

**“It’s Like All of Campus Life Inside a Little Classroom”:
How an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) Program
Operates within a University Setting**

by

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Abstract

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) are language programs designed to assist non-native speakers with their academic studies in English. These programs determine entry and exit into various stages of post-secondary education, depending on English language competence. EAP programs developed into a teaching and learning profession connected to the spread of English as a dominant global language. Although EAP did not originate in universities, Canadian universities adopted these programs to attract international students. Over time, EAP has become an integral part of university education in Canada. Given the clear differences in learning objectives, it is uncertain whether or not universities have the ability to incorporate EAP as a profession. The goal of this research is to discover how an EAP program fits within a degree-granting Canadian university institution. A qualitative methodological case study was conducted in the “English for Academic Success” (EFAS) program at Renison University College affiliated with the University of Waterloo. The history of how EAP became a unique teaching occupation is included to help identify the problems associated with the professional status of EAP within the university system. The sociological literature on “professions” helps deepen an understanding of the challenges EAP educators face in being recognized as professionals, especially within a university environment. With an empirical understanding of the status of EAP in the context of university education, this research contributes to educational theories of professions, work, globalization and the knowledge economy.

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Dedication

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List of Acronyms

ACE-TESOL	Advance Consulting in Education-Teaching English to Speakers of Other Language (at Renison University College)
BALEAP	British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes
BASE	Bridge to Academic Success (at Renison University College)
BNA	British North America Act of 1867
CCLB	Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EEP	English for Economic Purposes
EFAS	English for Academic Success (at Renison University College)
EFP	English for Financial Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EFS	English for Success (at Renison University College)
EGP	English for General Purposes
ELAS	English Language for Academic Studies (EAP program at Conestoga College)
ELC	English Language Centre (operation of non-credit courses in the English Language Institute at Renison University College)
ELI	English Language Institute (at Renison University College)
ELP	English for Legal Purposes
ELPE	English Language Proficiency Exam (at the University of Waterloo)
ELS	English Language Studies (operation of credit courses in the English Language Institute at Renison University College)
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMP	English for Management Purposes
EMP	English for Medical Purposes
EOP	English for Occupational Purposes
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
EST	English for Science and Technology
EU	European Union
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
LINC	Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NRS	National Recognition Standards (Canada)
SELMOUS	Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Students (UK)
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TESL	Teaching English as a Second Language
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UW	University of Waterloo
WLU	Wilfrid Laurier University

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1 Chapter One: Introduction

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) are language learning programs that assist non-native English speakers with post-secondary studies. The emergence of this language teaching specialty was largely due to a growing number of people wanting to learn in English-language educational institutions. I spent several years teaching EAP as a full-time instructor at universities in Egypt and Morocco. Recently, I have spent time as a sessional EAP instructor at Renison University College of the University of Waterloo. In each of these pedagogical positions I noticed a gap with how EAP fits within a university setting. Beginning with the transformation of the EAP program into Renison's English for Academic Success (EFAS) program, I decided to examine the professionalization of EAP programs within a Canadian university setting, and the challenges this arrangement has posed for instructors in terms of having the program recognized as a profession within the university structure at both Renison and the University of Waterloo. It was unclear whether there is a professional career in EAP. Thus, my central research question asks: how does an EAP program fit within a degree-granting Canadian university institution?

In order to answer this research question, I undertook a qualitative methodological case study of the EAP program employed by the University of Waterloo because this represents a definitive context in which an accredited Canadian university has adopted an EAP program. This program is operated by the English Language Institute (ELI) at Renison University College. The name "English for Academic Success" (EFAS) is an acronym for EAP. The English Language Institute (formerly known as the English Language Centre) was established in 1980 to provide English as a Second Language (ESL) services for non-native speaking students at the University of Waterloo (Renison University College, 2012). In 1994, the ELI introduced its first

year-round programs in ESL, titled “English for Success” (EFS). This long history of teaching English as a second language (TESL) at Renison has continued to develop, with the goal of meeting the English language needs of the University of Waterloo’s international student cohort. This has resulted in an expanding role for the ELI. A significant outcome is the evolution of ESL into EAP, with the establishment of the EFAS program in 2001. This is separate from its ESL/EFS teaching initiative due to its specific language teaching purpose. The ELI operates within three organizational bodies. Not only is it a founding member of Languages Canada but it is also a member of TESL Canada Federation and the University of Waterloo (Renison University College, 2014). Within the former two organizations, EFAS curricula and pedagogy is considered progressive and cutting edge, but within the university organizational hierarchy it occupies a fairly low status. EFAS has grown into a full-scale program that now offers four levels of language proficiency with formal graduation ceremonies (ibid, 2012).

There are three important parts involved in exploring my central research question. The first involves a historical analysis of EAP language teaching in order to trace the historical developments in the field and the reasons why the University of Waterloo adopted this program. The second part of my research focuses on the professional status of EAP. Here, I examine the transformation of the occupation of English language teaching into a profession. These programs are separate and distinct teaching occupations from the teaching of university academic disciplines, and it is unclear how EAP teachers are affected by having an association with the university system. It was important to find out how EAP practitioners perceive themselves within the occupation of teaching and how they are viewed in a degree-granting university setting. Thus, an important part of the research is an analysis of the literature within the sociology of professions to shed light on the issues explored within this thesis, and to gain a

clearer understanding of what the characteristics and processes of professionalization are, and what professional status means to the people involved. In summary, I link the literature on the sociology of professions to the social status of EAP, and explain how the different sociological perspectives look at the concept “professions”. The final part of the research explores how EAP became the EFAS program at Renison. This part of the inquiry addresses the crux of the problem of accreditation within the University of Waterloo because EFAS has evolved into an integral gatekeeping program for a large international student cohort intending to pursue degree studies at the university.

Exploratory research on the professional status of EAP is required because many people are affected by this new type of arrangement, and there is a lack of this sort of empirical analysis. Consequently, in order to make sense of the experiences of the people involved in the case study a deeper sociological analysis of “professions” was utilized because it is unclear what this type of arrangement means for EAP as a distinct program and profession. This section not only strengthens the qualitative research by considering a variety of theoretical interpretations but can contribute to a better understanding of the usage of the concept “profession” in the sociological literature.

As appendage institutions that attract many international students to Canadian universities, the possibility exists that the learning outcomes in EAP within this type of arrangement could be compromised. For example, have pressures been created on the EAP program to have students pass the program more quickly than within independent EAP programs in order to enable students to enrol in their intended academic disciplines? In Canada, EAP programs are regulated by provincial, territorial and national governing bodies. It is unclear how

the university system affects the structure of these programs when they become housed within universities.

1.1 Historical Background

In order to answer my research questions it is important to understand how EAP became a professional teaching occupation. The occupation of teaching English for Academic Purposes did not originate in university settings, but emerged from the broader field of English Language Teaching (ELT). In the context of specified learning objectives, ELT began to flourish during the late nineteenth century when the term “English as a Second Language” (ESL) was coined (Howatt, 1984: 169). There were important pedagogical developments in the field stemming from that period of time until the mid-twentieth century. The most significant result was the emergence of teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP), largely due to general developments in the world economy escalating in the 1950s. There was increased demand to learn specialized English language skills in the fields of science, technology and business. From this new demand for language teaching for specific purposes emerged the field of EAP, which provides specific academic skills in English for students interested in earning degrees in a variety of academic disciplines.

EAP, then, emerged during the 1960s as a distinct profession on the heels of this global phenomenon. My working definition of professional EAP teaching is an occupation that includes codification of knowledge, specialization and licensing of teachers, and specialized publications and journals to mark advances in the field. These programs determine entry and exit into various stages of higher education, depending on English language competence, and have become an important means to meet the needs of a large international student cohort.

Therefore, EAP has had a practical role to play in the process of globalization and the spread of English. Although it did not originate in the university setting, many universities now employ EAP programs as a way of attracting international students. The growing popularity of EAP programs in Canadian universities is thus the result of the growth of international science, technology and trade, driven by economic interests and communicated more and more through the English language.

A common misunderstanding is the difference between ESL and EAP. Succinctly, English as a Second Language (ESL) are language learning programs that teach basic communication skills. Outcomes serve the practical purpose of learning to communicate in English at a rudimentary level, such as helping non-native speaking immigrants to adjust to a new society. On the other hand, English for Academic Purposes (EAP) are programs meant for people intending to pursue a post-secondary education. Such students have previously attained the basic English language proficiencies offered through ESL curricula. Thus, EAP students are aiming at a higher level of academic achievement taught in English rather than their own first language. They are often learning academic strategies for the first time in English, so the concerns of EAP are not merely specific to just learning the English language (Robinson, 1991: 101). Since the earliest and most consistent subject matter in EAP has remained science, technology and business relations, the long-term needs of learners entail specialized training. These students seek to improve their academic English skills in order to help them succeed with their academic course work. Nevertheless, ESL teaching certification is the basic credential required for all English Language Teaching (ELT) initiatives in Canada, including EAP.

In Canada, then, the specific credentials required to qualify as an EAP instructor are a Bachelor of Arts degree and ESL certification. A defining characteristic of a profession is the

“existence of an institution that serves as a voice and agent of the profession” (Eddy & May, 2004: 89). While several provinces and the Yukon territory initiated ESL programs during the post-World War Two period, it was not until 1978 that representatives from each region passed a draft constitution which led to the TESL Canada Foundation becoming officially incorporated in 1984 as a federation (ibid: 89). The main objectives of the federation are to promote communication among the jurisdictions, to support the promotion of policies related to TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language), and to coordinate the dissemination of information in the fields related to TESL (ibid: 90). An important part of the federation’s mission and values is to provide national standards for professional certification and teacher training program recognition, to promote ongoing professional development, and to undertake research and scholarship in the field of teaching and learning ESL (TESL Canada Federation, 2012).

The traits and processes undertaken by this national professional governing body are the same as what traditional sociological literature identifies an occupation needs to do to be recognized as a profession (Goode, 1966: 41). TESL Canada is a national federation that is governed by a Board consisting of an elected Executive, five Elected Directors and one appointed representative from each of the member provincial and territorial associations (TESL Canada Federation, 2012). There is a clear bureaucratic hierarchy in the structure of the federation. Professional development of the members of any organization can take on many forms. TESL Canada has chosen to focus on national conferences, learners` conferences, and professional publications (Eddy & May, 2004: 94). For example, the *TESL Canada Journal* is a refereed journal for ESL and EAP practitioners, educators, graduate students and researchers (TESL Canada Federation, 2012). The TESL Canada Conference is “held in partnership and

hosted with a provincial or territorial association every 18 months” to provide professional development through “plenaries, workshops, symposia, and research papers” (ibid, 2012).

The hierarchical organization of the federation includes a teacher`s resource centre, a standards committee responsible for ethical guidelines for ESL practitioners, a professional directory, bi-annual TESL Canada bulletins to disseminate important and relevant information, and a web-site and public relations committee (TESL Canada Federation, 2012). The TESL Canada Foundation has become the professional organizational body for English Language Teaching (ELT) across Canada. In 1992, Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) (now Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)) created a Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program to develop a national policy on language training for immigrants and refugees (Eddy & May, 2004: 92). TESL Canada played a major role in developing national benchmarks and assessment for LINC, and its research led to the creation of the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (CCLB), an agency that assesses, administers and develops the national English language proficiency level standards (ibid: 93). These new language benchmarks use a descriptive scale of communicative proficiency in English, expressed as benchmarks, or reference points (ibid: 93). They provide a framework for all areas and levels of English language teaching, curriculum development for a variety of programs, such as EAP, and a common yardstick for assessing learning outcomes (ibid: 94).

Another process in the development of professional English language teaching in Canada came in 1996 when the National Recognition Standards (NRS) was created to ensure accessibility, reliability, and sufficiency of language training in Canada (Eddy & May, 2004: 100). The goal was to ensure and promote standards in ELT that are recognized both nationally and internationally. The two sets of standards include professional certification standards that

are recognized in all provinces, consisting of four levels of EAP teaching, and national teacher training program recognition (ibid: 101). Over the past thirty years TESL Canada has continued to make significant contributions to the professionalization of English language teaching (ELT) and learning in Canada to the degree that all ELT in Canada adopts professional characteristics and processes described in the functionalist sociological literature. Chapter Three contains an explanation into why occupations such as English language teaching commonly choose this approach to gain professional status.

1.2 The Case Study

The English for Academic Success (EFAS) program offered at Renison University College of the University of Waterloo is an ideal site to conduct a case study of an EAP program. The EFAS program began in 2001 and it continues to provide intermediate, high intermediate and advanced proficiency levels in English. EFAS is an intensive fourteen-week program that takes place in each of the University of Waterloo's three semesters. Depending on students' academic discipline, they must complete either the advanced 300 or 400 levels of the program in order to satisfy the University of Waterloo's English Language Proficiency Requirement for both undergraduate and graduate students. Specifically, most undergraduate students must earn a minimum of 75% in each of the skill courses, and an overall average of 75% in the EFAS 300 level, which includes the final exit exam. On the other hand, graduate students must maintain a minimum average of 80% at the 400 level, with the exception of those in Engineering who require the same benchmark as undergraduate students (Renison University College, 2013). Certified ESL instructors teach students in small classes and offer "tasks and activities ranging from controlled to free practice to meet the collective and individual needs of students [and]

organize course materials in clearly defined levels, allowing students to measure their progress against recognized standards” (Renison University College, 2012). Enrolment in Renison’s EFAS program expands every year. In 2012, there were more than 250 students enrolled in the program in each of the three semesters (for an average of 750 students), representing over twenty-five nationalities (ibid, 2012).

Clearly, the EFAS program is an excellent arena for a case study in order to answer how an EAP program fits within a university setting. It is known that EAP is a distinct program offering the service of teaching academic skills in English, and that Canadian universities offer accredited degrees which indicates the pedagogical transmission of knowledge. What is unknown is how the former fits within the latter, because it is a recent development. There is a need to find out whether certificate-granting programs that teach English language skills can co-exist with degree-granting programs that train scientists and professionals. The case study method enabled me to investigate the effectiveness of this arrangement, or conversely, whether or not any problems associated with the professional status of EAP have emerged as a result of its integration within the university system.

1.3 The Concept of “Professionalism”

An important part of this research seeks to clarify what precisely “professional status” means. Given EAP’s distinct professional trajectory, part of the research is aimed at getting to the core of my central research question of whether or not universities have the ability to cope with EAP as a separate profession that developed outside the university setting. It is important to understand how the university distinguishes between the pedagogy, curriculum and overall purposes of academic disciplines and a program that offers a vital service for its international

student cohort. Thus, it is necessary to explain the concept of profession theoretically, historically, and methodologically in terms of utilizing the case study to gain a comprehensive understanding in the context of EAP teaching.

To help answer my central research question, it is necessary to explore the sociological concept of “professionalism”. By adopting similar characteristics and following the processes applied in other occupations attempting to acquire professional status, such as nursing or social work, EAP developed into its own unique “profession”. As stated, the cumulative historical developments in Canada of these traits and processes in the discipline of EAP resulted in the creation of its own regulatory bodies. Thus, the professional status of EAP was attained by following the processes that worked for other occupations and mirrored the characteristics that typically define what a profession is. However, it is people living in specific socio-historical contexts who help define who is considered a professional. Despite attaining the core traits and following similar processes that other occupations utilized to gain professional status, occupations like nursing, social work, and EAP teaching have struggled to achieve true work autonomy in terms of being free to determine how to apply an esoteric knowledge base to their practices. For example, government regulations hinder these occupations from attaining autonomy in their work that established professions enjoy. Therefore, part of this research seeks to find out why some skilled work is valued more than others.

Professions are created through social interactions and activities. There is much ongoing debate in the sociology of professions, particularly with the “traits and processes” approach to professions which are popular in the academic literature. Recently, sociological analyses of professionalism are being called into question because they are viewed as both too limited in theoretical scope and are mono-cultural. For example, Sciulli (2007: 52) writes that the

sociology of professions “can no longer be treated as some surrogate by which...functionalists [sociologists]...promote on putatively universalistic grounds what are ultimately uniquely Anglo-American histories and institutions.” There is a need to further analyze the concept of professionalism as debated in the discipline of sociology.

My case study research enables me to explore the professional status of EAP as it is situated within an accredited university system because I can focus on the “traits”, which are commonly identified as the characteristics that make up a profession, as well as on the organizational and structured relationships that have been created (Freidson, 1970: 78; Johnson, 1972: 23). Couched within tertiary-level educational institutions, one persistent issue that has been observed is that EAP teaching has not generally been recognized as a legitimate teaching profession (Johns, 1997; Benesch, 2001). If this is true, then the case study investigation into the EAP profession within this context informs the academic community about the traits and processes approach to professions. Here, the case study serves as a vehicle for understanding what “professionalization” is, and offers a more complete elaboration of the concept of “profession”. Since the status of professions is socially constructed, the concept of “professionalism” varies according to socio-historical context. In other words, it is the subject of struggle and debate. By exploring how EAP is received as a professional teaching endeavour within the university system, this research makes a valuable contribution to the sociological literature on professions.

What it takes to be considered a profession in most Western countries involves specialized knowledge in order to provide an integral service. In the latter half of the twentieth century there was a growing differentiation of knowledge, which resulted in the creation of new professions. Much effort is made among professional organizations to raise their level of

prestige, or standing, in society. In advanced industrial societies the process of becoming “professionalized” is helpful for identifying occupational structures. For instance, the processes involved in many new specialty professions are often generated by the roles applied science and technology play in their development. However, the continuous increase of specialization in the pursuit of complex, formal knowledge and technique often induces stricter state licensing practices and credentials to control membership within a professional occupation. For example, traditional occupations evolved from medieval universities, such as law or university teaching, and began to slowly expand and break down into organized disciplines in their own right during the initial period of nation building and the development of capitalism (Freidson, 2001: 21). Similarly, prior to the mid-twentieth century much scientific research formerly done by serious amateurs developed into full-time paid occupations. Many of these specializations could practice in the marketplace, such as chemists, and could be employed by the state or private firms (ibid: 21). Nevertheless, all professions in capitalist societies have become bureaucratized to some extent, and this bureaucratic, large-scale type of organization is a distinguishing characteristic of these new occupations (Larson, 1977: 179). Because of the changing nature of professions, it is necessary to provide an accurate definition of what is meant by the concept of “profession” in the discipline of sociology.

According to Sciulli, the term “profession” did not “enter common usage in English until the late 18th or early 19th century at the earliest” (2007: 51). As work activities in modern society became more and more diversified, the term typically referred to paid employment in some occupation. However, the sociological definition of profession more precisely refers to a special kind of occupation that includes status and privileges (Adams, 2010: 50). From its earliest usage to the present, sociologists have understood the concept to mean exclusivity in the

“occupational order and the stratification system” evident in the social organization of Western capitalist societies (Sciulli, 2007: 37).

The traits and processes approach to the concept of professionalism relates to the characteristics that commonly identify a profession, and the procedures it underwent to attain such a title. Wilensky (1964: 138) states that any occupation wishing to exercise professional authority must legitimize a “technical basis” and assert an exclusive jurisdiction. This requires a realization of specific traits, or the qualities constitutive of what helps an occupation to be regarded as a profession. Likewise, the processes, or path travelled to becoming a profession, should display the sequence that best fits the development of an established profession (Wilensky, 1964: 142). These processes commonly involve the creation of a professional association, the support of law for the protection of job territory and technical monopoly, the development of a formal code of ethics, and specialized training establishments (Caplow, 1966: 20-21; Greenwood, 1957: 45; Wilensky, 1964: 142-145). All of these traits and processes that have typically defined a profession are evident in EAP teaching in Canada. As mentioned, although they are processes many occupations go through in attempts to attain professional status, it does not mean that an occupation which meets such criteria will be granted professional status.

1.4 Perceptions of Professionalism within a University Setting

Students, teachers and the occupation of EAP teaching are affected by the EFAS program as it currently operates within both Renison University College and the larger University of Waterloo system. Learners of academic English intend to pursue full-time university degree programs, and they are generally older and more experienced people than students at the

secondary school level. Brumfit (1993: 119) observes that students who attend international programs are not usually committed to staying in the host country long-term. Many foreign students leave home with the support of, or pressure from, their families in order to earn a degree from an accredited tertiary-level school with equal weight placed on acquiring enhanced English skills. There are many associated risks involved with moving to a foreign country and school. Among these is the potential alienation which may be exacerbated by the view that commitment is merely temporary (ibid: 119). If this is true, students could be put in a position of relative inferiority because of an inability to communicate in English naturally and effectively. Thus, the relationships to their academic disciplines could be derivative and passive. Here, low self-esteem could translate into a cause of possible tension.

Native speaking peers and the people running academic institutions might not be aware of cultural factors that affect communication and learning. Thus, it is important to consider whether these students could complete EAP certification elsewhere prior to immigrating to Canada, since university programs are more expensive and there is added time required to complete both an EAP program and a degree. Mastering better competence of the language and learning academic skills through the medium of English prior to enrolling in a foreign university could potentially decrease student anxiety. Therefore, it was important to my research to find out how students are affected by enrolling in EAP programs operated by host universities.

There were several factors that drew me to study this topic. The goal of teaching is the reason why I chose to pursue an undergraduate degree. I have also had a deep desire to live in and explore new cultures. As a post-graduate student, I had grown concerned that, in a global context, many cultures were becoming increasingly mono-linguistic in English. Since I have been intrigued with the regions of Asia and the Middle East and how they were being affected by

global economic shifts, I decided to seek pedagogical experience by immersing in new cultures by teaching English as a Second Language (ESL). This way, I would be able to realize both aspirations while leaving the opportunity to return to graduate studies open in the future.

With each teaching position I secured, I kept an open mind to grow as a professional language instructor, as well as to “keep moving” in order to explore many cultures. Indeed, on two occasions I moved to a new teaching position that offered much less compensation than the previous one. I began teaching ESL at a university in South Korea followed by a move to China for a similar post. Both positions in Asia were part of larger post-secondary institutions, and it was during these years that I discovered the main branch of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), and sought employment in this field. I was hired to help construct the curriculum and instruct EAP in the inaugural year at the German University in Cairo, Egypt. This was followed by a position in EAP at the sole English-language university in Morocco, Al Akhawayn University, where I remained for three years. Throughout this time, with each EAP program serving universities as appendage institutions, a lack of professional prestige among and toward this teaching cohort became evident.

I discovered the EAP program (EFAS) at Renison University College after I had entered the Ph.D. program at the University of Waterloo. These programs were certainly not abundant in Canadian universities when I first emigrated in 2001. Ever since I began teaching EAP I have found it to be rewarding work. Living in a host culture can be stressful, and this type of subject matter greatly assists students with the very skills they require to help them succeed in their academic studies in a second language. However, conversations with numerous colleagues within and outside of the field have revealed that EAP and its teachers seem to lack recognition as a legitimate academic and teaching occupation when operating within a university setting.

These experiences were often visibly and financially apparent. They were recognized in the significant differences in EAP compensation and less vacation time, or in the very structure of language centres that were sometimes physically removed from main campuses. They were articulated by EAP students themselves, who often lamented that they did not feel like “real” university students like their peers, despite the fact nearly all of those peers had gone through the same EAP programs as a requirement to enter the credit courses for their own academic disciplines. The requirement of undertaking extra non-credit courses prior to entering credited degree programs clearly posed a status issue for students. No EAP position I held abroad had such a dynamic student cohort, and it appeared as though the stakes were higher for these students since they immigrated for the purpose of earning a higher degree. As more and more EAP programs are being adopted by Canadian universities, attracting a great number of international students, I decided to pursue my research question of how the EFAS program fits within a Canadian university setting.

Since EAP programs operated by universities constitute a relatively new type of arrangement, it represents a new career trajectory in the field. Thus, it is important to my research to find out who was applying and getting hired to teach EAP, and what their reasons were for applying. Historically, a combination of a Bachelor of Arts degree and ESL certification were sufficient credentials to teach both ESL and EAP. However, post-secondary level schools commonly also require a post-graduate degree. Therefore, exploring the professional status of EAP and its impact on teachers is important for finding answers to my central research question. For example, if EAP lacks recognition as a legitimate academic teaching practice within the university culture, how does this affect professional status? Is EAP

teaching, then, considered a temporary teaching occupation for people with post-graduate degrees?

A relentless need for justification within the university institution represents a status issue in EAP, which has persisted ever since these programs were first established on university campuses. Furthermore, objectives are not always clearly defined within university institutions, so EAP instructors may be uncertain about their role to either replicate skills or to develop an understanding in students of rhetorical and disciplinary genres. This sort of uncertainty is noted by Turner (1993: 122), who states that EAP programs are often in the service of a discipline, which presupposes that language skills and the given discipline are distinct from each other. Therefore, within this arrangement there is a common tendency for EAP teachers to work for, rather than with, subject/knowledge specialists. A qualitative research approach enabled me to discover what the experiences of the EAP instructors involved at Renison were, because I could find out what the working relationships with the University of Waterloo are, what sort of cooperation exists with other disciplines, and what EAP teachers' experiences are while working within the larger university system.

It can be argued that academic learning objectives become more defined in EAP when situated within a university institution. Such an increased specificity of learning objectives could place more concentration on competence at the expense of capacity. Widdowson (1983: 32) argues that this sort of emphasis diminishes the learner's ability to cope with natural language usage. However, there is a lack of empirical evidence to support this claim. My research explores the effectiveness of learning outcomes in an EAP program situated within a university setting. EAP groups can argue that they are needed to protect the university's reputation and prestige if new international graduates lack the English language skills to match their

credentialed technical expertise once they enter the job market. Universities with EAP programs attract a great number of international students with the promise of assisting them with their academic English competence that will enable them to succeed in their respective disciplines. However, there is no simple or direct way in which an EAP program within the setting of a large university can match the ethos of that school. It is difficult to ensure comparability of English across disciplines since each one utilizes specific jargon and grammar forms. EAP tasks, such as reading and writing, may not be equivalent in all academic disciplines. Clearly, the students, teachers and the EAP programs are all affected by the arrangement of having EAP nested within university institutions.

Professional groups are distinguished from other occupations by the self-governance and authority they are granted, as well as the practical training required (Adams, 2010: 51). To reiterate, the most common traits of a profession identified in the sociological literature are the presence of a professional association, advanced training and education of an esoteric knowledge base, a service orientation, and a code of ethics (ibid: 51). Specifically lacking in this functionalist concept of “profession” is the issue of status. Adams (2010: 54) argues that organized occupational groups with a somewhat accepted claim to certain social status require empirical research to determine and understand who is “professional” in any given context. The significance of this research, in terms of the development of EAP as a legitimate profession, is to develop an understanding of the connection it now has with university education in Canada. Considering the sociological literature on professions can assist me to discover the place of EAP within the bureaucratic hierarchy of higher education. There appears to be something lacking in this functional approach to professionalism because the problems associated with the status of EAP within university settings does not fit most analyses of professionalization.

There is also a need to explore how effective university-employed EAP programs are in preparing students to succeed with their various academic pursuits. A case study of such a program within a particular Canadian university context can greatly contribute to the sociological research. In summary, by conducting a qualitative methodological study, I expected to provide a clearer understanding of the connection between teaching EAP skills and degree-granting academic knowledge, and what this means in terms of the professional status of EAP, as well as to identify and help remedy any deficiencies. My goal was to learn about EAP programs within university institutions by studying one program. It is important to note that this could be accomplished by exploring a case as part of the study without arriving at conclusive generalizations of this type of arrangement. In other words, the case study of the EFAS program served as a vehicle to understanding how an EAP program operates within a Canadian university.

In conclusion, EAP programs have become an integral part of university education in Canada because they attract a large number of international students. What remains unclear is if universities have the ability to cope with EAP as a profession and whether a lack of professional prestige is experienced among its communities on university campuses. It is important to understand why teachers pursue EAP as a teaching occupation, and what sort of career trajectory is in the field in the context of university teaching, whether credentials are necessarily lower than for other tertiary level teaching with the same student cohorts, and if it is conceived of as a more transient phase in the teaching profession for those with post-graduate degrees.

1.5 Outline of the Research

In order to understand how an EAP program fits within a Canadian university setting, it is essential to unfold the historical developments that led to the creation of this teaching occupation. Chapter Two examines the history of English language teaching, with particular attention paid to the developments in EAP teaching. Of special concern regarding this research are the theoretical debates over its pedagogy and curriculum. For an occupation to gain professional status, an esoteric knowledge base is a key characteristic. Thus, it is important to show how these theoretical discussions have transformed EAP into an independent and unique teaching endeavour.

I have pointed out that EAP teaching is an occupation that emerged post-World War Two when the demand for English in the broad fields of science, technology and business rapidly expanded. It is one of several types of teaching specializations that had branched off from traditional English language teaching, and has undergone a process attempting to become autonomous, on the basis of both its theoretical focus and unique practices. Therefore, Chapter Three contains a discussion of the social history of occupations and professions before attempting to locate how EAP teaching fits into either category of work. Specifically, it is essential to review the theoretical debates over the concept of profession in the discipline of sociology. This involves a systematic description of the emergence of occupations and professions in the West. Professions emerged as a result of developments in the modern political state and the capitalist economic system. Thus, Chapter Three commences with a discussion of the transformation of a complex division of labour in capitalist societies, induced by the Industrial Revolution. Most notably, great changes took place in the division of labour that included shifts in mental and manual work specializations. I will discuss the types of work guilds had performed and those which came to be valued and recognized as professions, as well

as those that did not, thus becoming devalued semi-skilled occupational work, such as teaching. The final part of the chapter explains the theoretical debates in the sociology of professions.

This is followed by a description of the EFAS program at Renison University College of the University of Waterloo as the case study setting for the research in Chapter Four. Here, I will justify the selection of using qualitative methods, and show why the EFAS program is an ideal example of EAP operating within a Canadian university environment. This chapter includes the design of the research, and the data collection procedures used to discover the experiences and perceptions of the students, teachers and administrators involved in the EFAS program. Due to the volume of idiographic data that were collected in the research, the data are presented in two chapters.

Chapter Five describes the data in terms of identifying who is affected by this arrangement. Notably, I provide the historical evolution of EFAS and details of what led EFAS instructors and administrators to choose EAP as a career path. I will also report what students' experiences were like while living in a new country and how EFAS affected their entrance into their respective academic disciplines. Chapter Six presents the themes that emerged from the data in relation to how EFAS is perceived by instructors, administrators and students as a professional teaching endeavour. This includes perceptions of how EFAS fits into the institutional hierarchies of both Renison University College and the University of Waterloo.

Chapter Seven is an analysis of data. This chapter explores how professionalism is defined in the EAP teaching occupation. At this point, it is vital to return to what the sociology of professions literature offers in this regard. Analyses include whether teaching can be defined as a profession, and how university teaching became professionalized. In order to assess the level of professionalism of EFAS, I will examine how the program fits within the University of

Waterloo's system by conducting an evaluation of the university's English language competency requirements. It is important to consider whether any obstacles exist for EAP being accepted within Renison and the University of Waterloo, as academic programs similar to EFAS are accepted as such within the university structure and hierarchy. Thus, Chapter Eight is a discussion of the compatibility of EAP and the University of Waterloo. As the university expands to include an increasing number of international students, it is important to explore whether there is a need for the university to redefine professionalism in order to include this occupational group.

2 Chapter Two: The History of EAP

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) emerged from a much longer tradition of English language teaching. For the purpose of this research, I will first define what EAP programs are before explaining how EAP developed as a distinctive pedagogical vocation prior to being utilized as an entrance requirement into university disciplines for non-native speaking English students. Upon its divergence from other language teaching endeavours, EAP underwent persistent theoretical debates over curriculum and pedagogy. These debates are an important element toward EAP becoming a unique occupation, and these need to be expounded in order to understand how it came to be identified by tertiary level institutions as a gatekeeping requirement for entrance into academic programs taught through the medium of English. Coincidentally, the concept of “profession” in the discipline of sociology has continued to be debated since approximately the same time that EAP surfaced in the 1960s. In this chapter, I will define EAP, describe the historical developments of EAP, and explicate the theoretical movements that have helped create its legitimacy as a pedagogical occupation.

2.1 Defining EAP

Although there are a multitude of purposes and reasons behind wanting to acquire the language, English Language Teaching (ELT) is the most general type of pedagogy, and it refers to all types of such language transmission. Since people learn languages for their own eclectic goals, whenever English is taught to meet a certain objective, the programs are referred to as “English for Specific Purposes” (ESP). They are simply English language teaching and learning programs designed for second language learners who are attempting to improve specified linguistic competences, such as for business, occupational and academic purposes. Please refer

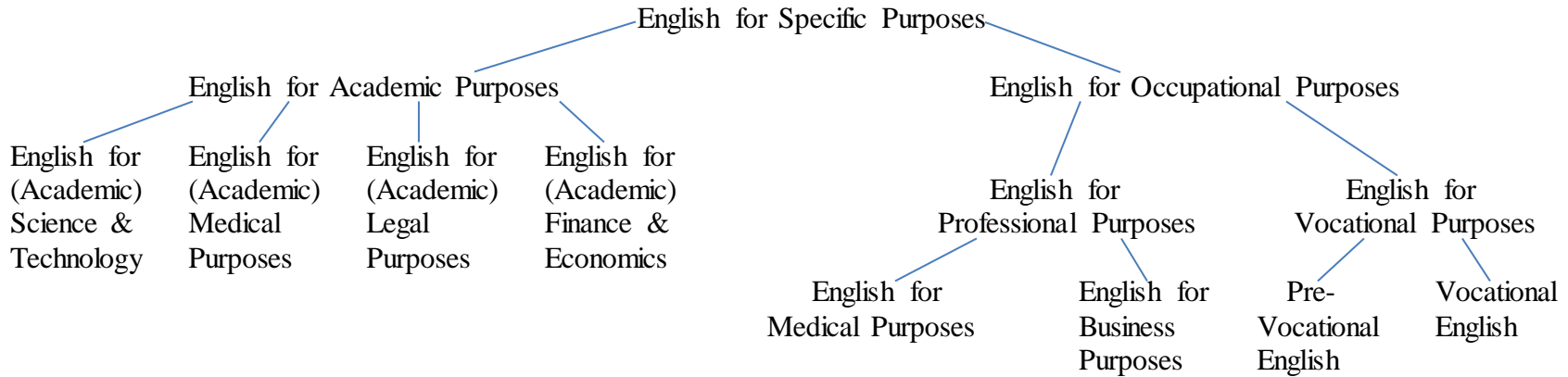
to Figure 1, which shows the different language purposes, and Figure 2 for when they take place for English language learners.

