEIs, had an ILTU and a voluntary home tutor scheme, SAVTE (Mackillop 1982). In 1983 Fitzpatrick wrote that

"a minor explosion in ESL for adults in Brent over the past three years has propelled the number of classes held each week from 30 to 67" (Fitzpatrick 1984 p91).

New schemes of many sorts had come into existence. In Harrow

"we now provide 6 part-time classes for work-seekers; 22 daytime and 2 evening community classes; a class for mentally-handicapped adults...; one for physically-handicapped adults...as well; a 21-hour per week Foundation course for 12 students, and 2 preparatory TOPS courses for 32 students. We also provide a home tutor service, and offer regular training courses for teachers and home tutors" (Sutcliffe 1984 p82).

It was common to find home tuition, community classes, and some women-only provision as well as mixed classes (Brocklebank 1984).

The type of provision varied from area to area. For example in Manchester in addition to more ordinary one-to-one home tuition or classes in schools, AEIs, etc, "street groups" were set up to teach groups of women English in the home of one of the students (NNews 20 p4). The provision remained unequal across the country. While in Lancashire there was much provision and coordination, in East Anglia most provision was voluntary, and in some LEAs no ESL provision for adults existed at all (Bhanot 1984a).

On the arrival of Vietnamese refugees from 1976 onwards, central government temporarily took responsibility for English language teaching aimed at "survival in Britain", for this one group of people (Hall 1981), who were initially housed in reception centres (cf NEC 1981). For the Vietnamese themselves, English language learning "in a vacuum" when living and talking only Chinese or Vietnamese, proved hard to retain (Fennell 1981); and the decision to house the Vietnamese in widely separated parts of the country meant there was no provision for follow-up support once they left the original camps (Rosenberg 1983). But the facilities, made when the government wished to score a political

point, showed up the lack of interest in and specific provision for other new arrivals, including other refugees.

BBC ESL, 1978 -1985

The BBC's interest in ESL continued with an ESL project at the end of the 1970s which led to a radio programme for teachers ("Teaching English as a Second Language" 1979, repeated 1980) and a new TV programme, "Speak for Yourself", which again, focused not on English teaching as such but on "language strategies that can be applied in certain situations" (Lo 1982 p18). The series of "relevant topics" included housing, going to the doctor, and other situations in common with mainstream ESL classes. A multilingual telephone referral service linked to the programme could deal with a variety of requests, for example on the subject of each programme, including referrals to ESL classes. There were more referrals to classes than after "Parosi" (Nicholls 1981). To go with this series, one local radio station (Radio Leicester) had its own English teaching series with follow-up programmes, one at beginner level for pregnant women; another at intermediate level for workers in the garment trade (ALBSU 1983b).

In 1985 there were two more BBC TV programmes: "Switch on to English" and "L-Driver". The former had a panel game format, and a theme of learning English through watching TV; accompanying bilingual booklets were available free and widely distributed (Bird and Brierley 1985). The latter concentrated on the language needed to learn to drive and take a driving test in England.

In the construction of these programmes, the BBC surveyed the field of ESL in 1978 (reported in Arora 1980) and in 1982, looking both at ESL and at ESL learners' reasons for learning English (Lo 1982) and drew on the work of ESL teachers, consulting them via NATESLA. The BBC provided programme notes and booklets which often came to be widely used (Laird et al 1977, Nicholls and Naish 1979, Gubbay and Cogill 1980, Nicholls and Naish 1981, Barr and Fletcher 1984, Bird and Brierley 1985).

A change of emphasis in these programmes both reflected and reinforced new ideas within ESL about the purpose of the work. In 1977, the soap opera theme of "Parosi" had been aimed specifically at "house-bound Asian women" (see last chapter). The booklet gave information on a number of situations in which English should be useful. In 1979, the Radio 4 TESL programme was aimed at tutors of a wider range of students,

aiming to teach not only English but also communication skills for a number of "topics":

"the E in ESL is not merely spoken; it includes knowing about the system, how it works, and developing oral and literacy skills to cope with specific situations" (Nicholls and Naish 1979 p6).

Its descriptions of the provision attach great hope to the teaching of English language itself:

"It is important for the students to be able to live their lives as adults in this country. It is very important for them but also important for the whole community. Where people cannot communicate with each other misunderstandings arise, and anything that we can do to relieve that situation I think is a good thing" (Attwood, quoted in Nicholls and Naish 1979 p3).

There is no mention of the use of the students' own languages in the description of method. The TV programme shown in 1980-81, "Speak for Yourself", concentrated on a series of "relevant topics" such as housing, going to the doctor and so on.

Yet by 1984 the earlier "Parosi" programme was talked about with little enthusiasm. Its booklet in five South Asian languages and English was described in "NATESLA News" briefly:

"Contains some very superficial access info, rather more than being a language teaching aid" (NNews 16 p11).

At the BBC, Lo wrote that

"Feedback that we have received over the past two years has led us to believe that linguistic aims should have more emphasis next time than was the case with 'Speak for Yourself'. The decision to improve general communication skills, coupled with the inclusion of complex information on legal and welfare rights resulted in a higher language level which limited the series' effectiveness as a vehicle for the learning of English" (Lo 1984 p14).

There were attempts to move the type of provision:

"Rather than making a series which has to meet the expectations of all ESL learners, the intention is gradually to work towards an ESL provision which covers a wide range of offerings and has a great deal of variety, thereby reflecting the heterogeneous nature and needs of the target audience" (Lo op. cit.)

The programmes of 1985 extended the range of languages in accompanying booklets beyond South Asian languages. In addition, the programmes themselves made an attempt to be bilingual. "Switch on to English" included film clips in several languages, and simple comparisons of language structures; and "L-Driver" included conversations in languages other than English. "L-Driver" and the next project (Talking Business, 1986), attempted to broaden ESL's concerns from purely domestic issues to the public world as well.

Pressures on ESL

Still no nationally organised provision for ESL existed: and despite the new sources of government grant (p73), many schemes continued to feel under financial pressure, and to worry about the low status and low priority accorded to ESL.

"In view of 'the cuts', 'the recession', 'the right-wing backlash', etc., who cares about teaching English to migrant women?" (Outwrite 1982).

Cuts in public spending were seen as a real threat to classes, jobs, even whole ESL schemes. In Lothian, for example, the education department depicted ESL's work as not very important, not advanced, needing little preparation, and taught to small, well-motivated classes; in conjunction with a view of the teachers, mainly married women, which thought their work and income not important and actually reduced the pay of ESL staff. "We are obviously seen as a weak area, ripe for cuts" (NNews 18 p13).

Merryweather attributed ESL's low status to a number of factors: the use of volunteers; the few career opportunities; the lack of an advisory superstructure; the fact that courses did not lead to an examination; that ESL was outside mainstream education; and also to the "marginal" position of the black/ethnic minority students in British society (Merryweather 1981). Where there was funding, teachers and organisers were able to envisage a career in the field. It was in the more secure areas of ESL - and not in every area - that what Nicholls saw as a general trend was in evidence: a preoccupation with the extent of classes had given way to a preoccupation with their content (Nicholls 1985 p104). Attempts were made to remedy the causes of low status by the creation of a profession. NATESLA welcomed a statement by a junior education minister that saw ESL as no longer temporary, but an integral part of adult education (NNews 11 p1). A further important development was the change in available funding as the MSC gained in importance (N News 81 p1). While this produced new worries about the long-term security of schemes, there were also new political implications to the different types of courses selected for funding (Cohen 1984; ch 8).

In areas where ESL was professionalising, the new proximity of ESL to the structures of formal education and its struggles, together with the dependence of the new ESL professionals on careers within these structures, contributed to tensions within ESL around the issue of race. Debates and struggles around race and racism were widening within

education by the 1980s, and were producing new paradigms (Rosen and Burgess 1980, Pateman 1982) Ostensible moves from assimilationism to pluralism made the issue of languages and ESL central (ch 1). There were also direct challenges to ESL from black activists (ch 8). Some tutors worried that there were "all sorts of negative connotations" in the label ESL itself; that it was set up without consultation with clients, with false assumptions and patronising racism; that it could be a "bridge to nowhere" (Bhanot 1984a).

Training courses for tutors

In the 1980s the ESL teacher training initiatives that had begun to be organised in the 1970s were built on, with training for tutors of the Vietnamese centrally organised in 1981, and an extension of the usually informal, one-off forms of training

"by such organisations as NATESLA, the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit (ALBSU), Community Relations Councils (CRC), LEAs or the RSA examinations board" (Evans 1988).

In 1975 the RSA recognised an initial teaching certificate in ESL (GTAEI, then CIT TESLA) and after 1977 a longer course, the RSA Dip.TESL FACE. The training courses were also connected to curriculum development and the production of materials (Nicholls and Hoadley-Maidment 1988). Many teachers did not get much training and the available training varied with the area. Teachers' take-up of training probably varied also with the prospect of ESL jobs in a given area. Denton (ch 4), for example, contrasts with the ILEA:

"One model of LEA based training stands out within the UK... The ILEA training network provides a staff development framework in both professional and personal terms, recognising the ESL workers have come from a range of backgrounds and need flexibility of support to maintain and develop flexible ESL provision" (Evans 1986 p61-2).

Changes in the content of courses illustrated new preoccupations. In 1983-4, a foundation course for bilingual tutors was set up for the first time, in the ILEA; and wider concerns with the issue were shown by "use of the mother tongue" being a component of background ESL training.

Evans' survey of ESL training opportunities across England stressed the great variations in TESLA across the country, and the lack of paid, in-service training for part-time tutors. In addition she noted the lack of appropriate forms of training to encourage ethnic minority tutors (NNews 18 p2; Evans 1986). Local schemes tried to encourage more bilingual/black volunteers (Molteno 1981), while Islington set up a pre-

training course for potential bilingual tutors (Islington ESL leaflet 1986).

An examination of mainstream ESL training shows a continuity with some of the themes of the 1970s, in an emphasis on "direct method" (p67), "situations", and the concept of "need". A basic teaching-methods book for ESL teachers, volunteer-training programmes from two different ESL schemes (ILEA 1982 and Denton 1984); and the "initial training course" at Westminster College (1982-3) illustrate this.

In 1981, Nicholls and Naish emphasised that ESL students come from a variety of backgrounds and have a variety of purposes in joining an ESL class. In general,

"The multiple disadvantages that can be experienced by those with poor or inadequate English are all too clear"

Teaching was usually organised around

"a number of broad areas... These are frequently referred to as topics and include: Personal information/ Work and non-work/ Education and training/ Health/ Social services/ Public services (gas, Post Office, etc)/ Shopping / Travel / House and home / Free-time and entertainment" (Nicholls and Naish 1981 pp9-14).

A teacher was advised to develop a "class profile", considering who would be in the class, and on this basis, consider which of these "topics" would be relevant to most of the group (p29) - developing a "common core" of "needs". In 1981, these authors did not consider using the students' other languages in teaching.

On the Westminster College initial certificate, "needs analysis" was also central, (as in Leclerc 1980 p5). When combined with a new emphasis on "negotiation", this gave the idea of a flexible, person-based syllabus, designed for the students rather than emanating from a text-book, yet the concept of "need" remained directed at certain broad generalisations about students' lives. The tutor trainee learnt little about the English language itself, but learnt that English-speaking would remedy "problems" at various points in people's lives. It was required that a tutor should demonstrate "his/her awareness of how racism and sexism in society may be affecting the student's life-chances" (RSA course outline), but this was not central to the teaching; while neither class, nor critical concepts of the relation of education to society, were part of the trainers' picture.

The main agenda of the course was the importance of "need" as a tool for working out a syllabus; and the course suggested a package of

obvious "needs" for the teacher to feed into future teaching. The analysis of students' needs was one of four "basic syllabus elements/areas", along with lesson organisation, classroom techniques, and materials. Although tutors were encouraged to see students in connection with other people, by thinking of a "communications network" (below) which suggested a consideration of the individual students, the course in fact encouraged trainee tutors to develop a stereotype about ESL students.

On a first observation of another teacher's ESL class the new teacher was encouraged to feel he or she could analyse "the general learning needs" and the "specific language needs" of all the students from outside. In teaching their own classes, "need" linked also to "social need". Trainee teachers were taught to draw up "student profiles" as a basis on which to decide what to teach, by asking students about themselves and their "language needs". They were asked to draw up a "communications network" for a given student, to consider when he or she might use English in any particular connection. There was however an awareness that people might be sensitive about answering a whole string of questions, which meant that teachers would have to try and "establish needs" that were not mentioned. With a recognition that limited time was available for a detailed analysis of the language use of each student, teachers were encouraged as a next stage to draw up a class syllabus from a very abbreviated version of a collection of student profiles. The process of drawing up a communications network in one particular way, and abbreviating student profiles rapidly, meant that despite the appearance of "starting with the student" it was the teachers' assumptions of stereotypical "need" that were fed in, and were the consequent result.

Appendix B shows the questions tutors were expected to ask; an example of a "network" given to trainees; a "class profile"; likely topics. The model "communications network" (B(i)) gives a picture of a student as an individual, facing alone a series of situations in which contact with English-speaking officials dominated. The student envisaged is not employed, but "home" seems to take little of her attention compared with the multiplicity of official organisations that she is seen to deal with. Friends, family, TV/radio, bilingual contexts and real interests and ambitions have, by implication, less importance than conversations with the dentist; and are absent from the class profile (B(iv)) from which teachers are supposed to adduce students'

needs. Ultimately teachers are taught to move from a table where what is important about each student is standard (B(iv)) to a list of "topics" (B(v)) which are likely to be important to this class.

"Needs", then, was a word with a variety of meanings in the ESL context. Statements like "examine how the teacher deals with the reading and writing needs of the class" could be rephrased as "how s/he deals with what s/he has decided to teach in view of observation of language-level and belief about what is useful". Moreover, a standardised view of likely useful topics structure the teacher's perception of students as recipients of "services", and as solitary beginners at life in England, whose past experiences, future hopes and present social context were seen as of little actual relevance to the English they sought to learn.

The two home tutor training schemes were similar to each other in including a "direct method" lesson in another language ("put yourself in the learner's place") and lesson planning and monolingual teaching techniques. In addition, "needs analysis" was central to the design of the courses. The Denton course, like the initial training course, gave tutors practice at "needs analysis" from a potted history in one paragraph (see appendix B(iii)). Again, rather than taking the students' lives as a starting-point for new concepts or critique, this reinforced the welfare notion that tutors could be experts on the students' lives, and encouraged the development of common-denominator stereotypes.

Equally notable as an absence - and dramatic in relation to the concern with "needs" - was any consideration of the context in which students (migrants or refugees), had come to this country. Missing were not only issues of cultural differences (eg the students' languages), but also issues of inequality.

Professionalisation - the importance of NATESLA

NATESLA came rapidly to be an influential and energetic force in the development of ESL in Britain in the 1980s. Its newsletter, "NATESLA News", its regional organisations and workshops, and national study weekends (later, conferences) became a forum for the spreading of news, and the debating and refining of a new paradigm of the work of ESL. Subcommittees and working parties surveyed the field (Merryweather 1981), debated, criticised and lobbied within and beyond ESL schemes

themselves. As NATESLA came to extend its brief beyond English language teaching issues, it was also playing a crucial part in professionalising ESL: forming ESL into a subject (ch 1), with its own body of teachers, methods and considerations distinct from other contexts where English was taught, and an increasing self-concern (cf Bajpai 1987).

The possibilities of paid employment in adult education were one factor promoting the professionalisation of ESL teachers. Thirty years earlier, in 1952, it had been the case that most teachers and organisers in adult education depended on other employment (Hutchinson, cited in NAIE 1970 p49): but by the 1980s many ESL teachers clearly depended on the income from this job, despite the part-time hours and poor conditions (Oakeshott 1987); while proper posts available in certain areas encouraged some to regard this also as a career with a possibility of moving higher in it.

NATESLA's contribution was to develop the self-awareness, and pressure for the recognition of ESL and ESL "specialists". Early concerns with methods and resources led to the establishment of a catalogue and portable exhibition designed to help ESL teachers; in the mid-1980s considerations of the aims and significance of the field as a whole led to an anti-racist subcommittee and a lobbying subcommittee, and efforts to establish a journal ("Language Issues", from 1986); talks (Sally Henry Memorial Fund, 1984); a fund to give small grants for research or to give help to students (Ruth Hayman Memorial Trust 1983); a DHSS/NATESLA Research Project (Evans 1986), and a national centre (Birmingham, from 1986). NATESLA members were involved with the RSA in developing qualifications for teachers (see p89) and for students of ESL (p104). Members of NATESLA worked with the BBC, the ILT, ALBSU (ALBSU 1983) and the FEU on language teaching materials. NATESLA sought influence with official bodies such as the DES, DHSS, MSC and Home Office, claiming to represent the bilingual population of Britain to the state on questions of education and language (Rosenberg and Hallgarten 1985). The DES made a grant to NATESLA in 1980 (Rosenberg 1980a), and it was able to attract money from other foundations for the journal and the centre (NNews 16). After 1982, wrote the Management Council of NATESLA,

"it was now routine that we would be consulted, e.g. by the DES or MSC, on matters related to second-language speakers" (NATESLA chair's report, 1984 conference).

Development of a new paradigm

A consideration of the three-times-yearly newsletter "NATESLA News" (NNews), from 1979 to 1985-6, shows a change of direction and of concern. By 1985-6 it cannot be said that there was unanimity: two distinct themes could be traced among the reviews, leaders, conference reports and discussion articles which made up the substance of "NATESLA News". However, in 1979, only the first of these two dominant themes was present: while the second found frequent place in the columns by 1985-86, and was so influential among NATESLA members that Molteno talked of a new "orthodoxy" (NNews 25 p3).

The first theme was still a "welfare" theme (cf. ch 2): interest in English for Asian women in particular (including "Lady Mayoresses"! NNews 21 p2); articles on teaching methods and content, on useful textbooks on schools, health and similar "access" subjects. The second theme, associated most notably with certain employees of ILEA on the NATESLA council (Bhanot, Bajpai, Collingham, Naish), was critical, more theoretical, and took the stance that

"NATESLA... has a dual role: pedagogic and political" (NNews 18 pp2-3).

This group of new professionals were concerned with the purpose of ESL, and in particular its relation to struggles beyond the classroom around issues of race and racism.

In the newsletter were increasing concerns with bilingualism, anti-racism, the campaigning possibilities for NATESLA and ESL (NNews 19 p11), and with links between ESL and NATESLA with teachers of community languages and with community organisations. These last groups were encouraged to join from 1986, and the name changed in 1988 to the National Association for the Teaching of English and other Community Languages (NATECLA). There were also new concerns with training possibilities for students, with funding from bodies concerned with "vocational" training, and with an awareness that students were not only Asian women (cf. NNews 18 p71). The 1986 conference was called "New Directions in ESL".

Also present were concerns to reject old "assumptions of our own infallibility in deciding what the students' needs are" (NNews 23 p2). The radical ILEA/NATESLA group cast doubt on ESL's status as a subject (see p114), although the distinction between ESL and EFL was continually restated (eg NNews 21 pp10 and 11). Where EFL was a "linguistically-based course", ESL was "an access skills based course".

The importance of training teachers and helping students on to training was linked to the struggle for the recognition of overseas qualifications (NNews 25 p10). In contrast with previous interest in "off-site/community" classes with "situational" English for beginners, new interests could be traced in developing "independent learning" (Hallgarten and Rostworowska 1985); in teaching advanced students (NNews 17 p8); and in considering the teaching of grammar (NNews 17 p8; 24 p13).

Despite the new stability and professionalism that accompanied ESL's establishment within education, there were growing worries about the role of ESL teaching, which called into question the very importance of teaching English. Tutors and home tutors worried about the "motivation" of the tutees (NNews 24 p13); tutors wondered if knowledge "of systems operating here in Employment, Housing and Health" was after all more important than language learning (NNews 21 p6). Take-up became an issue, while there were worries that there would be no place for ESL (NNews 23 p1). New ideas rapidly succeeded one another: "linked skills", then "language support" were suggested, taken up, and criticised (p106). The push to recognise "bilingualism" was accompanied by a new description of students as "bilingual", not as "ESL speakers" - but followed by denunciations of the new term as "racist" (NNews 25 p3). When NATESLA in 1986 extended its membership to teachers of community languages as a decision of conference, discussion and dissent were muted (Bajpai, NNews 25 p4). When Farrukh Dhondy was invited to speak on race, it silenced the teachers (N News 19 p1). It seemed that the mainly white teachers were prepared to listen, or even to be self-chastising on the issue of race: but did not link this to a critical stance on other issues (see ch 8).

The influence of the ILEA

That part of the Inner London area which in 1984-5 came under the ILEA stood out as an area of great activity in ESL. This was an area with a very diverse population and immigrants, migrant workers and refugees from many places.

"The pattern of non-English speaking communities in London is not mirrored in any other area of high immigrant or migrant worker settlement in the UK. Our provision has to cater for all groups: for migrant workers from the EEC, immigrants from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan and the successive waves of refugees, some, like the Poles, long-established, others more recently arrived from South America, Cyprus, Ethiopia and Vietnam. Our students also come from a wide variety of educational as well as ethnic and

cultural backgrounds, so it is not unusual for a class teacher, or group of teachers to have to assess the language needs of, and provide a syllabus for, an unemployed Turkish tailor, a Pakistani bookkeeper, a Chilean radiologist, a Portuguese chef and a Bangladeshi grandmother.

"Our ESL provision has therefore to be as varied in its presentation and content as the many groups within the non-English speaking communities, and flexible and responsive to the needs and motivation of the individual" (Nicholls 1983 p2).

Yet the activity was not merely proportional to the population. The large number of courses and the energetic reappraisals of ESL that were found in the ILEA area related also to the political commitments of the ILEA itself. The mid-1980s were a time of crisis for the ILEA, with cuts and threats to its existence that culminated in its disbanding following the Education Reform Act 1987. It was nevertheless not only a time of defensive action, but a period of struggle to expand the brief of ILEA and incorporate action on the issue of race. The 1970s had seen an emphasis on "education for the whole community" which aimed at comprehensive education at school level and beyond (ILEA 1973). The 1980s saw an interest in languages in particular (Schools Language Survey in 1981; Raleigh et al 1981; and work on anti-racist statements (ILEA 1983) and equal opportunities policies (ILEA 1985).

In 1981 it was established that the ILEA had forty per cent of the ESL provision for the whole country (Merryweather 1981). In 1984 Grieg pointed out that in ILEA was forty-five percent of the total ESL provision for the whole country (Grieg 1984); Naish gave fifty percent for the GLC, of which forty percent was in the ILEA in 1980 (Naish 1985). At the time of the fieldwork, the ILEA covered twelve boroughs and eighteen Adult Education Institutes. In Adult Education Institutes alone, there were approximately one hundred full-time posts in ESL in 1984 (Jupp 1984). Most boroughs had a post of Borough Language Coordinator (BLC) who could bring together workers in different organisations concerned with ESL and also community languages (Naish 1985). Some ILEA colleges were putting a new stress on provision for bilingual students (Faine and Knight 1988, Hoadley-Maidment 1988). Each ILEA borough was different: for example, Tower Hamlets ended the system of home tutors. Communications were emphasised at local level -

"Islington has an ESL organisers' group, which meets regularly, to bring together ESL organisers from all sectors of education, to keep each other informed, to discuss new areas of need and the development of new courses, and to ensure easy student referral" (Islington ESL 1985-6) -

and assisted by the extension of the brief of the central Literacy Unit of ILEA to include issues of second language teaching, becoming the Language and Literacy Unit (LLU) in 1978.

There was an extensive pattern of ESL courses in the ILEA area (Appdx A). The suggestion in BBC booklets that this was the picture of national provision (Nicholls and Naish 1979; Nicholls and Naish 1981) points to the influence that the ILEA ESL professionals have had in speaking for the whole national field of ESL, although fieldwork in Denton shows that this schema cannot be assumed in other areas.

Preliminary investigations in an ILEA borough (p47) showed a pattern of provision and concern that contrasted with that of Denton. The BLC described ESL in the borough as "a huge industry", with community classes in a variety of settings, classes on AEI sites, ESL/linked skills, language support, provision of counselling for students, bilingual outreach workers, interpreters at the local hospital, a wide range of college courses for bilingual students, new courses in community languages at the AEI. Another staff member described very rapid changes throughout the AEI that had put a stain on ESL staff and led to some insecurity among teachers of other subjects - because this was "a borough that is trying" to take issues of anti-racism seriously. The report of a recent conference on education provision for bilingual people concluded:

"There has been a shift in emphasis away from the practice of segregating people into ESL provision, towards offering a more positive programme for bilingual students. Providers are learning to listen".

The influence of the LLU on ESL in the ILEA area was not confined to the role of coordinator. It took an active part in instigating debates into practice and policy in the field. The ILEA/ESL publishing group produced some teaching materials (Coles et al 1982) but also the work of working parties on controversial new issues in ESL (ESL Publishing Group 1982 and 1986; Naish 1986). The ILEA's training courses and conferences directed the interest of teachers and trainers to issues which were shaping ILEA policy as a whole - in particular bilingualism and moving students on. The ILEA had a role, too, in professionalising ESL nationally. It was in the ILEA that RSA certification for tutors began; the ILEA funded academic research to promote the field (Hussain, forthcoming). Although some NATESLA

activists were from outside the ILEA (eg the Yorkshire schemes), many of the Management Council were employees of the ILEA. Most of the NEC-produced books specially written for ESL came from within ILEA (Naish 1985). The research fund and annual talks (p93) were named after energetic ESL people from London. In short, around the Westminster College and the ILEA Language and Literacy Unit, and among the full-time ESL employees, we can identify a group of particularly active people, promoting and then challenging ESL in the light of the ideas we discuss below. This powerful "subject segment", rather than the numbers of bilingual people in London represents the influence of the ILEA on the development of ESL nationally.

The Islington newsletters

An examination of newsletters from one borough concerned with ESL shows the attempt by professionals within the ILEA to change the perceptions of ESL held by tutors, though practice was often behind the theory (Jupp 1985). While many concerns were formalised and debated among full-timers, part-time tutors were clearly seen as part of the network.

"New teachers need to be told clearly when they are employed that teaching ESL involves visits, writing syllabuses, possibly having trainees, going on short courses..." (Islington AEI 1985 p1)

Via the newsletter, meetings and training sessions, the concerns of ILEA ESL full-timers were extended to the part-timers. In 1984 and 1985, Islington AEI had frequent newsletters (eight in a year) for all ESL tutors. These kept teachers in touch with developments in classes, staffing, and resources, and included book reviews, discussion of teaching methods, job advertisements, information on ESL TV programmes, plans and reports of meetings, socials, training courses and conferences of relevance both locally and nationally. These could be local ESL, AEI or union (AACE/NATFHE) workshops - as many as three per term (1985 newsletter 8 p3) - or national NATESLA conferences. A survey was sent to teachers to find out their "training needs" (Caulker and Bishop 1984). Notice was given also of issues of relevance to students, such as other classes (say, in community languages), or information about imminent DHSS specialist claims control which could adversely affect students, so it was suggested that teachers could give information (1984-5 newsletter 2).

Such information, frequently updated, and sent with further leaflets (advertising classes, etc), gave ILEA part-time tutors greater knowledge of the field than they would have been able to get elsewhere. The newsletters extended to wider discussion both of events in ESL, and of topical issues within it. Workshops and training sessions were arranged on the basis of urgent interest in certain themes, which were similar to those reflected in the newsletter.

The most urgent of these themes was the consideration of racism/cross-cultural awareness; especially issues of teaching ESL in a bilingual context, and of teaching community languages. Classes were being set up with bilingual teachers, and classes, too, for groups of specific linguistic origin (Greek speakers: 1985 newsletter 3 p3). A workshop on careers in ESL led to a response in one newsletter and a correction in a second, wherein it was made clear that an attempt to redress the balance of bilingual/monolingual teachers meant positive discrimination in the area of volunteer tutors, rather than paid tutors (1984 newsletters 3, 4). Monolingual tutors, however, were not encouraged to look for a career advancement within ESL itself, as there were not many routes upwards, and being bilingual was seen an asset (1985, newsletter 4, p2-3). Conversation in mother tongue in the BBC programme "L-driver" was approved of. (1984 newsletter 3 p4). An ILEA working party to produce bilingual/mother tongue materials developed from workshops on "using students' knowledge of other languages as a teaching/learning resource" (1985 newsletter 8 p2). The organiser wrote:

"As part of our developing awareness of good practice and anti-racist teaching, many of us are already encouraging our students to write about their experiences and opinions in their own languages as well as in English" (1984 newsletter 3 p5).

The second area of concern was the content of ESL, though there was no systematic debate on the curriculum. The workshop on "Negotiating the Curriculum" emphasised the role students were to play in constructing the syllabus of a given course (1985 newsletter 3). "In ESL", wrote one tutor, "we have always talked about a negotiated syllabus to provide what students demand" (1985 newsletter 3 p4). However, the organiser's review of a new ALBSU book suggested that the providers' input to that "negotiation" was open to question:

"...these papers seem to be saying that bilingual students' needs and wants have changed. When many of us began in the 1970s, we set out to teach 'survival English'. Now in the 1980s, we need to be aware of the students' capabilities, aspirations, and changing needs. As Gurnam Heire points out, 'the linguistically deficient model of an ethnic minority learner is beginning to take permanency

in their own perception of themselves as learners...'. Providing only ESL classes is not the answer and may be partly to blame for bilingual learners' low self-assessment of their capabilities if they 'shape their perceptions of their own needs to match the available provision'" (1985 newsletter 2 p4; of Heire 1985).

Debates around "linked skills" and "language support" found a place in the newsletter. This linked to a concern with "moving students on" and to assertions about ESL's "subject" status that we discuss elsewhere (p115).

"ESL has played a vital role in shaping the future of our bilingual students and will continue to do so; but many students came to our classes with a purpose; to learn English for employment, for skills, for careers and attending other classes in the AEI. In order that students' demands were met, linked skills courses and summer courses were provided, but although these were useful 'taster' courses, they were inadequate because of insufficient time to either learn skills or the language for that skill. Now no-one speaks of ESL as a subject, but as a means of giving Language Support to students who need to succeed in what they want to do, for whatever purpose" (1985 newsletter 3 p3).

The proximity of Islington ESL to the ILEA anti-racist professionals meant that Islington tutors also learned early of the moves towards independent learning (1985 newsletter 2 p3), of Naish's work "Good Practice" (1985 newsletter 4 p3, cf Naish 1985) and of the "Great Curriculum Debate" (1985 newsletter 6 pp1ff, cf p111 below). Following the 1984 survey of ESL students and their reasons for attendance (1984 newsletter 2), tutors were asked to report on attendance figures, and on reasons why students left classes if they did so. In early 1985 there was a general inspection of Islington AEI (Jupp 1985a) and, in October, a paid training session on the curriculum of ESL. These created space for reflection on ESL's work, although one tutor was disappointed that deeper questions of ESL's relation to its students had scarcely been touched in the training session (1985 newsletter 2 p1).

The influence of Industrial Language Teaching (ILT)

The origins of ILT were separate from other early ESL (ch 2). Rather than being concerned with welfare and a domestic model of women, and based on voluntary efforts, ILT had a concern with employment, an early professionalism, and more secure funding. One result has been the number of papers published by NCILT, and of other publications about its work by ILT practitioners.

Roberts argues that Gumperz (see pp206ff) was the most influential of a number of linguists whose work was known to ILT (Roberts 1988); he

worked with ILT from 1978, concentrating on new ways of understanding the link between "language and power" (Gumperz and Roberts 1978, Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz 1982). Both issues of "discourse" and of inter-ethnic misunderstandings brought from Gumperz' work, and wider pressures around race and assimilationist language teaching (Munns and Strutt 1980) led ILT to a "continuing but creative critique of the initial solution", industrial English teaching (Brooks and Roberts 1985 p112). While ILTUs still specialised in short courses in workplaces, based on prior investigation of the workplace concerned, they began to put less emphasis on English language teaching, and more on paralinguistic aspects of communication (stress, tone of voice, contrasting "discourse" systems: cf Gumperz 1982). Then, taking note of "the two-way nature of communication" (Frame and Hoadley-Maidment 1988 p200), the work began to focus less on bilingual employees, and more on changing "majority group perception" (Furnborough et al 1982). Working particularly with workplace "gatekeepers" and with white co-employees of bilingual workers, ILTUs developed courses in racism-awareness and in anti-racist interviewing strategies. ILTU's range of concerns in the early 1980s can be shown by adding racism-awareness to this list from 1979, when the ILT service (with 25 ILTUs) defined itself as existing to tackle "cross cultural communication problems of all kinds":

- identification of training needs in a given workplace: surveys of communication need and problems;
- functional spoken English courses for elementary learners;
- communicative skills courses for more advanced learners;
- cross-cultural communication for fluent speakers of English;
- courses for managers, supervisors and for trade-unionists (information about immigrant groups' culture and experience; cross-cultural awareness);
- consultancy on how "language and cultural differences affect communication with reference to matters such as instruction and job training, and health and safety" (Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts 1979).

Though ILT was in a state of on-going tension, and though its direct funding distinguished it from less secure schemes, its influence on other parts of ESL was acknowledged, when these too began to "turn their attention to the world outside..." towards language and cross-cultural awareness programmes for "groups such as home visitors and staff at job centres " (Nicholls 1985 p107); or to attempt to influence the perceptions of tutors of other subjects (Frame and Hoadley-Maidment

1988). Staff from ILT and ESL met in NATESLA, and crossed fields. When ESL more widely began to turn its attention to links between English language and work, it became closer to ILT's original model: investigating the workplace before designing language teaching courses (THTF 1983); and making use of ILT material.

NEW DIRECTIONS, 1978-1985

Consideration of NATESLA News and the Islington newsletters shows that ESL's establishment in the education service allowed a development of new types of courses, but also saw distinctive new concerns, firstly with work and training opportunities as a result of ESL, and secondly with "bilingualism". The uneven spread of new ideas is indicated for example by the fact that Molteno defended Croydon's policy of encouraging ethnic minority volunteer tutors against objections put by other organisers in 1981 (Molteno 1981 p1); while the speed of change is indicated by the introduction within the ILEA of induction courses for bilingual tutors in 1983.

Moving students on to work or training

Another consequence of challenging past views of ESL was that learning ESL came to be seen not as an end in itself, but linked to wider struggles for employment opportunities (Swann 1986). It was argued that it was important to view all provision as aiming to "move on" students, to help them develop their aspirations in education and work (Caulker and Bishop 1984). In some areas, ESL developed links with other subjects or skills training through "linked skills" or "language support"; while changing sources of funding encouraged a preoccupation with training. These moves were stimulated by challenges to the

"tendency to stereotype the needs of ethnic minorities in terms of elementary English language teaching" (Little and al 1982), combined with assertions that the form of classes caused low "take-up":

"the evidence is overwhelming that a conventional type of part-time evening or day class offered to anyone and no-one in particular in the standard mould of one or possibly two two-hour sessions weekly, is neither an adequate nor much taken up- form of provision" (Davies and Jupp 1976).

By 1980 there were new moves to develop classes for "specific needs":

"e.g. for work-seekers, for pregnant women, for women with young children, etc." (Arora 1980 p27).

The needs of different groups were seen, however, increasingly in terms of orientation to work:

"they do not need to acquire English to be able to express their intimate feelings, to discuss their beliefs, or to talk about movies, television, pets or their family. However they do need to add a second language for job preparation, for employment, and for improvement of communication skills in any specific area " (Crandall 1981).

Thus Merryweather's interest in "special needs" provision led to a different way of listing groups of people for whom present classes were inadequate. Indeed, work-seekers, or women with young children could fall into any of them: (1) qualified adults who want skills to enter higher education; (2) qualified adults who want vocational training; (3) academically gifted, though not qualified, adults who want help to get into higher education; (4) adults with vocational skills but poor English (Merryweather 1981). An interest in providing for these "special needs" grew in the early 1980s (Evans 1986, NNews 18 p2).

The new concern with "work-seekers" was evident in projects for the unemployed (NNews 7 pp3 & 5) and schemes to provide both English language and other work-related skills to "late-arriving youngsters", such as Camden's Operation Springboard" (CCCR 1979) or training with English, for example in the Tower Hamlets Training Forum, where importance was attached to having a bilingual teacher and using bilingual methods (Majid and Henry 1983). The second ILEA "ESL Issues" publication was on ESL and unemployment (ESL Publishing Group 1986).

It appears that the interest in job-related language teaching, in particular, had parallels within Europe. The Council of Europe had taken an interest in language teaching to migrants, calling for paid day release for language and vocational training, because

"after more than a decade of benefit from migrant labour, the Community finds itself with a large unassimilated group of foreign workers, who share almost all the obligations of the society in which they live and work but, more often than not, have a less than equal share in its benefits and rights. This situation is in the long term intolerable - degrading for the migrant and dangerous for the Community." (Bulletin E.C. 1976 p12)

Jupp, then of ILTU, reported on pilot projects in several countries in 1978-81 (Council for Cultural Cooperation 1979, Jupp 1982). He noted a common emphasis on "needs" analysis (cf Van Ek 1977)(as well as problems with doing this); and interest in teacher-training, a new grammatical approach to language, and language learning related to vocational skills. He praised the different projects for "an open and experimental approach" but called urgently for the "professional development of teachers" (p1).

In Britain, even for students not categorised as "work-seekers", progress was also seen as moving through ESL (Caulker and Bishop 1984). In the ILEA:

"another part of our unwritten policy is that people should move through the provision, not stay in the classes for years on end" (Naish 1985).

This meant challenging the pressure to accumulate large numbers of students, and to encourage students to look elsewhere. New types of special provision linked the teaching of the English language to other skills, and if students could not go directly to new employment, then great hope was set on courses set up by other branches of the education system. Islington Institute attempted to keep records of students in all classes, and to give regular "counselling" sessions, which helped students to "move on" (cf Lawson 1988).

Other ways of helping work-seekers were explored. An interest in communication issues going beyond traditional parts of a language to teach was found not only in ILTU but in mainstream ESL (Friedenberg and Bradley 1981, Naish 1983, Brooks and Roberts 1985, Nicholls 1985 p107), though varying amounts of emphasis were put on exploring them in class, and the context of teaching English language continued. More familiar were lists of new skills that needed to be learned in addition to English, some of which it was hoped to do in conjunction with English teaching:

"study skills, core skills, learning strategies, access skills, coping skills or life and social skills" (Leach 1985).

Attempts to develop a qualification in ESL were linked to an awareness of barriers against equal opportunities for black/ethnic minority people:

"we must not be wet about accreditation just because we subscribe to some class- and culture-based notion of liberal education" (Jupp 1985b).

Although previously the idea of a special ESL exam had been "rejected by the vast majority of ESL teachers as leading to second-grade status" (NATESLA 1982 p33), the RSA 'profile' piloted in 1983 started in 1984-5 (Dunman 1988, Rosenberg 1988). It was hoped that students moving on from ESL would be able to demonstrate their achievement in English at various levels; while ESL would also be able to demonstrate its professional competence.

First "linked skills" then "language support" aroused great interest as ways of encouraging students to "move on" to "mainstream".

"The ESL classes have created a ghetto situation by separating students from the mainstream and have not kept up with the demands of the students in the 1980s... Individuals from all nationalities, with a variety of languages and social backgrounds, have expressed concern about ESL's isolatory set-up and its low status and as a result a number of education authorities are reviewing their policies, practice and provision. One of the most important implications of a policy of language support in the context of adult education is that students' demands to enter all areas of the curriculum should be met" (Hussain 1986 pp7-8).

"Linked skills" teaching, organised by some AElS in the mid-1980s involved an ESL tutor working with a tutor from another subject to provide a course with dual aims:

"Linked skills is a broad term for integrating the learning of practical skills with the acquisition of communication skills" (Linked Skills Working Party 1983).

Some institutes ran long courses in subjects they felt students would want to learn, such as pattern cutting together with English (e.g. Islington). Others ran short summer linked-skills courses in a number of subjects as a "taster", hoping to stimulate both English learning and other interests. "Linked skills" was an attempt to make both students and tutors see bilingual people as potential students throughout education, and was at first hailed as a radical new departure, changing the situation where "ESL students... because they are beginners in English, are treated as though they are beginners in life", and

"for adults learning in this country, one of the main hindrances of speaking English as a second language is that by and large you are forced to learn English before you can learn anything else. Linked skills (teaching English alongside skills teaching) has challenged this, and bilingual teachers of subjects other than English are ideally placed to overcome this problem" (Henry 1982 pp21-22).

Projects in linked skills were also set up at skills training centres, such as the ALBSU project at Tower Hamlets Training Forum. Reporting on this project, Majid and Henry brought in both the importance of linked skills and the importance of bilingualism:

"Linked skills is a solution to many problems in both basic and advanced ESL training, and should be used to provide courses enabling people to learn new skills, and to practice skills they already have in an English language environment. Bilingual teaching has a vital contribution to make to both skills and language teaching, in and out of linked skills. It should be a priority to train and employ more bilingual teachers in all fields" (Majid and Henry 1983 p33).

The move towards "language support", rather than "linked skills", involved an extension of the argument against "ghettoisation". By 1985 it seemed possible to talk of "linked skills" programmes as "traditional" (Naish 1985 p15), and to criticise them for reproducing ESL "withdrawal systems" (see pp37ff). A concern with "mainstreaming" (Levine 1985) led to campaigning against the denial of opportunities to "late-arriving" sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds, who by being sent to ESL classes in AEIs (NATESLA 1982, NNews 18 p11) were being effectively "withdrawn" from education and training opportunities on an equal level with young people born here.

"Language support", it was hoped, would enable bilingual students to attend the same courses as monolingual students - in FE colleges or AEIs - by providing a tutor to help - either alongside or before or after a "mainstream" course. "Language support" tutors tended to come from the ESL departments, but the aim of directly teaching English was secondary to that of enabling bilingual students to understand and participate in a course aiming at teaching other skills.

"Developing on from linked skills as a way of getting students to take advantage of 'mainstream' provision, organisers are now looking at language support, ways of supporting bilingual students in mainstream classes which have not been organised just for them, i.e. where there is a mixture of native and bilingual speakers... This is the biggest issue to affect ESL for some time, because it implies a real commitment to treating bilingual students like any other adult education student, not someone with 'special needs' alone" (Naish 1985 pp15,23).

"Fundamental to the concept of language support is the realisation that the life chances of bilingual adults do not dramatically improve by attending ESL classes, nor even by acquiring English. It is important for them to develop their skills, education and training for jobs and the English language often plays a peripheral role in this" (Sinha 1986 p18).

In 1986 Jyoti Hussain subjected these attempts, too, to criticism, on the grounds that an assumption existed that courses would take place in English, with back-up for bilingual students if necessary to help with their English language. Perhaps, she suggested, the back-up (language support) could be from a bilingual tutor; or perhaps more emphasis should be put on courses and training in other languages than English. Moreover,

"while ESL segregates bilingual students by providing separate classes within the institute, ELS is hardly more satisfactory because it segregates groups within the classroom and so they are perceived as being disadvantaged. Linked skills, in short, could also be discriminatory, isolatory, and labelling of groups of people" (Hussain 1986).

Celia Roberts believed that "language support" was a weak concept, which would fade, for it left the

"language teacher to 'mop up' problems or difficulties ... we are not professional 'rags' to take care of 'spillage'. This only takes us back to the 'safety blanket approach'"(NNews 23 p2).

While she called for attention to the 'hidden curriculum', however, she offered no analysis of it.

The focus on "moving on" linked to attempts to broaden employment opportunities for bilingual people in ESL teaching itself in some areas, though there were criticisms that at top levels of the hierarchy white monolinguals continued to predominate, the main areas of new employment being part-time hours with no security of employment. Some ESL organisers also sought to influence the training and employment of community interpreters (Bishop in Islington and Camden), linking an interest in "moving on" to an emphasis on bilingualism. However, ESL's areas of influence over job opportunities were limited; and in such circumstances the concern with work-seekers, was largely urging students to 'move on' to further training.

ESL organisers noted the possibility of new MSC funding for preparatory courses for the unemployed and work-seekers (NNews 20 p12) - and a new dependence on this type of funding became evident (NNews 20 p15, Cheetham 1988). Arguments that the new types of funding were for the benefit of trainees were assumed (see p332). Protests were made at young people from ethnic minorities being under-represented in YTS and vocational training (NNews 21 p5); or in women finding it hard to get MSC funding (NNews 22 p8). The "Restart" scheme for calling up long-term unemployed and pressuring them into training schemes, aroused some disquiet. In some places, bilingual unemployed were directed into ESL classes, with "an element of compulsion". However, even so, the advantages to trainees of such training schemes were assumed - as evidenced by the efforts of one borough to influence the MSC training criteria (NNews 25 p11).

Though many students are in search of help with employment opportunities (not all: see ch 7), the pressure on students to move to further training does not necessarily equate to providing that help. It is not only an awareness of some students' search for jobs, but also ESL's new situation within education in the 1980s that have come together to make moves to training seem a necessity. We discuss further

in chapter 8 the recent pressures on education to link with training, which have scarcely been discussed within ESL.

Bilingualism and anti-racism

In the 1980s, "bilingualism" became an issue in ESL. An influential critique of assimilationism had become current in education more widely (ch 1) and the importance of the "mother tongue" began to be debated (eg EEC Directive 1977; Coordinating Committee for Mother Tongue Teaching, 1976; Linguistic Minorities Project, 1979). In ESL, booklets and papers indicated that a critique of past practice was taking place.

"the overwhelming belief held by most ESL providers was that a greater command of the English language would inevitably lead to better education and employment prospects... Looking back, we can shudder at the naivety of this view and realise that it was based on an extreme deficit model of the ethnic minority communities" (Nicholls 1985 p103)

The criticisms and pressures that we have just discussed fundamentally upturned the approach of some ESL practitioners to their work, leading to a crisis in which the need was felt to find fresh approaches and even fresh justification for teaching English at all. "Bilingualism" was advocated as part of a new approach for both political and practical reasons.

The new interest in bilingualism suggested new emphases in methods, training, recruitment and terminology. Previous terms for potential students were seen to concentrate on their supposed "deficit" ("lack of English") rather than any actual characteristic of their own. Hence rather than "ESL speakers" (NATESLA 1982) or "ESL workers" (Brooks and Roberts 1985 p123), "second language speakers" or "non-native English speaking black" people (Brooks and Roberts op. cit.), a change of terminology was advocated, to call students "bilingual rather than being ESL speakers - as though 'ESL' were a language other than English" (Naish 1985 p3). This is intended to do

"more than just giving a positive attribution to people's language skills. It also indicates that the adult education response to the needs and wants of people of linguistic and ethnic minority background has to be wider than what is on offer in the ESL department" (Naish 1985 p4).

An awareness of the context of racism was brought into ESL in the 1980s, along with arguments that, more widely, local authorities should have a comprehensive policy on race as a central issue (CRE 1982). In an attempt to reject past paternalism, racist limitations and

stereotypes of students, political arguments were made for the use and acknowledgement of other languages than English in the ESL classroom. Assimilationism involved an expectation that migrants should learn English, for their own languages/cultures/ways of life were inappropriate in Britain; and a "fear of bilingualism" (Cummings 1980 p8), which saw speaking other languages as a handicap. An emphasis on bilingualism in contrast, aimed for equal opportunities by valuing students' languages and experience: "it is much more possible to treat adult students as adults" (Henry 1982 p2).

"ESL work should develop in a context that values the languages of minority communities and gives them their place in the education system, instead of denigrating them whether implicitly or explicitly" (Baynham 1982b).

Secondly, there were practical arguments against direct method teaching of English (p67) and the "monolingual perspective". The "deficit model" (Bhanot 1984b) was seen as politically wrong and not successful, ignoring students' prior understandings of how other languages worked and differed from English. Calls were made for more bilingual material (NNews 16 p10). Bilingual teachers in particular (Lewis, Lore and Sidhu 1981), or monolingual English teachers using bilingual methods (Bhanot and Collingham 1984, Ferguson 1982) could help students to tap their existing knowledge of a plurality of ways of expression, in order to more firmly ground the new forms they were learning in English.

"The case for bilingual teaching can be argued on many grounds - philosophical, political, social, historical, psychological - as well as on the ground of pure logic... the mother tongue plays a crucial role in the learning of a second language" (Bajpai 1982 p56).

"Bilingual methods" were a range of suggestions including teaching classes in another language, encouraging the use of other languages between students, or in writing (Baynham 1982b), and the use of bilingual worksheets by monolingual teachers (Oliphant et al 1987), who could invite comparisons. The difference between "monolingual" classes and classes where students had a range of linguistic backgrounds was discussed (NNews 18 p15). The use of students' languages spread from home tutor training sessions (see p92) to attempts to teach them to local state workers - such as health visitors - as part of a development of "language awareness" (Naish 1983).

In classes where students shared a language it was of use to have a bilingual teacher where

"a bilingual teacher is one who is at home in a language that the student understands better than the dominant language (in our case, English) and uses it to help the student to learn more quickly or understand more fully" (Henry 1982 p1).

"The bilingual teacher can use her/his understanding of the students' culture to minimise the difficulties of this transition, specifically to reassure and encourage students who, because of their age, family situation, perhaps lack of formal education, feel little confidence in their ability to learn a new language" (Majid 1982 p32).

However, in classes which were multilingual, there were also arguments for having bilingual teachers who knew about learning a second language, about differences of culture, and might also be black, knowing the racist context of society. It was suggested that different students might be prepared to go to classes with a bilingual teacher (THTF 1983), and that the classes would be very different:

"it seems that with a bilingual teacher, students open up, and a tremendous misery comes out" (ILEA ESL organiser).

While the term "bilingual" allowed some to concentrate purely on the issue of language, some organisers took care not to obscure the aspect of race.

"It is certainly not my intention to use 'bilingual' as a euphemism for 'ethnic minority', especially as this is so often used, consciously or unconsciously, to mask racism and stereotyping". (Henry 1982 p1).

"I have no desire to work in a situation where 'we' are professional, articulate, and white; and 'they' are (mostly) black, (apparently) inarticulate. Where 'we' of one cultural group are considered competent, and decide how the project should be run while 'they', for whom the project is supposed to be intended, passively accept what is or isn't provided" (Molteno 1981 p4).

Contributions from black bilingual teachers were similarly clear.

"What we have is a microcosm of colonialist relations of dominating and dominated cultures and peoples. How can a field which claims to be about a formation of minority cultures not have tackled this issue before?" (Sayer and Bajpai 1982 p4).

In areas such as the ILEA the terminology of bilingualism was rapidly adopted, and led to attempts to employ bilingual teachers (Molteno 1981, Fitzgerald 1982, Bishop in Islington). In 1983-4, the ILEA began to organise initial training courses for bilingual teachers, and suggested that applicants to teach who were "themselves members of ethnic minority groups and/or who are bilinguals in community

languages" should be given preference (Naish, Hoadley-Maidment undated). Despite this, bilingual teachers remained a minority.

Anti-Racism and the curriculum

In the 1980s activists within NATESLA demanded a more explicit concern with racism. In 1984, the front page of "NATESLA News" argued the "need for anti-racism in action". While bilingualism was seen as essential, this argued that

"a policy on bilingualism cannot be seen in isolation from anti-racism ... We have to move from a position of promoting multiculturalism to taking a positively anti-racist stand" (Naish 1984).

"NATESLA News" now called for employment prospects for black teachers, the need to "lobby more vigorously over the issues our students face" (cf Morgan 1984), links with community organisations, more black people on the management of NATESLA. NATESLA News included a more direct approach to the issues of racism: discussion of the issues, campaigning on deportation, the employment of black teachers, taking a public stance against racism in classes. "Awareness training" was incorporated into ESL "anti-racist" initiatives, notably by the Industrial Language Training Units, premised on the idea that "white racism is the cause of bad race relations. Racism is a white problem" (Satow 1982 p37); and that this could be dealt with by white individuals working to discover and change their racist assumptions and practices.

NATESLA conference 1985 focussed around anti-racism, and an anti-racist sub-committee was set up, which attempted to affect the practice of ESL by an input to the RSA TESL training programmes, as well as drawing up anti-racist guidelines for the work of ESL. Part of its brief was to look at "syllabus and curriculum issues" (conference resolution 1985). As in other areas of education, anti-racist moves pointed to the importance of scrutinising the curriculum (cf Troyna and Williams 1986), and Naish claims the "Great Curriculum Debate" started in 1984 (Naish 1985 p25). In 1985, workshops on the curriculum were held in the ILEA, and the importance attached to them indicated by the fact that part-timers could be paid to attend. The FEU funded NATESLA's Curriculum Working Party to produce curriculum guidelines for ESL (NATECLA 1989). By 1988, Naish argued that the curriculum of ESL was changing to give students more control; and to allow more importance to the place of bilingualism, independent learning, literacy and grammar (Naish 1988 p45-7).

However it seems that the main concerns in a re-examination of the curriculum had not been as thorough going as Naish (1985) or Jupp (1985a,b) had hoped. The main debates centred around racism and training, but focussed on a multicultural understanding of racism:

"There is a growing awareness of the need to eliminate ethnocentric bias and cultural assumptions from subject syllabuses. However, new syllabuses should also take into account the need to incorporate more flexible learning styles ... all students can benefit from a more student-centred approach where "pressure of the syllabus" does not take precedence over other interests and issues ... All forms of assessment ... should reflect positively the interests of black and bilingual students and the requirements of a multi-racial and multicultural society" (McAllister and Robson 1988 p74).

Attempts to "fit" ESL to perceived "situations" were modified to "fit" ESL to other subjects' definitions of the curriculum; but though flexibility and valuing the students were incorporated among ESL's aims, there seemed to be difficulties in making new conscious concepts of what the ESL curriculum itself should be about.

Continuities

There was a difference of emphasis between early days when ESL was an aspect of welfare, and the 1980s when it was finding a place within the education system, but not a complete divide between the two. Though the certainties in early writings contrast to the dilemmas of the 1980s, some continuities are perceptible.

Firstly, there was an emphasis still on ESL being separate from EFL. In the ILEA, the latter was provided, intended for a separate group of students

"who flock to London to learn English as a foreign language, but who, while they might take short-term employment, will ultimately return home, having acquired some English either as a social asset or to help them qualify for a particular job. Their needs are not catered for in the adult education service: colleges of further education and private language schools make very adequate provision for this group of students" (Nicholls 1981 p3).

In contrast, ESL provision was seen to be the appropriate English language provision for people who were settled here. (Of provision for 16 to 19 year-olds):

"It must be stressed that such [EFL] courses cannot provide our immigrant population with the immediate language, training and educational catch-up facilities and the information and advice they need to compete with native English youngsters in the job and further and higher education fields. These students need English as a second language provision" (NATESLA 1982 p21).

Secondly, the concept of "needs" persisted (Hoffman and Jones 1984). Naish aimed to reject it, rewriting "Good Practice in ESL" (1985) as "From Needs to Choice" (1986). In the draft, the term "needs" reappeared repeatedly, despite its rejection, suggesting the strength of the link between ESL and the concept of "need" (Naish 1985 pp 6,9,14,15,17,18). Investigating independent learning, Hallgarten (1985) also battled with old concepts of "need", suggesting that they had been only the most basic of needs; while ESL should now concern itself with higher needs on Maslow's hierarchy (cf Maslow 1954). In writing up the project Hallgarten talked of "wants and aspirations" (1988) as the term "needs" was now discredited (Naish 1986) (This, because of the double meaning of "want", rather echoes the old "needs and wants!").

Despite the difference in formulation ESL was seen to be there for some reason other than teaching the English language for whatever purposes the students might define. A comparison with student interest in learning, say, pottery, is interesting: here the teacher could not presume to say what a student might "need" from a brief biography. The concept of "need" continued to re-surface in ESL because of the continuity of the assumption that ESL had an implicit purpose which the organisers and teachers could judge on behalf of the students. While the stereotype of a "needy" student was rejected, this made way for a new, broad stereotype of student needs, where "need" related not solely to domestic problem-solving, but to work, training and access to further parts of education.

Thirdly, although there were struggles about its title in the mid-1980s (ESL Publishing Group 1982, postscript), no title had gained currency to compete with "ESL". There were attempts to change the name in order to defuse potential "second-rate" connotations of the title ESL, to deal with factual inadequacy in cases where there were more than two languages involved, and (Hussain) to defuse the stigma of labelling one group by making labels for all groups of students. Bhanot suggested a change to "English Language Support" (1984a); and the National Extension College published a catalogue of materials under that title (NEC 1984). Hussain suggested "English as an Additional Language" (1986 p13). Later, in Camden in 1988, ESL classes were labelled "Spoken English" classes, and in 1989, NATECLA used "English for Speakers of Other Languages" (ESOL). The debates indicated a crisis of confidence

amongst ESL staff, but new textbooks showed continuities with what had been happening before (Barr and Fletcher 1983).

Changes: a subject in crisis

We have seen from this discussion that certain teachers and organisers, among whom many worked in the ILEA, had an important role in introducing to ESL new conceptions of its role and place in the world. The change from previous conceptions of ESL linked to what Rosen has called a paradigm shift (cf Kuhn 1963) in English language teaching as a whole (Rosen 1983). The old "deficit model" was challenged by a new interest in bilingualism; and ESL ceased to be an end in itself, with moves to help students on to other areas of work or training. However, this shift was neither uniform nor smooth; and within ESL the old paradigm was discernable still, not only in articles in NATESLA News, but in the content of ESL training courses in the early 1980s.

We have suggested that ESL's professionalisation within the field of education has been important in involving it in wider tensions and struggles. Indeed, it is clear that ESL professionals were consciously orienting ESL to "fit" with other aspects of education.

"Ten years ago, nearly all the provision was in four-hour blocks, community-based, and not linking very clearly to any other part of the education service. That is changing now" (Naish 1985 p8).

As education for black and bilingual people, ESL began to come in for articulate and agonising criticism, the most effective of which in making the new profession squirm were from some among the minority of black ESL teachers themselves (ch 8).

A resultant unease has contributed to the move of white ESL professionals out of the specific area of ESL - on, for example, to adult education administration. It has also contributed to the paradigm shift where the aims of ESL have been called into question. What can be seen in one way as "a lack of clarity about the educational aims of the courses" (Islington newsletter autumn 1986), and in another way as "a diversification of the offer" (Nicholls and Hoadley-Maidment 1988), can also be seen as manifestation of a crisis in ESL simultaneous with its development into a "profession". This is shown also by the contradictory assertions about the self-contained nature of ESL, or its "subject" status.

The consolidation of ESL and its search for professionalism led on the one hand to assertions of the permanent importance of ESL and of the expert nature of its staff, and on the other to denials that ESL was a subject in its own right.

"ESL is not a subject; it is an access-point to education" (Jupp 1985a);

"ESL is a tool whereby people get to where they want to be " (Naish 1985);

"ESL is not a subject, it is an introduction to education" (Bishop 1985).

These assertions that ESL provides educational help rather than educational substance, fit with the interests in language support and in moving students on (Napper 1986). They fit with the situating of ESL as part of basic education (NNews 18 p14), and are difficult to reconcile with Naish's other contention that ESL is not a branch of "basic education" (Naish 1985 p5). Perhaps what she meant was that the level of English involved can be quite high? This comment was removed from her redrafting in 1986, so it can be argued that ESL was struggling for recognition as an expert part of basic education.

CHAPTER 4
ESL IN ONE BOROUGH

This and the following chapter discuss the work of the various ESL organisations in one Greater London borough - renamed Denton - in the year 1984-5. A description of the borough will be followed by a description of the different types of ESL provision there in 1984-5, and a discussion of common and contrasting themes in the work of the different organisations involved.

These organisations are the Adult Education Institute; Home Tuition Scheme; Industrial Language Teaching Unit; Community Relations Council; other local groups funded by the local authority; local community organisations; Further Education College. (A local private EFL college just beyond the borough boundaries and local private one-to-one tuition were not considered because our brief was to examine state ESL provision).

Choosing the borough

Denton was chosen for the study because it fulfilled these criteria:-

- (1) The borough should have a wide range of different ESL providers;
- (2) There should be a bilingual population of significant size, including a substantial number who could speak Urdu or Hindi, so interviews would be possible without demanding fluency in English using a language I also spoke.
- (3) Because only one borough was to be studied (see p47), it should not be within the ILEA. While the ILEA was particularly innovative, there was reason to think that an outer-London borough would have more in common with provision across the country.

The major issue was satisfying (2). For this research it was not necessary to find Hindi/Urdu first language speakers, but those who could speak these languages. It was likely that in Britain, many of the

people who speak Hindi or Urdu would be Panjabi speakers (p254), Hindu, Sikh or Muslim, including Panjabi speakers of Pakistani origin for whom Urdu was the language of literacy. While people of Gujarati or Bengali origin might also speak Hindi or Urdu, it was decided to look for areas with a large number of Panjabi/Urdu speakers.

Smith and the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) have demonstrated that complexity in people's own labelling of the languages they speak, and in others' knowledge of their languages, make it impossible to identify exactly the number of speakers of a given language (Smith 1982a,b, LMP 1983, 1985). In the subcontinent bilingualism and multilingualism are everyday and accepted (Alladina 1985); while people may describe the language they speak differently according to context. Speakers of Panjabi (with Urdu as a second language) may sometimes say they speak "Urdu" because of their judgement of the relative status of the two languages, or of others' (teachers'/researchers') knowledge of language labels. This is discussed further in chapter 6. There was no language question in the national census that could help us find an area to work in, but discussions with Smith about the LMP's preliminary surveys helped identify a possible area.

Panjabi/Urdu-speaking migrants were likely to have been born in India, Pakistan or East Africa, and many Pakistani-born migrants would be among this group. The national census in 1981 contained no language or "ethnic" question (the latter due to problems of formulating a question, together with public concern about the issue) but "birthplace" statistics. With these there were a number of problems. Firstly, figures of people born in both India and Pakistan include a percentage of white people of English origin born to Raj officials (Runnymede 1980). Secondly, the changed borders of India, and individuals' migration at the partition of the Panjab and Bengal, and the linking and separation of Pakistan and Bangladesh meant further complexities; an old person born in "India" may then have lived in Pakistan - for example. However, these birthplace figures could be taken as a guide towards possible areas with a substantial Pakistan-born population, where we would be likely to find bilingual people who spoke Urdu as a first or second language. The census shows clusters of people born in Pakistan living in some greater London boroughs, and on examination, one of these boroughs, which also had a range of ESL provision, was chosen.

Further information on method is given in chapter 1 (pp46ff).

The chosen borough

Like many outer-London boroughs, Denton comprises an inner city part (roughly two-thirds of the borough), and an outer suburban part. ESL activity for the most part was concentrated in the inner-city part of the borough, though there was a small off-site class in the outer part of the borough.