EAP is the major sub-category of ESP, which encompasses discipline-based studies and components of transmitting academic skills. EAP is broadly understood as the means for non-native speaking students to study an array of disciplines through the medium of English, regardless of the subject-specific matter (Robinson, 1980: 7). Specifically, EAP relates to the study purposes of non-native speakers who need help with both the language of academic disciplines and the specific study skills required, such as learning rhetorical writing styles or note-taking (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 34). EAP is certainly associated with university-level learning, but academic language needs are not confined to undergraduate programs. EAP now spans formal schooling at every level, and it has even expanded in some locations to include children (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002: 4). Still, it is most common that these programs are used by tertiary academic institutions to raise the level of English competence among non-native speaking students to meet given professional standards. Hyland and Hamp-Lyons illustrate such “internal norms” of institutions’ English requisites:

Effective classroom delivery through English, presentation through good lecture notes and slides; the ability to carry out the administrative work of the institution in English, to attend meetings, to engage in email debate; and above all, to conduct research **in English** [bold emphasis in the original]-are all demanded (2002: 4).

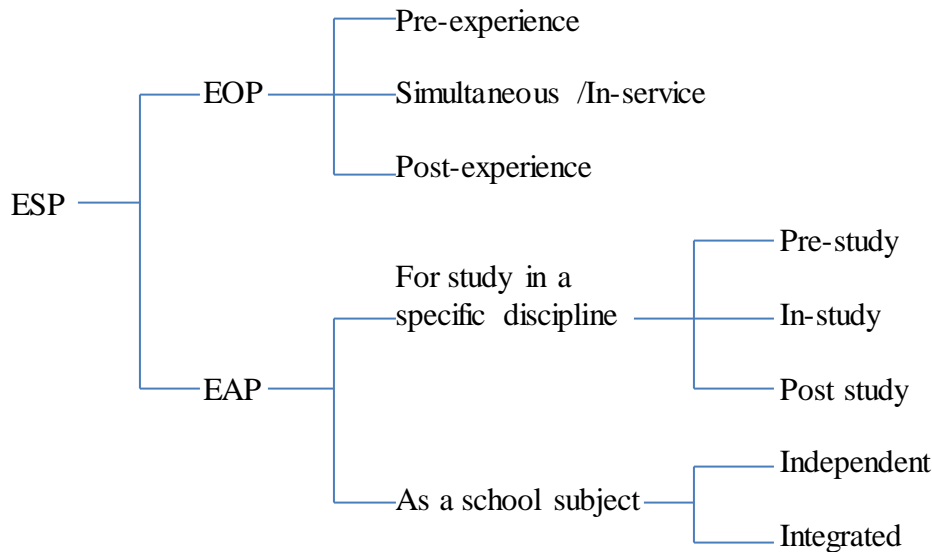
Debates have surfaced pertaining to what kinds of pedagogy and curriculum should be included in EAP programs in order to meet the demands of English language requirements in academia. These various ideas and perspectives of what is to be included in language studies interpret the notion of “literacy” differently, and will be discussed shortly.

Figure 1: Designations in ESP's Professional Area



(Adopted from Dudley-Evans & St. John: 1998: 6)

Figure 2: Designations for When ESP Takes Place



(Adopted from Robinson, 1991: 3)

As stated, EAP accounts for the largest amount of ESP activity. Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002: 3) explain that EAP emerged from ESP as the academic “home” of scholars who do not research in or teach other “SPs” (special purposes), but whose focus is wholly on academic contexts. Robinson (1991:100) adds that EAP can be general in scope because the same materials can be applied to assist students in a wide range of academic disciplines. Most of the student cohorts in EAP are aiming at a higher level of academic achievement through English rather than in their first language. They are often learning academic strategies for the first time in English; thus, the concerns of EAP are not merely specific to just learning English (ibid: 101). Again, please see Figure 1 for designations for EAP’s professional area. The earliest and most consistent subject matter in EAP (and most ESPs) has been science, technology and business relations, so the long-term needs of such learners entail occupational purposes whereby EAP is undertaken at the same time or prior to their academic studies. The specific purpose is to improve academic English skills in order to succeed in their course work.

All types of ESP programs, including EAP, comprise a set of English language teaching and learning courses where the syllabi and materials are determined by the prior analysis of the communicative needs of the learner. This is the first “absolute characteristic” of ESP initiatives provided by Stevns (1988: 1, 2). Such characteristics have remained relatively constant in the ESP field since it emerged as a discipline (Johns & Price-Machado, 2001: 44). The other absolute characteristics of ESP programs are that they relate “in content (ie, in the themes and topics) to particular disciplines, occupations and activities...[they are] centred on the language appropriate to those activities, in syntax, lexis, [analyses of] discourse, semantics,...[and] in contrast with ‘General English’” (Stevens, 1988: 2). Traditionally, general English language learning applies to an education-for-life purpose, which encompasses cultural and literature-

oriented language use. That is, the language itself is the subject matter and purpose of the course (Robinson, 1980: 6). The absolute characteristics of the ESP movement have guided the design of ESP curricula and pedagogy since it was founded in the 1960s, which is important for understanding how ESP is distinguished from other ESL-based professions (Johns & Price-Machado, 2001: 45).

Stevens includes two variable characteristics along with four claims in his research on ESP. The variables include that the courses are “restricted as to the language skills to be learned (eg: reading only, speech recognition only...) [and] taught according to any pre-ordained methodology” (Stevens, 1988: 2). The claims made are that a course in ESP “wastes no time...is perceived as relevant by the learner...is successful in imparting language... [and] is more cost-effective than General English” (ibid: 2). What is important about these characteristics and claims is that the teaching and learning of English in ESP programs serve utilitarian purposes in which English plays an auxiliary role in a given situation (Robinson, 1980: 6). The students themselves succinctly express their own purpose for the undertaking. These often include selecting which skills are to be studied in a time-intensive course, choosing the skills that are extended to a particular topic or discipline, and studying in order to perform a role successfully, rather than learning knowledge of the rules of English (Robinson, 1980: 8-11).

EAP is language instruction that focuses on the communicative skills in English which are required for academic study purposes in formal educational contexts. EAP “means grounding instruction in an understanding of cognitive, social and linguistic demands of specific academic disciplines” (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002: 2). Since ESP instruction is concerned with the learner’s needs and wants for participating, when ESP is situated as EAP, needs analysis is fundamental to any course design and methodology. The needs are academic in nature,

intended to equip “students with the communicative skills to participate in particular academic and cultural contexts” (ibid: 2).

In summary, all ESP programs intended for learners with academic purposes are specifically EAP. They are closely associated with tertiary level students and adult learners of English. Such language learners usually require English as a means of furthering their specialist education efficiently (Mackay & Mountford, 1978: 2). This auxiliary role of English is a strong motivating factor for attaining academic, and ultimately career occupational and professional, goals. Concerning course design, there is often a diverse cohort of students, some of whom may not even have chosen a major discipline for their academic studies. Hence, a large range of topics and materials can be used (Robinson, 1991: 102). Presently, these programs are being adopted by postsecondary institutions as a means to help students succeed with their academic studies in English.

2.2 The History of English for Academic Purposes

The actual origins of all English teaching initiatives are contested. Howatt notes that England became mono-lingual in English during the reign of Richard II at the end of the fourteenth century. Henry IV adopted English as the official language of royal correspondence in place of French in 1362 (1984: 3, 298). However, there is no scholarly description of the language until the 1500s, as Latin remained the only grammar taught to the young (Howatt, 1984: 4). Nevertheless, Howatt locates a 1415 manual, titled, “Manière de Langage”, aiming to teach English to French speakers, which was clearly intended for merchants (1984: 5-6). Evidently, the teaching of the English language has been transmitted for a variety of purposes. Perhaps, then, ESP (English for Specific Purposes) efforts actually predate generalized English

language teaching initiatives. Notwithstanding, the history of English language teaching must be situated, since it predates the globalized context of EAP, whereby English has emerged as an international lingua franca.

English language teaching, in the context of specified learning objectives, did not begin to flourish until very late in the nineteenth century. For reasons of geographic proximity to a host of European nations speaking various languages, much of these developments occurred in the United Kingdom. There are important pedagogical developments stemming from that time until roughly WWII. Drawing on Howatt's (1984) analysis of ELT's complex history, I will briefly locate its early small-scale enterprise until the more significant pedagogical changes occurred in the late 1800s. This will be followed by a description of its professional advancements in theoretical research and practices.

According to Howatt, the first textbooks designed to teach English as a foreign language did not appear until the arrival of French Huguenot refugees in England during the latter decades of the sixteenth century (1984: 6). Latin grammar-based curriculum with a rote pedagogical style remained dominant in language teaching within Britain, but the teaching of English outside its borders began in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century (Howatt, 1984: 61). In large part due to increased industrial production of goods and parallel improvements in transportation, most notably railway systems, European nations came into more frequent commercial contact with each other and with other countries throughout the world (ibid: 129). Such close contacts and interactions with people over great distances have inexorably increased since that time, as progress in transportation and communication technologies have vastly improved up until the present day. Air travel is an obvious example, as are inventions such as the telephone succeeded by the Internet.

Despite these processes of globalization, the most critical development in the advancement of ELT as a profession, and the dissemination of the English language from England to the rest of the world, was the establishment of the “British Committee for Relations with Other Countries” in 1934, which was renamed the “British Council” in 1935 (Benesch, 2001: 32; Howatt, 1984: 217; Phillipson, 1992: 137-8). World War Two forced a halt in the progress of ELT as a field of study and movement, but after this period, ESP surfaced as a distinct offshoot discipline within English language teaching. The British Council was incorporated by the Royal Charter in 1940 (Howatt, 1984: 217), and it played a central role in the continuing spread of English after 1945 through its network of institutions worldwide.

The post WWII era heralded an enormous and unprecedented expansion in scientific and technological activity and trade on an international scale. For instance, Hutchinson and Waters (1987: 6) note the economic power in the world which the United States enjoyed immediately following the war-time devastation of many European countries, including England. At the onset of these ambitious commercial exchanges, ESP gradually became an important component of ELT, as the role of “international language” fell to English due to America’s economic power and Britain’s extensive colonial past. The immediate legacy of the latter’s colonial relationships with other countries resulted in the crucial decision in many nations of whether or not to retain English as the medium of their educational systems following the war. While some did, for reasons of national cohesion others pursued their own national language policies (Howatt, 1984: 220).

Nevertheless, the spread of English continued to gain momentum. In the past, learning a new language was often an individual preference, motivated by pleasure or prestige. At this particular point in time, a whole new population began to view the acquisition of English as the

key to gaining access to the international currencies of technology and commerce (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987: 6). This represents a new generation of language learners who knew the specific purposes for wanting to learn a new language. It has been argued, such as with Hutchinson and Waters (1987: 6), that ESP was not a planned or coherent movement, but this is not an accurate assessment of its origins. The learning of any language encompasses much time and practice to master grammar and fluency, and traditionally involves pedagogy of generalized language teaching. As a newly expanding branch of the more general English language teaching, ESP was indeed purposefully developed to quicken the learning of English, particularly for the benefit of academic learners and people involved in scientific and technological research.

There are discernible events for the promotion of the English language by both the British and American governments. In the case of Britain, much of this sort of work fell under the auspices of the British Council. As mentioned, only six years after it was founded, the first Royal Charter was granted to the British Council in 1940 (Howatt, 1984: 217; Phillipson, 1992: 138). Its terms included the promotion of “a wider knowledge of the United Kingdom...developing closer cultural relations between the United Kingdom and other countries, for the purpose of benefitting the British Commonwealth of Nations” (Phillipson, 1992: 139).

There is a range of goals and objectives set out for the British Council to perform that are intended to promote the use of English outside of Britain. Fishman affirms that these sorts of activities serve to establish a language within a host culture, and lists several strategies for such implementation:

English language newspapers, journals, schools, churches, hospitals, and stores and their associated managers, clergy, teachers, health personnel...followed by radio broadcasts, films, television programs/videos, computers and their associated distribution, sales, training and repair personnel (1996: 7).

Phillipson quotes from the 1940-1941 British Council annual report to identify its initiatives of creating cultural centres, societies, book donations and, “the encouragement of English studies in foreign schools and universities...the encouragement throughout these institutions and elsewhere of the knowledge of the English language” (1992: 139). Almost the entire budget for the British Council came from parliament via the Foreign Affairs Office (ibid:141). The period after WWII and into the 1950s is when published policies in England secured the future of the British Council and the expansion of English language teaching. British government policy makers had been well aware of the significance of English as an instrument of influence, and the British Council has consistently reiterated its linguistic objectives in its annual reports. A pronounced example comes from the British Council annual report for 1983-1984, page 9:

...Britain’s influence endures...partly because the English language is the lingua franca of science, technology, and commerce; the demand for it is insatiable and we respond either through the education system of ‘host’ countries or...on a commercial basis. Our language is our greatest asset...I am glad to say that those who guide the fortunes of this country share my conviction in the need to invest in, and exploit to the full, this invisible, God-given asset (quoted in Phillipson, 1992: 144-5).

That particular year, 1984, marked the fiftieth anniversary of the British Council, with established ELT offices in 82 countries (ibid: 140).

From the 1960s to the present, ESP has become a vital and prominent field within teaching English as a second language. Although the massive expansion of international business relations has led to enormous growth in courses in which the pursuit of occupations is the objective purpose for learners, as mentioned, the field has overwhelmingly been dominated by English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 2). All ESP instruction places primacy on the learners’ needs. Whether it directly relates to the disciplines that students are studying or not, EAP courses should apply a problem-solving methodology of academic study skills (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 4).

The United Kingdom and the United States of America were the foremost destinations of newly immigrated international students following World War Two. Certainly, these were the leading countries where cutting-edge research into the fledgling discipline of ESP was conducted in its earliest period. A predictable result from a rapid influx of non-native speaking students, workers, and family members into a new host culture is a lack of linguistic communication. As language problems among overseas students increased, specialized courses in English began to flourish. These courses intended to relate closely to the particular needs and aspirations of each student cohort. Consequently, the growth and development of English for Special Purposes programs evolved in the early 1960s, and quickly became renamed English for Specific Purposes (ESP) at the onset of the theoretical debates over its curricula and pedagogy prior to the 1970s (Howatt, 1984: 222). It is important to note that during these initial years of EAP in the 1960s, it was still referred to as “ESP”, since no distinction had yet been made to convey any specificity of academic purpose.

By this time, it had become apparent that the English language was more and more in use for international communication. For instance, it had been established as the language of the airways, the seas and global business relations (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991: 302). At first, worldwide ESP activity was closely associated with projects led and staffed by expatriate British, North American and Australian teachers (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 2). Presently, there is an abundance of ESP courses offered throughout the world, and each program is adapted to the contexts and needs of particular groups of students (Johns & Price-Machado, 2001: 44). Strevens (1978: 186) remarks any language that can be taught and learned may be demanded, but in practice the overwhelming pressure of demand has become English. Coincidentally, this meant that demands for French, Russian, Spanish and other popular languages diminished, partly due to

the rapid growth of professionalization in TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language), “in the sense of more rigorous and specialized initial training and the greater expectation of further, in-service, training to higher degree levels” (Strevens, 1978: 187).

Science and technology courses have been the most popular types of ESP programs. However, with recent trends in increased MBA constituents of a growing number of non-native speakers of English, management-specific courses in ESP have gained in popularity. After WWII, English soon became established as the international language of science and technology. In 1957, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) reported that nearly two-thirds of the world’s engineering literature had already appeared in English, but more than two-thirds of the world’s professional engineers could not read English (Mackay & Mountford, 1978: 6). Nevertheless, success in engineering graduate work thus called for reading the appropriate literature and taking part in international conferences (ibid: 6). It had originally been assumed that students had an established degree of subject knowledge in their own languages (Robinson, 1980: 25). Specific English for science and technology (EST) programs spread dramatically in the wake of UNESCO’s statistical findings.

Although ESP emerged in the 1960s in response to the demand to learn English due to scientific and technological requirements, there is no clear and indisputable beginning point. Swales (1985: x, 1) identifies an article by C. L. Barber in 1962, “Some Measurable Characteristics of Modern Scientific Prose” along with the first genuine ESP textbook by A. J. Herbert *The Structure of Technical English* published in 1965 (Swales, 1985: 17). Swales’ discoveries of these first two ESP published materials have been widely accepted (Benesch, 2001: 6; Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 20; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987: 6). Herbert’s initial text was designed for students with some English capacity, but needed training “in the special

structures and linguistic conventions of the English used in technical and scientific writing so that they may be able to follow the current literature in English in their particular subject” (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 21). From this point in time, the purpose for learning English in an EAP context has continued to be for the acquisition of some quite different and specific bodies of knowledge and skill sets (Robinson, 1980: 6).

Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle and Leeds Universities began implementing language support for international students during the 1960s, but partly due to in-session problems these programs “tended to be on an ad-hoc, part-time basis” (Jordan, 2002: 70). In 1972, the directors of these institutions’ better established pre-session English course programs cooperated to found the “Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Student” (SELMOUS) group, which was renamed in 1989 the “British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes” (BALEAP) (Jordan, 2002: 72). Their first national conference was held in 1975 under the theme of “The Language Problems of Overseas Students in Higher Education in the UK” (Jordan, 1997: 1; Jordan, 2002: 72). Tony Cowie and Brian Heaton edited all of the conference presentations into “English for Academic Purposes” in 1977, marking the first time the title and acronym was used in a publication (Jordan, 2002: 73). Jordan (2002: 73) notes the term itself was already being used generally by the British Council. For example, a paper titled “English for Academic Study” was published in 1975, which discussed the differences between EAP and English for Occupational Purposes (EOP), noting that they were the two main branches of ESP at the time. By 1977, the term “EAP” was being widely used in the UK and the USA (ibid: 73). During the past two decades, EAP programs have commonly been run by Language Centres/Institutions affiliated with tertiary level institutions. According to Jordan (1997: 2), they have been adopted by more and more universities, including older established ones, as they

actively seek to increase their intake of overseas students in order to improve their financial positions.

Ever since it emerged as a distinct field of language teaching and learning, there has remained a rapidly growing demand for EAP programs worldwide. Munby (1978: 3) points to the spread of “higher and further education with the concomitant need to gain access to the required knowledge that is available...in English”, as well as the attraction of custom-built courses in EAP that promise students quick results, as opposed to taking longer, general English courses. Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002: 2) see urgency for students to master enough English to understand their disciplines and successfully navigate their learning in English textbooks, lectures and study groups. It is equally important for countries that wish to elevate their economic prominence to adopt EAP initiatives into their educational policies, which has happened in many parts of the world (ibid: 2).

EAP programs have not only become lucrative enterprises globally, they have become institutions. There are many teaching opportunities, courses are devised to impart its responsive methodology, and numerous journals and publications have been founded to promote their theoretical advancement (Widdowson, 1983: 5). The rationale for their institutional existence is their distinctiveness from traditional English language teaching. As a result, they have been adopted by a growing number of higher educational institutions to aid the ever-growing population of international students. However, EAP programs do not usually enjoy professional prestige within such tertiary settings. Johns (1997: xi) expresses this common sentiment among EAP practitioners, “our educational institutions expect us to succeed in an effort to prepare students for any rhetorical or linguistic exigency that may arise, to “fix” student illiteracies once and for all so that they can get on with the “real” academic work”.

There is no doubt that English has become a medium for teaching and learning in a vast array of subject areas throughout the world. Even Barber's 1962 seminal article in the ESP (EAP) discipline acknowledges this auxiliary role of English; it "is especially important in those countries where a great deal of university-teaching is carried out in English (e.g. India)" (quoted in Swales, 1985: 3). The value of learning English in many countries at that time was largely due to a reliance on textbooks written in English, particularly for science and technology subjects published in the UK and USA (ibid: 3). Still, the proper location for English language service courses in tertiary institutions is a controversy that has had a contested history in EAP. These programs predominantly include non-native speakers of English in a wide range of institutions globally, varying in status from pre-college students to older professionals returning to the classroom (Swales, 1990: 6). Furthermore, Robinson (1991: 101) claims that evidence suggests that culture is a significant factor in students' academic success. Thus, such diverse student populations require different applications, which is the central reason why a range of pedagogies and diverse curricula are implemented within EAP programs.

The widespread position of English as the world's principal international language is evident. For instance, the sheer number of people using it for various reasons tripled between 1940 and 1988 (Stevens, 1988: 3). Much of this dramatic rise is due to global economic changes. A need for English has grown as international trade increases, including developing countries and the many countries aiding in their internal economic development. Johns and Dudley-Evans state that English is now required for internal communication in many countries, since it has evolved as the "most neutral language available" and is shared by educated citizens (1991: 302). As more and more economic communities form, such as NAFTA and the EU, English becomes central for reasons of scientific and technical publications, and business

relations conducted in English. In 1983, for example, more than 65% of international journals of science were produced in English (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991: 302). Strevens (1988: 3) accounts for this global shift as a move away from cultural aims toward instrumental aims for the above-mentioned exchanges, as well as media, administration, and trade involving large industry. EAP can thus flourish “because of the changes in educational aims and practices that have followed the massive spread of English across the globe” (ibid: 3). Educational programs are often used to assist in national developmental goals, so the implementation of English into many countries’ school curricula is a way to help ensure participation in the international market. Many universities are also changing their medium of instruction to English, and so the demand for EAP programs operated by these institutions follows.

The separate and special status of EAP is a development in English language teaching beginning in the early 1960s. Its application within higher educational institutions took place as international trade relations increased post-WWII, and tertiary level student populations either migrated to Anglophone countries or took up their studies through the medium of English in their own countries. Aside from its historical roots, it is important to review the major theoretical linguistic developments that have occurred from the latter half of the twentieth century to the present in order to understand how EAP became a legitimate teaching occupation.

2.3 Theoretical Debates over Pedagogy and Curriculum in EAP

I have explained how the EAP movement unfolded after the Second World War, as it branched off from conventional English Language Teaching (ELT) as a result of the general developments in the world economy escalating in the 1950s. There is now a consensus that the growth of science and technology increased the use of English as the new international language

of science, technology and business (Benesch, 2001: 32-34; Fishman, 1996: 4; Howatt, 1984: 217; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987: 6; Mackay & Mountford, 1978: 6; Phillipson, 1992: 141-164; Strevens, 1978: 191). Benesch (2001: 5) indicates a post-war boom in funding for science and technology in both the United Kingdom and the United States, which included subsidies for English language teaching and teacher training programs. During the same time, the increased economic power of certain oil-rich countries and the increased migration of international students studying in Canada, the United States, Britain, and Australia facilitated the exponential growth in the demand for English (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 19). The response from English language teaching specialists was to move from traditional literature-based curricula to that of scientific English material (Benesch, 2001: 5). This response triggered long-lasting theoretical debates over the types of pedagogy and curricular materials to be used in EAP teaching and learning. Since specificity of purpose clearly distinguishes EAP from traditional English language teaching, it is an important part of my research to explore how EAP became a distinct language teaching profession. This necessitates a historical understanding of the emergence of the field since, in Western countries, occupational prestige cannot be attained without theoretical justification for its legitimacy as a profession. These important developments in the field need to be explained.

Significant subsidies provided for English language teacher training programs were one result of the expansion of EAP. As noted, the response from English language teaching specialists was to move from traditional literature-based curricula of generalized English Language Teaching (ELT), and from elementary ESL curricula to that of scientific materials in English (Benesch, 2001: 5). It was in the mid-1960s that various influences came together to develop English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as a distinct teaching endeavour. Again, ESP

covers a range of specific purpose language teaching, such as for occupational or academic purposes, but this broad field of specified English language teaching was, and remains, overwhelmingly dominated by English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998: 10; Howatt, 1984: 213). It was at this time that talk of creating a Canadian national ELT organization began.

Such English language analyses and practicums for “special” purposes applied quantitative methods to examine the linguistic properties of functional varieties, or “registers”, of a language (Swales, 1990: 2). This terminology fit in nicely with the positivist scientific approach to linguistics at the time, and gradually empirical research into the structures and vocabulary of scientific subject matter located the frequencies of linguistic features within the text. Thus, “register analysis” attempted to count lexico-grammatical occurrences in the language to assist in EAP pedagogy. Such a method of language analysis could theoretically prioritize curricular items in any specialized English language materials. However, as Candlin observes, simultaneous developments in the field of linguistics was “sentence-based”, which suggested that a view of language as communication could not be adequately contained in the surface-level form of “registers” (1978: xii).

The inevitable next step in the development of EAP theory was “rhetorical analysis”, and this second major theoretical debate signifies when EAP emerged as the dominant field within ESP. This theoretical research attempts to narrow the textual scope in accordance with the modern linguistic theories of discourse analysis, which explore the values underlying sentence meaning. The method would provide a deeper, multi-layered textual account, assessing rhetorical purposes in English texts by “unpacking information structures and in accounting for syntactic and lexical choices” (Swales, 1990: 3). Thus, EAP as a separate discipline from the

umbrella field of ESP, and ELT generally, emerged when these two developments in English language pedagogical analyses occurred.

Whereas register analysis did not illuminate the functional use of language, discourse analysis switched the focus of EAP learning objectives to the actual ways English is utilized within texts. At the time, interaction with texts was perceived to be at the heart of natural language acquisition (Howatt, 1984: 192). In particular, it enabled an examination into how rhetorical acts are used, such as with topically-organized texts, like “argument”, “definition”, “classification” or “compare and contrast” arrangements in writing styles. Discourse analysis is the study of language use beyond sentence limits. In sociology, discourse analysis is used to locate the structure of communication with attempts to determine how social life is conducted. In EAP, it is concerned with surface to deep structures of language use, from form (register) to function (discourse) (Bhatia, 1993: 5). In terms of rhetorical analysis in EAP, the method of discourse analysis looks at why certain types of textual codification of meaning are considered appropriate to a particular setting (ibid: 5). The rhetorical approach to language learning inspects the negotiation of meaning among writers, readers and subject matter (Swales, 1990: 4). Discourse analysis opened up much debate in the field of EAP. As Howatt (1984: 282) notes, this form of functional language teaching provided a central principle on which the new specialism of EAP could be based, and from which it could grow as a professional academic occupation.

An important result of this development led to the needs of the learner becoming the central focus in EAP research. Strevens (1988: 3) states that a worldwide trend toward more learner-centred approaches in ELT generally has made assessments of learners’ needs necessary for every EAP course. Either for academic study or for occupational purposes, needs analysis

represented a new development in the principles of specific purpose English language course design. During the 1980s “genre analysis” extended the discussion of discourse and needs analyses into EAP programs by probing the macro features of text according to the situations in which they appear (Johns & Price-Machado, 2001: 51). For Swales (1990: 6, 7), genre analyses are not just textual accounts as such, but the roles texts play in particular cultural environments. Here, genre analysis takes into account the socio-historical perspective in which texts are written and presented. It was during this time that universities began to incorporate EAP programs into their agendas. Since the early 1990s, this unfamiliar sort of arrangement led to critical and globalization theories in the field, signifying a change in focus in EAP to necessarily include the experiences of international students studying it within these new settings, including the status and rights of the students.

Language learning theories and practices have evolved since EAP emerged from the broader field of English language teaching. It took time for EAP to be established as a separate and valid activity within the context of ELT. It was born out of global shifts and developments in the dissemination of science, technology and business. Over time, it became less constrained with arguing the case for its own existence because it gained acceptance internationally, making it possible to pursue careers in teaching (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991: 303). These programs are being progressively employed by university-level educational institutions in all countries engaged in capitalist economic development, partly because English is viewed as the fundamental language for building trade and commerce relations in a globalized context.

EAP remains a distinctly learner-centred approach to specific purpose language teaching, and continues to develop and improve in order to meet the demands placed on it by the university institutions that now adopt it. In sum, the purpose of EAP programs operating within

universities, usually as a language centre appendage, is to aid the ever growing population of international students in host nations, like Canada, to succeed in their academic studies. This arrangement raises critical issues with EAP as a separate professional occupation operating within degree-granting learning institutions. Despite achieving professional status, EAP teachers, in the context of university education, are again faced with professional legitimacy issues. Thus, exploring what people's perceptions are of what the professionalization of EAP means, especially from the perspective of teachers and administrators, is an important part of this research, with the goal of finding out whether or not universities have the ability to recognize EAP as a distinct profession operating within their institutions.

3 Chapter Three: The Sociological Theories of Occupations and Professions

A comprehensive definition and understanding of the concept “profession” in sociology has been the subject of fervent debate during the past half century. This was partly due to the fact that professions, as a distinct status group in society, emerged in a complex relationship with nation states and the capitalist system. Professions are an outcome of the social, political and economic historical development of organizations within capitalism. The debate over attempting to categorically define professions is essentially caused by differing sociological perspectives on how, and for what purposes, the division of labour operates within capitalist societies. Because of the complexity of both the history of professions and the theoretical debates, I will first explain the emergence of a complex division of labour in capitalist societies, and then proceed to discuss the place of “professions” in the division of labour. However, in order to begin the analysis, it is important to provide working definitions for the key concepts “occupation”, “profession”, and “professionalism”.

The work that people do, whether in their daily routines or to provide sustenance in the form of food, shelter and clothing, changes according to the historical epoch. Individual work roles that in combination fulfill the needs of a society are referred to as the division of labour. The central characteristic of an industrialized capitalist society is the existence of a commodities market in which goods and services are exchanged. Once this type of system arose, distinctive individualized work roles became clearly defined. Human labour is one type of commodity that can be bought and sold on the market, which is a unique feature of capitalism. The category “occupations” refers to the differentiation of work grouped into roles within a capitalist economy, a direct result of the growth in markets for human labour. These roles form part of the

larger division of labour in an industrial society. An occupation involves a set of tasks to be performed by an individual, commonly identified by a job title.

Certain occupations can be grouped further into professions, distinguished by how they are organized, including prestige and the recognition that specialized knowledge is required. A profession typically refers to paid employment consisting of specialized, learned tasks differentiated from other types of work. Professions are often distinguished from other occupations in the form of educational credentials, such as with medicine or teaching. However, as Abbott (1988: 35) asserts, those specialized tasks, the profession itself, and the links between them are never static. Changes affecting professions can be induced by technological, political, and other social forces beyond the professions themselves, which can dramatically alter their skill sets (ibid: 35). Adams (2010: 50) points out that understanding professions as simply organized occupations performing specialized tasks is increasingly “divorced from reality” because of the effects such social forces are having on professions; for example, the rapid expansion of the knowledge economy, with workers increasingly employed in the service sector. Later in this chapter, I will discuss how certain occupations attained the status of “profession” while others, such as public school teaching, did not. Briefly, although teaching requires educational credentials, social forces, such as government regulation, prevent it from being recognized as an autonomous profession. Moreover, EAP teaching, which is a specialized teaching occupation, has also struggled to gain professional status. Nevertheless, at this point “professions” can be understood as “organized occupational groups with a (somewhat) accepted claim to legal and/or social status” (ibid: 54).

Finally, “professionalism” pertains to how an interest group exercises control of a profession. Since the emergence of professional associations in the nineteenth century,

jurisdictional claims have usually been made by formally organized groups (Abbott, 1988: 70). Thus, professionalism includes the creation of a regulatory body which governs the interests of its members. These organized associations ensure a standard of performance from their members, including a detailed code of conduct. They control the knowledge expertise which constitutes the basis of professional activities, and regulate the selection and training of new members. Professionalism marks a key distinction between an occupation and a profession because although the former may have an established system of licensing, it does not necessarily create a separate regulatory body or competency requirements (Adams, 2010: 56). Claims to a full jurisdiction of professional work are an integral component of professionalism. Once in place, professional associations are backed by legal rules which prohibit others from working in their domain of expertise (Abbott, 1988: 70-1). What follows is a history of when and how the professions emerged as distinct status groups.

3.1 The Division of Labour

In the West, migration during the process of industrialization resulted in a large-scale shift from rural, agrarian communities to increasingly urbanized settings where the manufacturing of goods in factories occurred due to a massive shift toward large industrial production. In 1776, Adam Smith introduced the concept of the “division of labour” which characterized how industrial production dramatically changed the work of trades operating within these economies. The division of labour in society literally expresses how the coordination of individuals is necessary to carry out the different activities required to produce commodities. Such integration of individual tasks to produce a good collectively makes up the division of labour. Smith identified that, by dividing up all of the labour required in producing a

product, there was a tremendous increase in production output utilizing the same number of people. Rather than one person working to complete all of the tasks necessary to produce a product, the division of labour under industrial production exponentially increased the number of goods produced using the same number of workers. Smith credited three different circumstances for enabling this newly-formed type of production to occur: “first, to the increase of dexterity in every particular workman; secondly, to the saving of the time which is commonly lost in passing from one species of work to another; and lastly, to the invention of a great number of machines which facilitate and abridge labour, and enable one man to do the work of many” (1966: 9).

Smith utilizes the example of producing metal pins to illustrate how the assembly of a number of workers under one roof, each specialized in performing one simple task, together are employed to make pins. He estimated that if one person worked separately and independently, “they certainly could not...have made twenty, perhaps not one pin a day”; whereas, by dividing up the labour in a pin-making factory, each person could contribute in making upwards of forty-eight thousand pins a day (ibid: 7). This type of industrial production represented a newly coordinated plan that displaced work formerly performed by tradespeople. Skill became associated with machine technology which led to the deskilling of manual labour. The industrial worker became an “unskilled” worker because each task involved in industrialized production is simple and repetitive in its execution.

What Smith effectively describes is the division of labour within the initial developments of industrial production, particularly how a single product is broken down into coordinated specialized tasks. This signified a new form of economic production during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, this type of economic production was also an important mechanism in the formation of social classes around the turn of the nineteenth century; specifically, the

development of the capitalist class-based system. Hobsbawm (1984: 195) dates the emergence of the new British working class to the early nineteenth century, formulating a “trinitarian image” consisting of landlords, bourgeoisie, and labour. The new working class of labourers encompassed much of the feudal society’s social strata which still existed during the transformation into industrialized society organized under capitalist relations. For example, such feudal titles of social identity like “artisan”, “craftsman”, and virtually all terms associated with the work performed by independent small producers and their organizations came to be monopolized by industrial employers. This manufacturing division of labour has remained the principle type of industrial organization, whereby the capitalist system uniquely systematized the subdivision of work of each productive specialty into limited operations. The assembly line created by Henry Ford conjures a graphic image of this type of unskilled labour.

3.2 The Division of Labour According to Political Economy

Smith described the division of labour among workers under one factory roof, together belonging to the new social class of working labour, or the proletariat. Apart from these detailed work tasks within the factory, the exchange of goods between social units, such as the family or community, provided the beginnings for this specialized type of production, and hence the newer form of the division of labour. However, a new “social” division of labour also emerged as a unique complex system of exchange. Here, all types of labour began to be exchanged, not only between individuals, but also among competing capitalists. With the development of capitalist relations, products are gradually converted into “commodities”. It is this productive process, with a new division of productive labour, which interacts with the social division of labour under capitalism to create a stratified class-based society. In contrast, the social stratification under

feudalism represented by guilds had rules which limited the number of apprentices that a single master could employ. With the shift to capitalist relations of production, many of these apprentices were forced into the proletariat. They were prevented from becoming capitalists during the period of transformation when “masters” became owners of the means of production (Marx, 1946: 352). Specifically, a merchant could purchase any kind of commodity except for human labour. Regarding my central discussion on the emergence of professional work, this helps to explain the historic rise of occupations in capitalist societies, because occupations form part of the wider economic division of labour in an industrial enterprise. Apart from household activities, occupations in capitalist societies serve a specific economic role due to the growth of markets requiring labour.

The social division of labour creates distinct occupations, since the worker no longer carries through any complete production process. This “workshop” type of division of labour is imposed by the implementation of calculated planning to control individual tasks. Thus, it is based on maximizing economic efficiency, so the social division of labour is “enforced chaotically by the market” (Braverman, 1974: 73). This type of socio-economic organization is exploitative, creating inequality among the newly forming social classes. Braverman claims, “while the social division of labor subdivides society [into social classes], the detailed division of labor subdivides humans” because it proceeds with little regard for maximizing or encouraging human capabilities. Braverman argues it becomes “a crime against the person and against humanity” (1974: 73). What Braverman implies is that capitalist relations in all social institutions create alienation. Marx reasoned that human beings realize their true potential through the work they perform, but this becomes impossible under a capitalist mode of

production because alienation is an objective condition produced by capitalist relations of production.

Marx claimed that the main causes of alienation are private ownership of the means of production, private appropriation of surplus value, and a complex division of labour. These factors result in workers becoming alienated from the product they help to produce since they can no longer control the result of the labour process. Furthermore, it creates an organization of social labour which creates new productive powers of labour for the benefit of owners, so the division of labour in manufacturing commodities becomes a particular method of creating surplus value which the capitalist claims. Giddens (1971: 229) explains that this type of social organization not only identifies occupational specialization as the source of fragmenting work into routinized mundane tasks, but it also displays the organization of productive relationships constituting a class-based system dependent on the exploitative dominance of one class by another.

For Marx, this “division of labour is nothing more but the alienated form of human activity” because it is so integral to its economic expansion, as class-based societies are dependent on the growth of the specialization of tasks to create surplus value (ibid: 229). Thus, it is the division of labour which “converts the product of labour into a commodity, and thereby makes necessary its further conversion into money” (Marx, 1946: 81). Among the exchanges of commodities, labour power can appear in the market as a commodity only if “its possessor, the individual whose labour-power it is, offers it for sale, or sells it, as a commodity” (ibid: 146). Within this new type of social division of labour, the only commodity being produced for sale on the market that is not an inanimate object is human labour power. Thus, it is unfairly and illogically traded on the market, in exchange for wages, like any other commodity because it

produces value, which all other commodities cannot produce. Essential to the understanding of EAP teaching, I will describe how newly emerging occupations during an ever-increasing division of labour began to offer a different type of “product” for sale on the market: their services.

3.3 The Application of Manual and Mental Specializations in the Division of Labour

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, people working within occupations that enjoyed roles of free practitioner, such as lawyers and architects, were closely bound to the stratification system stemming from the former feudal system. Although there was a medieval association of certain learned professions tied to both the church and the university, other service-type occupations, like physicians, had not yet commanded autonomy or authority in their own field of work. Even well into the nineteenth century, many professionals stood outside of the new commercial and industrial heart of society. Since they were holdovers from the “old regime”, not the new capitalist one, they did not quite fit in with the new social arrangements at that time (Abbott, 1988: 3, 4). Most service-oriented occupations could not yet lay claim to a special status, a claim that required trust (Starr, 1982: 17). In other words, the ideological conditions needed in order for the application of many mental specializations offered by professional groups within the division of labour to become accepted in civil society had not yet emerged.

The main constituencies reshaping social, political and economic organization were the state, the capitalist economic system, and the rise of professional organizations. The state and capitalism shape each other, and both influence the professions. However, the type of services offered by occupational groups determines if they are granted professional status. Some occupations are valued more than others. For example, the application of mental specialization

to manual work that contributes directly to the growth of the economy, such as engineering, were the first new occupational groups to attain the status of “profession”. Other occupations involving mental specializations, like elementary school teaching, continue to struggle to gain similar status. Furthermore, occupations that involve specialized mental training, like medicine where work does not have a direct connection with growing the economy but whose services are viewed as integral to maintaining social needs within the burgeoning urbanized society, are provided a high degree of professional status.

Hobsbawm observes that social classes continually change in the sense that they never finish acquiring a definitive shape (1984: 194). Certainly, throughout the nineteenth century, industrialized states continued to grow and develop in scale, technological innovation, and in organization. With the increasing mechanization of industry, the broad category of “unskilled” labourer began to decline while more occupational groups emerged, resulting in an increase in “semi-skilled” work (Braverman, 1974: 429). Aside from an increase in size and concentration, the occupational composition of the working class also changed substantially. The development of the expanding industrial economy had many effects on all social classes and occupations. For example, the variety of service work intended to help facilitate social life in urbanizing, capitalist societies come to be controlled to some extent by the state. Here, the “state” can be understood as a set of institutions holding official powers that are linked to governments. Common institutions include armed forces, civil services, and judiciary councils. They are bodies that possess a monopoly over the means of force, as well as most of the means of sustaining civil society through education and professional training (Krause, 1996: 22). In summary, states support the political-economic system, and professions become important to both the state and capitalism. As mentioned, the degree of importance, based on the privileged social status they

enjoy, varies according to the type of services offered by the occupation and also to the extent that it is recognized as being an important social service by the state and to the economy.

During the early nineteenth century, many newly forming occupations sold their services. As such, they were less susceptible to the rapid technological changes than those involved with the processing type of work of most goods-producing industries. However, these services, although not physical objects for sale, are still considered commodities since they too sell on the market: “when the worker does not offer this [type of] labor directly...but instead sells it to a capitalist, who re-sells it on the commodity market, then we have the capitalist form of production in the field of services” (Braverman, 1974: 360). As a result, new forms of work and occupations emerged alongside the manufacturing sector that were associated with scientific advancement during this period of great transformation, in which the state and capitalism played important roles in developing a new social order and work roles that defined an individual’s socio-economic class.

I have discussed the transformation of capitalism in the West that resulted in vast migration to urban centres as well as the creation of a new division of labour based on social class. This determined the type of work a person would perform, whether it was the kind of assembly line work Smith describes, or involving mental specializations required for both the application of science to large-scale national construction endeavours or social services needed for the smooth functioning of newly forming urban populations. Essentially, the great transformation was an economic, political and cultural revolution, creating a new civil society. It represents a time of nation building that included the creation of civil society; one based on social class inequality.

In terms of selecting occupational work, a society based on class equates to inequality of opportunity. In order to maintain civil society it is necessary that people accept their class position and the work role associated with it. To achieve this, the ruling class was forced to develop a coherent theory of economics, politics and society; and also to make conscious to the population its own mission, of unlimited economic expansion in the case of capitalism (Lucács, 1968: 65). Gaining this sort of widespread consent requires an ideal representation of the interests of the ruling class as universal interests, which is known as “hegemony”. Gramsci (1973: 42) defines hegemony as an “equilibrium between civil society and political society; an equilibrium between leadership and direction based on consent, and domination based on coercion”. It is the state that organizes civil society, which is a means used to obtain consensus, and political society encompasses the instruments of class dictatorship.

Gramsci identifies the instrument created by modern civil society that forms the state as the “party”. Parties comprise the social ruling class who are able to produce their own political personnel and a philosophy suited to their own specific goals (ibid: 48, 50). To make this work, the mass of workers need to be organized in a permanent structure. This way, work tasks become normalized into daily routine for the purpose of providing basic needs. Thus, hegemony can be exercised over the great majority. Put differently, in order for a party to exert control of a population it must graft itself onto a history of a single nation, transcending the traditional party organization (ibid: 51). Thus, a party is capable of founding a state because of its dependence on the active consensus of the labouring masses. Lucács argues, “for a class to be ripe for hegemony means that its interests and consciousness enable it to organise the whole of society in accordance with those interests” (1968: 52).

In this type of arrangement, newly forming types of work can be divided into manual and mental specializations. As discussed, Adam Smith's concept of the division of labour is used to describe the industrialized work of manual specialization. Again, these include work tasks that are narrow in scope, as well as simple and repetitive in execution. During the nineteenth century, an increasingly complex division of labour evolved whereby mental specializations became essential components to this development. Mental specialization is the application of formal knowledge and techniques of scientific research to either the mechanical production of goods or toward the advancement of science. Scientific applications are also related to the creation of social services.

Occupations that apply knowledge to work practices, which evolved from the medieval universities, began to either expand into newly forming disciplines, like engineering, or broke down into sub-disciplines in their own right (Freidson, 2001: 21). In other words, although most of these specializations were supported by host disciplines, they could now be offered in the marketplace as services. Freidson notes that this shift in occupational specialization involved the upper socio-economic classes, and led to the "expert" or "technician"; for example, bone-setters became "orthopedists" (2001: 22). Regarding social class, this is the period when some occupations began to occupy a new middle class position in the capitalist stratification system. As a result, social status groups formed. Manufacturers, scientists, and the new "professional" engineers mixed together in both their work and social lives (Bernal, 1965: 529).

In sum, industrialization, the division of labour and the state led to a new way of thinking about work, in which the capitalist division of labour induced specialization of tasks based on either a dichotomy between manual and mental skills or a "marriage" between them. However, some work tasks became more valued and important than others, largely due to the contributions

they could make to nation-building or to maintain civil society. For the first time, aside from navigational schools, science began to be taught systematically in schools during the late eighteenth century (ibid: 529). During the earliest periods of capitalist relations, the connection between the working population and science was made primarily through the artisan or craftsman. Specifically, the craftsman was tied to the technical and scientific knowledge of their time in the daily practices of their craft (Braverman, 1974: 133). A clear example of this relationship was with the stone masons transitioning to the work performed in factories. As state governments took on infrastructural projects, including the construction of roads, canals and bridges, the skills of stone masons could be contracted outside of the factories. Later in this chapter I will explain the significance of how different types of work are valued by the state more than others, which is crucial to understanding why certain occupations attained professional status while others did not. However, it is necessary to first complete the analysis of the other classical sociological perspectives of the division of labour.

3.4 The Division of Labour According to Structural Functionalism

Emile Durkheim did not directly address how the shift to capitalist society occurred. Rather, Durkheim adopted a broader approach in an attempt to understand how whole societies move from relatively simple to complex structural organization through a process of change based on social differentiation. Essentially, differentiation refers to the growth in the number of institutions and the problems of social integration. Durkheim argued that the division of labour does not cause the output of all societal functions to be divided, “but that it renders them solidary” (1933: 61). Here, the division of labour is not solely explained in economic terms, but includes many factors that bring people collectively together, such as conjugal and other

emotional functions performed according to the social role of individuals. For Durkheim, since such eclectic individual roles have a function within the division of labour then “it must have a moral character, for the need of order, harmony, and social solidarity is generally considered moral” (1933: 63). The notion of morality refers to whatever creates a sense of solidarity and integration among individuals within a community. The division of labour directly affects the degree of solidarity in a given society.

Durkheim identifies two types of solidarity which characterize the division of labour in either non-industrial or industrialized societies. Prior to the Industrial Revolution that occurred in the West, societies were characterized by mechanical solidarity. These types of societies were tightly-knit communities, and solidarity was couched in the collective conscience of the society as a whole. Societies integrated by mechanical solidarity tend to have commonly shared values. This is an undifferentiated sort of division of labour because there are very few institutions that maintain social cohesion. Here, the family, or tribe, and religion are the central institutions which keep society morally integrated. In other words, not many institutions are required to help keep society running smoothly. As Durkheim puts it:

Everybody knows that there is a social cohesion whose cause lies in a certain conformity of all particular consciences to a common type...Not only do citizens love each other and seek each other out in preference to strangers, but they love their country. They will it [(social cohesion)] as they will themselves...because, without it, a great part of their psychic lives would function poorly (1933: 105).

The family and the community’s collective values sufficed, rather than a need for many different institutions, in maintaining strong moral solidarity among smaller populations.

In modern industrialized societies, a shift to organic solidarity was required. As communities became larger, an obvious result of migration from agrarian to urban centres induced by industrialization, beliefs and values surfaced which emphasized individuality.

According to Durkheim, in order to maintain solidarity among a larger population, a much more differentiated division of labour is needed. Societies characterized by organic solidarity encourage specialist talents, as well as many different institutional activities to maintain a relatively strong degree of collective conscience. Durkheim's problem at the root of understanding the division of labour is a result of the moral ambiguity concerning the relationship between the individual and society in industrial societies. Since modern society is associated with the expansion of "individualism", then it represents a new phenomenon connected with growth of the division of labour. It is a much larger, differentiated division of labour that requires many different institutions, in addition to the family or tribe, to maintain moral solidarity among members.

While Durkheim does not treat the division of labour as a unique modern phenomenon, the modern division of labour is a direct consequence of industrialization. It is a differentiated division of labour which produces specialization of occupational function, "and therefore fosters the development of special talents, capacities and attitudes [of individuals], which are not shared by everyone in society, but are possessed only by particular groups" (Giddens, 1971: 73). As modern capitalist societies emerged, specialized occupational groups and institutions were necessarily created as the complexity of the division of labour increased. Thus, a differentiated division of labour in modern society provides individuals with a general collective conscience. Durkheim refers to such institutions as "things" which "form part of society just as persons [do], and they play a specific role in it. Thus it is necessary that their relations with the social organism be determined" (1933: 115).

Finally, Durkheim explains that if rapid social change occurs, from mechanical to organic solidarity, there is a greater potential for conflict. This is referred to as "anomie", which

essentially characterizes a society in a state of normlessness. Anomie occurs for a variety of reasons that undermine the establishment of social trust, which produces abnormal forms of the division of labour. Durkheim provides examples of some of these “devious forms” when “the division of labour ceases to bring forth solidarity”, such as industrial or commercial crises, and conflict between capital and labour (1933: 353, 354). In industrial societies, this is why a differentiated division of labour is required. Many specialized occupations and institutions can provide support, or a buffer, between the individual and the larger society helping to prevent anomie. These institutions are identified in the realms of education, work, government and religion, while the family plays a more limited role than it did in pre-industrial societies.

The difference Durkheim revealed between mechanical and organic solidarity is fundamental to understanding his view on the division of labour and its corresponding effect on modern social institutions and individual persons. In brief, the distinction Durkheim has made is based upon a model of social complexity and differentiation. With mechanical solidarity, a society is characterized by a high degree of uniformity and consensus whereby values and sentiments are deeply shared and valued. Conversely, organic solidarity is the outcome of a diverse division of labour in which each differentiated institution and expert specialist work together to maintain strong moral commitments. It can be likened to many different parts of an organism, each of which function to maintain a healthy whole. Durkheim’s work has been important to a functionalist understanding of professions because professions are viewed as providing essential services that help individuals cope with living in larger, urbanized communities. Here, professions act like a buffer between the individual and the complex division of labour that emerged as a result of industrialization. This will be explained later in this chapter.

3.5 The Division of Labour According to the Weberian Theory of Rationalization

A significant part of Weber's sociological work focused on socio-economic status positions in the larger stratification system of modern capitalist society, although he also recognized that such status groups had been of vital importance in earlier phases of historical development. In capitalist societies, Weber distinguishes a person's status position from their class position, even though each influences the other. In this sense, "class" is considered an attribute of the market or a group of people belonging to the same status group. Status and class are the two extreme poles for the ways people in a society relate to one another because, whereas the factor that creates class is economic interest, one's status is determined by the evaluation which others in society perceive to be their social position. This parallels the discussion of how new occupational work involving mental specializations were part of the formation of distinct social classes, instigating a new type of social identity among individuals. Simply put, other people in the same society attribute to the individual some form of positive or negative social estimation of prestige or honour (Weber, 1958: 183, 187). However, such attributes of status include more than just economic, class considerations.

Members of a status group are usually conscious of their common position in the stratification system, since status groups normally share a particular life-style (ibid: 187). Furthermore, restrictions are often placed on the ways in which others may interact with them, such as marriage or caste restrictions, which can be enforced by legal or religious sanctions (Giddens, 1971: 166). The degree to which status stratification is established in any given societal order depends on economic power. Although both status and class membership form the social basis of social power and privilege, it is the formation of parties that influences the

distribution of power (ibid: 167). Similar to Gramsci's understanding, Weber identifies parties as any voluntary associations which struggle for domination, for the purpose of implementing favourable policies within that organization, and are usually organized in a very strict authoritarian fashion (1968: 285). In addition to the political realm, parties can be assembled in a variety of organizations, such as sports clubs or professional groups.

Understanding social class and status, as well as how parties are organized, leads to Weber's conceptualization of the division of labour. Following Adam Smith's analysis of the division of labour, Weber recognized the importance of specialization of occupations following the Industrial Revolution, which results in a much greater increase in work performance output (1978: 146). However, Weber was primarily concerned with the organization of modern capitalist societies in relation to bureaucratization. Bureaucratization offers the best means of putting into practice the principle of Smith's division of labour into the work of administration within a hierarchical organization (1978: 351). The bureaucracy puts regular activities of administration, governed structurally in a fixed way, into an absolutely stable way of commanding from the top of the hierarchy with methodological precision for the continuous fulfillment of work duties (Weber, 1958: 196). Such bureaucratic authority over administrative work has been established within state governments as well as within capitalist industries.

This sort of division of labour involves mental specialization, whereby individual parts of the work involved can be "allotted to functionaries who have had specialist training" (Weber, 1978: 351). It is economic efficiency that is the irreducible quality which is most appealing to the bureaucratic functioning of work. Weber found that, "bureaucratization offers above all the optimum possibility for carrying through [administrative] functions according to purely objective considerations, because it is a discharge of business according to calculable rules and without

regard for persons” (1958: 215). Elsewhere, Weber points out that “no regard for persons” is also the slogan of the capitalist market, as well as “all forms of naked pursuit of economic interests in general” (1978: 351). It is this calculability of results that is most important to the modern bureaucracy, seeking a bottom line of economic efficiency and profit, because the very nature of technological and economic culture requires precisely such calculability of consequences (ibid: 351).

Within the discussion of the sociology of professions that follows later in this chapter, it will become clear how Weber’s theory of rationality applies to how institutions in capitalist societies are organized and how they operate. Indeed, the role of the expert manager is of utmost importance to gaining an understanding of how contemporary professional organizations operate. Bureaucracy has become an integral component of capitalism because rationalization eliminates all personal, irrationally emotional elements, such as love or hatred, which escape calculation (Weber, 1958: 216). Regarding the governing functions in Western societies preceding capitalism (for example, agrarian feudal societies), the bureaucracy replaces the lord who was capable of being persuaded by emotions (Weber, 1978: 351). With the specialized division of labour that emerged under capitalism, modern culture in capitalist societies requires the external apparatus of the bureaucracy which supports it, and it is manned by the expert specialist who deals with administrative, managerial affairs.

3.6 Distinguishing Types of Work within the Division of Labour

I have discussed how and when manual and mental specializations in work changed under the capitalist division of labour. However, this broad dichotomy of work does not explain why certain types of work are more valued than others, especially in work associated with mental

specialization. Clearly, wherever industrialism spread the old social relations vanished as cities absorbed new populations. Again, this marked a time of nation building among industrializing countries, in which socio-economic class determined the type of work an individual performed. Much of the semi-skilled work, done by people within the emerging middle classes, gained prominence, while others, mostly the great majority of the population from the lower class, remained wage labourers performing manual tasks.

During the nineteenth century, economic and political initiatives belonged firmly to the new class of capitalist entrepreneurs. Scientific advancements fuelled economic development. For example, the profession of engineering had roots in crafts associated with the millwright and the metal-worker in feudal times (Bernal, 1965: 547; Braverman, 1974: 131). As the application of scientific knowledge to physical work created new professions and occupations, the middle class expanded. For instance, Armytage (1961: 122) traces the history of the “Royal Institution” (launched in 1799) in the United Kingdom which diffused scientific knowledge to facilitate the “general introduction of useful mechanical inventions” into the work of tradespeople. This was achieved by giving “philosophic lectures” to teach how scientific application could be applied to large-scale construction, such as the building of harbours and railroads (ibid: 119, 122).

This is how the occupation of engineering emerged. With the application of technology to rail construction, England began to see enormous increases in the numbers of civil engineers who carried on the tradition of building canals, roads and bridges (Bernal, 1965: 547). In 1818, the Institute of Civil Engineers was founded, convened by H. R. Palmer (Armytage, 1961: 122; Buchanan, 1989: 14). In his inaugural address, Palmer articulated the purpose of applying scientific theory to the work of the engineer. “An engineer is a mediator between the philosopher and the working mechanic, and, like an interpreter between two foreigners, must

understand the language of both...Hence the absolute necessity of his possessing both practiced and theoretical knowledge” (Armytage, 1961: 122-3). By 1820, the Institute of Civil Engineers acquired a corporate existence. The institute hosted the presentation of papers and convened regularly. In 1829 it defined the term “civil engineering” in order to petition for an application of a Charter to the British Attorney-General:

Civil Engineering is the art of directing the great sources of power in Nature for the use and convenience of man; being that practical application of the most important principles of natural philosophy which has...realized the anticipations of Bacon, and changed the aspect and state affairs in the whole world. The most important object of Civil Engineering is to improve the means of production and of traffic in states, both for internal and external trade...we are every day witnessing new applications, as well as the extension of the older ones to every part of the globe (ibid: 124).

Providing a clear definition of the new occupation for the purpose of petitioning for a Charter is an integral part of the process of an occupation attempting to gain professional status; in this case, the creation of an organized association in order to create a legal professional association. With the state needing such specialized work tasks informed by scientific innovation, its sanctioning of the related occupations is a requirement to gain the legal legitimacy these occupations need to guarantee their jurisdictional niche and protection in the market. During the early nineteenth century, for an occupation to attain professional status it had to offer a specialized work task required by the state.

Professional institutional status is necessary to ensure legal protection for specific occupations, like engineering. During the same period in which civil engineers organized to form professional associations, many other occupational groups also sought professional status. For instance, new interest in geology arose from the construction of tunnels, which involved precision in rock-cutting to build canals and railways, thereby creating new occupations linked to the geographical and geological sciences. The profession of surveyor emerged as a result of the

new scientific developments and application in that particular field of scientific study (Bernal, 1965: 547). The Institute of Builders was founded in 1834, followed by many other newly emerging occupations organizing themselves into associations, such as the Institute of Architects in 1837, the Institute of Surveyors in 1868, and the Institute of Bankers in 1879 (Armytage, 1961: 356; Buchanan, 1989: 14).

Many other organizations applied theoretical and scientific knowledge to create new occupations throughout the nineteenth century. Governments took active part by hiring these newer professionals to work on national projects and by granting legislative authority that recognized their rights and status. This sort of arrangement, in which a government determines what types of occupations are granted professional work autonomy, marks a distinct transformation of labour movements into industrial relations (Hobsbawm, 1984: 156). For example, 1889 marked the official end to the transition of the British labour movement involving engineers from earlier in that century to the appearance of employers' organizations on a national scale (ibid: 156). From the late nineteenth century to WWI, alongside the creation of professional associations housing the new occupations, the existing skilled labour forces increased resistance to the devaluation of their work. Organized labour mounted resistance in the form of strikes, for example, requiring the intervention of government to resolve them. Nevertheless, as Hobsbawm (1984: 266) argues, the real crisis of the tradesman began when they became replaceable by semi-skilled machine operators, or by some other division of labour into specialized and rapidly learned tasks at the end of the nineteenth century.

3.7 The Social Role of Teaching as an Occupation within the Division of Labour

The teaching occupation falls within the work realm of mental specialization. However, unlike many other occupations valued by the state, teaching was not valued in the same way because it did not directly contribute to practical economic projects, like the construction of national infrastructure. While occupations involving mental specializations, like engineering, created their own esoteric knowledge and defined their own work practices, teaching was an occupation which the state helped to develop into an institution as a hegemonic function to disseminate its dominant ideology linked to the new type of capitalist relations during the nineteenth century.

Schools were viewed as the foremost place to instill the values necessary in the civil society of industrializing economies. At the primary level, the term “elementary school” was coined in reference to the essential knowledge that all citizens were required to have (Kemmis & Fitzclarence, 1986: 80). By the 1920s the outlines of the orderly and highly stratified educational systems that remain today were clearly visible. For example, Brint and Karabel (1989: 5) outline the emergence of a hierarchically differentiated educational system that is closely linked to the labour market as the new social model for national economic success in America. The creation of this “ladder of ascent” through educational attainment gave new life to the American concept of equality of opportunity (Brint & Karabel, 1989: 5). A differentiated and hierarchical educational system reflected the social divisions within the larger society.

In Canada, teaching practices and philosophy mirrored that in the United States. To reiterate, the early 1800s saw extraordinary economic, technological and political changes throughout the Western world, as it was the time when struggles over how to organize social relations in the newly burgeoning industrial world occurred. At a time when some occupations gained professional status and prestige, teaching in Canada was not held in high regard.

Teachers earned very poor wages; sometimes paid with flour or sheep (Axelrod, 2003: 20). However, by the mid-nineteenth century schooling assumed new importance for the purpose of socializing the population to accept these new societal roles and political economic arrangements. Nation-building at the time was to instil British loyalty and Protestant Christian values. However, the massive waves of immigration from non-British backgrounds posed a new problem in Canadian society. Institutionalizing education was seen as a solution to assimilating diverse cultures into a British and Christian way of life.

The expansion of education was generally regarded in a favourable light by the upper socio-economic classes. During the 1840s, an emerging middle class of “businessmen, affluent farmers, lawyers, and other professionals rose to political and social prominence”, playing important roles in promoting the virtues of “responsible government” (Axelrod, 2003: 24). In Lower Canada Louis Joseph Papineau claimed that “education is an important instrument for democratization”, while in Upper Canada William Lyon Mackenzie espoused the same view: “No longer should education be for the privileged only....Ordinary citizens had the right to be educated” (Axelrod, 2003: 25). As discussed, economic progress required civil order first and foremost, and public education had a key role to play in ensuring political stability.

Axelrod shows how this dominant ideology took hold: “Canadian inspectors, drawn from the more educated and privileged ranks of society, were intended to contribute to the efficiency of state-run institutions and to cultivate among the population a ‘civic morality’ rooted in middle-class values” (2003: 41). Control from the centre was a typical bureaucratic style of governing during this period. Departmental officials were to create regulations and oversee the implementation of a new curriculum. This fits with Weber’s description of how hierarchical bureaucratic authority over administrative work is established within state governments.

Furthermore, it demonstrates how the mental specialization of the work teachers do, and the credentials required of them, is devalued in comparison to many other types of occupations that gained professional status. While newly emerging occupations tied to the new middle class formed associations leading to professional autonomy, public school teaching, on the other hand, has been regulated by the state to serve as a hegemonic function for instilling values important to nationhood. The institutionalization of public schooling has had a great impact on the efforts of teaching enterprises, like EAP, to gain professional status.

Since teaching was initially a devalued form of skilled work, state incentives were implemented to help promote, or “professionalize”, this vocation through offering school grants and better salaries. For instance, “Normal Schools” were the first schools specializing in teacher training, which first opened in France during the 1830s, and in Toronto in 1847 (Axelrod, 2003: 46). However, it took time to legislate mass free schooling in Canada. While this move was an important piece of legislation within the British North America Act (BNA) of 1867, the state still needed to recruit enough qualified teachers, to increase the physical capacity of schools, to improve attendance rates, and to create curricula. The low status of teaching, especially in the lower grades, led to the hiring of women to teach children. Proponents of state-run schools looked to women as a possibility to fill the vacancies created by mass education.

The problem with doing this at that time lay in the Victorian Era values which mitigated against the engagement of women in much more than household work. Nevertheless, this problem was overcome by what, for instance, the superintendent for education in Nova Scotia, Alexander Forrester, claimed was the need “to appease, rather than offend, societal sensibilities” (Axelrod, 2003: 48). It was argued that, although women were subordinate to men in the hierarchy of the occupation of teaching, they were also more affectionate and kinder. Forrester

gave three reasons for hiring women to teach in the public schools. First, women were already well-equipped to teach children, whereas men were better suited to educating more “advanced” classes and to hold positions of schoolmasterships. Second, given the connection between elementary schooling and child-rearing, teaching would be a “training ground” for young single women destined for marriage. Finally, women had already been teaching in private schools (ibid: 48). Women could thus preserve their nurturing role and employ it in the service of the state without threatening the status of men. The “feminization” of teaching at lower grade levels has persisted to the present day.

The expansion of the public school system in Canada would not have been possible without women recruits in the teaching occupation. Otherwise, the economy could not have borne the costs of a rapidly expanding school system. As a result, the institutionalization of schooling during the latter part of the nineteenth century owed a great deal to the employment of thousands of women at very low wages. At the time, women still earned half the pay of their male counterparts, even for the few who taught at the secondary level (Axelrod, 2003: 48). A few years after the BNA Act of 1867, 60% of public school teachers were women, which grew to 77% in 1900, and by WWII elementary school teaching had become a “traditional woman’s job” (ibid: 48). Unlike other new occupations that had emerged, teaching was devalued work that was performed exclusively by women.

Early in the twentieth century, there was a clear relationship between schooling and industry that has continued to the present day. The teaching occupation was essentially a creation of the state, modelled upon the goal of industrialized schooling. At the time, this fit both the belief in institutionalized schooling to mould “mental discipline” as well as the belief in “hands on” training to prepare individuals for manual labour. In the early twentieth century,

governments took over the function of defining and managing the socialization of their “citizen personnel”, promoting education as both a right and a duty of citizenship, and an important way of attaining status and respect (Meyer & Rowan, 1983: 82-83). Rooted in this conceptual change in the role of education is a national ideology which rationalizes inequality.

For large numbers of people, failure to advance through the ranks of the school system is not only inevitable but was structured into the newly formed educational system. In this sense, Brint and Karabel (1989: 7) explain that the belief in the legitimacy of class inequality is based on genuine differences in ability, effort, and doubts about whether one “measures up”. Fault and failure are placed on the individual rather than on the way the educational system is structured. Since high status job opportunities were scarce, an education appropriate for citizens’ future place in the division of labour had to be provided (Brint & Karabel, 1989: 10). As a result of this need to fulfill the ideological goals of the state and of capitalism, elementary and high school teachers have held precarious occupational positions within the economic division of labour. Because such positions were occupied by women, educating the young and less advanced population came to be recognized as women’s work. What needs further analysis is the even smaller, more precarious teaching group of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) that I am exploring. However, it is necessary to first complete the sociological discussion of professions.

3.8 Toward a Sociological Understanding of Professions

To reiterate, once an occupation, which refers to a set of tasks performed by an individual, develops a specialized skill that requires lengthy training within an esoteric knowledge base, it can form into a professional group. A profession is a distinct type of occupation which is organized by a central regulatory body, or association. To define the work

professionals do, it is important to understand “professionalism” as a set of institutions which represent and permit members of a professional group to perform autonomous work. These groups enjoy social privilege in the form of status and high incomes because they have attained institutionalized legitimation to perform specialized tasks that are inaccessible to those lacking the necessary credentials. Claims to a possession of specialized knowledge shape their organizational development, tied to the political-economic system and the state which regulates professions, usually in the form of licensing. In this context, the division of labour acutely structures and restructures professional work (Abbott, 1988: 325). Other occupational groups offering similar services are legally ineligible to perform the same work, unless it is subordinate to the established professional group. This is how a monopoly for professional services is created. In order for this type of social dominance to work, Freidson (1970: 73) explains that the profession must share the values and beliefs of the elite group sponsoring it, which represents the ideological condition necessary for professions to emerge as a distinct social group.