The inner area of the borough included some old grand houses from the days when this was country beyond London; around these were nineteenth-century terraces built when new railways made commuting between the borough and London possible; and council buildings - many of them tower blocks - built as industry developed locally, making this an area of Greater London proper. By the 1980s, some of the local mix of industries had begun to close, adding high unemployment to poor housing as major problems for this now largely working-class area; though, because of its relative cheapness, some of the older housing was encouraging the move outwards of Londoners from the inner city.

While the outer, suburban third of the borough was predominantly white and middle-class, with fewer than the national average of the usually resident population being born outside the United Kingdom (1981 census), this figure was higher in the inner areas. This was a multiracial area, with major ethnic minorities of South Asian origin, and in particular of Pakistani or Indian Muslim origin, with a minority of other people of South Asian origin including Gujarati Hindus.

In the inner area of this borough, more than twenty percent of the usually resident population in the area lived in households whose "head" was born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan; although the percentage in the outer area was very much smaller (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 1981). Ward breakdowns showed that the concentration of people born in East Africa/South Asia (put together) was even greater. Of twenty wards, six had more than eight percent of residents born in East Africa or South Asia. In particular areas, more than fifty percent of the usually resident population lived in households whose "head" was born in New Commonwealth/Pakistan; in these same areas over fifteen percent of the population were actually born in South Asia or East Africa. The above discussion indicates that local breakdowns by languages spoken are not available, though some primary schools had more than sixty pupils speaking Panjabi and/or Urdu (local survey; reference withheld for reasons of confidence).

This was not as mixed an area as an inner-London borough, although in addition to white British (mainly working-class) there were black British/Afro-Caribbeans, and people from a number of migrant communities - Turkey, Cyprus, Spain, the Phillipines, and some refugees, for example from Iran and Vietnam. Locally, clothes, food and video shops, banks and other services, catered in particular for Panjabi/Urdu speakers. However, this was not one "ethnic minority group", but included people of diverse social and geographical origin in Pakistan and north and west India: who had different sorts of employment in Britain, from manual work (factories, machining at home) to running their own businesses or working in professions.

During the year the local newspaper reported many incidents of overt racism in Denton, including vicious attacks on children of Pakistani origin in the street. A local Pakistani organisation calculated that in the previous 4 years, there had been more than 80 racial attacks and 21 arson attacks on the homes of people of Asian origin in this borough. People of South Asian origin had formed a number of different organisations, including street patrols, both to counter racism and for other social, religious and educational purposes; while the local council, CRC and other official organisations responded to the strength of the presence of people of South Asian origin in making some special provision.

ESL in the borough adult education service (AEI)

The borough adult education institute had several centres at which a range of practical and academic courses were offered. Basic education - English, literacy and numeracy - was organised by a community education department within which English as a Second Language was an autonomous section. There were few Asian women migrants on other courses in the AEI, though more Asian men, on courses such as car maintenance. Exceptional was a course in playgroup-leading for bilingual women, which had attracted Asian women. The observation that there were few other Asian women in the institute outside ESL was made by people who worked within the institute, but cannot be demonstrated by figures for the relevant year. At that time, the AEI, conscious of race in the context of GLC Anti-Racist Year and local activism, was monitoring the ethnic origin of staff; but not keeping similar records on students (p123).

At the time of the research there had been an ESL section in the AEI for eight years. Previously there had been one section, covering both literacy teaching and English language teaching. These two areas still retained organisational links, but had separated because a national surge of interest in literacy following "On the Move" (p70) had meant that literacy needed a full-time organiser of its own. This stimulated the development of ESL in the AEI by allowing a full-time organiser for ESL classes for the first time. By 1984-5, there were two full-time ESL members of staff within the AEI, who also had administrative support. One of these posts was the home tuition organiser (see next section). The ESL classes in the AEI had one full-time organiser. The teachers were part-time, and hourly paid. Tutors had much autonomy in running their classes - the organiser suggested that tutors liked to say "This is my class". We will look more closely at the classes in the next chapter.

The full-time organiser was responsible for arranging and supporting classes, employing and supporting teachers, and publicising provision to potential students. She also negotiated for funding, resources, and organised special courses, teachers' meetings, class creches, and an annual outing for students from all the classes. The brief of the job was to create and sustain a borough-wide network of ESL classes, morning, afternoon and evening. Since she had taken over, the network had developed from an English teaching service which catered, through evening classes, for local men and for au pairs from abroad rather than for local women, towards an emphasis on local, daytime classes, usually with accompanying creche provision, often for women only.

Despite the creation of the organiser's post and the expansion of the classes, the ESL department found itself marginal to the main concerns of the adult education institute, and had constant financial worries. The finances, for approximately thirty-five blocks of classes per week, were very skimpy; so that resources available to many classes were very poor; books or photocopies rare. There was no staff training budget. The organiser had followed national trends in ESL provision by a move from evening classes to daytime classes, and an emphasis on women, and now had ambitions to develop "linked skill" classes (p105). However, while the entire existence of the ESL department felt under threat due to financial pressure, the chance of new courses coming into operation was also weighed against the problems of the availability of

rooms within the AEI; cost of rooms outside the AEI; possibility of funding for further teachers; and the perceived threat of falling student numbers if fees were demanded.

There were several sorts of classes, as follows:-

(1) Graded, daytime classes in centres, held in mornings or afternoons, either on AEI premises or other public buildings: for example, a youth centre, a community centre, a room behind a swimming bath. Most of these classes had creches attached to them, run by paid creche workers. Classes were two hours long, and in most cases were several times a week. There were five blocks of classes for women only, which ran for four mornings a week, of which three were graded classes: that is, two tutors (and in one case only, three) enabled the division of students into different groups according to their level of English. There were also three blocks of graded, mixed classes "for the unemployed or shift workers" which ran for four sessions each (morning or afternoon) per week.

(2) Off-site women-only classes, with a creche. Most of these were in primary schools; exceptions were a class in a special school; a class in a women's centre. The organiser said, talking of local, Asian women, "Often we can get them to go into a school when we can't get them to go anywhere else". These classes were once a week only, for two hours. There were sixteen such classes.

(3) Evening classes in an adult education centre: mixed; no creche. There were three blocks of classes, two on one evening a week and one on two evenings a week. The organiser suggested that these had fewer women students than men, because women were less willing than men to risk going out at night. In addition it had been possible to organise few locations, so for some students this meant longer evening journeys - with accompanying fears of racial attack.

(4) Other special classes, often short courses which tried to link English language teaching with other interests of students. During this year: keep fit and English, cookery and English, hairdressing and English (all in a local Asian centre); typing and English (on AEI premises). However, in contrast to the "linked skills" courses that we discussed in the last chapter (p105) there was not enough money to pay two tutors; and all of these courses but typing were taught by subject teachers without ESL support. The keep fit course was then "keep fit

taught in English for bilingual people organised by the ESL department" rather than "English with keep fit".

(5) A six-week summer course on the same pattern as (1), (2), and (3) above.

With the exception of this last, AEI ESL courses were not fixed-length courses; nor did they have fixed syllabi; nor did they usually lead to examinations. Extreme flexibility was a requirement of classes that catered for students who came regularly for years, together with people who might start or stop coming at any time during the academic year. "Rolling enrolment" was encouraged, and the variety of class locations, combined with "outreach" to encourage students to come (p216) were an attempt to make classes available to the broad spectrum of people. New classes might open during the course of a year or (especially if numbers of students fell) classes might close.

The provision of creches at most classes stemmed from a consideration of the needs of women in particular, and was a clear help for many students. However, arrangements for classes themselves were not always ideal: sometimes two classes had to share a room or the creche was in the classroom. Especially where creche and class had to share room, it could be difficult for teacher, creche-worker, children and students. Classes were free to students living in the borough, but organiser and teachers were worried about the threat that fees might be imposed.

Students could attend each week from one to four classes of two hours each, which ran in terms approximately the length of school terms; daytime classes were timed to fit in with school times (9.30-11.30, or 1.30-3.30). Students could go to more than one block of classes if they wished to, eg two different school classes; or one school class and four adult education classes. With regard to level of classes, there was no prerequisite in terms of literacy or spoken English, and it was expected that people would come with skills in the English language varying from none at all to quite a high level. The head of the community education department explained to a meeting with librarians that there were ESL classes from the very basic up to a pre-examination level, but the concentration was on helping people learn basic English and how to cope with things around them.

There were fairly clear expectations about who would come to ESL classes. The organiser expected largely Panjabis, more women than men,

and a varied group of women. In her words, "women is where the need is". It was intended that all students were settled in Britain. The division between EFL and ESL mentioned by the organiser centres on this definition: EFL is for "real foreigners" and ESL is for speakers of other languages who were living in Britain (see p12).

For the organiser, the ESL classes had a series of good reasons for existence which were different from the reasons students gave for coming to a class. She said that women came to classes because English became an important language for their children so they wished to help them or just keep up with them; while men frequently gave work, or wanting work, as a reason for going to ESL classes. On the other hand she acknowledged that some students were "fairly much dragged into classes"; and that for others it "just hasn't occurred to them to learn English". However, from her point of view there were general reasons for teaching "basic English". A knowledge of "basic English", she believed, makes people (1) safer, for example, in coping with an emergency; (2) less reliant on others - for example if going to a doctor who speaks only English; (3) more able to compete; (4) more able to find out about their rights (her numbering of points). As the teachers had a lot of autonomy in organising their classes, clearly their views also helped to form the scheme: this will be discussed further in chapter 5.

Survey of students

While the college kept figures on enrolment with students' place of origin, this was not done at the AEI as a matter of policy. It was believed to be racist to identify people whose homes were in Britain by the name of another country; and seen as tactless to ask questions on people's country of origin on a first meeting, as it was thought that people would not want to be asked. Therefore the AEI ESL department used only the standard AEI enrolment form, which showed names and addresses but not country of origin; and did not compile statistics on students who made use of its facilities.

Though attendances fluctuated during the year and in any given class week to week, the organiser's estimate was that over a year, about 500 students in the borough made some use of ESL classes: about 400 going to women's classes, about 40 men going to daytime classes; about 60 (mainly men) going to evening classes. Despite the considerations above, she was happy to cooperate with a survey administered by the

tutors, to find out who was in what sort of ESL class during that year. Consequently, a questionnaire about students was drawn up, distributed by the organiser to teachers and collected by her again (Appendix C(iv)). The questionnaire was similar to "class profile" commonly constructed in an ESL training course (cf. Appendix B(iv)) and it was expected that it would be straightforward for tutors to complete. Although the survey had been piloted in a bulkier format in the ILEA borough, being sent to teachers who had not been interviewed in the pilot teacher interviews (see next chapter), there were a number of problems with the design and administration of the survey that limit the usefulness of the replies. In the event, only teachers of women's classes returned the questionnaire: no teachers of classes with men in returned it at all. Perhaps this was because they had understood me to be more interested in women students than in men? Teachers returned questionnaires relating to 21 of 35 blocks of classes, referring to 153 students (an average of just over 7 in a class). All 153 students were women.

It is also important to note that what was said about the students by the teachers remains the teachers' perceptions. Firstly, some teachers were reluctant to fill in particular sections - in one instance, husband's occupation; in another, women's ages. The tutor who completed the form most fully and in detail was the one tutor of Asian origin: she either knew more about the students in her class, or was more willing to say what she knew. Further, some categorisations are particularly unreliable. For example, the "occupation" of the women students was in every case but one written "housewife" or left unfilled. If a women student was in paid employment outside a class, however, there would be many reasons why a teacher might not know this. For example, a teacher might not concern herself with details of the students' lives; or the student might not want to tell the teacher of employment, particularly if it were unofficial. This became clear when one teacher returned a form stating that her students were all housewives, implying no paid employment, but I had met one of her students who had shown me her home-machining work. Also, although some teachers gave detailed information on students' languages, others described a whole class as speaking "Urdu" (only). Some students I met whose teachers said they spoke Urdu talked a dialect of Panjabi at home.

Nevertheless, some results of the survey - read in this light - are of interest. Of the 153 women students referred to by the teachers, the majority (119) were of South Asian origin: the majority of these (98)

originally from Pakistan. Only 2 of the others were from Europe. A substantial minority of these students appeared to be migrants or refugees from Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and Latin America (table 2). These students comprised a majority of married women, of whom 75% had children, and the largest number of women for whom we have ages were in their 20s (table 3). (Teachers only felt willing to give ages for 120 women). Several students had come to Britain in the 1960s and were attending classes in 1984-5; but the majority had arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Table 2: AEI students' countries of origin

Pakistan	98
India	19
Bangla Desh	2
Morocco	1
Kenya	2
Ghana	3
Nigeria	6
Mauritius	2
Turkey	2
Cyprus	1
Kuwait	1
Syria	1
Italy	2
Hong Kong	8
Malaysia	1
Thailand	1
Chile	2
Colombia	1
TOTAL	153

Table 3: AEI students' ages

Under 20 years	12
20-29 years	65
30-39 years	23
40-49 years	16
50 years and over	4
TOTAL (see above*)	120

Table 4: Occupations of students' husbands

Unemployed	17
Factory worker	21
Presser in dry cleaner's	2
Worked in restaurant	2
Worked in garage	1
Leather worker	1
Baker	1
Milkman	1
Shopowner OR shopworker	8
British Rail guard	1
"Own business"	7
Wholesaler	1
Worked in bank	1
Worked in embassy	1
Social worker	1
Engineer	1
Hospital technician	1
Doctor	1
Customs officer	1
Soldier	1
Worked at BBC	2
TOTAL	73

A wide range of educational background was evident among the students. Teachers' responses proved not to be directly comparable as they chose different forms of classification (examples from different teachers: "basic", "minimal", "6 years", "school"). However a range is indicated by looking at one class of 8. Here, 2 students had not been to school at all; another had left school at 10; two had left school at 13; another at 16; one had completed school at 17 and done a year's training in Pakistan to qualify her to teach Urdu. The teacher did not know the educational background of the 8th. In other classes, some students had been to college and done degrees.

Teachers knew of the occupations of the husbands of 73 women students. Twenty-one were factory workers, and 17 were unemployed. The occupations of the others are given in table 4.

ESL through the Home Tutoring Scheme

The Home Tutoring Scheme (HT) for English language teaching was begun two years before the research was done. A previous scheme which had been run by the CRC stopped in 1979, before the AEI had started the new scheme, with five years' initial funding from Urban Aid.

The Home Tutoring Scheme was run by one full-time organiser, with part-time clerical assistance. They were based in the adult education centre, but much of the organiser's work was outside it. All tutors were volunteers. The organiser sought volunteers, and trained them to become home tutors who pledged in the first instance to spend an hour a week for six months teaching English to an adult - most often a woman - in her own home. She also sought contact with bilingual women, and, more rarely, men, who wanted English tuition at home. She ran and publicised training courses for home tutors in the evening for people who worked, as well as in the afternoon when, in particular, women with no paid employment might come. She arranged weekly follow-up resource-distributing open meetings for tutors; and made links with community organisations in order to publicise the service to potential students. Some volunteers dropped out during the course of a training course, and not all would-be students could be offered teaching at home. Once tutors were matched to tutees, the organiser held a weekly open evening for books, ran workshops, and contacted tutors if she hadn't heard for a month.

Since its beginning two years previously, the home tutor service had grown steadily, with regular monthly increases in the number of

students being taught, even though the organiser expected some dropping-out of students and of tutors. An increasing number of women students had gone on to their second or even their third tutor; some had gone on to ESL classes, usually in the AEI. In the month that I was shown the figures, four students were finishing, and six new students starting home tuition. In some cases tutors went to more than one house; in other cases sisters or sisters-in-law or neighbours had classes together, so at any time there could be more students than tutors involved in the scheme. The growth over the previous two years is shown in these figures:-

Table 5: Numbers of home tutors and students

	Home tutors * actually teaching	Students * being taught
When scheme began (1982-83)	9	12
Two years later at time of interview (1984-85)	37	44

* Figures for a whole year would be greater. This was what was happening at one time (Source: Home Tutoring Organiser).

In the previous year home tutor student numbers had been very much greater, showing evidence of great turnover in the course of time. Since the origin of the scheme, 117 people had been students for at least some period of time. The countries of origin of these students are set out in table 6.

The organiser said that home tuition was very popular with potential students; she was also asked for home tuition in some cases in which she felt it was not appropriate to provide a tutor. The most immediate limitation on the growth of the scheme she felt was paid time to run further training schemes and find more volunteers. In the longer term it would also be a question of finance.

The idea was that if people wanted to learn English but could not get to a class, home tuition should be available. Most home tutees were women with a number of children under five, so it was hard for them to

Table 6: Home tuition students' countries of origin

Country of origin	Women	Men
Pakistan	101	1
India	6	
Bangladesh	3	1
Afghanistan	1	
Burma (Pakistani family)	1	
Spain	1	
Turkey	1	
Cyprus (Greek)	1	
Cyprus (Turkish)	1	
TOTAL	116	2

Table 7: Home tutors' countries of origin

England	32
Wales	1
Pakistan	4
India	4
Bangladesh	1
South Africa ("coloured")	1
Ghana	1
TOTAL	44

organize going out regularly to classes. This was one reason for the predominance of women on the scheme. Other people were old, or had disabilities, or special reasons for having home tuition: for example, if a woman worked during the day and there was no convenient evening class available. Other women asked for it (sometimes men on behalf of women) because they were in "purdah" or did not want to go out.

As the organiser was in a position to decide whether or not to provide a tutor, her views of the aims of the provision were crucial. Here the connections of the Home Tuition Scheme with AEI classes were important. Her view was that it was better all round for women to be going to classes, that home tuition aimed to increase women's confidence so that they would go on to classes; and that it should only be in cases where people could not go to classes that they should get home tuition. The issue of purdah posed her a special problem: she was not sure if a woman in purdah should be judged unable to go to a class or not. If people seemed to want home tuition because they gave it a higher status than classes, or if a woman said "I am lazy to go to classes" (often meaning "too busy"), she also had to weigh up if they would get home tuition. In practice, she balanced a series of criteria - obstacles for a woman in getting to a class, and the type and composition of the local classes - in judging whether she made home tuition available.

"There are all sorts of reasons why home tuition is sometimes more appropriate than attending classes. Students, particularly Asian women, are often shy and lacking in confidence. Cultural and religious considerations have to be taken into account. Some students have physical disabilities which prevent them from going to classes. Home tuition is an important first step on the way to integration within the community" (HT publicity).

Rather than stating one clear aim for home tuition, the organiser described an aim seen by others and expressed doubts about it. This was the attempt to teach "shy, unconfident women, to enspirited them, and give them the confidence to go to classes". She had doubts as to whether, given "confidence", women would automatically want to go to classes to learn English. She could see several reasons why they might not want to do so. Husbands, in her experience, were not always keen; or perhaps when the obstacles to a woman's class attendance had ended - for example, children had grown older - the woman might not wish to spend her time in English classes.

English language teaching by the ILTU

An Industrial Language Teaching Unit (ILTU) had been started at the borough FE college in 1977, funded by the Training Services Division, then by the Manpower Services Commission. It was to work in this borough and an adjacent borough. The establishment of the unit had followed English language training courses run within local factories by some members of the English department and, at first, in common with

other ILTUs across the country, the interest of this ILTU had been to teach functional English for workers in a work context (pp68ff). The ILTU had arranged courses across a range of industrial situations. With the agreement of the management of a firm, the ILTU would research the English language requirements of the workers there, and set up a course in company time and on company premises. Like other units, it benefited from the establishment of a National Centre for Industrial Language Teaching, which collected resources, ran research projects, and helped to link different schemes.

The borough ILTU had, however, moved its location to the adjacent borough, though it still covered Denton in addition; and - in common with other ILTUs (pp101ff) - had shifted the emphasis of its work towards wider aspects of communication in organisation, away from English language teaching. A report on an early course, for example, describes how it concentrated initially on language; but tutors discovered in post-course discussion that the parts of the course that had made an impression on trainees - in this case, all Asian women at a local clothing factory - were discussions about communication. Thus in a second running of the course, tutors moved from teaching language and literacy relating to work in the factory, to focus explicitly on the problems of transferring perceptions and assumptions from one culture to another. The Unit had gone on to teach communication skills not only to bilingual workers, but to English monolinguals who worked with them, and to supervisors or managers. By 1984-5 the Unit's name had become almost a misnomer: little English (or other language teaching) took place, while most of their time was taken up with planning and running "racism awareness" courses for supervisors, management, and in several cases for co-workers of bilingual employees. These were "interview skills" courses combined with "racism awareness" courses (cf Katz 1978).

A further change to the Unit's work was that where it had once worked for a mix of private companies and state organisations, the work in private companies had become less, due largely to the closure of local factories. The Unit's work was now with state employers - the local council, social services, and the local police in one project, attempting to study communications and challenge the racism within these organisations.

Nevertheless, during this year one English language training course was set up for women assembly-line workers in a factory in the adjacent borough. The course ran fortnightly, with two (graded) groups meeting

in a canteen in the workers' lunch break. The people who taught it were full-time and part-time workers on other ILTU projects. One of them was black Afro-Caribbean; the other, white; neither was bilingual. They had been appointed for work on communications within the organisations, not for language training as such: one was in the process of doing an RSA ESL teaching course at the FE college.

Attendance by the bilingual Asian women employees varied. The tutors thought that one reason was that no special space or time had been set aside for it: the class was in the women's only free time, in a noisy place where it was hard to work. The Unit's director was unhappy about the course and closed it down. It had been opened at the request of the workers' trade union, who wanted to involve Asian women in union activities; but they had no power to provide satisfactory conditions. Another time, said the director, management would have to agree to proper conditions for teaching before a course would be provided.

English teaching by the local Community Relations Council

The local Community Relations Council (CRC) had been involved in organising English teaching for local women, especially women of Asian origin, for longer than the AEI: and had started an early home tuition scheme in the borough, although by the year of the field work the CRC was organising little direct teaching. In 1984-5, the most important area of language work organised by the CRC was no longer English language teaching, but the provision of interpreters between English and other languages (most important, Panjabi and Urdu) to interpret for local bilingual people at health services and other local state services such as the DHSS.

The CRC "Home Tutoring Scheme for Teaching English to Asian Ladies" had begun in 1975 as a "Parosi" scheme (p70) and run for about 4 years. The scheme attempted to find volunteer tutors, put them in touch with women who wanted to learn English, and support them with training, materials and advice. The role of the tutors was clearly seen as extending beyond the teaching of English.

"The wider needs of pupils must also be seen, too, e.g. the social side of language learning, and many pupils are found to have very serious difficulties other than purely linguistic ones. Whilst it is clearly not the function of volunteer tutors to take on the role of amateur social workers, it is obviously quite unrealistic to expect a pupil to concentrate on her language lesson when she is worried about her child's progress at school, or her landlord. Such

problems must be referred to appropriate agencies... The list of the wider aspects of Language Tuition Scheme could be extended almost ad infinitum" (CRC annual report).

"The task of the Home Tutor is not just to teach 'How to speak English' but the tutor offers friendship and help to students and their families, thus building an essential bridge between communities in a multiracial society. It is an enormous task which is carried out by the tutors with no financial gains and it is not an easy one to devote your free time to" (CRC annual report).

The CRC Home Tutor organiser (still at the CRC in 1984-5) believed that "the potential need for teaching was enormous", particularly among women between 30 and 60. In 1980-81 she described the chief problem of the Home Tuition Scheme as

"the recruitment of volunteers. In the present economic climate, with inflation and prices going up every month, it is extremely difficult to find recruits who are willing to give up their voluntary time with no returns."(CRC annual report)

She believed that tutors wanted contact with each other but lacked time "either because the tutors are working part-time or full-time, had small children or other commitments" (op. cit.). A new home tutor organiser found the drop-out rates of volunteer tutors disappointing, suggesting that

"because of the demoralising effect which a breakdown [of tuition] can have on the tutor and the pupil it is obviously desirable that volunteers who are not suitable for this kind of work should not undertake it"

At that time there had been 14 tutors teaching, 20 students and 8 on the waiting list (CRC annual report).

In 1982, the local authority moved the home tutoring scheme to the AEI despite the wish of the CRC to continue to appoint a home tutor organiser:

"...it is still our belief that we are the appropriate body to facilitate this service, which by its nature is close to the Asian Community" (op. cit.).

But the interest of the CRC in English teaching continued, and was expressed both in links with the ILTU (CRC annual report) and the college (p146); and in the introduction of English teaching into the "mother and toddler groups" that were run by the CRC for Asian women in various parts of the borough.

The CRC organised a mother and toddlers' newsletter in English - which described the purposes of the 9 mother and toddler groups (organised separately for West Indian and Asian women) as providing a place for women in isolated families to meet other women; or women in

extended families to spend time with their children. It was felt that teaching the English language was one of the things the clubs could provide together with providing advice:

"If you want to learn English or to get advice, please be there on Wednesdays from 10.30am to 12.30am" ("Mother and Toddlers' Newsletter").

Nevertheless it was recognised that it was not straightforward either to get a group going, or to offer English language teaching. In some cases it felt as if they had to "drag people from home" (interview). Husbands had to have confidence in the clubs before women would come. Cultures which stressed women's place at home combined with their great domestic responsibilities - and often machining jobs as well - made it hard for women to come, or to come on a regular basis (interview with organiser).

English language teaching in the mother and toddler clubs had started on the initiative of the organisers - though one teachers' group organiser said that the women in her group had asked to be taught English. The Assistant Community Relations Officer had previously been involved both on home tuition schemes and in teaching English in the mother and toddler groups, and suggested that many Asian women were not committed to learning English. Their religion and culture, she argued, gave them reasons to be busy, not to learn English. They had very much work to do at home. Moreover, she suggested, husbands of women who spoke little English were afraid that if their wives learned English they would leave home. She was herself of South Asian origin, and found it useful to have her husband with her on visits to potential students: otherwise she found people thought she was a separated wife. Such visits she characterised as

"knocking on the doors and convincing them there is no harm in learning English and convincing their husbands that they are not going to leave home."

She suggested that English was helpful for Asian women here but that many would not go, at least initially, to adult education classes in the borough. One reason was unease in a classroom situation - and a dislike of keeping their children apart, which she believed happened with a creche in the AEI. Creating a comfortable "classroom situation" in a mother and toddler group had helped some women gain the confidence to, later, use AEI classes.

She put great stress on a second reason: that the AEI had few bilingual teachers (though she spoke highly of the one AEI bilingual tutor who had previously worked in the mother and toddler groups). Women who had been to AEI ESL classes had sometimes brought their worksheets to the CRC clubs to have them explained, which was one of many examples of poor communication between Asian students and an English monolingual tutor. A bilingual teacher "is a must", she said.

The mother and toddler clubs therefore included English teaching at different times on an occasional or regular basis. Staff had taught basic English, together with wider discussions and advice. This might be "preschool guidance", talking about nurseries locally; or about health problems - "not just how to talk to the postman or receptionist". The fact that staff were bilingual themselves made possible wide discussions; and English could be introduced via Panjabi or Urdu. Parosi and NATESLA materials were known and used; and two of the staff - both of Asian origin - did the RSA initial ESL teacher training course (p140) at the local college. (One later taught at the AEI and one at a community organisation (p139)).

One of the RSA trained tutors was the organiser of the only mother and toddlers club to include English teaching among its aims during the year of research, and she put English teaching high among its aims.

"This group has provided opportunities for Asian women as follows:-

- a) Facilities for English Language classes.
- b) Catering for Counselling needs.
- c) Information on health care, family planning and childcare.
- d) Encouragement of parental involvement in Nurseries and Schools (Primary and Infants)." (CRC annual report).

The tutor said that English teaching had begun because women had asked for it, though she herself had to decide what would be most useful to teach, as they did not suggest what they needed most. The connection of the CRC with "Parosi" and NATESLA, as well as the ESL teaching course, seemed to have influenced her analysis:

"Elementary English lessons were based on situational language, e.g. Use of the telephone, buying goods, different kinds of stalls, and accommodation. Names of fruits and vegetables" (Annual report).

In addition, teaching English was linked with the provision of information by the tutor:

"We provided them with up-to-date information on what is happening in the local departments, e.g. Falling Roll of pupils - Educational Department".

Early in 1984-5, this group leader/tutor left the group and the English teaching activities of the CRC stopped. Due to their interest in

English teaching and its place in their ideas of what was useful to Asian women, this did not represent a change of policy, and English-teaching remained a potential activity of the mother and toddlers' groups.

Other local groups

Council-funded mother and toddler groups specifically for Asian women were also organised at four places in the borough. These were meeting places for women with no particular brief to teach English, though the AEI attempted to recruit students from these groups. Different localities, group organisers, and the use of different centres by different groups of women gave each mothers' group a different character, though each provided toys for children and activities - sewing or crafts - for their mothers. One of the group leaders started informal English teaching in one of these groups, although it was not given great priority. Nevertheless some of the Mirpuri women of peasant origin who regularly attended along with members of their extended family from the locality, and who brought sewing to do on the group machine, said that the only English teaching that they had ever had had been in this group.

English teaching by local community organisations

Local "community organisations" (for local Pakistanis, for example) set out at various times to teach English to local women of South Asian origin. The organiser of the AEI classes said that different such classes were frequently started, but rarely lasted long. This was given some weight by the two instances I found during this year in separate "women's welfare organisations": groups which had been set up to do social, cultural, educational or advice work with women, in separate parts of the borough.

One of these organisations was based in its members' houses, and ran largely on voluntary effort although it attracted council funding during this year from the local council to organise a seminar on "Training of Asian women to tackle Racism in Britain", and also hoped for GLC funding for activities with women and children. Its regular activities were group meetings for women, and classes for children in Urdu. They also arranged big "functions" for special occasions. In the women's meetings, which had an attendance of approximately fifteen, English teaching was described as one activity along with sewing,

cooking, and handicrafts. Although one of the main adult education centres was close by, the organisers explained that few of their members went to ESL classes there, suggesting that a main reason for this was that there were no Asian teachers. If women did not understand the teacher properly they would get bored. Their members did not make use of other classes at the AEI either: this they explained not because of language but because women were busy - they were housewives; some had machining jobs at home.

There were differences in the accounts of different members as to the place of English teaching in the twice-weekly women's classes (which had been running for two years). One teacher said that women needed to learn to communicate in English, and in particular, in cases where there were problems, where to take issues and make complaints, and said that English was taught regularly by their organisation, starting with basics. She suggested that the impetus to teach English had started from their considerations of how to deal with racism, and how to help Pakistani women deal with racist situations that affected them. Here there seems to be a potential contrast with the classes set up in white institutions such as the AEI.

In the accounts of others, however, the teaching of English by their organisation was neither given such central priority; nor had particular features that contrasted with the AEI classes beyond the difference of content. Such teaching as was done was in a place organised by Pakistani women, and by Pakistani women for other Pakistani women. As such the context avoided the white institutions and provided bilingual teachers. Yet these other members' accounts suggested no special consideration of method or purpose - and implied that English courses in practice took a small part in their overall work, which aimed more generally to help women get out of the house, and provide them with somewhere to go. They talked of intermixing some spoken English with the handicrafts that were the regular feature of classes; the introduction of English teaching for mothers waiting while their children learned Urdu; and the possibility of formally introducing English classes together with dressmaking and cookery for young women in a summer school. (The reaction of a young woman to this was that for women who have grown up here, help with Urdu is more relevant than help with English). The contrast with classes such as those at the AEI, then, is misleading: for on these accounts English teaching by this

organisation was minimal, though accepted as a good idea, a potential future plan.

From this, then, there are two points to be drawn. Firstly, English teaching had the status, with this organisation, of a good idea. Criticism of AEI classes focussed around the small number of bilingual teachers: but the project of English teaching itself was endorsed, while there were no major issues about the method (or politics) of the teaching.

Secondly, in practice, English teaching was given little priority: it was not seen as a burning issue in relation to their members' lives. This contrasted with the active concern of the organisation with the children's language: in particular to their learning Urdu, for which large and successful classes were organised. While English classes were accepted as useful, a certain lack of energy in promoting them (on the part of the organisation) and attending them (on the part of the membership) was accepted as inevitable. This might be put down to housewifely busyness, but remained a contrast to the energy that could be put into the children's language learning or more directly sociable or domestically-oriented occasions.

The second organisation, a local women's organisation with three paid workers (all of Pakistani origin) funded by Urban Aid, set out to run English language classes shortly before the period of the research. This was only one of the activities of the organisation, which also ran advice sessions; helped local Pakistani women with interpreting, especially when dealing with local state authorities; organised children's clubs, social activities, and on special occasions, "functions" for their parents; and also arranged "mother tongue" classes for children (in this instance Urdu and Urdu literacy). "Mother tongue" classes for adult women had also been started, largely for the same women as the English language classes, but stopped as attendance fell.

The workers described how there had been some initial opposition to their organisation, though by now it was established and accepted. The opposition, mainly from men, was due to their being an independent women's organisation; and to their aims, which included encouraging women to go out of the house:

"to organise Social, Cultural, Educational and Sports activities for Muslim women and children... [and] to provide social welfare work, counselling, and to deal with social problems of Muslim women and children...to encourage Muslim women to play their part in the

social, cultural and other activities, conducted in this Borough" (publicity literature).

Publicity about their activities was hampered by not being able to talk directly to many women, but having to negotiate via husbands, until women became members, when they would contact them directly about forthcoming events, including English classes. They said that some husbands did not want women learning English, which they put down to a fear of women independently learning their rights. The English language classes here, however, started well, with an attendance of about eighteen women, who were taught in three groups on two afternoons a week.

The workers in the organisation taught the classes. One of them had done the RSA ESL initial training course at the college and had in the past taught English at a CRC group (p135). Another had done both an EFL training at an FE college and a training scheme run by the home tutor organiser though she had not been a home tutor as it had been difficult for her to go out of the house to teach. The classes were open for local women of Pakistani origin from the few streets around the centre who became members of the organisation. They contrasted their own classes and those of the AEI for two reasons. Firstly, in these classes there was a teacher who spoke the same language as the students, in the AEI classes which had no "mother tongue teacher" students often got stuck. Secondly, they believed that the AEI/ESL courses had a fixed syllabus and set programme whereas here they could respond to women's own interests and wishes, and do what the students chose to do. In fact, they, like the AEI classes, taught via "situations", and put no particular stress on literacy or formal grammar. They described the "main needs of the women" as English for shopping and transport - though made no mention of health care in this context - often central in ESL's provision (p177).

Gradually, however, attendance at the classes dwindled until they were closed after three months. There was no money to fund creche workers, so up to thirty children created havoc in the house and garden: but it was the erratic attendance and eventual dropping out by the women who had come at first that persuaded the women running the classes to stop them. The teachers offered a series of reasons for this: the fact that the weather was getting colder; the fact that the women had great domestic responsibilities: "we eat three meals a day... Asian women spend most of their time cooking... sandwiches are no good"; and the

fact that, though women students were "doing all right", they were not learning quickly, and did not understand that it would take a time to learn. When the classes closed, the list of students was given to the Home Tutor Organiser.

ESL at the borough FE college

The borough had one FE college which offered a wide range of academic and vocational courses. There was a range of courses in English language, full-time and part-time, day and evening, run by the English in Use Section of the General Education department, which also ran courses in history, sociology, and commerce. In addition, English teaching together with other subjects was a component of a Foundation course called "General Education for Speakers of English as a Second Language". The English in Use section also ran an Information Technology course for speakers of other languages, and training courses for teachers of EFL and ESL. The staff in the English-in-Use section comprised nine full-time lecturers (senior lecturers, L1s and associate lecturers) as well as seven part-time staff; some of those who taught part-time in English were full-timers employed also in other areas of the college. Some of the staff were solely concerned with EFL teaching in the conventional sense, while others taught courses on the "foundation" or trained ESL teachers on the RSA courses. These were the RSA Certificate in Initial Training in the Teaching of English as a Second Language to Adults (CITESLA) (part-time one-term practically-orientated) and the RSA Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language in Further, Adult and Continuing Education (RSA TESL FACE), which was wider and more academic (part-time, year-long). Those staff involved most closely in the ESL courses and ESL training were members of NATESLA, some of them very active; and members of the union NATFHE.

The college was more stable and better resourced than the AEI and other local ESL schemes, though the sources of its funding were similar. Mainstream English courses were funded by the local education authority and also by tuition fees; much of the work that was closest to ESL was 75% funded by Section 11 money (p73) while the MSC provided money for courses such as that in cross-cultural communication skills.

Two aspects of the work of the English in Use section were of interest. The English courses themselves could not be said to be a central part of the borough's ESL provision as they were largely aimed at overseas students (see below). Publicity for the courses was given

out locally (an annual spread in the local paper) and also internationally, via BASCELT (British Association of State Colleges in English Language Teaching). However, the history of the section, and training teachers of ESL brought college staff into contact with ESL teachers, and also with current ideas and issues about the teaching of ESL. In the case of senior staff in particular this was a longstanding interest, for the college had

"done bits of ESL at different times. Before we set up the Industrial Language Training Unit we had some courses ... out in factories and hospitals ... real genuine course design and course teaching".

The ILTU had started at the college, but moved away the previous year.

In 1984-5 the college had a strong EFL tradition and arranged its courses so that they could be taken up part-time, for example by au pairs, or full-time, for example by overseas students whose visa conditions required this. Classes were formally taught in college and numbers of students were important.

"Fifteen is a number that makes the Principal breathe easily ... we cannot have five little girls sitting on chairs, no!"

Nine day and five evening courses, composed of two-hour classes, led to a range of exams: Cambridge First Certificate, Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in English; RSA Communicative Use of English as a Foreign Language; NWRAC (North West Regional Advisory Council) ESL; Joint Matriculation Board Test in English for Overseas Students; Cambridge Preliminary English Test. All courses presupposed literacy in English, and students with poor levels of literacy might be referred to the AEI. Students were tested on entry to find their level and put into classes accordingly. It was possible for students to join courses for a short period of time (though in mid-term they might be referred to a private school until a new college course started), or to do one course after another towards an advanced level such as Cambridge Proficiency. One staff member had been responsible for setting up a workshop, a resource room for work in English language, which was used by students on the Foundation, and by some students on other college courses (for example, catering). There was no other language support in mainstream courses (contrast with Hackney College, ILEA: 1984-5 prospectus; or Nelson and Colne college: Evans 1986).

An examination of enrolments for English language courses makes it clear that despite the substantial bilingual minority in the borough, largely of South Asian origin, local people of South Asian origin were a

minority of students on the courses. Figures from the previous year showed that the majority of students (188 of 287) were of European origin. While teachers thought that local people of South Asian origin were enrolled on other college courses - O, A level and vocational courses - the enrolment figures suggest that local students were a small minority on English language courses. In only three cases were students described as coming from "UK" (table 8). It could be that in the forms the country of a student born in Pakistan but living in England might be filled in as "Pakistan"; or that there was no consistent method - most forms were filled in under pressure of time during enrolment week. There was a total of 25 students whose forms said they were from South Asia.

Table 8

EFL students, excluding ESL foundation, from college figures, 1983-84

students	full-time classes	part-time (day)	part-time (evening)	TOTAL
from Europe	27	101	60	<u>188</u>
(from U.K.)	(1)	-	(2)	(3)
from outside Europe	34	35	30	<u>99</u>
(from South Asia)	(6)	(9)	(10)	(<u>25</u>)
TOTAL	61	136	90	<u>287</u>

In order to see if these were local people, the enrolment forms for 1984-5 were examined. A sample of 50 forms confirmed that the general pattern was of enrolment of classic EFL students (see p12). Students came from addresses over a wide area of inner and outer London, not just from the immediate area. Of the 50, 23 were au pairs; only 4 were aged over twenty-five, while the others (46, i.e. 92%) were all between seventeen and twenty-four. Thirty-seven of the 50 were from Europe. Due to the rush at enrolment, not all questions on the forms were completed. Thirty of the 50 stated what they had been doing in the previous year. 23 of them had been studying at school or university. Twenty-one of the 50 wrote down their future aims: most were for business or professional work (see table 9). They were, as one teacher put it, learning English to further their careers abroad.

Table 9 - Employment aims of EFL students

government or politics	1
law	2
medicine	1
business	3
<hr/>	
hotel management or tourism	5
fashion	1
air hostess	1
secretary	1
charitable work	1
<hr/>	
teaching English; translation; further English studies	5
<hr/>	
TOTAL (out of 50)	21

Among this 50 were only 3 of South Asian origin: all young men aged 19 to 23. We therefore looked at all the forms for the year for people whose "nationality" was written as Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, or British. There were 2 British: one who had written "British Indian", and another which said "UK" and had a name of South Asian origin. There were also 2 people with South Asian surnames but no declared country of origin. In total, there were 25 students with South Asian connections out of 287 (ie 8.71%).

One student who aimed at "possible A levels" and had worked in a supermarket clearly lived in Britain, in contrast to the overseas student whose ambition was to work in the "civil service in Pakistan". But it was not clear from the way answers were recorded in most cases if these were overseas students, or living here. Some differences from the broader EFL sample were indicated by the fact that the South Asian students included more students above immediate school or college leaving age. Only 8% of the general sample of students were over twenty-four while 40% of these South Asian students were over twenty-four. Ten of the students wrote down their career aspirations: 9 had professional ambitions like the broader sample of students. This did not demonstrate that they were overseas students: one student aiming for a middle-class career had written "British Indian" for nationality.

Two points must be drawn from this. Firstly, despite the institutional distinctions (p12), there can be no break between EFL and ESL students in terms of nationality or place of residence. Possibly, in contrast, there may be class distinctions between students on different types of courses (chs 7, 8). Perhaps from the local area, more middle-class students with professional aims are attracted to these examination-orientated English language classes? However, because of the low priority given to attracting local students, the question of fees, and lack of creche, it is not possible to claim that such courses are relevant or attractive only to South Asian students with such ambitions. ESL/EFL may be on a continuum.

Secondly, although among the students of South Asian origin on the college EFL courses some were local bilingual people, not all of them were; and this was a small minority of students. Thus the local bilingual population's use of these resources was small in absolute numbers, as well as small in its importance to the courses themselves.

The foundation course

The foundation course, in contrast, was intended "for students who normally live in this country" (course publicity). Although advertised together with the English language courses, it was clearly seen as separate: enrolment figures were counted separately (see above); EFL students' outings cut across the foundation course teaching time. The course itself was not a specifically English language course, and there was no real "English language slot", as one teacher put it. There were language support for particular subjects and an English language workshop. The course was an alternative "foundation" for possible future training to others in the college, and included courses on numeracy, an introduction to computers, study skills, general education courses on "environmental awareness", "social and life skills", "rights and responsibilities", and careers advice. Throughout the course, the course tutor said, a "work ethos" was taught.

The course tutor defined the aim of the course as "to improve the social and life skills of the students so they have the tools to go on to whatever they want to, whether it be FE, training or work". She identified a number of categories of students she expected to find on the course:-

- (1) people who have been through some secondary education here but lost out because their English was not good enough;

- (2) people who came to Britain to study, but found their English not good enough for mainstream courses;
- (3) students who had secondary or further education in their own country before coming to join their family and could not get a job.
- (4) people working "in the community" (she gave examples of the mosque/advice centre) as interpreters, etc. who feel disadvantaged because they cannot read or write letters in English, so cannot move from volunteering to a paid job.
- (5) women (another category of (3) in reality) who have had a good secondary education before coming to get married, and now want further education and training.

Cross-cutting these categories, she suggested, were:-

- I. those whose academic ability was good but were held back from "mainstream" here by their level of English;
- II. those, also held back by language, whose general educational background was poor.

There was an interview on application but no entry test: it was hoped that most applicants would be able to join the course.

The course was new and evolving, with much thought going into its limitations and possible changes. While students seemed to come from a wide range of ages and backgrounds (interview), tutors felt that fewer women than men from local South Asian communities were able to come because the college did not provide a creche, and they could not bring their children. It was hoped that a nursery nursing course would be opened, which might encourage the college authorities to provide a creche, both to provide nursery experience and help women attend courses. Issues of child care were obviously not important only to the foundation course. One student at another English class had stayed until she had a baby, then - unable to attend because of lack of childcare - had asked for work to be sent home for her. Tutors could not know the numbers of women with children who might come had they been able to bring them too. The course could not offer a women's group: it was mixed.

It was felt that publicity needed to be improved, because the college's requirement of a minimum of fifteen students was met only with difficulty. There were no advertisements for the course in other languages than English, or in contexts where bilingual students might be especially likely to see them, although a publicity drive was planned by the English-in-Use section, for both EFL classes and the foundation

course. Three teachers concerned met with someone from the CRC and also the home tutor organiser to compile suggestions for publicity, leafletting, meetings and college open days: planning to take videos and presentations especially to Asian community contexts, hoping in particular to encourage fathers to think of sending their daughters to the college. One teacher, who felt that the foundation course as it stood was best for "young ones", said the "outreach" would be aimed at "young girls at home. I want to get some of those lasses into the college, because I think that they would be much better equipped to deal with life and all the sorts of vicissitudes that a marriage of any kind might bring them, if they've got at least some basic education. So we want to make the parents feel that the college is a place where the girls are reasonably safe."

Staff were also concerned that the course led students to no particular direction. Where would they go when it was finished? Some students could do the RSA CUEFL exam, though the teachers aimed to cover rather the objectives for the RSA ESL Profile (p104) which that year was still in preparation. The course had its own exam in English and numeracy (only recognised within the college) because it was felt useful and that students liked to have it, although this was not intended to limit what was taught. During 1984-5 the course was re-designed to link in to the new Certificate in Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE), hoping that a recognised certificate at the end could be built upon by the students. In the following year, the course would be offered in three parts, two part-time for a year each: "Starting Out" (basic maths, typing, computing and English language and communication); "Moving On" (adding to these "preparation for a job"); and a third, one year full-time course leading to the CPVE.

During this year, 32 people had applied to do the course. Some were sent to EFL classes; others did not enrol. Twenty actually enrolled (8 women and 12 men). Some had dropped out, one because of pregnancy, others because of the speed of the course, or finding themselves women among a majority of men (the tutors' interpretations). Fifteen were on the register by the end of the year, of whom 10 attended regularly and completed the course. The biographical information kept about the people who applied was wider than that on the EFL forms, because this was entered by a trained teacher of ESL on a grid (cf pp91ff) telling age, country, mother tongue, religion, length of education, arrival in UK, education in UK, and future plans. Beyond this, "other" was predominantly information about family - "lives with husband's family"; "two kids in teens" - or past history - "studied

politics at university in Amritsar". Of the original 32 applications, 20 (i.e. 62.5%) were of South Asian origin.

Table 10: Applications to foundation course by country of origin

Pakistan	13
India	4
Sri Lanka	2
Hong Kong	4
Turkey	2
Nigeria	2
Egypt	1
Vietnam	1
Italy	1
Reunion	1
Malaysia	1
TOTAL	<u>32</u>

Although one teacher said that the course was aimed "at the younger ones", more than 40% (13 of the 32) were mature students, over 25: one was fifty-two.

Table 11 - Age of applicants to foundation course

Age in years	Number
16 - 19	8
20 - 24	11
25 - 29	4
30 - 34	5
35 - 39	3
over 40	1
TOTAL	<u>32</u>

The full-time employment of many staff and their involvement in NATESLA, NATFHE and ESL training schemes brought some of the newer concerns of ESL into currency in the college. Consequently individuals within the section organised publicity for local bilinguals (p146), raised issues of bilingualism within the college as a whole; and linked ESL and training. People within the section had organised a diploma in multicultural education, and had ambitions to provide language support for students in "mainstream" college courses; and to run courses in community languages, teaching community languages, and to get the college to appoint a multiracial/multicultural advisor to be funded by

Section 11. The organiser of the foundation course tried to create the space for students to use their own languages on the course.

There was a separation between English courses (EFL) and the foundation course (ESL), and between the teacher-training courses for teachers of EFL and ESL:

"Here in the college, all the teachers - or the majority of us - who are teaching ESL or EFL are able to make a distinction between EFL teaching and ESL teaching" (senior staff member).

However, the the rigidity of the ESL/EFL divide was called into question by senior members of the section:

"ESL and EFL provision ... I think it is on a continuum" (another senior member of staff).

These teachers felt they were grappling with the differences of emphasis that had historically grown up with the separation of ESL and EFL. Most crudely, EFL taught language rules and grammar with the support of textbooks aimed at middle-class Europeans-

"They are terribly middle-class and jokey ... trendy middle-class is the main thing"

- while ESL was centred on the experiences of students who live in Britain.

"You see, I don't see why I should waste the time of an ESL course with ... the standard visit to the hotel, or ... with stupid young Mr Whatsisname and his fiancée ... These are irrelevant preoccupations".

One member of staff described how both are important:-

"...our EFL work is very much modified and influenced by ESL understanding. You know the whole thing about communicative competence, and valuing the learner's experience, who he is or she is ... and we also reject this idea that ESL learners don't need to be accurate. I believe that accuracy, or an approximation to accuracy is what most people need to be able to present themselves properly, otherwise it's like saying to people it doesn't matter about doing your buttons up, dear, you can go out there looking like a slob with your hair unbrushed ..."

These tutors, however, said they would not teach ESL and EFL in the same way. Firstly, the structure of teaching that an ESL and EFL tutor could expect to get meant they would need to be trained differently.

"The negotiated syllabus is not a reality in EFL classes because ... of cost effectiveness, really. It is so much more cost effective to use a course book and work your way through it ... so you don't have the EFL teacher in the position of your poor ESL teacher, of having to do the syllabus design, the curriculum design, the course writing and the material making ... all without even access to a tape-recorder";

and - on the other hand -

"in most ESL classes, you are working with the limited number of hours that these people have to spend studying and therefore we

cannot afford the luxury of working through Kernel 1, 2, 3, and 4 [EFL textbooks - ND] or whatever we might choose."

One difference between EFL and ESL, then, is that EFL teaching is relatively packaged and predictable, in contrast to the varied and demanding work of ESL, where

"people suddenly have to become an expert in this, that or the other: you've certainly got to know how to develop bilingual materials or how to run a specific MSC employment course ... just out of the blue, meant to be able to do the linked skills ..."
(college tutor/trainer).

Secondly, ESL and EFL were seen to have different types of student. Local, bilingual students could still be referred to as "ESL students" although they could be on EFL courses in the college:

"We have ESL students in our EFL classes ... because I think it can be discriminatory to see someone walk in with a shalwar or turban and say 'Aha! An ESL student' and stick it into that class. So if a person comes along and has a moderate degree of education and literacy and are making all sorts of errors, I would say that it is an elementary stroke intermediate student, how does it perform on a test? We would then put it into that level class".

Trainers of ESL teachers were also aware of a wide range of students in adult education classes - which in contrast with college classes they called "community" classes:

"I saw once, as an assessor, one of the most socially advanced classes I had ever met ... There were people like bank managers' wives from Japan and Poland and other places, but that was an ESL class - there were university postgraduates in it. So ... those sorts of ESL classes do exist and have always existed, but the standard picture of an ESL student is this poor person that can't get on the bus".

In these accounts of the division between EFL and ESL, a tension existed, as a terminology suggesting that local bilingual students were a different kind of student continued alongside a theory of the intellectual division between EFL and ESL which contradicted this. The first was shown by comments such as:

"I myself have taught two or three people you could call ESL, traditional ESL women, who wanted to improve their accuracy";

whereas the second was present in descriptions of EFL students as "ambitious ones" or

"for me, an EFL student is primarily interested in the language as a language ... not necessarily as an academic exercise, but much more along that line, when you are much more interested in learning the language and it is to give you some sort of a plus when you get back home".

Though this last comment suggested once again a link between EFL and students from overseas in particular, this was not held to be exclusive;

one tutor suggested that once a student was "reasonably literate" there was no difference between an EFL or an ESL student - which linked to her observation that

"you've got to have a belief on the part of the tutor that you can get people somewhere, and this means the kind of belief, which is a non-patronising belief, in people's intellectual, as well as their social equality.

The two aspects appear to be linked by a notion of educational background, but here is a tension in itself.

"We normally assume in English classes that the students have got basic literacy, and also have a basic solid education until, I would say, sixteen. What we then presume in EFL is that we are helping the student convert a knowledge and awareness that it already has in L1 into an equally functional and accurate use in L2. But in ESL classes of the more traditional kind, we tend to be working with people whose basic literacy and educational background is far less than the average westerner."

Another tutor described a low-level evening class both as a "dustbin class" and as "ESL drop-outs, really", confirming a view that EFL students were faster than ESL students, who could not be expected to keep up on an examination course.

Conclusion: the ESL provision in Denton

This chapter shows that if we include not only the major providers of ESL but also small organisations which taught English on an irregular or informal basis, many organisations in the borough were interested in English teaching for local bilingual people. However, the AEI classes and the Home Tuition Scheme were the major ESL providers. The FE college taught ESL teachers, but in practice taught English to few local bilingual people despite its many EFL courses. The other organisations taught small numbers of students.

There were strong historical links to be traced between the different organisations. The ILTU had arisen from the college; home tuition had passed from the CRC to the AEI; and in 1984-5 tutors trained at the college were working in the smaller organisations. Arguably, each of these facts relates to professionalisation of ESL. Yet the links between these organisations at the time of the study were not strong or regular. In this borough, there was no equivalent of the ILEA Borough Language Coordinator; and as the relevant part of each of these organisations was very small, contact between them was organised by individuals, who were often very busy. The AEI housed both the class organiser and the home tutor organiser, so contact between these two

areas was systematic; but other organisations were apart geographically, funded separately, and it was possible for them to work in isolation from each other, with general rather than detailed ideas of what the other organisations were doing. Contrasting with another borough, a college tutor said "here you've got FE clearly split off from AE and home tutoring". Our discussion of schemes for Asian women suggested some repetition; conversely, it was possible that there were groups of potential students in the borough that none of the organisations catered for.

Despite differences between organisations, the shared assumptions about English teaching for bilinguals are important. At the AEI, the Home Tuition service, the CRC and various community organisations, most effort went into providing tuition for Asian women. They largely shared a view that local Asian women would benefit from learning basic English - although their busyness in the house and their husbands' opposition might make it hard to get to a class. This led to the establishment of local, women-only provision in places women might feel at ease in - home or a club or a school they went to anyway. The language teaching was usually "situational" - which (here) meant a link to situations where students were expected to need to use English. The most important difference between classes run by community organisations and those at the AEI was not in teaching-style or aims but that in the former, teachers were themselves Asian and bilingual. There were other organisations in Denton - the library, health visitor and education visitor services - that also seemed to share the notion that it was important "to bring Asian women out" (interview with an education visitor). Like ESL services, they were concerned with "take-up" of facilities and arguably saw facilities in a similar way.

English language provision by the ILTU was different in that it was set in a context of employment and courses ran in the workplace. However, in this year there was only one course. Though this was for Asian women, the potential students were defined as workers rather than women.

The FE college similarly made no adjustments for women with domestic responsibilities and its local English students were mainly men. Though there was more awareness of new ideas about ESL here than elsewhere (cf ch 3), staff were mainly involved in academic, exam-oriented English language courses "for the top end of the market". For

other local bilingual people English was taught together with work-training.

The main providers of ESL, AEI and HT, were outside the college and had little contact with it. Moreover, in contrast with the relative stability and better resources of the college, these main providers had little funding. Consequently the AEI classes relied on part-time hourly-paid staff, and the home tuition service relied on volunteers. Communication, via training or associations or meetings, was inevitably affected by the relatively high rate of staff turnover: yet in one-to-one or class tuition there was a lot of autonomy for the part-timers or volunteer tutors.

Organisers clearly set the limits of the work, and were in most senses more powerful than the teaching staff. Also the particular individual who had the organiser's job in each case was clearly powerful in representing what the work was about. Yet the tutors themselves were clearly important in forming the work of ESL. As a result, the accounts of the work given by organisers and full-time teachers in these organisations are not sufficient for an in-depth understanding of the work of ESL. The next chapter, therefore, looks at the interviews with part-time teachers in the AEI, and with some home tutor volunteers in order to discuss the practices and policies of the main ESL providers in the borough.

TABLE 12: AVAILABLE ESL PROVISION IN DENTON AT THE TIME OF THE RESEARCH

organisa- tion	English / ESL courses	aims of courses	allied work	class hours / locations	students	teachers	creche?	fees?	number of local enrolments 1984-85	funding
English language department at local FE college	Foundation course in English with other subjects	help get training or work	English language workshop for students on other courses	P/T hours within DHSS limits. At college	local, bilingual, mixed	F/T + P/T college staff	no creche	free if unemployed	32	LEA Section 11
	English language courses	EFL exams	-	F/T or P/T college only	mainly overseas + middle- class	F/T + P/T college staff	no creche	fees for overseas F/T £1,000 plus	few local bilingual	LEA +fees (some Section 11)
ESL dept at local Adult Education Institute (AEI)	P/T graded ESL courses women-only classes ESL for work- seekers English with other skills	basic English; more advanced English language on some courses	ESL is main work	P/T typically 2-8 hours weekly in school term AEI, local centres, esp. schools rolling enrolment	local bilingual. Must be settled in UK: mainly women	P/T hourly-paid	creche	free to local people	500 (400 to women's classes; 40 men in daytime; 60, mainly men, evenings)	LEA Section 11
Home Tuition Scheme	home tuition one hour a week	basic English; encouraging people to AEI classes	this is main work	one hour a week in own home	local bilingual, usually women	volunteers	no creche	free	about 44	Urban Aid
Industrial Language Training Unit (ILTU) (shared with neigh- bouring borough)	English language tuition in workplace	functional English for work	ESL now small part (previously central); racism awareness +antiracist interview training for white bosses + employees	occasional fixed-term courses in workplace	bilingual employees of a given firm	F/T + P/T ILTU staff	no creche	free to employees	currently none	MSC
Community Relations Council (CRC)	English at women's group, mother + toddler group	basic English	previously organised home tuition; now advice, organising interpreters	mother + toddler group in centre	local bilingual women	CRC staff	children welcome	free	a few on informal basis	borough CRE
two local Asian women's organisa- tions	English classes for women	basic English	mother tongue classes for ch+n+adults; advice; interpreting	own local premises	local bilingual Asian women members of the organisations	own staff	no, but children welcome	free	up to 15 when classes are running	Urban Aid

NON-STATE OPTIONS

private language schools	graded EFL exam courses	none in this borough but available within reach in London	no creches	fees
private tuition	various		no creches	fees

CHAPTER 5

TEACHERS OF ESL

In the last chapter, we suggested that an in-depth study of ESL could not rely on the accounts of ESL's policies made by full-time organisers, because of the importance in the major ESL organisations of part-time work, and, in the home tutor scheme, voluntary work. The major ESL organisations rely on fairly isolated teachers, who are relatively powerless in relation to the organisations, but organise their teaching themselves. The difficulties of communication across the workforce contribute to the importance of teachers' own accounts of the work. In addition, we argue in chapter 1 that teachers' conceptions of the work are important, with effects on the students who attend courses, while these conceptions are likely to be affected by the working conditions of teachers.

This chapter is based on interviews with volunteers on the home tuition scheme and tutors of AEI ESL classes. We discuss the tutors' concepts about the ESL provision and its students, and consider how they relate to the teachers' working-conditions. It appears that the uneven spread of new ideas in ESL is explained partly by poor communication across the workforce, but the generation of the ideas themselves relates also to the hierarchy of power within the ESL workforce, and the contradictions and struggles around professionalisation.

Method

Home tutors were contacted via the organiser on the basis of a random sample from her alphabetical list of tutors. Six tutors were contacted by letter and then phone, and five agreed to be interviewed, using the schedule in Appendix C(iii). In addition I was invited to home tutors' meetings, both daytime and evening, as the organiser suggested that different types of tutor went to each. Though interested primarily in the content of the meeting, I spoke individually to a further 12 home tutors. Of these, 5 volunteers were of South Asian origin. This was not a proportion of the home tutors (see table 7,

p129), but reflected the organiser's new interest in finding bilingual volunteers. One of the tutors I spoke to was, in addition, a home tutor. These informal discussions added data to the five formal interviews, and I drew on both in my attempt to examine home tutors' understandings of their voluntary work.

All AEI ESL tutors were contacted via the AEI ESL organiser, and asked for an interview about their work. Nineteen of the 21 teachers who were teaching at that time agreed to have a formal interview. Interviews used a schedule with open questions (Appdx C(iii)). The main sections of the schedule sought the tutors' views on their teaching, the students, the structure of the ESL organisation and major issues they saw within ESL. In many cases there were handwritten notes to add to interview transcriptions, as tutors began to tell me of their work on the telephone when we were arranging the interview proper. Tutors were interviewed individually, although three tutors at one centre chose to be interviewed as a group. Further information on method is found in chapter 1.

In analysis, further questions were asked about the interviews: what were the tutors' assumptions about their work and about the students? What seemed to be key concepts? Were there different groups of tutors with different approaches? The questions posed by the tutors were also important in building a picture of the way tutors saw their work, and what they felt they should include in their teaching.

THE VOLUNTEER TUTORS

These tutors had been teaching students for varying lengths of time. Of the five from the original sample, one had been teaching two students together for six months; one had taught two students, one for six months, then a different student for two months; one had taught one student for eighteen months; one had just stopped teaching one woman after six months; and one who had taught two women together for four months but was about to give it up to have a baby. At meetings I met further tutors who had just trained, and had visited their students once, or only a few times; and one long-established home tutor, who had had a series of students one after another, and expected when her current student finished to teach somebody else.

Although all eighteen tutors were women, there was a range of age, stage of life, and job background between them. The youngest were just

out of college; there were women with children of various ages; some women were older, and some retired. While some women were tutors because they had time in the day - due perhaps to doing no paid work, or part-time work - others were working: and the full- and part-time jobs they had included work for local authority, social security office, German/English translating and type setting, running a local mothers' group. Work others had done included administration and teaching; while one tutor in contrast admitted that "paper-work" (including hand-outs from the home-tutor training course for home tutors) was frightening to her.

The students of these tutors were also all women. One was Turkish, one from Hong Kong, one from Iran; and all the others from Pakistan. They ranged in age from post-school to elderly, with a predominance of mothers of young children.