To reiterate, the term “profession” only entered into common usage in English-speaking countries in “the late 18th or early 19th century at the earliest” (Sciulli, 2007: 51). As discussed, professionals could be identified by the specialized knowledge base and skills they provided as services within the newly forming capitalist societies. These groups eventually came to enjoy relatively high socio-economic status and privileges in society. However, it was not until the 1930s that sociologists began to systematically study this unique status group.

Several authors credit the work of Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) for an initial sociological analysis of the concept of profession (Abbott, 1988: 4; MacDonald, 1995: 15; Sciulli, 2007: 35). Over the course of the following decades, functionalist sociologists attempted to identify the traits, or characteristics, that could comprehensively define professions using

Weber's methodological tool of the ideal type. By the late 1960s, critical theorists began to argue that such a perspective omits the key issue of the power professionals exercise in society. Specifically, a focus on how professions carve out their own monopolies, and how their social status is attained and maintained, became the central concern in these sociological understandings of professions. More recently, a significant contribution to these debates is to view professions by considering each occupation and the socio-historical and geographic locations in which it emerges as a profession.

Part of this perspective analyzes how governing regulations and the activities of professions affect social order and change in society by examining occupations as they struggle to gain professional autonomy. Such a focus on government regulation of professions is connected to the concept of status (Adams, 2010: 51). Thus, it is necessary to identify social status in order to understand which occupations have been privileged through special legislation which provides them with prestige and allows them to regulate their memberships. Several attempts have been made to understand the extent to which professional occupations could be regarded as unique products within the division of labour associated with industrialization, and whether professionals actually perform a special economic, political and social role (Johnson, 1972: 10). Initial research in the field attempted to define the concept of profession in terms of social mobility and stratification, followed by the inclusion of the differentiated division of labour.

Until recently, the key theoretical perspectives utilized to address these issues were based on Durkheim's concept of moral order, and Weber's theory of rationalization to explain how professions gain monopoly control for their services in the market. Regarding the former, it is argued that professions and their codes of ethics create a new altruistic service orientation within

society (Johnson, 1972: 12). Durkheim asserted there was a need for strong intervening institutions between the otherwise isolated individual and industrial society. Durkheim used the concept of differentiation and connected it to the concept of organic solidarity. In order to break from the previous moral order, a result of the fragmenting division of labour discussed previously, moral communities based on differentiated institutions were needed. Within this perspective, professions must be altruistic in order to mediate between the individual and the larger society because they offer essential supportive services. As mentioned, this perspective was the initial impetus of sociological investigation into professions beginning in the early 1930s. Over the course of the following decades, functionalist theorists endeavoured to identify the essential characteristics of a profession by constructing a comprehensive ideal type list of attributes that could measure how far along a continuum an occupation resembles an established profession.

On the other hand, as Weber cautioned, professional associations could have harmful effects in capitalist society because both the process of professionalization and the process of bureaucratization are expressions of increased rationalization in capitalist societies (Johnson, 1972: 15). This means that professionalism translates into effective interest-group control over clients, and also regulates entry into professional groups and thus functions as a form of social status exclusion. Although the functionalist position utilizes Weber's methodological tool of the ideal type, the critical response is based on Weber's abstract theory of rationalization, which is in sharp contrast to the functionalist conceptualization. For example, in rationalized, bureaucratically-organized societies, professions necessarily lose control of their own work practices. As Mills writes, because professional organizations must operate within a bureaucratic hierarchy, they "work in some department, under some kind of manager...and the conditions of

their work are laid down by rule. What they work on is determined by others...Thus they themselves become part of the managerial demiurge” (1956: 114). The argument is that professions cannot be altruistically service-oriented since they must operate within such a controlled setting. In this context, it is necessary to understand professions by applying the concept of power and authority.

The most recent attempt to conceptualize professions is to situate them within their own unique circumstances of time and geographic location, and to trace how occupations develop into professions. This type of analysis originated with Freidson (1983), and was initially termed the “folk concept”. Here, professions are studied as institutions, which distinguish them from other occupations (Freidson, 1983: 30, 31). This perspective traces the history of a given occupation, like the teaching of EAP, to understand the processes it has gone through and the social values associated with the work it performs. Freidson maintains that it is necessary to understand the concept of profession as an ambiguous folk concept because, unlike the pursuit of a comprehensive and exhaustive abstract theory of occupations, such a theory of professions “would attempt instead to develop a better means of understanding and interpreting what is conceived of as a concrete, changing, historical and national phenomenon” (1983: 32). This marks a significant change in the approach to understanding professions because each occupation striving for professional status has its own unique economic, technical and ideological context during the time and place in which it attempts to attain occupational work autonomy. It is important to explain each of these differing sociological approaches to understanding professions in order to understand whether or not occupations gain professional status.

3.9 The Functionalist Approach to Understanding Professions

The functionalist analysis of professions assures that public trust in professionals is necessary, and that professionals in turn need to respect both clients and colleagues. In terms of maintaining social order, professions play a major part in determining shifts in the direction of social change (Sciulli, 2007: 35). They provide a buffer between isolated individuals and the larger society by institutionalizing a collective standard of behaviour. Specifically, professions constitute unique social groups because they take on responsibilities that other occupations ignore, such as the client's well-being and the advancement of scientific knowledge. The institutionalization of such responsibilities in society enables professions to mediate any disorderly effects of bureaucratic organization (ibid: 36). The functionalist perspective explains that professions arose in capitalist societies due to their unique technical expertise that included prolonged specialized training in abstract theory, and a service orientation. Goode (1966: 37) concludes that prior to the mid-1800s it is difficult to find any example of a distinct process of professionalization aside from the slow "splitting off" of medicine, law and university teaching from the clergy. The uniqueness of the capitalist epoch is that it places unprecedented prominence on technical expertise.

Functionalists use trait analysis in the form of variables that form a continuum along which any occupation may move (Goode, 1966: 37). In other words, as an analytic tool, any variable associated with professionalism can be used to measure how far an occupation has moved in the direction of increased, or decreased, professionalism. This ideal type is thus an exhaustive list of traits which measures the level of professionalism an occupation displays. Thus, the "traits" approach to understanding professions concentrates on those unique characteristics which distinguish them from lesser occupations (in terms of social status). From the time of Carr-Saunders and Wilson's initial analysis of professions in 1933 until the 1960s, a

number of functionalist theorists attempted to construct comprehensive lists of professional attributes to categorize professions. For example, Millerson (1964) compiled a list taken from 21 authors which was 23 items long (Johnson, 1972: 23). Among these lists of traits, only five agreed-upon attributes were recognized. Like any ideal type model used to measure a phenomenon, these lists of attributes are intended to represent an unattainable, comprehensive model of the perfect, or ideal, representation of a true profession. I will explain the two core principles of professionalism which the functionalist perspective claims are necessary for professionalization, along with the five key traits by looking at the variable traits of established professions. By analyzing the traits found only in the established professions, like medicine and law, and excluding those that are somewhere else on the “professional continuum”, functionalist theorists have been able to agree on those traits which all occupations must possess in order to be deemed professional.

According to Wilensky (1964: 138) and Goode (1966: 36) the two essential principles found in the process of an occupation attempting to attain professional status involve prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge and an altruistic service orientation. The job of the professional is technical, and it must adhere to a service orientation, which is guided by a set of professional norms. It is generally agreed that the professions are autonomous, organized associations in which group membership is compensated with high incomes. The two principles determine all other traits. Again, the first of these is the requirement of lengthy training in order to master knowledge that is organized in abstract theoretical principles that must be applicable to concrete problems. Goode (1966: 36) adds that it is essential for both employers and clients to believe that such theory actually exists, and can be applied to solve genuine problems that only a professional has the technical expertise to resolve. The success of a claim to technical expertise

is greatest when society displays widespread consensus regarding the belief in such possession of esoteric knowledge. In modern societies, science and technical expertise enjoy extraordinary privilege. Thus, many occupations attempting to gain professional status often adopt a scientific knowledge base (Wilensky, 1964: 138). Clearly, public opinion, or the prevailing dominant ideology, is crucial in the process of professionalization. Wilensky (1964: 140) draws on Durkheim to explain that science “cannot combat public opinion if it does not have sufficient authority” that can only be obtained from public opinion itself.

Other important factors include the need for professionals to help create such knowledge. They must be the final arbiters in any dispute over what can be considered valid knowledge. Professions largely control access to such training and knowledge by controlling school admissions, curriculum and evaluations (Goode, 1966: 36). The central component of the service orientation principle is that professionals remain committed to the needs of the client rather than their own self-interest. They must be objective and impartial. Nevertheless, it is the professional practitioner who defines what the client’s needs are. This commitment involves making real sacrifices, such as deferring many adult years devoted to training, and performing altruistic deeds (ibid: 36).

As mentioned, functionalist theorists identify five agreed-upon traits associated with the process of an occupation becoming a profession. These include a systematic body of abstract theory (also a prime principle), professional authority, community sanction, a regulative code of ethics, and professional culture (Greenwood, 1957: 46-53). I have discussed the first trait as the application of scientific knowledge and methods to service-related problems. Greenwood adds that the employment of science reinforces the element of rationality, as opposed to traditionalism (1957: 47). In terms of specialization, this dimension distinguishes professions from other

occupations, like those involving training at trade schools, because theoretical knowledge is more difficult to master than curricula delineating operational procedures. This mastery of abstract theory is also the basis for the next trait, professional authority.

Professional practitioners serve clients, rather than non-professional occupations that deal with customers (ibid: 48). By controlling its training centres, accomplished by an accrediting process, and the fact that clients must often divulge personal information to the professional, the community regards this as privileged communication. Professional authority constitutes a monopoly granted by the community. Thus, when an occupation strives to attain professional status the objective is to acquire this monopoly (ibid: 49). The third trait explicates altruistic overtones in the services professionals provide which should be stated in the next trait, that a regulative code of ethics requiring members to formally promise an oath and to informally commit to social welfare generally (ibid: 50). Finally, professionals display a professional culture consisting of values, norms and symbols. These include the fundamental beliefs of the profession, guides to proper behaviour in social situations, and “meaning-laden items” such as insignias, emblems, dress, history and folklore (ibid: 52).

The main critique of the functionalist traits approach to understanding professions is that there is little empirical evidence that professions actually acquire the characteristics ascribed to them. By analyzing the process in which an occupation moves along a continuum, whereby it acquires the above variable trait attributes determining the degree to which it may or may not be identified as a profession, the focus on this sort of time dimension (the process of professionalization) excludes the power dimension of how professions can create their own monopolies within the division of labour. Another important critique is the vagueness of the term “social order” where professions are claimed to help society function because, as Sciulli

(2007: 36) points out, functionalists never identify the contributions professions make to such social order. Thus, it is a baseless claim. The traits approach is further criticized for not being a universally-applied concept for understanding all professions. In fact, it is not only limited to describing professions in Western societies, but only English-speaking ones (ibid: 36). I have stated that the ongoing debate to provide a clear concept of professions unfolded in three identifiable stages, beginning with the functionalist perspective. During the 1960s, critical responses to the traits approach argued that issues of power and monopolistic control were key dimensions of professions. Therefore, I will begin to discuss these responses to the functionalist approach by examining the central critiques made of each of the traits, followed by an analysis of how the concepts of power and the creation of monopolies have been used to study professions.

3.10 Critical Approaches to Understanding Professions

Critical sociologists began to reject the notion that all professions could be reduced to ideal types of attributes. Instead, they argued that professions do not simply serve social needs in an altruistic manner, but rather impose needs on their clients. Thus, dominance and autonomy are the true indications of understanding professionalism. In this sense, professions secure unnecessary monopolies in the labour market for their expert services which grant them inflated incomes and unjustified social status. However, not all critical theorists agree on how best to understand professions.

Regarding the five agreed-upon traits which comprise the ideal type model to identify professions, a major response to this perspective is that the process an occupation undergoes in moving toward professionalism can never be the same because individuals and groups will act on their own to try and attain high socio-economic status. Consequently, the functionalist

perspective implicitly accepts that the starting point for understanding professions is to accept that they exhibit, to some degree, all of these “essential” elements (Johnson, 1972: 23). The functionalist perspective avoids explaining exactly how professions are held accountable to the public, and it does not consider how extraneous factors help to manipulate political power in order to carve out monopolies. Also, restrictions on services can create scarcities of services which would increase costs.

The first key trait professions manifest is that they require a systematic body of theory involving lengthy training. However, the creation of abstract theory is a product of deliberate action, so it is argued that occupational groups might superficially adopt this trait in order to claim that their occupation is professional even if genuinely abstract theoretical knowledge does not exist (Freidson, 1970: 80). For example, Freidson (1970: 78) notes that Goode (1966) compares optometry with pharmacy in the medical profession and argues that they are similar in both time spent training and the level of abstract knowledge required. However, optometry is moving closer toward professional autonomy while pharmacy is firmly subordinate to medicine. If this is so, then it is not the actual content or training of technical competence that determines which occupation is becoming more professionalized. Rather, such decisions to grant autonomy are determined politically and socially (ibid: 78). Occupational training is determined in the formal rules and regulations embodied in the political institutions, occupational associations and educational organizations.

The next trait said to be unique to professions is professional authority, which refers to individual members of an occupation who are in positions to dictate what client needs are, and who must not exploit clients. However, clients are frequently in a position to decide whether or not they might use a professional service and the extent to which they will follow such advice

(Roth, 1974: 8). Roth argues that there is actually widespread potential for professional exploitation of their needed services since clients are essentially strangers who trust other individuals, and that there are no grounds to claim that professionals are less vulnerable than others to temptations that are not altruistically motivated (1974: 9). Regarding the third trait, that professions retain community sanction, a trade union is an obvious example of non-professional occupations that also possess this trait (ibid: 9). An important dimension of the functionalist explanation accounting for professional control over admission, which is what is sanctioned by the community, is that professional performance can only be evaluated by peers belonging to their own group. This assumption is also not borne out. Roth (1974: 10) argues that it is more important to understand what the conditions are that favours success of the professional peer group in evaluating their own performance, because the possibility exists that competitors, the clientele or government control agents could influence how a profession's performance is judged.

Concerning the creation of ethical codes as an integral attribute of professions, it is argued that these can be merely created as a device to curb public criticism of occupational groups. There is no empirical evidence that shows ethical codes have the power to keep professionals from straying from altruistic commitments, and that several occupations also hold similar codes. Johnson (1972: 26) points out that codes could easily be interpreted as “upholders of an exploitative system”, since professional practitioners are unequally distributed among socio-economic class groups. There is no lower class of professions. Furthermore, the altruistic claim in codes of ethics can only refer to organizations, not individuals, because the attitudes of individual professionals have also not been empirically examined. It cannot be claimed that all professionals abide by their own altruistic, service-oriented ethical codes (Freidson, 1970: 81).

Indeed, Greenwood (1957) interprets ethical codes as dictating that professionals must provide equal service to everyone, but Roth (1974: 10, 11) points to an abundance of empirical research that finds bias among professional workers, “against deviant youth, the aged, women, the poor, ethnic minorities, and people they just did not like the look of”.

Finally, to argue that professional culture is distinct is to ignore the vast variation of sub-cultures that are not exclusively related to whether or not an occupation is a profession. Greenwood (1957: 52) claims that this trait is represented by “clear and controlling group values, behaviours, norms, and symbols, which characterize the professions, [and] are not to be encountered in nonprofessional occupations”. Roth counters that such commitment is espoused by most occupations; otherwise, they could not even justify their own legitimacy (1974: 11). Related to this claim is that professionals’ “absorption in the work is not partial, but complete; it results in total personal involvement. The work life invades the after-work life, and...work hours and the leisure hours disappears” (Greenwood, 1957: 53). Here, Roth (1974: 11) counters that there are simply too many exceptions of occupations (for example, prostitution) that fit this description to make such a claim useful.

3.11 The Market Orientation of Professions

The central critique of the traits approach to understanding professions is that it is not only too broad and vague an understanding of what professions are, but that it disregards the market orientation of professions. Also, the traits perspective offers uncritical definitions of only the established professions. It is understood that the reason for this is to create an ideal type model in order to gauge at what point other occupational groups fall on a continuum of professionalization. Yet, a key criticism raised by critical theorists is that an analysis of

professions should focus on observing their behavioural processes rather than focusing only on end-product. It is argued that a greater understanding of professions can be gained by exploring the problems created in the process of professionalization, such as the manipulation of political power to promote monopoly control of professional services, along with dynamics of inter-professional competition (Abbott, 1988: 248; Roth, 1974: 18).

A critical response to the functionalist approach is to include historical explanations where power groups create and secure their own systems of legitimation. Johnson (1972: 37) argues it is more fruitful to study the variant historical forms of the institutional control of professional activities, because they are the products of definite social conditions. An important contribution to this debate is how educational credentials are used by professional groups to organize and position themselves in such a way as to be the pivotal players who can dominate their work activities in the market and so protect themselves from competition. One way professional organizations exert political influence is to bolster their monopoly and self-governing privileges through state licensing (Murphy, 1988: 165). It is important to not lose sight of the fact that professions are class-based status groups, and the main resource that can be monopolized is the possession of esoteric knowledge and skills. I have discussed that, unlike productive labour that is directly linked to the products it produces for the market, professions produce services which belong in the realm of intellectual labour. Since such production is non-material, in that the exact worth of a service cannot easily be valued, professionals are given great autonomy and not held fully accountable outside of their own professional associations (ibid: 165). The social evidence that professions indeed possess a unique technical competence of intellectual labour which the lay person cannot perform is the educational credential.

I have recounted how the state created the public educational system as a means to imbue dominant ideology and to prepare individuals for manual labour. The educational system has become a major institution which places people into the stratification system of capitalist societies. Monopoly over knowledge is accomplished through “an organization of professional producers [who] agree upon a cognitive base and imposes a predominant definition of a professional commodity” (Larson, 1977: 211). Simultaneously, the unpredictability, or mystification, of the exchange value of professional skills “ultimately depends upon the state - or, more precisely, upon the state’s monopolistic appropriation and organization of a social system of education and credentialing” (ibid: 211). In this sense, in order to understand professions it is necessary to begin by understanding that professions control their own markets by gaining a cognitive monopoly over education. Krause (1996: 22) agrees, and further defines “states” as bodies that possess a monopoly over the means of sustaining society (maintaining the unequal class-based system in capitalist societies) through education and professional training.

3.12 Credentialism as a Form of Professional Control of Work

Weber maintained that the highest social classes are those privileged through property and education (Murphy, 1988: 161). Following this sociological tradition, a critical analysis of professions must focus on educational credentials as an important exclusionary mechanism for professionals in contemporary society. Credentialism refers to the monopolization of access to rewarding jobs and economic opportunities by the holders of educational degrees and certificates (Brint, 2006: 166). However, both the content and occupational significance of credentials are more cultural and exclusionary than technical. In other words, the formality of possessing an

educational credential is an abstraction from the actual substantive learned knowledge of the degree holders.

For the past half century, modern Western societies have moved toward credential-based systems of social selection. Prior to this, social stratification was based on family resources and reputation (Brint, 2006: 167, 170). However, competition for credentials has become the primary determinant in Western stratifying systems. According to Kerckhoff (2001: 4), the role of formal education is like a sorting machine, since educational institutions serve to stratify the population in a class-based social system. Each new generation passes through educational institutions and emerges as a stratified student population whose prospects vary according to the credentials obtained. The rapid expansion of the formal educational system during the past half century reflects the effects of competing status groups for wealth, power, and prestige. Thus, the main activity of formal education is to transmit particular status cultures according to social class, rather than the acquisition of technical skills. Therefore, it is power which is the crucial variable in Western stratifying systems rather than the growing technical needs of the economy (Karabel & Halsey, 1977: 31). Here, the rapid escalation of educational requirements is due to the high status cultures identifying cultural “insiders” while posing barriers to those identified by social class as “outsiders”. With credentialism, then, education is promoted as the means to obtain highly technological jobs as a legitimizing ideology, even though very few who get through the education system actually apply such technical skills (Collins, 2002: 28).

Regarding professions, the purpose of institutionalizing educational certification is to exclude members of lower status groups from entering high status occupations. In this way, educational credentials mirror the social class structure in society and are used as a means to gain access to professional work. It is a major factor in legitimating the inequality of job opportunity.

Collins (2002: 29) maintains that by keeping such dominant ideological beliefs alive, “we go through the motions of having our children in public schools in which they are superficially treated as equal.” Large associations of professional groups monopolize social privileges by controlling a specific area of expertise (Murphy, 1988: 186). These associations are developed to protect members’ interests against cultural outsiders and enhance opportunities for further monopolization. In sum, contemporary professionals with genuine power are those who belong to tightly knit, strongly organized associations of credential holders, vigorously promoting the interests of members and keeping out outsiders (ibid: 187). This is accomplished by employing formal educational credentials as state-sanctioned barriers to protect and enhance a monopoly for its members, as well as employing the state legal system to regulate the work of its members. What distinguishes professional associations from trade associations is the educational credential.

3.13 Labour Market Implications for Professions in Rationalized Societies

Weber’s concern with the nature of rationalization of society under capitalism is the other key piece of the overarching critical analysis to understanding what is happening to professions, especially in terms of the monopolization of expert services. According to Weber, the expansion of economic forces has led to an advanced form of social organization that has remodelled capitalist societies into an “iron cage” of rationality. Ultimately, “bureaucracy is among those social structures which are the hardest to destroy. Bureaucracy is *the* means of transforming social action into rationally organized action” (Weber, 1968: 987). These structural changes include the growing importance of industrial corporations, mass consumption industries, centralization of power and decision making in the political system, and growing government

intervention in the economy (Larson, 1977: 137). The result of the changes both Weber and Larson observe is that these structural changes correspond to a shift in ideology toward the rationality of science as a world view. Among professions, the rationality of scientifically oriented experts act in bureaucratized institutions with a predominant theme of economic efficiency (ibid: 137-8).

The impact of the ideology of efficiency is profound because it transforms all levels of the productive process. Such reliance on science has resulted in the “cognitive and normative legitimation for the rise of the manager and the rise of the expert” (ibid: 142). Due to these processes of rationalization, both the form and content of professional work is enmeshed with a managerial power, which results in a reorganization of professional regulation and changes professional roles (Beardwood, 1999: 316). Indeed, Leicht and Fennell (2001: 216) argue that professional and managerial workers are “changing places”, which they call “neoentrepreneurialism”. This represents rapid change in the division of labour whereby managers enjoy much of the autonomy and privileges that professionals enjoyed during much of the twentieth century (ibid: 216).

In his analysis of the medical profession, Freidson finds that bureaucratic management of government agencies, private insurance companies, and investor-owned health service facilities have come to mediate the relationship between physician and patient (2001: 187). This demonstrates an important change in the labour market and professional work roles because the physician becomes bound by the contractual agreements of a third party: those who now pay for the patients’ services (ibid: 187). Freidson (2001) argues there are several factors for the changes occurring in this professional labour market, including a weakening of the political influence of the Medical Association and a change in its legal position in the United States. Sub-

fields formerly subordinate to the medical profession find good economic and political reasons to adopt independent positions, and the “ideology of consumerism” dominates policy discourse, “supplemented by the ideology of managerialism” (Freidson, 2001: 187-8).

The ideology of efficiency has become a catalyst to professional occupations because a claim to specialized scientific and organizational expertise remains necessary for legitimizing their work and services. However, the reorganization of their associations is becoming increasingly bureaucratic. Larson (1977: 143) explains, “centralization, hierarchical ordering, [and] delegation of administrative and managerial functions give those in...coordinating positions the possibility of defining the meaning of efficiency and the parameters for its measurement.” For Weber (1968: 975), bureaucratization optimizes the principle of specializing administrative functions, resulting in a “discharge of business according to *calculable rules* and without regard for persons.” These changes happening within the professional labour market now define the organizational context in which professionals and their associations have become managerialized.

As a result, many professions now find themselves under financial pressure to reduce both costs and services. Freidson (2001: 193) claims they have also lost a degree of confidence and trust among the public, which was a key condition enabling them to emerge as autonomous occupational groups in the first place. The unique history and culture of each country are reflected in the institutions they create, and these are also changing to reflect the status of their professionals. Freidson (2001: 194) notes that medicine is the largest public expense in some nations, and this profession is under the greatest pressure to rationalize its services and reduce costs. In Ontario, for example, the Regulated Health Professions Act of 1991 reflects this trend, as its stated intention was a move to release health care professionals from their subordination to

the medical profession. However, as Beardwood claims in her analysis, this move actually reduced the former group's autonomy (1999: 316). For Freidson (1970: 82-3), the only true trait criterion for distinguishing professions from other occupations is autonomy. If so, then an institutional level of analysis of professions is required as capitalist society increasingly becomes rationalized. For critical social theorists, this means analyzing professions as organizations because they are linked to the larger organization of the state and the social division of labour.

3.14 The Socio-Historical Approach to Understanding Professions

Another conceptual development in the attempt to define professions is to not pursue a singular, comprehensive understanding of the concept because professions are understood differently in every generation. It is argued that occupations considered to be professional depend on how they emerged in a particular time and place. According to this socio-historical approach to understanding professions, the actual meaning of the concept is intangible since it changes and evolves over time, so interpretations will inevitably be contradictory and ambiguous. As mentioned, this approach was introduced by Freidson (1983: 27), and theorists often refer to it as a "folk concept" (Adams, 2010: 53; MacDonald, 1995: 7). Freidson reasoned that, although social researchers are obviously bound to their own time and place, abstract concepts can be formulated that can be applied to previous periods (1983: 30). The socio-historical perspective applies a method of creating models that abstract from concrete national and historical circumstances (Freidson, 2001: 179).

The definition of professions does not necessarily have to be the same in every society. Even within the same society the meaning can change over time. What is important is to find the characteristics that are relevant to an occupation as it strives for professional status during a

specific period, because the social, economic and political processes involved to attain such high social status are complex. Adams and Welsh (2007: 256) maintain that professionals are characterized by a high level of education, social organization, and a privileged place in society that is commonly ensconced in legislation. Here, it is not the legislation itself that demarcates a profession, but the process of lobbying for and gaining it that is useful to understanding professional status (ibid: 256). This fits Freidson's (2001) approach of examining the contingencies that are essential to understanding how the institutionalization of professions can reveal the level of social status a profession may attain. He identifies the organization and policy positions of state agencies, the way occupations organize themselves, and the varying institutional circumstances that enable a profession to practice its specialized knowledge and skills as a way of establishing a solid framework for comparing empirical cases (Freidson, 2001: 180). Institutions leave historical remnants that can be explored as variables necessary for an analysis of professions, because they reflect the culture and values of society at a given time that are always socially constructed. Furthermore, they also interact with one another and the state.

By exploring professions this way, it is possible to reveal the larger institutional consequences that professions create in a society because they are like structural artifacts left behind as a society evolves and changes. For example, Sciulli (2007) locates the historical origins of professions by linking the rise of "visual academies" in Paris, France, and the theoretical instruction that was taught there to the application of expert occupational services during the seventeenth century. The purpose of this educational institution was for learners to obtain "encyclopedic knowledge" of antiquity in order to advance the cultivation of student artists, who used such knowledge demanded by their livelihoods to create "narrative" paintings (Sciulli, 2007: 38-9). Here, the direction of social change is more clearly visible by identifying

the institutional consequences within the larger social order, as artists were a part of the old guilds that enjoyed work autonomy during that time.

Both the functionalist and critical approaches tend to focus on the stratification system of society in ways that analyze professions as types of social processes moving toward upward social mobility and/or exclusion. These perspectives certainly contribute to an understanding of client-centred professions, such as medicine or law, in which one becomes professional by passing through prescribed processes defined by a professional association. However, a more exploratory, socio-historical approach enables the researcher to discover the unique socio-historical time and place of any occupation that aims to attain professional status. To reiterate, Abbott (1988: 35) cautioned a crucial point to understanding professions is that it is not a static concept because many social forces shape and reshape their tasks.

Thus, the socio-historical approach is a valuable contribution to the sociology of professions because it stresses the importance of identifying social status, which can be institutionalized to grant a profession official status, or can be understood as a variable that is socially constructed and subject to public debate. By conceptualizing professions this way, “one does not attempt to determine what profession is in an absolute sense so much as people in a society determine who is a professional and who is not, how they ‘make’ or ‘accomplish’ professions by their activities, and what the consequences are for the way in which they see themselves and perform their work” (Freidson, 1983: 27). Adams (2010: 54) concurs with this way of defining professions, in that they can be better understood as “organized occupational groups with a (somewhat) accepted claim to legal and/or social status”. This is a productive contribution to the conceptualization of professions because it involves exploratory analyses of the people who actually participate in the occupational process of garnering high social status. It

also considers those who participate in the legislative process in an organized way, which is important because those are the people who shape the laws, policies and public welfare in a given time and place.

Defining professions is a complex endeavour, evidenced in the plethora of definitions since it came under sociological analysis. Not all social science researchers identify the three distinct sociological perspectives in the field the same way that I have. For instance, both Sciulli (2005: 915) and Adams (2010: 51) separate “occupational regulation” as a distinctive category in their analyses to see how professions have been regulated in the United States and Canada, respectively. Nevertheless, since such regulations also change over time, and certainly according to place, I have been able to group this dimension of the debates over understanding professions into the overarching perspectives that have dominated the field: the functionalist, critical approaches, and the socio-historical perspective. Many occupations continue to utilize the functionalist traits model as arguments for professionalization even though it does not translate into the attainment of professional status, so it remains important to consider each theoretical perspective in order to gain greater understanding of the concept. Whatever the sociological perspective used to characterize professions, it remains an important and proper subject for study in the discipline. Likewise, and equally important to my research on the intellectual specialization of EAP teaching, is to trace its history and explain the theoretical debates that have contributed to its esoteric knowledge base.

4 Chapter Four: The Case Study Methodology

Social science is empirical by nature because observation of social life requires a scientific methodology that can enable the researcher to come to concrete conclusions that are reliable and provide valid measures of understanding a phenomenon under investigation. I have chosen a qualitative case study method as an effective way to answer how EAP fits within a degree-granting Canadian university institution. This sort of methodology is appropriate because the EAP program at Renison University College of the University of Waterloo represents a proper example of the placement of EAP within a university setting. Conducting and experiencing exploratory research enabled me to answer the central research questions. Not only was it necessary to trace the historical developments in EAP but also to discover why UW adopted it as a gatekeeping service for international students. Second, by utilizing the literature on the sociology of professions I was able to explore the social status of EAP in the specific context of the university hierarchy. Finally, since this represents a new phenomenon, it was necessary to understand accreditation by uncovering the evolution of EFAS, specifically, and how a non-credit program fits within a degree-granting educational institution. This research design enabled me to explore people's experiences, the forces and history involved in the adoption and implementation of EAP into the university system.

My data collection procedures included in-depth interviewing, participant observation and analyses of primary EFAS and UW-based documents and reports. This three-pronged qualitative methodology not only permitted me to explore the characteristics and relationships between the EFAS program and the University of Waterloo, but also provided participants the opportunity to describe their experiences. This is an inductive methodology. By concentrating on a single institution, my aim was to uncover its characteristics and to capture the various

nuances, patterns, and more latent elements that other research approaches might otherwise overlook.

An inductive qualitative research method does not require theory to guide and direct the study, but can become an important aid once patterns and categories have been identified in the data. In this case, patterns can be compared with existing literature in this sociological topic. It is important to gain an understanding of the participants' perceptions and how things appear to those in the EFAS program. Respondents thus provide the building blocks required for understanding the knowledge base constructed by each individual. As with many qualitative methods, this research is exploratory. To operationalize this type of methodology, it is necessary to observe aspects of social life, and then seek to discover patterns that emerge from the data collected. The research begins from a set of observations to developing general patterns. This type of methodological procedure has been legitimated after many years of scientific debate. For example, Webb et al. (1966) argue for the legitimacy of utilizing qualitative methods during a time in which quantitative methods dominated the social sciences:

“...certainly no science can develop until a base is reached from which reliable and consistent empirical findings can be produced. But if reliability is the initial step in science, validity is its necessary stride. The primary effect of improved methodological practices has been to further what we [call] the internal validity of a comparison – the confidence that a true difference is being observed. ... Questionnaires and interviews are probably the most flexible and generally useful devices we have for gathering information. Our criticism is not against them [(quantitative methods)], but against the tradition which allowed them to become the methodological sanctuary to which the myopia of operational definitionism permitted a retreat.” (Webb et. al., 1966: 171-2; 176).

In this research, the phenomenon being explored is the EFAS program. It is an organized occupational community that operates within the University of Waterloo. Unlike performing experiments or issuing survey questionnaires, this method allows for the study of attitudes and

behaviours in a natural setting. In this way, it is effective for observing the social processes occurring between the two institutions.

As mentioned, an important dimension of this sort of methodology involves case study research, which is the focus of one single instance of a social phenomenon. The reason for selecting a case study as my unit of analysis is because it is both descriptive and exploratory. Case studies are not “methods” because they do not represent specific techniques; rather, the case study is the type of research design that indicates the unit of analysis that I am focusing on. This way, I can provide rich and detailed data by focusing on a single case. Furthermore, the exploratory nature of this research has enabled me to collect an idiographic account of the relationship between my case study of the EFAS program and the institution of the University of Waterloo.

Therefore, choosing a case study is a logical and systematic way of utilizing a single, detailed case that can be considered typical of a set of phenomena similar to other EAP programs operating within university settings in Canada. Rather than attempting to make broad generalizations about all such situations involving universities adopting EAP programs, by focusing on a single case I have been able to limit the scope of the research to a particular instance of this sort of arrangement in a Canadian context. In qualitative research, this is known as “transferability” of findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Similar to the socio-historical approach to understanding professions, working hypotheses can be constructed together with a description of the time and context in which they were found to hold (ibid: 316). Thus, providing a “thick description” is necessary in order to enable the separation of relevant from irrelevant descriptors (ibid: 316).

To focus on such a single unit of a larger set, I spent three years becoming intimately familiar with the details and nuances of the EFAS program as an instructor. The goal is to contribute empirical data to this increasingly common relationship between the EAP occupation and Canadian universities. Once a pattern has been identified, it is interpreted in terms of social theory, in this case the literature on the sociology of professions, by abstracting the key issues found in the data. Here, my tentative conclusions can contribute to the conceptual framework for further observations of similar types of relationships.

Observation is paramount in social research methods, and measuring the attitudes and behaviours within a case study involves making sense of potentially ambiguous meanings. Since people conceptualize real life symbolically, such meanings become real by making systematic observations. This is why it is necessary to hear from the people involved in the EFAS program. After noticing attitudes in other EAP programs that I have worked in while living abroad, I was able to conceptualize this research by measuring and observing perceptions and behaviours in similar situations taking place in Canada. Participation is a powerful technique to gain insight into complex situations, helping to provide strong observations and conceptualizations.

In other sociological research methods, it is equally important to maintain a level of objectivity as a researcher in order to validate the research findings. One way to do this in qualitative research is to be transparent during the process of collecting and analyzing data. “Objectivity is best served when we acknowledge our contribution to the form of our findings...In this way, a discipline’s knowledge...is recognized as inevitably perspectival” (Fischer & Wertz, 2002: 276). Just as participation in daily life is affected by one’s actions, so too “as scientists we contribute to the shape of what we discover” (ibid: 276). In this case, I have been careful to ensure that the empirical measures reflect the actual reality of how the

EFAS program operates within the University of Waterloo setting. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985: 324), dependability of data requires that the researcher not be too dependent on a priori constructions, and the extent to which all data are accounted for.

The method that I undertook to do this was to carefully sift through the data several times in order to identify common themes, enabling me to generate a detailed and organized description of information about the case study. Specifically, I collected nearly five hundred, single-spaced pages of interview data, so I spent a large amount of time sifting through this data until I could identify distinct themes. I liken this to a figurative shoe-box method, whereby the major themes could be lifted and separated into distinct categories. This arduous task helped to ensure credibility of data, in that “the case study report must at the very least reflect the multiple realities constructed by the respondents in the inquiry” (Lincoln & Guba, 2002: 207). I am confident that each of my respondent’s thoughts and opinions has been accurately represented in my report. This type of qualitative case study measurement can provide a great depth of meaning to concepts, and I am confident the rich details uncovered in this exploratory research could not have been collected using any other method.

4.1 The Case Study Setting: The EFAS Program at Renison University College of the University of Waterloo

The EAP program at Renison University College is titled, “English for Academic Success” (EFAS), and it is run by the English Language Centre (ELC) branch of the English Language Institute (ELI). Please refer to Appendix A to view the figure of Renison University College’s organizational hierarchy, as well as Figure 4 (in Chapter Five) for the ELI’s organizational configuration. The ELI dates back to 1972 when it was originally called “English Ten”, before the name changed to the “English Language Centre” in 1980. Initially, English Ten

was a small conversation course for people on the UW campus who spoke English as a second language (ESL). In 1980, it expanded into an official ESL program, which operated mostly during the summer months, offering six to eight-week sessions until 1997. Largely due to a growing demand from international graduate students enrolled at UW wanting to take ESL credit courses, although they did not need the undergraduate credit, the program expanded to a year-round endeavour. Some graduate students continued to take ESL credit courses, but in fall 2001, the EFAS program was established to offer year-round fourteen-week courses. Like all EAP programs, these are non-credited courses offered to non-native English speaking students at the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University.

In 2001, there were relatively few students who took these courses. The English Language Institute (ELI) worked closely with UW's Graduate Studies and some other departments to get students into the program in order to help them meet the university's English language competency requirements. International students can take the English Language Proficiency Exam (ELPE) without taking EFAS, just as native English speaking students do, but if they do not pass then they can take an ESL credit course in lieu of taking the exam. Presently, EFAS is a requirement for most, but not all, incoming international UW students. Thus, the EFAS program is not considered strictly as a gatekeeping program for all students accepted into the University of Waterloo, nor was it presented that way, but it has continued to expand in this sort of role each and every year since it began. The EFAS program "is designed specifically for students interested in attending universities where English is the main language of instruction" (Renison University College, 2013).

EFAS' unique features include satisfying the English language requirement at UW, initial placement testing, professional instruction, final assessment and achievement reports, and a

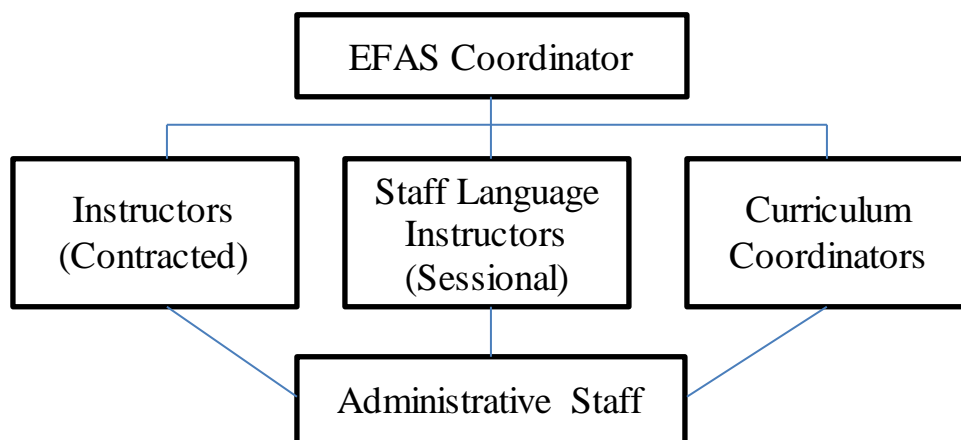
certificate from Renison University College's ELI (ibid: 2013). Although the EFAS program does not accept beginner level language learners, which fall into the category of ESL teaching and learning, there are four levels: "low intermediate" (level 100), "intermediate" (level 200), "high intermediate advanced" (level 300), and "advanced" (level 400). Students are placed in a level based on a variety of criteria, including the results of a needs assessment test, which is compulsory for all EFAS students and is administered on the first day of the program (ibid: 2013). Other measures used to place students into appropriate proficiency levels include external tests, such as IELTS or TOEFL, as well as any other experiences students can provide; for example, other EAP courses or enrolment in an English-speaking high school.

Mainstream EFAS courses are offered three terms a year, each lasting fourteen weeks, which includes twelve weeks of instruction bookended with one week of orientation (including the aforementioned placement testing) and another week for exit testing and an excursion (ibid: 2013). There is also a six-week intensive program during summer, called the "2+2 program", offered mainly to Chinese students who have completed the initial two years of their undergraduate program at a Chinese university but will complete the final two years at the University of Waterloo. Although it is unlike other EFAS courses, the Bridge to Academic Success in English (BASE) program involves EFAS instructors and administrators. This is a University of Waterloo foundation program for undergraduate students who earn conditional acceptance into a degree program. Students may be academically qualified, but do not meet UW's English language proficiency requirements. Thus, students will take both EFAS courses as well as a credit course at UW. For example, the EFAS Academic Skills course instructor uses the credit course textbook for curriculum material and attends lectures with students. The

BASE program began in the fall 2013 semester, offering the Psychology 101 course to students (Missere-Mihas).

Not only does Renison's EFAS program characterize an appropriate social group that can be observed as a unit of analysis, but it represents a typical case of EAP programs operating within Canadian university settings. As Mabry (2008: 217) points out, a typical case can be representative of a larger population to identify and document patterns of events, the social and political structures that sustain them, and the underlying perceptions and values of participants. For these reasons, the English Language Institute's EFAS program at Renison is a socio-cultural location appropriate for this qualitative case study. It represents a group of people who interact, who identify with one another, and who share expectations about each other's behaviour (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003: 56). For details of the structure of the EFAS program's personnel, please refer to Figure 3. Because social reality is created by people in complex and context-dependent ways, this research required a highly nuanced methodological approach.

Figure 3: English for Academic Success (EFAS) Personnel



Renison's EFAS program represents a prime example of global shifts in higher education toward the movement of English as a global language because international students immigrating to Canada require the academic skills and language competence to continue their studies here. As discussed, the case study of EFAS is a relevant site because the data are transferable not only to other EAP programs operating within Canadian universities but also to gain an understanding of educational theories in the knowledge economy, work, professions, migration and globalization. As Schofield (2002: 181, 198) indicates, in order to create greater generalizability in qualitative case study research, it is important to select a site on the basis of its fit with a typical situation. As stated on their web-site, Renison University College offers a tightly-knit learning environment with small classes for EFAS students to "receive the warm personal attention that has made the program grow so importantly since its inception" (2012). The EFAS program represents a distinctive case because I am interested in the historical developments leading to how and why EAP programs gained popularity in Canadian universities. I was able to operationalize my research by developing specific research procedures that led to systematic empirical observations representing the conceptualization of my topic in the real world. I will now elaborate on these methodological techniques to explain the instruments and procedures used to conduct this research.

4.2 The Research Design: The People Involved in the EFAS Program and the Data Collection Procedures

As stated, Renison's English Language Institute (ELI) dates back to 1972, when it provided English as a second language needs for some University of Waterloo students. In Chapter Two, I detailed how EAP emerged from the broader field of English language teaching, whereby the specific purpose and justification of this type of pedagogical transmission remains

to assist non-native English speakers to attain the academic skills and linguistic competence required to succeed in tertiary level education. The ELI evolved to eventually adopt EAP as a separate activity in 2001, when EFAS was introduced as a distinctive program. The people who were involved in this process possessed the training and expertise in both ESL and EAP to develop the program internally. Many of the administrators and the full-time teachers remain employed by the ELI or the University of Waterloo. In order to understand the historical organization of the EFAS program, how it came into being, I relied on in-depth, semi-structured interviewing as my primary data collection procedure. To strengthen the research design and my qualitative data collection procedures and research findings, I also utilized the techniques of participant observation and analyzing documents related to the EFAS program as my secondary data collection procedures.

4.3 In-Depth Interviewing

Prior to conducting interviews, I gained approval from the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. As I went through the process of selecting respondents to be interviewed, I decided to first gain an understanding of the experiences of past and present EFAS students in the program. This way, I could use these anonymous responses of how students experienced the program when interviewing EFAS instructors and administrators, whose thoughts and experiences I am most interested in because it is the development of this teaching occupation that is central to my research. My sample included a total of ten students from five countries outside of Canada.

After gaining valuable insight from a range of students, I then interviewed ten former and present instructors in the program (including all full-time instructors), followed by the director

and three administrators who were or remain involved in the activities of the program, including those who are in academic and economic authoritative positions of decision making with regard to EFAS. The EFAS program continues to expand rapidly each year, so there are many sessional instructors hired every semester. This is the reason why I decided to interview not only all of the full-time instructors but also those who had once taught in the program but have moved on to teach elsewhere in the university. Regarding current sessional instructors, I selected those with at least two semesters experience within the program. There were twenty-four interviews in total that were conducted between October, 2012 and May, 2013. Teachers who agreed to an interview provided valuable data due to their personal observations and hindsight concerning curriculum, pedagogy and institutional experiences as knowledgeable members of the EAP profession within the university. As mentioned, the director and most of the administrative faculty have been involved with, and taught within, the program since its inception as a full-time program in 2001, so their knowledge and experiences in EAP provided valuable data to help answer my research questions.

Face-to-face qualitative interviewing gives respondents the freedom to elaborate upon their responses and direct the conversation as it unfolds. The purpose for using this methodological technique is exploratory, and it has the benefit of allowing for unanticipated issues that may arise. Thus, it offers a tremendous depth of understanding. In sociology, first person life histories collected through case study interviewing are usually directed at using the person as a vehicle to understand basic aspects of human behaviour within existing institutions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003: 57). Semi-structured interviews permit respondents to elaborate on their unique experiences while I monitor the return of essential data from each interviewee. For example, it is important to enable teachers to discuss pedagogical experiences encountered in

their daily routines as instructors, and what their future career trajectories might be in EAP. Likewise, similar interview designs with administrative faculty and decision/policy makers for the EFAS program were crucial to gain a clear understanding of the history of the program, what their professional experiences are, and what the future plans are for the entire program. For international students, it was necessary to include what their subjective experiences are as individuals attending a Canadian university and being enrolled in an EAP program, as well as living in a new host country.

My semi-structured interview question guides were intended to keep interviews on course while simultaneously allowing sufficient flexibility for exploring uncharted paths (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 145). Please see Appendices B, C, D and E for these interview outlines. Before conducting these interviews, I spent much time reflecting on the types of questions I needed to ask in order to address each of my research questions. I also gained valuable feedback from each of my academic committee members, which helped to ensure that the collection of data was directed at answering those questions. As a result, the interview guides appear to be rigidly structured. However, each interview was not structured as such. Rather, the construction of these questions was premeditated in order to use as study material prior to conducting the interviews. I have interviewed well over one hundred people years before engaging in this research, and my interview guides greatly assisted in my preparations to create open-ended, natural conversations as respondents discussed their thoughts and experiences. This way, I was able to encourage people to elaborate, make clarifications, discuss events at length, provide detailed examples when necessary, partly drawn from my experiences as an EAP instructor, without losing track of the purpose of my research.

The purpose for using these interview guides, then, was to ask open-ended questions, followed up with relevant probes and prompts, and to keep a detailed record of responses. As a primary source of data collection, in-depth interviewing gives a voice to those involved in the exploratory research investigation. This way, effective qualitative interviews offer rich and extensive material because they assume a conversational manner (Yin, 2009b: 264). Case study interviews can get people to reveal how they construct reality and to think about situations, rather than just giving answers to specific questions (ibid: 264). Employing this method can guard against creating inappropriate answer categories that might result in collecting inaccurate data. I am confident that I was able to comprehend the social and cultural context of events, so as to understand where and why people came to believe what they thought and said.

These interviews share many features with a “friendly conversation”, while introducing new elements to assist informants to respond thoughtfully (Spradley, 1979: 58). The interview guides served merely to control for efficient data being received, rather than attempting to get through a check list of questions. As a participant in the EFAS program, I am familiar with the director, administrators and the faculty members in the ELI, so I am confident that such a familiar rapport, along with my background experiences in the same field of teaching EAP, assisted with providing comfortable, fruitful interviews. With the amount of time invested in each interview, lasting from approximately forty minutes to one hour and fifty minutes, issues and perceptions emerged easily without any sort of rigidly structured direction to the interviews.

By allowing respondents to control the direction of the interviews, which is the purpose of conducting in-depth interviewing, I was not predetermining what is relevant and meaningful to the respondents concerning my research topic. It was imperative that I allowed respondents the time and space to elaborate their own thoughts. In this regard, I am a cultural insider to EAP

teaching, so introductory descriptive questions could occur naturally, as two EAP teachers discussing their pedagogical experiences; what Spradley refers to as the “rapport process” of interviewing (1979: 78). As mentioned, I have had much previous experience conducting countless interviews with both native and non-native English speakers alike, so I am confident communication was clear and comprehension reliable within a comfortable setting. To conduct each interview, I used private conference rooms and offices.

For students, I used the technique of purposive sampling in order to select students from various cultural backgrounds, as well as undergraduates and graduates enrolled in different academic disciplines so that I could learn from their perspectives as EFAS learners regarding their experiences and attitudes that could be generally compared. I asked the EFAS program’s director to send a mass e-mail message to include all students who had been enrolled in the program dating back seven semesters, asking them if they might be interested in participating in my research (please see Appendix H for the recruitment e-mail message to students). I received twenty-seven responses. I sent each student who responded an individual e-mail message with questions in order to help me select an eclectic sample of students regarding their major disciplines, whether they were graduate or undergraduate students, their level of EFAS taken and if they had completed the program, their nationality, time spent in EFAS as well as in Canada, along with a request to provide a rudimentary letter grade rating both their learning experience in the EFAS program and comfort level of living in Waterloo, Canada. Of the twenty-seven responses, nineteen were from Chinese students.

I also wanted to include a proportion of students who had undergone the “2+2” six-week intensive EFAS program. As discussed, there are a number of Chinese universities cooperating with the University of Waterloo by having their students complete the final two years of their

undergraduate degrees at UW after attending EFAS' 2+2 program. This EFAS course will be described in greater detail in the next chapter, but I selected three 2+2 students along with two other students from China. In relation to the large number of responses from China, I deemed five would provide a reasonable amount of idiographic data representing that particular student cohort. Including these five Chinese undergraduate students, there are a total of seven undergraduate students, two graduate students, and one student who is anticipating pursuing her second graduate degree. She completed her first graduate degree prior to immigrating to Canada. Of the ten student respondents asked to rate their overall learning experience in the EFAS program, there was one grade of "A", three grades of "B", and six grades of "C". Since these evaluations are quite low, it was important to find out whether the program had met student expectations, and what their learning outcomes were in relation to meeting the EAP needs required to pursue their academic disciplines. The results of evaluating their cultural experiences living in Waterloo included eight grades of "B" and two grades of "C". Table 1 contains details of the characteristics of the students who participated in this research. I thought it was most effective to interview a range of EFAS students who had recently completed the program as well as those who had entered their degree programs several semesters after completing EFAS, since they had the benefit of hindsight to comment on their EFAS experiences.

Table 1: List of Student Interview Participants' Characteristics

<i>#</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Time in Canada</i>	<i>EFAS Level Completed</i>	<i>Major Academic Discipline</i>
1	Chinese	F	15 months	400	Environment & Business (Undergraduate)
2	Chinese	F	27 months	Presently Repeating 400	Business (at WLU) (Undergraduate)
3	Ecuadorian	F	15 months	Presently in 400	Computer Engineering (Undergraduate)

#	Nationality	Sex	Time in Canada	EFAS Level Completed	Major Academic Discipline
4	Turkish	M	5 months	300	Mechanical Engineering (Graduate)
5	Turkish	F	14 months	100, 200, Presently in 300	Has completed a B.A. & M.A. (Future Graduate in Arts)
6	Libyan	M	12 months	400	Business (Graduate)
7	Brazilian	M	4 months	Presently in 300	Mechanical Engineering (Undergraduate)
8	Chinese	F	4 months	300 (2+2)	Biology (Undergraduate)
9	Chinese	F	2 months	300 (2+2)	Mathematics (Undergraduate)
10	Chinese	F	3 months	300 (2+2)	Geophysics (Undergraduate)

As mentioned, the EFAS program is growing quickly, and many sessional instructors are hired to teach in the program. The sampling method to select instructors did not require a precise technique because it remains a relatively small program. As a result, I included all of the full-time instructors and returning part-time sessional instructors who had taught in the program for at least two semesters, most of whom I had worked with since 2010. Please see Appendix G for the recruitment and information letter to EFAS instructors and administrators. Of the ten EFAS instructor respondents, only two participants have taught in the program for fewer than three semesters. In order to strengthen the degree of anonymity among instructors and administrators who work in the relatively small EFAS program, I have not provided a table of characteristics as I have for students. However, the following chapter contains detailed idiographic accounts of career trajectories for how each respondent became involved with the program.

All interviews were recorded on an MP3 device, and later transcribed by myself, in order to ensure accuracy when going through the process of analyzing the data while searching for common themes. As discussed, undergoing a process of sorting through data in order to find

common themes is essential with qualitative interviewing, especially those involved in a specified case study, because it generates descriptions of information about the people and events involved in the research. Many of the full-time instructors and administrators reviewed their own transcripts to ensure accuracy of the data collected. Confidentiality is a key issue for any type of qualitative research, so I ensured that the interview recordings and transcripts were carefully protected at all times. Each respondent has been given a pseudonym to help protect their anonymity. All students have been assigned common first names in English that begin with the letter "S". Similarly, teachers and administrators have been assigned surnames beginning with the letter "T" because I did not wish to reveal those respondents' gender. Furthermore, administrators and instructors are grouped together because EFAS is a small community, so it is a helpful way to extend anonymity.

There are two exceptions for respondents who are not coded. Judi Jewinski, who is the Special Advisor to the Vice-President, University of Waterloo's Office of Vice President Academic and Provost. The other identified participant is the former director of the EFAS program, Tanya Missere-Mihas, who is now the director of the ELC branch of the ELI, overseeing all of the non-credit programs, including EFAS. Judi Jewinski had a central role in the evolution of ESL at the University of Waterloo, and Tanya Missere-Mihas was integral to the development of the EFAS program. The history of the EFAS program is unique and the efforts of these two respondents were critical to its evolution, and they were gracious in allowing themselves to be identified.

In order to gain a complete and accurate understanding of the evolution of ESL into the EFAS program, my interview with Jewinski was not only the longest but the most flexible. At times, her stories from the early 1970s through to the present were uninterrupted for twenty to

thirty-five minutes. When I began to analyze this data, which I treated the same as all other interview data, we had several e-mail exchanges so that I could verify details, such as accuracy of dates, names and their correct spelling, and historical facts. Likewise, my interview with Missere-Mihas produced an extensive amount of data, especially regarding the transformation of EFS to EFAS. After the interview, we met on two other occasions in order to clarify details reported in the original interview. During the process of analyzing this data, I provided her with a copy of our transcript, and exchanged several e-mail messages to discuss its content and ensure accuracy of details. It should be noted that I provided all EFAS full-time instructors and administrators with their interview transcripts in order to review and correct any details. One instructor/administrator offered revisions. As discussed, the methodological technique of using in-depth interviewing as my primary source of data collection produced idiosyncratic findings that are unique to my case study of the EFAS program. This has been an integral factor in obtaining a greater understanding of context, as well as unanticipated information provided by respondents.

4.4 Participant Observation

Participant observation is another data collection technique that I employed in order to elicit from people the organizing constructs in their experiences. In order to measure the events occurring within a phenomenon, careful and deliberate observation is integral to describe how events unfold. Participant observation is a common technique used in qualitative methods, depending on the degree to which the participant is an effective observer. In order for this role to be effective during the research process, the researcher must be able to take several aspects into account before and during the research. These include an assessment of the types of questions

that ought to be addressed as well as selecting an appropriate research site (DeWalt & DeWalt: 2011: 111). Concerning these crucial research points, Spradley (1980: 81) argues that the highest level of involvement comes when the researcher is already in a situation in which they are ordinary participants. With data being collected this way, the researcher can have a special perspective on the phenomenon under investigation, a deeper understanding of the participants involved, and how they interpret their social worlds.

An important distinction must be made between the “complete” and “active” participant because employing the technique of participant observation can be used in various ways. The participant observer usually engages in activities appropriate to the situation. Participating in a social situation takes on meaning due to the fact that the researcher is inside, or part of, the situation (Spradley, 1980: 56). In some research situations, the researcher might take on the role of a complete observer, which means that the people being observed are unaware of such participation. Conversely, active participation does not necessarily conceal the investigator’s identity as a researcher. Upon being initially hired to teach in the EFAS program, I was honest and forthcoming with my intentions to collect data as an active participant observer.

In the above discussion on in-depth interviewing, I mentioned that I am a cultural insider to EAP teaching. In this sense, the participant observer doing social research must consciously experience being both inside and outside the phenomenon under investigation simultaneously (ibid: 57). This involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience. As a methodological tool, participant observation represents a first-hand encounter with the phenomenon that is commonly used in conjunction with in-depth interviewing, which is essentially a process of collecting second-hand information from respondents.

In this research, I was an active participant in the EFAS program, which means I was participating as an active member of the EFAS community while observing the processes and events that occurred during the time I spent there. In summary, every observation of events in which people are involved refers to a complex process. Rather than concealing my identity, like a complete observer seeking to record detailed frequencies of actions or behaviours, I was an active participant observing processes over time to find out how the development of the EAP program has been affected by its relationship with the University of Waterloo. I am interested in the process involved in the development of EAP as a profession. For example, processes that I was able to measure were collected through daily interactions with colleagues, and attending meetings and professional development seminars concerning the pedagogy in EFAS.

My position as an EFAS instructor was an advantage in my research because I had access to information about insiders' roles that few persons have been privileged to share (Yin, 2009a: 112). Being in a position to actively participate in the EFAS program enabled me to corroborate possible thematic patterns that emerged from my primary data collection procedure; for example, whether or not EAP benchmarks independent of the university's influences were being met, or to identify any difficulties or obstacles both teachers and students may have encountered while participating in the program. This technique strengthens the authenticity of my in-depth interviews. It is a distinctive opportunity to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone "inside" the case study rather than external to it (ibid: 112). Such a perspective is invaluable for producing an authentic portrayal of the case study phenomenon.

An important aspect of being an effective EAP instructor involves reflection. Likewise, introspection is an integral part of employing participant observation as an effective method. Although at first glance it may not appear to be "objective", it is a tool people use in everyday

life when experiencing new social situations until the skills of following cultural values are learned (Spradley, 1980: 57). In qualitative research, it is important to be transparent when using the methodological technique of participant observation, which I have discussed above. Introspection enriches the data a researcher gathers through participant observation to the degree that, “the highest level of involvement...probably comes when they [the researcher(s)] study a situation in which they are already ordinary participants” (ibid: 61).

The goal of using this method in my research was to use the researcher, myself, as an instrument for data collection. By participating and reflecting on pedagogical aspects of EAP with colleagues in the EFAS program, my insights as an instructor are cross-checked, which greatly assisted in helping to limit and be aware of researcher bias. Along with participating in professional development seminars with EFAS colleagues, I taught level 300 “Academic Skills” for three consecutive years in the 2+2 intensive program between 2011 and 2013, along with level 300 “Writing Skills” during the Spring 2013 semester. I have also taught in various credit and non-credit courses offered at the ELI during this period of time. Thus, active participant observation was a useful methodological tool to triangulate my data collection. As Bogdan and Biklen (2003: 2) state, the “best known representatives of qualitative research studies...are those that employ the techniques of participant observation and in-depth interviewing”.

By conversing and sharing experiences with colleagues in the EFAS program, they too acted as participant observers, but as ordinary participants not conducting social research. “One of the epistemological strengths of experiential research is the belief that how activities work...is situational” (Stake, 2010: 65). Here, actions are influenced by culture, the conditions of the case or setting, and the personalities involved; thus, researchers rely on their experiences, advice, and even biases to weigh the subjective information available (ibid: 166). In case studies, the

researcher is also part of theory construction, and “theory reflects the vantage points inherent in our varied experiences, whether or not we are aware of them” (Charmaz, 2006: 149). There are several examples of how I viewed myself as a participant observer. One important aspect was the ability to be part of a team of colleagues. As stated on Renison’s web-site, the EFAS program is a tightly-knit community offering students a comfortable environment in which to learn. From my experiences as an instructor, this is a very accurate claim from the point of view of an instructor. As a result, my positionality in this research must be explicated. Drawing upon comparisons with my other experiences teaching EAP, as well as from a variety of other pedagogical experiences that I have had, the workload in EFAS is extremely heavy. Since it provides essential services to those who need them, in Chapter Eight I have called for action that EFAS be granted more autonomy in its work, as well as for increased improvements in compensation, resources and working conditions, along with creating greater stability by offering more instructors full-time contracts.

The core full-time instructors and administrative staff are extremely supportive, which is important for the smooth functioning of a teaching endeavour that necessarily relies on the hiring of new sessional instructors. Specifically, there is continuous discussion and meetings among colleagues about curricula, pacing of the syllabi, testing parameters, dealing with student issues such as attendance or missed assignments, and scheduling various other activities involved with EFAS. For instance, while teaching the level 300 Writing Skills course, I met regularly with the full-time lead instructor to cross-grade students’ work in order to ensure consistency in evaluation. Furthermore, like most instructors, I was observed in the classroom by an administrator, which greatly helped in sharing pedagogical techniques and to improve upon what worked, what might be done differently, or what may not have been the most effective strategy

for transmitting a particular learning objective. Finally, the ability to participate in professional development seminars initiated by full-time EFAS instructors and administrative personnel offered constructive arenas to become involved with advancing the field of EAP and compare pedagogical experiences, not to mention to help build strong collegiality among EFAS instructors.

Despite difficulties in replicating this method in the future, parallel observations made by myself and ordinary participants of EFAS colleagues means that “several observers observe...the same process with simultaneous participation or samples of situations or processes which are parallel to one another and comparable” (Friedrichs & Lüdtke, 1975: 20). Concerning students, my overt role as a researcher did not alter classroom behaviour. In fact, it served as a useful pedagogical technique when transmitting the academic skills they needed to acquire to succeed with their future disciplinary studies, because we could discuss practical examples of academic research when it arose in each course that I taught. It was necessary to guard against influencing the observations so that the data being collected were not artificial. This is why I assumed the role of active participant, by informing all participants involved in the EFAS program of my research intentions. I am confident that this helped guarantee the return of genuine data to complement and triangulate data received through in-depth interviewing and analyzing relevant documents.

4.5 Review of Primary EFAS and UW-Based Reports

The other data collection procedure employed in this research was an analysis of official documents and the web-sites of Renison and the University of Waterloo. This is another common methodological tool used in much social research. It is an unobtrusive measure that

enabled me to learn important details of both the program and UW's policies and objectives. Creswell (2003: 187) notes that such resources represent data that are thoughtfully written sources of evidence. Furthermore, Bogdan and Biklen claim that this is common procedure for collecting supplemental information as part of a case study that utilizes a data source of participant interviewing (2003: 58). These items include official documents of two external reviews. One is a 2010 program review of Renison's English Language Institute, and the other is the 2012 final report of a task force to evaluate UW's English language competency development. Both of these investigations were conducted independent of Renison and the University of Waterloo, but were funded by UW's Office of the Vice-President, Academic and Provost.

The information found on web-sites represents material that ensures consistency of the public messages that are stated within these records. This material was used to verify the historical and factual information that was reported in parts of my interviews with Jewinski and Missere-Mihás because there are no documents available concerning the historical evolution of the EFAS program. The two official report documents, on the other hand, involved a process of identifying their latent meanings in order to assess the themes that were found in my primary data collection procedure of in-depth interviewing. This method helped to ensure consistency in the return of data by comparing and contrasting the themes discovered throughout the research. This data collection procedure provides a clearer understanding of the practices, history and future plans of the EFAS program. It was also useful to research the web-sites prior to developing and engaging in my in-depth interviews. These methodological instruments and procedures are widely accepted by qualitative social researchers, and they were highly effective in ensuring the return of genuine data throughout the process of conducting this research. In the

following two chapters, I will discuss the interview data, beginning in Chapter Five with the evolution of the EFAS program and the descriptions of the participants involved in the case study, followed by an exploration of how EFAS instructors, administrators and students perceive the program as a professional teaching endeavour in Chapter Six.

5 Chapter Five: The Evolution of the EFAS Program and Introducing the Respondents

The purpose of this chapter is to present the data found in the primary data collection procedure of in-depth interviewing. Although the research remains focused on the issues of EAP teaching and professionalism, it is necessary to first provide background information, including the historical context of the EFAS program, the career trajectories of its instructors and administrators, and the reasons why students choose to enrol in the program. As mentioned, there are no materials that document the historical evolution of the EFAS program, so the first part of this chapter contains a history of the program as told by its founding members and the director of the ELC branch of Renison's ELI (please refer to Figure 4 for the configuration of the ELI). This is followed by a presentation of the biographies of EFAS instructors and administrators, as well as those of the students interviewed in the research.

An important part of the initial process of organizing qualitative data is to find the nature of relationships among participants and how they interpret their social worlds. For example, it is necessary to understand the behavioural and decision-making regularities of their everyday life. This is the reason for describing the idiographic accounts of the people involved in EFAS in terms of their histories and how they came to join the program. Due to the extensive amount of background information I will present the findings related to professionalism in Chapter Six.