Reasons for volunteering

Fourteen of the tutors gave one main reason to apply to become volunteer home tutors (see table 13). In contrast to the "goody goody" image of volunteers, it seems that most of the volunteers were clear that they hoped for something for themselves from the work. If we exclude the woman who became a home tutor by accident and the two who were particularly interested in this for its own sake, eleven out of fourteen would fit this category. Tutors were often between jobs, hoping for better ones; or at home most of the day and wanting something interesting to do. Indeed, though the organiser found it "hard to use" the rare men who applied to volunteer, because women tutees often wanted women tutors, this was not the reason why more women than men applied to volunteer. Despite evident differences between women, some broad societal similarities created a situation where women were more frequently volunteers, part-time tutors, and also students in

<u>Table 13 - Main reasons for becoming a home tutor</u>	
May help to get a job.....	6
Something to do in free time.....	3
To meet people.....	1
After EFL training was unemployed and it seemed relevant..	1
By accident: went to AEI for another reason.....	1
Specifically interested in this area.....	2
TOTAL.....	<u>14</u>

the ESL classes in the borough. With many provisos, we might expect similar considerations when women seek to volunteer, teach, or learn.

The practice of home tuition

Teachers' accounts showed the importance of personal relationship that built up between tutor and tutee, a result of the one-to-one situation in determining the success of the project of home tuition. Different conceptions of what "the class" was about, could lead to a build-up of frustration that ended the classes before six months were up. When classes continued beyond this period, it seemed to be due to a relaxing of the formal English teaching component: and a recognition that tutor and tutee were enjoying meeting, for a variety of reasons that extended beyond the effectiveness of language teaching, to friendship.

Tutors usually expected to go once a week for an hour to the student's house to teach English. In practice, only one teacher stayed for one hour only, while it was more common that teachers found their hour started after a prolonged chat and drink of tea, or was interrupted or extended due to children's presence or other disturbance. Where tutors were teaching more than one woman at a time, they were usually women who lived together - two sisters-in-law, or a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law. However, in one case, a tutor described how a student's neighbour had taken to coming to the house at English lesson time, and joining in. In this instance, however, the second woman did not become a student officially - for when that was suggested, and a form was taken to fill in, she stopped coming.

What teachers tried to teach varied a lot, as did the extent to which they drew on ideas from their training course or went to borrow materials from the organiser's library. Tutors themselves enjoyed or thought that their students responded to quite different things: for example, in one case, no tapes at all; in another, tapes above all.

Most teachers felt they should try to have some formal English teaching component to their visit to the student; yet what happened often went beyond this. Students or their families brought forms to fill, or requests for particular help in dealing with state institutions - asking the home tutor, for example, to phone the council when it was needed. In many cases where language permitted, mutual curiosity led to long periods of chat, or discussions.

What the tutors knew of their students' past and present lives and their relationships to others in the household varied enormously. Some felt that they did not know much about what their students did beyond English classes, and felt awkward about the difference of experience between themselves and their students. One tutor wanted to ask a student to go to the park on a Sunday, but had not done so as she did not know if it was "culturally appropriate". Another tutor, herself childless, was considering moving on to EFL rather than ESL because of the distance she felt from her ESL tutee.

"Perhaps if I came back to it when I was married and had children we would have a bit more in common".

Other tutors felt more at ease to talk, and to ask students about their past, or their family. One tutor was a bit uncertain of her role or progress, but felt her two students were keen she kept coming, in particular because they liked to chat, and enjoyed the fact that she would answer what she found very personal questions about sex and contraception.

In two cases, friendships developed that kept home tutors visiting even though the organiser asked the tutors to move to teach another student. A tutor who had been teaching for eighteen months felt very fond of her student, who was her own daughter's age; her husband had been to visit the student's husband; and she had been asked to keep coming as a friend, though she still tried to keep up the English teaching function of the visits. The other home tutor who had continued with a student for longer than six months also felt their relationship had moved beyond "tutor-tutee":

"she has problems with her daughter's family, who she lives with, and I'm from outside the family, so she tells me what she thinks about it all".

Tutors often expressed worries and frustration with the teaching situation which arose from an uncertainty of their own role, on the one hand; and a different expectation of the teaching situation from the student on the other. Many tutors were dismayed at the difficulty of knowing what to teach. Lesson plans could fall flat, or be very hard to put into effect. "The night before, I get very tense". Beyond worries about what or how to teach, which were often expressed, seemed to be a frustration on the tutor's part at lack of control that stemmed from the non-formal setting of the classes: and the fact that the student, precisely, was at home, while the tutor was not.

A frustration shared by most tutors was the unpredictability of the teaching situation in the presence of other family members. Small or noisy children often altered the course of a "lesson"; and there were other interruptions from outside. Tutors often tried to incorporate young children into the class, via games in English, or taking toys along. Two tutors said they were happy at the presence of young children: it broke the ice. But for others, the unpredictability of the time made a "lesson" impossible.

Husbands who could speak good English also caused tutors to feel uncomfortable teaching in their presence. One tutor who enjoyed having the student's husband and children there was an exception. At meetings, tutors discussed how to persuade these other family-members to leave, so that a woman tutee could have the class by herself. Some tutors appeared to feel nervous at having their lessons judged from "outside", taking on the position of "teacher", although volunteers.

"It's hard to teach with the whole family watching".

Other tutors said that woman tutees were too nervous to speak English in the presence of a husband or children. "It irritates me when he's there - he translates". In one of the tutors' meetings, the presence of one woman's English-speaking children throughout "the class" was unanimously agreed to be a problem. Discussion centred on how to keep the children out of the room. It was assumed that their presence was making their mother very shy as it undoubtedly was doing for the tutor. It also suggested the wish of the volunteer to impose a formal teacher-taught, teacher-controlled lesson in a situation where the student may not have been seeking such a thing.

A further difference of approach to visits that the tutor conceived of as "lessons" was shown by complaints of students either being out, or being unprepared for a class, with no warning to the tutor. Students might ask to stop the teaching - or just withdraw from the classes by being out without warning. When a woman's husband told her tutor that his wife was going to Pakistan indefinitely - though the tutor knew somehow that this was not the case - it was clear that the classes were not wanted. But in occasional periods of busyness or absence, it was hard for the tutor to tell what the message was, though repeated visits of this sort could bring the home tuition situation to an early end or stop the volunteer tutoring at all.

If in some situations such worries or misunderstandings could stop a tutor teaching, and in other cases, classes could transform themselves

and keep going until some major disruption (one of the two having a baby, moving house, getting a new job) - why did some home tutorial "pairings" seem to work while others did not? Clearly a part of the answer depended on the people involved being interested in each other as people. Having some shared language to communicate could help. The home tutor of a woman from Hong Kong, a beginner in English, knew no Cantonese and felt defeated by the difficulties of communication. As the tutor who was thinking about moving to EFL remarked, it could also depend on having something else in common, whether it be children to talk about, or an educated background. Beyond that could be factors of age, personality - other things that made it an easy or a worrying situation for each one.

Levine, writing of "pairings" of literacy tutors and students, believes he can categorise each group by their motivation to take part in home tutoring. Volunteer tutors, he suggests, fall into either a "technical" category (committed primarily to the task of teaching people to read and write, with the quality of the tutorial relationship as secondary) or a "pastoral" category - where

"literacy tuition was conceived as merely one form of assistance among many by which the disadvantaged could be helped ... language work was an important element, but not always the raison d'etre"(Levine 1986 p120).

It is interesting that he separates a welfare (pastoral) motive from a more professional (technical) approach, as this appears to relate to our own discussion of ESL. Yet categorisations of students by their orientation are here cast doubt on in chapter 6, while Levine does not tell us how he classified tutors and students in this way. From the interviews with home tutors of ESL, it is clear that there are differences of character as well as of background - but not clear that we can divide tutors into such cut and dried categories.

Looking at the five interviews from the original sample, we explored a classification along Levine's lines. If a tutor spoke of the need to teach English as primary, attaching importance to formal lesson planning, or grammar etc. we have called her "technical". If a tutor saw English teaching as a help to the disadvantaged, for example emphasising how English was not as important as a chat and being prepared to help with immediate problems, we have called her "pastoral". However, table 14 shows how hard it is to sustain a rigid division. Tutors made it clear that they learned from the experience of home tuition, and their descriptions showed changes in their approach. Importantly, a

"pastoral" approach seemed more common. It seems that in taking on the task of home tutor, these volunteers decided to make an effort to approach the work "technically", but that in almost all situations they were defeated in their efforts at formalising the lesson by a combination of the home based conditions of teaching and by issues of communication which made it hard to establish the relative ambitions of tutor and student. Different tutors approached the home tutor situation in different ways, and "hit it off" with students in different ways, relaxing into or struggling against their inability, in most cases, to determine the course of the lesson. Yet the discussion of their aims suggested a common attempt to teach English for a number of reasons that they also had in common with many of the paid, part-time ESL tutors.

Table 14 - Home tutors' "orientation" (cf Levine 1986)

- 1) "Technical" at first, became pastoral.
- 2) "Pastoral" because saw this as best way to be "technical".
- 3) Not clearly either: liked informal chats but had given no thought to the aims of home tuition.
- 4) "Pastoral".
- 5) "Technical" and "pastoral".

Aims of ESL: discussions with home tutors

Volunteer home tutors had sometimes not considered the aims of what they were doing - "I've never thought about it" - just assuming that it was a good thing to do. Apparently during their training sessions, the question "Why teach English?" or "What are we trying to do?" had not been asked. However, implicit in the training course, in the tutors' descriptions of their work, and in discussions at meetings about tutors' successes and disappointment in the home tuition relation, were four aims of the work that seemed to be generally agreed on. Tutees were universally envisaged as women.

(1) To teach basic English.

Teaching the English language was seen as an aim of undoubted benefit. Tutors expressed doubt about their progress, or pleasure at their success in teaching English, and in particular in getting women to talk English; some tutors felt they were struggling, too, against ingrained patterns of "wrong" English. Two tutors mentioned how

encouraged they were when their students spoke English to their children. When it was discussed at a meeting how an extra student had come to a home tutor but seemed reluctant to enrol officially, the group agreed with the comment that "anyway, if she learns more English, that is clearly a good thing".

However, it was in particular basic, first stage English that was important in this scheme. Two tutors had volunteered because they were particularly interested in this work, and each referred to the problems Asian women had when they spoke little English. One said, "I just see round here how hard it is for them to cope", and said that she taught things to do with "survival". The other aimed to "keep it simple", and described how she had wanted to teach English in this way since hearing of an Asian woman and her two children, killed in a fire because they could not get help. Tutors in a meeting agreed that teaching beginners was more immediately rewarding: it was possible to see progress very rapidly. Also more advanced students were seen as "too good" for home tuition, so efforts were made to encourage them to go to classes.

"It is absurd to have home tuition for someone with a high level of English" (home tutor at meeting).

(2) To increase the women's confidence in general.

One tutor expressed the aims of teaching a student in terms primarily of confidence, rather than learning English:

"to make her feel confident so she can express herself, and confident so she can go out. She shouldn't have to stay at home because she can't speak to people. To make her feel she can join into things without worrying."

She hoped the student would gain the courage to put together words that the tutor felt she knew; and join in things that required the English language. Other tutors also linked speaking little English to being "shy" and lacking confidence. One group related "increases in confidence" to going to English classes: "I want to give her the confidence to go on to classes".

(3) To challenge the women's isolation

Not all tutors saw potential tutees as "isolated": one suggested that two sisters-in-law that she had taught

"didn't really need English, they had got by without it for years ... they are quite self-sufficient in that household".

But other tutors, and the groups of tutors, talked frequently of the "isolation" of the women they taught: often because they had small children. It was not always clear whether they were being described as

"isolated" in general, with few contacts with other people; or "isolated" from the English-speaking people in particular, and English-speaking situations that could have been available to them had they been more "independent". One tutor mixed these two ideas together when she described her aim: to get women into "society" as much as possible. Tutors' successes were, for example, that one woman with children was able to go with them to the school and ask questions; or that another woman could go out of the house and do her own shopping.

(4) To get women to go to English classes

The link between the home tutor scheme and the AEI classes in Denton is discussed above. Volunteer tutors talked of the importance of encouraging students to go on to classes. The move from home tuition to classes was seen as a means and indication of the breaking of the "isolation" of particular students, or their families. One family, for example, was discussed as "particularly isolated" (from others like them? Or English speakers?), and tutors in a group agreed that the women should be encouraged to go to an ESL class.

Encouraging a student to go on to a class was seen as proof of the success of the home tuition relationship. One tutor who had taught two students, had finished her teaching of the first student by taking her along to a class - although she did not know whether the student would have continued to go to the class, for in the event she moved. One tutor who had stopped teaching her student felt that she had "failed her", because she did not go on to classes. This shows the involvement of the volunteer tutors in the professional definitions of ESL.

That the home tutor relationship was not a private relationship between tutor and student was emphasized by discussions between tutors and organisers about a particular student, often around the question of whether she should go to a class, and how she could be encouraged to do so. For some tutors, the latter was so much an aim of their work, that they could take it on as a challenge despite the apparent resistance of their tutees. For example, a tutor talking to her co-tutors of her two students' resistance to such an idea, grinned and said, "We'll get them there". Discussion ensued about why these women did not want to go to classes - were classes, socially, seen as no good? The tutors themselves did not question the usefulness of the classes.

These aims

Though the ranking of these four aims was likely to vary between individuals, and (see table 14) to vary as an individual's perception of the work changed, there seems to be a difference between aims (1) & (2) and aims (3) & (4). The first two relate more strongly to personalised views of the work, to welfare/"pastoral" motives; and the second two to more "technical"/ educational aims. The organiser located herself at a distance from the more personalised motives, saying "home tutors always widen it to a more busybodying brief than it should be", while herself prioritizing bringing women to class. In this way more "technical" emphases, articulating the home tuition scheme with formal classes, were part of the professionalisation of ESL.

PAID TUTORS IN THE AEI SCHEME

The tutors themselves

The teachers of ESL classes were largely white, middle-class women. Sixteen of the 19 part-time teachers were women. Eighteen of the 19 were white; one (woman) was of South Asian origin. The majority had previously done middle-class jobs, often in school teaching. The exceptions were one woman who had previously had white-collar shop and office jobs; and another who had worked in the ESL creche until invited to apply for a job as a teacher.

Taught children	5
EFL	5
Journalism and EFL	1
Part-time teacher	1
Group organiser for CRC ..	1
Shop and office work	1
Creche work	1
No previous work since college ..	4

Though one woman had taught ESL in the same borough for ten years, and five teachers had taught for more than six years, the majority of these teachers had come recently into paid adult ESL teaching. Eight of the nineteen had been teaching ESL here for two years or less. This figure is attributable both to the youth of the AEI ESL service, and to a high turn-over of staff which also must be seen in relation to working conditions in ESL.

Table 16 - Length of time teaching ESL	
Less than two years..	4
Two years.....	4
Four years.....	2
Five years.....	4
Six years.....	1
Seven years.....	2
Eight years.....	1
Ten years.....	1
TOTAL.....	<u>19</u>

Table 17 - Teachers teaching:-	
One course.....	11
Two courses....	7
Three courses..	1
TOTAL.....	<u>19</u>

Table 18 - Number of hours taught per week	
Two hours.....	4
Four hours....	3
Six hours.....	1
Eight hours...	9
Ten hours.....	1
Twelve hours..	1
TOTAL.....	<u>19</u>

Table 19 - Part-time tutors' other work	
Teaching ESL in other boroughs.....	2
(one also in an ILTU)	
Teaching EFL in FE colleges.....	2
Teaching literacy in the AEI.....	1
Leading women's group for local social services.	2
<u>TOTAL IN OTHER PAID WORK.....</u>	<u>7</u>
Studying (own historical research).....	1
Main responsibility for small children.....	8
(no other paid work)	
<u>TOTAL WITH OTHER COMMITMENTS.....</u>	<u>9</u>
Registered unemployed.....	1
Other.....	2
<u>TOTAL NUMBER OF TUTORS.....</u>	<u>19</u>

The majority (11) taught only one "block" of classes per week for Denton AEI, though 5 did other teaching jobs, including 2 teaching ESL in other places. Four of the teachers were taking as few as two hours a week, teaching in classes based in schools. Eight tutors taught fewer than 8 hours per week, and 11 of the 19 taught 8 hours and over per

week. Those teachers with the greatest number of paid hours' work a week (10 and 12 hours - table 18) were both men.

As table 19 shows, seven of the teachers were in employment elsewhere, or studying. This does not demonstrate the lack of importance of employment in ESL to part-time teachers. It is equally possible that this employment is both important and not sufficient, needing supplementing by working in other areas or on different jobs, or indeed vice versa. One very busy mother of two under-threes was pleased to be able to find a job that would enable her to work and also to have time for her children. Although she said the money was important, she continued to depend on another income in her family. For others this financial consideration mattered even more: they needed further work, or "more hours". One teacher was also registered unemployed, and wanted to teach more; meanwhile, however, she felt the present arrangement (ESL for two days a week, UB for four), to be worrying and unstable.

For eight teachers, their main work apart from teaching was the care of children under five. Other teachers looked after children and were also employed elsewhere (table 19). For some women teachers, the availability of creches attached to classes was a particular help although the same women complained of employment conditions in general. Seven teachers including one man used class creches for their own children, either regularly or occasionally. Eight women mentioned having children as among their specific reasons for teaching ESL at the AEI. They included women who had previously had full-time employment. All tutors but one lived locally, in this or the adjacent boroughs.

Ways into ESL

There was no specific training for AEI teachers in particular, though the college ran RSA courses in ESL, which some of the teachers knew about. There was no standard way into ESL, but three frequent routes: from EFL teaching, teaching in schools, or past voluntary work, for example home tutoring. Some of the teachers had done more than one of these - one, for example had previously been both a primary school teacher and a volunteer home tutor for ESL, and sought paid employment in ESL after she had children. A majority of tutors, but not all, had some relevant training, most of which they had organised at their own time and expense. Many teachers had done more than one form of

relevant training, such as two different EFL courses (e.g. one at International House, and then an RSA); two different ESL courses (e.g. short and then long RSA); an EFL and an ESL training; schoolteacher's certificate and another course.

<u>Table 20 - Teachers' training N=19</u>	
ESL training.....	9
EFL training.....	7
School teacher training.....	8
No relevant training.....	2
<u>Combinations</u>	
Teacher training and EFL.....	3
Teacher training and ESL.....	2
Teacher training, EFL and ESL.....	1
EFL and ESL.....	2

<u>Table 21 - Types of ESL training done by teachers N=7</u>	
RSA diploma.....	1
RSA CITESLA.....	5
Home tutor training.....	4
EFL - ESL conversion.....	1
Short course at Institute of Education...	3

The informal but patterned ways into ESL, and the low pay due to short hours and lack of security have been argued to play a role in determining the pattern of employment within ESL of mainly white, middle class women. The argument is that voluntary work has traditionally been a field for white, middle-class women; while its unpaid nature can make it unpopular among black people looking for a job. In addition, the poor conditions of this work make it classic women's work, taking advantage of the division of labour within families that gives women major responsibility in the care of young children and makes them relatively powerless in the job market. One contradiction for ESL tutors is, therefore, their appearance as white teachers, seemingly authoritative in relation to black, bilingual students; while some among them feel powerless, not only as women in a male-oriented job market, but also in the classroom because^c lack of specific training.

Working conditions in ESL

From the point of view of the teachers, the issues of working conditions in ESL were linked to the conditions of employment by the underlying poor resourcing of ESL, and a permanent fear of cuts. If part-time workers have fractional appointments, security, and involvement in decisions about courses and policies beyond their paid teaching time, such a division need not be crucial; but in Denton AEI, part-time work amounted to casual work: hourly paid with no job security, sick pay or holiday pay, and long holidays with no employment. Though the union, NATFHE, was campaigning for better conditions for part-timers, the attendance of tutors at the local union branch was low, reflecting again problems of women with children (cf Rowbotham 1972).

The poor conditions of day-to-day work for most of these teachers were stressed in every interview. The ESL department was desperately short of resources of all kinds, with teaching taking place in make-do conditions. In the year of the research, some resource packs had been given to teachers to use - the first time materials had been generally issued. Many teachers greeted the free issue of BBC books accompanying the "Switch on to English" programme with enthusiasm, and were making use of these books in class. (Bird and Brierley 1985).

"apart from these, we haven't had any new books for quite a time - well, for a couple of years at least".

There was a photocopier and a small library of ESL books in the main ESL office. While some teachers spoke of "looking in the cupboard" for teaching materials, most didn't go there; it was often far from a teacher's house or the class. Instead teachers made, found, and hoarded much of their material. Sharing worksheets was rare; most of those who used textbooks, bought them themselves; many teachers did without photocopies. Those who used tape-recorders or pictures, bought and carried their own; in some instances even blackboards and heaters for rooms were carried into classrooms by the teachers, from their own homes. There was a consistent picture drawn of teachers working many more hours per week in preparation than they were paid to do, being paid purely for teaching time: and that this time was spent not merely in planning and organising lessons but in the production of what in some forms of teaching would be basic materials - drawing pictures, or collecting them, writing texts, and so on.

"I simply don't get round to going and photocopying worksheets ... They have exercise books which they buy themselves, and I give them worksheets which are either worksheets I've made before, or, as I

have no easy access to a copying machine I usually do things with carbon paper. If it's a worksheet where they don't have to fill it in on the worksheet, I usually do 4, and they can share ... I manage to do 4 copies with 3 bits of carbon between, so if I do that twice there are enough for one each."

"I do really resent the amount of extra time that I put in above my teaching and preparation time as it is".

The conditions in the classroom caused a lot of comment. Within the AEI itself, rooms were a problem, and obtaining rooms difficult against the demands of other subjects. In the main institute building, two classes daily shared one small room, foregoing the use of tape recorders, and constantly aware of the need to be quiet for the sake of the other class. "Off site", the location of classes was dictated by considerations of finance and favour. Local authority buildings, such as schools, could be let free to English classes, where other places might not be: but within them, ESL classes were put where they suited other users of the building. School classes were frequently in small rooms, with tiny, infant-sized chairs for adult women; and no facilities to make drinks in a break. Frequently there was no blackboard, or use of a tape-recorder was ruled out by proximity to school classes or other ESL classes. One class was situated a long way along lonely corridors round the back of a council swimming pool, where two groups together shared a room and had been without a heater for three years. It was usual that there were no available notice boards for classwork, and no place for teacher or students to leave books or work.

Classes usually had a creche and paid creche-worker, which was very important from the point of view of enabling women to become students. However, four teachers spoke of creche workers changing without notice, or not coming without warning. Creche workers' conditions of employment are relevant: there had been an attempt to impose a cut in their wages during that year. Children frequently did not settle in creches, especially where there was change-over of staff, and so they came into the class. In many cases there was no separate room available for the creche, so an ESL class shared a room with what could be a number of children, who often distracted their mothers or the teacher.

While teachers "on site" enjoyed the presence of other classes and other teachers, and many teachers spoke of enjoying the company of the students, many teachers described their work as very lonely and isolated, and had no contact with others doing the same job. There

were few chances to meet and discuss their work with other teachers unless (in a minority of cases) they were working with, or alongside, other teachers or knew other ESL teachers socially. Seven teachers, of 19, went to every organised meeting they could, but others, while wishing for a proper forum about ESL issues and method, felt they could not be expected to give more unpaid time. Others were unable to go to meetings: "I used to go, but I can't now, because of the baby". Those that attended meetings said that in a context of much dissatisfaction, the meetings were prevented from becoming a place to explore important issues, as in the time available there were a lot of complaints and problems to get out.

"I absolutely hate them. I remember coming out of one meeting and thinking, this is a ... waste of time ... I think it's an occupational hazard of having part-time teachers actually. Nobody on a part-time salary wants to go to meetings, and there's no reason why they should be expected to".

The political situation, both in the borough, and nationally, led to great fears on the part of teachers for the future of ESL and their jobs: "we're only here by the grace of God". Four teachers spoke at length of worries about their insecurity of employment, explaining that ESL had a continual struggle within the AEI to exist, and with the council for funding. These teachers had worries about potential "political misuse being made of the answers" to my questions. They felt that if politicians found excuses not to give money to ESL, the ESL service, and the students, would all suffer. This insecurity affected every aspect of the work, including the uncertainty felt by teachers who had had no specific ESL training about the usefulness of doing such a training.

Teachers' autonomy

Newer teachers, especially those without training, spoke of worries about what they "ought to teach". Yet teachers who organised their own classes had some power and influence at the level of their teaching and relations with the students. While teachers were able to call on the organiser if there was a problem (she also sometimes visited classes), much of the practice of ESL on a day-to-day level was on the initiative of part-time teaching staff. Apart from the lessons themselves, tutors had influence in assessing students' "level", and helping them sort out personal issues, or plans for the immediate future.

ESL classes were very flexible, and in recent years numbers of classes had opened, merged, moved or closed - mainly because of changing numbers of students, but secondly because of the availability of rooms for classes. Such decisions were made by the organiser, who also established relations with various organisations and services related to bilingual people, with a view to recruiting for classes (p120). Many teachers of classes with low student numbers also contacted the organiser, who would call or write to ex-students from the class, about class numbers either in their own classes or in general; but more tutors had in the past taken responsibility for filling their classes themselves. Six had tried to trace past students, by phone or letter, or inquiring from their friends, to see if they wished to return to class; three had made leaflets (one, getting students to translate the English into Urdu) or put up advertisements; one went to a toy library open to local bilingual women, hoping to persuade them to come to English classes. Others felt that they should do more than they did to find students, but travel or childcare made it hard. This contrasted with those who saw reliance on tutors searching for students as exploitation of themselves as part-time workers. For some teachers, the question of "outreach" was not relevant. In particular, teachers in several-times-a-week, graded classes had on the whole more students per class than did the once-a-week classes.

Beyond such efforts to encourage students to attend, teachers had some influence over the progress of students through and beyond classes. Where two or more classes ran together in one centre, teachers made an initial assessment of "level", based on a first conversation - usually a rough oral guide was used, but in one case, literacy level was seen as more important - and on this basis decided which class a student would go into. This could possibly be changed later. In one centre with three classes, the teachers spoke with joy of a number of people who had progressed "upwards" through all three. In other places it appeared that the initial assessment of "level" could stick for some time:

"Some are there for years and years".

The lack of regular counselling time for students, or training for teachers who found themselves advising them, meant that neither students nor teachers could be sure that they were aware even of the most immediate alternatives, such as other English language classes. A minority of students came to the classes via the central ESL organisation: usually they went directly to one of the local ESL classes.

During this year, teachers were informed of the once-off typing and English classes which they could advertise to their students. They also had a list of available classes, but there was no formal referral system between different classes. Five teachers spoke of suggesting to particular students that they might increase the number of classes per week by changing class. If a student took this advice, though, there was no feed-back to the teacher; while many teachers were not really sure what other local classes had to offer which might be similar to or different from their own.

Other local possibilities were similarly not made known to teachers, but teachers sometimes sought information and advice on students' behalf. In several instances teachers talked of the possibility of students going on to the local college: but due to the organisational distance between AEI and the college, many AEI teachers did not know what sort of classes were available in the FE college. No systematic careers counselling, information or means of referral was available to students through the ESL scheme, though the full-time organiser said that specific queries were passed on to her. Without systematic advice sessions, help in "moving on" to work or other courses was a matter for individual teachers.

"If they were interested in going on to study for proper exams I would help them to apply for [Denton] college, or find out about courses they could go on to. It's entirely up to the teacher to help them."

"If someone comes here and says they're interested in work, I'll discuss ways of finding work ... I've advised people to go along to the job centre ... One lady was interested in teaching Urdu in schools ... I got her some addresses of teaching colleges and composed with her a letter of enquiry... There was one chap... wanted to go to [Denton] college, and I took him along, introduced him and so on ..."

Four teachers had recently been quite involved in the futures of their students, seeking information on courses that seemed relevant for students, in some cases acting on presuppositions, without back-up or training.

"...for instance I went up to the job centre with these girls ... went up and looked around, and I was naive enough to expect them to get a job after that ..."

Because of the scarcity of resources and back-up of all types, both the content of the teaching and its outcome for the students

depended on the goodwill of teachers, and the extent to which they were prepared to put in extra work.

The AEI classes themselves

The AEI ESL department organised four types of class (p121). The main distinctions were the "immersion time" in English given to the students; the fact that the more intensive classes could be "graded" rather than entirely "mixed level"; and between mixed classes and women's classes, though in exceptional cases men had been allowed to join the latter (one teacher had allowed a local man in who appeared to have no coat in a severe winter, because the women present did not mind). Students travelled by bus to the on-site "graded" classes, but only local students went to local school ones (survey). However it seemed that the teacher's perceptions about the students were likely to make more difference than other factors apart from available class time. One teacher of a four-times-a-week "intensive" class referred to once-a-week classes as "mums' classes", saying that different people went to those as compared with the ones she taught, where none of the regular class-goers made use of the creche. But the teacher of another four-times-a-week class could see no difference between the women going to her class or to a once-a-week class, and certainly the students in her class were mainly "mums". The student going to the first four-times-a-week class mentioned was likely to get a different sort of class from one going to the second.

Though in the classes, the written/oral emphasis varied, as did the material used, and the style of teaching, some things could be said in general about the AEI ESL classes:

(1) Students could start at any point in the year ("rolling enrolment"). They also left at any point. This meant that except in the typing short course, teachers did not arrange their work in the form of "courses", but worked out what they would do when they knew who was likely to be coming. Over time there would be repetition in a class of language points and also the "topic" which (depending on the tutor) provided a background to, or the reason for, introducing certain parts of the English language.

(2) On the whole there was no finishing point to classes. One class teacher - exceptionally - was planning to take her "advanced" class through an RSA examination on her own initiative. She thought it would

be an exciting stimulus; though another teacher thought that these particular women would fail, and that the examination chosen was the wrong one as it was meant for students of EFL.

(3) Most classes were "mixed level". Graded classes and specific provision for more advanced students were exceptional. Moreover, the common denominator in "mixed level" classes was teaching at a fairly low level of English. Most teachers were teaching courses which ran for only two hours a week, and talked of how they progressed slowly, and should not expect too much of the students.

(4) Particularly in women's classes there seemed to be a uniformity of "topics" considered appropriate either for background to English-teaching, or as important areas in their own right (below, pp177ff)

"Getting students to come"

"Take-up" of classes was a major concern. Organisers of the AEI and HT schemes were in touch with state and voluntary organisations in order to publicise provision and find students. These were parts of the educational service, health service, community workers, and "community organisations". The teachers' accounts underlined the importance of the local state organisations in recruiting for classes.

Seven of the 19 teachers talked of the individual enthusiasm and commitment to "getting the classes going" expressed by certain educational visitors, health visitors etc. Teachers talked of "referrals" of students from the job-centre, local schools, and (one example only) the local library. Particular teachers, health visitors, or educational visitors, were known to energetically "chase up" women and "persuade" them to go, or return, to English classes.

"And I told J., the educational visitor, and she drummed up a class, in fact, told people to come ..."

"And sometimes the teacher at the school ... And sometimes you get a social worker turning up with ... There was one mother who'd been indoors, she's got three tiny children under three, and I don't think the husband was too keen on her going outside at all, and the social worker thought she just literally wasn't ever getting outside at all, and so she sort of organised it to bring her here (but she didn't come for long)"

"At one stage there was somebody at the school, one of the teachers. She used to come and ask me if there were any women I wanted her to chase up."

"There's one I'm very pleased about who didn't speak any English except just 'yes' and 'no'... But ... recently she was used as an interpreter by the school for a new woman who brought her children in for the first time ... The educational visitor says it was

marvellous ... The school is certainly getting some benefit ... and they see the mums more than they would, coming into the school..."

Eight tutors had done teacher-training courses, and seven had taught in schools. Those who now taught ESL classes located in schools identified with the schools' wish to communicate more easily with bilingual parents, and thought it was good if parents came into schools more. In short, when these teachers said teaching English "helps everybody", the reasons they gave most clearly suggested help for the schools.

Reasons for teaching English: discussions with class teachers

Class tutors, like home teachers, discussed the importance of English classes as a social project that would benefit the students, increasing their confidence by teaching basic English. Some, however, having a greater number of students than the tutors, were more prepared to generalise about a potential difference of perception between themselves and their students as to the usefulness of the classes. Class teachers' aims for the classes were commonly also to intervene in society in the area of "race relations", improving the relations between groups of people via improving communication.

Teachers explained that what "language" students wanted/needed from a class would vary according to who they were, where they were starting from, and so on. One teacher described asking her class why they were there, and getting only one or two answers, while other students found it hard to give a reason. It was difficult for teachers to see if there were alternative conceptions of reasons to learn English itself, or methods of teaching, but some suggested that there was a divergence of perception between themselves and their students because of the importance of "social" (socialising) aspects of the class to students. While one teacher described how very keen her class were on learning English, and others merely added the importance of feeling comfortable and happy in a class to the students' aspirations for improving English, 9 of the 19 teachers suggested that the students' "aims" in coming to an ESL class were largely "social", with English learning in second place.

"Apart from the English aspect, it's a social outing".

"[My class] is only 2 hours a week and quite frankly nobody's going to learn English in that time, and the women mainly come for social reasons, which is very good, we chat in English, and they're quite serious while they're there, but they don't really come for the English".

In contrast, the teachers' own aims for ESL linked teaching the English language to wider social aims. Two separate strands of thought on this were evident: (1) to improve the lives of the students, often women, by bringing them out of the home; giving them the language skills and/or the language to "cope" with various situations; (2) to improve both (indirectly) the lives of the students and of "the community" in general. For five teachers, the major aim was to improve communication between different groups of people, thereby improving "race relations", though they were not optimistic: "It's very little, of course"; "Maybe it's a romantic dream". In addition to the individual, welfare considerations, which characterised the home tutors' aims for their work, teachers added a notion of the English language in this society as a potentially progressive force which contrasted with the discussions going on about bilingualism and pluralism at influential levels in ILEA and NATESLA (ch 3).

Two teachers were exceptional in not making this sort of claim for ESL. For one, ESL was merely a question of trying to help students sort out what they wanted and work out how to go about achieving that. The other also distanced herself from prescribing what people would do with English, explicitly rejecting the notion that different "communities" wanted English to improve relations, as she doubted that more English would increase interaction.

<u>Table 22 - Teachers' views of the most important aims of ESL</u>	
(a) everyday survival, confidence in social situations..	14
(b) "integration".....	2
(c) to work and do what they want.....	5
(d) to teach rights.....	1
(e) to empower women.....	1
(f) to improve the English of students.....	2

N=19; the total in this table doesn't tally because:
 one teacher said (a), (c) and (f),
 three teachers said (a) and (c) ,
 one teacher said (a) and (b),
 one teacher said (a) and (f).

What the teachers taught

The majority of the teachers (12 of 19) based their teaching of English around situations either domestic or concerning local state services, when, they thought, students were likely to need to use English (cf p90). They did not use "situations" merely to provide relevant context, but aimed to teach how to manage in these particular situations. One teacher carried round a small suitcase of potentially useful material, and based classes around issues that students might raise:

"they'll bring letters in from school which they can't read, all sorts of things, and quite often they've got problems as well, because they don't get out very much, a lot of them, they don't have many contacts, and quite often they'll sit in a class discussing their problems ... It's just somewhere to go and talk really."

Other teachers moved on from questions asked by students towards lessons on situations.

"People are always asking for advice on housing departments and the DHSS, the social services that they can get, where to go for things, who they can ask for things, and how to swing things"

Teachers aimed to cover not only situations when students did in fact use English, but also times when tutors felt they should do so.

"It would be good if they could, for example, talk to a neighbour, or a child's schoolteacher."

"Well, first of all, I think the most important thing is to understand questions like 'what is your name?', 'where do you live?', 'how long have you been in this country?', 'how many children do you have?' - all the personal information, and to be able to fill in forms, it sounds terribly boring but it's so essential. And secondly, things which will enable them to get around the place confidently, like shopping, going on buses, and going to the clinic, all the things they're going to use in ordinary life."

"simple situations, you know, like people coming to the door to ... the gasman, the milkman, that kind of thing ... there are some generalised things that it's always worth doing."

"topics - dealing with children, the doctor's, shopping, houses, finding your way around."

Four teachers described looking with difficulty for the times (situations) when students would "need" English - finding that their students' husbands did the shopping, or their doctors spoke Urdu. In such cases, teachers might still go ahead and teach "shopping" or "the doctor", thinking it would be good if more students could be more independent of their husbands, or if they could have more choice of doctors. Another response was to teach language for an emergency (999

calls etc), when a student's "needs" might not be covered by interpreters.

Some teachers did not plan lessons very tightly, because absences of expected students or the arrival of new students meant that planned lessons often had to change. Table 23 (arranged by the approaches to the teaching of English identified by Ball and Lacey, our p330) shows that some teachers had tried other approaches - introducing stories, discussing television programmes. One new teacher, trained in EFL, explained that she tried to do some structure-based language work and some practical things (eg reading the instructions on a bottle of bleach), but that other things arose from questions the students asked:

"I've found that they use me as a source of general knowledge about life in Britain - although some of them have lived here for 18 years, there are all sorts of things they don't know, and I keep trying to bring up different topics and they ask lots of questions ... Last lesson I took in some pictures of weather and a weather map, I said, right, we're going to talk about the weather ... We just spent the whole lesson talking about religion and Northern Ireland, all sorts of things ..."

Other teachers had used stories and nursery rhymes, but, rather than replacing it, these linked to the situational approach, used as English children's literature aimed to help mothers help their children at English schools.

One teacher (also teaching in ILEA) had tried to challenge the "standard ESL stuff" but found that a response to her students' preoccupations had moved her back towards their concrete problems, though this led her less to domestic "topics" than to dealing with local services. In two hours a week she did not manage to link this to her interest in "current affairs".

"We started doing things like current affairs, but... there's much more having to cope with getting housing benefits, or how to get a better flat, or the social security, or having your electricity cut off. And those are their pressing needs that you've got to be able to deal with. And so a lot more time is spent ... often it's individually, it's quite often things which come with a new student, or someone... suddenly... can't afford to pay a bill or whatever...

Another teacher (F in table 25 below), who had done both EFL and ESL training and worked in Denton, the ILEA and also in an ILTU - was eclectic in method, using sometimes language points, sometimes situations, sometimes drama. Kashmiri politics had taken up one lesson because it was a concern of students. It cannot be said, however, that ESL as a whole had a politicised or critical curriculum.

The major challenge to the situational approach was from the structural method itself. Eight teachers taught "grammar" consciously, and two teachers used EFL textbooks in their classes (Kernel 1, Streamline). One of the teachers, also an EFL teacher in a college, criticised the classic ESL situational approach:

"I've always felt that it isn't sufficient to teach people to go to the post office and buy a stamp. I mean, fine if you want a stamp, not fine if you don't want stamps. I've always maintained that you should teach people to teach themselves, and I've found that actually teaching people a little bit of grammar ... that really employs EFL techniques to a certain extent...I mean, you can't just go on doing role play, you've got to back it up, you've got to give people a reason, you've got to have a few rules to abide by ... it gives people more security..."

Teaching English:		More details:
A. related to "situations"	12	
B. related to grammatical points	8	
C. using creative language, stories, etc.	3	stories, nursery rhymes
D. other concepts: students' experiences, current affairs, etc.	4	geography; current affairs; discussing TV programmes; Kashmiri politics
E. consciously use students' other languages	1	bilingual book found in public library
F. respond to student initiatives	4	
G. use text book	4	Kernel 1; Streamline; Switch on to English; New Start

Table 25 shows that the teachers who taught grammar were largely EFL-trained, and none of the teachers with only ESL training reported having this approach. ESL training by itself would not have made grammar central, though in the late 1980s the "rediscovery" of grammar has led to workshops within the ILEA for example. However, table 25 shows that among teachers who centred their work on "situations", were teachers with no ESL training (only EFL training or no training at all). This suggests that teachers' approach to teaching does not only come from their training. Yet nor can the whole answer lie in their

socialisation at school (cf Ball 1987), for situational ESL was not a school experience of these teachers. The links to other teachers and workshops etc in the other schemes they worked in may be important in the adoption of different approaches by tutors, for F and G (table 25) worked in other areas' ESL and had a broader awareness than other staff of new moves in ESL.

With irregular contact with other teachers and the organiser, and only some materials in common, the reason for the hegemony of situational approaches to the teaching of English in ESL must lie in the tenuous teacher-culture being reinforced by a "common-sense" link between "English for immigrants" and problem-solving, reinforced in the classroom by the evidence of problems to be solved. The grammatical paradigm also gets reinforcement from students who have learnt English by a grammatical/ translation method before coming to Britain. Notably bilingual methods were not known of by this group of teachers (see p188), and the one bilingual teacher (A in table 25) used only English in teaching.

Table 24 - Teachers teaching English related to grammatical points			
	ESL training only	EFL training	school teacher training only
of 8	0	7	1

Table 25 - Those teaching "situations"													
Teaching English through:	Tutors												
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	(=12)
situations	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
grammar too		x				x				x			
creative too				x		x			x				
concepts too		x				x	x						
students' languages					x								
<u>Trained in:</u>													
EFL		x				x				x			
ESL	x			*	x	x	x	x	x				
teacher training				x				x	x	x	x		
teaching ESL elsewhere						x	x						

* 6 meetings at Institute of Education

The bilingual teacher

Among the 19 teachers interviewed was one bilingual teacher of South Asian origin. She taught for 6 hours a week in off-site classes, teaching women, largely of South Asian origin. She had taught also in CRC groups (p135). On her account, her teaching was similar in method to that of other teachers, focussing on situations, using role play with real objects as props. She felt that English was necessary as a "survival kit" for all people here: life without it was hard and miserable. She, like other teachers, attempted to keep the students' languages separate from teaching, although she spoke other languages than English in common with students. She tried to outlaw Urdu or Panjabi during lesson time, keeping these languages for before or after class, or for a break. In this she felt she had been encouraged by her RSA training course.

Nevertheless, the numbers in her classes were higher than those in other off-site classes: she said that between 8 and 12 women attended regularly, and a class of 5 or 6 was unusually small. She explained also that when substituting for other teachers she had been particularly welcomed by students, who, though they said nice things about their usual teachers felt more tense and formal with them, as well as having problems of communication.

ISSUES IN ESL

(1) The insecurity of ESL and the question of "take-up"

Asked about the most important issues in ESL, three teachers "passed" on the question, finding no major issues involved in the work. The other teachers had issues that particularly concerned them, most of which show that this was a tense and worrying field because of its great insecurity. Five teachers gave further indications of the importance of ESL work and the hopes they had of it. Many others told of their worries about the organisation or conditions of the work (p168), about the politically-insecure position of ESL and the practices of teaching. One teacher worried about whether the English she taught would actually get used; while others found it hard to establish properly what the students needed to learn.

"This is one of the problems I found a long time ago. When do they need to use English? [her stress] And actually they get on very well with not using English, which is a problem. Shopping - they've either gone to the Pakistani shop or they've gone to Sainsbury's

where they've gone round with a trolley. Except that sometimes you can find ... "can you get that down for me please?" because it's too high, or "I can't find this, where is it?"

"I think they're happy going to their own shops, because it's part of home, isn't it? But all the same, at times I feel as though I'm up against a brick wall".

<u>Table 26 - Major issues in ESL raised by part time teachers</u> Responses to question 27 (Appendix C(ii))	
	Number of teachers (each could raise more than one point)
(A) <u>INSECURITY OF ESL</u>	
vulnerability of ESL provision	4
need provision to remain free	4
need more resources and better premises	5
(B) <u>TO DO WITH TEACHERS' CONDITIONS OF WORK</u>	
better working conditions for teachers	3
paid leave for training	1
proper in-service training	1
fed up with having to do extra things	1
(C) <u>REAFFIRMING AIMS OF COURSES</u>	
no particular issues; just carry on with the work of helping students "slot in"	1
rescue women from isolation to participate in the community	2
make classes relevant and enjoyable	1
encourage people to come to classes	1
(D) <u>MAKE CHANGES TO COURSES</u>	
more hours' class time for students	1
think about new types of course	1
short courses with finite goals	1
better liaison between local schemes	1
consider the aged	1
liaison with other subjects in adult education ..	1
courses to link work-training and skills with learning English	2
(E) <u>ISSUES OF POWER</u>	
racism and ESL	1
bilingualism and ESL	2
(F) <u>COULD THINK OF NO MAJOR ISSUES</u>	3

Feelings of political insecurity linked to worries about the teaching itself via the notion of "take-up". It was felt that, were the money-givers such as the council unsympathetic, then low class numbers could mean a reduction in classes and a loss of jobs. Simultaneously, a "healthy" class affirmed that a teacher was doing a good job. In off-site classes particularly, numbers fluctuated:

"It was a bit sort of chop-and-change... I've had great trouble in getting a class started and to continue".

"It sounds awful but I just have loads of people who come and go because they haven't been happy with the very first class or somebody's ill and they're scared to come back again, and they're generally very shy about coming anyway. Quite often they won't come unless they know someone who's there who will call for them and bring them in, they're really worried about it and ... about their children playing up ... during the class".

Teachers whose own class numbers were "healthy" were also concerned about ways of encouraging students to come, which resulted in great efforts to establish "needs" to encourage students to stay, although fluctuating attendance was also attributed to students' busy lives.

"that tends to happen, students have troubles or travels or something, you don't see them for a few weeks and then they come back again."

Teachers spoke of the "large community" of potential ESL students in the area, contrasting that to the number in classes (though on deeper thought it could not be expected that bilingual people, especially those who had been in England for some years, would be expected to be constantly in ESL classes!)

"There needs to be a lot more encouragement of people to come to class, because although my class is very healthy, really it's only a very tiny proportion of the non-English-speaking people around [the area]".

(2) Implicit issues - racism versus sexism

Only two teachers raised racism as an issue in ESL itself, both of whom taught ESL in other areas where this had become an issue.

"I think that ESL setups are very racist, because you've got mainly white middle class teachers, teaching non-white people, so we're perpetuating an authoritarian situation. I think it's also important that people should be encouraged to speak their own languages, and especially to their children..."

However, questions of racism and sexism and their relation were implicit in teachers' discussions of their practices and concerns. Apart from these two, most teachers saw ESL as, on some level, an intervention in "race relations". Of the 19, 4 spoke of this as a racist society. Two teachers spoke of "integration" of bilingual people as an aim, but in contrast to debates elsewhere, there was no evidence of a general move in terminology to "pluralism", or to "anti-racism". Only one teacher rejected "assimilation" as an aim. The majority of tutors implied that ESL was a positive force in "race relations", or located racism outside ESL -

"I just feel that the basis of our approach with this particular group of students has got to be conversation and socialising locally

with the hope that racism will not rear its ugly head, because that could put paid to everything that we attempt".

In contrast sexism was an explicit concern. Like home tutors, class teachers often saw husbands of women tutees as obstacles to women's learning English at home; to their going out to classes; or to becoming independent beyond the home. Women tutors felt uncomfortable with such a situation, and aware of the fact that men on occasion had said they did not want their wives to go out to classes. To some people the challenge that ESL classes presented to the husband - who was seen as being wary that classes might "change his woman" - was seen as so great that in contrast, it was almost self-evident that English-learning or the fact of a woman going out of the house to classes were actually a way of "empowering" Asian women against the sexism in their own culture.

Teachers whose politics on the position of white women would have been divergent had a common concern with the position of women students as women. Two class teachers expressed a feminist position; others distanced themselves themselves from "women's-libby" teachers, but talked of Asian women as notably "kept under". Again, Asian men were seen as a problem for Asian women. There were differences about the role of ESL classes in challenging the perceived sexism of other cultures.

"I think maybe people who are a bit 'women's lib' find it very frustrating, because they think they should somehow get these women a bit more liberated, and really ... liberation for them is maybe going and doing the shopping because they have control of the money..."

"the younger girls in the ... class... they're very much under the thumb. The father of one of them used to come for a while, and he really stamped on them, quite unconsciously ... I think the most important thing is to encourage them to be more self-assertive. It's very difficult, because you're up against something which goes very deep ... the sort of sexism that you get in that culture, which is unacceptable even here. I think that's another reason why they need to come to classes" (man teacher).

But even those teachers with a clear feminist commitment did not raise such issues within their teaching, by discussing the role of women. This was due to a concern not to offend, coupled with a timidity arising from the ignorance of details about the students' culture and life.

Like the home tutor organiser, who felt she had to bite back angry comments to husbands who spoke for and limited the actions of their

wives, some teachers mused about the relationship of racism and sexism. More usually the issue of this relationship was implicit but crucial. Was it more important to criticise the sexism in students' cultures, or to resist the racism implicit in belittling another culture?

A major problem in the ESL teachers' formulation was the attempt to speak on behalf of students (Asian women). Casting them as double victims, firstly of speaking little English, secondly of their husbands and tradition, could reinforce both sexist and racist notions about the weakness of Asian women. And though the formulation appeared to give ESL classes a role in providing both more English, and a social outlet, the classes were in fact challenging neither racism nor sexism. As one teacher said, she would have liked to have taught the students something of their rights - but she did not feel she could afford to "stir it".

(3) The accepted view: the "need for English"

The discussion above suggests the dominance among teachers in Denton of the welfare perspective of the work of ESL in contrast to the new emphasis on bilingualism and training discussed in chapter 3. In common with home tutors, the teachers saw poor English as a crucial problem for bilingual people; emphasised ESL as basic, survival English; saw ESL as "solving problems" that extend wider than language; and saw people of South Asian origin as typical ESL students. The concept of "need" was central, although used in several ways, as part of a teaching-method (cf p90) as well as in attributing to students a "need for English".

While teachers adopted different views on the likelihood of ESL to change students' lives, the "need for ESL" attributed a deficit to the students which made ESL classes part of the answer. One teacher, aware of critiques of schooling, described teaching English as singularly important:

"I am occupying an extremely political role in a powerless group, and I'm allowed this tremendous freedom to do as I please ... I must do what works, I must do what will bring the women back to me continuously so that they can build up this confidence to use English ... I feel very strongly that teaching means educating, and the marvellous thing for me is that I don't have to go in for schooling ... I am not schooling these women, I'm educating these women..."

If ESL existed to solve a problem ("lack of English") or a series of problems ("coping with British, English-speaking society"), then its

existence posited people who have those problems to be solved. Asian women, seen as "needy", were the other side of ESL conceived as problem-solving. The particular image of "Asian women" that was drawn - without much English, vulnerable in relation to English-speaking society and also to the "traditions" of their families - arose not from the numbers of potential women students of Asian origin in Denton, but from the definition of their needs and problems that ESL used and shared with "commonsense" stereotypes of Asian women (p65).

Teachers who taught both EFL and ESL characterised the latter as "slower", more relaxed; perhaps for those with "low motivation" -

"It's quite unusual to have a fast learner because in these classes normally you're dealing with students who have learning difficulties, learning problems, and who are going to be quite slow at picking things up."

"...no schooling to speak of, which I suppose is fairly typical of a lot of the ESL people - they don't have the learning background which of course is very different from the EFL class where I also teach - the students there are more like students, they have a studenty background..."

There were repeated references to the group of Asian women that the teachers expected could become ESL students, in their role in the family as very busy mothers, wives, carers in the house with many time-consuming family obligations. Asian women, and in particular, Muslim women were seen in a particularly "traditional" and oppressed role, subservient to their husbands, with no real claim on their own lives, and many problems.

"All women in a family have a range of needs, and it would be my dearest wish that they could feel they could be articulate for a purpose, but their religion, I feel, prevents that ever coming about."

Asian students were expected to be beginners in English, and not to be very ambitious, in contrast to "more European types" in advanced classes. "Europeans seem to be more college material than Asians". In class, Asian women were often described as shy, or giggly if together with friends or relations; one teacher felt they did not take the project of learning English very seriously; though another disagreed with this, and students in her class were required to work hard. Interestingly, this seemed the largest of the school classes, with regular attendance.

Among the teachers, however, there were differences in approach to generalising about Asian women students. Three teachers denied the

possibility of seeing people in groups, asserting that people should be looked at as individuals in all cases. Three others made a different point - that there is as wide a range of Asian people as there is of white English people, so that generalising is wrong and dangerous. Other teachers differentiated between Pakistani and Indian women - which seemed to be understood, with reference to the local population, as a rural/urban distinction. One thought difference of age was crucial, while one referred to "working-class" and "richer" students. Others (see discussion below) thought an important difference was between "very educated" Asian women and others.

However, consensus on what should be taught was strongest in classes for Asian women. Seen as housewives, they were encouraged to do what British housewives might do. In classes intended largely for Asian women, topics thought appropriate dealt with areas of contact that a woman would have with the English language were she to be a housewife primarily concerned with childcare, and to herself negotiate English-speaking, local state organisations in relation to health needs for herself and her children, schooling, and finance (eg DHSS). Classes intended for other groups of students in addition shared such lists of "topics", but sometimes extended also to "work-seeking topics", for example, in classes for the unemployed. However, while "childcare" topics were seen as relevant in most women's classes, "work-seeking" topics were not.

"They are not much interested in getting work" (class teacher).

Adding work-seeking topics to the existing list of other topics, however, would not be a radical change. On the one hand is a picture of women, concerned only with their home, being "given the language" to extend their domestic role into areas which are usual parts of that role for white women. On the other hand is the question of the generation of ESL topics in the first place, whether focussing on "child-caring" or "work-seeking". The "situation" chosen echoed what has been said above: that ESL is to be basic, problem-solving, reassuring, not disturbing, helpful on language and "access" (p67). Some teachers wanted to deal with "rights" more aggressively than just "access", but had not done so.

The choice of "situations" as a method was also important in ESL's view of itself and of its students. More fluent bilinguals, or people who could "cope" were not considered, for ESL's brief was not to develop English per se. Higher level ESL classes in the borough were the exception, while ESL tuition and classes aimed to teach basic English.

One of the women's classes and the mixed (men and women) classes had potentially higher and wider aims and work was organised in different ways, but in most higher-level classes, also, tutors spoke of teaching "situations" and "situational language" to students, repeating the implication that "survival English" was the aim. The concentration on basic levels of English to help people "cope" resulted from ESL's self-definition; it resulted in "hunches" about what people wanted, or of what seemed to have "worked" with those students who had come to classes and stayed there, but there had been no investigation into who would want what sort of English teaching.

In choosing "situations", the idea of "need" was important. The analysis of what students "need" posed special problems for the home tutor scheme, as the women taught were usually given home tutors because they had problems in going out easily (p130), so tutors often found that for these same reasons their students did not often do the things they might teach about: even if they seemed able to, they sometimes did not want to. For students in classes, too, saying that English in one situation (rather than any other) was "needed", could often be a construction, or require an argument that it would be good for them to use such English day-to-day. Three class teachers also portrayed the fact of students not using English daily as a problem for the students themselves, not merely because they did not get reinforcement of the English language taught in lessons. It was seen as a sad fact that women students were not day-to-day independent of their husbands and male relatives, who often would be intermediaries between a woman and state institutions, or do the shopping, or oversee her journeys to English classes.

"They want to be able to go to the local shops, the nearest doctor. Now what they tend to do is to register with an Asian doctor who speaks Urdu and Panjabi, and travel - or travel to specific shops rather than just pop round the corner. They avoid English shops, they avoid English people because of the language - If they want to go to the post office they have to wait till their husband's at home then go with him. They want independence, just basic day-to-day independence."

"Need", with its range of meanings for the ESL tutors (p91) had implications in terms of their view of the work, and their teaching. ESL students were situated as "needy"; while ESL practitioners, by prescribing not only a remedy - English language - but where it should

be used, were in effect setting themselves up as experts on other people's lives.

(4) Approaches to bilingualism

Among these Denton teachers, the change of terminology either to "pluralism" or to "anti-racism", had not gained much ground. Most teachers were unaware of any changes within ESL, although the 2 teachers who worked elsewhere in ESL, one in ILEA and one studying the TESL FACE at the college, were aware of the new paradigm. Some Asian home tutors had been encouraged to volunteer, but there was only one paid, part-time, Asian class teacher. In a meeting of home tutors, a discussion about Asian tutors arose. Apparently one student - who had a white tutor - had been asking previously for an Asian tutor and was reluctant at first to have anyone else. Two of the Asian tutors present expressed surprise that people would want Asian tutors in particular; and the organiser said that some people said they asked not to have Asian tutors but what they called "proper English teachers". In contrast with the ILEA, arguments about the importance of tutor and student having a language in common; or about ESL challenging its previously undisputed white power structure, were not in the air.

Similarly there was at this stage no systematic interest in the students' languages, although the AEI scheme organiser was attending Urdu classes. There was a spread of views about the use of students' languages in class, but a virtual monopoly of direct method teaching. Among the home tutors, including those of Asian origin, there seemed to be agreement that "learning" only went on when English was being spoken, and it was the tutor's job to encourage such a situation. Though home tutors sometimes attempted to learn some words of their students' language, they usually tried to banish it for the hour or two of the class. One tutor, for example, said when students spoke in their own language, "I tell them off". Asian tutors who had a language in common with their tutees, described doing their best to ban the common language. One said "I try my level best" to keep to English, though sometimes she "weakened"; another, that she definitely kept her use of Panjabi to before or after lessons, telling the student; "if you want to learn English, you must not talk Panjabi". Only one tutor of Asian origin reported using her own language in teaching, adding slightly defensively, "I don't see any problem in that". An English mother-

tongue speaker who had Spanish in common with her home tutee and regularly used it, seemed to be an exception.

The majority of class teachers also kept their students' languages out of the classroom though they may have been interested in knowing more about those languages themselves. The teachers had a range of languages between them. Nine spoke European foreign languages, and one was of Asian origin and fluent in a number of South Asian languages. One teacher found she could understand a surprising amount of Panjabi, with no formal attempt to learn, as she had been teaching Panjabi women for six years, four days a week. Another teacher had been trying to learn from her students, while one kept with her a list of phrases in Urdu. Two further teachers (though worried about employment prospects) said that if they continued to teach ESL, they would learn "one of the languages". There was clearly interest among the teachers in the students' languages: but most class teachers, including the multilingual teacher of Asian origin confined their teaching to English, with no reference to the students' other languages.

Most teachers implicitly accepted the need for direct method teaching. Teachers who spoke other languages than English often resisted using them: a French speaker felt it was cheating, and unfair to the rest of the class, to speak French to one student who knew it; though another teacher who spoke Greek and Italian used them eagerly if there was a chance. There seemed to be a feeling that translation was a "cheat"; or that people would not learn English if they swapped back and forth.

"I tried to make her understand the word in English rather than translating into French, but it is a great temptation if you know the language to speak too much and to make it too easy."

While some teachers would "allow" or encourage translation by other students to help absolute beginners, some discouraged even this.

"The thing is I did try to point out to them that this was their chance really to speak English and that this was their chance for practicing ... I suppose I was quite strict, I used to say, you know, 'Don't! Say it in English or don't say it!' I did use translation occasionally if I got a new student, then I'd use one of my better ones because it's so frightening to arrive at a class, I mean to actually go there takes a phenomenal amount of effort if you don't speak any English; to be confronted with someone jabbering at you, it must be dreadful ... but as a general rule I didn't like it."

"One of the biggest drawbacks is that because they often share a mother tongue ... then the class can lapse into that, and it's so much better to have a spread of languages so you just have to use English as a lingua franca..."

Visiting one class, I spoke with a student in Urdu. "Wish I could speak Urdu", said the creche assistant. "Yes - but then maybe they wouldn't learn English?" said the teacher, uncertainly. When one of the students said she spoke English to her children at home, both the teacher and the creche worker gave a very approving "that's good".

At the same time, there might be some bilingual material used in a class. Three home tutors had reading material chosen specifically because it was bilingual. One teacher had got bilingual story books in English and Urdu from the library; and one teacher who told of fiercely encouraging English (only) in class, demanded why there was no information in Panjabi or Urdu from the dentists or doctors. The same teacher kept with her a list of phrases and questions in Urdu, of the "are you listening?" variety, to bring students back to a lesson conducted in English. However while many tutors commented on their use of the free BBC "Switch on to English" book, none mentioned exploiting the fact that it was bilingual and relevant languages were available for their students.

Table 27 - The use of the students' other languages in the classroom

Teachers who actively discouraged students from using languages other than English	9
Teachers who felt that direct translation was OK but "chatting" not	2
Teachers happy to have other languages used	4
Teachers themselves using bilingual materials/methods	1
No policy on the use of other languages	3
TOTAL	<u>19</u>

There were varying attitudes to students talking with each other in their own languages in tea-breaks. Some teachers made it clear to students that "now is the time to speak English"; many firmly discouraged "chat". However, one teacher made space for women to talk to each other, because she felt it made them happier; some actively enjoyed the use of - say - Panjabi between students at this time; others said, students spoke their own language regardless of the teacher; others still, that they "were not bothered" if students did use their own languages as a rest at break-time. On the whole, the view

was that English should be learnt through English and standard English at that: one teacher talked of educated Indian/Pakistani women in her class who spoke English as they had learned it in school: "the trouble is they have just learned it wrong!"

In this context it is notable that the two teachers who worked in other boroughs said that they had a positive approach to the students using their other languages in class, and tried to make use of those languages when they could. For them, in contrast with the other tutors, the racism within ESL itself was a major issue, which they connected to the need for more black/bilingual ESL teachers; for proper training for them; and to the importance of issues related to bilingualism. The fact that these two had experience of different schemes and saw different, urgent issues in ESL, raises the issue of communication in a part-time workforce, and the effectiveness of change.

Communication in ESL; the notion of subject segments

Of the two main influential approaches to ESL, the first, the ESL-as-welfare paradigm (ch 2) - characterised by concepts of the goodness of ESL, "need", "problem", "coping", English as helpful, and by monolingual, direct method teaching - was stronger amongst most of the part-time and voluntary tutors of ESL in this borough than the emphasis on bilingualism, and encouraging ESL students to move on to wider areas of education and training (ch 3). The latter had proponents amongst the organisers, as well as exceptions among the part-time staff. The question of who in this new "subject" of ESL promotes which paradigm and why links both to the issue of communication, and to the distribution of power within ESL.

For teachers of ESL in Denton, where they worked, in which of the institutions, and with whom, were the most important determinants of whether they got a chance to discuss their work on a regular basis, or hear of alternative approaches. The staffroom of the college made available discussion of ideas, problems and ambitions; but there was no equivalent for an off-site AEI teacher. For those working in ILTU, there was a central place to go and talk of work; but not so for home tutors; while the Pakistani women's group class was run by women who worked together also on other issues, but were not regularly in touch with other ESL people and courses, so that they could, for example, compare policy and practice in different organisations.

Beyond this day-to-day opportunity to meet other teachers (or lack of it), there were other, less regular fora. Both the AEI and the home tutor scheme ran meetings and/or open times to come, exchange material, and perhaps meet others. For those AEI/ESL class teachers who attended them, the most important times were organised meetings of teachers - basically termly, with extra ones on special issues. They could collect material at any time (though see teachers' comments on resources, p168). For home tutors, there were regular open evenings and occasional other meetings. We have discussed, however, the differing attitudes of part-time AEI tutors to attending unpaid meetings - desperate though they were for discussion and contact (see p170). Ironically, the lack of paid meeting time for the AEI staff could at times mean that volunteer home tutors had more contact with each other and information than some paid staff. Again, volunteers had all had some common experience in the form of their initial training, but paid teachers in the AEI had less of that: no common entry, no common training - and no meeting point unless (as those active in the union pointed out) they were prepared to become volunteers to that extent.

The different sorts of training that staff had had combined with the isolated and strained conditions of work, to give not only differences of approach stemming from their varied backgrounds, but different amounts of information on present moves. The union (AACE, then NATFHE) was potentially both a meeting place, and, because of its approach nationally, a source via its newsletter, on up-to-date debate on relevant issues such as racism. But in common with other largely female, largely parent, and largely part-time workforces, accentuated by the fact that teachers did not even work on one site, union membership was low among those who were not full-time or "substantial part-time". Active membership in this year in the AEI branch was in single figures (including not only ESL staff) so that the question was being raised of merger within the more active college branch. Though for ESL teachers this might provide a possibility of a useful channel of information between college teachers and AEI teachers (both of whom said that their knowledge of English language schemes in the other place was very low) this seemed unlikely to have a wide effect, as the merger itself stemmed from the fact that staff either did not or could not play a regular part in the union.

The issue of lack of communication was dramatic when it became clear that many of the AEI staff did not know about the subject

organisation NATESLA and thus were not even able to keep up-to-date by reading the national newsletter. NATESLA was a forum for clear and often critical concentration on issues concerning ESL (see ch 3): indeed one college organiser indicated her own involvement in ESL (not just EFL) and her awareness of new moves in the field, by the fact of her involvement in NATESLA. Two part-time teachers both knew of NATESLA and had attended meetings, but others (contrasting to home tutors who had heard of NATESLA at their training sessions) were clear that they had not, or not clear that they had, heard of the organisation.

During the next academic year, NATESLA held a day conference in this borough, to which a number of AEI teachers went: so it is possible that membership then spread wider.

In this context, the ideas that part-time teachers brought from beyond ESL were especially important in forming their teaching. Different backgrounds, in EFL or home tutoring would make a difference to material they knew of and could draw on. People trained in EFL were more likely to have a grammatical, "language points" approach to their lessons. Others gathered educational ideas from experience, such as teaching English or French to children; or from watching their own children being taught to read at school; perhaps (though none said this) from their own schooling (Woods 1980b, Ball 1987). Ideas about race and Asian women were gathered from beyond ESL. Similarly, teachers' conceptions of the importance of their work, and of their students' lives, may have been brought with them from discourses beyond. The two part-time teachers who raised the currently controversial issue of racism in ESL, both worked in addition in other areas of ESL, where communication was better. In Denton, communication between teachers in main parts of ESL was so poor that the effect of organisers keeping up to date with new concepts in ESL was limited. It seems that the scattered, isolated work of ESL teachers, and the high turn-over of staff have implications for their practice as well as their treatment as workers.

Beyond issues of communication in explaining the distribution of ideas, however, are professional differences between teachers: the differences in power in relation to ESL. We have seen that part-time tutors and volunteers in our borough often shared conceptions of their work. The dividing line between full-timers (including those with fractional but stable appointments) and part-timers seemed more crucial

in terms of access to information and to power in ESL even than the division one would expect between part-timers and volunteers.

Full-time staff and organisers voiced concerns which extended beyond the welfare perspective. At the college, the concern not to divide EFL and ESL students by "shalwar or trousers" as one organiser put it (or on basis of country of origin) meant higher-level English language courses were available. Again, at the college, an ambition to start courses in community languages showed an awareness of new ideas about bilingualism. There were hopes that the English workshop would be a first stage to "English language support" for bilingual students on other courses than ESL itself part of the reappraisal of ESL.

Outside the college, in the AEI and other local schemes - the classic terrain of ESL - the full-time organisers were also interested in the new ideas to the extent of planning "linked skills" courses, and considering also a training course for teachers of Urdu. The contrast between their awareness of the "bilingualism discourse" and part-time teachers' general lack of information, might suggest that the most important division - almost the boundary between two "segments" lies between full- and part-timers. But the position of an ESL teacher in the ESL hierarchy is not the only factor. Not all full-timers were equally involved in working on and promoting the new ideas. Some full-timers could be said to be taking part in this effort, and linked via NATESLA with the progressive ILEA group. Other full-timers neither went to NATESLA meetings nor were energetic promoters of new concepts or the "bilingualism discourse". Similarly, there were differences between the part-timers, though in a borough where the new ideas were not promoted energetically, and many teachers not aware of them, we can only hypothesise about how teachers would have aligned themselves had new aims and methods been suggested to them.

Goodson and Ball argue that teachers do not get their ideas and ways to practice merely from shared assumptions inculcated by their socialisation (teacher training). They use the notion of interest to suggest that teachers find legitimacy for their approaches from reference upwards; and that they change their approaches not only from conviction that new ideas are right, but also from "solicitous surrender" for the sake of their jobs (eg Goodson 1985). In ESL we find influential people promoting a new outlook, supported by certain groups beyond ESL, and in opposition to others; and trying to change things "from the top down". Some full-timers and some part-timers are likely

to modify their approach to this outlook in a form of "solicitous surrender", with a sense that their jobs will be more secure - and in return for professional status.

The "new outlook" involves new courses, new types of tutor, a closer link with education and training, accreditation: in short, a rationalisation of an area in which teachers have had power to decide on their own practice. Therefore there is likely also to be resistance to new practices, as teachers protect the main asset they have had amidst bad working conditions: their autonomy. While a group might be prepared to change, from interest, not only conviction, and add at least "bilingualist" terminology to their practice; a second group might be expected to resist - perhaps in the way that some school teachers resisted the "new maths", arguing that it was a bandwagon, varied in its results with the ability of the students, that it was not related to "real life" (cf. Goodson and Ball 1984). There is certainly a suggestion that this approach would be taken by some of the ESL teachers interviewed. If Goodson and Ball are right, then younger teachers are more likely (than older), and richer teachers (than poorer), to accept redefinition of the subject. Our discussion suggests that a realistic hope for stable employment would be another factor.

In Denton in 1984-5 however, the hopes of career advancement through ESL were not great enough to produce rapid changes of ideas through solicitous surrender to the new paradigm, and consequently welfare ideas predominated. The two part-time teachers who worked in ILEA, and spoke of bilingualism and of racism, are of interest as exceptions. Their work in ILEA exposed them to new ideas and discussions of the work. One could also argue that the fact of a relatively high number of ESL jobs in ILEA including fractional and full-time appointments made the consideration of new ideas of the work especially important to those working there.

The professionalisation of ESL

The professionalisation of ESL in Denton was not complete. However, professionalisation had taken place in paying tutors to teach, in linking ESL to structures and concerns in education more widely, in creating streamed courses in adult education centres, as well as more widely, in the development of certificates for both teachers and students.

While all teachers spoke of "the need for English", there was a difference between graded classes within the AEI on the one hand, and isolated classes or home tuition on the other. In the latter, welfare notions predominated: English was seen as the solution to the problems of the students, there was a concern with the whole of the student's life; there was, in Bernstein's terminology, weak classification and weak framing (Bernstein 1971). In these classes we can contrast high levels of teacher involvement with individual students with the low status of the teachers - home tutors, part-time tutors doing very few hours, all women (doing the "motherly" caring aspects of teaching, cf. Steedman 1987).

As teachers became less involved with the whole student and the person attending a class became more directly seen as one of many English students - in graded AEI classes; more so in college classes - so the status of the teachers rose. Also as Ball points out, educational status comes from an association with higher levels (pupils of "higher ability") (Ball 1987). The teachers of graded classes seemed to be moving towards the college teachers' notions, and the new, professionalised views of ESL. These teachers were more likely to be unionised and participate in union activity; they also had more often a notion of professionalism in their work, seeing the students less as people in the context of the rest of their lives (as home tutors might) and more as students, specifically learners of English (strong classification, strong framing). These teachers taught more classes, had greater hopes of promotion, and though many of them were women - including those active in the union (cf. King 1987, Ozga 1987) - there were more men among them.

Friere suggests that teaching should start from the student's framework (1972). Professionalisation in teaching can involve an emphasis on technique at the expense of an emphasis on the students' experience. Setting up as "a profession" can also mean an acceptance of the social division of labour. "Professional" teaching can individualise students, rather than help them work as a group. From all these perspectives, the home tuition scheme and small, local women's classes - early forms of ESL - seemed to offer flexible provision, starting with the students themselves, while "on site" classes showed the beginning of a "professional" model. Perhaps the slowness of change in this borough was allowing a more progressive form to continue for the students' good? We found, however, that these classes were usually taught by white

tutors to predominantly black students, with a preconceived set of notions about the "needs" and "problems" the latter would experience. So the slow-to-change classes in the borough limited their students progress rather than starting from their perspective; while the main challenge was a professionalisation which also presumed to understand, rather than explore and extend, student "needs".

CHAPTER 6

SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN AS LEARNERS OF A SECOND LANGUAGE

As Goodson and Ball argue in relation to schools (1984), adult education students have an active role in accepting or rejecting courses. They argue that the approaches of different students to an existing course, or indeed to any "innovations", can be crucial in allowing the continuation of the course or the innovation. Work in schools points out that pupils chose not to cooperate with schools, or particular subjects that seem not to be related to work they will later want to do (Player 1984, Measor 1984). In this sense, students are part of the "external constituency" (Reid 1984) of a subject and a course must share a common definition with a substantial group of potential students or it is likely to collapse. Reid suggests that students in different social positions can be seen thus to judge the "offer" of education rationally in terms of the continuity of their lives and the promise held out by offered subjects, of membership of "significant categories":

"students as rational consumers are less concerned with knowing than with the status that comes from categorical membership and the future promise that this implies. Like teachers, they judge the appropriateness of committing themselves to particular topics in the light of estimations of centrality, universality, sequential significance and status relatedness. The goal is success in the system as against success in learning (though the two are inevitably related)" (Reid op.cit. p73).

This chapter and the next therefore consider the approach to ESL of some of the people that ESL aims to teach. Chapter 6 falls into two parts. Because South Asian women have been seen as a particularly important group of students in ESL as a whole (p65), ESL literature contains a number of accounts about the approach of South Asian women to such classes. These are considered in the first part of the chapter, after a discussion of two bodies of literature not often brought into consideration by ESL teachers: firstly, considerations found in linguistics, and socio-linguistics in particular, about why people in general learn second languages; and secondly, questions of motivation and approach to adult education as they have been discussed in adult education beyond ESL. This discussion generates three hypotheses about potential students' approach to second language learning.

The second part prepares a framework for chapter 7 by exploring a wider literature on South Asian women, and in particular by arguing the relation between race, class and gender. A brief discussion of the languages of South Asian women is also necessary. In the next

chapter we discuss interviews with potential students in Denton, in order to contrast their view of ESL to that of the teachers who are concerned with "take-up".

WHY LEARN A SECOND LANGUAGE?

Accounts by socio-linguists and sociologists of language

(a) Social-psychological accounts

The work of Gardner, Lambert et al in Canada in the 1960s and 70s has been one of the most influential psychological (attitude-based) accounts of successful language learning. Their basic argument is that "students' orientations towards particular linguistic-cultural groups" affect the success of learning the language of those groups: which in turn affects students' orientations to speakers of the second language. From a series of experiments with Canadian students learning French they argued that success in language learning varied with degrees of "ethnocentrism" (Lambert et al 1968). Not trying to account for students setting out to learn but rather for their achievement, they distinguished two independent factors in successful language learning: firstly aptitude and intelligence, and secondly, the type of "motivation" a student had, which "most likely stems from a family-wide attitudinal disposition". They distinguished two types of motivation in language learners: "instrumental motivation" and "integrative motivation". They argue that this latter type of motivation - for example not just learning a language for work but being prepared to contemplate "advancing toward biculturality" - makes the learning of a language very much more effective.

Their work has been followed by others looking at second language learning such as Bourhis and Giles (1977), although they inadvertently cast doubt on the categories chosen by Gardner and Lambert. Bourhis and Giles look at learners of Welsh to see if they can find evidence of Welsh people who identify strongly as Welsh, emphasizing their own divergence in speech patterns from the English. Unquestioningly they use Gardner and Lambert's categories of "instrumental" and "integrative" to classify learners into basic groups, and decide, rather mysteriously, that "integrative" learners learn in their own time and "instrumental" ones in company time. There are so many possible counter-examples that without justification such a division is not acceptable.

The work of Gardner and Lambert has been drawn on in the context of ESL by Hermann (1980; below p222) who is interested in contrasting the views that low ethnocentrism and a positive attitude towards the other language lead to progress in language learning; and, secondly, that learning a language can change a learner's attitude into a favourable one towards speakers of the new language. She, however, wisely, rapidly abandons the attempt to force the students she talks about into either "instrumental" or "integrative" categories. Even if we were to accept "motivation" as a psychological disposition, finding its source in the family, there is nothing to suggest that these two types of motivation are the only ones; separate; or distinguishable. Gardner himself has since pointed out that "'integrative' reasons might be 'instrumental' for the individual involved" (Taylor et al 1977). And even if we were to accept that it is just an individual's "attitude" that affects his or her learning, there are many facets of "attitude". Taylor et al (1977), for example, pick out four areas of attitude, only the first of which is considered by Gardner and Lambert: (1) towards the group who speak the language you are trying to learn; (2) towards the learning of language; (3) towards the language course itself; (4) towards the instructor.

Christophersen also discusses "attitudes" and "motivation" in language learning, seeing "attitude" as a "basic personality disposition". Talking of teaching English as a second language to migrant children in Canada, he believes the basic issue for ESL

"is to provide them with the need and the opportunity to identify themselves with the new culture and its value system. Once that has been done the language is learned easily and quickly" (1973 p51)

He does however note that in relation to a new language, people's aims differ: and believes that "prestige" and "utility" are also important factors in language learning, which may lead to people wanting to learn special bits of a language, for example to read, or speak, or learn technical terms. In North America, he suggests, there is little success with teaching languages other than English, because

"there is neither prestige nor utility to be gained from learning [these] languages and consequently no great desire to do so." (op. cit. p21).

This must be an acknowledgement of the role of the outside world in providing motivation. Thus even a concentration on "attitude", pushed further, can suggest that students or potential students of a language will find their "motivation" not solely in themselves or the narrow limits of their immediate families but in a social context beyond.

Factors relating to individuals are important - age, for example - although there are disputes about whether people learn languages more slowly as they get older because of physical or "affective" reasons (Oyama 1978, Krashen 1982, Harley 1986). However, the most fundamental critique of such work as that of Gardner and Lambert is, indeed, of its unquestioningly individualistic approach. While others actively argue that you need a social-psychological perspective (for example, Giles:

"to neglect people's moods, motives, feelings and loyalties would give the false impression of the speaker as 'some kind of socio-linguistic automaton'" - quoted in Lukens 1979 p145),

Gardner and Lambert draw with no argument on a presumption that people's attitudes and experience of society spring from themselves and or their families. They believe moreover that this "motivation" can be adjusted independently of, and with effect on, the relations between groups. For example, Lambert et al write:

"It is our contention that the learning of foreign languages would be greatly facilitated if negative stereotypes of foreign groups were modified to favourable and friendly dispositions." (1968 p488).

Such notions have been taken into language teaching: for example,

"motivation is some kind of internal drive that encourages somebody to pursue a course of action" (Harmer 1983 p3, his stress)

Ladousse also considers what "motivation" is, asking (rhetorically) if it is a magic dust; or if there is a "right" sort of motivation; concluding - perhaps no less mysteriously - that it

"provides the missing link between needs and wants. The need becomes significant the moment any action is taken toward the target" (1982 p33).

Thus an approach toward an EFL classroom (which is what he considers) indicates motivation, which a tutor must keep fuelled.

There seems, however, to be much evidence that a change of context can affect the success with which a person can learn a second language, such, for example, as the introduction of a need to work in that language (d'Anglejan 1978). Her comments are supported by Taylor's observation that teaching a second language in school often does not work because of the rarity of practice outside that school: in fact, he argues,

"little actual exchange is exhibited between typical representatives of different linguistic origins even in situations which seem to favour or at least not discourage such exchanges." (Taylor et al 1977 p102).

If the success of this changed context is understood to be because of a change in motivation or attitude, this would indicate that these latter,

rather than being individual, psychological, or fixed, relate to a context: specifically, to a person's relation to other people. For that reason we turn to look briefly at the accounts of people who situate people's approach to language learning in structural accounts of society.

(b) Structural accounts

The move in the 1960s and 1970s out of linguistics towards developing "sociolinguistics" and the "sociology of language" (Fishman 1970) helped produce a new basis for questions about the relation of language to society - though, argued Fishman (1968a) there were important differences of opinion about the relative breadth and importance of language and society in relation to each other, which led him to contrast to sociolinguistics, more concerned with "verbal behaviour" (Ervin-Tripp 1968) or with "who speaks what variety of what language to whom, when, and concerning what" (Fishman 1970 p2), the sociology of language which looked at languages in and between "speech communities" as of central importance to society, and aimed to ask wider questions about language use and its functions.

This approach has generated a number of questions relevant to ourselves, though we might want to push them even further. While Halliday emphasized that "the normal condition of language is to change" (1968) we find that it is possible to view languages not only in relation to other languages, but differences in the relation of the speakers of a given language to other speakers both of that language and of other languages. The question "Why learn a second language?" links to wider questions about language shift and movements of speakers from one language to another (perhaps across generations); and these in turn to the relations between different languages, and about wider social, economic, political issues (the relation of languages to power).

The linguistic relativism that sees language and "culture" as so firmly linked that one's language dictates the detail of the possible perceptions of the speaker (Whorf 1956, Dittmar 1976) cannot be completely accepted. In a class society we would expect people's perceptions to be influenced by their position in the social structure - as well as by the standard (or common) form of a language the middle and working class have in common. And while both language and the groups people live in have an effect on people's perceptions, it is not the

case that people are stuck with one way of seeing things, as it might be if language and community boundaries were equivalent.

An important notion in sociolinguistics is that of "speech community", though Halliday here misses out many groups of speakers of English:

"When a speaker states what language he regards himself as speaking, he is defining a language community... the British, Americans, Canadians, Australians and others call their language 'English'; they form a single language community" (Halliday 1968).

Smith has shown the difficulties of defining the boundaries of a "language group" in practice, owing to different perceptions of language group or ethnic group membership held by different groups of people; the fluidity of language or dialect boundaries; complexities introduced by multilingualism and the existence of lingua francas or languages of literacy; and the problem of defining a "speaker" or "user" of a given language in certain contexts such as that of migration accompanied by language shift (Smith 1982b).

The complexity of defining a "speech community" is similar. Is it to do with the language or languages people actually speak? Or what they claim they speak (for people change language labels, along with other aspects of language use according to context)? And what of the "speech community" of bilingual or multilingual people? Fishman argues that speech communities have to be defined not as communities who speak the same language but as

"communities set off by density of communication or/and by symbolic integration with respect to communicative competence regardless of the number of languages or varieties employed" (Fishman 1970 p32).

This, however, has similar though opposite problems to the definition of "language community" above. "Language community", implying a unity between all the speakers of a given language, precludes discussion of the different groups there may be using a given language. However, the notion of "density of communication", although it allows a much larger number of groups, still bypasses interesting questions about the relation of speakers to their language: what are the limits of a speech community? Are speech communities like language communities, likely to be divided internally, socially, economically, politically? What is the basis of both unity and division between different "speech communities" of speakers of the same languages?

There have been many who have assumed a close link between language and "ethnicity", thereby arguing that language is of necessity linked to

particular groups' relation to each other. Anderson (1979) argues that it need not be; people can lose their "mother tongue" and still be loyal to the group they identify with, even if it shares its language with other groups. So within one ostensible language grouping there may be differences of allegiance; others may be more clearly political or economic. Hymes argues that

"the key to understanding language in context is to start not with language but with context" (Hymes 1972).

He suggests that "language" is not an adequate concept for what people are doing when they speak; but using Wittgenstein's notion of language as a "game" and Gumperz's notion of language as a "strategy", he underlines the impossibility of "a neutral, affectless use of language for information and report" (Hymes 1972). Similarly, we argue, there is no "neutral, affectless" way of identifying a "speech community" - or of one coming into being in a series of relationships with other speech communities! Within the group of users of a language, we want to be able to ask about the pertinent differences between groups, and how they relate to other groups who use that or other languages.

If the language people speak is so important to them (though they can choose to reach beyond it) what sort of considerations might make them want to learn a second language? Though this is not equivalent to choosing to move beyond a given grouping (though there is much hypothesis about how people change when they take on a new language) - issues in the discussion of "language shift" are relevant here. It is known that when languages are constantly in touch with others, they can change, or merge (e.g. to form creoles: Bickerton 1981): so why do some languages get given up, while others are held on to? Giles, Bourhis and Taylor discuss the "ethnolinguistic vitality" of a language (1977), and see as important factors the economic and social status of the group using it; their demography; and the formal and informal support given to that group and that language. They use the word "status" (problematic not least because there can be competing hierarchies of status), and connect it to whether a language is international; its history; the degree to which it has undergone standardisation.

It is clear that people (and peoples) make choices to use languages that they themselves would not claim had high status beyond their group. Even when languages are in contact, the language of the powerful does not always take over. It is possible that differences between the

languages can become stronger. Gumperz's work, looking at "discourse strategies" - how language links to conscious and unconscious strategies and communicative intent - focuses on the interaction between people of different groups, and shows how systematic miscommunication can lead to close contact between different peoples encouraging dislike and distrust rather than the opposite (Gumperz 1968). His point is that language differences play an important role in signalling information and creating and maintaining

"the subtle boundaries of power, status, role and occupational specialisation that make up the fabric of our social life" (1982 pp 6-7).

His work is exciting where it shows that language is something moving, not something given; that this can be the case for individuals (though it is hard to learn others' discourse strategies, even if you learn their language) as well as for/between groups; that language is something people use - both as a way of giving messages over and above the "evident" ones - and as a feature of interaction between groups. However, his work stops short of considering what those groups might be, as he focusses on "communicative strategies", not the social structure. Thus his work on "gate-keeping", in job interviews for example, makes "cultural style" the major factor in his analysis. Erikson, following his work, explored the part played by "cultural style" as a factor in the different outcomes of interviews of "whites", "Latinos" and "blacks" in Chicago (1976) - and interestingly found, contrary to his expectations, that over and above the cultural complexities, there were two groupings: all "whites" versus all "third world" (Latin and black). "Cultural style" was, he decided, "too simple" as an analysis of the outcomes of interviews.

Gumperz's work on gate-keeping implies that job interviewers do hold the key to something worth winning (jobs); beyond people's means of expression lies, indeed, the material world. Yet while this does link language to power to some extent, remedies are still individual: training in other strategies (cf ILT). For him "culture" is still ultimately the major impediment for those on the "wrong side" of the supposed gates.

However, in discussing people's interest in learning or using a second language, we need to add to the awareness of their option to incorporate or reject aspects of this language into a first language, the

social pressure stemming from such factors as those which Giles, Bourhis and Taylor draw out (1977). While for them, the "status", "demography" and "institutional support" for a group and its language are aspects of its "ethnolinguistic vitality", for us they are aspects of a social question - the relation between language and power (cf Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982). Dale Spender, arguing that women are being forced to use men's language, says at one point: "Reality is constructed and sustained primarily through talk" (Spender 1980). But in that form the statement has lost touch with the material basis of "reality" for people. "Those who control the talk", she goes on, "are also able to control reality". If she had explained that the link goes both ways, she would be giving a clear argument about the links between language and power. Language is important, not just as talk, not even just as a symbol of "community", but as a crucial way of mobilizing, interacting, dividing people from each other: and as such is used, consciously and unconsciously, both by groups trying to protect their own power and by those trying to change theirs.

Language learning and social class

Since nation states grew in and since the nineteenth century, often using common language as an argument and a weapon, states have dealt also with groups who do not speak "official" languages, and have found the language issue important enough to have adopted a range of policies from assimilation (trying to push out other languages) to preservation of the separate languages (characteristically trying to control the interaction of different groups) (cf Verdoodt 1977 on the EEC; Ross 1979 on different strategies). Language has become a crucial issue not only between but within languages, between language varieties (cf Rosen 1982). Beyond the state, in England, the dominance of one language over another has come to mean not just that the first language is used for work purposes and so on; but that there is a conscious and unconscious discrimination against the uses of other languages (Saifullah Khan 1983).

Fishman (1970) points out that in the western world, "industrialisation" has often seen a situation where the means of production is in the control of one speech community and productive manpower comes from another speech community. He believed that the language and contact with control of the means of production would leave the other one for

random use and home use; and gradually have the effect of forcing it out of use as there came to be no functional separate place for it.

Gumperz's work (above) might provide a reminder that such a process would not be straightforward; yet such ideas are powerful as they link language beyond "culture". It is also in contrast to the social-psychological approach of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, who see linguistic behaviour as an indication of ingroup/outgroup orientations and identity; and to the common view that language is a "given", not a "variable", that Williams suggests that economic and political forces are more powerful in forming people's language allegiance than their social psychology. The vitality of different languages in any bilingual setting is affected by competition for control of the infrastructure by various ethnic groups:

"language allegiance is firmly rooted in the economic order rather than in any independent cultural order" (Williams 1979 p58).

Williams raises relevant questions about who, in a "language group" will be likely to argue for retention of the group language in face of a dominant language associated with the "economic order"; and who, on the other hand, will be relatively at ease with the change of language (in this society, towards English). He argues that

"language behaviour in a multilingual situation can be seen as a reflection of the actors' perception of the relationship between occupational and language group status. The forces which influence this relationship emanate from the control over the economic and ideological structures, which are inherently related" (1979 p64).

He constructs a diagram to illustrate his argument that people choose the language to develop from an attempt at "status maximisation" - or, alternatively, "a rational choice based on an attempt to minimize risk":

Table 28: Williams' hypothesis (from Williams 1979)

		occupational status	
		high	low
status in own language group	high	1	2
	low	3	4

Williams argues that those most active in favour of the group language - "language loyalists" - are likely to be those with "high occupational status" and simultaneously "high status" in their own

language group (quadrant 1). In contrast, those with "low status" in their own language group, but "high occupational status" (quadrant 3) are, he suggests, likely to be in great conflict - and often will try to denounce the group language; while those with low status all round (quadrant 4) will often try to "pass" to the dominant language.

There are problems with Williams' formulation. For example we know that people commonly use different languages in different contexts: and may, presumably, be "loyal" to Arabic and speak English - or vice versa! Also, we know that not all people in his quadrant 4 appear to move fast towards learning English (say working class unemployed Pakistanis or Bengalis), although it might be possible to talk across generations and consider those prepared to let their children drop their own group language in favour of English with little resistance (see ch 7). The work of Harrison et al suggests that Welsh-speaking mothers of higher social class were more likely to have Welsh-speaking children (1981).

Williams also assumes that

"where the class system is dominated by the major ethnic group the opting for class-based action on the part of members of the minority ethnic group is synonymous with opting for majority ethnic status, this being accompanied by a rejection of the markers of minority ethnicity in favour of the markers of the dominant ethnic group" (1979 op. cit. p63).

Problems clearly accompany this assertion. The trade union disputes at Imperial Typewriters (Dhondy 1974), Grunwick (Sivanandan 1982b) and elsewhere (CARF 1981) were class-based actions by Asian people who did not all thereby choose to reject the "markers of minority ethnicity".

In Williams' work there is a tension between the notion of "objective" occupational position (which allows him to construct the diagram above) and the notion of "status" - which is far from unilinear or undisputed. The doubt we have cast on the unitary nature of "speech communities" applies similarly to "language groups". The "status" of an individual in the eyes of one group of speakers of a given language may well be different from his or her status in the eyes of another group - so there can be several hierarchies of "status".

Moreover, ultimately Williams implies that "status" in a language group is stronger than the "economic order", for he says that it is people who have "high status" in their language group who will fight for the preservation of the language of that group. In the end, their "status" seems to determine their attitude to their language more than their occupation. But if there are a plurality of "high statuses", this

complicates his argument that the economic and political is of "more importance" than "the cultural order". Indeed, it is unlikely that there is any simple causality here. "The economic order" is most unlikely to translate simply into language allegiance. This can be argued theoretically via notions of ideology and hegemony; and practically by showing that, even where where English and American companies have factories and power, and the speaking of English confers advantages on its speakers, a plurality of other languages continue to exist (Romaine 1984).

Language learning and race and gender

The concerns of Williams serve to remind us, broadly, that "language shift is a reflection of power relations in the society" (LMP 1983); and that within language groups, as well as between them, issues of class and material power form further groups with different interests. However, while economic interest may suggest that English may be a useful language to learn, realities such racism which denies the job opportunities the society professes to make available may make learning English less rather than more attractive.

Various writers have seen this in different ways. Gumperz, for example, demonstrates that individual speakers bring their linguistic styles closer to each other to indicate a friendly relationship, while people can underline their differences of language, speech, and intonation between them precisely to indicate some sort of difference or hostility (Gumperz 1982. Also Brown and Gilman 1968, Brown and Levinson 1978). Developing the argument that speakers diverge where there is conflict, Rosen suggests that a defence of speech identifying the group one comes from can be a result of a threat to the identity of that group. In other words, racism against Asians in Britain may result in a defence of Asian languages (Rosen 1982).

Saifullah Khan shows that there may be differences between different bilingual speakers in their approach; but racism is one of the factors. There is "every likelihood" of major language shift to English in second and later generations, she points out; but different communities vary, and some are more concerned to keep their original language, especially because of the right wing movements present here. The Linguistic Minorities Project argue that ethnic minority languages are more important to people who feel that they are not fully accepted in

this society. They are thus more likely to become important among bilingual youngsters as part of ethnic identity: for example because of "economic and social discrimination, or lack of freedom to use their own language and express their own culture" (LMP 1983b p1).

Taylor, Maynard, and Rheault (1977) are interested, like Lambert, in social-psychological factors important in language learning. They argue that there is little practical exchange outside a classroom between representatives of different linguistic origins, which can mean that learning a second language brings little real advantage; while one's own community language may be weakened in the struggle to learn another one. It can be the case that learning a second language is "a mostly subtractive process" (their p103), which can "alter the motivational balance for becoming bilingual" (p104).

The argument comes out very clearly in the work of Hindenkamp, who writes in Germany in the context of "Gastarbeiter" legislation. His work is of relevance here, because racism is clear in Britain too, while change in the legal status of migrants brings the Gastarbeiter situation closer here (Sivanandan 1982a). Hindenkamp argues that in Germany, migrant workers do not usually learn fluent German - but

"the 'interlanguage' of most 'Gastarbeiter' fossilizes on a level rightly termed 'pidgin' in its social and social-psychological markedness" (Hinnenkamp 1979 p2; cf Dittmar 1982).

There is, he suggests, a quantity of contact with German provided by

"work, going shopping, in leisure-time, in contacts with neighbours, intercourse with the authorities and with officials, and gradually also in intra-family context because many children of the 'Gastarbeiter' develop bilingual patterns and even converse in German at home. In addition further availability - at least passively - is provided by television, radio, and the like" (op. cit. p2).

However, this contact does not usually lead to an expansion of Gastarbeiters' fluency in German, because of the context of the contact with German. He explains that the laws and practices of Germany, and in particular the institutions with which the Gastarbeiter have, continually, to deal, do not offer equality of communication, but "coercive communication" (his p7). They are there to supervise and check up on Gastarbeiter. While learning German is still

"an indispensable prerequisite for integration in the sense of an alliance with Germans, especially with German workers, and the ability to verbalise their needs and difficulties, formulating their criticisms, getting appropriate information, etc... [yet]... communications with 'Gastarbeiter' in particular in encounters with authority and at work deny his acceptance as a social subject" (pp4-7).

In consequence, he argues, Gastarbeiter

"block input channels of communication ... [which] is exactly what we mean by the 'refusal of second language learning'" (op. cit.p9).

This discussion of language shift and the approach of individuals to the different languages they could choose, has moved the discussion away from individual, psychological "motivation" (cf Saifullah Khan x) to a consideration of the position of people in groups. It has pointed out that people can have a place in a number of groups; and stresses the importance of the different relation of bilingual groups to race on the one hand and social class on the other.

In this context gender, too, is important. Saifullah Khan would probably agree with Sharp that "each bilingual community is unique" (Sharp 1973 p11) but would see differences between the position of different people in the given "community"; and she would not predict the person's approach to, say, the learning of English, on the basis of sweeping structural statements on class or occupation. Saifullah Khan gives importance to the "network" in which women are situated - whether "the dynamics of family life", the end of a marriage or another context. Feminists have often noted the inadequacies of traditional class theory in accounting for the material forces on the lives of all women (see p249). Saifullah Khan's concern with such issues makes her focus on a woman's relation to others. For example, she suggests that it is when children begin to use English, rather than their mother's language, at home, that "the mother is especially motivated to use English in order not to be isolated from her own family" (Saifullah Khan 1982). It is not to say that the role of women must be to centre their lives around bearing children to argue that the present realities of the lives of many women indicate great material changes from one stage of their lives to another (before child-bearing/ caring for small children/ with grown children, say); or to point out that many women experience an intertwining of their lives with those of others to an extent that many men do not experience.

Consequently, in addition to individual factors such as age (p202) and experience of schooling (Swetland 1982), gender gives importance to factors such as women's marital and other relationships; age and language of any children; other people with whom they live or are in contact at home, in employment or elsewhere. Whereas Hindenkamp talks of employed workers with contact with German, who "block the input channels of communication" because their opportunities to learn German

are chiefly to fit in with German officials' and bosses' need for control (1979, here p211), Saifullah Khan talks of women often denied both job opportunities and everyday opportunities to learn English. She implies that if the context were right, and opportunities granted, women would learn English - and with that, distances herself from the preoccupation she notes in discussions about adult learning with "the perceived need or desire to learn" (Saifullah Khan op. cit. p17).

Implicitly both Saifullah Khan and Hindenkamp (like d'Anglejan or Fathman 1976) believe that the possibility of real communication is more important than formal opportunities in providing interest and success in learning a second language. Both, moreover, deny that, for most migrants, such real (equal) communication is available. Again, we have argued above that Hindenkamp is interested in "social psychology" as following from structural constraints; and, now, Saifullah Khan's account, too, stresses the external constraints rather than individual "attitudes":

"the structural constraints working against many women of South Asian origin are powerful forces within which we should assess the cultural preferences (which so often overpreoccupied earlier researchers)" (Saifullah Khan x p1).

She makes an interesting hypothesis:

"It is reasonable to hypothesize that the ability to learn English is related to the opportunities to use it in socially meaningful situations and that the formal learning of the language is most likely to succeed amongst students of higher educational and occupational status because of their familiarity with the expectations and assumptions underlying 'classroom' interaction" (op. cit. p17).

Rockhill's account of Hispanic women in Los Angeles emphasises the importance of gender in their approach to learning English. For her, this means not only networks but home life and the division of labour.

"The theme of longing, cross-cut by confinement, runs throughout" (Rockhill 1987 p 153).

In her view there are two primary ways of learning a language - through informal interactions in mixed language settings (eg at work), or formal classes, but the women's position at home precluded the first. Where Currer found Pathan women express a very general wish to learn English, but said that

"pressure to learn English came from husbands and children and was not a major concern of the women themselves" (Currer 1983 p78),

Rockhill found that among Hispanic women a desire to take classes in order to learn English, although the realities of home life meant

putting dreams aside in order not to disturb "male rage and violence".

"Once literacy carries with it the symbolic power of education, it poses a threat to the power relations in the family. Men need to feel in control; not only does this mean having more power than their wives, but controlling what they think and do. This is especially so when the man feels little or no power at work, or is not the family's primary breadwinner. Furthermore, immigrant men are denied alternative forms of social status and are confronted by the chauvinism of an alien culture" (op. cit. p164).

She found that women were more likely to develop their English literacy skills once they were separated or divorced, and learning English no longer appeared to threaten their men; although men with a higher level of education and/or more daily contact with the English-speaking world were more supportive of their wives learning English.

"Take-up" and "motivation" in adult education

Within adult education interest in "take-up" of courses has been fuelled by the "numbers game" (Newman 1979). Rogers points out that a 25% "drop-out" is common, though not uniform.

"the freedom of adult students to stop coming to a class is one of the things that make adult education a very different proposition from teaching in schools (Rogers 1977 p21)

The interest in who "drops out" and why is due not only to a wish to run bubbling, successful classes, but to the financial weakness of adult education and the series of threats to the existence of schemes and particular courses, which can only be justified by large and regular attendance of students.

This has led to literature about the "motivation" of students. As H.A. Jones put it, "the motive to attend may be quite different from the motive to learn" (quoted in Rogers op. cit. p20); and there may be quite different motivations for setting out to learn and for continuing a project (Brookfield 1983). Researchers have tried to separate out the reasons why potential students may come to adult education or not: characteristically differentiating "vocational" or "work related" reasons from relationships to do with "personal development" or "interest": and these again from "social reasons" (a wish to meet new people); while different people add different, further categories: Rogers thought "captive wives" seeking to escape from the home and re-discover their intellectual abilities another category (1977); whereas NIAE (1970b) separated "recreational reasons" from other possible reasons for attending a class.

Problems with such an approach are not only practical but theoretical. Practically, researchers have admitted that there is

"no one motivation to learn", for "the desire to learn is prompted in many ways" (Rogers and Groombridge 1976 p312).

"Adults do not only have one motive for joining a class. In talking to an interviewer they may be reluctant to single out one reason as more important than another; they may even wish to hide a motive of which they think an interviewer may disapprove" (Rogers 1977).

Some commentators believe potential students - or particular groups such as working-class women - are primarily motivated by a desire to improve their job prospects:

"If I had a good job, I doubt whether I would have given education a second thought" (quoted in Kellaway 1981?, p39).

Others claim that "self development" (which they oppose to "vocational" reasons) is "far and away the most common reason students give for joining a class" (Rogers 1977). When it is further acknowledged that students' reasons for attending a class change over time; and that "motivation" is sometimes used to explain when and why students learn, not just attend classes, the plurality of factors in motivation become increasingly complicated.

There are theoretical objections, moreover, to the use of the quasi-psychological concept of "motivation" which attributes the causes of a person's attendance at a class, or that person's learning to that individual and to his or her "wants"/"desires"/"needs"/"demands". Further explanations in terms of social relations and pressures on that person fit uneasily with the individual basis of motivation - but the need for such explanations is evident from work on adult education and class.

Historically, working-class people have been involved in developing adult education courses both within and outside the state system (p26). The establishment of the adult education institutes however, led to the opening of classes for people in particular from the already-educated lower middle-classes (Rogers 1977), and the proportion of working-class students dropped. By the 1970s, the confidence in working-class involvement in adult education was being upset by a number of surveys demonstrating that a "middle-class bias" had developed in adult education (NIAE 1970a, Westwood 1980, Usher 1981). It seemed to be the case that there were class divisions between adult education organisations. Upper-middle class and more educated students were going to workers' educational association (WEA) and university organised

classes; more lower-middle-class students went to adult education institutes, as did a greater number of women students (Thompson 1980a). But working-class "take-up" of all provision was low. There was a "virtual absence of students in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations" (Devereux 1982 p230). It is also the case that students were largely white (Little et al 1982): but it is only recently that questions are being asked about why this should be the case (Stock and Howell 1976, Little et al op. cit.).

The interest in expanding "basic education" for the working class caused a search to explain why working class students were not coming to classes; and what action might change this situation. Very broadly, the answers offered fell into two groups. Firstly there were issues to do with the organisation of adult education itself - some of which it was open to the institutions to change. The place and times of classes, methods of enrolment, the level of fees; the type and means of publicising classes, could all be changed.

"It seems reasonable to suggest that forms of publicity may have a direct bearing on the social composition of classes" (NIAE 1970b).

Secondly there were suggestions that the classes themselves might change. The decentralization of tuition, the provision of creches, or classes that would encourage people to bring their children along, were advocated. Newman, criticising the "staid and unimaginative adult education service of the 50s and 60s" (1979 p111) advocated surveys to try and see what courses people wanted and new courses, backed up by "outreach" both to advertise and to find out what "the community" wanted of adult education:

"to broaden the institute's programme and include courses for child minders, increase our literacy provision, try setting up 'mothers and babies' groups, experiment in length and approach and timing of existing courses, and provide courses on issues such as housing, environment, poverty and job opportunity, as educational back-up to community development and action" (Newman op. cit. p25).

The new moves to "basic education" led to new developments in ways to find students ("outreach"); the style of classes ("community classes"); and also new types of course designed to bring back to study students who had previously left it ("fresh start", "second chance" and "access" courses). However, even now, Thompson argued, "a liberal consensus held sway". New links between adult education and industry and "training" were being made at the same time, while it could be argued that the very benevolent "niceness" of some of the adult educators was a

form of social control, neutralising the potential hostility of potential clients (Thompson 1980b).

Moreover, these initiatives have been criticised as a soft option in a world where real education is about hard work (Jackson 1980), and accused of bypassing the deepest questions of the relation of the working-class to adult education. By focussing on access to classes, they did not consider what was in common between adult education and the schools the intended students had not done well in; or the curriculum of the courses offered. In 1970 NIAE had noted that

"the figures tended to confirm something like half the adult population is inhibited from involvement in adult education by attitudes which are probably deeply rooted in social circumstances and earlier education. Up to a third of all informants are aware of impediments arising from personal circumstances, working and domestic life, though they are no doubt often surmounted in practice." (NIAE 1970b p102).

In 1979 Fordham et al looked at some of these "impediments" - age, sex, having young children, having own transport or not- but found "the closeness of the adult education system to school" more important:

"a considerable section of the Leigh Park community reject post-school porridge as unpalatable because of their earlier educational-dietary experiences at school" (Fordham et al 1979 p166).

While they point to unhappy experiences at school in a broad sense, to fears of bureaucracy and of "the language we use", others have connected similar evidence to a wider theory of the role of school in adult education and society. Thompson rejects discussions of educational/social/cultural "deprivation" such as unhappy memories of schooling as "conventional wisdoms" (Thompson 1980a p24), arguing that much of education is about cultural transmission, and she argues that those who do not come to adult education classes have got the message that it is not for them.

"Could it be that those who have learned defeat earlier on in their school careers, and have come to regard education as an alienating experience, see adult education as merely the extension of this process?" (Thompson 1980a p21).

Thus it is not the physical but "social location of adult education" (Westwood 1980) that is at question. Bowles and Gintis argue that it is

"the experience of work and the class structure [which are] the basis on which the educational values are formed, social justice assessed, the realm of the possible delineated in people's consciousness and the social relation of the educational encounter historically delineated" (1976).

While working class people are usually unsupported by funding to continue their education, unlike those who initially continued past

school-leaving age (Yarnit 1980), the factors that discouraged their continued education at that stage continue to operate. Usher sees adult education as part of the hegemonic culture and argues that education conveys and reproduces social divisions which correspond to the economic organization of the capitalist society.

"It should not be overlooked that the major factor which either attracts or dissuades potential students is the nature of the curriculum - the selection of knowledge which is included, the kind of culture which it reflects, the set of values and beliefs which are implicit in the transmission of knowledge" (Usher 1981? p7).

Thompson points out in relation to women as students that there have been

"limited definitions of 'women's needs'... When the attention of providers is directed at working class women "in the community", in "outreach work" or in "adult basic education" schemes, a further element becomes seemingly obligatory - child development and parent-craft... And despite the claims about "individuality", "personal development" and "educational self-fulfilment" so beloved by adult educators, where women are concerned, it is as appendages of homes, husbands and children, that they are usually assessed and catered for" (Thompson 1981? p15).

In 1978 the American Bureau of Migrant Education said that

"some of the obstacles preventing migrant adults from participating in programmes include: lack of transportation, refusal to return to the physical setting of school building because of the negative connotations connected to the institution, fear of ridicule in group settings, fear of failure and lack of available programmes at appropriate times".

But there has not been proper consideration of the approach of migrant adults to language education in this context. The arguments above suggest that in addition to considerations of flexibility and access, the social context of the provision, the messages implicit in the curriculum and the possibilities suggested by potential students' wider experiences are all of importance in explaining their approach to education as adults.

"Take-up" and "motivation" in ESL

In the past ten years there has been increasing interest in what encourages students to attend ESL classes, partly due to a questioning of the previous stereotypes of students, and partly to increasing insecurity in ESL. However there has been no systematic exploration of the factors behind "student take-up". While the "ESL as welfare" paradigm was accepted, the commonsense stereotype of South Asian women appeared to explain both students' reasons for learning English and their problems in going to classes. The stereotype will therefore be

examined before looking at explanations within ESL of students' approach to classes.

A stereotypical account of South Asian women has portrayed them in a specific role within large, patriarchal, extended families (Parmar 1981):

"we are taken for granted: nice, soft and sari-clad, timid little things" (Manju 1984).

The stereotype is of shy and passive South Asian women, involved only in their families, accepting a dependent status (Lawrence 1981); expected to have a poor level of written and spoken English - "linguistic difficulties" (see below p226). The need to "help" Asian women has been reflected in various types of social work initiative, such as the Asian Mother and Baby Health Campaign (SCF 1985 - criticised by Sarin 1986).

"The 'Asian woman' conceptualised as a wife is submissive, economically and socially dependent, allowed outside the house only under the control of the husband or his relatives and unlikely to work in paid employment. As a mother she is seen as non-English speaking, illiterate in her own language, a conservative upholder of traditional social norms" (Allen 1982 p131).

This picture is more acute still in the case of Muslim women, portraying Islam in particular as oppressive to women (Dahya 1965). Although Hyder argued against uniform pictures of Muslim women (1974), the stereotype is fuelled by a history of anti-Muslim racism going back at least to the Crusades. In other European countries, different groups of migrant Muslim women have been characterized in very similar ways in public discourse. For example, Grillo (1980) describes a kind of "folk anthropology" dominating the perceptions held by French social workers and others of North African immigrant women, whose "traditional" lives are held to be in stark contrast to the "liberated" lives of French women. The picture of Asian women in Britain has had extensive critique from black and South Asian feminists (Parmar 1982, Mukti 1984, Brah 1984) but has remained important in ESL. While for all Asians, their presumed low level of English is seen as the source of crucial problems, it is assumed that the "lack of English" of women links to their particularly oppressed position as women: which can, in turn, be helped by a wider knowledge of English.

In 1974 an ESL organiser grouped students in this way:

- (1) teenagers come too late to catch up with schooling;
- (2) young brides "who are as yet without family responsibilities";

(3) mothers who have rejoined their husbands and older children after a long separation;

"their priorities are to re-establish personal links and family life, and for this group, language learning is only of secondary importance" (Hinchliffe 1974 p273);

(4) Older women (usually Ugandan Asian) whose families have grown up and who have time on their hands:

"This group corresponds in many ways with similar older adult education students in the English community".

This account must be right to consider the importance of stage of life - but it would almost have us believe that all South Asian women have the same series of points in their lives! What about women who do paid work? Why, for example, are Ugandan Asians, and people who correspond to other adult-education-goers the older people who turn up? Some accounts at the time allowed that South Asian women might do paid work (Davies and Jupp 1976), but in welfare ESL, a picture of non-employed, child-caring Asian women predominated.

An account of CRC English teaching schemes written in 1976 answers the question why English should be taught to South Asian women in Britain in terms of the "social isolation" of Asian women who do not speak English. A footnote points out that

"it will be obvious that I am not referring to the highly educated, professional South Asian women resident in the United Kingdom. These are literate in their own languages as well as in English, and have no communication problems" (Bhatti 1976 p117);

but for "most of the South Asian migrants in Britain" who "come from rural areas with a comfortably slow-moving lifestyle" (her p115), serious problems consequent on not speaking English are non-communication with the "host society", a restriction on activity, "the formation of Asian enclaves in certain urban areas", adverse effects on children, and a division between parents and children:

"The unfortunate position of mothers who remain ignorant of English is increasingly that of strangers in their own homes; this ignorance can result in the breakdown of communication between mother and children. It can be tragic, especially since it may not be perceived until it is too late to remedy the situation. The mother finds her influence gone; her children feel unable to turn to her for advice since she is totally unfamiliar with the challenges and pressures that they have to face." (Bhatti op. cit.)

Bhatti lays out reasons for women finding it hard to come to English classes: these are the attitude of husbands, problems with travelling, and "lack of motivation, lack of opportunity; lack of suitable courses; or lack of knowledge of their existence". ESL classes in her view are unquestionably benign and helpful, promoting the welfare of the women who come to the classes, and preventing the situation where, without English,

"the Asian woman will be condemned to a half-life in Britain, separated linguistically from the mass of the society and, eventually, from her own intimate family" (op. cit. p117).

It is possible to find logical flaws in Bhatti's assimilationist account. She assumes that little or no English is a handicap and then proceeds to prove it. She assumes that differences in dress, etc., are also a handicap, and makes no attempt to prove it. She thinks that "a tendency in some sections of the host community to equate ignorance of English with deafness or stupidity" is a problem for Asians to solve, not the "host community" (her p116). The account is important, however, as it lays out both reasons to learn English and problems in attending classes which link early ESL accounts to assimilationism and the stereotype discussed above.

With the gradual integration of ESL into education structures and the influence of debates on racism in the late 1970s and 1980s (ch 3), what previously seemed evident could now seem a dilemma. If trying to change someone else's culture can be labelled "racist", but that culture is sexist; and if trying to end the social isolation of Asian women is also seen as fighting the sexism of their cultures - is one forced to choose priorities in the battle against sexism and racism? (above, ch 5; cf Matthew and Ayres 1981 pp64 ff).

A challenge to the aims of ESL combined with a requirement to justify funding by demonstrating that classes were full, led beyond depicting potential students, to asking questions about their attendance at classes. Concern with fluctuating attendance was shared by second-language schemes in other parts of the west (Jacquet 69, Jungo 71, Darkenwald 71, Seligman 76). A connected problem was perceived by teachers of slightly higher levels of ESL: that often "intermediate" students ceased to attend because of slowing progress (Hermann 1982, Baynham 1982b). However, concerns with "take-up" have concentrated on irregular attendance or students not coming at all; and resulted in a series of hypotheses: students may not know of classes, or be tired

because of work (eg Pearn 1977); those who see classes as "a stepping stone to either a job or further training" may attend most regularly (Darkenwald 1971); while for a given student (this quote from a scheme in America)

"any motivation she might have to learn English to survive is daily undermined by the obvious fact that she and her family are surviving all right without it" (CFAL 1976).

In the 1980s, suggestions have also been made that students may want to be taught grammar (Matthews and Cooke 1976), or respond better to bilingual teachers (p109). While Arora notes the importance of "social and economic factors" in motivating people to learn English (Arora 1980 p19), in 1984, Morgan suggests that racism may be a factor preventing "motivation" to learn English (NNews 18 p1). In an article on "Asians' motivation to learn English", Lakshmi Dhasmana links the two:

"the attitude of an impersonal and formal society which goes more by logic and reason, and is quite often permeated by arrogance, self-righteousness and a superiority complex, is not an attractive stimulus for an integrative attitude for an Asian whose upbringing had been in an informal and sentimental environment and who believes in humility and emotional interdependence" (Dhasmana 1983 p12).

She distinguishes an "internal motivation" - and the difference in attitudes and cultures, she says, is off-putting; and an external situation of racial hostility. Moreover, she points out, the more English an Asian has, the greater the disparity between job level and qualifications (cf Smith 1976).

Three interesting pieces of work in the early 1980s are a discussion paper written by Julia Naish (at that time Borough Language Coordinator in Camden, north London), a paper written by Janet Hermann for the RSA training course, and a report by Caulker and Bishop on a survey of Islington AEI students. All three consider the approach of students to classes, and implicitly or explicitly challenge the image of the ESL classes as the evident answer to all the problems of bilingual students.

Hermann decides it is not possible to separate Gardner and Lambert's two "types of motivation".

"From my observations, it appears that most women come to ESL classes for both reasons (integrative - to mix socially with neighbours and parents of their children's friends, and instrumental - to deal with the doctor, the Electricity Board, etc.)" (Hermann 1982 p1).

Although Hermann touches on a number of interesting questions, her work

suffers from the use of the amorphous concept of "motivation" in a notion of "intensity of motivation"

("I took students who had ticked two points... to show a fair degree of motivation... and those who ticked three or more points, a high degree of motivation" (p11));

and from the need she felt to count numbers from her small sample rather than to explore those questions further.

In order to discover why women attended classes, Hermann offered women a choice from a limited range of answers, restricting both their choice and her own discussion. Her questions also assumed that the type of class provision was beyond question: for example her question as to why women had not previously come to classes gave them the following choices:

"you didn't know about classes/ you didn't need classes/ you were depressed/ you were pregnant/ your children made it difficult/ you were too nervous/ you needed time to get used to living in England/ other."

Hermann hoped to look at "the psycho-social side of motivation of which the students themselves are perhaps not fully aware" (her p5). The factors she chose were: a husband's approach to his wife learning English; support she may get (for example in interpreting) from other people in the family; her confidence in talking English; contact with English speakers; attitudes towards living in England. She draws a picture of lonely women with a low self-image, but independent and motivated to learn English: and presents a number of recommendations for ESL organisers. Her discussion of the students' backgrounds is inadequate because she does not consider social class in her "occupation" question (p7), and she approaches "educational level" in a very general way. However, she makes a hypothesis of interest to our discussion:

"There seems to be some divide between the less educated and the more educated... the drop-out level amongst the more educated is higher than amongst the less educated" (p18).

Hermann's essay is an interesting challenge to previous views of ESL students as more or less uniform; of the "need for English" as self-evident; and of the class provision being obviously right. Her comments about the need for "classes for high flyers" (her p19) tally with our own discussion (see p302).

Naish's discussion paper on Bengali women and ESL classes in Camden takes the challenge head-on (1982). She accepts that teachers and professionals do not really understand "motivation", but suggests that,

to the women, "materialistic values rate higher than educational". She points to an attitude on the part of professionals that we discuss in chapter 8:

"For many professionals, language is seen as the solution to a whole series of problems - ranging from enabling someone to cope better on their own and without the intervention of social worker or health worker, to being some kind of catch-all to a problem the professional simply cannot deal with. Mrs X has six children, an unemployed husband, a damp flat, and is depressed. Let her learn English and things will improve" (Naish 1982).

In contrast, she suggests, there may be many problems for women which

"militate against good attendance at classes: the physical problems of child-care and mobility, lack of confidence, lack of support from the husband, conflict with religious practice, harassment. In a case where the primary motivation for living in Britain is earning capacity, wives going out to a women's group may be seen as irrelevant"(Naish 1982).

Women from rural Sylhet (Bangladesh) are likely to have an experience of education - very formal in style - that is not met at "the apparently formless egalitarian ESL classes". But beyond this, Naish is unclear what reasons there might really be to learn English - if Bengali English-speaking workers can provide help with queries, say about benefit. Perhaps those women who do go to classes go to return a favour to "patrons" (professionals) who have helped with other things and appear to want them to go? Or for instrumental reasons, like child-care in the holidays - her example is summer holiday schemes?

In 1984, Caulker and Bishop considered that limited take-up by students of subjects other than English was due to a combination of teachers' attitudes, time, and the repression of their ambitions by students. Structural limitations on the students were not explored, while the effects of the institutions were limited to the teachers' attitudes. Nevertheless the work includes interesting discussion, written with an awareness of the context of conflict, and was significant in aiming

"to expose the prevalent stereotype of the ESL student: they are not all women; they have a wide variety of educational backgrounds, and they are certainly not all low achievers" (Caulker and Bishop 1984 p1).

They hoped to provoke discussion "in FE as well as AE about the unmet needs of ESL students" (op. cit. p21). Their interpretations of the length of time people have been in Britain before attending AEI English classes prompted them to suggest a "return to study" effect (p10). They offered two reasons for this:

"a realization that English is needed to improve job prospects and lifestyle. We know that some of these students did not go to English classes when they first arrived in Britain, but took jobs

where they did not need English. Now, because of the economic climate and the higher proportion of unemployed among ethnic minorities, many students need to improve their English because access to jobs and particularly skill training is getting more selective...[and]...as regards the women's classes, health visitors frequently ring us to introduce a woman to class. Many immigrant women, particularly Muslim women, do not have any contact with agencies or institutions until they have their first baby in this country. Health visitors and doctors are therefore a major information channel to give women in this category information about English classes" (op. cit. p10)

Their survey, however, does not include any way of asking students themselves why they came to classes, although it is clear from what they say that different groups of people go to different classes:

"we know that most of the Hong Kong, Italian and Turkish students attend our evening classes, most of the Bangladeshi women attend daytime classes" (p6).

The financial threat to the existence of ESL classes is the background to their emphasis on the large number of enrolments and the substantial reasons for students leaving classes:

"Most students stay the whole year, but some leave because they are having babies, moving out of the area, transferring to college or training courses, or have learnt enough English for their present purposes" (p1).

This is possibly also the reason that leads them to ignore differences between students, other than those of gender or country of origin. The men/women difference is clear in their approach, and the tables on which students go to which classes are broken down by sex and by completion of survey (p6), while they do not discuss differences in background which could lead to deeper questions about the provision and the "take-up".

The limited nature of exploration of students' approach to ESL within ESL itself has two effects, which are linked. Up to the mid-1980s there was no systematic examination of what might lie behind student attendance at ESL classes, and thus no introduction into ESL discussions in general of the academic considerations of approaches to second language learning that we have discussed above (see p360). Despite the hopes of Caulker and Bishop, this in turn allowed the commonsense stereotypes of South Asian migrants in particular to continue more or less unchallenged, as they were more strongly nourished by media and public discourse than any alternative view held by individuals within ESL.

SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSES

While various observations have been made as to why South Asian women might attend English language classes or not, a consideration of their approaches to further education is also relevant, while a proper explanation for both needs to consider the English language and formal education in the context of their lives as a whole; and to allow that the supposed "group" of South Asian women is not uniform, but - like other migrants - is divided also by class.

South Asian women and the English language

It is part of the stereotype of South Asian women (p219) that their English is poor, and that this constitutes a particular problem for them:

"In Britain Asian women's supposed lack of fluency in English has been a key element in the ideological construction of the social imagery about them" (Brah 1984 p5).

A low level of English has been blamed for the kinds of work people of South Asian origin have found (cf Hiro 1971); and for their living close to each other. Women, depicted primarily as mothers, are believed to suffer from a linguistic "generation gap" (CRC 1975, cf Parmar 1981) when children learn English and start to use it:

"It was no wonder that many [Muslim mothers] tended to cling to their own community all the more, as a refuge from the unknown" (Union of Muslim Organisations 1975 p10).

The particular interest in Asian women's level of English has led to a number of surveys. In 1976, Smith looked at "Asians", not specifically at women, and found that

- (1) older Asians were less likely to be fluent in English, but 26% of 16-24 year-olds had little or no English, as well as 66% of those over 45;
- (2) people were less likely to be fluent at English if they came here as adults or lived where there were many other Asians (54% with little or no English lived where there was a "concentration" of Asians of more than 12%; and 27% where there were fewer Asians);
- (3) 70% of those with little or no English had no education after age 12 ; while

"The Asians who do not speak English well are broadly speaking the same ones who have had little education" (Smith 1976 p49).

Gundara's survey in 1981 of fifty women in Southall found the level of spoken English of 22% was good, of 20% "a little", and 58% spoke none. More urban than rural women spoke English; and a long stay in England did not lead necessarily to learning English: indeed confidence in speaking English went down with the number of years the women had been in England (Gundara 1981). In Rochdale in 1977 Anwar argued that more than 22% of Pakistani migrants were illiterate and had had no schooling; 46% had education up to matriculation and over. He found that fluency in English was related to age and it was often the older people who had not been to school (Anwar 1977). The Linguistic Minorities Project found that in South Asian households (in contrast with some other bilingual groups) "no more than five per cent report using English reciprocally" (LMP 1983 p144).

These works suggest that factors in fluency in English include age and education. The pattern of women arriving here with lower levels of English than their menfolk is frequent across different minority peoples here:

"usually females reported lower skills in English than males, while younger people reported lower levels of minority language skills and older respondents lower levels of English skills" (LMP 1983 p141).

Others have suggested further factors affecting Asian women's approach to learning English. Sharma found one woman wanted to learn English to distinguish the word "beef" on tins, but had no real contact with English people at home or at work, and did not go to classes (Sharma 1971). Gundara (1981) suggested that women start classes or learn English during their first time here - or not at all; and that the people she talked to wanted women teachers but had reservations about educated Indian teachers. Sadanand suggested that women working wanted English more than those who were not doing paid work (1976). Uberoi said in 1965 that having English meant status - but that the women she talked to were happy for their children to have that status, and not so bothered for themselves.

Others name reasons why people might not go to ESL classes. Castles and Kosack pointed out that poor housing conditions could lead to high mobility; evening classes were a problem due to overtime at work (they pay no attention to women). Also, they believed, there was a high turnover of teachers, and no standard, suitable language-teaching method (1973). In contrast, women talking of women's problems of time emphasised the pressures of children and housework (Dhanjal 1976;

Sadanand 1976). Others have pointed to the effects of racism experienced by workers (Gundara 1981); a husband forbidding his wife to go to classes (Wilson 1978); problems with learning English owing to the difficulty of the language (Mackenzie and Aemiers 1971); and the low level of classes (Sadanand 1976).

It is also possible to think, in a general way, that it would be good to know English (cf Sadanand 1976, Bruen 1976), while regarding it really as unnecessary (Uberoi 1965), or being too busy to learn it (Dhanjal 1976, footnote). According to Hiro (who points out how few English memsahibs "managed to wade through the Hindustani-English primer") the reason why 4 out of 5 Pakistani and Bangladeshi women did not know English is

"obvious. Such a housewife is not compelled by economic necessity or tradition to participate in the outside world. Her place is in the home. Outside it, as long as she can manage shopping and the laundromat, she can survive"(Hiro 1971).

In Anwar's account, men's lack of support was another reason: some men told me that although it is useful for their women to learn English but there is no use as they have to go back to Pakistan (Women feel more about going back as they miss their relatives more than men). The other suspicion is that these English ladies might teach their women about liberty and about other permissive ideas they believe in in Western society and could threaten men's authority over women" (Anwar 1977 p233).

There are also descriptions of women going to English classes as an acceptable place to meet other women.

"Yasmin...considers that the women only go [to an English class] to gossip (in Punjabi), and the children make such a noise that no-one can concentrate; in any case, she forgets what she learns between one lesson and the next" (Jeffery 1976).