In order to explain the evolution of the EFAS program it is necessary to note the common methods of acquiring the credentials for Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) certification that are necessary to teach both ESL and EAP in Canada. During the 1970s, a large population of Vietnamese refugees, along with immigrants from Hong Kong, Laos and other Southeast Asian nations, settled in the region. It was one of the few regions chosen by the Canadian government to absorb a large influx of immigrants, and this phenomenon led to the

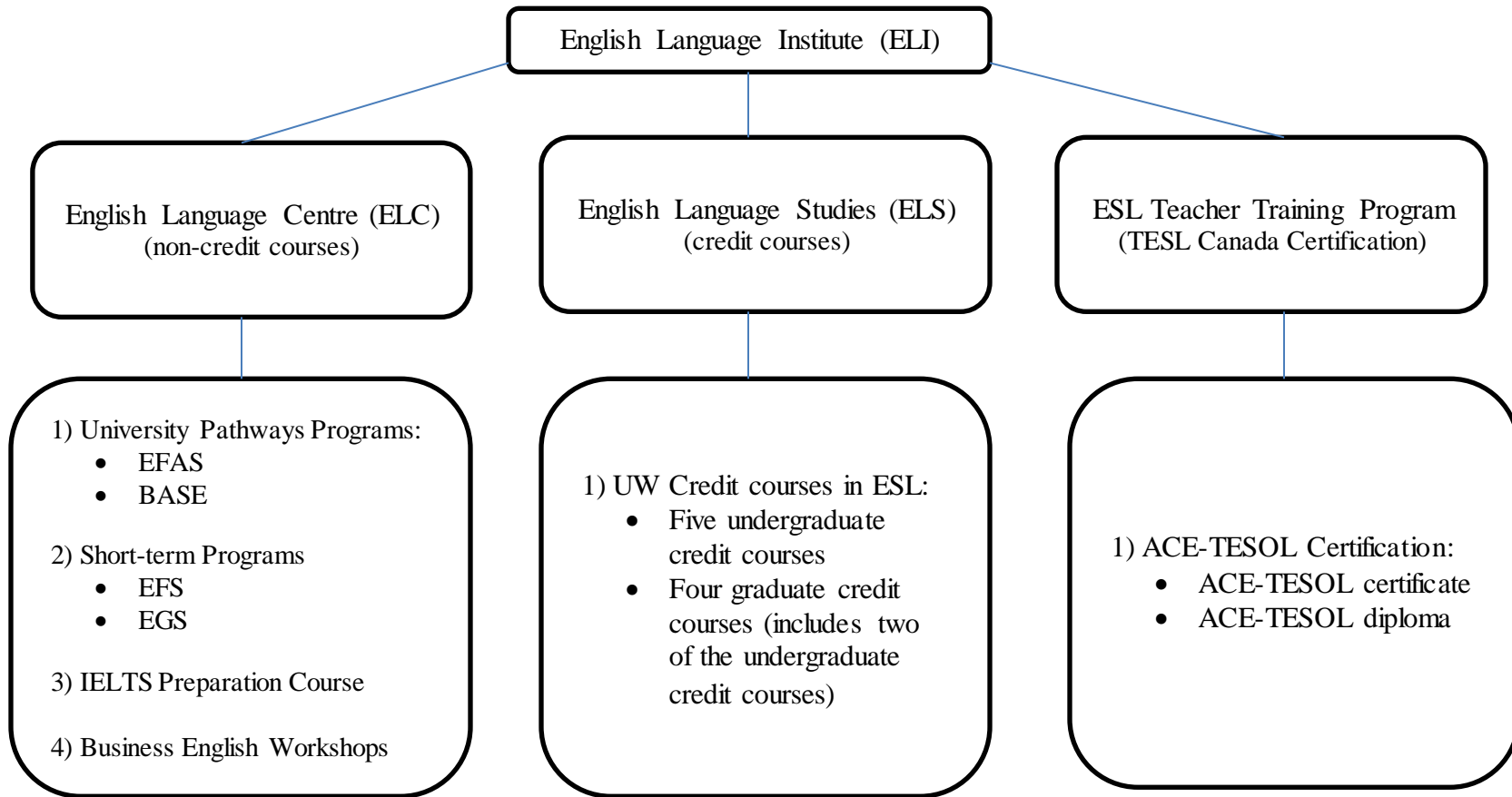
growth of ESL programs. For example, the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program was instituted during this time. This is a government-funded program for immigrants looking to settle in Canada which enables them to enrol in free courses that assist them to develop life skills, including a level of ESL needed to find employment and to adapt to a new culture.

Many of the EFAS teachers and administrators earned their ESL credentials through the TESL certification program at Conestoga College in Kitchener, Ontario, and many also taught in its EAP program, named English Language for Academic Studies (ELAS). The University of Waterloo's Faculty of Mathematics has maintained a relationship with Conestoga by requiring international students to enrol in the ELAS program. Recently, Renison University College's English Language Institute (ELI) developed its own TESL certification program, named Advance Consulting in Education – Teaching English as a Second Language to Speakers of Other Languages (ACE- TESOL), in which some respondents in this research are involved. Prior to joining EFAS, several instructors spent a part of their careers teaching ESL for both the Regional and Catholic Separate School boards. A popular employer among EFAS personnel was the St. Louis Adult Learning and Continuing Education Centres that has five locations across the region.

As mentioned, Renison's ELI is presently organized into two branches (Figure 4). The English Language Centre (ELC) operates all of the non-credit English language programs, including EFAS. English Language Studies (ELS) offers credit courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels, as well as the ACE–TESOL teacher training program. The ELI has undergone a long process of transformation since 1972 when it initially served ESL needs for students and their relatives at the University of Waterloo. In this chapter, I will explain how the EFAS

program evolved, and describe the people who are involved in the program, including teachers, administrators and the international students who take these courses. To reiterate, I am particularly interested in the history of the program and the reasons why instructors chose EAP as a career.

Figure 4: Configuration of the English Language Institute (ELI): Renison University College (Main Campus)



(Adapted from Renison University College, 2014)

5.1 The Evolution of ESL into the EFAS Program

This section is a presentation of data found in interviews conducted in 2013 with the founding members of the EFAS program, Judi Jewinski (please refer to questions one to four in Appendix E), and the current director of the ELC, Tanya Missere-Mihas (please refer to questions one to five in Appendix D). As mentioned in the previous chapter, “English Ten” was the first ESL program offered to University of Waterloo faculty, staff and students in 1972. It was organized and run by Professor Harry Tuyn, and funded by UW’s Dean of Arts. Prior to immigrating to Canada professor Tuyn was trained in ESL teaching in England, where he had operated several ESL initiatives in Europe during the 1960s, such as teaching applied English grammar courses and managing holiday schools focusing on “the use and abuse” of the English language. The English Ten program was provided \$200 to hold an English conversation class in a basement classroom at Renison University College.

In 1973, Judi Jewinski was a student of Tuyn’s in the department of English at Renison, and she began teaching the two-hour conversation class under his tutelage. As a student, Jewinski had envisioned teaching as her future career, and during this time her idea was to specialize in the developing field of ESL teaching. As a result, she chose to undertake a Master’s degree in English with a research focus in ESL pedagogy. Her thesis topic resembles the ESL theoretical strategy of register analysis, discussed in Chapter Two as the initial theoretical development in ESP teaching during the 1960s. She took 10,000 words from Brown University’s data corpora and analyzed them from the point of view of style, language and sentence length to be able to characterize different types of prose. For example, common topics in the corpus were language utilized by religious studies, sports language writing, and news reporting in order to recognize how audiences differ in reading expectations.

Having nearly completed her MA in 1976, Jewinski continued to teach ESL. One of the University of Waterloo's department of English courses for composition was ENG 109, and Jewinski taught its non-credit course counterpart ENG 109Z from 1974 to 1977, which was a similar course, but designed for ESL students. During this time, many students from Hong Kong were being accepted at UW, so she began to supervise other graduate students and teach a growing number of sections opening in the course. The increasing demand for ESL at UW has never eased off. After completing her degree in 1977, Jewinski gained acceptance at the University of Toronto's Teachers College in the fall of 1977 and began working part-time one day a week at the University of Waterloo's inaugural year of the Writing Centre, as well as teaching an introductory writing composition course at the DeVry Institute of Technology in Toronto. Near the beginning of that fall semester, Professor Tuyn unfortunately suffered a stroke. Already with several years of teaching experience, and having been trained by Professor Tuyn, Jewinski was asked to take over the ENG 109Z course, which was operating under the responsibility of Renison University College.

The following year, Jewinski revamped the course, which included renaming it ENG 140RRZ. The English department decided the course could be accredited as long as it was as rigorous and the marking as dependable, reliable and valid as was done in ENG 109. For the ensuing three years, blind marking was performed by Jewinski and an English professor to ensure that ENG 140RRZ had equal weight as ENG 109. This signalled the initial marking system adopted by Renison's credit courses in English. For example, every student essay in Social Development Studies at Renison was graded by both a professor and an English language teacher, whereby the mark for grammar and composition was worth between 5% and 25% of the

final grade. This was a labour-intensive effort, resulting in the development of a two-page list of grammatical errors and a system of calculating an error average for every one hundred words.

After several years of blind marking and standardizing the grading system, in the academic year 1980/1981, the English Language Centre (ELC) was opened at Renison, offering this credit course, which was intended for ESL students in English writing composition, and was again renamed, as ENG 129R. The ELC continued to run non-credit ESL conversational classes. The ELC has since been renamed the English Language Institute (ELI), which houses credit and non-credit courses along with the TESL training program (ACE-TESOL). Since the acronym “ELC” has been used in separate historical contexts, for both the operation of all credit and non-credit programs for Renison’s English language courses and for the present singular branch that exclusively operates the non-credit ESL and EAP courses, I will utilize the present title, “ELI” to discuss the umbrella institute of Renison’s English language programs. This is the present configuration of the ELI that is illustrated in Figure 4.

As enrolment for both the non-credit ESL conversational course and ENG 129R continued to expand, a six-week ESL summer program was launched in 1994. This program was called English for Success (EFS). Only four students from the School of Optometry took the class. The following year, Jewinski was hired as the director of the ELI, and she, along with one other instructor, continued to teach the EFS summer program that remained somewhat unpopular, with approximately eight to eleven students. During that year (1995), Tanya Missere-Mihas was fulfilling her required one-year TESL teaching practicum under Jewinski’s supervision in order to complete her B.Ed. degree at Brock University. In 1996, both Jewinski and Missere-Mihas ran the EFS summer program and expanded it to include extracurricular activities, such as weekend excursions, for newly immigrated UW students and their relatives.

Meanwhile, an increasing number of UW graduate students were filling up the ENG 129R course, despite not needing the undergraduate credit. In cooperation with the Dean of Graduate Studies at the University of Waterloo, a variation of the course was introduced by the ELI as a four and a half hour per week course called English 109. The ESL courses continued to expand, with other ESL specialists being hired to teach and develop curricula, and the program began to offer eight-week EFS courses all year round beginning in 2000. Largely due to Jewinski's efforts working closely with UW's Faculty of Graduate Studies along with several departments to assist their international students to meet the university's language requirements at that time, the ELI created its first course in EAP, which was named English for Academic Success (EFAS).

As mentioned, the University of Waterloo's Faculty of Mathematics had been sending many of their international students to study EAP at Conestoga College's English Language for Academic Success (ELAS) program since the early 1990s. At the time, the Faculty of Mathematics had offered Renison's ELI this opportunity, but it did not have the capacity to take on EAP students, so the ELI continued to focus primarily on teaching ESL in its EFS program and UW's graduate students in ENG 129R. The decision to create the EFAS program was strictly in response to the growing demand for academic skills in English required by UW's increasing number of international students. EFAS was not designed to compete with Conestoga's ELAS program. Rather, the ELI simply knew it had the internal TESL expertise needed to create its own EAP program. Furthermore, EFAS was never presented as a gatekeeping program for international students to enter UW degree programs. In fact, the students in the initial year of EFAS were mainly relatives of UW's international students, who might have otherwise enrolled in an ESL class, rather than EAP, to meet their English language

needs. Nevertheless, the EFAS program was an expansion of the ELI, and began with two English benchmark levels: “advanced” and “very advanced”. In 2001, the Dean at Renison took a sabbatical and Jewinski was asked to fulfill the role of Associate Dean for that academic year, thus serving a dual role as she continued to direct the ELI.

One of the EAP experts hired to join the ELI was Julia Williams who had been working in a similar program at Carleton University. By 2004, ENG 129R had become overextended with all available sections quickly filled. Jewinski asked the Vice President Academic and Provost at UW to consider mounting more credit courses in ESL, but the idea was opposed because it was believed that students should be utterly proficient in English upon arrival. While only a few universities across Canada provided any sort of ESL credit courses, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) did offer them. Jewinski explains that, at the time, the University of Waterloo imagined itself as the “MIT of the north”, and the Vice President Academic and Provost reluctantly agreed that there was a place for these types of courses at UW. Thus, two credit courses, ESL 101R and ESL 102R, were created by the ELI and funded by UW.

Simultaneously, as more international students were being accepted at UW with relatively poor academic skills in English, EFAS was expanded to offer more language levels. At this time, Julia Williams began to run the ESL credit courses while Tanya Missere-Mihas continued to operate both the EFAS and EFS non-credit programs in the ELI.

The EFAS initiatives were thus led by Missere-Mihas and her team, creating the curriculum for levels 100 “low intermediate”, 200 “intermediate”, 300 “high intermediate advanced”, and 400 “advanced” proficiency. The University of Waterloo recognized a passing grade of 75% in the 400 level of EFAS as having met the English language requirement for undergraduate students. All of the EFAS courses were created internally and independent from

other departments, except for the “2+2” program. This is a joint undergraduate program that began in 2004 between UW and the University of Nanjing in China. It now includes eighteen partnering universities in China, in which students undertake two years of undergraduate studies in China before completing the final two years at UW. The EAFS’ 2+2 program is a six-week intensive course required of these students before they begin UW courses, offered in July and August (prior to the start of their third year undergraduate semester).

5.2 The Present State of the EFAS Program

Since EFAS is a non-credit university program that is a popular option for UW undergraduate and graduate students to earn their English Language Proficiency (ELP) requirement, it must necessarily be flexible in terms of both student enrolment and the hiring of teachers. Regarding the former, the number of students enrolled in EFAS courses fluctuates, and some students do not enrol until the first week of classes. A key issue is a lack of government funding for EFAS students. In theory, all UW students pay the same amount of tuition, but Canadian students are subsidized by the provincial and/or federal governments whereas international students pay the full amount. This is a different arrangement than EAP or ESL language courses offered at Canadian colleges, because those courses are government-funded, often listed under the title “General Arts and Science”. Since EFAS is part of the university structure, students enrolled in EFAS must pay full, unsubsidized tuition costs. This has a great impact on the hiring practices of EFAS instructors.

Unlike the credit courses offered in the ELS branch of the ELI (which is funded by UW) that guarantees payment as long as a minimum of ten students enrol in a course, the EFAS program is funded entirely on received tuition, so an EFAS course cannot be confirmed until

very late, as mentioned, sometimes not until a course begins. For instance, some international students have difficulties obtaining a proper visa. Those students who have been accepted at UW can choose when they wish to start EFAS courses. Even if a student arrives at the last minute, they can assert the need to begin EFAS promptly or else risk deferring the start of their academic studies. This is the reason why student enrolment fluctuates, and it is a major reason why the program is reliant on hiring part-time instructors. Much flexibility is required in the hiring practices because enrolment numbers cannot be confirmed far in advance of courses commencing.

EFAS hires teachers who understand that full-time status is probably not a reality in the short term. Sessional contracts stipulate that a “minimum of ten students” is required by the start date of a class (Missere-Mihas). This is a significant feature of a contract because students’ needs analysis, discussed in Chapter Two as a requirement for level placement in EAP courses, cannot be administered until students arrive. For example, Missere-Mihas explains that if eighty students fit perfectly into five classes then there would be an ideal number of approximately sixteen students per class. However, if there is a handful of EFAS students whose diagnostic testing falls outside of the levels of those five classes, then a special class has to open. Furthermore, sessional EFAS instructors are hired officially as “Staff Language Instructor” rather than “Lecturer” or “Faculty”. This issue will be discussed in the following chapter, but for budgetary reasons, instructors cannot be listed as “lecturers” because EFAS would be unable to cover costs if they were compensated the same way that sessional lecturers are at UW (Missere-Mihas). This often results in high rates of teacher turnover, especially in the writing courses since they are considered more difficult courses to teach, requiring much previous experience.

Before the appointment of the recent Finance Director of Renison University College, EFAS was allotted a lump budgetary sum to include all expenses, such as hiring part-time instructors, photocopying, and professional development sessions. The budget was not determined by how much income it generated. For Missere-Mihas, this former method of setting the EFAS budget made little sense, as it would not be possible to receive extra funding if a great number of students were brought in. The method of allotting a firm budget did not conform to the flexibility required to operate the program. However, the economic arrangements between Renison and the EFAS program have changed dramatically since 2001. Since the monetary success of the EFAS program is dependent on student tuition fees, an initial budget was estimated by EFAS itself, and adjustments are then made according to final enrolment numbers.

There are no full-time instructors who exclusively teach EFAS courses. Rather, these members of the program are hired to contribute to curriculum development and teacher-development activities, such as mentoring, creating professional development seminars, performing classroom observations and offering support for part-time teachers and students. These roles help to provide a positive teaching and learning environment. As Missere-Mihas insists, EFAS must have what it needs for students, so the ultimate goal is to offer the best teaching experience for both instructors and students. In this situation, working on a part-time basis, if instructors are not satisfied with this type of arrangement then they would simply leave (Missere-Mihas). However, there are several sessional instructors who regularly return for sessional work. Many of them prefer this sort of schedule. What follows is a description of full-time, sessional and former EFAS instructors, as well as administrators involved with the EFAS program.

5.3 EFAS Instructors and Administrators

This section is a presentation of data from in-depth interviews with twelve EFAS instructors and administrators conducted in 2013. These include course coordinators, full and part-time instructors, EFAS curriculum developers and recruitment personnel. What follows is biographical information of these participants in response to questions one to five in Appendices C and D. To reiterate, all of these respondents have been assigned pseudonyms in order to extend anonymity.

Trottier began teaching ESL in elementary and secondary schools for the Region of Waterloo School Board during the 1970s. Trottier moved on to the Catholic Separate School Board and taught adult ESL courses at St. Louis School for twenty years. Trottier also became the regional program manager for LINC, which was part of the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (CCLB) pilot project in the early 1990s. As mentioned, this government ESL initiative in Kitchener-Waterloo was implemented because the region had been targeted as a centre for immigrant intake, as Trottier notes, “there was a lot of money for it to take the immigrant population stress off of Toronto”. Initially referred to as “boat people”, Vietnam refugees arrived in the region in the early 1970s, followed by many other refugees from central Africa in the 1980s. According to Trottier, the Mennonite Refugee Coalition sponsored many of these people, and the ESL services in the region grew from the Mennonite church’s extensive involvement in assisting these new immigrants.

Trottier’s reasons for specializing in ESL instruction include a love of travel and a strong desire to meet people from different cultures. After completing a Bachelor of Arts degree in Fine Arts with a minor in English, it seemed natural to earn a Bachelor of Education degree with additional qualifications in both ESL and Special Education, because it is “difficult to determine

what interferes with learning: language itself or a learning disability. The two get easily confused especially when someone comes from traumatized situations and may have all kinds of adjustment issues” (Trottier). After several years teaching with the Catholic Separate School Board, Trottier decided to expand into teaching ESL to adult learners as well. Trottier completed his/her TESL certification at the Waterloo Centre for Applied Linguistics, which later sold its program to Conestoga College in the late 1980s.

An important reason for Trottier deciding to leave the Separate School Board and move to Renison’s ELI in 2006 was to retire from the administrative responsibilities in order to do more teaching. During the final years in the former position, Trottier was working sixty hours a week managing a \$900,000 budget for thirty-five teachers over five campuses. This position included responsibility for all of the purchasing, organizing and the setting up of programs, hiring faculty and staff, organizing professional development sessions, and advocating for ESL and LINC. As Trottier puts it, “I want to enjoy the twilight years in the classroom, working part-time, and teaching all EFAS skills and levels”, describing this EFAS position as “a pleasure, and it funds my [continued] travels”. It is noteworthy that Trottier has now travelled to every Western European country, much of Eastern Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, China, Tanzania, and Ecuador. “I just love meeting people from other cultures. While working in EFAS I can picture where students are from and the places they lived. They get excited too when they discover that I have been to their country” (Trottier). Trottier did not initially expect to remain working in the EFAS program for a long period of time, but “I have just been enjoying it so much, and I really like being part-time at this stage of my life”. Along with maintaining a part-time position teaching EFAS, Trottier also instructs some of the sections in the ELS’s ACE- TESOL teacher training program.

Except for a brief period of time living in Brooklyn, New York, at the age of six, Tlusty was born and raised in Iran until moving to Canada at the age of twenty. Tlusty had taken English courses at the British Council in Iran while growing up, so his/her oral skills were well developed. During the 1970s, Tlusty volunteered for the Canadian Red Cross Society, and in 1981 became the head of its youth services, which involved teaching classes about the Red Cross in schools in Iran. After initially giving up on completing a Bachelor of Science degree at a university in Montreal, Tlusty chose to pursue a degree in English Literature at the University of Waterloo, because “it was the language that defeated me as a science major”. Prior to completing his/her degree in this field, Tlusty explains, “I could not do it, and there were no support systems like we have now. The only way around this problem was to defeat it”.

Citing few career options for an immigrant nearing their 50s with “all kinds of experience in odd jobs”, Tlusty became involved with a program called “Small Group Literacy” in Waterloo, Ontario, working as an instructor during much of the 1990s. Tlusty has remained a language instructor since that time. Small Group Literacy is a government organization that assists adults with a high school diploma and who have been employed, but are functionally illiterate due to having learning disabilities. Most of them were sent by their employers at factories or businesses because their employers had realized they had been “faking reading”, and they often got “caught” after incidences had occurred, such as accidents, even after having worked for twenty years with the same company. Tlusty received special training to work for Small Group Literacy, such as learning how to identify a learning disability, and s/he describes the experience as “humbling yet wonderful”.

Tlusty’s reality of having limited career options involved caring for the family’s four children, two of which had entered university degree programs. Tlusty’s attitude changed from

“hating the English language to developing a genuine passion for it”, so teaching ESL became a logical and viable career to pursue. Tlusty describes teaching ESL as “a very rich experience. One cannot learn ESL in a textbook, and I know exactly, first-hand, what the students go through”. After completing TESL certification at Conestoga College and working at St. Louis School, teaching ESL to new immigrants, Tlusty gained summer employment at Renison’s ELI teaching in the short-term EFS programs. Tlusty’s talent for teaching was recognized in the ELI and s/he was offered a full-time position in 2004 to work in the EFAS program. Tlusty was a core member of the EFAS team of instructors, becoming very much involved in developing a carefully balanced EAP program that required “meeting ESL needs of students while also meeting the needs of the university”, an approach to teaching language that greatly appealed to him/her. One result of Tlusty’s involvement during the early years of the EFAS program was the creation of the four-level program that still exists.

With the initial intention of becoming an elementary school teacher, Timgren completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in English Literature, followed by a Bachelor of Education degree at the University of Western Ontario. During that time, Timgren worked as a teaching assistant at an elementary school in Guelph, Ontario, where s/he was offered the opportunity to instruct an ESL night school course for young adults. At the time, TESL certification had not yet been instituted as a requirement to teach ESL. The experience had a great effect on Timgren, so when s/he enrolled at teacher’s college a decision had to be made between focusing on either teaching elementary or ESL subjects. Timgren’s family background is Eastern European. Although his/her mother was “brilliant, well-educated, hard-working, and she could speak seven languages”, her lack of fluent English created a barrier to obtaining employment at similar positions in Canada as those she had held in other countries (Timgren). People often reacted to

and treated Timgren's mother dismissively. At an early age, Timgren was essentially "doing ESL" for the family, such as making translations at places in the community, like banks, and this was a frustrating experience because Timgren felt that non-native speakers, generally, were not given credit for their intelligence.

The night school course in Guelph had shown Timgren that there were other people going through the same experiences, and provided great motivation to choose ESL as a teaching career. Timgren completed TESL specialist certification at Brock University in 2000. In the early 1990s, Timgren taught ESL with the Guelph District School Board when the CCLB language benchmarks were being implemented, as discussed above with Trottier's experiences teaching ESL. Again, these courses were offered to newly landed immigrants through the LINC program. While working there, Timgren met Missere-Mihas and heard about Renison's EFS summer programs offered at the ELI. In 1991, Timgren took a summer off from working for the Guelph School Board and instructed in one of those four-week programs. Since it was an enjoyable experience, Timgren decided to split his/her time between the two jobs, teaching EFS in July and August, and returning to the LINC program between September and June. After several years, Timgren was hired to instruct in the ELAS program at Conestoga College. This occurred at the same time EFAS was being discussed at Renison as a possible new program. After a year of teaching ELAS, Timgren was brought on to help construct all of the basic elements involved with EFAS, such as what type of curricula was to be taught and how precisely to instruct the courses.

Since the initial years of EFAS, Timgren has remained in a position of responsibility with both the teaching and administrative components. Timgren is responsible for the "level leaders" appointed for each skill during the course of a program, which involves fielding questions from

instructors and students, selecting and ordering textbooks, and organizing syllabi, among other duties. Timgren has played a major role in developing the curriculum, especially for both the academic skills and writing courses. Timgren is presently the central person involved with hiring EFAS instructors, noting that candidates must not only be certified by TESL Canada or its provincial equivalent, but must also possess teaching experience in order to be hired in EFAS.

After coaching synchronized swimming as a teenager, Turnbull joined the Katimavik youth program, a national youth organization providing volunteer service in vulnerable communities while giving young Canadians work experience. Here, Turnbull worked in a school on a First Nations reservation north of Edmonton, Alberta, helping teachers of pre-kindergarten aged children with “play therapy”. This involved using materials, such as Plasticine, to construct objects, or handling small pets, such as a gerbil or kitten, to get children to care for them. Years later, that experience and the respect Turnbull had for those teachers proved to be pivotal in deciding to make a career in teaching. Before that decision was made, Turnbull worked in custom framing for fifteen years during and after completing a Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology at the University of Waterloo. Turnbull had entertained several other ideas for choosing a career, such as pastoral counselling, but it was not until visiting UW’s Career Centre while working at the university’s library that s/he became seriously interested in teaching ESL.

Turnbull completed Conestoga College’s TESL program and did the required practicum at St. Joseph’s School in Kitchener. Keen on teaching “more dense material”, Turnbull was hired at the ELI to teach in an EFS program during the summer of 2000, followed by work in Conestoga’s ELAS program during the ensuing fall semester. Turnbull felt gratified to work with the eclectic subject areas in EAP, “where texts are a medium for teaching academic skills”,

and continued to work in both programs until 2004. Part of the reason to teach EAP rather than ESL is a perception that the latter involves a “social work” dimension to it, in which people are often fleeing unstable situations, as well as Turnbull’s love of writing. With EAP, and writing in particular, “there is something about that medium to learn. The feel of it, I like watching people do it and trying to work their way through it, and getting to know students in a different way” (Turnbull). Having discovered a career path, Turnbull decided to do a Master’s of Education degree in Teacher Development, focusing on second language writing, at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Turnbull got hired into a full-time position in EFAS in 2007.

While growing up in Serbia, in the former Yugoslavia, Toskala began learning English at the age of three because s/he had a Canadian nanny. By age twelve, the instructors of English classes at Toskala’s elementary school did not know what to do with him/her because Toskala had surpassed all English language expectations. In order to earn a grade Toskala helped teach those English classes to other pupils in the school. At such an early age, Toskala was convinced of making a career as a pedagogue. One reason for this choice was due to Toskala’s experience in school learning material by rote, which was common practice in Yugoslavian schools at the time. Toskala was already convinced that continually memorizing material ad nauseam was not an effective type of pedagogy to help students learn to think independently. Toskala pursued a joint Bachelor of Arts degree program in English Language and English Literature, which required passing a specific departmental examination involving English grammar testing, writing essays, and undergoing oral interviews with professors. Finishing in the top ten among all applicants in this English language testing process at secondary school, Toskala earned a scholarship that included free tuition for university.

Toskala began teaching EAP in Serbia as a preparatory course for university students, similar to the EFAS program at Renison. However, all students in Serbia now learn English beginning in grade four (approximately ten years of age), so EAP is now a requirement for students intending to pursue a university degree. Toskala had initially intended on moving to Germany, but it was difficult for their family to obtain entry. The family learned about Canadian immigration policy, so they “packed six suitcases and moved” to Canada in 2007. Soon afterward, their second child was born and Toskala decided to stay at home for a period of time before upgrading his/her EAP credentials to earn TESL certification at Conestoga College. Toskala became an ESL supply teacher for St. Louis School, and taught TESOL and IELTS (International English Language Testing System) to students in Cambridge, Ontario. In 2012, Toskala was hired as an instructor in EFAS, which became his/her third EAP teaching position. Recently, Toskala completed a Master’s degree in English, in which s/he wrote a thesis examining the size of vocabulary related to morphological awareness, and was hired into a full-time position in the EFAS program in 2013, working as both an instructor and curriculum developer.

After working for a transport company while completing a Bachelor of Arts degree, and for four years afterward, Tucker had no plans to teach EAP specifically, stating, “it was an accident”. Tucker had applied to teacher’s college but decided it was not an appropriate career decision, reasoning that doing a Master’s degree in Education was better suited to his/her interests in teaching and offered more career options. Tucker describes that period of time between finishing an undergraduate degree and applying for a Master’s program as “piecemealing my life together”. Completing TESL certification was an important step in pursuing Tucker’s interests in education.

Tucker's first position in EAP was in the EFAS program in 2006. At the same time, Tucker taught a special EFS program for the ELI at a Moores Clothing for Men factory in Cambridge, Ontario, between October, 2006 and March, 2007 to adults working on the production lines. Many were Portuguese and Cuban immigrant workers who were required to communicate in English. Tucker describes the experience as "very rewarding", s/he empathized with them because it was an arduous task working all day followed by "being stuck in a three hour English class, not really wanting to be there". Each employee had to pay a portion of their tuition and was only refunded if they attained a minimum grade of seventy-five per cent. Tucker decided that there was a worthwhile career in the EAP dimension of English language teaching, so s/he decided to enter into a Master of Education program while continuing to teach EFAS courses on a sessional basis. Tucker was hired into a full-time EFAS position in 2012.

Thomas began a Bachelor of Arts degree in Environment and Resources because of an initial desire to work in the non-governmental organizations sector. Having felt "disillusioned", Thomas decided to change majors to psychology, intending to gain a better understanding of cognitive processes behind individual attitudes of "affecting change". During that time, Thomas worked at a handicrafts import store, spending six months in India as part of the job. Thomas returned to complete a Bachelor of Arts degree in religious studies. Meanwhile, Thomas' passion for travel grew, so s/he pursued this desire and travelled extensively. Wanting to start a family, Thomas found that one common thread in changing majors and travelling was an impetus to help people. Thomas became very much involved in his/her eldest child's education, and thought a career in teaching would be a solution to satisfying this desire to help people, confident that s/he possessed the patience and ability to be an effective pedagogue. Initially intrigued with the possibility of teaching children, Thomas became enthusiastic about teaching ESL.

As a result, Thomas completed TESL certification through a distance education program at the University of Saskatchewan, since it enabled him/her to complete it part-time while maintaining newfound family roots in the Waterloo region. The decision to carve out a career in EAP was not premeditated, but “everything in life coalesced”, especially when Thomas “cold-called” the ELI in 2003 with a request to complete the required TESL practicum there. As discussed, the EFAS program was in its second year of existence at that time, and small enough that Thomas could “tag along” to classes with an instructor. More than any other type of work, “choosing a career in EAP was natural” because it fulfilled a long personal process of discovering teaching as a career choice, it provided family roots, and enabled Thomas to continue learning. Thomas has been teaching and designing curricula in the EFAS program since 2004, teaching “everything” in the program, and is often a level leader for various courses. Thomas enjoys researching curriculum development for the EFAS program. Thomas feels that s/he has discovered a perfect teaching opportunity with EFAS, continuing to receive training in different areas, giving presentations to colleagues, being in the classroom, all of which includes continuous research.

Tomlinson held many part-time jobs as a young adult completing his/her Bachelor of Arts degree in English Literature, such as editing for local computer companies, performing with a music band, and volunteering in an exchange program at the University of Waterloo as a “teacher without training” in Kenya. Although Tomlinson’s father was an English Master, his/her mother was a nursing teacher, and his/her grandmother was a school teacher, Tomlinson did not “give teaching much thought” as a career option. While completing a Master’s degree in English Literature, a colleague and friend decided to do TESL training. With a background in theatre, but with an interest in directing, teaching ESL seemed appealing because it was a way to

transfer similar interests and skills into an enjoyable type of work, recalling Tomlinson's positive experiences teaching in Kenya several years earlier.

Tomlinson completed TESL certification at Conestoga College, and did some practicum hours at UW's Writing Centre where s/he met Judi Jewinski. This encounter led to developing a positive and constructive working relationship while meeting the members of the ELI team.

Tomlinson began to instruct both EFS and EFAS classes on a term by term basis in 2003.

Having a Master's degree enabled Tomlinson to also take on the role of teaching assistant for the ELI's credit courses, ESL 102R and ESL 129R, with the goal of eventually teaching those courses. In 2007, Tomlinson moved into a full-time position in the ELS branch of the ELI.

Terrion explains that s/he originally "fell into" EAP teaching. After completing a degree in mathematics, Terrion experienced difficulty finding employment. Terrion's mother is an ESL instructor and she suggested "giving it a try". Upon enrolling in Conestoga College's TESL program, Terrion claims, "I loved it. I knew this is it; this is what I'm going to do". It was an easy decision for Terrion to make from pursuing the "community-based" teaching of ESL to EAP instruction because Terrion wanted more "fast-paced and advanced" levels of teaching English and academic skills. Terrion taught EAP in Conestoga's ELAS program between 2004 and 2012, spending two separate periods of time teaching EAP abroad. Terrion's first overseas experience was teaching a three month program in oral skills at a university in Japan. Terrion completed a Master's degree in Applied Linguistics through a distance education program at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, in 2010, where s/he spent a semester teaching in their EAP program. Upon returning to work with the ELAS program, Terrion found a sessional position in the EFAS program in 2012. Wanting to pursue a long-term career in the field,

evidenced in Terrion's move from an educational background in mathematics to applied linguistics, working in EFAS is "as good as it gets" teaching EAP.

Tremblay has always had a love of languages and cultures. Tremblay pursued these interests by doing a Bachelor of Arts degree in languages during the 1980s, specializing in Spanish. Before starting a family, Tremblay was employed as a language translator for a few different companies, being fluent in four languages. While completing his/her Bachelor of Arts degree, Tremblay decided to take some ESL courses which helped him/her make the decision to teach in the field. Tremblay asserts that s/he has "more of a connection with older teenagers and young adults" than teaching any other age group. Tremblay completed TESL certification at Conestoga College in 2004, and did the required classroom practicum hours there and at King George School in Guelph, Ontario. Between 2004 and 2005, Tremblay gained much experience in other areas of English language teaching besides ESL, teaching EOP to professional business people at both an insurance company and at Sleeman Brewery, tutoring IELTS to a student from India, and volunteering as a part-time instructor in the LINC program. Hired in 2012, EFAS is Tremblay's first position teaching EAP. Tremblay is confident that s/he has found his/her teaching niche in EFAS because in some ways "I am limited by my age", but "I love being a sessional instructor and hope to do it for a long time".