In a society where official transactions go on in English, moreover, it may sometimes be useful, to "hide" behind lack of English (cf. Hindenkamp 1979; above p211)

"families can and do use their lack of language to keep professionals at bay and avoid discussion of subjects which are controversial" (Curren 1983 p128).

But, if an interpreter is needed, it allows him/her a power relative to the person seeking his/her help, which can be a real disadvantage to them. Desai in 1963 spoke of "middlemen" finding jobs for Asian migrants; Curren was told of an interpreter demanding money to convey the whole of a message properly.

South Asian women and further education

The limited number of studies that have looked at South Asian women's relation to further education are policy-oriented and have followed the pattern of work examining the relation of South Asian women to other public provision - the health services (Curren 1983) or the library and public information services (Gundara 1981). It assumes that the provided services are benevolent and useful, establishes the "low take-up" of services by South Asian women by examining data produced by the organisation itself or doing a survey, and seeks to explain the "low take-up" in terms of the "needs", concepts and culture of South Asian women. However, due to the original assumption, the actions suggested to the institutions are likely to involve only changes of presentation, such as ways of approaching students.

Curren, for example, explored the use of the health service by Pathan women. Her explanations focus on difference of perception between the providers of health services (and other white people) and Pathan women. For example, she shows that the institution of "purdah", almost uniformly seen as oppressive from outside, has on a "view from inside" a very much more positive aspect, to do with confidence and trust. Moreover, if women felt denied access to company, or to things they needed, they blamed not purdah, but the fact that migration had cut them off from a wider network (Curren 1983). Gundara writes as a librarian who hopes that "the emergent trend of the library as a community centre opens new possibilities" (op. cit. p62). Her work establishes the "social isolation" (p62) of women of Indian and Pakistani origin in Britain (1981 p1(n)); while due to a dependence on informal sources, public libraries are not used as she would hope for them to be. The major explanation that she offers for this lies in the type of networks that are especially important for Indian women.

"Since kinship takes precedence over peer groups in the Indian society, women are mainly dependent on the familial network for information. Unlike the traditional extended family geared to meet the social needs of women, stem, or nuclear, families in Southall cannot fulfil this role satisfactorily" (op. cit. p55).

In conclusion, she suggests that libraries should become more familiar with their potential users and their needs, and employ specially trained multicultural librarians to this end.

Such work as that of Matthew and Ayres on "Asian Women and Further Education" (1981) and Sadanand on the relation of Asian women to ESL

provision has raised a number of interesting empirical observations. For example, Matthew and Ayres talk of the encouragement that could be given by having a greater number of Asian tutors (their p45), and of the high demand for English language classes in particular, which seems consistently to exceed demand in Bradford (p37-8, 58). But the work is theoretically inadequate.

Matthew and Ayres address themselves to the notion of "westernisation" (cf our p235); and the notion of "cultural pluralism" (see p36, pp313ff). They refer to language training as obviously "liberation" (Matthew and Ayres op. cit. p13), reinforcing the stereotype we discuss above; and while mentioning differences, treat Asians, in fact, as a homogenous group. Although this study is interesting where they acknowledge the potential effect of their own work (their p 2), and where they are prepared to subject the college's own attitude to its Asian students to criticism (pp49 ff); and while they do mention the relevance of "social background" (p 13), they don't pursue this, submerging questions of different situations within the Asian community.

The most important aspect of these explanations is South Asian women's traditional role in the family. For Gundara, it is crucial to understand the importance of kinship, for women's sources of information are likely to lie within the family. Matthew and Ayres found that of reasons given by Asian women for the low take-up of opportunities at the local Further Education College, the majority focussed on the role of women in the Asian communities.

"By far the most frequent type of reasons given were ethnic group or community reasons. It is apparent that the major theme within this group relates to the role of women in the Asian community ... The second most frequent type of reason given was as a result of the family or parents of girls." (Matthew and Ayres op. cit. p44).

In Currer's explanation the importance of purdah, and also of honour ("izzat") in Pathan families is particularly important.

Gundara gives a more material explanation of the background and practice of South Asian women's lives in Britain, and does not give a uniform representation of their attitudes. She notes that

"the image of the Indian community has been presented by the national press as a largely cohesive social unit. However... such an opinion is far from the truth" (Gundara op. cit. p55).

She notes the differences between the women in her sample, in terms of occupation, education, age, length of stay, overall urban background; and points briefly to the complexities of class.

"While the sample judged through economic and occupational factors in Britain is classified as part of the working-class, it does not by any means share a cohesive social background on the Indian sub-continent" (p16).

Matthew and Ayres' report, however, does not challenge the stereotype of South Asian women, which means that their conclusions can be used to reinforce a notion of passive South Asian women disadvantaged by their position in their own community and by their lack of English. Referring to their "role" can almost suggest that, despite all the work, we knew the answer already! It also implies that the crucial determinants are "attitude" rather than material circumstances, and that attitudes are likely to be uniform, that differences in past and present experiences have no part. In their work, differences between South Asians have no substance. Ayres has argued that there are a number of unifying factors which link all Asian women:

"primarily these are the system of purdah, the arranged marriage system, the family organisation and the division of labour" (Ayres 1979, referred to in Matthew and Ayres 1981 op. cit.).

Although they list research variables which include:

"age, women's work/non-work, head of household's occupation, religion, marital status, generations living in the household, languages spoken, languages written, years of residence in the United Kingdom, birthplace, education in the United Kingdom, education in Bradford, qualifications in the United Kingdom, qualifications from other countries, educational attitudes, knowledge about that particular college" (Matthew and Ayres 1981 p29),

these are only used to present the "characteristics of the sample". Their explanation, for example, for "why there are fewer women over 16 from the Asian community at colleges in the United Kingdom", would be more interesting were the "reasons" broken down by any of these variables. However, the reasons given tell us no more than which of individual/work/family/ethnic/educational reasons are given by women defined purely as "Asian women" (their p54). But, while Asian women in Britain have some similar experiences, this does not make them uniform.

Matthew and Ayres mention social class (p13): but the complexities of class are not investigated. "Male head-of-household's occupation" in this country is deemed equivalent to women's class, without defence (cf our p249); while stratification in the country of origin is not considered. In practice, Matthews and Ayres have a liberal perspective, a concentration on attitudes rather than material differences, and they write out class.

The sole survey beyond ESL about South Asian women and ESL focussed entirely on "attitudes". Trying to explain why "second language learning by immigrants" is not - as it seems it should be -

"the most advantageous learning situation... surrounded all the time by the community whose language he (sic) needs to learn" (Sadanand 1976 p4),

Sadanand neglects material questions, even about the use women make of English. She has a social-psychological approach, a basic question about "motivation" (following Gardner and Lambert) an assumption of need for English in certain very vaguely specified situations (work, "social contact" and also a method of trying to measure "attitudes" on a scale. Again, the only group considered is that of "all Asians": so differences which could be explanatory are written out. Sadanand does not consider why some women do go to classes and some do not; and whether this has anything to do with the conventionally accepted differences: religion, age, etc.: or those more often obscured, such as class, whether measured by own occupation, husband's occupation, educational level, housing. Because this work cannot deal with differences, it ultimately explains very little.

Above we have discussed attempts by adult education providers to encourage the attendance of working-class students, and differentiated those approaches which suggested new methods (place/times/enrolment methods/fees) and improved outreach, from those which suggested the need for a deeper critique of "cultural transmission" by the institutes - or the curricula. These discussions on the relation of South Asian women to education focus entirely on the first. Gundara is vague as to the direction of changes to follow the appointment of multicultural librarians. And when Matthews and Ayres advocate the employment of bilingual teachers for Asian women students in FE, they are prepared to discuss the colleges's approaches to Asian women, yet put far more emphasis on this being an encouragement for Asian women to come to courses. In short, such approaches hope that the addition of new staff will improve the presentation of services: but stop short of an examination of the premises and practices of the services at a deeper level.

SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN AS MIGRANTS: GENDER, RACE AND CLASS

The last section explored a number of hypotheses about the learning of second languages by adults. Firstly, that personal factors - attitude, and obstacles such as time were the most important; secondly, that societal factors such as the role of English in society and

people's links to family, job opportunities and so forth should be considered; thirdly, that the classes themselves, either their presentation or the messages of the curriculum, were important.

Before going on to consider these in the light of interviews with potential ESL students of South Asian origin, it is necessary to describe an approach to women of South Asian origin: to consider them as women, blacks and migrants. Race is prioritised in the discussion of ESL because of its obvious project - teaching English to migrants. Yet the interrelation of gender and class with race also forms the context of ESL provision. There are analyses which prioritise each of these factors of stratification, and an argument which adds the three into "triple oppression". Here it is argued that the three can neither be reduced to one factor nor simply separated.

Saifullah Khan has pointed out that a focus on minority cultures has often stressed differences between ethnic categories in a divisive way (1977b). Although the "definitions from without" that imply homogeneity are to be resisted, yet "in the British situation it becomes meaningful to talk of a generalized Asian culture" (Saifullah Khan 1979a p122). Even where South Asian women did not have much in common with each other before they came here the experience of being here has made being "Asian" of more relevance than it might seem on arriving (Saifullah Khan 1983b); and being treated as a conglomerate group - especially by racists - creates some common experiences.

"ethnic unity is usually demonstrated when there is conflict with outside groups" (Anwar 1977 p256).

On the other hand, Parmar has criticized "culturism" which locates South Asian women only in their cultures or religions, paying insufficient attention to the interrelationship of class, race and gender; and in particular to Asian women here being black women (Parmar 1982). Discussing differences here is an attempt to challenge the stereotype by asserting the importance to women's lives of their particular material and occupational relationships, both past and present.

The section concludes with a brief discussion of the languages of South Asian women which is relevant in considering the interviews discussed in the next chapter.

The family

While the family (in its different forms - Barratt 1980) is in practice important to women in general (p249), the importance of the family of South Asian women is often stressed:

"The family in a peasant society such as Bangladesh is a patriarchal and extended one... the code of conduct within the family is rigidly defined and hierarchically organised by customs and traditions, with the father being the repository of all power and authority. He demands traditional degree of submission from his wife and unquestioned obedience from his children" (Islam 1976 p335).

The institution of arranged marriages has become a notable "commonsense" evil in academic discussions and the media. The Mukti Collective argue that both right and left in Britain hold in common a view which contrasts "liberating" Western values and "oppressive and outmoded" Eastern values especially with regard to women's position within the family (Mukti 1984 p10).

Support is lent to the picture of the especial importance of the family in many South Asian cultures by those who nevertheless challenge the "commonsense" stereotype of Asian women (our p219). Amrit Wilson (1978) and the Mukti collective (1984), for example, stress that over and above the material reality of the family to many South Asian women is a cultural stress on the importance of preserving those particular bonds. Their accounts, however, neither idealize the Asian types of family, nor compare them to a supposed British standard in order to censure them. They stress the positive aspects of "sisterhood" in a joint family with many women in it; while for Wilson it is also true that via concepts of "izzat" (honour), "sharam" (shame) and reputation, women are at once held to have the key to the honour of the men in the joint family, and - consequently - restricted and oppressed.

However, much discussion of women's position in the South Asian family, attributing bad consequences to Asian types of family, ignores discussions on the problems Western women suffer at the hands of their types of family (de Beauvoir 1972, Oakley 1974, Edwards 1987). Moreover, the great stress on South Asian women's families and family values is also an assertion of a uniformity which is hard to substantiate. There are different types of family (Wilson 1978); and further differences in the position of women. In the case of migrant women in general their dependence on their own families and on their

husbands in particular is reinforced by the immigration laws (Allen 1982) and by their move to a foreign country - though Shaw argues that women of Pakistani origin are in fact strong within their families, and their strength and importance has often increased by family changes consequent on migration to Britain (Shaw 1988).

Migration from South Asia

Discussions of the interrelationship of this imperialist country with colonized third-world countries often rest on a notion of "traditional" society versus "modern" (or "westernized") society, which we must challenge (cf Morokvasic 1983). To an individual, such notions may seem descriptive of their two very different experiences; but if we look at more than one person, the differences between their experiences in both so-called "traditional", and so-called "Western" societies may be more obvious than the similarities. The notion of "traditional" vs. "modern" societies suggests that there is one major dichotomy (between different types of society); that progress is in one direction (towards the "modern"); that "traditional societies" are uniform; and that they have been allowed to continue in their own way despite the international adventures of imperialism and post-imperialism.

The evidence is, on the contrary, that capitalism has deeply affected the lives of people all over the world, even in third-world villages: it has altered their "traditional" lives - diverse as these have been - and changed the class structure within which they live. Villages are often contrasted to towns - the urban to the rural experience -

"contrasts between rich and poor; between towns of the twentieth century and villages of a pre-industrial era" (Saifullah Khan 1976c p225).

Both town and village in third-world countries have been affected, however, in complex ways during the twentieth century. It is from societies of great conflict and change that migrants have come, from many third-world countries, either as work-seekers or as refugees.

There is a large literature on migration from various parts of South Asia to Britain. In common with people of Afro-Caribbean origin, people from the subcontinent could say that

"Europe's first contact with the land of our ancestors had one purpose - to extract as much as it could ... When ... Black people began to enter Britain as immigrants, we came to a country we had already helped to build" (Bryan et al 1984 pp4 and 7).

Before the Second World War there were South Asians in Britain, many in the medical profession (Desai 1963); and there had been Indians in Britain, referred to then as "Asiatics", since the 17th century (Ballards 1977, Visram 1986). The main migration of South Asians to Britain was after the war, when many South Asian men were encouraged to migrate to work, for example in the textile mills of the North of England. While British employers were eager for a workforce, the costs of whose raising had been borne abroad (Cicourel 1982), Jeffrey argues that South Asian migrants were not purely "economic migrants", but that social and political factors at both ends were also important (Jeffrey 1976). From some areas, migration was not "a dramatic change in the villagers' strategy for improving their standard of living" (Saifullah Khan 1977b, p72); yet the pressures were increased by the social divisions fostered by British imperialism, and by population movements consequent on partition (Panjab: CARF 1981; Bangladesh: Islam, 1976). It was often small landowners, rather than the poorest or the richest who migrated from rural areas (Dahya 1972). The migrants of the 1950s kept close ties to their homeland, and often returned to the sub-continent and came back again; a process of "circulatory migration" (Islam 1976).

Partly in response to increasingly repressive immigration legislation, there was a move to settle, and women and families began to join the men in their families, from the late 1950s onwards. According to Hiro, the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act

"compelled [migrants from South Asia] to abandon their original plan of a few years' stay in Britain before returning home with their savings" (Hiro 1971 p108).

Jeffrey argues that

"for some families, the entry of women can be seen as a strategy to try to recreate the earlier situation of male-dominated chain migration within the constraints of the immigration regulations" (Jeffrey 1976 p49).

Now households changed, men living no longer only with other men, but searching for new places to live with women and children (Dahya 1974, Bruen 1976); and children were born here who, Mullard argues, would see racism more clearly than their migrant parents had (Mullard 1973).

Moreover, argue CARF, it was on the settlement of families here whose presence showed a need for housing and services that the men had done without, that the British state and white society became more intensively racist (CARF 1981, see also Anwar 1975 p277-8). The process

of migration has been far from quick or easy for women, who have borne the brunt of racist immigration legislation (Allen 1982) - delays of many years, long journeys, official suspicion, at one stage the notorious virginity tests - even before the problems involved in setting up home and bringing up children in a foreign country (Wilson 1978).

People of South Asian descent coming from East Africa in the 1970s, dependants (especially Bengali women and children in the late 1970s and the 1980s) and further groups of refugees coming despite increasingly severe immigration laws (Tamils from Sri Lanka) often moved close to South Asian people already here. Migration from South Asia itself had often been sponsored by a family group as a whole (Dahya 1972), money was remitted, and contacts with the subcontinent (and Asian communities in East Africa) continued to be important. Dahya argues that while there was change -

"an increase in the range and diversity of the migrant community's access to new information from the outside world, of the community's capacity to extend the scope of its contacts and to alter the community's customs and mores accordingly, and to adopt new, alternative goals" (Dahya 1972 p28) -

the migrant community in Britain and in the society of origin remained "parts of a single system of socio-economic relations", with contact going in both directions. Living close to each other in England, with sources of information in common (for example, shopkeepers - Dahya 1974), new neighbourhoods developed, though it is wrong to suggest these were homogenous "communities" (Saifullah Khan 76d). Moreover in a generally hostile British environment, family and friends were important in making life here possible.

Jeffrey is one of a number of anthropologists who insist that we must challenge the "ethnocentric assumptions that Britain can be a unit" for the analysis of the way people of Pakistani origin live in Great Britain.

"Adult migrants do not arrive in Britain tabulae rasae; they have been socialized in Pakistan, and they bring to Britain evaluations, perceptions, memories and predispositions which have to be borne in mind when considering their behaviour in Britain" (Jeffrey op. cit. p3).

She mentions that they also have economic links with their country of origin - but it is "the different meanings" that especially preoccupy her (op. cit. p170). This type of anthropology and sociology has been attacked for its links to policy-oriented work interpreted as an attempt to control black people (p43). A separate criticism can be made of the idealist analysis, which attributes more importance to people's

interpretation of the world than to their material position within it. For example, "the contrast between the Muslim and Christian informants" which Jeffrey discusses may relate not only to "motivation for migration" and "intentions about future residence" (op. cit. p50) as ideas, but to the range of different structural positions open to Muslims and Christians in Britain and Pakistan. While "meaning" and "culture" are important, material aspects of people's position in both societies should not be ignored.

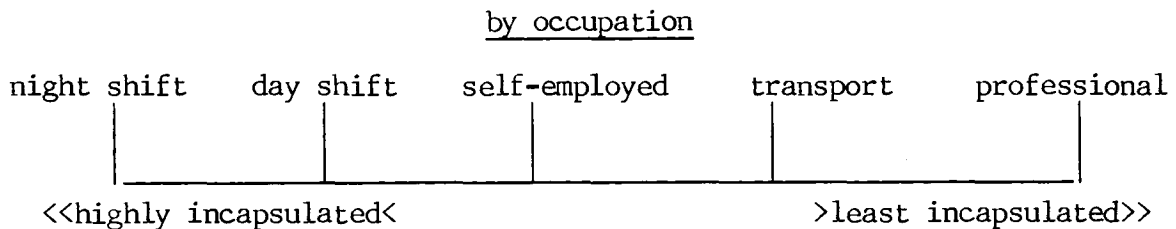
Accounts of migrants' lives in the country of origin have sometimes neglected the force of class in those societies, suggesting a uniform position, for example referring to "the villagers' shared set of values" and the "relatively uncritical acceptance of the traditional scheme of things" (Saifullah Khan 1977b p59,62). Some would also believe that the differences between rural and urban women are of overwhelming importance, but the class situation in rural and urban South Asia - or East Africa - is more complex. Accounts of the countries of the subcontinent stress not just disparity, but conflict (eg Patnaik et al 1978, Byres 1981). While some migrants are of peasant stock, often migrating from "individual bourgeois aspirations" (cf Kudat 1982), they are also usually those who can afford to arrange to travel (cf Russell 1985). Others from both East Africa and South Asia may be more powerful, educated and monied.

Migrant women of South Asian origin - like other migrants - come from countries colonized, and changed enormously, by the west. Both refugees and "economic migrants" come from one society with a class background to this class society; and in terms of their experience of this society, their particular position and class in both societies will be of importance.

It is clear that class differences in the country of origin can make a difference to experience, job opportunities and class in this country. Anwar, for example is concerned with what he labels "incapsulation" - but notices that it is not the same for all Pakistani migrants. He draws up an "incapsulation continuum" (considering only men), which suggests that a different level of involvement in Pakistani contexts and English-speaking contexts relates also to class, with manual workers most "incapsulated" and professional workers least so (contrast Williams, here p208). Anwar relates public transport workers' lower

levels of "incapsulation" than manual workers both to their speaking English and to their having had some education, where night shift workers were largely villagers who saw Western education as a threat; and, in contrast, professionals had fathers in government service in Pakistan and came from urban areas. This points to class divisions here that existed in another form on the subcontinent.

Table 29: Anwar's "incapsulation continuum" (from Anwar 1975 p28)



Wilson's account demonstrates that women's diverse class experiences both here and in their country of origin continue to matter. She points out the potential for conflict in cases where there is marked disparity between past class experience and present class experience. Wilson suggests that middle class people of South Asian origin live quite separately from those in the working-class (1978 p48); while women of peasant origin who find work in sweatshops and for the first time are paid in money may take some time to stop comparing with their country of origin and start comparing themselves with other British workers (her p51). In contrast, for women of middle-class urban background in East Africa, who find working-class jobs in factories or clothing trade sweatshops in Britain, the comparison between past and present, she argues, is shocking. It is they who more quickly see the difference in pay and conditions between themselves and white workers, and they who have been involved in working-class disputes:

"unlike the British working-class, they have not been ground down and prepared for their jobs by the British education system" (Wilson op. cit. p55).

Employment

As Allen points out, the experiences of migrant women have often been hidden behind the assumption that usually migrants are men (eg "the immigrant's wife" - Tahourdin 1976); or that women migrants are (in

more senses than the legal) dependent on their husbands (Allen 1982). In fact, in some parts of Europe, migration by women has been specifically encouraged in contrast to migration by men (in Germany women have been more than a quarter of migrant workers: Kudat 1982); while women migrants from the Philippines, for example, have been given work permits in Britain to do domestic work. Women who migrate with or to join their husbands may also do paid work.

"For millions of women the transition from unwaged to waged work has come about through migration, whether it be from rural to urban areas or migration of an international kind" (Phizacklea 1983a p1).

Women are a major part of the workforce in South Asia itself (Rudra 1974, Thapar 1974, Patel 1971, Omvedt 1980, ILO-ARTEP 1981; Manushi). In Britain, women of South Asian origin often work outside the home (CARF 81). Stone argues that while Asian, West Indian and white mothers have a common wish to work for social reasons, to get out of isolation and boredom at home, the "cultural and religious background" of Asian women's participation in the workforce leads to low participation in the workforce.

"The role of Asian women is strictly defined as within the family"(Stone 1983).

In contrast, Brah argues that for any group of Asian migrant women, it has taken a few years on arriving to find employment (Brah 1984), while Parmar points out that a larger percentage of Asian women in the 30-50 age group work full time than white women (Parmar 1982), and, already in 1975, of Muslim women (often assumed to be under the strongest pressure to stay at home), more than a quarter of women of "child-bearing age, 15-45 years" are at work in South-east and South-west England (CRC 1975).

Wilson suggests that most Asian women who are wage earners fall into three groups: homeworkers, shop assistants and secretaries, factory and sweat-shop workers (Wilson 1978 p50). South Asian women migrants who are doing professional, middle-class work are the exception rather than the rule. "Homework" (paid employment for an employer, done at home, often in the garment trade) is particularly vulnerable and poorly paid work, but not marginal to employers, or in its financial importance for the families of homeworkers (Horton 1984). Saifullah Khan points out the illicit nature of much homework, so that "a complete outsider will have no access to this world of women and work" (Saifullah Khan 1979a p115). This must contribute to under-estimations of the part played by South Asian women in the workforce.

It has sometimes been implied that the choice of such work by South Asian women is primarily for religious/cultural reasons:

"They have chosen to do homework largely because they have accepted that their primary role is in the domestic sphere and they see no alternative form of work available to them, given the constraints imposed upon them, particularly at the stage in the life-cycle when they are caring for dependent children" (Hope et al 1976 p103).

But while it is clear that the constraints on women with no child-care back-up are large, their "acceptance" need not be assumed. Hope et al's comparison between married women with young children (the main group of homeworkers) and single parents with young children (scarcely to be found among homeworkers, they say), points out that it is hard to get a living wage homeworking - thus they feel that married women homeworkers are accepting of dependence on their husband. They omit to point out that for married women it may be hard to find or fund child-care for other kinds of work; and not possible to draw benefits to add to the family income to replace homework. Single parents are in a different position. Also, on her own argument, these very women are likely to give up homeworking as soon as it becomes possible - for example, when children go to school - to get other forms of work. Anwar wrote of women homeworkers of Pakistani origin earning between 5p and 15p a garment in 1974, and getting average earnings of £10-£12 a week (Anwar 1977). Stone (1983) writes of one Mrs Singh earning 20p for every pair of trousers that she sewed in 1978, which took her half-an-hour if not interrupted, although, working with her children round her, she very often was. It is dangerous in general to assume that the reasons for doing such badly paid - also often seasonal - work lie in "attitude": it is a "forced alternative", particularly stressful, and often done by women overqualified for it, due to their being left with major responsibilities at home, and experiencing racism in the job market (Trivedi 1985).

In that literature which does take note of the existence and work experience of migrant women, there is a preoccupation with the question of whether entering paid work in the country of migration is likely to lead to emancipation, as Kosack suggests:

"many a woman has discovered that being a wage-earner allows her to take decisions of her own, to contradict her husband, in some cases even to separate from him" (Kosack 1976 p1),

or merely to revised forms of male domination over women, as Brouwer and Priester believe:

"involvement in waged labour does not in itself lead to emancipation, particularly if a woman does not even control the spending of her wage" (Brouwer and Priester 1983 p128).

There remain real questions about the changes and pressures on migrant women. Other changes are likely to go along with changes in country and type of work: changes in women's relation to their husbands, children and home have often been discussed. Oriol stresses the "alienation" and "anxiety" of first generation migrant women; there is frequent suggestion that their children, especially daughters, are "lost between two cultures", while the changing status of children in families especially where they become interpreters, has also been discussed (Kudat 1982). Saifullah Khan suggests that

"as the ability and/or desire and/or necessity to participate in the wider society increases, it is inevitable that both will be reassessed and cause fundamental changes in the position of Pakistani women and men in Great Britain" (1976b p107).

Some people of South Asian origin are especially concerned about the pressures on Asian women here (UMO 1975). Wilson describes the conflicts felt by the Gujarati joint family:

"bearing the onslaught of British society and groaning with agony as a result - groaning on the one hand because of the intense racism and poverty it faces, and on the other because of the confusions caused by the irrelevance in Britain of its most valued concepts" (Wilson op. cit. p31).

Many people have stressed the problem of the complex changes - not only missing family, but isolation in small rooms, racism outside, in some cases stricter purdah than before (Saifullah Khan 1976c), less help with child-care.

"You ask me how I felt, Sister... Bad, I felt bad..." (quoted by Wilson op. cit. p16).

In this context the position of women is likely to be in a state of flux. Rather than simple acceptance or rejection of new values, communities "embody all the possible types of reaction of the dominated to the dominator ... borrowing, reinterpretation, emulation, rejection" (Andizian and Streiff 1982). Some migrant women are directly exploited by their migrant men, working in employment for them (Anthias 1983): some are the only breadwinners; some work outside the home as well as in, but with lower wages and worse conditions than their husbands. While it is likely that working in a paid job will make a great difference to women's lives, the question should not be confused with stereotypical attributes of a group of women taken as a whole, or with mythical "liberation" in the West. And while it is important to note

the smaller range of jobs available to migrant women, there are likely to be class differences in women's experience not only of their work and past work but of their position within the family.

Social class

In terms of jobs done in Britain by people of Asian origin, Smith talks of

"a polarisation between those doing non-manual jobs and those doing the least attractive unskilled manual jobs" (Smith 1976 p47).

But there are more differences than this if class background (often ignored: Shanin 1978) is also taken into account.

"The groups of Indians and Pakistanis whom I have studied are not simply to be defined negatively as poor immigrant workers. In fact they come from a variety of structural positions in Indian society and are bound together by differing ties of ethnicity, religion, language, nationality and culture, as well as class and status." (Rex 1983 pxvi).

The importance of class is shown by the national census which indicates a spread across classes for men born in India and Pakistan. Women are not included in these tables; nor is anyone who is not in paid work. Children of Pakistani origin born here also cannot be traced in the census.

Table 30: 1971 Census figures for economically active and retired males by country of birth and social class (Source: Reeves and Chevannes 1981).

	Social Class I II III professional, administrative, non-manual	Social Class III IV V skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled manual work
India	34.2	60.3
Pakistan	14.4	80.6
General Population	33	62

Class is difficult to establish for some groups in particular: for "middle" groups in society, for migrants with reference to more than one society, and for women, there are especial problems. For some South Asian migrants, all of these will complicate the picture. In Denton we found people of middle-class background in the subcontinent doing manual

work here (cf Race Today Collective 1983), and when "class" refers not just to immediate work but to aspirations and potential solidarity, their past experience must have an effect. This, too, is hard to measure, though past educational levels give an indication of potential wide spread.

From the table below it appears that a greater proportion of both men and women of Indian and East African origin have education up to and beyond GCE A-level or equivalent (encircled) than the general population, although the proportion of the Pakistani population with no qualifications (~~encircled differently~~) is similar to that of the general population. One has to know the context to say what a level of education is likely to mean in a particular country (Kelly 1979). Again, for women in South Asia, the spread of available types of education is wide, from no schooling, through home tuition, to mosque and local schools, to university. The figures below indicate that women have had a lower level of education in all groups, except for that of people born in East Africa with education to a higher level than GCE A-level.

Country of birth	Educational levels								
	a + b + c			d			e		
	M + F	M	F	M + F	M	F	M + F	M	F
India	12.7%	15.2%	9.5%	10.6%	12.2%	8.5%	76.7%	72.6%	82.0%
Pakistan	5.9%	6.1%	5.6%	7.0%	7.1%	6.7%	87.1%	86.8%	87.7%
East Africa	14.7%	14.6%	14.9%	22.9%	26.6%	18.1%	62.4%	58.8%	67.0%
General population	7.6%	8.7%	6.5%	6.2%	7.3%	5.1%	86.2%	84.0%	88.4%

Educational levels:-

- a - higher university degree
- b - first degree or equivalent
- c - qualifications obtained at 18+
(above GCE A-level)
- d - GCE A-level or equivalent
- e - not qualified at a, b, c or d level.

(Source: Reeves and Chevannes 1981)

Race and class

While racism seems linked to class differentiation, what the link is has been disputed. Some stress the economic services racism performs for capital, others the political; others disagree as to whether blacks have a separate place from the white working class or are in the same position. While some see race and class as separate dimensions, perhaps it is ultimately not possible to separate the two entirely.

Some writers have stressed the economic services that black and migrant labour have done for capitalism in the West:

"virtually every capitalist country has a lower stratum, distinguished by race, nationality or other special characteristics, which carries out the worst jobs and has the least desirable social conditions" (Castles and Kosack 1973).

The majority of black and migrant workers have found it easier to get unskilled, manual jobs which would seem to put them firmly in the working-class: cleaning, portering, working in factories; often in particularly poor conditions, in factories with outdated machinery, on night shifts. When there has been unemployment, black people have often been the first to lose their jobs. There are black professionals and business people, but this is not typical (the exceptional nature of being a professional of South Asian origin in 1963 was underscored by Desai, who distinguished himself as a professional from "the immigrants"); while black people in professions have often been given jobs that white professionals do not choose (in the NHS, for example, in areas of the country, or areas of medicine, considered undesirable by white doctors).

It is clear that there is a link between black people being allowed to enter Britain and the requirement for labour of British employers.

"The door was closed when labour was abundant and opened when labour was needed" (Wilson 1978).

Migration to this country from third world countries in the years after the war when labour was still in demand was almost the exact equivalent of labour demand in Britain (Runnymede 1980). Sivanandan (1982) argues that in the post-war boom, Britain needed labour, and benefited enormously from the lack of restrictions on the entry of New Commonwealth citizens. But although Britain had been exceptionally wealthy because of imperialism and "the drain" on the empire (Naoroji 1962), this began to yield less as the empire gave way to less direct forms of imperialism. Countries like Germany had not allowed black settlement, but rather had the system of black "Gastarbeiter" and these

countries were more quickly able to adjust to the required levels of labour power when less labour intensive production in the West itself became possible and profitable, and capital moved to countries where the labour is cheap, rather than cheap labour being persuaded to go to capital (Sivanandan 1982a). Britain began to legislate against migration, and to deny migrants nationality rights while permitting the issue of work permits. Thus black people and migrants were seen from the point of view of the profits of British capitalism.

Others point to the political benefits for capitalism from their presence. Sivanandan argues that, after the war, the recruitment of black manual workers allowed the white working-class to move up the occupational ladder by a rung or two. Gorz believes that the political advantages of migrant labour to capitalism are "by far the most important" for this simultaneously provided the working-class with the impression that they themselves were doing better than they had done; allowed many white working-class people to link their interests to those of the middle-class; and provided a scapegoat for the troubles that persisted:

"massive reliance on immigrant labour enables a basic modification in the social and political structure of the indigenous population to be artificially produced" (Gorz 1970).

If black employment allowed white workers to move to better and cleaner jobs, this might suggest that there is a class division between the two groups. Black workers worked typically not only in specific jobs but also in specific sectors of industry, often those sectors with outdated machinery, low paid and often non-unionised; and some factories have more-or-less entirely Asian workforces (Dhondy 1974). There are several versions of the argument that black people and migrants form a separate "underclass". Within a "race relations" perspective, Rex has discussed black people's poor position in relation to housing (Rex and Moore 1967), jobs and education (Rex and Tomlinson 1979) and concludes that they form "not simply a disadvantaged housing class, but more generally an underclass" (Rex 1983 pxiv) distinct from the white working-class. In a Marxist context, Castles and Kosack argue that migrant workers form a "lower stratum" of the working-class.

"In the long run, the inferior position of immigrants on the labour market must be ascribed to the laws and practices used by society to keep them there. In France, Switzerland and Germany the justification advanced for limiting the rights of immigrants is their quality of being foreigners, and the main instruments are restrictive laws and regulations. In Britain, the justification is the immigrant's racial and cultural origin, and the instrument used is

discrimination. But in both cases the effect is the same: the creation of a lower stratum which carries out the menial and badly paid jobs" (Castles and Kosack 1973 p114).

Moore (1975) echoes the importance of the economy in the position of black people, citing a German employer discussing migrant labour as "mobile labour potential AT OUR DISPOSAL" (his emphasis), and arguing that migrant labour is in a particularly weak position in Europe:

"the migrant worker... is relatively rightless compared with local citizens, he (sic) is dependent on employers and government, he is disposable and closely supervised, sometimes in his private life as well as at work. He does jobs for which there is no labour available or which locals will not do. He is probably without his family and forced to house himself on the margins of the private housing market, illicitly, or in a hostel" (Moore 1975 p12).

For Moore, this is enough to justify the argument that there has been a "development of two labour markets in the European economy" (his p12), and that blacks can be described as a "suppressed sub-proletariat" (p3).

Islam extends the notion of a "dual labour market" to Bengalis in Britain. While Moore's argument applies to Bengali migrants, Islam argues that their children, too, are affected by the racism

"which runs through all the factors which contribute to the disadvantaged position of Bengalis as a segment of the coloured population in Britain" (Islam 1976 p197).

"The labour market for a Bengali manual worker in Britain is confined to a few industries and to occupations with the worst working conditions, lowest wages and least skill content, in each plant in which they are employed" (p196).

While the implication in these works is that the position of black or migrant workers is structurally different from that of the white working-class, others refuse to separate the two groups entirely. Phizacklea and Miles, for example, agree that migrant labour has a specific place in economic and politico-ideological relations; and that racism serves capitalism: it "subordinates as effectively as the work-permit system" (Phizacklea 1983a p3). However, they argue that migrant labour is a "class fraction" of the working-class, not a completely separate stratum (Phizacklea and Miles 1980). Nikolinakos argues that though capitalism fosters the appearance of a division between migrants and white workers, it is not an objective division:

"In the final analysis there are objectively no interests specific to the migrant workers. Their specificity arises out of their national membership and out of their cultural, social and psychological connections, not out of a different economic situation" (Nikolinakos 1976).

Though the black middle-class in Britain is small, however, it shows that "race" and class are not equivalent. This leads to questions on the historical and political priority of the two: does class come before race? Or is race quite separate from class? Cox takes the most extreme version of the first argument, suggesting that racism was created to fulfil the needs of capitalism: did not exist before, and presumably would not exist beyond capitalism, so the class struggle was primary.

"Probably a realisation of no single fact is of such crucial significance for an understanding of racial antagonism as that the phenomenon had its rise only in modern times" (Cox 1970).

However, this definition led Cox to redefine, for example, slavery in ancient history; or let the church (which bloodily perpetrated the Crusades against the peoples of the Middle East: Maalouf 1984) appear essentially egalitarian, albeit only between Christians.

The second argument in its most extreme position allows the fight against racism to be independent of the struggle against capitalism (cf. Ibrahim's tirade against "non-class anti-racists", 1984). Clearly there can be action on the issue of racism which does not deal with issues of class. However, a complete separation of the two does not seem possible with the massive presence of black people and migrants within the working-class. Phizacklea and Miles argue that black political action is not always stimulated by issues of race; it may have more in common with indigenous working-class action than "the race relations approach" allows (1980). Further, no objective "racial" divisions can be made outside a historical context.

We would follow Gilroy in his assertion that "no simple separation of race and class can be made" (1982). Nor is there an equation of race and class: it is impossible to match race and any particular class with any neatness. A further factor complicating the class position of migrants in Britain is that the situation in their country of origin may continue to be a factor. Continuity of family and concerns - owning property elsewhere, for example; and contradictory experience - such as higher education elsewhere but manual work here - may mean that a migrant is working-class in British terms but not so in another context. The relation of high levels of education elsewhere to class in Britain can be blurred by racism, non-recognition of qualifications, and the greater ease of finding employment in working-class jobs. Perhaps this

should be seen as another type of "contradictory class location" (Wright 1980).

Gender and class

There are in relation to gender and class those who argue that the subordination of women follows class (Engels 1972, Zaretsky 1976) and others who argue that the oppression of women has an independent history, so the fight against capitalism is not enough to end sexism. One argument posits a structure called "patriarchy", independent of capitalism, such that men (biological/cultural) have power over women. Others meanwhile expect that the subordination of women is itself secondary to the class struggle. The "reproduction of labour power" debate was one attempt to demonstrate that women's subordination and confinement to domestic responsibility is intimately bound in with capitalism. Other positions "add" the two oppressions (p250).

A related problem is that of the class position of women. A traditional stereotype of women suggests that women do not work. This firstly ignores the material nature of domestic work and childcare (eg Prescod-Roberts 1980). Secondly, though many women do not do paid work, work part-time or rely on the incomes of men (husbands, fathers) who may be working full-time and earning more, many women either do paid work or want employment. Is it the case that one should judge the class position of women from the class position of the men they live with? (And not all women live with men).

The conventional view sees women primarily in relation to their families, while men's class is defined by the work they do beyond the home. Where women are noticed at all in conventional class analysis, single women's class may be worked out in the same way as men, but married women's class is assumed to be the same as that of their husbands. Goldthorpe (1983, 1984) for example suggests that

"what is essential to class analysis is the argument that family members share in the same class position, and that this position is determined by that of the family 'head' in the sense of the family member who has the greatest commitment to, and continuity in, labour market participation" (1983 p470).

He says that where there are two partners there is little evidence to suggest that women should in many cases be regarded as a 'head' of the family, for women have been in a less strong position in the workforce than men. Secondly, he believes that "cross class" marriages are exceptions.

Feminist critics have taken issue with the general stance of seeing women in relation to the family and not to the occupational structure (Beechey 1978). Where wives and husbands do different work, or women do unpaid domestic labour but do not go out to work, there may be substantial differences between wife and husband both in earning power and control of income. Though women often earn less than men, their employment is not an "extra" but crucial to the income of many families. However, in relation to men, women at each level of the job market have poor employment and promotion prospects, poor conditions of employment (part time work with no security, etc.) and poor wages.

"within class categories, the income gap between races tends to be much smaller than between sexes" (Wright and Perrone 1977).

While married women often do more domestic labour (unpaid) than their husbands, they are often progressively far behind them in terms of employment and remuneration at work; while at home income may be unequally controlled and allocated as may access to time off and luxuries such as cars - to the extent that it has been argued that there are class differences within the family itself (Delphy 1984). Stanworth argues against Goldthorpe that

"the extent of discrepancy between class positions of spouses is striking" (Stanworth 1984 p164).

She finds that married women are doing "lower class" jobs than their husbands, and indeed "the class experience of married women is, more often than not, proletarian".

There are common experiences shared by women living in a society that expects them to bear children in the context of dependence on a man, but both gender and class have an effect. However on Stanworth's argument, these become interwoven. Just as women cannot be "placed" sociologically only within the family, so it is not just the family which is the origin of these class discrepancies.

"... within the category of 'sexual inequalities' there are CLASS inequalities related to sex; that is, there are significant sexual inequalities which are themselves the outcome of the operation of the class system... The relative inequalities of power are embedded not simply in the realm of the family but in struggles within and about the labour market" (Stanworth 1984 p167).

As a consequence of this argument it is not possible to automatically equate women's class with that of the men they live with. Because of the dependence of the majority of women on men, women's class position

is linked to that of their fathers and husbands; but this does not mean that they are in the same position as those men.

Race and gender

White feminists challenged the reduction of gender to class to be met in the 1980s by challenges from black women that they were "race blind": assuming that their own issues were generalisable to women as a whole; and ignoring the importance of racism in structuring the experience of women as well as men (see eg "Spare Rib" debates; Carby 1982, Parmar 1982, Amos and Parmar 1984, Bourne 1984). This has caused a struggle between white feminists and black anti-racists for priority in their attempts to carve out a constituency:

"Both the politics of feminism and anti-racism have demarcated a constituency for attention: women and black or ethnic people. Now this involves a choice. Which force has priority - the black constituency or women, the forces against racism or sexism, or WHICH is the principal enemy? The one implies the division of the other, and it is this difficult dilemma that has had to be negotiated" (Knowles and Mercer 1984 p2)

The "class in itself"/"class for itself" debate is recalled by discussions of the relative importance of race and gender. Knowles and Mercer are interested in practical unity - "class for itself" - when they take issue with Carby's assertion that "white women stand in a power relation as oppressor of black women" (1982 p214). They believe that "carving a constituency" of black women, while producing "white feminist angst" is not productive.

"Class in itself" is paralleled by a search for an objective priority between feminism and anti-racism. Is it possible to say which is more important for migrant women? But just as "class in itself" cannot be entirely separated from "class for itself", so the priority of the struggle against sexism and racism cannot be decided outside the context of political action, when people may choose to align as black in one struggle in common with men, in another case as women along with other women, in another as workers, as at Grunwick's.

"Triple oppression"?

If migrant women are subject to oppression by all of gender, race and class, how do these intermesh? Two responses have been the classic Marxist emphasis on the economy, and an "addition" of the three oppressions.

Kosack identifies three "suppressions" experienced by migrant women: firstly, "they are workers or workers' wives" (class); secondly, "they share the fate of women in all class societies" (gender follows class); thirdly, they are "migrants... and as such subjected to all the forms of discrimination typical to foreign workers" (1976 pp373-4). For Kosack, the basic problem which conditions the other two, is the exploitation of workers in a class society.

"The underprivileged position of women and of migrants has the function of splitting the working-class and of hindering emancipation" (p374).

Ultimately she believes that liberation for migrant women is through involvement in the working-class movement. However, when she talks about

"... being actively involved in the production process, having the same power as all productive workers",

one wonders why she does not discuss the part-time, fragmented, types of work (homework, for example) that often do not give migrant and black women the same power as "all production workers".

There are arguments to suggest that migrant and black women are badly off in employment both in comparison with white women, and sometimes even more dramatically, to the men in their own families. Antheas and Yuval-Davis suggest that gender and race are different in their importance for men and women.

"We would suggest that within Western societies, gender divisions are more important for women than ethnic divisions in terms of labour market subordination. In employment terms, migrant or ethnic women are usually closer to the female population as a whole than to ethnic men in the type of wage labour performed. Black and migrant women are already so disadvantaged by their gender in employment that it is difficult to show the effects of ethnic discrimination for them. While examining the position of ethnic-minority men in the labour market, the effect of their ethnic position is much more visible" (Antheas and Yuval Davis 1984 p69).

Barron and Norris, arguing that the differences in available types of employment are so dramatic that one could speak of a "dual labour market" (crossing the manual/non-manual divide), see the dividing line between workers that employers would expect to fall into each of the "primary" and "secondary" sectors, as lying not between black/migrant and white workers but between men and women. Where men work, they believe, there may be a possibility of migrant/black men moving to the "primary sector" - "relatively well rewarded and stable jobs" - whereas for any woman the chances of doing this are very much lower (Barron and Norris 1974). From the employer's point of view, they argue, women in

this "secondary sector" have the advantages of dispensability, a clearly visible social difference, little interest in acquiring training, low economism, and lack of solidarity. All of these allow greater exploitation and lower pay.

The dual labour market approach has been criticized as static and ahistorical - a "loose classification rather than an explanation" (Beechey 1978 p158). It is widely accepted, though, that the fact that women's

"reproductive and domestic labours earn no income becomes... a basis for exploiting women outside the home when they enter the industrial sector of society" (Kudat 1982 p293).

Phizacklea uses the term "triple oppression" in a discussion of the position of migrant women in particular. She talks of the problems they have to suffer in "politico-legal relations":

"... because the great majority of 'spouses' allowed to join workers under regulations permitting family reunification remain women, then it is they and their children who take the full brunt of the administration of immigration control" (Phizacklea 1983b p100);

and ideological relations:

"migrant women have a special place in ideological relations, because as women they are primarily defined as actual or potential wives and mothers, and as migrant women 'illiterate, isolated... the bearers of many children'" (p101).

When she comes to look at economic relations, Phizacklea considers the argument that migrant workers and women generally are a "reserve army" of labour. She decides that migrant women are so vulnerable that they cannot compete with those in work on an equal basis, so that they cannot be described as a "reserve army" in any classical sense. While she allows that "different categories of women have undoubtedly had different functions within the labour market" (her p104), she concludes that

"there is little doubt that migrant women are a more vulnerable section of the workforce in terms of unemployment, than either their male counterparts or indigenous men and women... I believe that their objective position within the working-class is sufficiently distinct from that occupied by their male counterparts or indigenous men and women to warrant the description of a sexually and racially categorised class fraction" (p109).

In contrast, Antheas and Yuval-Davis criticise the "reserve army" debate as one instance of a reduction of "ethnic or gender groups... to fundamentally class groupings". They argue strongly, moreover, that race, class and gender intermesh rather than add to each other:

"... all three divisions are intermeshed in such a way that we cannot see them as additive or prioritise abstractly any one of them. Each division presents ideological and organisational principles within which the others operate" (Anthias and Yuval-Davies p68).

Our arguments above on the relation of race and class, and gender and class would support this, as would some arguments of Phizacklea's.

"one cannot apply pure capital logic in explaining how this segregation arises, we must first grasp how patriarchal ideology and practice deem women's role as waged workers at best a secondary preoccupation" (Phizacklea 1983a p6).

In consequence all of class, race and gender must be seen as important facets of migrant women's lives but interlinking in different ways for different groups of people. Class can be seen as dynamic, defined in struggle, but relating to the division of labour in a given economic set-up, and current concepts of race and gender are given impetus by these struggles while helping to generate and sustain class divisions. For example, Mullard suggests an interlinking whereby the conflicts of gender and class are "managed" by the invoking of racism (1982b p32).

Languages

The language background of South Asians in Britain is not uniform, and the picture of South Asian languages interweaving and complex. Smith suggests that the major South Asian language groups in Britain are Panjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, Pakistani Panjabi/Urdu (Smith 1982b), while Gill points out the special importance of Panjabi, with its plurality of forms (Gill 1976). The ILEA language census (1983a) labelled five main South Asian languages spoken by ILEA school children (Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi) - but differences in dialect are also important. While different people attribute languages status on different scales, there are political implications in using different languages. This affects people's descriptions of the languages they speak.

The interrelation between different languages in South Asia involves different languages/dialects in conflict (Das Gupta on Panjabi 1970; Kachru and Sridhar 1978), with speakers of different languages and dialects asserting the status of what they speak (Pandit 1978), and political conflicts over which should become official languages. Though English monolinguals in Britain often label the languages spoken by South Asians here as "Hindi" or "Urdu" (Smith 1982a), their first (home) language is frequently other. Even between these two labels there is an

area of political debate. A language cannot be defined just by its grammar: its symbolic value to its speakers is also important (Gumperz 1982). So, despite the grammatical overlap between Hindi (script of Sanskrit derivation, and Hindu/Indian state associations) and Urdu (Persian/Arabic script, wide usage in North India and recent Muslim connotations), speakers may emphasize the difference between the two (Mobbs 1981).

In Britain, also, because of their perception of the political implications of the labels, it is possible to find claims to speak Hindi among Hindus, Urdu among Muslims, Panjabi among Sikhs who might all be speaking different varieties of Panjabi. In this way

"while the linguists and the philologists are emphasizing the similarities, the speakers are asserting their cultural and linguistic independence" (Alladina 1985 p11) .

Again, people may label themselves differently at different times, or to different people (cf LMP 1983, Smith 1982a,b):

"Language identity is established on the basis of what a particular language does for a person" (Kachru and Sridhar 1978 p6).

For example, a person might in some contexts label herself an Urdu speaker, although she may more often use Panjabi.

"Self report of 'language spoken' varies over the years more with the political and inter-ethnic climate than with demographic changes or language shift" (Smith op. cit. p36).

Shapiro and Schiffman have pointed out that in South Asia multilingualism has for a long time been the norm, and - a contrast to Britain where a plurality of languages is seen as a source of problems - has been accepted as an asset. While their example suggests that this might be confined to the upper classes-

"The ordinary Hyderabad citizen may use Telegu at home, Sanskrit in the temple, English in the university, Urdu in commercial transactions, and may also control other varieties of Telegu and perhaps even Tamil, Malayalam, or Kannada for reading poetry, dealing with servants, or other specific purposes" (Shapiro and Schiffman 1981 p177) -

peasants with little education also often use both the local language and a state language and maybe more.

Because of colonialism, English also has a role in South Asia, accentuated by the rivalry between South Asian languages for national and official precedence. After independence, there were attacks on English as a medium of instruction because it was seen as a colonial language. Yet in the South of India there has been some preference for

English over Hindi (a language of the north of India), because English is neutral in a context where supporters of regional languages "are desperately trying to extend the 'roles' of these languages" (Kachru and Sridhar 1978 p7). There has also been widespread borrowing from English into South Asian languages (Shapiro and Schiffman op. cit.). English is widely taught in South Asia, though the levels at which it is taught vary greatly, from being one "subject" to providing the "medium" for study. The upper class in all areas of South Asia have high levels of fluency and familiarity with English in addition to a number of other languages.

The differences between English standard English and Indian varieties of English have been remarked upon (Gumperz 1982). Gumperz, Aulakh and Kaltmann say this is a difference not just of grammar and word-order but of "discourse strategies" (1982). Kachru insists that Indian English is functionally distinct from British English; it is not on the whole intended to be used to talk to native English speakers:

"After all, language is a tool of communication and Indian English is used as a tool of linguistic interaction by Indians to communicate mainly with other Indians" (Kachru 1976 p235).

The stereotype of South Asian women here with no English at all finds some support from the presence of women of village origin, who may have had little formal education; but English has a place among other languages in South Asia, and therefore in the language experience of many women of South Asian origin before coming here.

Conclusion

The second part of this chapter has argued that stereotypical accounts of "disadvantaged" South Asian women oppressed within their families do not answer the questions about their approach to learning English. In contrast to the stereotype, South Asian women should be seen as several different groups and situated amongst other migrant and black women. This part of the chapter has attempted to show that the experiences of women of South Asian origin will not be uniform in relation to the aspects of their lives that are often generalised about - their families, or their languages. Further, all of race, gender and class are important, and must be considered in our own analysis.

In the first part of the chapter, we discussed a number of factors likely to contribute to women's approach to formal education in general

and to language learning in particular. While we noted that reasons for going to class were not likely to be identical to reasons for learning - or even for staying in class - we distinguished three groups of hypotheses (p232-3). The first series of possible factors are to do with the character of the potential students themselves (gender, background, employment status, class, age etc). The second series of factors are to do with the role of English in society and in the networks and family groups in which the potential students are a part. The third type of explanation, in contrast, focuses on the educational institutions themselves; not only on questions of organisation (place, times, system of enrolment, fees, publicity), but on their practices and messages.

Chapter 7 goes on to discuss interviews with potential students and considers the relative importance of these types of explanation.

CHAPTER 7
STUDENTS OF ESL

Previous chapters have discussed the concepts of their work held by ESL practitioners and found the notion of "take-up" to be an important concern. The last chapter considers arguments about why students might approach a formal language class. This chapter discusses the context of ESL as it appears from interviews with potential students. The first section discusses the use of English by the women; the second section considers their relationship to ESL itself; and the third section considers the importance of gender and social class in forming potential students' approaches to ESL provision.

Characteristics of the sample

Interviews were sought with bilingual women of South Asian origin on the basis that

- (a) they were potential students of ESL, who either had little English or themselves defined their English as in need of improvement.
- (b) they were able to speak Hindi/Urdu (see p116).

The method is described in chapter 1.

Forty-two women were interviewed. The majority were born in Pakistan, though 5 were born in India and one was born in East Africa, while three other women had also lived in East Africa: one born in Gujarat, one in Pakistani Punjab and one in Indian Punjab. Women of both urban and rural origin were among the sample; and women had a variety of first languages, though Panjabi and Urdu dominated (table 43). All women but two spoke more than one language apart from English. The interviews made it clear that this was not one group; there was no uniformity.

Five women in the sample were in employment outside the home, 5 within it; 32 did no paid work. Thirty-one of the women had children at home (the average number of children they had at home was 3.25). A majority (27) lived in nuclear families, but 13 lived with other parts

of their own or husband's family, one lived alone, and one was a single parent (table 36). The age-range was between 20 and 75, with most women interviewed under 40. While 7 had no formal education, 11 had been to college, and 24 had been to school for between 2 and 10 years. The majority were Muslim, though 4 were Hindu and one Sikh. Eleven women had never been to classes, 13 had and had left, and 18 attended some sort of ESL provision either regularly or occasionally in 1984-5. In addition, one woman who had not previously been to classes began to go to classes between my visits.

<u>Table 32</u>	
<u>Women's ages</u>	
20-29 =	23
30-39 =	11
40-49 =	2
50-59 =	5
60-69 =	0
70-79 =	1
TOTAL =	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 33</u>	
<u>Religions</u>	
Hindu =	4
Muslim =	37
Sikh =	1
TOTAL =	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 34</u>	
<u>Origin</u>	
Rural =	16
Urban =	26
TOTAL =	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 35</u>	
<u>Birthplace</u>	
Panjab/ Kashmir in Pakistan	31
Other Pakistan	3
Panjab, India	2
Gujarat, India	5
East Africa (of Gujarati origin)..	1
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 36</u>	
<u>Type of household in Britain</u>	
Nuclear	27
Extended: with husband's brothers' families and possibly parents-in-law..	7
With brother-in-law's family, waiting for rehousing	2
Living at brother-in-law's with children but not husband	1
With sister's family	1
With husband's previous family	1
With son's family	1
Single parent	1
Alone	1
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 37</u>	
<u>Husbands</u>	
Living with husband ...	37
Husband dead	1
Husband in Pakistan	2
Husband gone	1
Not married	1
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 38</u>	
<u>Children</u>	
Women with children at home	31
Women with grown children, left home ..	3
Women with no children	8
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 39</u>	
<u>Number of children</u>	
1 child	2
2 children	5
3 children	13
4 children	4
5 children	4
6 children	3
no children ...	11
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 40</u>	
<u>Children's ages</u>	
Preschool only	6
Preschool and primary	13
Primary only	2
Grown up and primary	1
Primary and secondary	3
Preschool, primary and secondary ..	5
Grown up and secondary	1
TOTAL of mothers	<u>31</u>

<u>Table 41</u>	
<u>Formal education</u>	
No schooling, or less than 3 years	8
5-7 years at school	12
8-10 years at school	11
College	11
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 42</u>	
<u>Experience of ESL</u>	
To ESL classes or home tuition at time of interview ...	18
Started class between interviews	1
To ESL classes previously	13
Never to ESL classes	10
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 43</u>	
<u>Home languages in childhood</u>	
Panjabi	5
Panjabi with Urdu as second language..	20
Urdu and Panjabi	8
Urdu	2
Pushto	1
Gujarati	6
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

Table 44

Languages known apart from English
including languages learnt at school and for religious purposes.

Panjabi	2
Panjabi, Urdu	22
Panjabi, Urdu, Farsi	3
Panjabi, Urdu, Arabic	3
Panjabi, Urdu, Arabic, Farsi	2
Panjabi, Urdu, Gujarati	1
Panjabi, Urdu, Gujarati, Swahili	1
Pushto, Urdu, Panjabi, Arabic, Farsi	1
Panjabi (Gurmukhi script), Hindi	1
Gujarati, Hindi	2
Gujarati, Hindi, Sanscrit	2
Gujarati, Hindi, Manganga	1
Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Swahili	1
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

THE NEED FOR ENGLISH

Interviews with these 42 women showed the "need for English", to be context-dependent, and not uniform. Most women were multilingual (table 44), and the use of more than one language had been to many everyday even before coming to England. Many people of South Asian origin lived in Denton, with a wide range of first languages. In many areas, shops and services were run by people who spoke South Asian languages; in particular Panjabi, Urdu and Gujarati. The particular languages that people spoke varied depending on the region, the class, the urban/rural context and the religion that were their background. The bilingual or multilingual nature of people's lives and the possibility of friends and services in different languages in this area did not preclude experiences in different languages, including English: it also made it a real choice whether to develop any one of them or not. Three women had spoken no Urdu before they had come to England, but had learned it from their neighbours here. So for some women, English was only one of the new languages around. Even if women went out of the house rarely,

<u>Table 45</u>		N = 6
<u>New languages learnt as adults</u>		
A few words of Dutch (previously in Holland)	1	
Urdu, learnt by talking	3	
Panjabi, learnt by talking to husband	1	
Gujarati, learnt by talking	1	

other languages than their own could be important. Television, neighbours, visitors, and also husbands and children coming home with the language of work or of school, could all present different languages which the women were experiencing every day.

The women's use of English varied independently of their level of English. An important factor was how much English came into the home. In 18 households, children spoke English between themselves, and in 12 households children and husband spoke English together, so even if the women did not speak English at home they regularly heard it. There were examples also of other branches of a family speaking English. For example, all of one woman's husband's family spoke English consistently. Most women watched British television at least occasionally, although some said they understood little, and videos gave access to films in Urdu or Hindi as an alternative form of entertainment.

Women had often developed strategies for getting things done without using much English. Shops where South Asian languages were spoken were not in every area of Denton, and some women did not go to Pakistani shops because they were expensive; or only bought meat there (which one women left to her husband) - in which case all their shopping was in shops where they would use English. Two women did not do the shopping themselves; and only three women shopped exclusively in shops where they could speak Panjabi, Urdu or Gujarati. Women who described themselves as having "little English" shopped mainly in big shops such as Sainsbury's and Mothercare, where everything was price-labelled and there was little need to talk. Women who used the local open market or services where they had to talk English, often went with a sister-in-law or friend, who could interpret or give support.

The majority of the women had doctors to whom they could speak in a South Asian language; and in one case an Urdu-speaking receptionist translated. However, 10 women had doctors who spoke English only. One

woman went alone to an English-speaking doctor, but first asked her family for the relevant words, which she then practiced till she got to the doctor. Other women with little English found interpreters if they could for dealings with the medical service. One woman described how having an English doctor had caused her a lot of problems, and at that stage she wished she could speak English, but she bypassed the immediate problem by asking around friends till she found an Urdu-speaking doctor.

In some cases women avoided shopping or contact with the English-speaking world. While some were encouraged by their families to stay at home, others were avoiding difficult situations. Their children would often answer the door or telephone in case it was an English speaker. Or perhaps a woman would hope to find someone at the place she was going who would help with language - hope that a bystander in the market or another parent at school would help with the problem. A situation like this could cause a great deal of worry, however, as in the case of one woman who was waiting for a hospital appointment to come but did not know who would interpret for her.

Hospitals remained an experience hard to cope with, partly because of the length of time people could be there: so stored vocabulary would run out, or interpreters brought in from outside could only with great inconvenience be there all the time. One woman, who had been in Britain more than fifteen years, remembered earlier hospital visits as much less harrowing than later ones. At that early time, she said, nurses went out of their way to be helpful and to teach her (by demonstration) a few English words. "It's not like that now", she said, "there are so many Pakistani people here they don't even smile at you." Another woman had been pleased to leave hospital after her most recent childbirth: she talked of discussions about feeding the baby which she did not understand at all. A group of women with relatively good English, explained with some anger that it was not possible in hospitals to count on doctors of South Asian origin speaking South Asian languages to help communication: sometimes, they felt, the hospital doctors would not demean themselves by doing that.

Long hospital visits were, however, islands out of the ordinary in most women's lives, however intense they were at the time. The women who had the most problems in hospital often had worked out day-to-day strategies which meant that they did not actually run into problems with their English.

<u>Table 46</u>	
<u>Level of English on own report</u>	
This referred to oral English, not written; usually people's understanding was greater than their ability to speak English.	
None or little ...	18
OK	17
Good	7
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 47</u>	
<u>Women who had learnt more English since coming to the UK</u>	
Yes (a little or a lot)...	26
No.....	16
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 48</u>	
<u>Use of interpreters</u>	
<u>Women who used interpreter:</u>	
Friend	3
Family	13
People around, eg in market	2
No interpreter (asked me)	1
<u>Alternative strategy</u>	
Asked key words first	1
<u>Women who interpreted for others</u> ..	4
<u>Women who managed without</u>	18
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

Of the 42 women, 4 regularly spoke to English-speaking neighbours, and one had a lodger who spoke English. 3 out of 42 had friends they spoke to in English: in each case, themselves bilingual (Greek, Nigerian, Filipino migrants). Women with schoolchildren used a varying amount of English at their children's schools. Six of the 10 women who did paid work used a little bit of English, but none used very much. In one factory, women had had to fill in a form to get the job, but had no interview as such; at work alongside other Gujarati women, they managed without English. In another factory, women said they used a little

English; but bilingual workers with fluent Gujarati and English could help out if necessary. One woman homemaker sometimes used English to arrange her work, but the other home-machinists used no English in connection with their work.

Although these 42 women all felt that their English could be better, 18 of the women managed with the English they had in expected situations. Sixteen other women had family members or friends who regularly interpreted, while 4 women interpreted for others. 7 women had good English on their own report. While some did voluntary work at their children's schools, helped other people by interpreting, or made a point of finding people to talk to, other women with quite a lot of English said they hardly used English and had learned little more since coming to Britain. While 26 women felt they had learnt more English since living in Britain, 16 thought they had not. Only 4 attributed the improvement in their English to ESL classes.

The children's English

It seems likely that the children's languages as they grow would be an influence on the mother's as well as vice versa, and Saifullah Khan has suggested that when children bring home the English language from school their mothers become especially interested in learning English (1980b, 1982b). Of the women interviewed, 29 had school-age children. Women emphasized how important their children's language was to them, particularly their maintenance of the mother's language(s). Several times I was told that the real issue was the children's language and not the women's language. This seemed to be emphasized by the fact that I needed to explain my interest in the women's languages, where interest in the children's language constantly sparked conversation straight away. This tied in with one Pakistani women's organisation's explanation of their work:

"Our main concerns are our children's language. our children's religion, and our children's culture".

The opening of local Urdu classes for children of Pakistani origin was an indication of the same concern (cf Saifullah Khan 1976a, Ghuman 1980, Russell 1980). Where an interest in English learning or ESL provision existed, it was also sometimes for children who had not been born here that such concern was expressed. Talking of her own language use, a Panjabi speaker said that she had not felt much problem herself because of her level of English, though if the language gap grew

between children and parents - which it hadn't done so far - there would be a problem. Women of Gujarati origin expressed similar sentiments.

Women's children had been different ages when they came to Britain. These children spoke different languages from each other at home. For some children there was no great divide between home language and school language because English was used at home - for example a father had encouraged children to speak English to him, as well as at school. Often there were at least two languages spoken at home anyway: for example the children of Pakistani Panjabis often heard Urdu as well as Panjabi at home. When children went to nursery or school, they learned to speak English in priority over other languages. Panjabi and Urdu were not in competition in the home: though 6 mothers made a choice to speak Urdu to the children while speaking Panjabi to their husbands, the languages were expected to coexist. In contrast, as far as the children were concerned, English competed with other languages. Often, children mixed English into their Panjabi, and then came to find English "easier", falling into English when they had problems with Panjabi; and coming to talk with other children in English, and answer their parents in English even when spoken to in Panjabi. In 18 households English had become the children's main language between themselves.

There were different responses to this perceived competition, and a number of different strategies to deal with it. Women whose children now spoke mainly English had mixed reactions to it. While some women reported that they were happy with this - "That's fine, I like English"; "Their father says that we live in England, if they want to speak English they can" - and others wanted their children to speak both languages, but did not feel there was any threat of their own language losing out, other parents made a determined effort to keep their children speaking the parents' language.

Six of the women were particularly keen to help their little children with English at nursery or primary school stage. One made a point of reading a book in English to her children every day; others - even women who spoke little English - spoke some English at home in order to help ease the children into their new school environment. But with bigger children, too, some mothers were especially keen to help the children's English, either feeling this would clearly help them at school, or because they were keen on children speaking English for its own sake. One woman who planned to return to Pakistan made a point, for that reason, of helping them improve their English while here, and said

she spoke English with her children all the time, although that was evidently difficult for her. Another woman was proud that her father in Pakistan and her daughter in England exchanged letters in English.

Six mothers said they spoke English to their children, but in more cases (12) the child's father was the one who spoke English, either specifically to encourage the children, or because "he speaks English all day at work and likes to speak it at home too". One father I spoke to (in English) described how when his children came back from nursery school speaking English he found himself answering them in English increasingly, until it became the language they always used together.

Table 49 N = 31					
<u>Children's use of English</u>					
children's main language at home	age-group of oldest child:				
	preschool	primary	secondary	grown	TOTAL
mother's language	6	6	1	0	13
English	0	9	7	2	18

In other families both parents worried about the child retaining an ability to produce Panjabi or Urdu or Gujarati as well as to understand it. This might lead to a decision to speak only that language to the children - "Their father says if we speak English to the kids they will forget Panjabi" (In this case, this probably applied largely to his own speaking English, as the mother had evidently very little). Some parents made an effort to insist on the child speaking the language, even to refuse to respond when the child spoke in English. Getting children of school age to speak (say) Urdu between themselves was much harder. As the oldest child grew older, children were more likely to speak English to each other as bigger children who had been at school for some time brought home English to their little siblings (table 49). In one case a young child was teaching himself to speak only English, while not only his parents, but also his big brothers and sisters tried to talk Urdu to him as far as they were conscious of it, though they used English between themselves. Sometimes bigger siblings were at the same time the only children in the family who could speak a home

<u>Table 50: Attitudes to the children's languages</u>		N = 31
(A) Try to maintain own language against English at home ...	10	
(B) Try to maintain own language, but do not see English as in competition	10	
(C) Pleased if children speak English	6	
(D) Not an issue	5	

<u>Table 51: By mother's (self-reported) level of English</u>						N = 31
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(see table 50)	
"little"	3	2	3	3	=	11
"OK"	6	5	3	2	=	16
"good"	1	3	0	0	=	4
TOTAL	10	10	6	5	=	31

<u>Table 52: By mother's level of formal education</u>						N = 31
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(see table 50)	
0-3 years	0	1	2	1	=	4
5-7 years	3	4	1	2	=	10
8-10 years	4	3	0	2	=	9
college	3	2	3	0	=	8
TOTAL	10	10	6	5	=	31

<u>Table 53: By age of eldest child</u>						N = 31
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(see table 50)	
preschool	1	3	0	2	=	6
primary	7	6	1	0	=	14
secondary	2	1	3	2	=	8
grown	0	0	2	1	=	3
TOTAL	10	10	6	5	=	31

language - Panjabi, Urdu, Gujarati - though the others continued to understand. The one family with secondary-age children who did not chose to speak English at home had not only a mother who insisted on Panjabi, but children who had been born in Pakistan and come later to the UK.

Further strategies for getting the children to speak South Asian languages included sending children to classes to learn to speak and write it. There were classes in Urdu organised by some of the Pakistani organisations, both on their own premises and after school in a local state school (cf. Russell 1982). In a block of flats where I visited several women, most sent their children to a woman in another flat who taught Urdu and Islamic studies in the early evening. People of Gujarati origin knew of Gujarati classes for children, but they were too far away for their children to go to. Some Muslim families attempted to teach Arabic to their children for religious reasons. Other parents hoped that their children would learn two languages at home, such as Panjabi and Urdu as well as English.

Why did some mothers worry about their children retaining the mother's first language/s, and others not mind? In relation to Williams' hypothesis (see p208), it is of interest that women with better English and higher levels of formal education appeared more likely to try to maintain their children's knowledge of their own home languages (tables 51,52). I had wanted to see if women whose eldest child was not yet at school would worry less about competition from English, but fieldwork suggested the opposite: that those women who professed to worry least had secondary-age children, while those whose oldest children were at primary school were the ones who raised language maintenance as the most urgent issue (table 53). Perhaps this was because for those with older children it was a lost battle, so that other things had come to seem more important in relation to children and culture.

What we have just revealed suggests that for most of these women the concern with the children's language has overshadowed their concern with their own language. Is it true that children "bringing home" English encourages their mothers to develop their own English? It seems clear that for some women, an interest in their children's learning English stimulated them to use English in situations where they might

otherwise not have done. Six women said that they asked their children to help them learn English, that they borrowed their school books or asked them to help with words or with writing. Another 11 had learnt more English just because their children used it. But other women said that it was a great effort to learn English, and a pleasure to have children who were growing up to be good, reliable interpreters, who could help outside the house. While ESL teachers commented on how degrading it is to have to rely on children for interpretation especially in difficult personal situations, if these difficult personal situations are not the norm of situations where interpreters are needed, it can be a relief to have children old enough to answer the door, answer the telephone, and help with the shopping. One woman's 18-year-old daughter came in as we talked and her mother agreed vehemently with her daughter when she said "Asian parents stop being interested in English when their kids can do it for them". Clearly, this was true of some of the women that we spoke to and not of others.

English and employment

A minority of the 42 women were in paid work (table 54). Though the women that were working outside the home were Gujarati Hindus, as were the other women I spoke to in the factories, while the majority of the other women were Muslim, the reasons for this are not solely religious. Brah (1984) suggests that the length of time that women have been here and the age of their children, and so on, are better explanations of why certain women are at work than their religion. Indeed, although some women of this sample said "Muslim people don't like women working outside", more Muslim women wanted employment than were actually employed. Some were waiting until the children were bigger, or fully expected to work "when I've learnt English". Others' ambitions were more hypothetical: "if I could find a good job"; or "I'd like to be a business lady". Other ambitions were to work in a shop; do hairdressing; do childminding.

The three work places I visited fitted into the pattern that women of Asian origin are, in many employment situations, doing the most menial, unskilled work; or skilled work like machining, at low rates with bad conditions (eg CARF 1981). One woman working for a community organisation had a "better" job than others, which however extended well over the part-time hours she was paid for, and which she felt did not

<u>Table 54</u> <u>Women's employment</u>	
<u>Housewives</u> not in paid employment.....	32
<u>Homework</u>	
Machining.....	4
Finishing items for local factory..	1
<u>Work outside</u>	
Clothing factory.....	2
Assembly line.....	2
Community organisation.....	1
TOTAL	<u>42</u>

<u>Table 55</u> <u>Muslim women and work</u>					
At time of interview		Previously		Want to work	
Working at home	outside	worked at home	outside	at home	outside
5	1	2	1	3	14

compare with the job she was trained for and experienced in in Pakistan (teaching). In one factory, dress machinists and other workers were of mixed nationality but all migrant women; in the second factory there were white English employees as well as Asian men - but all the Asian women worked close together on the assembly line.

None of the women had found work because of the English she spoke - though some had had considerable training in English and the others also had some fluency. The office worker felt that Urdu and Panjabi were more important in her job; and that she was not getting sufficient practice in her English. In the clothes factory Gujarati women worked with Greek, Spanish, and Lebanese women, and used a limited amount of English. (It was notable in that factory that many women had learned a bit of each other's languages as well as some English). Women on the

assembly line in the other factory said they used hardly any English. Recently a Gujarati forewoman had been appointed, while the previous English forewoman had told one or two people what she wanted done, and the women on the line had told each other in Gujarati or Hindi.

There was general agreement among groups of women in the factories that English was not necessary for the job, and also that they did not learn any at work. In contrast to two other women, who had in the past worked in factories, and looked back on this as a time when they had improved their English, the women working in these factories attributed their English-learning, if any, to similar factors to women who were not in employment. Older women said they had learnt a little from hearing their children speak, and younger women, sometimes eager to learn ("we people try, we all know a little English but not a lot of English; we try, unlike white people, they don't try") said that they did not know of local classes, though they would like to; while emphasising their busyness: "we have no time to do classes, we only get home at 5 and then we're busy making chapattis".

In group interviews, there was a consensus that for better jobs you have to speak English - but that the converse is not true. If you speak English it does not necessarily get you a better job. Many of these women had been to school for many years in East Africa or India and spoke quite a lot of English; some had also been to college. Well qualified women were doing manual work which did not use their skills or training. Similarly women with great skills in English were not using it for work. The argument that more English would lead to greater job opportunities, was not borne out by our small sample, who would gain however from recognition of the qualifications they had - and an end to racism in employment. Two sisters, were eager to stop doing a "labour job", and hoped to retrain because they had heard of the college ESL foundation course (p144), but most other women saw no hope of improving their prospects through retraining. Those of the working women who wanted more English wanted it for other, general reasons, such as to cope better with hospital visits.

Of the sample of 42, women who were machining at home had up to 7 years of formal education, while among the factory workers was the greatest disparity between job and qualifications: 2 women on the assembly line had degrees.

One factory worker had studied English in India for many years and done an M.Comm. followed by experience in business administration in India. When she came to England and looked for a similar job she was told that the reason she was not accepted was that she had no similar experience in England. Eventually it was suggested that she try TOPS (which did not seem to be as high a level as she had experience of but she settled for it). There she did two tests, and was failed on her spelling. Thoroughly discouraged, she wanted no further help with her English or with training, and although she hated it, professed to be resigned to the job on the assembly line. For her, the idea that good English (which she had) meant a good job, was a sour joke.

It is evident from the above that the "need for English", just as women's use of English, varies with a number of factors, and cannot be assumed. Most of the women said that they were not satisfied with their present level of English, and would like to know more (33 of 42: 2 others said it depended on what the help was; the other 7 were included among the sample because they clearly had little English and therefore were people for whom ESL provision was envisaged). Expressing a general wish to learn the official language seems a common response by migrant women both in Britain and elsewhere (Uberoi 1965; Merdol 1982; Rockhill 1987). For many, however, this had the status of a general wish, and revealed neither any urgency, nor any strategy for improving their English. The explanations for this do not all lie in the obstacles in women's way - such as great busyness stopping them going to classes. Important answers must lie in the area of the women's language use, especially in their relations to other people to be interpreters or company etc. Many of these 42 women, moreover, had strategies for dealing with most of ESL's "situations" without improving their English, unless something dramatic and unforeseen should happen: for example the end of a marriage.

ESL has tended to discuss the needs and problems to be solved by learning English. What the women said can give an illustration of problems that they had; but this is not the way that most people answered the question about why they would want to learn English. Especially if alone to cope with the world outside in England, whether for a short time, or an indefinite time, there are many times when English would help prevent great worry (cf. Molteno's short stories, 1987). Many people told of problems that they had the first time they had to manage on their own in England. One woman, daughter of a

shopkeeper, had been left when she was a girl with a message for someone delivering goods, and had said the wrong thing. A second, encouraged by her husband to go shopping without his help had found herself unable to buy net curtains and felt an idiot. A third had friends and family across London on a complicated route by public transport, and each time she had to face the journey it was an ordeal (now she had access to a car). Another woman had gone shopping and got badly lost and very frightened.

However it was not automatically the case that such experiences, though they might be remembered as frightening, or laughed at later when women had learned how to cope, necessarily made women want to learn English. These could become an explanation for its usefulness when people are looking back, while in fact people had other priorities. The shopkeeper's daughter was not at the time stimulated to learn English: indeed her parents sent her to an English class which she said she did not take seriously enough at the time.

"I thought I was going to get married and have children, that's all. I didn't see the point and I didn't pay any attention".

This emphasises the importance of women's own view of themselves as women.

Others have suggested increased opportunities for migrant women who speak English. From our interviews it seems that many South Asian women who work, or others who are close to them, get the message that those increased opportunities are more fictitious than real. While it remains an advantage to speak or write English in a number of situations, for many of these women, learning more English was a matter of putting in much time, and was just one of the choices of strategy available.

WOMEN'S RELATION TO ESL

From what women said it was very clear that learning English did not necessarily equate to going to ESL classes. Between them there was a wide range of comprehension and fluency in English at the time that they came to England; and great variation in the amount, and the way, they had learned any more. Many women had formal experience of language tuition, both in English and other languages, but the importance of informal ways of learning a language needs also to be stressed. In this section we will discuss the ways women had learned English and other languages; their experience of, and approach to, ESL classes in particular; what women said about their reasons and desire for learning

English; and why there was a gap between wanting to learn English and going to ESL classes.

For many women there had been more than one language present at home, since childhood, and before coming to Britain. Five women said that in their childhood at home there had only been one language spoken - Panjabi. When they went to school they were taught Urdu letters and expected to study in Urdu, though teachers might help them by speaking Panjabi as well. Twenty other Panjabi-speaking women, however, had had experience of Urdu at home from Urdu-speaking visitors or relations, Urdu-medium TV and radio, others speaking in shops, gatherings, and so on; while several women, who said that Panjabi was their "own" language, had been spoken to in Urdu by their parents, who had wanted the children to be thoroughly familiar with it, while speaking Panjabi between themselves.

Beyond Panjabi and Urdu 6 women had learnt Arabic in their childhood from the local maulwi, to read the Kuran. 6 women of Pakistani origin had learnt Persian (Farsi) at college. A Sikh woman had learned to read and write in Hindi in school; Muslim Gujarati women from India also spoke Urdu, and had learnt Hindi in school. Gujarati women from East Africa had learnt Sanscrit and Hindi at school in India, and learnt African languages from people who had been servants in their households. These women were Hindu and did not claim Urdu, but rather Hindi (p254).

English was one of the languages of which people had formal teaching experience. The amount of English taught depended on the sort of school. Women explained that English lessons started in the first year in private schools, but usually in the sixth year in a state school, although some children were taught the names of the English letters before that - seen as the most basic thing in the English language: "when I came I knew nothing, not even what A was or what B was...".

Women who had only had English taught as one subject in school had gained varying amounts from those classes. Frequently as girls they had not paid it much attention. One woman who came to Britain as a bride in the late 1960s stressed that in her time nobody ever thought of coming to the U.K.; that her parents thought five years reading and writing Urdu was enough; that she herself did not want to study, never expecting that she would use English. A woman who did two years English

at school said that it added up to practically nothing for her, while other younger women also had not paid English lessons much attention and had not expected to use the language.

Schools in India and Pakistan can be labelled by the language in which teaching goes on - Urdu-medium, English-medium and so on. One of the women that I spoke to had spent time in English-medium schools and 2 in English-medium colleges. However, they said that Urdu or Gujarati was a back-up for the English, and although the women came to England with a good reading comprehension of English, they had not practiced speaking much, were unfamiliar with the local English accent in their area of London, and were not confident about talking the language. (In the same way one woman described how in her Urdu-medium school, teachers had also spoken Panjabi and allowed students to speak Panjabi). These women, already highly educated including in English still said they would like to be students of English, if they could find classes at the right level (see p300).

Learning English in England outside classes

Some women had improved their English by "picking it up". The most common things to which women attributed an increased understanding of English, and sometimes an increased skill in speaking also, were: doing the shopping, watching television, hearing the children speak English, going out to work. One woman pointed out that some people can learn English from the television, but she could not. Another said that television helped because her family explained the story of the programme she was watching. Talking to other people in English helped a few a women to gain a fluency they did not have before, but none of them had English monolingual friends (p265).

Twenty-eight of the 42 women had made a determined effort to learn English at some stage. This might be by exploiting the occasions above, determinedly getting help while watching television, trying to understand English-teaching programmes, getting the children to explain what they are talking about, or trying to create situations where they spoke English. Fourteen had watched some of the recent BBC "Switch on to English" programme (of whom 7 liked it). Ten women had had help of some sort from their husbands (see below p290). One woman had spent some time trying to learn from a dictionary; another got children's books from her son's nursery, and read them; another had brought a bilingual Hindi-English book from India but found little time to use it.

<u>Table 56</u>	
<u>Learning English outside classes</u>	
Got help from husband in some form	10
Conscious help from children	5
Consciously tried to learn from listening to children, radio, television	10
Used children's school books	1
Read dictionary	1
Got book from ESL class teacher	1
Brought school book from India	1
Used "Switch on to English" book	1
Paid friend to teach her	1
TOTAL (Some women did more than one)	<u>28</u>

One woman tried to take notes of words written round the place to see what they meant. Another had little time to learn English outside the ESL class which she went to - but for the children's sake rather than her own she tried to read a book in English to her children every day. Another woman who went to ESL classes had previously felt desperate to learn English and paid a friend to give her regular classes. For this woman ESL classes were a clear continuation of an attempt to learn English - but they did not play the same role for all women.

ESL classes, then, were only one of many ways of learning English, whether we look at the ways people have learned English before they come, or the ways that they have learned more English in England itself. Beyond formal teaching, practice, contact, and informal contexts for learning are important. As none of these women had frequent contacts with English speakers, however, their efforts to learn did not always lead to more use of English or to feeling confident in the language. The case of highly educated women, who had had much formal instruction in English, is particularly important.

Experience of English classes

Of the 42 women, 10 had never been to ESL classes, 13 had previously been at some stage but stopped going, and 17 were then going

to classes and 1 having home tuition. Another started going to classes between my visits (table 42). The women who were going to classes did not cover the range of possible ESL classes: none went to classes at the college, or were taught by ILTU; none went to evening classes or to classes with men in. Seven women went to classes in schools which took place once a week; and 11 went to graded classes, four times a week, in places with at least two levels. Of these, one began to go to classes for the first time between my visits to her house. Thirteen of the women going to classes went regularly. Women who had previously been to classes and stopped included women from once-weekly and graded women's classes, women who in the past had had home tuition, and in addition women who had been to evening classes, mixed classes and English language classes run and taught in a local Pakistani women's organisation. Two women had been to ESL classes outside Denton: both had come on to classes in this borough, but only one continued.

Women had found out about classes overwhelmingly from informal sources: from friends, relatives, neighbours who already knew about classes; and a number from their children's schools, where many ESL classes were held. Beyond this, one woman found out from the Job Centre, one read a notice at her children's school, and one woman made a point of enquiring about the existence of classes, having been to ESL classes elsewhere. The one woman presently having home tuition met the home tuition organiser in connection with her children's Islamic studies class. Three women who had stopped having home tuition had been referred by a local Pakistani community organisation, when their own English classes were closed (p140).

Knowledge of classes was far from perfect. Twenty-seven women knew about ESL classes or thought they could find them if they wanted to, but 15 women did not know how to find out about classes. One school had sent a paper home with the children, while in another teachers told mothers about ESL classes. One woman was told by her child's class teacher "If there is no man at home and you are going to be at home during the day you ought to learn English in case something happens". Referral between classes was weak. Many women did not know of alternative available classes locally; and one woman who had moved quite a way from one ESL class had continued to walk there until she heard of another class by chance from a new friend.

<u>Table 57</u> N = 21	
<u>Finding out about ESL classes</u>	
From children's Islamic class	1
From friends	7
From children's school	5
From neighbours	3
From someone met at the doctor's...	1
From sister-in-law	1
From job centre	1
*In addition, 2 of the 42 asked me to find information about local classes	

Twelve women who went to classes at the time of interview made positive comments about them: that they were friendly places, teachers were "like family", or were very helpful, that they were comfortable places to be, with "our own people", that if women didn't understand, their friends could help them. They said that it was good to be practising talking, good to learn writing, that work they had done about specific situations had shown itself useful: "Now I would know how to deal with 'x', 'y', and 'z' problems".

Drawbacks to the classes that were reported were consistent. While some people found the class hard, or did not want to criticize it - for "What can I do if I don't understand?" - repeatedly people commented that the classes were slow, that it would be better if there were more classes a week, if there were shorter holidays, or perhaps they could go full-time "like kids get at school"; that in the classes they wanted more chance to talk. Seven women (6 of whom went to classes) wanted more classes per week. An interesting contrast to a view among teachers that students sought "old-fashioned" grammar teaching (p222) was offered by the absence of this demand in these interviews. The only mention of the concept was to differentiate supposedly "grammarless" Cockney from the English that some women were familiar with.

Women who had been to classes but had left remembered specific things that classes had helped with: often reading and writing, or telling the time. Five (of 12) indicated that the classes had not lived up to expectations. One woman said she had stopped because she was very busy with work, the home, etc. - "You can't do two jobs, can you?" - but added that the evenings were cold, and in fact the class had been rather

boring. Another had finished because the class had stopped (because numbers had dropped) but was not really sorry, because it was not much fun being in a class of two or three, and the class was too slow, too easy. Another woman complained that she was being taught to shop, which she could do already; and that it was not only much too easy for her, but that when people missed a class, the teacher repeated the lesson again next time.

One woman described how her small child's presence had made her home tutor give up after a second lesson of only twenty minutes, and then she was told she could go to a class. However, at the class that she had previously been to, her child had been disruptive, which was why she had been given a home tutor in the first place. Another woman had sought a home tutor but had been told that her English was too good. Although her in-laws were in the same house, she could not ask them to look after her young children, and she felt the journey to the class - which was not very close - would present problems with her young children. One woman who had had home tuition had in the end asked the tutor not to come: she and her friend (both tutees) felt they were not getting anywhere. They were learning up last week's lesson before the next week's, and forgetting it all as soon as the tutor had left; the permanent arrangement became a nuisance, and so they stopped it.

Women who had never been to classes also gave their views of the classes. One woman planned to go to classes as she thought they would be good and hoped they would help her realise her ambition, help her to get a job and "be somebody". Two women were interested in the idea of the college foundation course. But not everyone who was interested in learning more English wanted to go to classes. One woman in particular was very suspicious of classes, saying only "maybe" to "do you want to learn more English?", and checking again that I was not a local ESL representative (see below). Another made a face and spoke poorly about the classes - "They do ABC don't they, like for children?" Nine women said a bilingual tutor would be a good idea (3, for beginning levels; 6, in general); 9 were not keen on having a bilingual tutor - perhaps because of notions of what a "proper" English tutor was likely to be.

It seemed clear then that some women were getting a lot from ESL classes, but the drawbacks, basically that the classes were too slow, were consistent, and those comments were shared by some of the women who went to classes, some women who had been to classes but had stopped, and some women who were interested in learning English but had never been to

ESL classes. The message that women were getting was that overwhelmingly these were classes for beginners and would not help people move on fast enough, while there was also some wider suspicion of ESL.

When I met people for the first time, many people thought at first that I was there to teach English or persuade people to go to classes. The difference in people's attitude when they thought I was recruiting for classes and when they realised that I was not, is important. Although when people had got to know me they sometimes asked for advice about English classes or English learning, a common reaction to somebody perceived as a "recruiting" ESL teacher was defensive. Twice when I met women's husbands at the door, this was particularly clear: because of the suspicion generated in a racist society my approach was resented until the women explained that they knew me (in one case) or knew of my coming (in the other), and there was a chance to distinguish between the reason for my visit and the welfare/control motives of someone recruiting for classes. In one case the husband later asked me to find out about ESL classes.

Social aspects of ESL

Some women went to ESL classes encouraged by the fact that this was a place where they could meet friends. Many women heard about classes originally from friends, and went along with friends or neighbours. Other women did not originally have friends who went to the class, but made friends there; and for some women, these were the only people they referred to as their friends. One woman, clearly very lonely outside the classes, went to the class definitely in search of help with English. One aspect of her loneliness was having no-one to help or interpret for shopping and so on. However, now she had friends in the class, which kept her going there, although she was frustrated by feeling that she was learning very slowly. She described the language used at the class as "mainly Panjabi - just a little English to the teacher".

Social reasons were among important reasons women gave for liking ESL classes that they were going to. Women might, for example, say, "Yes, it's good, the teacher's very good" - and go on to describe that the nicest thing about it was that it was all "our" women who went there. In some cases women made food like samosas to take in to class to share; and one frequent response to the question about bilingual

teachers was that the need was lessened by the fact that women all helped each other.

For some women, such as Muslim women who do not meet at a temple or gurudwara, ESL classes could be an acceptable way of meeting women outside the family on a regular basis. If women were brought to classes by their friends and relatives, the class became an extension of their own space, where also "our own language" was spoken. Such supportive and friendly classes could even attract women who said of themselves that they were not optimistic about being able to learn English. Two of the older women, for example, each doubted their ability to learn English: said that their brains were old, their time over, their children had learned English, that they themselves would forget. One of these women did not go to a class: she, like the other woman, attempted to speak a little English to her grandchildren; but largely managed without English, working in a factory, and spending most of her other time at home with her large family. However, the second woman lived alone at a distance from her family and did not have the social contact of going to work. She described her life as "cooking, cleaning, praying, and reading the Koran". Despite her pessimism about learning English, and the physical difficulty which she had in getting to the class because of her state of health, she went regularly to a class four times a week because the class acted as a social meeting place.

The social atmosphere of a class had the opposite effect when women did not feel comfortable with other students, because they came from a different social class, or a different area. Class issues as well as geographical ones entered when, for example, a college-educated woman originally from Islamabad did not want to go to a class which consisted mainly of Mirpuris, about whom in general she was disparaging.

Why is there a gap between wanting better English and going to ESL classes?

Of the 18 women who went to class, 13 went regularly and others went only if they felt like it. Of the 12 women who had previously been to classes, 4 had stopped because their lives had changed (work, babies, going to Pakistan). A further 4 had given up when classes had moved or stopped; and another 4 had lost interest or found the class too easy. Of the 12, 7 still wanted help with their English, plus one who "maybe" wanted it, depending what that help would be. One of them had a small child and planned to return to class when the little one went to nursery

school, but 5 were clear that they knew of their present local provision, wanted help with their English, and would not go. Of 12 women who had never been to classes, 7 said they wanted help with English but didn't go to classes. One more woman again said "maybe": she was a woman who prioritized the learning of English, saying "We are here, we must learn it", but who was very suspicious of classes. Two women did not know about ESL classes. Five knew about the provision, said they wanted to learn more English and could make time, but did not go to classes. One of them planned to go to classes but had not yet got round to it; this left 4 (or 5, if we include "maybe..") who knew of ESL, wanted help with English, did not say they were too busy and chose not to make use of ESL provision.

<u>Table 58</u> N = 12	
<u>Why women had stopped going to classes</u> (main reason given)	
Baby due/ born	2
ESL class stopped	3
ESL class moved	1
Went to Pakistan for visit	1
Got work	1
Found class too easy	2
Lost interest	2

Why then the gap? It is clear that some women managed fine in English; some women did not know of ESL classes; others with less English, were extremely busy. Women at classes who had unsuccessfully tried to persuade friends and neighbours to go to classes with them gave busyness as a primary reason. Women described how they had to look after the children, do time-consuming cooking, "clean the house from top to bottom" - and said besides that their friends often did not go to class because they were busy machining (homeworking). Yet some women who did machine work and had young children did go to ESL classes, or out to groups of other sorts, for which they found time.

There must, then, be further explanations, both in terms of whether English is a priority for the women, and of what women think about the ESL provision. Is there a difference between the reasons women might use ESL classes, and the aims and practices of ESL (as far at least as

they are known by the women)? And why do women who want to learn English and know about the classes choose not to come?

Some women explained that not all women see any point in going to English classes. A woman from Karachi distinguished herself from "the Panjabis". Even when Panjabis don't have children and do have time they won't go to class", she said, regretting it, for she had tried to persuade neighbours of hers to come to class, seeing it as clearly for their benefit. Another woman said:

"Most women don't go outside - they have no time, not with children, machining, and feeling a bit lazy when there is a pause; besides which, they wonder what's the point of it."

Another young woman, Indian in a class of Pakistani women, said that older women, of 45-50, said "What should we learn English for? Our husbands and children speak it, why should we?" She stressed how packed her time was here compared with time in India - there, in her experience, women did not go to work (but see p240): "they have time to meet and talk to eachother". Yet she, herself a young mother and machinist, made time to go to an English class, and her explanations for people not doing^{so} were not about time. In her view, firstly, people did not think they needed English; and, secondly, "Indian people feel bad, feel it's a shame to go to a class". As the other women in her class were all Pakistani, she thought that there might be a difference between Indian and Pakistani people. Another woman said as a first comment that women were busy machine-working, but on further discussion gave as the real reason that they did not go to classes that they did not think they needed English.

Women in an Asian women's group gave a reason that had more to do with the content of the classes. These women were quite highly educated and had a common experience of learning English from books, English-medium college and sometimes school, but in England at first felt shy about speaking English, partly because of unfamiliarity with the local accent. A number of them had quickly found out about classes on coming here, but found the level was too low, and left.

It seems, then, that low attendance at English classes was not all due to women's other commitments. Some women felt that learning English was not a priority for them, which contrasted with ESL perceptions of learning English as solving problems for these particular women. Others

had sampled the classes but not found them satisfying. Interviews suggested that the "social comfort" as well as the English-learning results were a factor in keeping people going or not.

Problems and possibilities

While the providers' model concentrated on the problems for bilingual people who do not speak much English, an important contrast seemed evident in these interviews with potential students. General or specific advantages or increased possibilities seemed more important in encouraging women to set out to learn English, unless the push from desperate circumstances was great. As Wilson has emphasised (1978), the lives of migrant women in Britain can be full of stress, and it was clear that at times of crisis - being alone to manage - a lack of confidence in English could exacerbate this. One woman had been to Pakistan with her family and returned with the children but without her husband: she had used her car until it needed repair but was anxious because she felt unable to get it mended. While lack of time or uncertainty about what should be done may have contributed to her problem, she felt the major issue was her lack of confidence in English. This had not, however, led her to seek English classes, though when I visited she asked me to find out if there were local classes.

Only two women seemed to be impelled by problems they had towards English classes. One woman was lonely, and found life in England sad and difficult. She had previously shopped at a shop where she could speak her own language, but this had closed, leaving her with local shops where English was spoken, and an awareness that she couldn't negotiate further-off streets, or use buses. Her family situation (a rather unhappy marriage in a nuclear household) gave her no support or interpreter for venturing further afield. Learning English was one of her strategies for dealing with this. She had time to go regularly to ESL classes, having no children, and the support of other students met there had become important in itself.

A second woman felt that becoming confident in English would be part of an independence she needed as her home life was unhappy. She was living with her husband's brother's family, together with her four children (including a 6-month-old baby) while her husband was in Pakistan; but her in-laws had become unfriendly, and she believed that her husband might have left her. She had asked if she could have home tuition, but was told her English was too good. She felt unable to go

to a class because of her extreme busyness with childcare, housework and new attempt to negotiate the social security system.

A third woman had relied since 1968 first on her husband and then on her children to do the shopping; but when the latter had married and left home, she had to go shopping using English, herself, for the first time in 1984. While this gave a good reason to learn English, however, she did not expect to progress with the language because of her age, and described her weekly visit to an English class as a time with "our" women, to meet her friends.

Three of the women who went to ESL classes expressed its usefulness in terms of "situations" (in common with their teachers). For other women, however, their ambitions in terms of possible future work or their children's futures were more strongly-expressed areas of interest than potential emergencies or ESL "situations". For many, busyness indoors and the availability of bilingual relatives or friends to interpret limited the pressure to learn English, though they had ideas about things that could be done if they spoke it better - getting neighbours to keep a common entrance clean; dealing with local children's mocking; learning to read road signs, and to drive.

This accentuates the importance of other factors that make new moves (further education; jobs) likely to open possibilities to different groups of women. The women had their gender in common, which, combined with motherhood and an assumption that women would do the major part of childcare, limited the realm of the possible. However, their different educational backgrounds were relevant. While ESL aimed to solve problems for women with basic English, women with some English already and a background of education wanted English classes of a higher level to enable them to move on to fluency.

WOMEN'S VIEWS OF THEMSELVES AS WOMEN

ESL has often directed its major effort towards women as potential students (chs 2,4,5). In this section we are concerned with issues of gender in the women's own approach to ESL, asking how women's views of themselves as women, and their experiences arising particularly from the fact that they are women, influenced their approach to ESL classes.

Williams argued that people with low status in their own "community" and low status jobs in English-speaking contexts (see p208) were likely to "shift" if they could from the "community language" to

English, while people with high status in the "community" and low status outside it, would be likely to make arguments to keep their own language going (1979). An examination of the women's concern with their children's language might support the latter argument (p266) (though Williams seemed to be unaware of gender at all), but his first hypothesis does not appear to fit with our work here. Women in families that Williams would have put in quadrant 4 (groups (1) and (2) below, pp298ff) were not desperate to move on to English, but were in most cases resigned to the likelihood that they would never learn it very well. We do not know what their husbands, overall, felt on this matter: but the majority of these particular women had strategies - interpreting, delegating, avoiding English-speaking situations, etc. - to deal with most foreseen parts of their lives in Britain, that were specific to their position as women in those families. If such strategies broke down, learning English was one of the options that women might choose to pursue in a search for change. This at once casts doubt on Williams's formulation and demonstrates the importance of gender in the rational assessment by these women of the usefulness of the English language to their own lives.

Being a woman has a different meaning for different women. Although being women affected everything about us meeting: where we met, interruptions by children, questions that I was asked about my family (rather than about my work), for some women their experience as women meant that they now did paid work, for some it meant that they had had a lot of formal education, and for some it meant that they had not had much education and that the work they did was all domestic work at home with their children. However, all the women's approaches to ESL classes were likely to be affected by their own view, and that of their families, about the possibilities open to them as women.

<u>Table 59</u>	
<u>Level of English (women's report)</u>	
<u>Women</u>	<u>Husbands</u>
Good 7	Good 34
OK 16	OK 2
Little or none 19	Little 1
TOTAL <u>42</u>	TOTAL <u>37</u>

One pattern consistent throughout this 42 was that whatever the level of English women said they had themselves, their men had had more (table 59). This is through a combination of three factors. Firstly, men in any given social class (within which a marriage was likely to take place) were likely as boys to have had more education than girls of equivalent class, which sometimes included more years of education in English. Secondly, the men had come to England before the women they got married to in all cases except those of people coming from East Africa (when men and women came together); some husbands had been to school here. Thirdly, the men often went outside the home to a wider range of places than the women, including going to work (a magnification of the classic English situation, perhaps).

These factors meant, too, that men often continued to use English more than their wives. Where women spoke little English, I was told

"women don't speak English, men do; women take someone with them if they go out";

"My husband is very good at English, he can read and write; English isn't his problem, it's my problem".

Women who had studied English to an advanced level had not been able to develop their confidence in using it, while describing their husbands as speaking English "very well indeed". Thus despite the very different levels of English spoken by the women that I talked to, for all of them "learning English" was an issue for women rather than for men.

Another factor common to all those married was that in one way or another, through closeness/proximity, approval/disapproval, active help/discouragement, their husbands' views on ESL classes and on English learning by the women, had an effect. One woman told me that her husband said her English was fine and she had a lot of work to do at home - which meant that he did not think she should go to English classes. For her, however, this was only one factor in her decision: she planned to go to classes and said that it was just because she had not got round to it that she had not gone. In other cases, what husbands said was reported as a reason for what women chose to do: one woman, eagerly going to classes, said her husband said

"sew a bit for yourself and the kids, okay, but leave yourself free to take them out in the holidays and when they are not at school. Earning money is not so important: learning English is very important".

In contrast to the ESL image of husbands (p184), 20 women said their husbands encouraged them to go to ESL classes.

What husbands said about English learning varied independently of their views on ESL. Two contrasting experiences were, firstly, husbands who pushed their wives to learn English. One woman remembered the distress at her first shopping expedition in English: alone, because her husband thought that using English (rather than going to classes) was the way she should learn it; another woman said not only her husband but her whole family took an interest in her learning English; a third contrasted her own husband's attitude, pushing her to learn English, to the situations of her neighbours, where "women depend too much on their husbands". A second group of husbands were not so keen on women learning English: a conviction, for example, that the woman "has no problem" with language as she does not go out by herself, or that she should be working at home looking after the children, and thus would have no time to learn. It seemed that it was more educated and middle-class women - also, we note, living in nuclear families without other family close by - who were urged by their husbands to learn English with some urgency. But there was no simple class division between the reaction of women's husbands to the women learning English. While some working-class women (p294) were told by their men "You can't go to class, can you, because of the kids?", others were encouraged to learn English. In some cases a man found it a problem to take a day off work if his wife needed to go to hospital and needed an interpreter - this was one practical reason why he might encourage her.

Ten women said their husbands helped them to learn English: this ranged from occasional prompting with words to help the women understand the television, to discussing how one might put something in English. This help might be shortlived, as when a husband encouraged a woman to speak English and then laughed at mistakes, in fact discouraging her; or it might be more systematic - teaching her letters; encouraging her to speak with him in English - for example, in one joint family, whenever they were alone in their room. More often, a husband said "You learn", but didn't help. When a group of women in a factory told me that all their husbands spoke good English and they didn't, and I asked if their husbands ever helped them, there was enormous laughter: it seemed impossible that they ever would.

While work, and other aspects of life, were important, their families had a superlative importance for all of these women. Most of them had, or expected to have, children, and their movements and choices were limited by domestic responsibilities which, through a combination

of social habits and assumptions are left predominantly to women in South Asian and other societies. The approach of the women to English and to ESL classes was in the context of their relationship to husband, children, other family relationships, or the lack of them. Women's major responsibility for young children meant that their first priority was dealing with childcare and a vast workload. Where women had children, they had essential importance in the women's lives, not only as providers of work, but of help (for example in interpreting); and changing the balance of the women's household as they grew older. They were important because of the particular interest, hope and pride that their mothers had in their education and their language learning.

We cannot assume that all women had similarly large or effective networks. One woman worked in a factory and wanted to change her shift times to fit in with her childcare. She was very distressed when her boss would not believe that she needed to change shift times: "All of you", she was told, "have big families. There must be someone else to look after the babies". Some women do have mothers and sisters-in-law close by to help with childcare; one was very glad that she did not have, as they did not get on. In addition to social contact and potential help with childcare, the presence or absence of such networks also affected women's need to use English, and available strategies when they were not confident about their English.

<u>Table 60</u>	
<u>Women attending ESL classes</u>	
<u>by age</u>	
20+....	12
30+....	3
40+....	1
50+....	2
70+....	1
TOTAL	<u>19</u>

<u>Table 61</u>	
<u>Women attending ESL classes</u>	
<u>by years in England</u>	
0 - 5 ...	6
6 - 10 ...	7
11 - 15 ..	3
15+	3
TOTAL	<u>19</u>

Age

Their past experiences and a realistic appraisal of who else was around, their responsibilities, and the possibilities that they saw for their own life, affected women's views of their own ability and very often limited their choices. Women said it was hard to learn English - "You can't learn a language fast, it's very hard". Other women realised that they had learned more than they put to use, and said that their problem was a lack of confidence. Where the women tackled learning English despite views of its difficulty varied also with age.

There was a preponderance of younger women in this sample, but the 6 women over 50 seemed to regard themselves as old. My discussions with women in factories led young women, not older women, to ask me to find information on local classes. There have been discussions about the effect of age in slowing down language-learning: is it because of biological/psychological factors or because of "affect" (emotions; no longer a wish to change culturally)? Looking at this group of women, however, busyness and family context appear to combine with the factor of age itself. Three of these older women went to ESL classes. One said that she was very keen to learn English, but what could she do? - "my brain has become weak". Another had been going to classes four times a week for 4 years, and felt she was learning slowly. In the face of her grown children, she said, she felt ashamed that her English was no better. However what was evident from visiting these women was the quietness in their homes during the day: grown children were at secondary school and work, while the classes they were going to they found friendly and full.

The contrast between these women and the older women who did not go to classes lay in the networks around them and what they had to do during the day. One woman - who had rejected home tuition - was neither interested in learning English nor in need of extra company: her house bustled with other adults, and with older and younger children. Another woman worked during the day, and though she had tried evening classes at one stage, they were not very successful, and she was busy.

The case of another older woman, however, makes it clear that "older women" cannot be treated uniformly, and that further factors such as education and class continue to be important. This woman was unlike the other older women, who had had little education: she had been to college. Whereas the others said their brains were tired and weak, and

held out little hope of learning, she said she loved the English language, and wanted to improve her speaking. The reason she did not go to class was not a low estimation of herself, but a low estimation of the class: the level, she was sure, would be too low.

ESL AND STUDENTS' CLASS

Among these 42 women there are differences of experience that can only be explained by referring to the concept of social class. In some cases, the fact that there is a difference of past and present experience and power is unambiguous. For example, one college-educated woman from Lahore was married to a man who owned a business. Another woman from Pakistani Kashmir came from a village where she had had no schooling and was married to a man who had done factory work in England but was, at the time we met, unemployed. However, in many cases, there are problems in identifying the class of individuals both in the case of migrant workers with contradictory experiences in different countries, and of women (pp248ff).

Some have laid great stress on the differences between women of urban and rural origin. The importance of the distinction is indicated by the possible over-reporting of "urban" origin among the women for status reasons: one woman, for example, said that she grew up in a town, while her sister-in-law said that she came from a village. Rural or urban origin is likely to have affected women's access to education, and their experience of different languages (in Pakistan, for example, Urdu is used more in towns). However, even in the country of origin, "town" and "country" do not constitute classes (cf Lipton 1977): there are rich and poor in each (Byres 1979).

In the case of our sample, identifying class by occupation is complicated by the apparently similar occupations of many women of childbearing age. It proved hard to establish their husbands' class by occupation also, because of the possible different jobs that could be involved in "working in a factory" or "in a shop" (etc), while high levels of unemployment made it even less clear.

Nor can housing (often an indicator of class in Britain) be used to indicate the class of these women. In Denton, I met a professional couple living in a council tower-block (the woman highly educated and doing a white collar job in a local community organisation) and unemployed factory workers living in their own houses. House ownership

has been more widespread among people of South Asian origin than in the population in general due to a number of factors such as racism in council housing departments (Rex and Moore 1967) and collective efforts by extended families to buy houses (Dahya 1974, Banton 1979), so housing is not a clear indicator of class in this instance.

Level of formal education is the only indicator we can use here. Levels of education relate to class - for example, middle-class people have arranged higher levels of education for their sons (and, less so, for their daughters). This is a complex relationship with many exceptions, especially in the case of girls. The education girls get may relate not only to their families' perceptions of the importance of education for women in general - which is likely to vary with their economic position - but to the time and place they grew up, and the number of brothers and sisters. One woman, for example, told me she would have had more years at school had she not been so set against it herself, and, as a girl, her education was of less importance than that of her brothers, so she got her way. Others had interrupted their education by getting married. Another woman described the high level of education that the rest of her family had had - they had gone on to find professional employment - but she herself had a short time at school, because she was the oldest daughter, and was needed to help at home when her mother fell ill. Thus where schooling links to class it shows once more the complex relation girls, as well as women, have to their family's class (p249).

Because education (separately) has been seen as a factor in students' approach to adult education it may be claimed that the section below is a discussion of the effects of education itself. However, women's experience of past formal education is the closest indication we can get of the women's class background, because other indicators are not available. Unable here to go into the complexity of class divisions in India and Pakistan, and with the proviso that education is often more easily available locally for girls in town, we make the assumption that women with more education were likely to come from richer (upper/middle class/rich peasant) families and those with less education from poorer (working-class/ peasant) families.

Length of education and exposure to English

For women educated in India or Pakistan (and the one woman educated in East Africa) the level of formal tuition in English - and the level

of their own English - was likely to increase with the number of years that they are at school. Those who went to English-medium schools (private; therefore from richer families) were likely to stay longer at school. Most of the women who had only a few years of schooling went to the state schools, and before the sixth year were unlikely to have had any formal instruction in English, though some had been taught the Latin alphabet and English names of the letters.

Women's reported level of English related less to the number of years they had been in Britain (table 62) than to the level of schooling they had had (table 63).

<u>Table 62</u>				
<u>Level of English by years in Britain</u>				
Years in Britain	Claimed level of English			
	none or little	OK	good	(TOTAL)
up to 1 year	4	1	2	(6)
1 - 5 years	3	4	1	(8)
6 - 10 years	7	7	3	(17)
11 - 15 years	1	4	1	(6)
16 - 20 years	2	1	-	(3)
over 20 years	1	-	-	(1)
TOTAL	(18)	(17)	(7)	(42)

<u>Table 63</u>				
<u>Level of English by years of formal education</u>				
Years of formal education	Claimed level of English			
	none or little	OK	good	(TOTAL)
0 - 3	8	0	0	(8)
4 - 7	5	7	0	(12)
8 - 10	5	5	1	(11)
college	0	5	6	(11)
TOTAL	(18)	(17)	(7)	(42)

As girls, their reactions to English lessons had varied (p276). Such attitudes and the relevance of English say something both about class and about the position of women. English was a language with status and relevance in India and Pakistan, but with more importance at higher levels of society. It was also an "outside" language, and as such often seen as more important for boys. Many women had been taught English for two years but learned very little. Some women who had been at school for longer remembered their school English, and were glad that they had learned a bit as they felt that it helped when they came here: but for some of them too, it had seemed to have little relevance while they were at school.

Women's relation to English and ESL classes, by years of formal education

I decided to look at the women in four groups:

- (1) Women with no schooling or not more than three years (8 women).
- (2) Women with five, six, seven years of schooling (12 women).
- (3) Women with eight, nine, ten years of schooling (11 women).
- (4) Women who had gone college, to whatever level (11 women).

Table 64 N = 42						
<u>The women's experience of ESL by years of formal education</u>						
ESL experience:	at time of interview		previously			(TOTAL)
	school class	graded class	home tuition	to ESL class	not to ESL	
0 - 3 years	1	1	1	4	1	(8)
4 - 7 years	2	6	-	3	1	(12)
8 - 10 years	2	3	-	2	4	(11)
college	1	2	-	4	4	(11)

TOTAL to ESL: at time of interview 19; previously 13; never 10.

I made a difference between groups (2) and (3) at seven to eight years, because this seemed to mark the difference between women who had learned some English at school and women who had done no English at all. Women who had started doing English earlier, say in private schools, went on beyond six or seven years in any case. Ten years was usually the number of years before matriculation in Pakistan.

(1) Women with very little formal schooling

Eight of the women had less than three years schooling: seven of the women came from Pakistan, and one woman of 50 or more who went from Gujarat to Africa and now worked in a factory in England. The seven women from Pakistan who had had no schooling or very little, knew very little English indeed. All but one expressed a general appreciation of "all the things you could do if you could speak English". One woman said, for example, she could speak more to her doctor; one woman said she could speak more English when she went shopping. They had in common, however, low estimations of their own ability to learn English.

The older women, including one who went to a class and evidently wanted to learn, did not hope to learn much. The woman who went to a class said she found even Urdu hard, and did not understand much of what went on in the class. The younger women said it would be good to learn, but different people said it with different force. The Gujarati-East African woman said she understood English well, partly because she heard it regularly at work. However, she spoke little, and could not read or write. She had set out to learn English via ESL evening classes a few years previously but dropped out because it was a bit boring and she had lots of other work and family pressures. She managed with her little English day-to-day and had learned by the time I met her to cope with public transport which she needed to get across London to friends' houses before her family got a car. Her grandchild spoke English and she could understand and reply.

"Now my time is finished. Learning English is for the young ones."

Several women had been to classes run by a local Pakistani group. They had got involved because it was a local, social happening. When the classes stopped, two women (both in their 50s) had been offered home tutors. They had both tried to learn English this way for a short time, but without much real enthusiasm. In one household, the regular visits of the home tutor came to feel onerous, so she was asked to stop coming; home tuition had also come to an end in the other household.

The three women who had gone to ESL classes had gone along with their friends. One went irregularly. The other two had notable family problems and great loneliness at home, and had found classes which offered a strong sociable context. One had no husband; the other, a bad relationship with her husband, and no friends. Their problems had led them both to identify a specific usefulness to themselves of English - and the friendliness of other people at the class was itself an important factor.

"My only friends are the people at the class".

This gave a reason for continuing even at points when progress seemed slow or impossible.

(2) Women with primary schooling: five, six, seven years

None of these twelve women had any formal experience of English classes in their schools as children, and some of them attributed all the English they knew to ESL classes. Of the women I met who expressed positive feelings about ESL classes, most were in this group. Some said that they wanted more classes, some that classes were slow, but especially those who went to classes running four times a week had positive things to say about the class. The social aspect of the class was no doubt important also: for the women who were very happy with their ESL classes had friendly and supportive relationships with other students in the class. Most of these women expressed their interest in learning English in terms of the possibilities it offered them. Four women said they would be able to do more things alone if their English were better; seven women said they would be able to speak to neighbours; one hoped that she would not feel awkward at her children's school; and two said that the rest of the family spoke English so they wanted to, also. Indeed, only three women of the 42 gave reasons to learn English in terms of problems this might solve. These three (a) had all had ESL teaching; (b) all came from the two groups of women who had had little, or only primary, education. ESL teaching via "situations" and "problems" (ch 5) may have contributed to a focussing on problems that was not shared by the other women; in addition, it is for women with very little English that ESL classes have often catered.

(3) Women with eight, nine, ten years of education (in some cases up to matriculation)

In terms of the occupations of husbands and wives in these families there is little evident difference between the occupations of women with

no schooling, little schooling, or schooling up till ten years. Women who were in paid employment did homework, usually machining; husbands were factory workers or unemployed except for two who were working in shops and one who was a bus conductor. There seemed a reason, however, for making a distinction between groups (2) and (3), because the women in group (3) had all learned some English at school before coming to Britain. All could speak some English, though their confidence in using it varied. The type of reason they gave for learning English differed from that of group (2), for all could find ways of expressing themselves in most situations. They stressed the importance of learning English - "You need English for everything" - and wanted practice speaking. Their reasons were their ambitions for good, easy, fluent English - not for survival.

Of the five women of this group who went to ESL classes, only two expressed enthusiasm about the classes. Both of these went regularly to four-times-a-week classes, and felt they were making progress.

(4) College-educated middle-class women

Eleven of the women I spoke to had been to college. One had left college to marry, five had completed the Pakistani qualification F.A. (after two years' college), and five did degrees (B.A. or B.Sc., after four years). Nine were from Pakistan, two from Gujarat in India, and one went from Pakistan to Africa after she got married. This last woman, in her 50s, was older than the other women (who were in their twenties and thirties), and her oral English level, from her description of it, was poorer than that of the others. They all said that their understanding, reading and writing of English were very good, but their speaking was not so good, though they could manage day-to-day things well. One had been to English-medium school; but she described her English as only "OK", and wanted help with her English: she had been, in the past, to a school class. Two had been to English-medium college: they found problems speaking, and with the local accent and what they called "English without grammar". They had also been to ESL classes in the past.

By occupational class in Britain we would not have pulled these women together as a group. Many of the women were not employed, and those that were, one in an office and two in a factory, were employed below their previous qualifications. Of their (10) husbands, 4 had middle-class occupations (one worked in a community organisation, one in

an embassy, one in a business, one in a shop). One was in Pakistan. But one worked in a factory, and four were unemployed. Despite this apparent lack of social cohesiveness, what the women said about English and ESL seems fairly similar. The older woman was less keen than the others to learn English, although she said she liked the language, and would like to improve it, though not through ESL classes which she saw as low level. The younger women were extremely keen to improve their speaking, and for four of them it was a real priority.

However, only two of these women went to classes, and only one expressed enthusiasm about her class. She had attended ESL classes everywhere she had lived in Britain, and wanted more intensive classes to get on faster, although she felt short of time. The other said she also sought help with her English outside class and she only went to classes if she felt like it. Another woman hoped to go to classes, although her husband told her her English was fine. In contrast another woman who insisted that it was important to improve her English - "We should learn it, we live here"- did not expect that classes would help. Two women did not know of ordinary ESL classes, but had heard of the college foundation course (p144), and were considering applying for that in hope of a good job afterwards.

A further five women had sought out and been to classes (clearly in these cases for the sake of the English, not especially for the social contact), and had left, finding the classes of too low a level. They all said that they would want advanced level, probably conversation classes; and one more woman might want help with English but was doubtful about whether ESL classes could provide it. Thus of one group, who have sought out ESL and clearly want help with their English, half have found the present local provision unsuitable.

A gap is especially clear when we look at the differences between the way ESL teachers have characterised the need for the classes, and the reasons these women in particular gave for learning more English. They wanted practice to move on to fluency. Eight women had hopes for good jobs if they spoke English more fluently; while two others wanted to help their children with their school work. Day-to-day these women had few of the English language problems of complete beginners. Where ESL aimed only at "problems" and daily English at a very basic level, they were not included. In contrast with other areas of adult education where there were courses for people to improve skills they already have, such courses in English were not available even when they had identified

this as an area they wanted to improve - especially if they had small children and college courses, which had no creches, were not a possibility.

Conclusion: ESL and class

In relation to a course for young people, Ahir et al argue that:

"The temptation is to assume that by not attending the Course regularly, the students are making a statement solely about the course. This is far from the case; they may also be making statements about their personal lives (e.g. the relative priority to be accorded to their social life), or their views of the future of their generation (e.g. the pointlessness of working hard when there is no perceived future for them in employment)" (Ahir et al 1982 p17).

This chapter has also shown that not only ESL, but also learning English can be a small part of the lives of potential ESL students. The interviews, however, bring out further contrasts with the providers' model, not only in relation to the extent of the "need for English", but in relation to the curriculum of ESL itself (ch 8). One important contrast was to the centrality in ESL of notions of "need" and "problem". Apart from three women, who had all been to ESL classes (so were perhaps more likely to share ESL conceptions of the use and work of learning English), and who had clear, on-going crises in their lives, the women did not conceptualize the reason to learn English in terms of problems. What made most women say it would be good to learn English were the possibilities it would open up; learning the English language did not stand alone as either an aim or as an answer to problems: it was a rational decision in the context of the rest of their lives if women (i) prioritized the learning of English and/or (ii) went to ESL classes. We pointed out that (i) and (ii) were separate.

We found in the last chapter that interesting work, both in sociolinguistics/sociology of language on people's approach to "second languages", and in adult education on "motivation", notes class differences in people's relation to post-school formal education, and in their approach to learning languages. This seems borne out by these interviews, which indicate a difference in approach to English learning and ESL classes between working-class women with little formal education and very little English, and those, usually middle-class in origin, with more experience of both. Although the latter have more "educational capital" (Bourdieu 1973), however, our findings agreed with those of Hermann (p222), that more advanced students were likely to leave ESL

classes. While Saifullah Khan expected that people with a higher level of education were more likely to succeed at learning English formally (p213), this was not happening via ESL.

It seems that the ESL view of its potential students had more in common with the first group, who were beginners in English and thought in terms of a limited number of situations when they are likely to use English. Even then, the social atmosphere of the classes played as big a role in encouraging working-class women with little education to come, or to stay, as their progress in English; and though it was only women in this group whose reasons for learning English seemed to coincide with ESL formulations which discuss "problems", it was usually possibilities rather than problems that prompted women to come.

In the case of higher class women who were more educated, there seemed to be a substantial likelihood of disappointment with ESL classes, even where an interest in improving English had taken them to classes. Women with a strong background in formal education appeared to want classes, but found that the problem/situation formulation offered them little feeling of substantial progress towards the fluency they wanted. In Denton the emphasis on beginners' classes, and the paucity of graded and advanced classes, contrasted with the existence of a group of women who would seek out English classes, especially discussion classes, if at high enough level.

The most characteristic and original offering of ESL - "off-site" women's classes aimed largely at beginners - have then set themselves a particularly hard task. All else being equal, middle-class people with a fairly high level of previous formal education were the most likely to find out about and to attend adult education classes, yet these women were unlikely to be satisfied with the level or the amount of English tuition in once-a-week off-site classes. Off-site classes directed principally towards working-class bilingual women shared the fate of much education offered to working-class women more widely: take-up of the offer varied.

As I argue in chapter 1, concern with the education of working-class adults has taken one of two directions: on the one hand a concern with the forms and presentation of the "offered" education, in the hope that increased availability of adult education will increase the "take-up" by target groups; on the other hand a concern with content and the curriculum. Some "basic education" changes (outside ESL) have been

accused of trying to "edge in" a weak form of education in the hope that this will be more palatable to the working-class. Critics argue that much that is meaningful in education needs hard work (p358). In ESL, hard work has been to done to establish local, welcoming classes, and to prioritize the establishment of creches, so that women with children could come. In a patchwork fashion, a curriculum for ESL had grown up, which featured the "topics" and "situations" in which English was expected to be of use. However, those parts of the curriculum specifically developed for ESL had overwhelmingly focussed on people with low levels of English, which, especially when taught in courses of only two hours a week, were too slow and too slack for many people.

While students with less previous education were the ones for whom the classes (implicitly) were catering, these students blamed themselves and their own ability for their slow progress, and came only if the class gave them other satisfactions, such as providing a social meeting place, or support when they had particular problems. Many had other priorities than language learning, and other strategies than attending formal education. The classes, however, were most keenly sought out - in common with other sorts of adult education (p27) - by people with a higher level of formal education, who had more confidence in themselves, and blamed the classes rather than themselves when results were slow. Some classes were seen as "too easy" and some women (who did not find this) wanted advanced conversation practice. Maybe this would be one possibility for home tuition? Yet home tuition was aimed largely at beginners with obvious problems, and people could be categorised as "too good" for home tuition.

Learning a language properly is hard work, and time immersed in the target language is of importance, so classes organised on an infrequent basis are likely to lead to dissatisfaction in many cases regardless of the curriculum. It is clear that women's response to more frequent classes (here, four-times-a week) was altogether more positive: and such classes were usually full. However, the provision of numerous classes on a once-a-week basis linked to the emphasis on beginners, and to the effort to provide easily-available classes for working class women. While this did not satisfy the middle-class women who sought a rapid improvement in their English, this "soft", change-of-form option may not be enough for many working-class bilingual students, either. While attempting to meet them half-way with convenient classes and a curriculum that seems to provide reasons to persuade them to learn, in

many cases it did not provide enough class time to help women to learn effectively, while the message of its beginner-level "coping" curriculum devalued both their survival strategies in Britain and their ability to learn English.

A further issue of class, which related to the aims of ESL and the aims of "training", is the non-recognition of the qualifications of highly educated middle-class women who trained in the subcontinent. The desire to train more was mentioned only by women of this group (among the 42) who wished to be able to work at a higher level than "labour jobs". For them, perhaps, the substance of ESL classes or the substance of a given training course, were worth less than the possibility of meeting their previous expectations at work.

In a sense the shift of emphasis in ESL from welfare to education might be seen as a shift of attention from concentrating on problems to possibilities. But in fact, it is to a particular image of what possibilities there are, and how they can be realized, that ESL was moving. The possibilities envisaged were of training and (less so) of work. Of these 42 women, few were hopeful of jobs via training, though others might be persuaded to try. Most, in fact, were busy with children, and the luxury of learning for leisure just was not on the cards. Thus it seemed that the move from welfare to education was on the whole leaving these women behind. In both models, ESL providers defined from outside the reasons to teach English; first, for welfare, problem-solving reasons; more recently to move students on to a further stage of education or training. Yet some potential students clearly wanted to learn more English and to decide for themselves what it was for; and unless ESL classes offered substantial rewards - say, friendships - then regardless of teachers' preoccupations with students' work-seeking, system-coping, other problems - students were not likely to stay if their approach to that desired category seemed hardly possible or too slow.

In relation to the question posed in chapter 6 about the relative importance of personal factors, the importance of English or the classes' messages, the implication of this discussion is that all three are important. Gender underlines the importance of factors at home and women's conception of what is possible for them. Social class and past

formal education are important too, and relate with gender to women's use of English and strategies for learning it or avoiding it. But it appears that the curriculum and messages given by classes are also important in forming potential students' approaches to ESL provision.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS: ESL AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Introduction: a crisis in ESL

The purpose of my research has been to examine the development of ESL as a distinct discipline from the period of its inception until the mid-1980s, when it appeared to be well on the way to its constitution as and acceptance as a separate discipline within education. As part of this process I looked at its development in one borough in the London region, and paid particular attention to the ideas and views of teachers who, in the light of my data, were undergoing a transition from what could best be described as voluntary workers to professionals. I also looked at the views of a group of potential students - women of South Asian origin - because, although their ideas and concepts came into conflict with the received wisdom of ESL, they had not hitherto been studied as a group in relation to ESL.

In the chapters above I have presented conclusions concerning these areas. Additionally, I was able to comment on the relationship between struggles over the curriculum and, on the one hand, teachers' professionalisation; and, on the other, outside social aims and social forces. This was largely following the path charted by people like Goodson.