While growing up in Poland, Tellqvist was "forced" to learn Russian for seven years, although Polish children are now required to learn English beginning in kindergarten. Tellqvist chose to pursue a Bachelor in Education degree in English because "I loved it, and the grammar was easy for me". In teacher's college in Poland, students would select three years of a prescribed program of study, and Tellqvist chose English Literature, American Literature, and Methodology (pedagogy). Upon completion of this type of program, a person was eligible to

teach courses in elementary school, high school, or university in Poland. Tellqvist earned two undergraduate degrees, a Bachelor of Education and a Bachelor of Teaching English as a Foreign Language, before completing a Master's degree while working full-time as an English instructor.

Tellqvist immigrated to Canada in 2006, but had to employ the services of an organization that specializes in comparing international degrees, because his/her qualifications were not initially recognized in educational institutions in Ontario. Unsure of career options, Tellqvist enrolled in courses at Wilfrid Laurier University and applied to the Ontario College of Teachers, but it took two and a half years for his/her educational credentials to be recognized. Because Tellqvist did not have residency status, s/he was reluctant to pursue TESL certification, since the cost of tuition is greater than it is for Canadian citizens and those with residency, but eventually decided to complete it at Conestoga College in 2009 while waiting for his/her credentials to be verified. The reason for the two and a half year process was that Tellqvist was required to pass the IELTS examination and collect all of his/her transcripts from Poland his/herself, which proved to be very difficult because Tellqvist had to prepare all of the details for each document and then submit them to the universities in Poland in order for them to verify the information and to "stamp it" for accuracy. Furthermore, such verification of credentials could not be used to apply to the educational institutions in Canada Tellqvist hoped to enrol in because they wanted transcripts to be sent directly from the Polish universities, which those institutions would not do. Along with undergoing police checks, making the occupational transition from Poland to Canada was time consuming and difficult.

After completing this process of transferring credentials, Tellqvist taught for three consecutive semesters in three separate EAP and ESL programs with Conestoga's ELAS program, St. Louis School, and the distance education (on-line) ESL 129R course at Renison's

ELI. Tellqvist notes the difficulty of such a hectic schedule, such as the need to attend three different staff meetings at separate locations during each term. After receiving many offers to continue teaching in each of these and other programs, Tellqvist chose a sessional position in EFAS, because “I’m comfortable here, and that matters a great deal”. Asked if s/he wishes to remain working in the ELI, Tellqvist states “Yes, I have stopped looking for any other job”.

The Writing Centre at the University of Waterloo was launched in 1976, and Thornton was one of two undergraduate students hired as an English tutor. The other part-time positions were awarded to graduate student candidates, but Thornton was recognized for his/her ability to assist ESL students because s/he was bilingual in French and English. After completing an undergraduate degree in science, Thornton worked at the Writing Centre for a total of thirteen years over two separate periods of time. Between 1979 and 1985, Thornton also taught ESL in Conestoga College’s Saturday morning citizenship courses for the Region of Waterloo’s Board of Education. Due to the influx of Vietnamese refugees, many resources in the region were redirected to serve this community, and Thornton took on the responsibility of the ESL dynamic, which included setting up programs at both Trinity and St. Joseph’s Schools in Kitchener, Ontario.

Since 1983, the University of Waterloo has been one of the host campuses for Shad Valley, a four-week summer enrichment program for “outstanding” high school students who have attained minimum average grades of eighty per cent. The purpose of this residential program is to motivate students to consider a wide array of career options by integrating science, technology and entrepreneurship. In 1985, Thornton was hired into a full-time position at Shad Valley as its administrative assistant. Having a strong background in economics and business, along with an undergraduate degree in science, it was an “easy” career transition, because Shad

Valley provided the opportunity to combine all of these skill sets. Thornton remained in that position until 2001.

Working on the UW campus with Shad Valley made it simple to maintain close contact with former colleagues. In 2002, Thornton returned to work for the Writing Centre where Judi Jewinski asked if Thornton would be interested in a position at Renison's expanding ESL and EAP programs. Thornton agreed to instruct a class in one of the newly constructed EFAS courses. Thornton combined many part-time positions among UW's departments and programs into full-time employment. These included teaching EFAS, working at the Writing Centre, the university's Office of Continuing Education, and grading reports and tutoring undergraduate students in danger of failing courses in the Faculty of Mathematics. During Thornton's second term in the Writing Centre, s/he got the idea to create short presentations on different grammatical points to undergraduate students, which Thornton named "Guerilla Grammar". Initially, a few professors allotted ten minutes at the beginning of a lecture for such presentations, but they were very well-received and grew in popularity among several faculties. Some students who had missed a class with Guerilla Grammar even visited Thornton in the Writing Centre to ask for missed handouts. Before long, Thornton trademarked "Guerilla Grammar" and by 2005 s/he was giving two hundred and twenty presentations a year with over twenty-three different topics prepared that catered to a variety of academic disciplines.

During this time, Thornton was offered a permanent position at the Writing Centre as well as a full-time position at Renison's ELI. Wanting to simplify a hectic schedule, Thornton accepted the position at the ELI. With much experience in business, marketing and project management, Thornton taught EFAS sixty per cent of the time and spent the other forty per cent of the time writing special programs. Time spent teaching EFAS decreased over the years, and

by 2010, Thornton was spending all of his/her contractual time creating special projects. For example, as was explained above by Missere-Mihas, if the diagnostic testing for students entering EFAS resulted in scores that fell outside of the designated levels, a special course needed to be quickly created to accommodate those students, which became one of Thornton's responsibilities in the ELI. Presently, Thornton's only EFAS component to his/her job is with the 2+2 program, which involves working with the Faculties of Science, Arts, and Environment at UW, and consists of approximately one hundred and twenty students each year. These responsibilities include travelling each year to the eighteen partnering universities in China in order to test English language proficiency by administering a special version of the EFAS placement test.

5.4 EFAS Students

Although the number of students who enrol in the EFAS program varies each semester, it is a community in which teachers and students become familiar with one another in a relatively short period of time. Even though students who take EFAS share common learning experiences within the program, as well as sharing some of the trials of adapting to a host culture, each of these individuals come from unique circumstances and have their own reasons for enrolling in EFAS. In-depth interviews with EFAS student respondents were conducted between October, 2012 and January, 2013. What follows are descriptive accounts of EFAS students' characteristics (please refer to Table 1 in Chapter Four), their reasons for pursuing a degree at UW and the importance of learning English, as well as how useful EFAS is perceived to be in terms of helping them to succeed or not with their academic programs (please refer to questions one to nine in Appendix B). These include which academic skills were deemed most helpful or

difficult to learn, any experiences of culture shock, and whether students engaged in any extracurricular programs or used resources offered at UW to assist international students with issues of cultural adaptation in relation to cultivating academic success.

Samantha began learning English in elementary school in China. Although her parents never “pushed her” into selecting a predetermined career path, they wanted her to study abroad in order to “see Western culture and to open my mind”. She lists “globalization and more advanced technology and ideas are written in English” as the reasons for choosing to apply to an undergraduate degree in environment and business at UW, and that the university has a good reputation globally. “Chinese people care a lot about university rankings”. She had envisioned Canada as being a safe place to live, that “people might be friendly here because it’s multicultural. Maybe it’s a stereotype, but America seemed dangerous and dirty”. Part of this perception can be explained in her fondness for Western movies and music. Nevertheless, Samantha values the importance of learning English by being able to “read material directly. I don’t have to read translated versions; I know the translations are not good. It’s best if I know the original”. In Canada, Samantha seeks “every opportunity to meet and communicate with people in English”.

Samantha claims that there are no opportunities to learn EAP in China because “we don’t learn such skills as a tool for academics, we only memorize basic vocabulary”. This is a central reason why Samantha enjoyed the EFAS program. She learned many skills for the first time that she will need in her degree program. She explains that while speaking was initially difficult because she was not used to a high degree of participation in a classroom, writing was the most difficult, yet necessary, skill to acquire. “My writing is good, I get eighty to ninety per cent on papers, but I also took many writing classes with [English speaking] natives after learning about

it in EFAS". When she began the EFAS program, "I loved and hated doing so many assignments". According to Samantha, students who did not do well in EFAS realized it was necessary when they finally got into their courses after failing the program, but this did not happen to Samantha, as she explains, "I have high standards for myself and didn't fail because I put effort into everything I didn't like". She also believes that meeting people in EFAS' small classes "was a big part" of helping her to succeed with credit courses. She remains friends with EFAS students she met from China, Japan and African countries.

Regarding the skills learned in EFAS, Samantha found the Academic Skills course to be the most useful. She was not aware of plagiarism or how to avoid it, "Chinese people don't care if it's someone else's ideas. I think it's about culture". She had also never been taught how to prepare and give presentations until taking Academic Skills. "It was very difficult for me and now I do them a lot in my courses. I must prepare very much ahead of time. It still takes me a lot longer than a native speaker to prepare for a presentation".

Samantha intends to stay in Canada to do a Master's degree, and she remains motivated to continuing to improve her English skills because it "will only become more important in China, that's why I study it hard". Although she misses her family and friends in China, she believes her familiarity with Western movies, music, television and what is available on the Internet has minimized any culture shock. Samantha explains that, "not many things surprise me. I know there are a lot of counselling and clubs at UW, but I don't feel like I need them because I'm strong enough, and I have friends here". She does not speak English with her Chinese friends in Canada because "I think a bunch of Chinese getting together to speak English is weird, and if something is hard to describe we always use Chinese anyway". However, Samantha is clearly active in practising her English skills elsewhere on campus. For example,

she participated in the “Shadow program” twice, which involves matching a UW student volunteer with an international student to do extracurricular activities together. Samantha also volunteered as a leader for new undergraduate students during the university’s fall 2012 orientation week.

Similar to Samantha’s parents in China, Sarah’s wanted her to pursue a post-secondary education abroad, but their reasons were that they did not trust China’s universities to be effective. They were not concerned with what language the medium of instruction of her undergraduate education would be in, because they were merely concerned that “I don’t waste four years. They only care about [the level of] education, not English. I could do my degree in Germany, they have good science, but most people are using English so it’s better”. The decision to study at a university somewhere abroad was not made until she was in grade ten. At that time, although her parents did not speak English themselves, they thought that she could pass the required English examination to complete grade twelve, but Sarah argued that passing such a test would not prove that she had sufficient competency in English, since “the system in China is that there are specific classes to help improve [English exam] marks, but they don’t improve skill. Basically, you do similar kinds of questions over and over again. When you see that similar stuff on the test you know what you’re going to answer, so it isn’t like you’re going to understand it”. Until that point in time, Sarah had never taken learning the English language seriously. For example, in grade five, she was caught cheating on her English exit exam, and explains that she was “shamed in front of the whole school” and “hated English” after that experience.

An important reason for why her parents selected Canada as a place to emigrate from China was that they wanted her to live in a country that allowed her to openly practice her

Christian faith, and it was seen as a nation in which she could apply for citizenship much more quickly than in the United States. Her parents decided that she move to Canada to complete the final two years of high school in order to help improve her English skills and become better adapted to Canadian culture. Eventually, she chose to apply to the University of Waterloo's undergraduate programs in both business and mathematics, not necessarily because she believes they are strong programs, but because "Chinese people know UW is high ranking". A condition of her acceptance into UW was that she complete level 400 of the EFAS program. She explains that she failed the program during the spring semester due to the fact that "I was overconfident and didn't want to work". This poor result forced her to defer the start date of her program. For the fall semester, the university would not grant Sarah part-time status, "so I switched to a single degree in business and Wilfrid Laurier University because I can start [that program] in January, [instead of] not waiting until next September while I do EFAS".

When Sarah entered grade eleven at a high school in Ontario, Canada, she fully realized her lack of English comprehension. "I didn't know anything in English". She again notes that there are no English programs similar to EAP in China, reiterating what Samantha said, that students merely memorize basic vocabulary. Even though she is confident that her English skills have improved while in the EFAS program, she argues that "it is not a huge part for help" because there is not enough practice in only four months. For instance, "in writing, they teach us structure and grammar rules but use very simple examples, so when you write yourself it's very hard. English is tricky, [and grammar] points are used differently. Sometimes, rules aren't followed all the time". Furthermore, although Sarah claims to understand "eighty per cent in [EFAS'] listening skills [component]", she explains that she can only comprehend "thirty per cent in WLU lectures". She says that the latter's lectures are simply "too fast", and that "not all

professors are from Canada, so it is difficult to understand accents”. Sarah describes difficulties of adapting to a new culture because it takes much time and requires determination. By joining a high school in grade eleven, “everything starts at zero. People already have friends, so it took a very long time meeting a peer group, and I never [understood] any jokes”. As a result, she felt much stress during her first three months in Canada, but “now I feel fine. I have lots of friends”.

Sasha dreamed of studying abroad while growing up in Ecuador, and her parents also felt this was important for her and her sister. Regarding the reason for wanting to learn the English language her father once told her, “I know from my own experiences, and I don’t want you to experience the same problems, and I want you to succeed and be a great professional”. Her parents deemed that attaining a university degree as well as learning the English language were the two aspects that could enable their children to achieve such a goal. English classes are mandatory in all levels of the education system in Ecuador, but “just very basic English is learned”. Sasha earned a federal scholarship from the Ecuadorian government. She claims that the only universities she considered were the University of British Columbia, the University of Toronto, and the University of Waterloo “because I only wanted to go to Canada”. The terms of her scholarship include funding for “tuition, food, transportation; everything for five years” with the stipulation that she returns to Ecuador upon graduation to work for ten years for the purpose of “developing Ecuador”. This arrangement has been secured by her government because if a scholarship recipient decides to remain in a host country upon graduation, then a family member legally assumes responsibility to refund the award, which is not an issue for Sasha since “I really want to go back and help make my country better”.

Like her father, Sasha is convinced that earning a university degree is as important as learning English because holding a degree is no longer a sufficient attribute for securing

employment in Ecuador's highly competitive job market. For example, Sasha's father is a veterinarian working for a German enterprise in Ecuador. He must use English "to keep his job". Products are bought and sold and research in the field is all in English, so her father continues to study this language. Sasha maintains that not only do all occupations require the use of English but also for travelling. "If you go to Italy or France, you still need English. You can always communicate with people no matter what [language] they speak". In anticipation of receiving a scholarship to attend UW, Sasha's family decided it was necessary to complete her final year of high school in Canada in order to gain practice in English. She lived with a host family in British Columbia for one year. Despite this extra year, she is still not satisfied with her level of English language competency. For example, having written an English test as part of her application to UW's undergraduate degree program in computer engineering, Sasha knew that she still had to improve her writing skills. Thus, she applied to the EFAS program voluntarily by deferring the start date of her program because she is not confident that her overall English competency is adequate for university studies. She wanted to "make sure I succeed and don't lose my scholarship". Her father is paying for her to attend EFAS. There are no EAP programs available in Ecuador. Sasha is currently learning how to apply academic skills in English, claiming, "I know it's going to be very helpful to study and in my career".

Learning how to write essays and reports is the most difficult skill for Sasha to acquire because it is "completely different than Spanish structure, and I never heard of making citations in writing before. Actually, paraphrasing is most difficult, because [learning how to avoid] plagiarism is serious". Although Sasha thinks level 400 in EFAS is a difficult program, she reiterates how much she believes it will help her when she enters her degree program. "Learning how to write in English, the academic skills, learning [the meaning of] words in context, doing

summaries, and listening to lectures; it's like all of campus life inside a little classroom". While living in the EFAS community, Sasha is determined to improve her oral skills in English by practising with other international students. While enrolled in an EAP program at a university in Australia, her older sister had many friends there from Spanish-speaking countries that neighbour Ecuador. As a result, she had cautioned Sasha to use English as much as possible outside of class while studying abroad because she regrets not doing so herself. Sasha took her advice and witnesses this phenomenon at Renison, since some cultural groups of students use their native tongue quite often. As Sasha points out, "the Brazilian guys in EFAS speak Portuguese the whole time here", repeating with greater emphasis, "*the whole time!*"

Sasha has made "best" friends at Renison with fellow EFAS students from Russia and Brazil. However, she claims to thoroughly enjoy practising English, regardless of her interactions with other students because of the diversity of expressions that are possible in English. "There are lots of things you can say in so many ways, which makes it wider". During the first year of her high school exchange in Canada, Sasha felt culture shock strongly. Nevertheless, with the help of her family she realized that this sort of experience is inevitable, and that "change is for the best and it must take time". As an international student at UW, she was excited to find many supportive programs intended to help students adapt to Canadian culture and campus life. She uses the gymnasium regularly, has joined some dancing clubs, takes ice-skating lessons, which she says "is so fun to learn, but it can hurt", and expresses how "nice and small [the] EFAS [community] is, [which] all really helps a lot".

Upon completion of his undergraduate degree in mechanical engineering at a university in Turkey, Scott was granted a scholarship from the Turkish Minister of Education in order to pursue both a Master's and a Doctoral degree "anywhere in the world" on condition he returns to

Turkey for twice the amount of time he spends earning those credentials. Although Scott has taken English classes since elementary school, he claims they were ineffective for learning English, which is “a problem in Turkey because English education is not developed at all. Only a few universities have proper English programs”. These programs are EAP courses required for students who gain admission to those universities exclusively. His father had advised him to apply for admission to a university in the United States, but he selected UW primarily because his undergraduate advisor “is a leading researcher in the field of energy” and knew a specific professor at UW whom Scott might be able to work with.

For Scott, “Canada seemed perfect [because] it’s like a mosaic and I’m in a good situation here. When I [first] arrived I didn’t know the transportation system here, but many strangers helped me. It’s very friendly”. Scott feels that no matter where he chose to go, “English is important for everyone in any country because we must learn it to become part of the world”. He is highly motivated to master the language for the purpose of becoming a professor, which will involve using English to participate in conferences and reading journals in his field.

Scott’s results on his IELTS exam revealed that listening and speaking were his weakest English skills. He was required to complete level 300 in EFAS as part of his acceptance into UW’s graduate studies. He enjoyed taking EFAS “very much because all instructors and staff were very helpful and they can understand students well. All students are international, so I am relaxed since everyone doesn’t know academic English well”. He predicted that the Oral Skills course would be difficult, so doing assignments, such as giving presentations, “were very good practice for me”. Learning writing skills to properly paraphrase scholarly research, particularly learning how to use citations, which is taught in both Writing Skills and Academic Skills, was also a challenge for him. Scott explains, “now I am researching more than one hundred papers

and probably I will use more than one hundred, so I must paraphrase [from] them to avoid plagiarism”. Scott also credits the time spent in EFAS for helping him to learn proper rhetorical structures for writing reports and essays, as well as applying new vocabulary to his developing oral skills. “I finally started speaking English more comfortably. I stopped hesitating when speaking English”.

However, Scott laments that there is not more time to practice the skills learned in EFAS courses. More specialized programs would be helpful. He acknowledges that oral skills remain a difficulty for him while participating in his degree program. In particular, giving presentations are still a challenge, as well as speaking in class, “even if I know the answer, I can’t respond quickly enough to join”. Scott believes the problem of having too limited amount of practice time allotted for each learned skill in EFAS courses is due to the fact he is a graduate student, while the majority of students are younger undergraduates. For instance, since Scott had previously learned about the importance of avoiding plagiarism as an undergraduate student, he feels that far too much time was spent in class teaching the reasons why plagiarism needs to be prevented in academic writing, rather than spending more time practising paraphrasing. As Scott sees the issue, “EFAS should separate graduate students because undergraduates have to learn lessons on plagiarism from the beginning. We could skip the reasons why paraphrasing is important and start practising”. Moreover, Scott thinks the EFAS program could be improved if courses were taught in closer relation to specific disciplines, such as utilizing a discipline’s esoteric technical vocabulary, or different styles of referencing. “We only learned APA [(American Psychological Association)], but I must use MLA [(Modern Language Association)] in engineering”.

Nevertheless, Scott feels that he “learned very many things that I needed in EFAS” to help him succeed with his UW course work and research. Returning to his experiences of living on a university campus in Canada, he restates that he is older, which makes it easier to be motivated to finish his degree. “I am ambitious, I already had friends here [at UW], and Turkey is [a] secular [country], so this is good to adapt to Canada. Now I live here and people are respectful, so I want to meet them”.

Sandy is also from Turkey, and immigrated to Canada in 2011 with her husband because he obtained a position as a professor at the University of Waterloo in Management Science in Engineering. While in Turkey, Sandy completed both an undergraduate degree in Religious Studies and a graduate degree in Psychology of Religion. She is presently in the EFAS program because she wants to apply to another graduate degree program in Arts at UW. It is essential that she improves her English skills before applying to that program because Sandy knows she is unprepared to begin university studies in English. As Scott mentioned, every student in Turkey takes English classes from grade four to twelve. However, the lessons are very simple, involving memorization of vocabulary and repeating recorded listening exercises. Moreover, English teachers do not speak English in the classroom. During her university studies, Sandy took English language classes, but they included only three lessons each month. Learning English is very important to Sandy and her family. Although several members on her husband’s side of the family have learned the language and are enrolled or work at universities in the United States, Sandy is the first person from her side of the family to study abroad, “no one else has English”. She is considered a role model for the younger generation in her family, and “they see my English improvements after only one year”.

Sandy explains that when she arrived in Canada, “I couldn’t speak, but I could listen a little and I could read pretty well”. She initially enrolled in the ESL program at St. Louis School, which helped her adjust to living in a new community, “but not enough to go to university”. Sandy became convinced that she needed to learn EAP because her husband had studied it in Turkey (he graduated from one of the few universities to offer EAP as a pre-entry requirement), and some of her friends from the large Turkish community in the Kitchener-Waterloo region completed the EFAS program in order to be able to study at UW. Sandy describes those local friends. “We have the same background, and they told me ‘if you want to go to university, [then] you have to take this program’”. Sandy is acutely aware that she needs to improve her English skills “for research and to communicate in my degree. I need to be able to express my ideas and thoughts”.

After only a few months in St. Louis’ ESL program, Sandy applied to the EFAS program and was placed in a “very small” level 100 class. “I think level 100 was above my level. I listened carefully, read the books, but I just couldn’t understand the purpose of the lessons, but I’m lucky because my husband helped me understand everything and what to do for each assignment”. Her determination to learn English is proved by the fact that she has reached level 300, where she reports having “no trouble understanding. Ten months ago I couldn’t do this interview”. Sandy finds that the Oral Skills course is most difficult, with tasks that include giving presentations and note-taking in lectures, “because I need to see the words being used to link my understanding”. She is confident that taking EFAS has helped her improve her English skills, and she is comfortable living in Canada. She explains that when she studied at university in Turkey, she had moved away from her family for ten years, so it is “normal to live somewhere else. When I moved here, I just felt like I moved to a different city”.

Born in Canada, Stewart returned with his family to Libya when he was three years old. He completed an undergraduate degree at a university in Libya in computer engineering, where “all university instruction is in Arabic”, except for “courses very specific to computers, which are in English”. According to Stewart, English language is taught in Libyan schools for six years, beginning in grade seven, but “they are not good English classes. They are simple”. While growing up in Libya, Stewart learned English by watching American movies, but his oral skills only improved several years later when he travelled extensively in the United States. After earning his Bachelor of Science degree, Stewart worked at the Central Bank of Libya. At that time, the Libyan government had introduced a scholarship for students who wished to pursue a graduate degree, and Stewart was eager to apply. However, after receiving the scholarship, it was cancelled due to the eruption of a civil revolution throughout the country, whereby Stewart was forced to join the Libyan military. After a few months, Stewart decided that it was imperative that he leave the country, “I still had a dual passport, so I might get troubles because of [that]”. Another reason for deciding he must leave was that his uncle in Michigan had passed away, leaving a wife and four young children, “so I went there to help them for six months”.

As Stewart was searching for university programs in North America to apply to a graduate program in Business Administration a Libyan friend from Canada, who was enrolled at UW, recommended that it would be a good choice since he already was a Canadian citizen, and that he could also help Stewart acclimatize to life in Canada. He gained admission into UW’s graduate program in business, with the stipulation that he pass level 300 in EFAS. Although Stewart found that the ELAS program offered at Conestoga College was cheaper, he had another Libyan friend enrolled in UW’s undergraduate program in Earth Sciences who had completed levels 100 through 300 of EFAS. His friend convinced Stewart that EFAS was the better choice

for meeting the university's English language requirement. Furthermore, Stewart's father had taken a similar EAP program at a university in Michigan, and also advised him to take EFAS. Stewart credits his father's educational experiences as "the main influence to do EAP", since it was not a program that he was enthusiastic to undertake, despite claiming that "even if you're from any country, they need English" to communicate.

Stewart enjoyed becoming familiarized with the UW campus while in EFAS, and states that writing and academic skills, especially learning grammar, were the most difficult skills to acquire. However, he does not feel as though the course in oral skills was as helpful as were his experiences travelling, because "students only need to realize it's all about how much practice they do". Stewart insists that, although he "saw culture shock with other students", he never felt stress as a result of living in a new culture himself, since he is older, has travelled, and has many family members and friends in Waterloo and Michigan who he visits often.

In Stanley's opinion, he did not learn much English while attending mandatory classes during elementary school in Brazil. Before moving to Canada to pursue an undergraduate degree in mechanical engineering at the University of Waterloo, most of the English Stanley had acquired was learned through "reading and watching American movies". Stanley's family is supportive of his decision to study in Canada, partly because there are no advanced English programs like EAP available in Brazil. "There is only 'instrumental English' in the school system, which is not good". Stanley was granted a government scholarship to attend a university internationally, which stipulates that he must return to Brazil and work for ten years upon completion of his studies. He had initially applied to enrol at a university in England, but was denied admission due to his poor IELTS scores. After improving his results on that particular English language competency exam he was accepted to both Portland State University in

Oregon, and the University of Waterloo. Citing an unknown source that ranked UW as “fifth best for engineering”, as well as the opinion of a professor he knew in Brazil, Stanley selected UW, which required him to pass level 300 in EFAS.

For Stanley, “EFAS is not fun and it is tough”. One great difficulty he finds is the differences between English rhetorical patterns and those in Portuguese writing. Stanley also has difficulty in oral skills, particularly with pronunciation and, “knowing what you want to say but you can’t say it”. He is taking some credit courses, and one of them involves meeting with other students in groups. “Sometimes I can’t express my ideas and I have a big problem with technical words”. Above all, however, writing skills are the most difficult “but it is the most important to learn”. Furthermore, Stanley acknowledges what Sasha observed. “I would improve [my English language skills] more if there weren’t so many [fellow] Brazilians in EFAS. I say [to them], ‘guys, I’d improve my English more if I practiced’, but we always speak Portuguese”.

Despite complaints about the cold Canadian winters, Stanley does not feel other types of stress as a result of living in Canada, “because I have a purpose to pursue here, I use Skype every weekend, and I know I’ll go back to Brazil”. Stanley also enjoys living in a multicultural society in which “I hear a lot of languages, so I know other people have difficulties with English too, but [needing to learn it] in academics is different”. Stanley’s goal is to complete both a Master’s and a Doctoral degree in Canada in order to become a professor at a Brazilian university. Thus, continuing to learn academic English skills is necessary for “reading, all reading, and [gathering] information [from] around the world”.

The final three student respondents are those who underwent the 2+2 six-week intensive EFAS program. Serena is a Chinese undergraduate student in biology at UW. Both her mother and father were influential in making the decision for Serena to pursue post-secondary education

in Canada. Her father spent four years working in Japan and very much wanted Serena to experience life in another country. Her mother “really focused me to learn English because she used to be an English teacher in primary school”. Serena began to learn English at home when she was five years old. When she entered middle school (grade six) she also started to attend private English school after regular school hours because “my mom didn’t have the ability to teach me English anymore”. “I love to study English. It was my favourite subject of all the subjects in China. I have a sense for it”. While attending high school, Serena began to make plans to go to a university in North America. She learned about the 2+2 program during her first year at university. “I came here because of 2+2, and I really appreciate this opportunity”.

Comparing her heavy workload in her degree program, Serena recalls fond memories of beginning her life as a student in Canada as a student in EFAS. “Life in Renison was so great because it helped me in academics and living here. It gave me six weeks to adjust to a new life. If I came here one day and the second day I went to UW, I think it would take me two months to adjust to life here. I would have fallen behind”. Serena outlines these adjustments as the ability to become familiarized with the city of Waterloo, such as finding a place to live, or even where supermarkets are located and “places where I can get stuff”, along with the critical benefit of being able to “make friends in EFAS’ small classes”. She describes the atmosphere of those classes as “more alive than in China because students participate. In China, they tell us the knowledge to memorize, and we didn’t have the chance to think for ourselves. Here, students have to be more creative”. Serena continues to recount the differences between learning English as a student in China and in EFAS, especially with writing skills. “Before I came here I had no idea what plagiarism was, so learning how to paraphrase has helped me a lot”. Both the essay and report assignments were most difficult to complete because of the “difficulties researching

and understanding everything in English. Paraphrasing really takes a long time”. Although the EFAS program helped Serena develop her academic skills, “sometimes I still have difficulty knowing what a professor says in class”.

Earning a degree and continuing to learn the English language remain important goals for Serena. Even if someone wants to use their degree to find employment in China, Serena believes English is necessary “depending on what type of company you are applying for, because getting a degree is not always a result of learning that much. You must have a certain standard of English to get a good job in China”. Continuing to learn English is also a priority for Serena because she has long term plans to stay in Canada. She has recently been accepted into a Master’s degree program at the University of Toronto. She understands that mastering the English language is a long process, but she “loves this country” and wants to stay in Canada, which motivates her to practice and “speak English every day outside of university”. Serena recalls feeling culture shock upon her arrival, when, “in the airport everyone spoke English”. However, she has learned to overcome many difficulties, like having to cook and do her own laundry. She also participates in UW’s Shadow program which has made life on campus more comfortable. Her shadow partner “is from an African country and we visit every week. We do whatever we want: go shopping, the cinema, and have lunch together. We are good friends”.

Sofia is also a Chinese student, doing an undergraduate degree in mathematics. The decision to enrol at UW was made by her mother, who is an elementary school English teacher in China. Her mother also spent several months in a “teaching methodology” program in England. That experience was enough to convince her that Sofia should broaden her educational horizons. For Sofia to learn the English language is important to her family. Sofia began practising it with her mother at the age of eight, and she now claims to have a deep admiration for English

literature. Sofia attended English summer camps as a child, where she learned writing, listening and speaking skills every day for two months. Learning this second language is beneficial “because it opens a window for me to a different culture, things I cannot explore in China, to know a different world and to think differently”. Sofia explains that the main difference between learning academic English in EFAS and learning English in China is dealing with plagiarism. “The academic skills I learned here were new to me. We did not learn any courses in English like this. We were only concerned with just doing exams and homework, and then repeating the same thing all the time”. She identifies learning how to paraphrase as the most important skill learned in EFAS, as she had never been introduced to it before. “It is very serious if I don’t do it well because my writing might be plagiarism”.

For Sofia, attending “EFAS was important for me, really important”. She particularly liked the fact that the program provides students with small classrooms. Her favourite aspect was writing both the essay and report assignments, since “I like writing all the time and I didn’t get to write in China”. Learning to give presentations was another new and useful skill she learned in EFAS. “I made Power Point slides for the first time, I prevailed for more than a week writing and reciting my presentation very much, but I just got a low mark. I still can’t forget it”. She is convinced that attending UW was a good choice, partly due to its “high ranking in Maclean’s Magazine”, and believes that learning the academic skills taught in EFAS was an important part that enabled her to pursue her degree at UW. She wants to continue studying in a Master’s program at a university in North America.

Sofia admits to being “afraid” when she arrived in Canada, but knew it was an important experience for her to undergo, since her mother had forewarned her it would be necessary in order to become more independent. “I learned how to cook and take care of myself here”. Aside

from living in a much colder climate than what she is used to, Sofia misses the food in China most of all. She spends time “every week” on Skype with her parents. One of her roommates is Canadian, who “helps me with English and I help her with math”. She remains uncomfortable with her oral skills in English. “People in the Waterloo community don’t understand me easily. Just when I open my mouth, I have no confidence in English”. Sofia participates in two UW programs that help assist international students become more acclimatized to Canadian culture and campus life. She explains that in the Shadow program, “my friend plays with me and talks to me, and I like her”. Sofia also joined a UW conversational program, where native-speaking student volunteers “more than play, more than hanging out, they teach me English. In fact, I have to write an essay for her”. In summary, Sofia reports, “I am happy. I am able to deal with culture shock”.

Sherry is majoring in geophysics at UW, and, like many Chinese students, began learning the English language in primary school. However, at that time she did not have much interest in learning English, “it was just another course [and] we only memorized some words”. As a sixteen year old high school student, Sherry began to dream about travelling abroad and came to the realization that learning English would help her achieve that goal. “I want to go to Europe, and English is the first language in the world. It’s like a technique to talk to foreigners. Even in France I can still use English”. Thus, she began to study the language intensively by reading English newspapers and studying the language at independent English private schools where she met teachers from Canada, Australia and England. It was her decision to apply to the 2+2 program, stating that her parents support her. They realized that earning a degree at UW would help her in the highly competitive job market in China. “I’m so lucky that my parents support me to do this. They listen to me and let me make decisions. Sherry also explains the need to

acquire English skills in order to learn more about her major academic discipline. “In China, we only learn about Chinese geophysics, but what my country needs is to learn from other countries, so I researched and I know the United States and New Zealand have very developed technology in geophysics”.