It became clear that in the solidification of ESL, pressures from a plurality of groups were producing a crisis of direction. These pressures were clearly expressed by the new professionals' rejection of the welfare motivations that had characterised the early ESL initiatives, and the struggle between assimilationism and a discourse of bilingualism. However, our examination of ESL has shown that early concepts of the field continued to be important in ESL in 1984-5. A consideration of the approaches to ESL by some potential students suggests a further tension, with the provision aimed implicitly at beginners, but sought out more eagerly by potential students with higher levels of education, and often, also, of English.

Though early ESL initiatives had an excitement and confidence evident in the textbooks (Jupp and Hodlin 1975, Nicholls and Naish 1981), and there was at first a

"remarkable consensus... on who the client group was...[and on]...how their need should be met" (Rosenberg 1984 p99), these were replaced by an uncertainty, and a new search for justification, in the 1980s. Some teachers began to share with school ESL teachers a dismay:

"Instead of the ESL teacher being a cultural and linguistic catalyst for the ethnic minority child's acceptance into the larger society, he or she is instead embattled and ineffectual, perhaps even regarded by the children as one of society's barriers to acceptance, and, as such, a target for hostility" (Garton 1980).

The new subject organisation, NATESLA, whose extension of membership to community language teachers (p95) and title-change to NATECLA indicated the upheaval within it, had as its newsletter headline in 1989, "Whither away NATECLA - or wither away?" (NNews 24 p1). Calls for ESL teachers to "work ourselves out of a job" (Forster 1984), however, coincided with the establishment and professionalisation of ESL.

My purpose in this chapter is to draw on areas explored earlier in the thesis, to show that beyond this overt crisis, a covert crisis lay in the contradiction between the radical impetus of some ESL teachers and the professionalisation of ESL in the context of social inequality, which means that themes of social control must be explored in relation to ESL. My findings relate to the sociological consideration of the development of subjects as well as to issues of class, racism and sexism.

THE OVERT CRISIS

In this first section, the overtly competing discourses of ESL are examined. They are shown to be inadequate as a conception of the work of ESL; to link to the attempt to professionalise ESL; and to have social control implications. This relates to our discussion in chapter 1.

The discourse of the "need for English"

Early ESL initiatives found the reason for ESL straightforward: it resided in the "need for English" attributed to migrants by welfare and professional workers, journalists and politicians, and accepted as common sense in a public climate of unchallenged assimilationism. The

"need for English" served to give justification to ESL schemes, and to locate them loosely within what I have called a welfare framework (ch 2). People of South Asian origin were the expected student group, seen to be "culturally enclosed" (Smith 1976 p37); and, among them, women in particular were seen to have 'poor English'. For both men and women, poor English was seen as a handicap which prevented their full or equal participation in wider society. "Language needs" became an explanation for the other problems experienced by migrants: the reason why women were

"cut off from the enjoyment of their full rights and participation in their children's education, or from playing any role in the community at large" (CRC 1982),

and why families suffered:

"...a group is restricted by language needs from developing the 'coping' and 'life' skills which are needed to function competently in society, and divisive of families as failure to meet the language needs of adults compounds the 'generation gap' problems faced by some minority group families who may have difficulties in reconciling the different cultures of home and school and work" (Little and al 1982).

Moreover, "lack of English" was used as an explanation for migrants' low wages:

"Because of this, they are usually relegated to occupations that require minimal skills" (Harper 1982).

It has been suggested that throughout education, the concept of students' "need" became important in the 1960s, used (together with concepts of "ability" and "interest") to replace old notions of fixed intelligence. CCCS suggest that the term was also used to link the "needs" of industry to education (CCCS 1981 p21). In adult education, the use of the term "need" in relation to students took off in the 1970s, which saw a new concern with the working-class. The Community Development Programme (CDP) linked adult education to community work and the social services sector, all intended to help those in "need". The use of this concept must be examined.

Discussion within adult education has usually been uncritical of the concept of "need", which, as in ESL (p90) has often been used for the "needs" attributed to students by AE providers. Though Lees and McGrath tried to distinguish other types of needs - they differentiated students' prescribed needs, expressed needs and felt needs (1974), Early has shown that in any case the use of "need" does not solve teachers' problems of what to teach (1981). In fact, the concept of objective needs does not bear much scrutiny:

"needs are not 'objective and observable entities existing out there in the real world' but are partly created by the adult educator himself through a process of prescription or ascription" (Fordham et al 1979 pp27-8).

It is important to consider why adult education has expressed its ideas of what to teach in terms of "need". Wiltshire has pointed out that "need" is a "premature ultimate". Once you have claimed there is a need for something, little challenge follows. "Why provide X?" - "It is needed" (1973, quoted by Brookfield 1983 p128). Armstrong has argued that the analysis of need should be seen as part of the self-protecting discourse of vulnerable "professionals" in the two fields of social work and adult education (cf Gouldner 1969). These services, he argues construct a justification for their own work via an identification of a supposed problem or "deficit" in the people they expect to be clients, and a supposed cure in the work of the service providers, who claim to be "experts" or "professionals" (cf. Illich 1977). He suggests that the reason for justifying the work by suggesting a "need" on the part of potential students or clients is the organisation's own vulnerability to attack, for example from financial cuts.

"'meeting needs' is merely a defensive slogan, propagated to protect areas of work and expertise, and particularly to justify the claim for increasingly scarce resources" (Armstrong 1982 p24).

It can be argued, then, that the concept of "need" is paternalistic language arising in a profession's self-defence (McKnight 1977 cited by Jarvis 1985). Its prevalence in adult education could then be said to relate to its marginal, non-statutory position in the education system - particularly outside its involvement in government training schemes.

Keddie's work explores the significance of the use of the concept. She links the use of "need" in adult education to an individualistic methodology which

"separates the problems presented by individuals from the social and political order which creates these problems" (Keddie 1980 p57).

In literacy schemes, for example, individuals' "needs" are laid out without reference to the failure of the school system; and the curriculum does not give students a wider understanding of social and political institutions. Keddie is not concerned with the justifications that "need" provides for adult education, but with the implications of interpreting individual needs

"within the cultural bias of individual achievement and middle-class life-styles, and if the only alternative is predicated upon the individualisation of failure. The issue is not whether individuals have needs or whether they should be met but how those needs are

socially and politically constituted and understood, how they are articulated and whose voice is heard"(op. cit.).

Within adult education there have been attempts to abandon the language of "needs". Newman suggests that adult educators should attempt to identify "demands", not "needs":

"identifying needs can easily imply condescension. The outside agency, the 'expert' is brought in or comes in uninvited to discern and then inform the needy of what they lack. The possibility of the needy being able to speak up for themselves may not always be considered" (Newman 1979 pp144-5).

Instead, he suggests, courses should be a response to what people want to do. However, there are some immediate problems with his own analysis of "demand". Of particular relevance to us is the example he gives of an ESL class that he said was "demanded". In fact, his rather patronising account -

"those Indians the school helper shepherded in on the first evening had been waiting quietly at home for someone to come and fetch them" (op. cit. pp33ff) -

shows that ESL classes were demanded not by potential students, but by a headteacher, who, on our own account, may have wanted the class in her school for her own professional reasons.

Further, just as there is no pure "need", so there can be no pure "demand". The adult educator is involved in creating demand - for example through outreach - and also in choosing what type of "demands" are seen to be "educational", relevant or important. ESL, for example, is equipped to serve one particular sort of "demand" (for English teaching). An adult education institute cannot bypass the question of why it has chosen to give the course it does by saying that its clients asked it to.

Armstrong suggests instead an analysis of clients' "interest". It means that an institution must decide for itself what it thinks students' "interest" is; and it means an alignment of the institution for or against the given relations and distribution of power. He says that this is not more "objective", but faces the question why the institution responds to certain perceived demands or needs and not others.

Need for English

The fact that ESL has been so particularly preoccupied with the concept of "need" underlines again its relation to welfare, with its double facets of philanthropy and control. In the area of ESL, the "need for English" linked to a picture of disadvantaged bilingual

people. The "need for English" was so "common sense" (p50) an assumption, that the usefulness of ESL could be demonstrated by pointing to statistics of adults with little English. Bhatti suggested that about 85% of South Asian women had no effective English and were therefore threatened with "a half-life in Britain" (Bhatti 1976). The influential Political and Economic Planning report of 1976 suggested that

"someone who speaks English only slightly or not at all cannot be well adapted to life in Britain, and it must therefore be a source of considerable concern that as many as 3/4 of Pakistani men and 2/5 of Pakistani women suffer from such a disadvantage" (Smith 1976 p44).

In 1978, the CRE estimated that more than 200,000 adults in Britain could speak English only slightly or not at all (ACACE 1979). For NATESLA, Merryweather (1981) estimated that about half of the estimated 1 million adults in Britain "for whom English is a second language" could use help.

Early arguments for their work used by ESL practitioners were uncritically assimilationist, on Saifullah Khan's definition:

"propos[ing] that the necessary skills required to participate fully in society are those of the dominant culture and language" (Saifullah Khan 1981, quoted in Baynham 1982a).

For example, it was

"obvious that everyone in Britain today needs certain skills in English if they are to have any prospects in education and in employment, to have access to the social services, and to participate in many aspects of community life" (Davies and Jupp 1976).

The assimilationist perception saw the speaking of other languages than English (in particular non-European languages) as a problem not only for migrants, but also for white society.

"Hence, the introduction of a series of socialisation programmes such as language, health, and general education classes: the basic aim of which was to teach black people English lifestyles and cultural habits in order to make them more acceptable to white society" (Parmar 1981 p22).

Though the early efforts of ESL were poorly funded and felt marginal to both welfare and education provision, it can be argued that in sharing and developing the discourse of the "need for English", these efforts were in the mainstream of 'race relations' efforts in the early 1970s, and reflected an effort to construct issues of race in terms, not of power, economics, or politics, but precisely of culture and language. Mullard describes a CRC conference on education at which he was the only

black person present: and tried to put forward other considerations - but

"the white delegates politely ignored me and concentrated on their perception of the so-called "immigrant problem" - linguistic difficulties and the provision of instruction in English for immigrants" (Mullard 1973 p157).

Though ESL found justification for its existence in the "need for English", there were sometimes problems demonstrating that need. Chapter 7 suggests that potential students had competing preoccupations. Even in 1977, Laylin noted "you always get someone who comes out with 'But they don't NEED English!'" (Laylin 1977 p33). In consequence, there were attempts to motivate students in the classroom - though none went as far as the U.S. recommendation - if a student says he doesn't need English, get his boss to tell him he needs more (CFAL 1976)! ESL attempted not only to help migrants learn English, but to persuade them to do so:

"In the long term interests of the wider community, it is extremely vital to adopt a positive attitude to support policies which would encourage people with low motivation to become aware of effective communication without destroying their cultural values" (Dhasmana 1983 p13).

The discourse of the "need for English" links to the welfare origins of ESL that we traced in chapters 2 and 5. If migrants need English, then English classes are on their behalf. The welfare effort which concentrates on language, however, contrives to forget the other aspects of inequality: those that do not lie in the skills of the migrants but within the racist power structures of the white society. The teaching of English may be regarded as in the interests of an assimilating white society:

"Teaching migrant workers and their families the language of their host country is regarded as the most direct and indispensable means if their adaptation to, or integration in, that country's community life" (Stock and Howell 1976 p117).

The picture of Asian women suffering at the hands of their families who won't encourage them to learn English has obscured the reasons for migrants having particular types of manual jobs with low pay, and living in particular areas. For example, Anwar could not put the "incapsulation" of Pakistani people down to language. Racism, discrimination and unfriendliness by white English-speaking employers, landlords, and local people had much to do with it. Islam also stressed the lack of social contact with English speakers:

"I did not come across a single instance where a member of the indigenous population was paying a social visit to the house of a

Bengali fellow worker. Nor did the Bengalis visit indigenous friends or neighbours" (Islam 1976 p338).

With regard to employment, Phizacklea says:

"Much is made of migrant women's 'language deficiencies', 'cultural preference' and 'lack of recognized skills' in exploring migrant women's subordinate position in the labour market... but it must be recognized that such 'disadvantages' are used as tools for exploitation, not just by indigenous employers but by male migrant entrepreneurs as well" (Phizacklea 1983a p3).

It is arguable also that Asians who speak good English notice racism against themselves in employment opportunities even more clearly than those who do not: their qualifications may be directly comparable to white people who get better jobs (Hiro 1971 p114; CRC 1977). In this case clearly "linguistic handicap" cannot be used to explain away racism.

The discourse of bilingualism

In chapter 1 we discussed how the aim of "assimilation" was challenged, and notions of "pluralism" and "multiculturalism" came into use among academics (eg Mooneeram 1970, Tsow 1980). Language, however, remained central; and an argument developed that replaced the centrality of English teaching with an awareness of other languages - and emphasis on "bilingualism" (ch 3). Though individual English-speakers had previously set out to learn other languages for use in Britain (TES 1962), other languages were now more widely recognised, enumerated (Rosen and Burgess 1980, ILEA 1983a, Alladina 1985, LMP/LINC 1983), and strategies other than teaching English were suggested - the provision of interpreters, for example (Shackman 1984) - to deal with a plurality of languages. As with multiculturalism as a whole, so promoters of bilingualism are not "a single entity" (Green 1982). In its weakest form, the discourse of bilingualism replaces the notion of "speaking other languages as a problem" by "bilingualism as a skill": realising that the assimilationist position limits people, and urging an acknowledgement of their experience - an extension of tolerance, not suppression. However

"tolerance can only be extended by those who are in power and it is often nothing but another means of protecting that power" (Spender 1980 p104).

Critics have also cast suspicion on moves within the EEC to allow migrants to develop their own languages (EEC 1977): Castles, for example, arguing that this is intended as a means of keeping migrants an "underclass", ready for return (1980).

In a stronger form, the discourse of bilingualism stresses the relation of language and power. For example, Saifullah Khan argues that in Britain race and the power inequalities associated with it have been looked at almost exclusively around a divide based on "colour", while other forms of discrimination have been ignored (1983 p116). Specifically, she argues, notice needs to be taken firstly of discrimination through language - the "conceptual colonisation" of the "dominant language": "the language of the powerful, the dominant group in society" (her p114).

"The dominant language not only expresses many values and assumptions; it is also a means to reproduce them with the support of dominant institutions such as the media and the school system" (op. cit. p117);

Secondly, she discusses "discrimination on the basis of language", whereby speakers of other languages are unequal in access to power in relation to speakers of a dominant language. Bilingualism in more radical form suggests that changing the relationship between languages changes the society.

In ESL, too, organisers (especially in ILEA), and NATESLA members criticised the old "deficit model" (Jupp and Roberts 1982) and were influenced by the pluralist perspective. The discourse of bilingualism asserted that ignoring other people's languages (the "monolingual perspective") was racist. In contrast, the aim was to introduce students' other languages and also bilingual teachers into the ESL classroom. In addition, rather than focussing on the "deficit" (English), students were to be encouraged into the "mainstream" of education, to learn English while they continued with their education in other fields. There were attempts to make other parts of education open to bilingual students (Bagchi 1988; conferences aimed at "subject teachers" in ILEA, eg "Bilingual students and adult education", 10/5/85).

Even in the absence of major pressure for bilingual education in Britain and with only token "mother tongue" classes, the implication of the discourse was to dislodge the previous certainty and unchallenged position of ESL. Firstly, the "need for English" came to be seen as qualified. Secondly, arguments for "mainstreaming" unseated the confident "subject" status ESL had been taking on, so that practitioners - while continuing with ESL - began almost to apologize for its continuation: or assert that, really, ESL was not a "subject" (p115) - but followed where it was "needed". Though chapter 5 showed the limited

effects of the bilingualism discourse in Denton, it was the major challenge to the discourse of the "need for English".

However, the relation of language and power needs to be explored more widely than the bilingualism perspective offers. Assimilationism emphasises language difference as a problem: and though "bilingualism" aims to rectify this, seeing different languages as a resource, in fact this discourse reiterates the primary importance of languages, and beyond them cultures. Bourdieu (1971) has pointed out that when two groups argue over one issue, at a fundamental level they can be agreeing, because they accept that this issue is the problem. Both assimilationist and "bilingualist" ESL apply a "missionary zeal" to language teaching, seeing language/culture as the crucial cause of problems between people; and also as the cure.

Ben-Tovim and Gabriel suggest that the basic idea behind these language training initiatives is the race/ethnicity "tradition", which they call "the hallmark of the race relations 'think tank' in the late 1960s and early 1970s" (1982 p62). They isolate as the main arguments of this tradition: (1) that there are no such things as "races"; (2) that "culture" (with its many labels: "ethnic group", "ethnic minority", "caste", "ethnicity") is of the greatest importance; therefore (3) that race problems arise either from cultural discrepancies between groups, including debilitating effects of minority group culture; or from the effects of discrimination which place ethnic minority groups at an especial advantage.

"Policy recommendations, very much part of this tradition, reflected the preoccupation with the various forms of cultural relationship... while attitude tests became the principal means of their measurement" (p63).

In this tradition, both assimilationism and bilingualism share an emphasis on race, but deal with it inadequately because they do not discuss other societal inequalities.

These inequalities are pointed to by any discussion of languages in the context of power. Some have recently used the term "linguagism" to describe a hierarchy between different languages, so that some languages (eg European ones) give their speakers more status than do other languages. Such a hierarchy is due not solely to "status", but also to the economic and political power of the speakers of north-west European languages in relation to speakers of non-European languages. English is not merely the dominant language, but "the language associated with the means of production" in Britain (Fishman 1970 p86). The huge

profitability of the EFL industry (Butler 1988) is due to UK and then US imperialist history and economic power. Although the more radical impetus towards "bilingualism" in ESL is important in addressing inequalities of language and relating them to power, it stops short of examining how English and other languages in Britain fit into a society that is structurally unequal, where we have to consider class, gender and race. Firstly - without recourse to the concept of "need" - it must be acknowledged that a proper grasp of the dominant language is a great advantage. Secondly, our own work (p270) seems to support suggestions that cultural pluralism does not appeal to all bilingual people, but to those

"who are already strongly enough positioned to imagine that permanent minority status might be advantageous" (Higham quoted in Drake 1979 p226),

This suggests, again, that an important aspect of the "economic and social value of the languages to their speakers" (LMP 1983b p1) is their social class. If this is so, moves to increase the opportunities of bilingual students cannot be limited to an acknowledgement of their other languages, but, following the arguments above, require an examination of the curriculum.

"Bilingualist" practice can be pursued from a number of motives, including, we suggest, teachers' own career ambitions, and can be incorporated into substantially different curricula. Baynham in 1988 seemed the sole voice to refer to the work of Freire, citing the importance of the students' own experience as the basis for teaching against domination (Baynham 1988). He argues that bilingual teachers are needed to set up a dialogue (his p6) although he later appears to contradict himself by denying that bilingual approaches are necessary for a liberating, non-domesticating approach to English teaching. Notions of liberal education, anti-racist education, or critical education could all require bilingual approaches to ESL teaching. The employment of black and bilingual teachers has an important effect on the hidden curriculum, and can mean starting language education from the perspective of the student. It does not, however, tackle the question of content: does the teaching promote critical thought, or does it still "domesticate" as it "helps people come to terms with a new culture" (Majid 1982 p32)?

Black critiques of ESL

In 1984-5 the issue of racism created the field for most of the overt politics in ESL. Some black critiques of education were taken to ESL by NATESLA activists. In addition, there were critiques of English itself, which did not become so well-known.

The (academic) year of my fieldwork coincided partly with the (calendar) Anti-Racist Year declared by the Greater London Council. "Municipal anti-racism" had added to previous concerns with attitudes, the concept of "institutional racism" (Troyna and Williams 1986; here, ch 1). In ILEA, an interest in "multi-ethnic education" led to demands for schools and colleges to develop "anti-racist" policies. The ILEA began in the 1970s to consider "multi-ethnic education" in its schools and colleges, and in 1983 produced five major policy documents on "Race, Sex and Class" (ILEA 1983b) as well as guidelines on student admission, staff recruitment and training. Curriculum content began to be considered (Mullard 1984). New posts were made available in areas close to ESL:

"language support... numbers of courses designed for second language learners, and... access courses to facilitate alternative entry to higher education for adults and others"(Sargent and Luthra 1984 p37).

Moves were made to go beyond multicultural education to "anti-racist" approaches (Chatwin 1985). In NATFHE (the relevant trade union for ESL teachers), previous efforts to promote multicultural education and involvement in anti-fascist bodies such as the Anti-Nazi League (NATFHE Journal 1985 p6) gave way to a concern with "institutional racism". The union conferences discussed the "relationship between purely multicultural and wider anti-racist initiatives" (Barnett 1984) Pressure was put by NATFHE for in-service training on "racism awareness" to go alongside multicultural education (NATFHE 1984). The London teachers' anti-racist campaign ALTARF linked a call for the

"right to the advantages of bilingualism, with all this implies for self-confidence, esteem, and overall academic and intellectual development" (Medcraft 1984 p149),

and a belief that multiculturalism could affect the hidden curriculum in an anti-racist direction, to a rejection of "the de-politicisation of racism through multi-cultural education" (op.cit. p85), and call for anti-racism in context, control and content of what is taught (Francis 1984). There was a call for explicit anti-racist politics within ESL (ch 3).

While black activists within ESL pointed out the small extent to which even the discourse of bilingualism had taken root, criticisms from beyond ESL were directed at the form the new anti-racist concerns in education were taking. Troyna and Williams suggest that

"as they are currently constituted, antiracist education policies do not represent such a radical break with the past as policy-makers would have us believe" (p77).

Criticisms also followed the moves to "racism awareness": that it did not effectively uproot racism in the people who attended courses, but that they felt they had learned and changed and were now "all right". Also, even if such courses worked as effective consciousness raisers for the participants, the approach was irredeemably individual, and concentrated on racism at the level of attitude, or racist practices as arising from attitudes (Sivanandan 1985, 1988, LAR 1987).

Beyond ESL there were also criticisms of ESL itself. An ex-student wrote a scathing report of her experiences as an ESL student (Leili 1982). Her particular teacher had taught "respect for the upper classes" (refusal to consider other varieties than standard English), "sexist norms" (he had taught men and women to have different approaches to pronouncing "h"s!) and had, in what she thought was "a typical 'teach racism' class" asked students to discuss their countries' racism against neighbouring countries, refusing to "discuss politics" or racism against black people in Britain. Leili objected to the patronising assimilationism within which she felt classes were conceived:

"Logically I could not expect many millions to learn my language in order to communicate with me. But while I saw a "logic" in the procedure, my teachers saw it as a "natural" necessity and a divine rule. To them we were just foreign students. And foreign students meant a bunch of people who not only needed to learn the English language but needed to learn the dominant cultural norms of the country too. This was the only path to civilisation. They totally dismissed our culture, our language and ignored our linguistic skills."

Avtar Brah also criticised the "deficit model" and "missionary approach" of ESL. She called for English-teaching to be grounded in the social and political context of Asians and other students (Brah 1984).

In 1985, Mukherjee wrote an attack on ESL which is important despite a confusion as to when he is talking of school E2L - "our children" - and when of ESL - "NATESLA". He calls ESL "An Imported New Empire", and his criticisms would not be satisfied by a pluralist stance. ESL, he argues, is situated in a continuity of racist assumptions and practices from the old empire onwards: teachers, possessive

of their students ("my reception class, my children, my mission", his pp14-15) teach second-rate language with a "puerile structure of content". They aim to deflect conflict: and at most to equip ESL students with English to take part in the workforce. He calls ESL "the political arm of standard English" (p13).

Mukherjee argues that there are parallels between the criminalization of blacks,

"constructed through generating moral panic by homing in on 'black muggers', then broadening it to the 'law and order' issue, and followed by legislation and coercive policing" (op. cit. p12; cf Hall 1978)

and

"the Birth (sic) of ESL and the location of our children as 'problems' in the education system and throughout the caring professions" (p13).

He argues that ESL arose from the creation of an educational panic as a way of controlling, assimilating, and suppressing black children and adults.

"It is this matrix of contemporary and historical power relationships which has created in ESL an elite corps of 'missionaries' with the power to reform and reshape, to manage, control and marginalize an imported 'new empire'" (p13).

Mukherjee rejects the move to "bilingualism" - "the latest funding fashion" - as merely an adaptation of ESL's attempt to control black people:

"is a cover-up for the massive failure of ESL, a 'new initiative' to appropriate our strength and our means of collective transmission by using our languages to try and mould us yet again to 'whiteness'. The Institutionalisation of our languages within a white framework to depoliticize our language of revolt and thereby the politics of our very survival. The sequencing is simple enough to understand; absorb the 'deviant' culture and hijack its strength in order to neutralize the struggle and conflict" (p10).

The conference at which this paper by Mukherjee was given was attended also by Ralph Russell, white Urdu scholar, and teacher of the Urdu language. Although Russell is not concerned with ESL in particular, criticisms of "white experts" stimulated Russell to write a critique of Mukherjee's premises from his own, "radical... revolutionary" standpoint. Russell firstly agrees with what he sees as the argument of the conference:

"That the white establishment, and white society at large, is racist... That in the early days of Asian settlement, the all but universal demand made of the settlers was that they should become, in effect, brown English... That constant and continuing changes of terminology used in reference to the education of children (and adults) of South Asian origin may only apparently indicate better

and more positive attitudes, and can very well serve as a cover for the perpetuation of the old attitudes unchanged" (Russell 1985 p8).

However, he argues that despite "heights of fiery vagueness" (his p10), Mukherjee takes this argument no further. Secondly, Russell demands more practical suggestions, believing that wide generalisations are radical only in appearance.

"The kind of radical whose every criticism of the white establishment is the fundamental one, and who never embarrasses its henchmen by demanding and organising active pressure for concrete changes here and now, constitutes no real threat to them and affords them the opportunity to parade their open-mindedness in actually employing such people to attack them" (op. cit. p9).

He relates such arguments to the class position of the South Asian radicals: upper-class, English-medium educated, distant from their "communities". Although, he says, white English radicals become "guilty" and self-chastising when the demands of the "communities" are represented to them by middle-class South Asians (his p11), there are bases on which white and black could unite against both racism and other forms of exploitation, for neither "white" nor "black" constitute uniform wholes. Among the South Asian "communities", he suggests, there are people of peasant origin and of upper-class origin; some are radical; some are deeply conservative.

"What are these attitudes? Not one, but many, not uniformly progressive nor uniformly reactionary, but a complex mixture of both. In other words - surprise, surprise - people of South Asian origin are in this respect like people anywhere else, for no national group has ever yet existed in which there were not different individuals and different classes and groups holding differing, and often sharply conflicting views" (op. cit. pp17-18).

Like Mukherjee, we argue that it is important to see ESL in historical context; and that its assimilationist focus on language is linked to a displacement of problems, and thus of control (though unlike Mukherjee we have found the roots of adult ESL separate from those in schools, rooted not in educational panic but in welfare and race relations initiatives). Both Leili and Mukherjee accuse ESL of having a patronising, possessive "missionary" attitude. Mukherjee sees "second-class" teaching which limits the students' progress as an attempt to control the students. Like Mukherjee, who believes that "ESL has reached a point of exhaustion and saturation" (his p14) we have argued that ESL is at a point of crisis, with its previous certainties called into question. In relation to Russell's call for practical suggestions, we would defend the necessity to theorize, and the usefulness of a first public critique of ESL being offered on broad lines.

Nevertheless, there are problems with Mukherjee's formulation. What is he saying are the aims of ESL? When he talks of "the massive failure" of ESL (p11), we expect him to be pointing to the evidence that the attempt to assimilate blacks and prevent unrest has not succeeded (the continuing fight-back of pupils; black organisation, etc). However, Mukherjee is talking of "the fact of sustained linguistic inequality" (p11), and cites as a failure of ESL, school pupils' descriptions of their failure to learn English:

"The National Front and the police and the streets of Southall taught me far more English than the years in a reception centre" (quoted by Mukherjee p14).

In the context of his wider argument, that the attempt to reduce linguistic inequality is to be understood as ESL's own deluded view of its work, whereas its real contribution is to control - i.e. to sustain inequality - why is the failure to teach English a failure (or indeed a success) of ESL at all, for Mukherjee? On his own argument, teaching English badly could be a success, sustaining inequality; or irrelevant, as the real messages of ESL are elsewhere.

Secondly, there are ambiguities in his view of the role of English and other languages in Britain in relation to power. Why, on his argument, was English teaching picked for this social control project? ESL becomes for him the prime example of this racist approach: such that when the Asian Mother and Baby campaign is pulled apart for its racism, its very parallel to ESL is a clinching argument (Mukherjee and Kanji 1985).

He calls bilingualism a new attempt "to depoliticize our language of revolt and thereby the politics of our very survival" (p10). Yet, is he equating the "language of revolt" with Bengali, and other South Asian (and other) languages, while writing a radical paper in English? How does he actually see the different languages fitting together? Or, as he talks in the singular of "our language of revolt", does this lie in the framework of thought rather than in particular languages? Also if this "language of revolt" is language, not languages, does it matter which of the latter are taught to children or to adults?

There are two possible meanings when Mukherjee argues that

"ESL and its political orientation has destabilised the motivation of our children to learn the most important language - the language of power" (p12).

In a context where English is a language of the West and particularly the language of America, English could be called "the language of

power". Is he calling for improved English teaching for black children? Or is he calling for children (and/or adults?) to gain an awareness of power relations in this society (cf p351)? There are some suggestions that this is what Mukherjee means by the "language of power", for he contrasts ESL's "puerile structure of content" not only to "transmission of skills" but to "critical understanding of concepts" (p13); and wants to

"take on board... a multidimensional and structural approach of thinking... to expose social and political contradiction between imposed domination and control, on the one hand, and the language of 'sweetness and light' (the mission of the middle class on the other... to take up key anti-racist concepts, such as power and powerlessness, identity and rootlessness, equality and justice..." (pp16-17).

If this is his meaning, schools and post-school education should teach critical thinking in an anti-racist context. ESL is a failure because it tries to suppress critical thought, and has not managed to do so entirely. But one can argue that other areas of education also suppress critical thinking: perhaps ESL has its specificity only in being the main educational field specifically to deal with black children and adults of South Asian origin (In relation to people of Afro-Caribbean people, ESN schools are relevant. Coard 1971).

Thirdly, the sweeping approach to ESL presents it as monolithic, in contrast to this thesis, which finds evidence to support many of Mukherjee's contentions, but also struggles and unevennesses. Mukherjee presents the move to "bilingualism" as a uniform, monolithic next step; but we have found different approaches within ESL.

What is his attitude to the teaching of English independent of the historical growth of ESL? Are classes needed? Does he mean that it is possible for ESL to take on anti-racism, or is it really not possible? To be anti-racist, should ESL self-denigrate (as it has done), attempt to busy itself in other subject-led content, as in "language support"? Mukherjee argues that the only option is to take a strong anti-racist position -

"'NATESLA' and 'RSA', the symbols of white power, 'sandbagged' between the culture of fear and revolt, have to take on board the politics of race..."

- yet he denies its possibility:

"Anti-racist discourse is inaccessible to ESL, for it is imprisoned within a racist construct and terminology" (p16).

Or is it possible to argue that English, here, is a language of power

which must be accessible to speakers of other languages, and in that context, to attempt to reform the curriculum?

Together with Mukherjee, we want to discuss imbalances of power (not only of attitude). Together with Russell, we argue, below, that this must include not only the relation of languages to each other, and race, but also class and gender.

PROFESSIONALISM AND THE COVERT CRISIS

This section of the chapter examines the impact of the professionalisation of ESL on ESL's hidden curriculum, and argues the need for a critical curriculum.

The thesis argues that ESL for bilingual people has not arisen simply as a "response to their language needs", as its providers have claimed (Rosenberg and Hallgarten 1985 p131), but as a result of a constellation of perceptions and material interests. ESL differs from other subjects in having no direct upward link into the universities, and in having its proponents deny that it is a subject (p115). Yet it has funding, career routes, and claims that it is a "specialism".

The argument that ESL is not a real subject gains support from Bernstein's consideration of the pattern of academic subjects, arranged in a hierarchy with "ultimate mysteries" revealed only at academic levels; a possible progression upwards to academia within the subject; and "subject loyalty" on the part of students (1971). In contrast, ESL does not have an academic progression; its paucity of textbooks illustrate low finance and low status; and, apart from the RSA Profile (p104), it is not examinable.

However, there is a case for arguing that a subject is constructed not because of its internal "area of knowledge", but because a social movement can gain a constituency to support the approach to the world or to "knowledge" that is being put forward (ch 1). Hammersley (1984) suggests a progression in the development of a subject from utilitarian preoccupations, through pedagogic and to academic preoccupations. This bears a resemblance to what appears to have been happening in ESL. Chapter 2 discussed its origins, with their practical aims; while issues of aim and method (pedagogic considerations) were discussed in chapter 3. Though ESL departments of academic institutions include those who claim that ESL is not an examinable school subject but a "servicing subject" (Ellis 1985 p2), these ESL academics exist. The 1980s have

seen ESL research projects (eg Hallgarten and Rostworowska 1985, Evans 1986), and ESL personnel moving into academic posts (Rosenberg; Baynham). The subject association describes itself as a professional association (NATESLA 1985-6, back cover); claims that its teachers are highly-trained experts (NATESLA 1982 pp29,40,50); and celebrates recognition of a permanent place in adult education by a junior education minister (NNews 11 p1).

Though not an academic subject oriented to academic status via the universities, ESL has been fitting into the education structures as a basic education subject, oriented to recognition by funding bodies with an interest in training. The top of the ESL hierarchy appears to lie in the education authorities and in the inspectorate, where theoretical debate about ESL has had room to develop (Naish 1985, Jupp 1984, 1985a,b, Nicholls and Hoadley-Maidment 1988). Jupp and Naish, who denied the "subject" status of ESL, can still be seen as among the influential spokespeople of a subject segment, empowered by their professional, full-time status within the ILEA, using the subject association, NATESLA, along with others, to call into being and mobilise respect for their field as a subject worth educational space. Their remarks are not disingenuous, but are theoretical, for their own discourse on ESL contributed to its establishment. ESL had been solidifying as an educational subject with not only classes, but training-courses and career-routes for teachers, a qualification for students, and its own internal debates and spokespeople. Those involved had begun to draw up accounts of its history (cf Foucault 1972). Conceptualising ESL as a subject struggling for "time, territory, money and personnel" (Ball 1987) helps explain moves within it, including disputes, and the differences of design different groups have had upon the developing field, both from within and without.

Beyond ESL an important "external constituency" is largely white and English-speaking, rather than consisting of potential students. We have spoken of the active recruitment to ESL classes by some health visitors and other state employees; of responses to urban unrest which have led to funding for ESL (such as Section 11). Employers have been involved in ESL, as in the establishment of ILTU. We have also noted the rise in importance of the MSC. Other white groups also form part of the external constituency, so we have seen trade unions organising lunch-time classes for Asian workers.

ESL, then, should be conceived together with other training initiatives for migrants, which (see below) have in common with some training initiatives for indigenous youth the aims of diversion, and division into individuals, as well as giving possible benefits. While local state personnel who recruit to ESL are of importance, these funding bodies are perhaps the most important, supporting "external constituency" (Cooper 1984).

Beyond ESL there are other groups interested in ESL who do not form a supporting back-up: but provide occasional interventions. Black activists, whose attention is rarely turned directly to ESL, have on occasion made powerful criticisms. Within ESL, also, black activists, especially those now full-time, or position holders in NATESLA, have been pushing for an anti-racist perspective in the work of ESL. A critique of ESL/education/white society in general, stemming from the pressure of black struggle in education, has led to internal and external critiques of the work by ESL anti-racists, in particular, black tutors and ex-tutors (Mukherjee; Kanji).

Within the developing subject of ESL there are "loose amalgamations of segments", sometimes competing (Goodson 1985a). Teachers and organisers feel pressure from outside education about their subject (these critiques are sometimes voiced within ESL). A worry about funding links to a concern about fluctuating numbers in some classes and a feeling of pressure from the students. In the literature, the reluctance of some students to attend is quietly noted (ACACE 1979 p59, Selman and Blackwell 1977, Darkenwald 1971). Within the education colleges and institutes where ESL is now located, there are struggles for recognition of ESL's status in relation to other subjects. As Ball points out, a subject has "low status" if it is thought that anyone can teach it (Ball 1987); and ESL's answers to these various pressures have taken the form of professionalisation: making the claim that ESL is a specialist area, with special skills required to teach it. The developing accreditation both for ESL teachers and for their students are evidence of this; but the retention of the term "need" (often related to professionalisation) is also evidence of the trend. The new interest in grammar - though portrayed as a demand of the students - can also be seen as an assertion of an area of knowledge specific to ESL, and where it brings ESL into closer proximity to EFL, an attempt to seek status by teaching students of "higher ability" (cf Ball 1987).

The division between ESL and EFL remains important to ESL's identity as a subject, however. Stephen Ball has spoken of increased status for teachers dealing with the "able" (1987). What he does not point out is that this is often those teaching the middle-class or those upwardly-mobile. With EFL/ESL the difference is a combination of race and class, with European/middle-class people in the first and third-world/working-class in the second. This leaves third world middle-class people in an ambiguous position: sometimes it is chance that determines which of the two sorts of provision they opt for. Arriving as a student they may do EFL; arriving as a refugee, they may be offered ESL. And further factors enter: arriving as a migrant, they may not find themselves in the same position as the British indigenous middle-class, but find it easier to get working class jobs. If they are women, in particular if they have responsibility for small children and need a creche, they may find that ESL's orientation towards women with small children may make it available to them, where college EFL may not be. Thus clearly race and also gender add to class in creating a division between college EFL and AEI ESL classes, and also in recognition of "ability" in students and in status for their tutors.

The importance of the notion of professionalisation means that teachers' career aspirations are important in explaining the development of ESL as a subject, and of its curriculum. Some ESL staff have moved from the field because of their perceptions of its low status, and the lack of opportunities for advancement within it (interview with college teacher, ex-ESL). The divisions between those with fractional or full-time posts and hourly-paid part-time teachers was also found to be relevant to their participation in new moves within ESL. Hourly-paid staff participated less in the new moves, not only because of poor communication, but because they fought to preserve their autonomy within the classroom unless tempted or rewarded by the increased status or material prospects of a career route.

Ball's work on the spread of ideas in English (as a school subject) shows some parallels with ESL: (1) disputation within the subject involving a struggle for intellectual sovereignty with competing paradigms seeking to control the definition of analytic problems and methods; (2) threats to the continuing independence of English as a school subject from the inroads of adjacent curriculum areas; (3) a large component of non-specialists teaching the subject. In school English, too, there was a gap between "'official' pronouncements" of new

paradigms, and "the realities of classroom teaching", where older paradigms such as English-as-grammar were seen to be resilient. Ball argues that others explain the development and success of particular paradigms in terms either of the inexorable adjustment of school curriculum to the needs and forces of social structure; or of the outcome of strategies, pressures, influences of particular groups or individuals with investments in the teaching of English. In his view one needs to discuss both the conditions of change -

"the changes in the economic and social conditions of schooling which allowed, inhibited, or provided for changes in the process and content of school 'knowledge'" -

and the relations of change:

"those activities and strategies which actually initiated change" (Ball 1985).

In ESL, the question of compliance with a notion held "at the top" is of importance in considering the spread of the discourse of "bilingualism". We have noted the slowness of change on the part of the teachers from the welfare perspective. The new ideas came from the centre, limited teachers' spontaneity in designing their own courses, and contained dilemmas that not all teachers wanted to make their own. "We're not the right people to be teaching" said a long-standing ESL organiser (1983), who then moved into adult education administration and out of ESL - while others sought to professionalise the field and make their own careers within it. Meanwhile, part-time tutors, with no such escape route, held to the welfare view.

Ball argues convincingly that

"the most profound influences upon the English teacher, in terms of his or her conception of English as a school subject and its concomitant pedagogy, is equally as likely to be the teacher's own experience as pupil as the university or college training" (Ball 1985 p81).

We too found that ESL teachers' conceptions of their work frequently came from influences separate from, even prior to, their ESL training. But it is important that the school English paradigms have made no notable mark on ESL itself: this shows that ESL practitioners have decided that its aims and methods are separate from those for native English speakers, because of a definition of who the students are.

The professionalisation of ESL, finally, must be regarded as having importance for the curriculum of ESL. The struggle to make ESL into a subject with a recognised area of knowledge, laying claim to its own particular skills, etc, involves a move from initial models with great

flexibility, low classification and low framing, to models of English teaching with stronger classification and stronger framing (Bernstein 1971). Although moves such as that to language support suggest low classification, the preservation of a role for the language support tutor from an ESL department has been linked to a fight to have ESL's "expertise" recognised and rewarded. In a sense, the fight for professionalisation, moreover, has also been an acceptance of the social division of labour, so though there have been fights within and around ESL to adopt a bilingual approach, or an actively anti-racist approach, the careerism of those attempting to change the old, welfare model has itself limited any critique within the curriculum which might fundamentally threaten to rock the social boat.

The hidden curriculum of ESL

In the first chapter, we argued the importance of the curriculum and the hidden curriculum in the role in social control of any form of formal education. The often tacit messages involved in the chosen content and also the pedagogy, organisation and evaluation of education contribute to education's outcomes, both in students' acceptance of the divisions of society in terms of class, gender and race; and in their own social positioning. We found in Denton that due to the fragmented nature of ESL it is not easy to talk of a distinction between the "overt" and "hidden" curriculum of ESL - often the former is not very consciously constructed.

ESL for adults has an origin much more recent than that of the schools, though when it linked to adult education establishments it may have taken on adult education's historical, hidden curriculum in Apple's sense (ch 1). In ESL it is sometimes hard to disentangle three points that Apple distinguishes: the day-to-day regularities as well as the specific forms of curricular knowledge may be closely bound to the fundamental perspectives of the educators; and all may be barely conscious, as the curriculum of ESL has not been exposed to deep examination (cf Naish, our p111). In ESL, the conscious content of education, the methods of teaching, the messages involved and teachers' perceptions of what the job is all contribute to the hidden curriculum. In all three of these areas are a number of factors, only some by design, combining to create a series of messages about the world and students' place within it.

In terms of the organisation of ESL, the teachers have been predominantly white, the location of classes - though not always in adult education institute buildings - linked to the local state. While the paucity of materials and provision for ESL show how both migrants (especially women) and their learning English are devalued by funders, the provision of local classes in buildings not intended for them has been seen by ESL providers as a flexible, outward-looking service demonstrating their commitment to a student group to whom formal education has paid little attention (cf Selman 1979). Yet the same message of being valued little is put across by a lack of basic teaching equipment, chairs meant for children, books borrowed from the public library: the education can seem "second-class" not only in relation to EFL or private colleges, but in comparison with the schooling that students' children get.

The teaching itself, however, links to state education more widely in the messages given by this hidden curriculum. Apple found in schooling "an absence of instances showing the importance of intellectual and normative conflict in subject areas" (Apple 1979 p87), contributing to a picture that conflict is dysfunctional, and society basically a cooperative system. Even if the organisation of ESL appears to encourage equal opportunities, the inequalities of society more widely cannot be challenged where they are not allowed to be addressed.

ESL's model of English teaching

It is important that in establishing itself as a field, asking for funding and developing material, ESL has presented itself as fundamentally different from EFL (p12). The intended students and the *raison d'etre* of ESL have been assumed to require different methods of teaching. It is also assumed to be separate from English teaching for the English. In devising material, ESL practitioners have been working out - and communicating - a stereotype of who their students are, that distinguishes them from middle-class European EFL students on the one hand; and from English people on the other.

We found in Denton that the curriculum of ESL had scarcely been challenged by the new approaches. It can be said that ESL had one characteristic model of language teaching, developed from the welfare origins of ESL, which was distinct from other models of English language teaching. The reason for teaching was always for other reasons than the English language itself. The "situations" taught relied on the

teacher's "common sense" of what life in "this society" was like. "Coping" merged with a "common sense" conception of society which was often uncritical, and wrote out conflict. Teachers (who may be more critical in other areas of their lives - see p356) often saw their work as helping people cope: they emphasized the unproblematic aspects of everyday existence.

Howatt shows that throughout the history of English teaching, a tension has always existed between an emphasis on "grammar" and an emphasis on "communication" (1984). Ball's histories of the struggles in the development of English language teaching for English people themselves identify several perspectives (Ball 1985), of which the main subject paradigms are creative/expressive, grammarian, literary and sociological (Ball and Lacey 1980). Accounts of English teaching often differed from classroom practice, and the disputes resulted in great unevenness, but he described a gradual shift during the 20th century from English seen as "grammar" to an emphasis on "creativity". Grace also points to the urban English teachers' interest in teaching culture, creativity or "urban reality" in working-class schools (Grace 1978). It is important therefore that within ESL, English has not been seen as related to personal growth, literature, creativity, or (except in the very limited "access" sense) urban reality. There was evidence of a recent interest among individual teachers in Denton and in discussions in NATESLA of the importance of grammar (Wilkins and Baynham 1985), which points both to an awareness of the parallels presented by EFL, and perhaps to a limited awareness of alternatives.

In addition to English language, ESL teachers have stressed the importance of teaching cultural knowledge to students. In AEI classes and home tuition, "English society" has been taught in the form of "access information" (how to write a cheque, make a complaint about faulty shoes, etc), aiming to give people the information to find their way around. North American ESL literature is much more crudely full of the aim of "acculturation", "socialisation", "life-coping skills" (Leroux 1977, Smith 1980, Graham 1980), and there is no effort to limit cultural interference in such projects as "Multi-Cultural Ethnic Total Personal Development for the Limited English Proficient" which attempts to change "social and moral values" (Roan 1980). In Britain there has been worry about cultural interference (cf the worries about racism and sexism), and cultural relativism has competed with assimilationism.

Nevertheless, ESL teachers have continued to attribute importance to giving cultural information, either for "getting things done", or, as in ILTU, because it has been seen as impossible to limit communication teaching to what is strictly "language", for messages are also given by other culturally-bound systems: tone, presentation etc. The linking of language study and vocational training also meant calls for "ESL teachers [to] be engaged in the training of communication skills generally" (NATESLA 1982 p66).

Howatt suggests that ESL made a distinctive contribution to the philosophy of English language teaching, in its "functionalist" approach and consideration of students' needs. He describes how new methods were being introduced across English teaching in the 1960s (situational teaching, audiolingual methods, structural drills - his p225): and the early 1970s saw new philosophical approaches to English teaching in the notional/functional approach and a view of language as communication (cf Widdowson 1978). He thought an interest in these two approaches could be said to characterise ESL:

"while functional language teaching provided EFL with a more realistic, and probably more motivating approach, it offered ESL something more fundamental, a central principle on which the new specialism could be based, and from which it could grow. The starting-point of functionalist teaching, the needs of the learners and their purposes in learning English, both reflected the philosophy of community education in which much of ESL provision is located, and provided an explicit procedure for linking language forms and their use in everyday life which made practical sense to both learners and teachers" (Howatt 1984 p282).

His brief account of ESL is correct to locate ESL with other "community education" initiatives, but its implications are not exhausted by the attempt to be relevant. The use of the term "need" in several senses is important to the professionalisation of ESL (above, p310). Part of ESL classes has been the acceptance that teachers can or should "present" British society as they (often white and middle-class) perceive it. Even when individually critical of society, dilemmas, for example about racism and sexism (p183) have often encouraged teachers to present a "happy families" image of society.

The sorts of "need" expected are also important. For women, they are largely domestic; for men, in addition, job-seeking. A non-critical presentation of society can suggest that the answers to students' problems are all individual - that a correctly-filled-in housing application form will result in a satisfactory council flat, for example. It implicitly denies the relevance of dissent. There is,

further, a slippage between "context when English is needed" and the students being "needy", which reaffirms the teacher's role as a professional adviser, while creating dubious generalisations and assumptions about bilingual people, who are not one group.

On an individual level, this use of "need" can have implications for the way the students may be encouraged to or discouraged from furthering their own careers or developing new aspirations. For example, if women are perceived as traditionally child-carers, and Asian communities seen as traditional, then even feminist teachers may limit their Asian women students' development of English, or hunt around less for places for them to go on to, than they might for a man, perceived as a "breadwinner". Arguments in chapter 6 suggest that people may learn languages to the extent that they are relevant to their context. This is another argument to stretch, rather than to limit, the type of context provided by classes themselves.

Though bilingual teaching has been offered as a method in certain areas, such as ILEA, Howatt (apparently unaware of this, in 1984) sees "the monolingual approach to language teaching" (his p212) as central to ESL's philosophy. His history of English language teaching is interesting for showing how recent the monolingual approach and direct method are, and discussing early English classes for Huguenot refugees, which were taught by bilingual "double-manuals". Our discussion suggests that bilingual teaching, particularly by a bilingual teacher, can give very different messages, giving importance both to students' languages and to their experiences. However, it is not yet a common practice; and it does not necessarily change all aspects of the curriculum - which can remain in an "English for coping" framework.

Training as a goal

A critique of withdrawal systems and a concern to allow bilingual students the chances available to English speakers of ESL (Heire 1985; here, ch 3) led ESL progressives to encourage students to progress through ESL, often on to further training. At the same time, ESL became increasingly a recipient of MSC money (ILTU, courses for the unemployed, etc.): and joined the education service at a time of calls to justify state education in terms of its role in training. ESL was brought closer to training initiatives both by the availability of money for courses for the unemployed; and by the alignment of educational institutions where ESL is now situated with training initiatives of

various kinds. In 1983, ESL staff hoped that their involvement in MSC-funded vocational preparation schemes (often linked to YTS) could be a "spur to the development of a multiracial college" (NNews 13 pp13-15). In 1985, the possibilities of a substantial growth in MSC's involvement in ESL were hailed - "if we wish it strongly enough to put the pressure on" (NNews 20 p12).

There are two criticisms of the new emphasis on progression into training. Firstly, though it challenges previous stereotypes of students, it offers a new one. In the last chapter we found that potential students would have a wide range of reasons to approach an English class. Some would link to a wish for further training, and some would not. While the old welfare models held back those who wanted (or might have been encouraged to) move on, the "training" model remains a model thought up by providers: it appears to leave out the interests and concerns of those who do not want to - or cannot - move on to further training, including some of the Asian women who previously had been stereotyped as typical students.

Gender, age and class are involved not only in students' ambitions, but in the implications of this choice of model. The original model saw potential students as likely to be women and beginners, and offered them a "coping", "happy families" curriculum which confirmed their place as housewives, and limited their ambitions to move on beyond ESL classes. Moreover, the emphasis on access skills was such as to create a "circle of dependence on the state", arguably perpetuating disadvantage (Inder Gera in 1984, cited by Evans 1986 p41). The "training" view sees students as in need of encouragement to progress, and is not clearly gender-specific; but if the successes of ESL classes become those students who have progressed to "training", those who cannot or will not make this move become less important, seen as less serious. The focus then shifts to younger, more mobile, and more often male students (arguably, this has been given an impetus in areas such as Inner London by the number of young, educated refugees rather than migrant workers). Married and childcaring women may lose their place as important students for ESL, or continue to be judged in terms of the old, patronising stereotype.

Secondly, new courses funded by outside agencies -in 1984-5, principally the MSC - have implications for the curriculum of ESL itself. As the relation between education and training has become a political issue in the schools (ch 1), it has become critical in adult

education. A new emphasis on "vocational", or clearly employment-orientated education has led to other areas being defined as "non-vocational" and in some places assumed to be luxuries (cf. the move to AE funding by leisure services departments in Leeds, Birmingham - Cohen 1985). Where public money was previously spent on state education through the LEAs, or in conjunction with them (cf. Section 11 money), there was pressure to be "self-financing"; while money aimed in particular at "training" came to be an important part of educational funding, in particular via the MSC. In 1979 there were 23,000 MSC-sponsored students in FE on various Government schemes: YTS/YOP/TOPS; in 1984, 130,000: "NATFHE Journal" May 1986 p3).

"All parties are considering the principal of uniting education and training", said a former Labour MP (NATFHE 1986a): but the link between the two can mean different things in different contexts. AACE (ESL's union before the merger with NATFHE) believed that the unity of education and training meant "the absence of distinction between vocational and non-vocational education" (Cohen 1985 p18). In contrast, the Thatcher government's attempt to unite education and training, both at school level and beyond (Dawson 1985), implied a distinction between supposed "vocational" and "non-vocational" education. The injection of specific monies to support the former went along with moves to take funds earmarked for non-advanced further education from the LEAs, and put them in the hands of the MSC (DoE 1984). This has put pressure on adult and further education to emphasise vocational courses, where "training" in a limited sense predominates over wider educational aims. With the advent of the MSC, the central government increased its power to intervene in the curriculum of those over 14 years, introducing a "new vocationalism" into schools (Bates et al 1984).

Discussions within adult education on the relation of education and training at a philosophical level (such as "training needs cannot be adequately served without meeting educational need" (McArthur 1985 p15)), convey the dismay of educationalists at having their curriculum dictated from outside. The dismay is evident within ESL, where organisers have sought the training money, but had aspects they consider important forced from the curriculum (Hilsdon 1988). However, there are strong criticisms of the "training" approach itself.

Throughout education, there have been increasing links with employers (eg ILEA 1987). These links are sought by employers for their own benefit, and by the government funders also in order

"to raise the productivity and improve the flexibility and motivation of the labour force; to enable management and other employees to adjust quickly and effectively to new methods...; to overcome skill shortages.."(MSC 1983 p5).

The government aims to teach students to fit the system, encouraging "entrepreneurial attitudes" in those going into higher education, and in the rest of the population a preparedness to work for others (Cross 1986).

While arguably an emphasis on skills and the "failure of education" displaces the real causes of crisis and unemployment on to the teachers and the schools (CCCS 1981; see ch 1), the emphasis on training has similar advantages. New training schemes can take people from the unemployment figures (NATFHE Journal March 1987 p8), attempt to encourage workers' discipline and docility (not their awareness, skills or education: Robinson 1986), and tempt them to compete for individual qualifications, rather than unite with others to develop a critique of society (Filson 1980), or to rebel (Bryan et al 1984).

"The Youth Training Scheme ... kills several birds with one stone. It removes some potentially disruptive young people from the streets; it is cheaper than encouraging them to stay on at school or college at a time when Local Authority spending is being restrained; it offers a holding tank for a pool of cheap labour; politically it gives the impression of a commitment to improving the lot of the jobless young, while offering employers the chance of trying them out for 9 months with no obligation to give them a job; and it could - perhaps - provide a better-trained workforce for the future" (St John-Brooks 1985 p7)

Progressives in ESL have aligned against the racism implicit in early ESL classes, but not fought training moves in the educational establishment (though cf Archer 1988). While their move away from welfare has been on the basis of a critical examination of its implications, no strong voices in ESL have criticised a link to the MSC, even on the level that such critiques exist in education more widely. Outside ESL, Cohen has criticized the increasing emphasis on vocational training in ESL by citing (from the Russell report 1973), aspects of adult education which are left out by the emphasis on training:

"The opportunity to fulfil oneself in creative activity; physical activity, especially the cultivation of skills in recreative pursuits; educative social activity or the opportunity for self discovery and self-expression in groups of common interest; intellectual activity; the provision of a background of knowledge through which the individual's role can be more responsibly discharged in society; community education - provision of a background of knowledge on which effective action can be based; education for social leadership" (Cohen 1985 p18).

English language teaching has had a relation to training, and thereby to social control, when migrants have been referred to English classes when they are looking for jobs (Lancashire ILTU 1983 p28; MSC 1986 p34), or when Restart schemes have sent unemployed people to ESL classes (NNews 25 p11). ESL classes have been recommended to migrants for the sake of the employers, or (supposed) British society: for

"vocational education, which will liberate the initiative and flexibility of mind of those who have left their own surroundings. A ready supply of labour with limited skills may appear superficially an attractive asset, but in the longer term it must have unfortunate consequences for technologically advanced economies" (introduction to Stock and Howell 1976 p14).

There are threats, a worry about loss of benefit, underlying the attendance of students who have been sent there by Restart.

Within NATFHE, there has been much discussion of the dilemmas posed by this central funding. Some hope to extend the funding to black people or women (Mackney 1985), and fight for the available grants (NATFHE Journal, March 1986 p36), attempting to influence the schemes (Jones 1987), worried about worse possibilities, such as the privatisation of training schemes. Others argue that MSC funds give risky, short-term funding (NATFHE 1986b), and distort the aims of projects they fund. Sarup sees the MSC as actively promoting racism and sexism (1982); while NATFHE arguments suggest that MSC terminology - "relevance", "flexibility" - covers up the reality of industrial decline (New 1986).

In short, despite calls for increased training for migrants in particular, to counteract their overrepresentation at unskilled levels of employment, doubts can be raised about whether the new forms of funding combined with an emphasis on training, constitute a real increase of opportunity. If society is in reality deskilling (Braverman 1974), then the increasing demands on migrants and refugees - in common with the working class - to train on courses with little critical content can be argued to have an ideological purpose that is not in their interest. The pressure to train individualises the problems of students, suggesting that they should blame themselves for failure to find employment (Berg 1973, Dore 1976) - unless the courses encourage discussion and social critique.

ESL, race, gender and class

Following these arguments, the politicisation that has taken place in NATESLA and among some of the ESL teachers and organisers is too limited when it concerns itself only with bilingualism, and even when it concerns itself only with issues of race. Because white organisations had previously paid racism little attention (Manning and Ohri 1982), concentrated on "disadvantage" of blacks rather than white racism and racist structures (Mullard 1983); and white people had ignored, tried to lead (Mullard 1973) or to "tame the message" of anti-racist black movements (Wilson 1978b p1), the efforts of the ILEA and NATESLA were important where they focussed on the practices of the institutions themselves, and where black tutors newly gained employment. Gender inequalities are also an important theme within ESL, while important parallels between the "missionary ideology" of ESL and that of education for the working-classes point firstly to the importance of class within ESL; and secondly to the relation of class and race.

Mullard suggests that there are contrasting reactions to racism: black resistance or white "reactions of protest", which lead to the management (acceptance) of racism in education. He argues that black "reactions of resistance" attempt to challenge a whole system seen as structurally at fault, which "relies on racism to maintain a mirage of structural stability" (Mullard 1983 p147). In contrast, white "reactions of protest" attempt to hold society as it is, but adjust to get rid of racism. He suggests that this is ultimately an attempt to keep blacks in the class structure where they are, but on a basis other than race. If race and class are intertwined, the role of ESL in upholding class divisions must be examined in order to fight racism as well as class.

Similarities between ESL and urban education for working-class women and children suggest, moreover, that there are some parallels between racism and class discrimination. Welfare and control aspects of ESL have much in common with schooling for the working-class. Both arose in reaction to some notion of an "urban problem". While the critical consciousness of individual teachers is evident (p356), funding for both efforts arose from a perception of the threat of urban anarchy. Section 11 and Urban Aid money (p73) arose from responses to urban unrest in which blacks were seen to be central, and was spent on ESL courses which aimed to deal with the "problems" of blacks in communication - in a way parallel to the diagnosis of working-class

families as pathological since the nineteenth century (Grace 1978), or in need of special "compensatory education" in the twentieth century (Plowden 1967, Hoyles 1977).

The welfare component of teaching itself has been stressed by Lawn (1987), though Apple points out that the removal of welfare to specialist counsellors is part of an increasing control on teachers as workers (Apple 1982). The missionary aspect of English teaching seems linked to the culture of the job, in schools also (Grace 1978), and not solely to issues of race. Similarly, the charitable welfare efforts of white upper-class women for white working-class women have paralleled in their preoccupation with health and childcare the efforts of white women for migrant women in voluntary ESL tutoring.

Teachers of bilingual students in ESL have been white, and thus separate from their students - but female, voluntary or part-time and largely non-unionised: not powerful in relation to the funding establishment. Teachers of the working-class have similarly been 'in the middle', themselves controlled by the "missionary ideology", and the construct of a "good teacher" dedicated to the work, along with a view of the problem-ridden nature of the students' homes (Grace 1978).

Gender

As Wolpe and others have forcefully argued, if the differences between boys and girls are - as various societies assert - "natural", then there is no need to act purposefully to uphold them. Yet significant studies have begun to demonstrate that differences between boys and girls are built on and magnified via education and schools; and that crucial divisions are created by the purposeful as well as the hidden curriculum in schools and education (Wolpe 1978, Spender and Sarah 1980). There are differences between the educational provision available to boys and girls, what boys and girls are encouraged to do, and also in what they see adults of their own sex doing in the education system. Women are present in education not only in servicing (cooks, cleaners, secretaries) but also in teaching, but their employment clusters in lower paid and lower status, primary schools, part-time jobs, and teaching certain subjects only, at secondary level; while men are disproportionately in evidence in higher paid posts.

Moreover, stereotypes of kind but weak and passive girls and women in textbooks, pictures and stories contrast to the boys and men, the

"people" (Black and Coward 1981) of active stories in many and varied roles. There is evidence at many levels of staff and students' attitudes to girls/women and boys/men respectively that the stereotypes translate into a different understanding of acceptable behaviour from each of them, and that this has strong implications for what boys and girls go on to do; and for the future of women employed within education.

In post-school education, there is arguably "one of the most serious areas of discrimination against women in Britain" (Chair of the EOC Education Committee, quoted in Kellaway 1981? p43). After school leaving age, men/boys get more chance to study and work in prestigious places and jobs and have much more money spent on them than women; who (as their lives go on) frequently, though not by definition, have to add to the obstacles to their education presented by the education system itself, great difficulties arising from having children in a society that demands that women be the primary child carers, while giving them little support in that role. In addition, assumptions are sometimes made that women's post-school education is "marginal" or a hobby. One woman described the problems she had combining her unpaid housework with studying:

"To be able to take the kids somewhere where I could study in peace and quiet and they could play under some kind of supervision seems as close... to me as Utopia" (quoted in Kellaway, 1981?).

In post-school education, the contrast between (expensive) full-time university education and part-time adult education hours is even more acute than that between different types of full-time state or private education at school level. In the universities the number of male students is greater than the number of women students (Usher 1981), and the disproportion rises at post-graduate level. In adult education, in contrast (the "poor cousin" - Newman 1979), the number of women students is significantly greater than the number of men students (Thompson 1981?). Gender inequality in adult education, therefore, does not lie in its being unavailable to women, but in the context, practices and messages of adult education itself.

Gender is important in this account of ESL teaching both from the point of view of notions about women students, and from the point of view of the teachers. We have shown that ESL has shared in the discourse of Asian women as disadvantaged, and constructed courses on

this basis. While there are feminists among the ESL teachers, as in school teaching (King 1987), they have found it hard to challenge the commonsense image of Asian women as housewives and mothers, and the construction of situational curricula that prioritised this, partly because of concerns about a struggle in priority between feminism and anti-racism (p183).

If teaching an uncritical acceptance of the social division of labour helps maintain this (Deem 1978; ch 1), this is particularly ironic because of the dissatisfaction we found among teachers in Denton with the working-conditions that they experienced in a classically female occupation. Part-time teaching is classically female both because of traditional associations between women and teaching, seen as a "caring" profession; and because part-time work has been associated with occupational segregation (Horton 1984). Most of the Denton ESL teachers were women with children; while the fact that one of the men teachers was also looking after a child and bringing him to the creche does not mean that the job loses its "ideological designation as sex specific" (Gamarnikov 1978 p101). Of the AEI part-time teachers, the men had a greater number of teaching-hours than the women, and other teaching-hours elsewhere. In the college, men had full-time positions. Most women teachers had a high level of education, but this had not led to jobs comparable with similarly-educated men (Woodward and Chisholm 1981).

The pattern of a part-time, largely female workforce in ESL extended beyond Denton, while (in common with schools) a greater percentage of those at higher levels were men (Jupp, Baynham, Leach, Bajpai, Bhanot. The last 2 were exceptional in being bilingual: yet it is not an accident that the exceptional bilingual full-timers are men). Deem wrote of women as teachers that they

"do not occupy a position similar to that occupied by men. They remain separate, and unequal" (Deem 1978 p126).

Women in education are "firmly at the bottom of whichever heap you look at" (NATFHE 1985 p26). This very often means being part-time, with very poor conditions (Thomas 1985): they

"are amongst the most disadvantaged in the occupation. Paid only for the hours they teach, and not for preparation or marking, they receive no holiday pay, sick pay or maternity pay, are liable to dismissal at a week's notice, and possess no security of employment from the end of one academic year to the beginning of the next" (her p114).

As Turner puts it, part-timers are expected to exploit themselves on the

basis of "the cause", or to rely on someone else (a husband?) to support them (Turner 1982).

Meanwhile, the turnover of ESL teachers in Denton was high: "teachers are always leaving to have a baby or to travel to a different part of the world" (ESL organiser). Some teachers also hoped to leave for more stable jobs. There are some similar factors to consider in explaining women's volunteering to teach, and in explaining women's attendance at classes. Issues of gender also link and divide paid teachers and students when - like teachers from the working-class controlling working-class youth (Grace 1978), or school teachers participating in the discourse of mothers as bearers of problems (CCCS 1981 p134), women ESL teachers participate in making a hidden curriculum which contributes (as well as to divisions of class and race) to the "sexual division of labour in capitalist societies" (Deem op. cit. p110).

In different ways, ESL teachers and potential students have limited views of the possibilities for women. These have combined, to emphasize the lack of possibilities through ESL. Because one way it is easy for women to conceptualize their lives fits in with a view of women's traditional role which ESL has played on, ESL organisations in Denton limited the extent to which women can get help with their English by concentrating predominantly on very low-level beginners' classes.

In Denton, the fact that ESL classes outside the college had been organised largely by women with women in mind meant that they considered the needs of women with children by providing classes in schooltime, and creches or provision to bring children. However, women who went out to work did not get treated as women by ESL in the same way. The college, with its higher-level English courses, provided no childcare; and there were no creches at evening classes run by the AEI. Home tuition, which could help women with small children, was reserved for women with little English. Although there are examples of linked-skills courses with women's employment in mind (THTF 1983), ESL for the unemployed has often been directed more seriously at men (Denton). The borough ILTU had run courses for women employees at work, but their work had minority importance in 1984-5 due both to its move from language teaching and to its move out of the borough.

These arrangements combined with the curriculum of ESL which revolved uncritically around childcare and domestic responsibilities to

make the classes provide for housewives with children, and to present this as women's role. It was not at all women, but specifically at housewives that the welfare effort of ESL was aimed.

Not only specifically feminist staff, but other ESL teachers in Denton thought women's position in South Asian society - as they saw it - to be one of unnecessary subordination. Tensions existed about the priority of racism and sexism (at a theoretical level; cf Marshall 1978), or (at a practical level) whether it was right to interfere with other people's cultural arrangements, by discussing women's rights. As a result, women's domestic position was reinforced by its not being problematised in class: indeed, other concerns than the domestic were not included among most teachers' class "topics".

We have argued also that the new moves in ESL - a professionalisation of the field, and moves on to training - had implications for gender. Denton college catered more for men or young/single women rather than women with children, while women with children were offered slower English courses. The new emphasis on training or employment could mean that these women were left in the same place, for attention shifted from Asian women, although they had originally been the most central students. Although we found that some of these potential students wanted English classes that would take their abilities more seriously, a concentration on "moving students on" without a reconsideration of organisational arrangements (childcare, etc.) and the curriculum, could just leave them behind.

ENGLISH TEACHING AND SOCIAL CONTROL

We earlier identified two areas of social control and education: (1) its effects in helping the status quo through consensus; (2) its effects in reproducing divisions in society. We have shown that ESL has effects in both areas which relate to a complex of race, class and gender. We examine the possible social control implications of the project of teaching standard English, before going on to argue that access to good, effective English teaching is an important right.

In line with attempts at international levels to have people's right to use their own language recognised (Verdoodt 1977), the discourse of bilingualism seeks to emphasise the importance of bilingual people's other languages. This need not be an argument against

efficient English teaching: Saifullah Khan stresses the importance of the "resource of the first language"; but also says that

"Failure to learn the dominant language involves limited access to information, dependence on intermediaries, and exclusion from not just cultural but also political participation in the wider society" (Saifullah Khan 1983).

However, within ESL itself, the impact of pluralist ideas, linked to an opposition to "withdrawal" English classes (p37), has caused worries about the project of providing English classes at all, which can be compared to arguments against imposing standard English on speakers of other varieties of English.

Firstly, there is some debate about whether English, with its imperialist history, is capable of being neutrally taken over and used by different peoples. In this country, it is the dominant language because of its relation to those in power - to the state and to employers (p207). It has been exported elsewhere with the history of British imperialism, and become the national language or lingua franca in many parts of the world. With the United States as a major power, English has significance as a world language:

"in 1966 already 70% of the world's mail was in English and 60% of its radio and television broadcasts were in English" (Romaine 1984 p6).

Because of its association with imperialism, chauvinistic and racist features developed in the English language - comparable with the "he-man language" that has been built in because of long term assumptions of the inferiority of women (Spender 1980). Brooke argues that already by Elizabethan times the English language was very chauvinistic - in the sense that speakers of English felt it was a wonderful, indeed unique, language, to which they compared other languages to their detriment (Brook 1980). By the sixteenth century, too, the word "black" had powerful negative meanings in the English language (Husband 1977). English in the nineteenth century was clearly linked to colonial attempts to change the people in colonised countries (cf Saville Troike, 1976); Macaulay thought the language had a "civilising" function (1835, quoted in TES 1960). In the twentieth century, English speakers have continued to feel proprietorial about the language (Christophersen 1973), and to claim that English has special virtues (TES 1960) and links to great values (Parry 1956).

Husband (1977,1979) (and others) in relation to race , and Spender (1980) (and others) in relation to gender, have argued that languages

have meanings implicit within them that reinforce perceptions of the inevitability of divisions of power. The derogatory attitudes of English speakers towards speakers of other languages have linked to wider racist concepts about different, especially black, peoples, promoted by the mass media (Hartmann and Husband 1974).

"You know, in England, black is a damn bad word" (Naipaul, quoted in Searle 1972 p23).

Parekh argues that

"English, like any other language, is suited to conceptualise a particular way of experiencing the world" (1974a pp77-78)

and that it is necessary for Indians to "Indianize" English freely if they are to stop it from being a "white masters' language". He describes his problems with the language despite his fluency in it:

"how can a man feel at home in the world if he is alienated from the language itself?"

The implication of a relativist version of pluralism could be the rejection of the insistence of schools to teach the official language, aiming to protect the potential of other languages. On Rosen's account, the relation of working-class children to schools, with their often oppressive policy about their different varieties of English has much in common with accounts of the dilemma faced by bilingual children in the English school system (1982). Keddie et al deny that the working-class have "deficits" in language or culture (1973). Rosen also believes that language is a fundamental part of class identity. Where the dominant class represents its own language as some sort of perfection, and working-class people feel a pressure to use it, for standard English is "entrance money to be paid for advancement in the educational system" (Rosen 1982 p11), they lose out if they abandon their own language. Some argue that black/bilingual children need to speak their parents' language or variety both for solidarity and understanding their own community, and Rosen's argument is parallel: abandoning working-class speech, working-class people lose "class identifying power" and

"the opportunity of mastering much of the understanding which enables them more effectively to change their condition" (Rosen 1982 p11).

Currer's argument that it is not always directly in Asian women's interest to learn English - or to go to classes - agrees with chapter 7.

"If the government sees it as in the long-term interests of society that these women should know English, they must provide the resources."

Women, she stresses, cannot be expected "to provide the motivation", because it is not to their direct benefit. (Curren 1983 p79).

Assimilationism and the dominance of the English language have strong social control implications which put bilingual/ black people at a disadvantage not only because they do not speak English, but because the deficit model rejects the linguistic and other skills that they have. Its links to control are clearest when attempts are made to force offenders to speak English: when in the U.S., "the social sickness of cultural isolationism" (in fact, the speaking of Spanish by Puerto Ricans) was countered by lessons to prisoners -

"The time in jail offers a great opportunity... It is a time when the Puerto Rican adult is totally immersed in the Anglo Culture and has no choice" (Pinton 1978) -

or in Britain when a judge sentenced a man of Pakistani origin to two years probation with compulsory English lessons (Guardian 1988). The division between those judged to be poor speakers of English and native speakers of the language has been used by employers to deny jobs previously done by migrant workers to migrant workers reapplying at a time of high unemployment (Arora 80), and by the state in deciding issues of citizenship (NNews 20 p1).

We have found other reasons why people other than Asian women themselves stress the need for Asian women to learn English. White professionals in Denton (at schools, clinics, job centres) referred students to ESL classes partly because they equated the potential students' good with learning English and thought that classes could solve other problems such as "isolation"; and partly because they themselves had communication problems with some bilingual people.

Employers may initially exploit "lack of English" as a reason for offering certain types of employment and differentiating between workers; but discontinuities in communication are double-edged, and also threaten a loss of control. Wilson emphasizes the fact that workers speaking a language of their own leads to some sort of solidarity. Islam reports on two firms:

"while the employment of these workers has been greatly to the firm's advantage, it has had some unforeseen effects. In particular, the natural cohesion of groups of Punjabi workers has been reinforced by recruiting new workers at the suggestion of old employees. Compounded with the fact that many of these workers have little or no English, this produced at the two firms some groups of workers strong enough to control recruitment to their ranks... " (Islam 1976 p225).

Some workers experience pressure to learn English. A Pakistani woman

laundry worker spoke to her foreman to complain about treatment which she felt was

"humiliation just for the sake of it. That is what we told Mrs B but she only told us to work harder and try to learn English. But that is not easy because there is no time. The laundry will allocate no time, all they can do is ask us to come one hour earlier... " (Wilson 1978 p126).

Pluralist arguments appear to counter these abuses, by focusing on the importance of other skills, and other languages. Yet we have argued (p317) that pluralism diverts attention to culture and language, from other aspects of unequal power. It should be noted that arguments for pluralism have been argued on behalf of employers and state against the interest of migrant workers:

"the overall aim... is to make the free movement of men (sic) and ideas in the European area easier by increasing the scale and effectiveness of language learning " (Van Ek 1977 pi);

while inadequate teaching of English denies bilingual migrants opportunities on many levels. Brumfit urges the necessity to understand

"the complexity and power of the forces towards communication on a larger and larger scale" (Brumfit 1982 p2)."

Thus even when Welsh speakers, for example, have moved to stem the ending of Welsh as a language, they recognise that people may need "auxiliary languages to complement those with only local currency" (op. cit p2).

It is possible to deny the notion of "deficits" in both bilingual and working-class cultures and languages without rejecting the teaching of English and standard English. In relation to the working-class:

"class hegemony in our society is partly established by the manipulation of language... consumption is stimulated by the use of verbal and visual language; therefore the ability to transcend 'standard English' may be critical for the ability of the working-class individual to accurately locate himself or herself within the nexus of class relations" (Ahir et al 1982 p76).

While it is true that because of the legacies of imperialism, it is easy to use English for racist messages, and while the language needs changing to "Indianise" it (for example), it is also true that those changes can be made: there are already many varieties of English. Parekh (see p344) might have chosen to write his book in another language, but he chose to publish it in English - as a lingua franca, and national language of Britain. Though Spender objects to the "he-man language" aspect of English, it is also possible to articulate

criticisms of these assumptions in English; and there are attempts to change what are seen as critical racist or sexist word usages.

For bilingual people in Britain, English is the language of power, useful not only to ambitious individuals, but to bilingual groups involved in political struggle. Again, this can parallel arguments about the teaching of reading, which may be done to keep people in a given social position (Postman 1973) - and yet be sought by people to empower themselves.

Making a similar argument, Searle also appears to have moved from a position of rejecting the teaching of standard English he held in 1972 to demanding the teaching of

"competence in a standard language that forges an unbreakable connection with the world...a NECESSITY for the progress of a people" (Searle 1988 p65; capitals were italics in original).

Now rejecting "the new multicultural orthodoxy", Searle argues the need for teaching standard English for two reasons: to create unity - a common language; and as a language people can use

"to analyse and understand their world and the economic and social forces which control it, to be able to fight back..." (op. cit.p67-8).

His question "How can we help [children] to gain the language equipment to begin to understand and handle words like imperialism, racism, fascism..." could be answered in terms of critical teaching in other languages than English, but Searle does not consider this.

"A part of the yearning of all working people and in particular arrivant people for their survival has depended on it, has historically been to MASTER THE LANGUAGE OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY LIVE" (p71, italics in his original).

It is clear (ch 7) that some struggles of migrant people have been precisely to keep a space for their own language (eg Rita and Kiran 1985), though (ch 6) not all have attributed equal importance either to this or the learning of English. A demand for good English teaching with positive expectations of the people being taught and critical curricula should not entail a rejection of other languages. If we talk of "rights" in England, we must be talking both of the right to use and develop one's own language/variety: and of the right to develop standard English quickly and well.

Reasons for teaching another language

Our discussion of the motives for teaching ESL can benefit from a brief examination of discussions about the motivation for literacy schemes, and for second-language teaching schemes in France. Talking about schooling in the west, Rosen has said that

"literacy almost by itself is at the centre of current controversy in education" (1982 p15).

Allegations that schools are failing to teach children to read have been the justification for great changes in the education system: or the introduction of more training. In the third world, it has become common for educational initiatives to put great stress on literacy - from quite separate motivations, contrasting attempts to "liberate" (cf. Friere 1982): or money stemming from business, interested in increasing output as a result (Berggrens 1975). There seems to be agreement on the "obviousness" of the need to be able to read and write, until one notices the controversies about method, content or result, which point in fact to underlying disparity in reasons for teaching.

Similarities between literacy and ESL at the level of reasons to teach are instructive. Crane offers a list of answers from literature on literacy to questions he seems to confuse: "Why does society judge literacy to be necessary? Why do people need to know how to read?" (Crane 1983 p149). Some of the answers he finds seem to be capitalist reasons for wanting workers to be literate: these reasons do not regard the potential learners' aspirations; nor do they claim to be on their behalf. They are clearly concerned with social control:

- (1) "one justification of education (as a whole - ND) is society's need for skilled workers in order to function smoothly and efficiently... a need to attack outdated traditions and techniques... better use of new discoveries" (pp149-150).
- (2) "the greater spread of the consumer society... depends on the creation of a conscious 'need' in the consumer, often for a product or service that has never previously existed. Education... is used to teach men (sic) to know what they need" (p150).
- (3) "anticipations that a literate worker would work harder and be more loyal" (p150).
- (4) [Early British literacy drives] "to teach men (sic) to know God... mixed with the expectations that those who learned to read the Scriptures would also learn to accept their station in society" (p150).

Some further reasons are apparently answers to Crane's second question ("why do people need to know how to read?"):

- (5) If people are "functionally illiterate", it follows from the definition - "not literate enough" - that they need greater literacy skills to survive in their social context;
- (6) People of the working-class, or struggling on its behalf, have sought wider education "to grasp the power withheld" (p150);
- (7) People trying to promote development perceive the importance of writing ("freezing the present in script" - p151) as a prerequisite to conceiving change over time - and thus necessary for an expectation of future change;
- (8) Individual illiterates have different - their own - motives - "because of socialisation, an illiterate may perceive in himself a deficiency, a need that can only be ameliorated by literacy... a psychological need, a vocational or occupational aspiration, a social or familial responsibility, but whatever the form of the need that he perceives, when he gives expression to it he has expressed a 'want'..." (p151).

On examination, however, these are, again, reasons for literacy from outside the group of illiterate people themselves. "Functional literacy" is defined by others:

"functional literacy is a multinational concern conducted through the auspices of UNESCO with funding from the UN. It is a method that has gained support from private business enterprises throughout the world" (Berggren and Berggren 1975 p29).

People working on behalf of the working-class (6) or development workers (7) may attempt to find reasons for literacy on behalf of the illiterate. But the interesting questions about why people might themselves want to become literate are all squashed into Crane's observation (8). This suggests that his question about "society" should be rephrased: "given that a major impetus to establish literacy teaching comes from literate people claiming to act 'on behalf' of 'illiterates', what are the main different groups of argument to this end?"

The answer to this seems, as the Berggrens have pointed out (1975) to fall into two. Firstly the UNESCO push for literacy, with its business backing - an attempt to get economic development on a capitalist model; secondly the approach to literacy teaching associated with Paulo Friere - which aims at the "development of critical consciousness".

There is disagreement implicit between radicals over the teaching of literacy which comes from an awareness of the polarization between the possibilities of education for liberation and its uses for control

or "domestication". Some stress the benefits that oppressive systems in the past have obtained from widespread illiteracy itself, for example:

"chronic illiteracy in Ethiopia and feudal oppression were inextricably linked. The feudal leaders benefited from maintaining docile uneducated masses who did not know what was happening beyond their own local villages" (Milkias 1980 p28).

Filson, in contrast, cannot see a way round supporting "credentialism" when pressing for wider education. Pressing for more education for the illiterate, he argues, ignores the fact that low levels of literacy are related to class; and suggests, quite wrongly, that illiteracy and/or poor education is the cause of people's class position, whereas in contrast, it is an effect. However Friere believes that literacy can be used in progressive or reactionary ways, but when taught in order to liberate people, it can act in contrast to right-wing attempts to "domesticate" people's way of thinking (Friere 1972).

The work of Ralph Grillo is also relevant to a consideration of the motives for second language teaching. Grillo looks at French second language, Arabic "mother tongue" teaching and also Arabic teaching for French people by a range of organisations in Lyon (Grillo 1982, 1985). He is interested in the perspectives held by different groups about language, attaching importance both to "the traditional French view of the role of their language in the cultural and political integration of France" and "the Algerian view of language as a device for stimulating ethnic homogeneity and solidarity" (Grillo 1982 p210); and identifying important divergences of perspective. While there may be historical differences in English and French views of their languages, there is an important parallel in the attempt to solve a wider series of problems "through formal, institutionalised systems of instruction, that is, language courses" (p189).

Grillo found in Lyon

"four perspectives on language teaching and learning. Two of these I have described as 'global' - some of my informants would call them 'ideological': that which views language learning as a device for raising political (class) consciousness; and that which sees language as a crucial instrument of national and ethnic consciousness. The other two have more limited, 'practical' aims: the view, which in the mid-1970s was the dominant one, that language training should provide an insertion in French society, and that which considers the insertion perspective too narrow, and advocates courses in greater accord with the 'real' needs of immigrants. Each of these perspectives... attempts to provide the learner with an entry to a different conception of 'reality'" (op. cit.)

The parallels with the situation we have discussed in Britain are clear: "it is agreed on all sides that at least some knowledge of French is necessary for those who reside in the country" (p 215); while the most important of the reasons for teaching French is strikingly parallel to the emphasis in ESL here:

"contemporary orthodoxy is that language courses should provide for a minimum insertion in French society, meaning by that, basic competence in the fields of production and consumption" (p215).

"By 'consumption', it may be recalled, is meant both private and collective consumption: buying a loaf of bread, getting a mandat (money order), visiting the social security office or the hospital, talking to a teacher about a child's progress. By 'role in production' is meant not just the job a person does (learning the gestes du metier), but the total culture of the industrial milieu: getting up, going to work, working seriously, getting paid at the end of the week" (Grillo op. cit. p212; italics in original).

Grillo found little discussion of bilingualism - this was in the 1970s. But certain positions he found were not present in the British ESL debates with any force in the 1970s or 1980s. In particular, there were groups who contrasted explicitly their own "ideological" way of teaching French to the "practical" aims of orthodox courses (his pp206-7). Left-wing organisations such as ACFAL and AEFTI (linked with the union CGT and the Communist Party PCF) ran language classes, questioned the "neutrality" of texts and methods, and organised alternatives to both, stemming from the view

"that language teaching should cultivate critical awareness about what is thought to be the nature of the society in which the pupil is located - in other words, political consciousness" (Grillo 1985 p206).

ESL: the absence of a critical curriculum

The discussion above suggests that the implications of English language teaching do not lie entirely in the relationship of the English language to other languages. Rather, in common with other areas of education, this can be an area of struggle, with different groups having different motives for funding or running particular English courses.

English-speaking groups seek benefits from teaching migrants English which can be seen as potential aspects of social control - a hope of assimilation (Congleton 1965), teaching British culture (Bhatti 1976) or integration (Fitzgerald 1978); or of students feeling good about the society they are in (Hermann 1980); improved communication with public organisations (Robin 1963). Some have not been able to find a *raison d'etre* for ESL if its aim is not assimilation (Garvie 1982).

Articles by Catani, Swetland and Dittmar link the existence of second-language classes to a form of ideological domination. Catani et al suggest that existing second-language classes (in Europe as a whole) do not work -

"the foreign worker... has no actual possibility of mastering through institutional channels the language of the country where he (sic) works and resides" (Catani, Dittmar and Swetland 1982).

This they attribute to an insistence on using teaching models inappropriate to the conceptual models of the immigrant populations. The function of the classes, suggests Catani, along with other forms of training of foreign workers, is ideological: they are to teach individualism, and thereby submission. The promise they hold out that they will enable students to become socially mobile (cf Finocchiaro 1969-ND) results in little social mobility, but makes people blame themselves for their own failure to be socially mobile (Catani 1982; cf our p28).

Their analysis is powerful; but their use of the "tradition"/"modernity" paradigm causes problems, despite its attractive simplicity. It is not the case that all people in the west on the one hand, and the rest of the world plus "foreign workers" in the west, on the other, can be put into uniform and exclusive categories; or that there are only two approaches to life, society, or education. This hides the division of both groups by class, and the effects of continued intrusion into supposed "traditional" societies by international capitalism (see p235). While it may be the case that inappropriate teaching models contribute to low rates of second language acquisition and low attendance at classes, their two-world model itself is upset by the example of bilingual migrants who both approach institutions, and do learn English from them. In their terminology, they must then be "modernised". Instead, we would attribute importance to factors of class, past education, age, etc (ch 7). Further, a critique of training courses cannot be limited to those for "foreigners": those for so-called "modern" westerners have also attempted to make students "interiorise the individualisation of failure" (Catani op. cit. p236).

On our analysis, there are two main aspects of the ideological control functions of second-language teaching. The provision of ESL classes holds out a promise of success, and a suggestion that something is being done, both of which may appear to funding bodies to quieten the threat of discord: hence they fund such projects. On the other hand, organisers/teachers of ESL may hope for benefit to their students, and

the students come for that reason; and benefit is not precluded by the fact that funding is for cynical reasons. We suggest that the social control functions lie in the alignment of the curriculum with the social status quo, including funders' motivations. The difference between early initiatives where "need for English" was seen as straightforward, and later models of ESL have been discussed; but in neither was there much evidence of a critical curriculum.

Progressives in ESL have described ESL's wider attempts to be educationally progressive:

"we are... in a position to listen to our students, to explore their communicative environments, and make teaching out of the real world in which they live, rather than the constructed world of the classroom or the fictionalised world of the textbook... Methodological advances that are specific to ESL (rather than those shared by up-to-date communicative EFL teaching) are doing just that. Industrial language training, for example, takes the microcosm of the workplace and bases teaching on interactions that have been observed/recorded prior to instruction... The ESL syllabus covers potentially the sum total of contact with the ESL speakers; at work, in the area of health, social contact, day-to-day contact, in relationship to children's schooling, government agencies and authorities... The teaching of a new language should aim to add a vital medium of communication, but it should not be seen as a replacement for the mother tongue" (Baynham 1982a pp6-7).

Like progressive moves in schooling there are a concern for students' "real world", for "relevance", "negotiation" (of the syllabus), as well as the "integration" of home and education, education and work. However, as a result, critiques of the social control element of progressive "child-centred" schooling are also relevant for ESL.

Grace contrasts nineteenth-century schooling and twentieth-century progressive schooling in the late 1970s in a way that sheds light on the move from welfare to education in ESL, although the latter change is over a short timespan. The continuities as well as the changes he draws out are important to us in several ways: the argument that the social control function of schooling remained; the discussion of the special role of English teachers; of the missionary role of education for the working-class; and a critique of the progressive position (Grace 1978). Grace suggests that despite the surface change, teachers are still "endlessly engaged in a domesticating and job-selecting activity for a capitalist economy" (op. cit. p53). In the "citadel schools" of the nineteenth century, teachers were involved in an effort to control working-class pupils, but were themselves subject to control. Recruited then from the "more intelligent and ambitious youth of the working-

class", there was a risk of identification with the working-class, of militancy as workers, or of encouraging insubordination in the classroom. The development of a "missionary ideology" among teachers helped to control teachers (though it never succeeded mechanically) by involving them in the attempt to change and control the working-class, legitimated by portraying "a picture of demoralized and disorganised working-class life" (op. cit. p12). The missionary ideology had

"a number of social functions: it could help to sustain teachers in the face of considerable pedagogical and other difficulties which they faced in the large classes of urban elementary schools; it would preoccupy them with a Christian and humanitarian concern for amelioration and rescue; and it would serve as a powerful means of occupational control through its associations with notions of vocation and humility and relative unconcern for political, economic and social status questions" (p13).

It is of interest that ESL - which is not urban schooling - has a parallel "missionary ideology" (p320). On the part of funders ESL was part of an attempt to control urban anarchy in the 1970s and '80s (p73). Grace also traces various liberal solutions to the problem of urban schools - the criticism of low levels of expectation of the working-class (Right to Learn Group, etc.); seeing the problem as a lack of management expertise (ILEA, etc.); and a third (also within ESL): an attempt to regenerate the schools through progressive pedagogy. While a perception of working-class pupils' alienation, boredom and truancy posed problems for schoolteachers, it was external and internal political pressures that prompted an attempt to change direction in ESL, compounded by pressures from students in the form of varying "take-up".

Grace characterises these progressive moves as focusing on a number of new emphases: creativity, finding relevance and utility, searching for "wholeness" and "integration". Indeed,

"Insofar as young urban teachers may still be viewed as missionaries to the inner city, many of them take with them a gospel of 'pastoral care' and 'integration' in place of their predecessors' gospel of 'civilisation' and 'religion'" (op. cit. p77).

In the reforming, "professional" ESL, we also find a search for relevance, attempts to link ESL to other parts of the curriculum ("mainstreaming"), and a concern with counselling.

Like nineteenth-century "missionary"-like schooling, ESL welfare initiatives have involved a social pathology of the students seen as different "types" and set up as an attempt to solve their problems. Like twentieth-century progressives, newer initiatives have asserted the importance of individual students.

Like nineteenth-century English-language teachers in particular, ESL teachers have been "'preachers of culture' and purveyors of sweetness and light" (Grace op. cit. p193); again, like twentieth-century English teachers, ESL teachers have expressed "radical doubt" about schooling and education, and concentrated on a "celebration of pupil variety and self-confidence".

Grace found that other teachers believed that English school-teachers were "generally subversive of standards and dangerously focused upon the grimness of the urban environment" (op. cit. p 193), but that they were not as radical as their reputation suggested. ESL teachers, too, have been described as "a new breed", aware and radical (Bishop 1988) - but many teach through "situations" in a way which bypasses conflict.

What, then are the social control implications of the 'progressive' model? Grace explains the celebration of openness in progressive pedagogy as a romantic, naive concept, as it disregards external power realities. Filson called the concentration on individuals (cf interest in workshops for "independent learning": Hallgarten 1985) a reactionary move, dividing people into individuals, separating them from the groups within which they could potentially develop common interests (Filson 1980). The "child centred" ethos of the teacher-training colleges and schools has been described as

"an aspect of romantic radical conservatism which involves an emotional turning away from society and an attempt within the confines of education to bring about that transformation of individual consciousness which is seen to be the key to social regeneration" (Sharp and Green op. cit. p227).

Thompson has argued that the use of the concept of "relevance" can mean "locking working class people into a limited and parochial view of the world and depriving them of the forms of knowledge they need if they are to transform their social and economic situations" (Thompson 1980b p101).

In short, the "progressive" model, though ostensibly concerned with the needs of real people, can divorce education from the complex, political world, through "the MASSIVENESS of the tacit presentation of the consensus perspective" (Apple 1979: italics in original).

In ESL, we have found the same. Where the Victorian school was in 1869 a "citadel of national defence" (quoted in Grace 1978 p29), English-teaching efforts in the United States have been seen as part of "national defense" (Alatis 1969). The first was against insurgent workers; the second against insurgent migrants. In Britain, social

control methods and preoccupations from both fields seem (often despite the teachers' intent) to meet in ESL.

In Denton, teachers tried to explain how British society works (as they, often white and middle class perceived it), and tried to avoid "tricky" (political) issues. Teachers were often encouraged by students to play a role as "experts" on society, to help with forms and also with advice (Some teachers told where to get professional advice instead). But the classes themselves included a portrayal of society, and "how people do things". The "coping with the system" model had not been seriously challenged even by the progressives. ESL teachers remarked on the difference between "highly educated" women students and those with little education. We have noted that there is a link between levels of formal education and social class, but ESL as a whole was "class blind".

Bishop found in ESL

"a new breed of teachers, who situated themselves politically on the side of the students"(Bishop 1988 p160).

They had, she believed,

"an implicit consensus on issues such as immigration, racism, nuclear power, women's rights, third world exploitation etc" (p163).

However, this has been brought into the curriculum very little. As Mardle and Walker point out, political awareness and a critique of schooling can exist at separate levels of consciousness - in their example, radicals seemed to coincide with others on what "good teaching" was, thereby agreeing, after all, on what teaching was about (1980)! While Apple calls for resistance against prepackaged curricula (1981) which prespecifies teachers' actions and students' responses, moves to accredit ESL (p104), "return to grammar" (p179), and the yearning for textbooks (p168) all show ESL moving in this direction. Moves to individualise learning can similarly oppose the establishment of solidarity between students.

There are further questions about the ways in which ESL perpetuates the divisions of society. The EFL/ESL divide has been central to ESL's self-image (ch 4), which pictures EFL as largely "irrelevant" to people categorised as "ESL students" (teaching about hotels, airports, business); and "inflexible" - using textbooks for ease of throughput of students. Yet some potential students see in ESL's impoverished resources and low expectations a message that this is second-class education, in contrast to EFL, which represents proper English teaching leading to exams (student quoted on discussion paper at ILEA curriculum

workshop: p104). There are interesting comparisons here to working-class reactions to progressive schooling - not formal, not certificated, can mean "not real". In Denton we found more middle-class, more European, more male students on college EFL courses; fewer European and more people of Asian origin/and more women at ESL classes. A question which cannot be fully answered by this research is whether the EFL/ESL divide has become a grammar-school/secondary-modern division, with those who will succeed in society putting an EFL certificate under their belt; while the rest are offered caring, flexible, local ESL.

Conclusions

We have discussed the many ways the English language could be presented - in a context of literature, creative expression, study of society, as well as grammar (p330). All of these can be explored in a critical fashion - but it is only the last that seems to ESL progressives to be an appropriate competing paradigm with the "coping" model. Even ESL's classic "situations" could develop into a critical education, which explores society and allows critique and dissent. Yet it is literacy schemes rather than ESL that have published students' writing, showing that there has been politicised discussion of people's own experience as women (Spike 1978, EGWWG 1984), migrants, particularly from the Caribbean (eg Gatehouse 1980, Smith 1981), white working-class youth (eg Mills 1976, Core 1980?).

If adult education (like school) connects to power, what is the power of education for change? Whereas Schuller argues for paid leave to enable the powerless to attend class (Schuller 1978; cf Caldwell 1983 on Italy), the Berggrens would see paid leave as a form of bribery to become subject to educational control (Berggren and Berggren 1975). Can the curriculum of adult education do anything but support the existing power divisions in society?

The Berggrens believe that (in literacy teaching) the method of education is not as important as involving adult students in the planning of education. People should be asked why they want to learn to read and write. In contrast to weak notions of "negotiation", they expect this to lead to a critical curriculum (Berggren and Berggren 1975). Jackson (1980) is interested in the work of Freire (1972, 1973), suggesting that the relation of teacher and student has the possibility to challenge as well as reinforce prevailing class relationships,

institutional arrangements, educational processes. It is possible, he argues, for

"exploited and oppressed classes or groups to take education seriously as a liberating experience worth working hard at" (Jackson 1980 p17).

Jackson offers a different notion of "relevance" to the one usually considered: where "the key issues of political and economic power are considered of primary not secondary relevance" (1980b p44).

Thompson advocates serious "second chance for women" courses, "meant to be 'serious education', not the kind of 'low profile' variety which gets smuggled by stealth into community centres, mothers and toddlers groups and gatherings of women on housing estates - slipping in between the afternoon 'cuppa' and the organisation of the jumble sale - fearful of being seen to be serious and as a result failing to take seriously the educational needs of the women involved" (Thompson 1981? p16).

A critical education must problematise this society, ask questions about it - though not in any one necessary way. As well as acknowledging the students' cultures and using their own languages, the areas of race, gender and class need to be raised. Burke argues that Friere's work has sometimes been used towards "better integration into the existing system" (1984) - but Whitty argues that though many policies are potentially double-edged,

"consciously-articulated interventions in and around the curriculum should not be neglected by the contemporary left" (Whitty 1987 p15).

Friere has pointed out

"That as educators we should recognise that when we work on the content of the education curriculum, when we discuss methods and processes, when we plan, when we draw up educational policies, we are engaged in political acts which imply an ideological choice."

Friere and Macedo call for "emancipatory literacy... grounded in a critical reflection on the cultural capital of the oppressed" (1987 p157). They argue that "literacy conducted in the dominant standard language empowers the ruling class by sustaining the status quo" (p159), but go beyond bilingualism and a call to start from the students' own position and experiences, to an argument that literacy in the dominant standard language can "empower" students, if critical thought is encouraged. They see literacy not as a technical skill, but, potentially, as an enabling form of cultural politics. Similar arguments could apply to ESL.

Note on the methods used

The main description and discussion of the methods used are located in chapter 1. Pilot studies were of great importance in finalising the choice of interviews with open questions; while the initial problems establishing a sample of potential students are discussed on p45. Drawbacks to the survey about AEI students are discussed in chapter 4 (pp123ff).

The questionnaires proved useful. Though analysis of open questions was - as anticipated - a long process, it yielded interesting information. I now feel I should have added to the teachers' questionnaire (Appdx C(ii)) direct questions about their career plans or ambitions.

Future research could now look at ESL in a better-established phase. Questions that arise from this work are about the teachers, the students, and also a comparison of ESL/EFL and their students. A longitudinal study of ESL teachers, their approaches to ESL and career patterns would be of interest. In relation to students, research on black standpoints towards ESL would be of value; as would more work about potential students of different origins, perhaps particularly in the mixed inner city, to explore further the links between class, race, gender and education. Further, it would be interesting to see if the current swing towards "accreditation" on the part of initially-radical courses such as "Fresh Start" or "Second Chance" also relates to professionalising teachers attempting to establish their "subject"; and to consider its implications for the curriculum.

Footnote

After the fieldwork was completed, the issue of the curriculum entered debate in NATECLA, the lack of guidelines was noted (Evans 1988 p186), and working parties were set up on the ESL curriculum in 1986, reporting in 1989 (NATECLA 1989). The need to examine the curriculum was acknowledged in a book - "Current Issues " (Nicholls and Hoadley-Maidment 1988), which itself illustrates the professionalisation of ESL. The most important considerations here are two. Firstly, the ideal of student-centredness (McAllister and Robson 1988 p74) and student autonomy (Hallgarten 1988) echoes progressive moves in schools. Secondly, the emphasis on bilingualism and multiculturalism that we have discussed above (McAllister and Robson op. cit.; Collingham 1988). The concept of a critical curriculum does not enter the book, but in 1988

was discussed in an MA thesis by Bishop, who cites Freire and Giroux (1988), while two articles in "Language Issues" discuss the relevance of Friere to ESL (Shor 1988, Baynham 1988).

In 1988 and 1989, "Language Issues" discussed some academic considerations of approaches to learning second languages: but did not draw on the work discussed in chapter 6.

In 1987 and 1988, articles in NATESLA News questioned the neutrality of government training schemes, which were sending people to ESL classes. The recognition of "an element of compulsion" in "Restart" schemes had caused ILTUs in Bradford to refuse to cooperate with such schemes, and Brent ESL schemes to train "Restart" interviewers (NNews 25 p11-12). Suspicion of the new Employment Training led to the suggestion that glossy MSC publications should be balanced with material from the Unemployment Unit of the Charter against Workfare (NNews 29 p16).

"Empowerment" is also mentioned in the NATECLA curriculum guidelines (1989). These pay much attention to institutional forms, interestingly focusing on what has elsewhere been called the "hidden curriculum". Paradoxically the content of teaching itself remains the most hidden part of ESL's curriculum. "Needs analysis", "negotiation" and "bilingualism" remain important (p24), and teachers are urged to be "professional" (p25); the language syllabus is to be taught in the context of "topics based on the everyday life of the students", which, however, should not be "too narrow". In relation to "empowerment", one consideration is "a development of social and political awareness" (p23), which appears to have two substantive illustrations: knowing their rights, understanding the bureaucracy, being individually confident (p29), and awareness of racism and sexism (p49). A social and political awareness may be brought by some teachers into their teaching; but this is not wholeheartedly expressed in the "guidelines", because of simultaneous pressures to "professionalise", which cause more space to be given to technical improvements - assessment, record-keeping and accreditation (which share a pattern with the new training schemes: Hitchcock 1988).

Influential ESL teachers continued to echo the call that "ESL is not a subject" (NATECLA 1989), but the many claims made for ESL and its staff show the relevance of the arguments above. Bishop, looking at one college, shows how ESL had become a department in its own right, and

though it was "not a subject", wanted specialist staff (1988). NATECLA offered no mean list of reasons for the existence of ESL (called ESOL from 1989):

"English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is not a subject or a field of study in itself but an access point to education, training, employment and personal development..." (NATECLA 1989 p3); while it demands that its staff are acknowledged as "trained language specialists" in the institutions in which they work (p41). The difference between EFL and ESL remained important to ESL's self-definition.

In 1989, an ALBSU survey estimated that more than half a million adults needed help with their English, but only 44,000 got any help: a quarter of these from ILEA classes.

The Industrial Language Training Units were closed in 1988; and the ILEA was abolished in 1990, though the Language and Literacy Unit was still in existence at the time this work was finished.

APPENDICES

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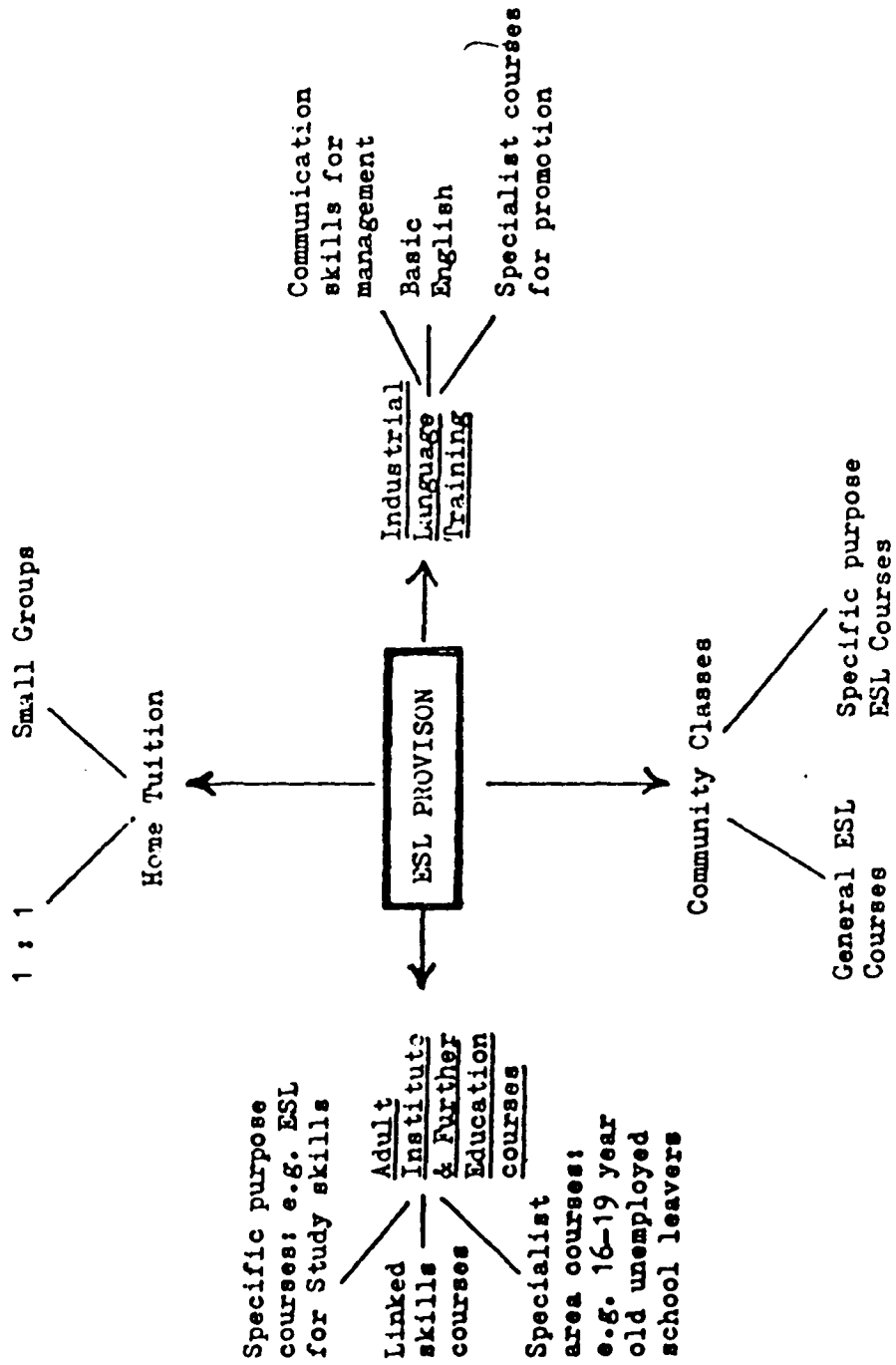
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APPENDIX A: ILEA ESL PROVISION 1981

(source, ILEA Language and Literacy Unit)

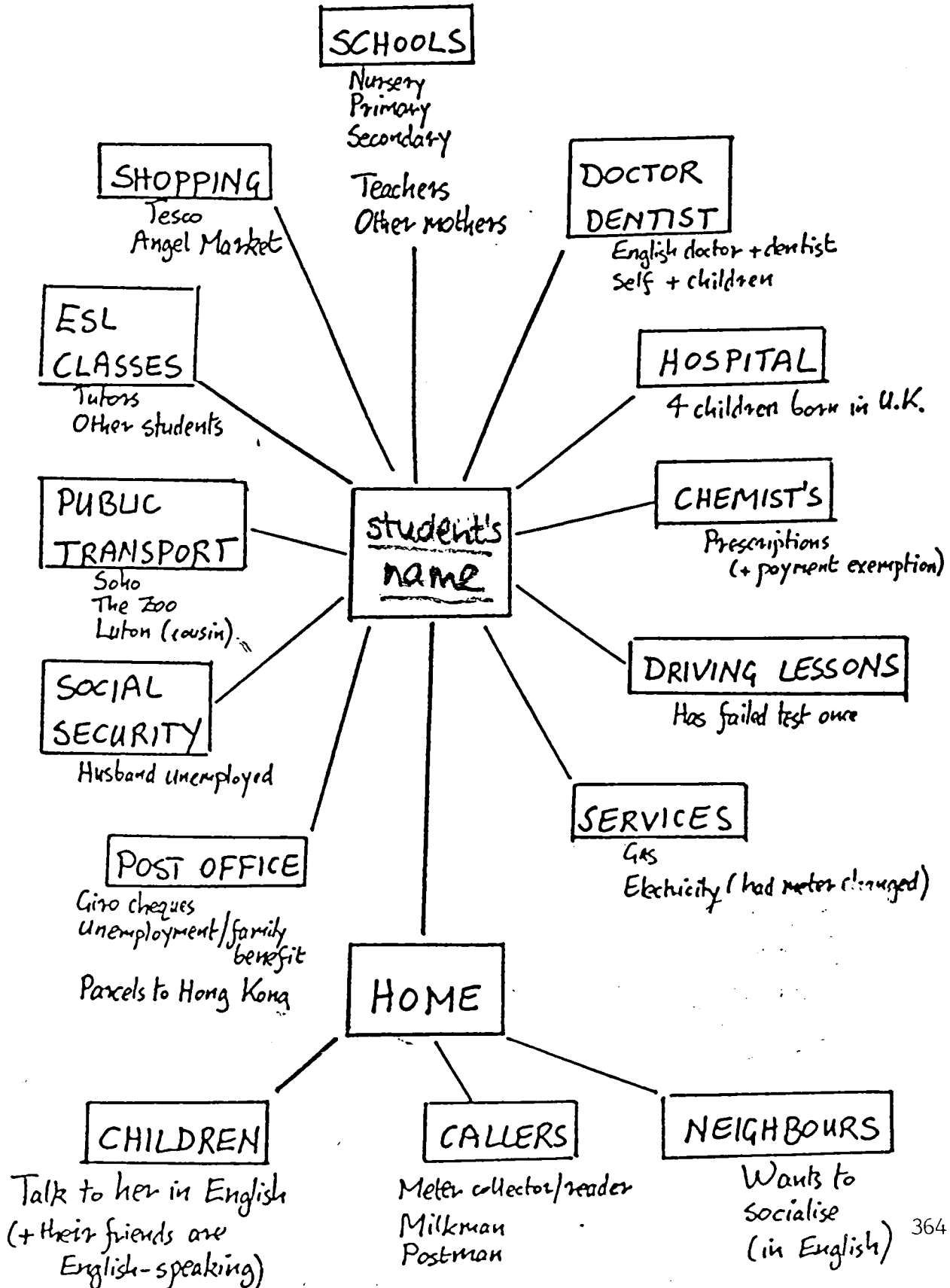
OVERALL PATTERN OF PROVISION



APPENDIX B: ESL TRAINING: MAKING STUDENT AND CLASS PROFILES

(i) Model "network" from CIT TESLA 1983

COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK



Appendix B(ii): Model "student profile" from CIT TESLA 1983

"Safia is from Bangladesh. Aged 20. Has been in the country 6 months. Brought to the class by her husband. Learnt English at school and can read and write it but speaks very little."

(iii): Model "student profile" from Denton home tutors' training course.

"Analysing case-studies for language needs".

"Two sisters-in-law from Pakistan. One has been in England for 5 years, the other for 6 years. Both their husbands are unemployed. Neither have received any formal education and are consequently illiterate. Between them they have eleven children - ranging in age from 12 years old to 18 months. Their spoken English is very basic - they know individual words but have difficulty putting them into sentences. One of the women has a hearing defect."

(iv): Model "class profile" from CIT TESLA 1983: SEE OVER

(v): ILEA class teacher's way of working out class "needs":

(original handwritten)

"Some Basic Needs.

" work social shopping health travel housing services children

	conv.					& school
"A	/	/	/	/	/	
"B	/		/			/
"C	/	/	/		/	
"D	/	/	/	/	/	
"E	/		/	/	/	
"F	/			/	/	
"G	/	/	/		/	
"H	/			/	/	
"I	/	/	/	/	/	"

(letters represent students' names)

Appendix B(iv): Model "class profile" from CIT TESLA 1983

NAME	AGE	SEX	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	LI	LANG SPOKEN IN HOME	ENG. CLASSES IN OWN COUNTRY	WORK	MARITAL STATUS	CHILDREN	FAMILY IN ENGLAND	LENGTH OF TIME IN ENGLAND	LEVEL / LANGUAGE NEEDS	ENG. CLASSES HERE
	26	M	SOMALIA	SOMALI	SOMALI	YES	EMBASSY WORKER (Clerical)	SINGLE	NONE	BROTHER + COUSINS	6 MONTHS	One of the most advanced students in the class - pronunciation a lot better - listening ability needs improving generally (post learning methods) - some problems with his writing (especially letter c/cf)	7 WKS
	58	M	ETHIOPIA	AMHARIC	N/A	NO	HOTEL LAUNDRY WORKER	MARRIED	7 CHILDREN IN ETHIOPIA	NONE	8 YRS	Overall level quite low - gets with basic phrases/making enquiries occasionally - is a little overager - listening & interpreting instructions - reading (skimming) fairly good - writing slow & laborious - confusion between upper & lower case - Use of capital letters often really has problems - access to home in UK speaking & listening - complete lack of reading - needs quite a bit of understanding when asked anything - level forms letter well - times to do for social reasons - good to have in the group.	8 2 1/2 YRS
	61	F	CYPRUS	GREEK	GREEK	NO	MACHINIST	WIDOW	NONE	NONE	2 3 YRS	Near beginner - particular problem pronunciation - listening prob access to home (lack of experience with lang) - Reading & writing skill relatively good (work needed on forming letters)	4 YRS
	25	F	HONG KONG (CONFUC D)	CHINESE	CHINESE	YES	COOK	SINGLE	NONE	SISTER	8 MONTHS	Most advanced student - pronunciation a lot better - needs work - listening powers good (although could benefit from work at speed/accents) - Spelling is relatively weak	6 WKS
	22	F	ITALY	ITALIAN	ITALIAN	YES	UNEMPLOYED	MARRIED	NONE	NONE	2 YRS	Gen level relatively low, but now progressing fast - gen slow labourer - vocab structure limited - passive knowledge good - needs a bit of work with reading & writing - spelling only is no good, then people get more details	9 MONTHS
	26	F	BOLIVIA	SPANISH	SPANISH	NO	CLEANER	MARRIED	ONE CHILD AGED 8	NONE	3 YRS	Near beginner - lacks confidence in pronunciation - limited vocab & fluency - gen. poor - listening powers v. limited - access to home - Reading & writing skills much more advanced	7 WKS
	27	F	COLOMBIA	SPANISH	SPANISH	YES	DRESS FINISHER	SINGLE	NONE	SISTER	5 MONTHS	AC varied student - speaking ability well in advance of her listening skills (instructions selecting preceding etc) Reading & writing excellent (spelling relatively poor)	9 MONTHS
	15	F	COLOMBIA	SPANISH	SPANISH	YES	DRESS FINISHER	SINGLE	NONE	AUNT	9 MONTHS	Confidence is low - needs work on structure/linking of phrases - listening powers related to lack of familiarity with native speakers - Reading & writing excellent.	5 WKS
	16	F	COLOMBIA	SPANISH	SPANISH	YES	DRESS FINISHER	SINGLE	NONE	AUNT	9 MONTHS	Prob with initiating (single word) phrases with long utterances - structure weak - passive know more on par with other Colombian students - Reading & writing abilities are good	5 WKS
	17	F	COLOMBIA	SPANISH	SPANISH	YES	DRESS FINISHER	SINGLE	NONE	NONE	1 YR	Advanced student - passive know is greater than active - lacks confidence further level - pronunciation a little labourer - Reading & writing gen good but some uncertainty with written ex's	5 WKS
	30	F	COLOMBIA	SPANISH	N/A	YES	DRESS FINISHER	SINGLE	NONE	NONE	1 1/2 YRS	Need of more phrases relate to his profession (time taken to respond + initiating - listening difficult)	5 WKS
	43	M	CHINA	CHINESE	CHINESE	YES	EMBASSY WORKER	MARRIED	2 CHILDREN IN CHINA	NONE	5 MONTHS	Reading & writing are well.	7 WKS

Appendix B(vi) Worksheet used for "negotiation" by ESL class tutor

(original hand-written)

Would you like to study these things in class? Please say yes or no.

Emergency services
(Police, Fire, Ambulance)
Using the underground
 buses
 trains
Joining a Library
Using the phone
 other slot machines
Going to the Post Office
The Plumber
Repairs in the home
Doctor
Dentist
Hospital
Medicines
Shopping. Food
 Clothes
 Furniture
 Equipment

APPENDIX C: ESL IN DENTON

(i): Checklist for organisers

What sort of English-teaching provision does your organisation provide?

How many staff/ students/ classes/ where/ when?

What are the main things taught; in what way; and why?

Who decides what is taught; how?

How is the English-teaching funded? How does this affect the type of teaching you do?

How does teaching English fit with the other work of the organisation?

What work do you, individually, do?

Who are the teachers; what training do they have?

Who are the students?

What are the criteria for entry on to the course?

How do you find students?

How long do students stay; what do you expect they'll go on to do?

What are the main groupings of students?

How long has your organisation been teaching English; how did it start?

What are the aims of the English-teaching provision?

Have these changed?

Have there been any changes?

Are there any changes you would like to see?

How does it compare to other English-teaching in the borough?

What connections do you have to other organisations that teach English?

What are the most important issues about ESL teaching?

Do teachers use other languages than English in class?

Can you suggest any other people to talk to?

Appendix C(ii): Teacher interview schedule

REVISED ESL TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CLASSES

- (1) What classes do you teach now?
(where? type of class? what level? mixed? creche? time of day? no. of times per week? new class/ going a long time?)
- (2) What classes have you taught in the past?
What are the differences between those and your present classes?

STUDENTS

- (3) Who are the students in your classes?
Where do they come from?
Are different kinds of people students in your present classes from those in past classes?
(are there the same sorts of students?)
- (4) Talking about your present classes --
What are the backgrounds of the students in their country of origin?
- (5) What are the backgrounds of those students here?
(if teacher teaches different classes or is aware of lots of different ones, ask)
do people of different backgrounds go to different classes?
- (6) What do you see as the aims of ESL for your students?
Is this different for different groups of students?
- (7) Do particular groups of students have particular requirements of ESL classes?
- (8) Do you find that students tend to come to classes regularly over a long period?
Is this different for different groups of students?
- (9) What do you think encourages students to come to classes?
Is this different for different groups of students?
- (10) Are there differences in the ways that particular groups of students respond in your ESL classes?
(If so:) What do you think that is due to?

TEACHING

- (11) What are the main things that you teach in your classes?
- (12) Which of these do you think are especially important for the students in your classes?
(Why?)

(13) Which do the students seem to enjoy most?
Is this different for different groups of students?

(14) What resources do you draw on in deciding what to teach?

LANGUAGE

(15) What languages do your students speak?

(16) Do you speak the language/s of any of your students?
Which?

(17) Do you use the students' language/s in your classes in any way?
In what way?

ESL ORGANISATION

(18) How do people come to be students in your classes?
(How do they find out about classes?)

(19) How is it decided what students go to which classes?

(20) What happens to students after your classes?
Do they go on to other English classes, or other classes, or training or work?
Can they get help deciding that?

(21) How independent are you in deciding what goes on in your classes?

(22) Who do you work with?

(23) Are you in contact with other ESL teachers? Where is that? eg people working in the same place/ teachers' meetings/ union/ NATESLA/ friends?
Do you have regular meetings with other ESL people?

(24) Who do you go to if there's a problem?

(25) Who's your immediate boss?

(26) How is policy made about classes?

(27) What in your view are the main issues in ESL?
(The most important things to think about?)

THE TEACHER

(28) How long have you been teaching ESL?
(Do you enjoy it?)

(29) How/ why did you get involved in ESL?

(30) What sorts of work were you doing previously?

(31) Do you have any other jobs now?

(32) Have you done an ESL training course?

Which one? Where?

And any in-service training courses? What on? Where?

(33) Has ESL changed at all while you've been teaching?
In what way?
Do you have any impression (even if it's of a longer period than the time you've been teaching) of how ESL has changed?

(34) Do you think the organisation of ESL teaching here is similar to that in other places?

OTHER

(35) In my work I'm especially interested in ESL provision for Pakistani and Indian and Bangla Deshi women. In the questions I've asked you, I haven't wanted to separate out women from these countries in case you don't see it that way, but do you think that there are special things about ESL provision for women from India, Pakistan, Bangla Desh that haven't been covered in our discussion?

(36) I'm interested in the history of ESL locally.
Do you know anyone I can talk to about that?

(37) Do you have any other comments about the sort of thing we've been talking about?

Appendix C(iii): Home tutor interview schedule

HOME TUTORS

- (1) How long have you been a home tutor?
 - (2) How many students have you had? (all at once, singly?)
 - (3) How long have you been teaching your present student(s)?
-
- (4) Please tell me about your student(s)?
[Where from, etc?]
[Why learning English]
[Why has home tutor]
[If a student stopped, do they know why?]
-
- (5) How often do you visit her/him?
 - (6) How long do you stay?
 - (7) What time of day do you go?
 - (8) What do you do?
 - (9) What sort of things do you teach? Or plan to teach?
[Is it the same for the different students?]
 - (10) Why those? How do you decide what to teach?
 - (11) Do you speak your student's language at all? Do you use your student's language when you teach?
 - (12) How has it been going?
[Is the student making progress?]
[Are there any special problems?]
-
- (13) What do you see as the aims of teaching English?
 - (14) How did you come to be a home tutor?
 - (15) Why did you want to do it?
 - (16) Are you enjoying it?
 - (17) Do you expect to continue for a long time? How long do you expect to continue with this student? At what point would you stop?

APPENDIX D: POTENTIAL STUDENTS

(i): Checklist for group discussions

What sort of group is it; what does it do?

What is the importance of learning English for bilingual women? Is it the same for everybody?

What languages do people speak and how have they learnt them?

How much English do they all speak; how have they learnt it?

How does English-teaching, and the education system, work in Pakistan/India?

How have people learnt English here?

How do people manage with little English here?

What happens when the children learn English at school? (to their other languages? to their mother's language?)

Does speaking little English restrict choice of work?

What do people know about the different sorts of local English teaching provision? (Not only AEI, etc: are there "community organisations" that teach English?)

Do they have any contact with such provision : what? (eg been to classes? - specify)

What do they think about them (good things/ problems)?

What sort of provision (if any) would they like to see?

Important things in terms of place/ time of classes?

language used in teaching?

content of teaching?

What do they know of other local education/ training for bilingual women; is there any they think important?

What are the major issues about (1) language and (2) education for bilingual women?

What is their opinion on current debates within ESL: viz (1) bilingual teaching; (2) linking of English teaching to teaching of other skills; (3) fluctuating attendance?

Do they know of women potential students I could talk to?

Appendix D(ii): Individual interview schedule: SEE OVER

(Originally two sides of the same sheet of A4)

ENGLISH CLASSES

Do you go to English classes?

Do you have a home tutor?

Have you (either) before?

IF YES, where -
when -
times/week -
mixed/not -
cost -

How did you ^{childcare?} hear about the class?

Did you go with friends?

Did you make friends there?

How long did you go for/

When did you start? -

Did you go regularly?

(If so) why did you stop going?

Did you find the classes useful?
In what way?

What did you like best?

What didn't you like?

Was it difficult for you to go to
the class?

IF NO

Do you want help with your English?

Would you know how to find a class?

Are there any special problems
for you in going to a class?

ALL, Do you think the English
classes round here could be
improved?

Do you have friends who want to
learn English but don't go to a
class? Why is that?

OTHER CLASSES

Do you want to learn anything apart
from English? What -
Do you know about local classes?

OTHER LEARNING

What is your mother tongue?

Other languages?

Where do you come from?
(village/town)

Where did you go to school?

How many years?

College? What -

Training? What -

Qualifications? -

Did you learn English at school?

How many years? How?

How did when you came to GB

Could you speak/write English then?

At that time did you want to
improve your English?

How good is your English now?

- understanding - v/gd/ok/little

- speaking

- reading

- writing

How have you learnt more English?

Have you tried to learn E. outside classes?
How?

Does anyone at home help you?
Who?

Do you speak English to friends?

Watch TV? Have you seen any
special English language programmes?
Which ones? What did you think?

How did you learn your other 2nd lang?
~~~~~

Do you want to learn more English?

What for?

What difference would it make to you

Do you know of local classes for  
anything but English?

## LANGUAGE USE

What languages do you speak  
at home — to:  
children  
husband  
others

What language do your children  
speak to you   
their father   
each other

What language do you speak at  
shops   
doctor   
friends   
neighbours   
groups/classes

Do you work?  Do you want to?

What sort of work?

Do you use Engl. at work?

Does your husb / father speak English?

How well?

Does he work?  What -

How long has he been in England?

Does he want you to learn English?

Is he happy for you to go to class?

Who else do you live with?

Do they speak English?

Does anyone ever act as interpreter  
for you?  Who?

In what circumstances?

Or do you do it for other people?

## ALTERNATIVES

Is it better for you to have,

- teaching at home/classes
- classes for ♀ / mixed
- day / evening classes
- classes once a week / more
- exams / not
- teacher with same MT
- teaching English using your language
- teaching English with something else
- someone to help with English so you can learn other subjects
- teaching your language to adults
- more say by people learning English in how the classes are run.

## PERSONAL

When did you come to GB?

How long in this area?

Do you have family in this area?



(iii): Additional questions for women in paid employment:

Did you need English to get the job you have?

Did you have an interview? In English?

How did you find out about the job?

What languages do you use at work - with the people you work with?  
- with your supervisor / boss?

How important is it in your work to be able to - understand English?  
- speak English?

- read or write English?  
- speak other languages (specify)

Do you hope to change your job (either at this workplace or  
elsewhere?)

IF YES - how would you hope to find a new job? Would you need  
English for your new job?

Is it true that you can get a better job if you can speak English?  
Or not? How/why?

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