Upon learning about the 2+2 program at her university in China, Sherry “did not hesitate” to take the diagnostic English test and apply, and immediately began to set her sights on longer term educational goals of pursuing a Master’s degree in Canada or Europe. By taking the required EFAS level 300 when she first arrived, Sherry realized how “completely different” it was from her experiences of learning English in China. She explains, “before, I studied how to write, which was easy, but we never did any writing”. She had never understood the importance of paraphrasing or giving citations in English writing. “We are not concerned about that in China, and I can just copy other’s research”. She affirms that writing was the most necessary skill learned in the program, and realizes that she still needs much practice. She is presently writing her curriculum vitae and personal statement for graduate school applications. “I have too much ‘Chinglish!’”.

Speaking from the perspective of hindsight, Sherry thinks EFAS was not as intensive as she first believed it to be, because “it’s way more intensive on campus, but EFAS taught me step by step how to adapt to academic skills and life on campus”. She believes other students feel the same way, because “some students didn’t like being in EFAS, but if I ask them now they know they needed it to improve their English before [attending] university”. Sherry values the skills she has learned but realizes that learning the language and academic skills take time. “I’m improving but I’m still not satisfied with my English level. I can get angry when I cannot explain clearly to make teachers and friends understand what I am saying”. Sherry claims to

have a grade point average that is “about ten percent lower” in UW than in the first two years of her undergraduate program while in China, and she says this is “because of English. My scores suffer in all of my writing assignments”.

As mentioned, continuing to improve her academic English skills is important for Sherry. She is considering working in China after completing a Master’s degree, perhaps doing consulting work. She is also considering doing a Ph.D. degree in order to teach at a Chinese university. Both of these prospective careers require a high level of English competency. She is concerned with the little amount of English practice she does outside of academics because her Chinese friends and roommates “never speak English”, so she only uses the language “to buy things, or to sometimes use the phone”. Sherry explains that this reality while living in Canada makes it more difficult to adapt to Canadian culture. The difference in food is another aspect, but she has improved her cooking skills. Another issue is the differences in entertainment and personal lifestyle. For example, “the environment for karaoke in Canada is not good because there are only bars that have it; there are no proper rooms”. Regarding differences in Canadian students’ lifestyles, Sherry expresses difficulties with the differences between Chinese and Canadian personal relationships. “Canada is very open. We never even talk about sex because we are conservative. Here, some people think they can date someone but then they are single the next day. Sex is for fun, and they don’t think; they are not concerned about the future”.

Every student respondent reported that English language courses are mandatory from grade one through high school in their own country, with a few exceptions. Stewart, from Libya, reported taking English classes for six years, beginning in grade seven. Scott and Sandy, both from Turkey, slightly differed in their responses, in that Scott claimed English is “not mandatory, but most do it”, whereas, Sandy said that “every student must take English from grades four to

twelve". Every Chinese student respondent explained that English is a compulsory course throughout the national educational system. Pupils need to pass three English examinations in order to complete elementary school after grade five, middle school after grade ten, and then to exit grade twelve in high school. All ten respondents rated their country's English language requirements as very poor, involving a high degree of memorization and repetition as common pedagogical techniques. Furthermore, EAP courses do not appear to be available in the home countries of EFAS students, with the exception of a few universities using it as a requirement at certain English-speaking universities in Turkey.

While in the EFAS program, eight respondents recounted that writing was the most difficult skill to learn, while both students from Turkey thought oral skills were most challenging, particularly noting difficulties with English pronunciation. Both Sandy and Scott explained that, although they may know what they want to say, they cannot reply quickly in English. Every EFAS student described how helpful and necessary it was to learn how to paraphrase research material properly. Five of the students had never heard of plagiarism prior to entering EFAS. While the other five students had been aware of it, they either did not know how to avoid it or had little previous experience practising paraphrasing and citation skills.

For a variety of reasons, such as having attended a high school in Canada, being married, having a level of maturity, already having experienced international travel, or already having many friends in the UW community prior to arriving on campus, six students claimed that they did not suffer from culture shock. Each of the four students who did experience some level of difficulty adapting to a new community purported relative ease overcoming such issues by joining UW clubs or participating in the university's Shadow and Conversational programs. Although reporting an awareness of UW's counselling services, no respondent felt the need to

use them. It is noteworthy that eight students who spoke of experiencing difficulties communicating in the wider Canadian society all described that they could not understand the humour at the root of common jokes in English because they often require an understanding of figurative, rather than literal, language. Finally, the three students enrolled in UW who receive government scholarships from their home countries reported the same stipulation, that they must return to their respective countries and work upon completion of their post-secondary degrees for a defined period of time.

In the following chapter, I will explain the research findings that relate to how EAP instructors and the EFAS program itself are perceived in terms of being a professional teaching endeavour. The purpose of this chapter was to discover the evolution of the EFAS program, to gain an understanding of instructors' and administrators' pathways for choosing EAP as a career, and to ascertain the reasons why students enrol in EFAS. These idiographic accounts are in line with my argument about qualitative data and life histories developed in Chapter Four. For EFAS instructors and administrators, it is important to understand both the traditional and present methods of acquiring the required TESL credential necessary to teach EAP in Canada. It is also important to know that EAP options are not available in most students' home countries, and that EFAS' location on the UW campus is a contributing factor for why students enrol in the program, as it has become an English language proficiency requirement for many international students to enter a UW degree program. It is appropriate contextual information in order to present the findings on professionalism in the next chapter.

6 Chapter Six: Perspectives on the Professional Status of the EFAS Program

The purpose of this chapter is to continue to present the themes that emerged from my data collection procedures as they relate to my research questions. While Chapter Five contains data findings of the historical evolution of EFAS, its instructors and administrators career trajectories, and an exploration into the lives of students who enrol in the program, this chapter is organized according to the themes regarding the central research questions concerning EAP and professionalism. Specifically, it is important to understand how people perceive the EFAS program in terms of the degree of professionalism involved in the work practices. The themes are categorized according to the relationships found between the preliminary open idiographic accounts of participants and how they connect to categories that, again, directly relate to the research questions. Please refer to Appendix F for a chart summarizing the themes that emerged from the qualitative data. The first part of this chapter is an exploration of the definition of “profession” and the degree to which EAP, and the EFAS program in particular, is considered a profession. This includes both students’ perceptions of their EFAS instructors and the social status experiences of the teachers and administrators, paying particular attention to EFAS’ association with UW. This is followed by an inquiry into how both Renison University College and the University of Waterloo influence the operation of EFAS.

6.1 How Instructors and Administrators Perceive Professions

It was necessary to explore how the concept “profession” is understood by EFAS instructors and administrators prior to making sense of the degree of prestige and social status that is perceived in their own work. Therefore, I asked respondents to define the concept and then relate it to the work involved in teaching EFAS. Please refer to questions seven to ten in

Appendix C, questions seven to thirteen in Appendix D, and questions seven to eleven in Appendix E for the interview questions that guided these discussions. I have also outlined the main themes that emerged from these data in Table 2, which is a portion of the overall themes presented in Appendix F. Table 2 is a summary of themes found throughout the first four subsections of this chapter. They directly address the second and third central research questions, including how participants define professions, determining whether EAP teaching is a profession, and identifying any barriers that may exist to attaining professional status in EAP.

Table 2: How Instructors and Administrators Perceive EFAS

<i>Instructors and Administrators</i>	<i>Open Themes</i>	<i>Relational Themes</i>	<i>Connecting Themes</i>
Jewinski Missere-Mihas Tellqvist Terrion Thomas Tingren Tlusty Tomlinson Toskala Tremblay Trottier Tucker Turnbull	EFAS participants' understanding of "profession". EFAS participants' occupational prestige.	Definition of profession requires strong devotion/commitment to one's work. Must belong to an organization/association. Requires education and training credentials. Hierarchical systems within and among professional organizations a characteristic/reality.	<u>Main theme:</u> Non-monetary concerns. <u>Description:</u> Importance placed on learning and contributing to new knowledge, participation, passion, self-improvement and accountability. Must self-evaluate in order to develop a craft. <u>Main Theme:</u> Validation through organizational associations. <u>Description:</u> Networking and communication required to be aware of colleagues' activities across time and place. Provides credentials to ensure competencies to clients/public. Provides consistency and standards in work/avoids stagnation.
	Defining EAP/EFAS. Identifying barriers to EAP seeking professional status. How EFAS has changed	Possession of many publications/ much research involved in the field. Credentials are an essential requirement.	<u>Main Theme:</u> EFAS is among the most professional type of teaching. <u>Description:</u> EFAS requires diverse curricula and individual student needs.

<i>Instructors and Administrators</i>	<i>Open Themes</i>	<i>Relational Themes</i>	<i>Connecting Themes</i>
	over time.	<p>Hierarchical structure: a) EAP is one subject in the teaching occupation; b) Different level of prestige than other professional groups; c) Stigmas are attached to EAP/EFAS resulting in low status.</p> <p>Meeting the needs of UW results in standardized curriculum (one result).</p>	<p><u>Main Theme:</u> EAP is a young teaching profession.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> EAP is becoming globally necessary.</p> <p><u>Main Theme:</u> Persisting misconceptions of its historical evolution.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> Stigmas of remedial teaching, it is easy to obtain credentials, and it is a transient occupation.</p> <p>Required new title designations for EFAS instructors in order to attain equality within the institutional hierarchy.</p>

Devotion, commitment, and maintaining a high level of consistency in one’s work are common ways EFAS teachers and administrators begin to define what a profession is. Missere-Mihas explains that any type of work can be considered a profession if it is a person’s vocation, “if one does it to the best of their abilities and it is part of who the person is, and they are constantly trying to make themselves better” at the skill involved with the work. “A professional never ceases to learn in a particular field”. Strong dedication toward both the tasks involved in performing the work and acquiring knowledge in the field are seen as integral for an occupation to be considered a profession. Thomas adds, “to truly call it a profession one has to really enjoy what they do for a living and be dedicated to it”. Genuine commitment to a field of work can be accomplished “in terms of pursuing an education, or just keeping updated with readings and sharing knowledge with colleagues” (Terrion). Turnbull explains that the onus is on the individual to stay alert, be inquisitive and participate in the knowledge production within a field. “Passion cannot be legislated, but one needs to possess some level of desire to be a better professional”. In order to be “utterly devoted to the field”, a person must “be prepared to spend

‘twenty four-seven’” amount of time involved with the work in some capacity, whereby monetary compensation is not “the foremost priority because it may not be the best paying job, but it is one of the most satisfying careers a person can have” (Jewinski).

An important part of making a commitment to a professional career requires a constant challenge for people to acquire new skills and improve their ability to perform the responsibilities and tasks involved in professional work. This can be accomplished by conducting research and learning how to apply new knowledge. Within a profession, there must be the ability to continue to improve, which partly distinguishes a profession from other occupations, such as a fast food server. “There cannot be a ceiling on the type of work involved in a profession” (Missere-Mihas). The EFAS teachers and administrators agree that guidelines are required in order to ensure that the professional is accountable for their work. These include social attitudes towards both the tasks involved in the work and fellow colleagues. Some sort of code of conduct that defines predetermined standards of the responsibilities involved in the work are important guidelines that can ensure consistency among professional colleagues.

According to Tlusty, attaining a high level of consistency is what differentiates a professional from an amateur or hobbyist. This includes the implementation of a standard form of communication and interpersonal relationships when dealing with clients or colleagues in order to maintain a consistent standard that is determined both internally and externally. For example, “regardless if a minor ailment like arthritis flares up, as a professional one must consistently conduct themselves a certain way, which distinguishes between the person acting as a professional and the same person as a human being after work” (Tlusty).

Much time and practice is required of the individual to gain the necessary skills, knowledge and nuances included in professional work and conduct. Thus, education and

training are important elements of a profession. While Tellqvist believes that an undergraduate degree is a necessary credential to be considered a professional, most respondents agree that some level of post-secondary education and training is necessary for an occupation to be considered a profession. For example, Turnbull posits that this element of education can distinguish a profession from a trade, “I worked in custom framing for fifteen years but was not considered a professional because it is a trade”. Dedication to one’s work alone does not define a profession because it applies to a vast array of occupations, such as framing or farming. The adjective “professional” can be applied to help understand a level of dedication toward one’s work, but some sort of post-secondary education is required for an occupation to be considered a true profession.

The process of undergoing self-reflection is another common component respondents included in the definition of profession. It is considered necessary to critically assess job performance in order to learn from experience, which “people doing other work do not necessarily engage in” (Tlusty). For Tomlinson, professions are comprised of groups of people who engage in self-reflection, “it is part of craft development, and all things that keep a professional fresh, updated and striving to improve. Reflection helps to avoid being stagnant”. For some, on-going self-assessment leads to continuous self-improvement, which respondents identify as an important part of the process of becoming a professional.

Professions also require a certain level of preparation that can be accomplished through educational certification, which may or may not include credentials granted by an institution. For Thomas, a professional credential represents “an investment of time, passion and interest” because of the commitment involved in undergoing training. However, professional self-improvement can also be achieved independently, such as researching or participating in

professional development sessions. This is consistent with the sentiment that learning within a profession is ongoing. As Tlusty puts it, “one must not sit on their laurels and just do a job day in and day out because life does not wait for anyone to be in the right mood, so adding new knowledge to their repertoire of their professional life is important”.

One more characteristic that respondents used to define a profession is that the profession should belong to a regulative body, such as an association or federation. For Tingren, belonging to a professional organization can ensure that a professional avoids stagnation, as it induces members to “share knowledge and compare methods, so people are not stuck in a bubble by learning different approaches or to validate their current practices”. Tucker maintains that governing bodies help keep professionals responsible for their actions, and provide fora to communicate and collaborate with colleagues worldwide. Furthermore, executive associations can guarantee to the public that some degree of educational and training credentials has been attained by its members from an accredited institution. Trottier states that a professional organization can also establish professional development programs for its members, regulate professional activities, and provide the opportunity for networking among colleagues.

In summary, a high level of devotion and commitment to one’s work, self-reflection, educational credentials that represent training in a specific field, and consistency of standards that are regulated by a governing organization are the characteristics used among EFAS instructors and administrators to define “profession”. Most respondents discussed the existence of hierarchies both among and within professions. They recognized that not all professions enjoy the same levels of prestige. Furthermore, different degrees of status exist within a profession’s hierarchical system. Regarding the former, older and more established professions garner more prestige in society. This is identified by Terrion, “a very important part of being

professional at the highest echelon of the spectrum is the locus of control, so work autonomy is a part of what a profession is”. Within professions, hierarchical systems also exist. Trusty notes that within the medical profession, a person who chooses to pursue family medicine would not necessarily be seen as very ambitious because it requires the least amount of training in that occupational field. However, if one strives to become an anesthesiologist, “well then, now they’re dealing with human life, putting people to sleep and waking them up again, hopefully, and if someone really wants to move up the hierarchy then they become a surgeon, and then further on up is urology or orthopedics”. This theme of professions working among and within hierarchies was a common theme in my interviews with EFAS instructors and administrators.

6.2 Determining Whether EAP Teaching Is a Profession

In addressing my second main research question, all EFAS instructors and administrators perceive EAP as a professional teaching endeavour due to its emphasis on research, requirement of credentials to instruct its specialized curricula, and its position within the occupational hierarchy of teaching. The vast amount of research that has been produced in EAP pedagogy and curriculum “validates the time and energy” that is put into the field (Turnbull). Full-time instructors and administrators who develop the EFAS curriculum rely heavily on this body of knowledge. Thomas notes, “the more I research, the more I find that it is an incredibly researched field”. The volume of research material “backs up that EAP teaching is a profession” (Tucker). Jewinski points to the professional development opportunities EFAS instructors must undertake as important to maintaining a high level of pedagogical practice. EFAS instructors value these opportunities. “I believe strongly in professional development to keep current with learning trends, and EFAS strongly supports this” (Tremblay). Tellqvist acknowledges that

attending conferences is essential in order to “be in the know and to further develop my qualifications. I went to one recently and heard math and biology professors share their experiences with international ESL students, which is helpful”. Keeping up to date with knowledge in the field is a necessity “because change is unavoidable in any profession. Technology changes, and students change because they are coming from more and more countries” (Tellqvist).

EFAS teachers argue that the specialized training required in EAP instruction makes it a profession. Attending professional development seminars and conferences is an ongoing training requirement in order to annually update membership with a recognized TESL organization (TESL Canada Federation, 2014). As noted, Canadian TESL organizations can be at either the provincial or federal governing level. Initial credentials for membership include an undergraduate degree and TESL certification, which represents further “specialization in teaching material to adults” (Tellqvist). In summary, being familiar with research in EAP, participating in professional development activities, and upgrading pedagogical skills that are required for maintaining annual TESL certification are essential elements that help define EAP teaching as a profession. Several EFAS instructors and administrators also situate the importance of teaching experience as a vital factor necessary for teaching in the EFAS program, because possession of the above credentials do not necessarily equate to a person being an effective EAP pedagogue (Missere-Mihas; Timgren; Tremblay).

Teaching EAP fits under the umbrella of professional teaching due to its specialized pedagogical skills that require dispositional qualities, like being a good communicator, patience, sympathy and compassion (Tucker; Trottier). EFAS instructors identify EAP as a profession that is on the rise within the teaching hierarchy. As mentioned, Tomlinson explains that professions

need to be guided by standards that are regulated through a governing body's certification requirements. The standards in EAP teaching are rising. "No longer are short training programs in TESL acceptable to teach EAP. Now, one must take real teacher-training courses in ESL, complete with theory, observations and practicums" (Tomlinson).

Situating EAP within the "hierarchy of professions", different levels of prestige are identified, whereby holders of higher educational degrees are viewed as reaping the greatest social distinction because "EAP teaching does not have the same amount of time and education invested in it as becoming a doctor; it does not have that level of prestige but it is still a professional career" (Thomas). EFAS instructors and administrators agree that EAP is a legitimate subject taught within the wider teaching profession. In fact, they see it as an emerging profession that is increasingly defined by the highest level of pedagogical skill required in relation to other types of teaching. Several respondents elaborated on these two points, that EAP instruction commands a high level of pedagogical skill and that it is a burgeoning profession within the hierarchy of teaching.

Developing the pedagogical skills in the craft of EAP teaching includes adapting to diverse student needs and acquiring new knowledge. According to Missere-Mihás, EAP occupies an area in teaching that is one of the most professional because teachers must constantly learn new material and practices, and they must bring their own ideas and use discretion because EAP students have individual needs. Tucker reasons that EFAS instructors require previous experience, making them more effective pedagogues than young professors, for example. "Professors have not necessarily developed the craft of teaching, whereas I am skilled at delivering content and breaking processes into steps to develop the tools needed to think. I think my job in the classroom is a little bit more difficult and it takes more skill, although it is

not necessarily seen that way”. Toskala thinks it is very challenging to work with people in the same course who are all different types of learners. “As professionals, we have to be aware of that and we have to have knowledge of different learning and psychological processes to be creative in helping students to use these procedures to their benefit”.

The stakes are very high for EFAS students, since it is an EAP program serving a direct gate-keeping role for them to move into their UW degree programs. This situation compounds classroom difficulties for EFAS instructors, as opposed to teaching in other EAP programs, because the students are adult learners who arrive in the program with predetermined ideas of what they want to achieve, which is often to begin their degree programs as quickly as possible. EFAS instructors argue that this sort of teaching is also highly skilled because international students come to depend on teachers as advocates to help students in areas of life and dealing with their surroundings (Trottier). Missere-Mihás notes that, according to research, many ESL and EAP students who study abroad experience the most difficulties during the initial six weeks. Thus, EFAS teachers are forced to be “constantly thinking about their job, more than just walking in, doing a class and leaving” (Trottier).

Terrion has a similar view of teaching EFAS, in which self-reflection is constant because teachers “are not just learning new methods, but being mindful of the reasons why we’re doing it and the effects our pedagogy has on students”. Thus, compared to other teaching positions, EFAS teaching is among the most challenging because “teachers must have a good memory, a strong understanding of eclectic student backgrounds, with individualized teaching in every class” (Tellqvist). EFAS instructors are also required to learn diverse subject matter as a result of teaching a diverse student cohort. For example, some students “know marketing and nothing about physics, so we must teach them about physics! Being so well-prepared is another reason

why it is a profession” (Toskala). Because curricular materials are adopted from undergraduate courses, they are also constantly changing. Furthermore, there is a clear distinction of “purpose” in EFAS teaching, which instructors and administrators identify as a professional quality.

As a teaching profession, EFAS may not enjoy as much prestige as instructors in other university programs, “but it has legitimacy” (Tlusty). To earn prestige, an educational program must “carry a high level of legitimacy, which carries some honour”. As mentioned, EFAS instructors recognize differing levels of professional prestige in relation to being a part of the larger University of Waterloo community. “I don’t feel at the same level as professors, because I don’t have a Ph.D. and there is a different level of depth in the subjects they teach” (Trottier). There is less complexity in the EFAS curriculum that still situates the program as legitimate, yet less prestigious than disciplinary courses. Tlusty’s position is that society has a “check-list” of hierarchy and legitimacy in which “the more items that can be checked off the list changes the perception” of how “professional” an occupation will be considered. It is the journey of obtaining another credential that adds to the sense of how one belongs within a social perception of prestige, and “that is the external social seal of approval”.

In this context, EFAS instructors and administrators know that EAP is a very young profession that is not fully recognized as a highly prestigious occupation. Tomlinson describes its origins as ESL teachers who were not recognized as professionals, rather as “very kind people spending time with newcomers”. While I have shown that EAP is part of the occupation of teaching with representational organizations that claim professionalism, it is placed at the lower end of the teaching hierarchy within the university. Many EFAS instructors recall the earliest years when EAP emerged as a unique teaching endeavour in the mid-1960s. Tremblay remembers the 1970s. “Back when I did my degree there was not much demand in TESL, but as

our country has changed and universities opened their doors to international students, we need these programs and teachers”. While working in the field for many years within the Ontario School Board, Trottier recollects a constant struggle for legitimacy with other high school subject areas. “We always had to fight for space, funding and whatever else. Nothing was ever easy, even though it was and is a very important service and brings in a lot of money”.

In conclusion, EAP is becoming more recognized globally largely due to its association with higher learning institutions. EFAS instructors and administrators credit its growing recognition to “the research, the education and training required of teachers, and the credentials that are important to make EAP a profession” (Thomas). These programs are “popping up in universities everywhere, where ten years ago they weren’t visible” (Trottier). EFAS teachers and administrators see it as a burgeoning profession. Tomlinson projects that “EAP credentials will change, since the nature of our work has changed greatly in the last two decades, where we have specialization of focus rather than a generalist focus”, as it had when EAP first appeared in the 1960s. As EAP continues to develop into more specific English language teaching, its teachers are increasingly required to adopt more specialized curriculum and pedagogy. As EAP continues to grow, especially within the university setting, EFAS instructors and administrators identify several barriers that need to be overcome in order for it to gain status as a profession.

6.3 Barriers to EAP Attaining Professional Status

Stigmas associated with EAP as a remedial program, requiring minimal pedagogical training, contribute to the barriers that exist for it to be recognized as a profession. This is partly due to the certification required to teach both ESL and EAP. Since TESL certification is the other credential (along with an undergraduate degree) required to initially pursue teaching both

of these types of language instruction, ESL and EAP often get confused with one another, even though the latter requires a graduate degree to practice as a full-time EAP instructor at most Canadian universities. EFAS personnel view poor communication about its teaching purpose as the main reason why it is often perceived as remedial teaching. In other words, while its ESL origins make it less prestigious than other university teaching its more recent developments in the specialized field of EAP are relatively unknown. Thus, it is stigmatized as basic language teaching which does not require the same level of specialization as other university programs and disciplines.

For EAP programs situated within higher learning institutions, opening up communication with other programs is seen as a way to overcome unfair attitudes and treatment. The source of these perspectives include EFAS being a non-credit program that employs sessional instructors who are identified by the University of Waterloo as “staff” rather than “instructors” or “faculty”. Jewinski entered this field of teaching when EAP was in its infancy. She takes it for granted that TESL is a profession. “It was a great career choice, and everything I did in my graduate studies was designed to fine-tune those skills in order to do a good job”. Nevertheless, she recognizes that EAP does not enjoy much professional status because “it’s often labelled remedial” even though “teaching is a profession, and EAP teaching is simply one aspect of teaching”.

Similar to how Tomlinson described the initial years of TESL (which evoked notions of “kind people helping newcomers”), Timgren speculates that this inaccurate image of it being a remedial program lingers. “Maybe TESL started out as housewives wanting to work, way back in church basements” when ministries took on prominent roles of assisting immigrants. Terrion, who is a younger instructor, claims that “people just don’t know what it is, so it’s definitely

lower on the chain of hierarchy and looked down upon because it's not seen to be as challenging as other types of teaching". Regarding the pedagogical practices involved with TESL, Thomas estimates that EAP is "tarnished with images of six-week programs to gain TESL certification, or the notion that 'I speak it so I can teach it' attitudes". The stigma associated with EAP includes longstanding connotations, like providing a person with the means to travel overseas, which is what needs to be differentiated from professional programs like EFAS, because much effort has been put into making it a legitimate academic program. Thornton remarks, "we're so far removed from that image now".

Among Ontario's school boards, Tlusty feels that ESL instructors are commonly believed to "be there because they have no other choice; they fell into it". Having worked for the Ontario School Board, Tremblay echoes this sentiment. "Sometimes we weren't considered real teachers, which I found disconcerting because I disagree. I heard this from other teachers". Tlusty insists that the remedial image associated with EFAS persists because of its ESL origins in the early 1970s, followed by the EFS, non-academic (still ESL) programs from which it emerged on campus, beginning in the early 1990s.

EFS wasn't even in the ballpark of being considered legitimate teaching. I know because we were told by people who say nothing but treat you as nothing. As soon as someone asked 'who are you' and the reply was 'I'm an ESL instructor at Renison', immediately the conversation dies and becomes awkward, which is such a blatant way of communicating that we weren't at the same level in the teaching hierarchy; a kind of dismissal.

Tlusty claims to have never taken those sorts of interactions on campus personally, explaining that it is "human nature" for people to categorize others in terms of prestige. Similar kinds of perceptions also occur internally, "I see myself as professional but it took me a while to get there. There was that qualifier 'just' for many years, which becomes internalized".

The need to overcome prevailing ignorance about TESL is regarded as essential if EAP is to escape from its low hierarchical teaching status, no matter which institution houses it. When Timgren taught ESL with the Ontario provincial school board, “continuing education seemed to be at the lower end of the totem pole, but ESL was always at *the* bottom”. Trottier observed those types of attitudes when s/he worked for the school board, but now sees similar developments in the EFAS program. Such perceptions of the EFAS program will be addressed later in this chapter, but Trottier notes that when s/he began teaching EFAS, the instructors did not have adequate work space. Part-time instructors had “a little closet we all tried to squeeze into. That’s the way TESL is, generally. It’s always at the bottom of the priority list” regardless of the institution that operates it. The lack of respect in EAP is essentially expressed by EFAS personnel as stemming from ignorance about its function and purpose, “especially when it operates within a School Board [(ESL)] or a university [(EAP)]” (Tremblay).

Another barrier for an EAP program like EFAS gaining prestige is overcoming the chronic sessional status of many instructors. First, there exists “a whole divide between the attitude of tenured people versus lecturers. That’s a huge divide right there” (Jewinski). Second, “because EFAS is non-credit in a credit environment we might not get the recognition that other academic programs get” (Timgren). EFAS instructors and administrators identify the high turnover rate among instructors as being a barrier to gaining recognition as a permanent university program. As mentioned in Chapter Five, Trottier teaches in the ELI’s TESL training program (ACE- TESOL), and knows that some teacher trainees “are making a career in TESL and some are testing the waters after completing a BA, which happens in all levels of teaching because they don’t know if they’ll like it until they actually get in the classroom”.

Turnbull believes the chronic sessional turnover is one reason for EFAS instructors not being treated as professionals. “It’s hard because we get teachers who consider themselves professional and then we might have teachers who don’t, so it can be a strain because we want excellence to help students be better writers, but it might not be the goal of other part-time teachers”. Tlusty adds that the reality of the status of EFAS is due to a perceptual issue. There is some truth to what both Trottier and Turnbull observe. “Some people become EAP teachers vicariously through bi-ways, not the main highways, so some did fall into it while others made very purposive decisions to be in it” (Tlusty). Tomlinson clarifies his/her professional status within the university:

I’m staff. I teach, not research, and I’m always here as frequent as any staff member. We’re unlike high school teaching because we’re in a university environment, so the university has an impact on our definition. The problem is that they don’t define us. We are support, unlike academics and more like information systems and technology services, which is also an integral part of the university.

The barriers to EFAS being recognized as a professional teaching and learning program are unique compared to other EAP programs because it is situated within the university. It remains stigmatized with lingering stereotypes associated with TESL programs operated by school boards, which also affects the social status of independent EAP programs. Thus, it is important to explore how EFAS developed within a specific Canadian university system, which is my third central research question.

6.4 Operation of the EFAS Program

There are two main effects of EFAS being housed within the University of Waterloo. The first concerns the title designations of its instructors because it determines compensation. The second involves the necessity of EFAS to shape its curriculum in order to meet the needs of

the university's English language proficiency requirements. When the EFAS program emerged, Tomlinson describes the pay structure as being "very ambiguous". Thomas explains that Missere-Mihas put great effort into advocating for fair compensation by comparing EFAS with the remuneration of instructors offered by other academic programs on campus. Jewinski recalls that the idea to give the title of "lecturer" to EFAS instructors was not an option because of the differing pay scales for lecturers working within credit academic programs. The key issue is that EFAS is not part of the university's Faculty Association, rather it is an independent unit from UW in that respect. Therefore, it was "very important" to use the designation "staff language instructor" since it matches the titles of language instructors in French and Spanish, for example. The specific job descriptions with this title "are filed with Human Resources at UW that matches each written job description" (Jewinski).

Despite earning relatively low incomes in the past, and a present level of compensation lower than other EAP programs (described by some instructors in Chapter Five), EFAS instructors report a sense of satisfaction with their compensation. Originally, Tomlinson was not gratified with his/her pay because, while working in the EFAS program, "we were trying to figure out what we were and what we were worth". Part of the problem stemmed from not being informed about how their pay structure was arranged. "We tried to find out what was going on at UW because their Human Resources pays us but we're employees of this institution [(Renison)]. They just sent us back here for such information, so those channels remained cloudy". Turnbull concurs. "There was a while when we weren't well paid, but not necessarily purposely because we were so small. Now we're sort of legitimate, and the last couple of years there has been a push to increase our remuneration". Thomas adds, "there were times when my

workload became really heavy and I found myself working a lot, so I kind of begrudged where I was at because of the pay level, but it has changed because of [Missere-Mihas'] efforts".

Other EFAS instructors compare their compensation with previously held EAP and TESL positions. EFAS pays "better than EOP in the private sector because I probably got a portion of what the person who is the middle man received" (Tremblay). Tucker is satisfied with his/her compensation. "It's better than it used to be but it's still not ideal. It's better than other TESL jobs; I know it". Tellqvist chose to work in the EFAS program among other EAP employment offers, even though the compensation from EFAS "was a little bit lower, but overall I don't think that matters much". Terrion expresses a similar sentiment, in that "it's a little lower than other EAP places, and EFAS instructors are compensated less than sessional instructors on main campus too. That's one of those indicators of whether we're considered professional or not, because a professional gets rewarded for commitment, ability, experience, creativity and dedication". Tremblay is certain that the relatively new association between EAP and universities has helped it become recognized as a profession. By working in EFAS, "I see myself as a professional teacher and get paid to do what I really love".

For many part-time instructors who chose an employment offer from EFAS over other teaching opportunities, the focus on creating its own curriculum distinguishes EFAS from other EAP programs. Although it is not a requirement for sessional instructors to develop curricula, having the opportunity to become aware of new research in the field is unusual and exciting. "No other institution asked me to be so involved. They offer professional development sessions right here, and I can go to conferences to learn new methodologies, such as approaches to teaching pronunciation" (Terrion). Thomas notes: "I've grown into my professional role and it's always changing. I'm never stagnating because I always have research to do, I get to travel, and

receive new qualifications, such as teaching in ACE-TESOL here. I have many opportunities”. Tremblay agrees, in that “I feel like I have professional status working in EFAS”. Terrion adds, “the fact that I have a Master’s degree helps with how I view myself teaching here”. EFAS’ focus on developing its own EAP program to meet the language requirements set by the University of Waterloo appeals to both full-time and part-time instructors.

It took a tremendous amount of effort for EFAS to become recognized by UW as a program that meets its English language needs. A large portion of gaining that recognition is a result of the full-time instructors’ work in creating the program internally, including the curriculum that required much development, along with deciding on the pedagogical techniques to be used for each course. “We earned every bit of legitimacy of what we enjoy now through sweat and hard work” (Tlusty). Every full-time instructor and administrator points to the efforts of Missere-Mihas and Jewinski to bridge the gap between EFAS and UW, creating an EAP program that meets the specific English language proficiency requirements for the array of disciplines in UW’s six faculties. Missere-Mihas and Jewinski “literally spent years, *years* negotiating with different departments of faculties to validate what we do in EFAS in order to say that our level 400 meets their departmental requirements” (Tlusty). Several instructors echoed this statement. Missere-Mihas “really had to educate people at UW, and spent many years doing that, to let them know it’s a valid program, a university-recognized program that the university was unaware of” (Trottier).

In order to create a curriculum that would fit within the structure of the university, it was necessary to create a standard curriculum that could operate within the university’s three-semester system. However, a gap remains between the EFAS curriculum and what students have to do in their individual degree programs, which is a direct result of EFAS’ connection with the

university and its attempts to satisfy the many university departments that each have their own English language requirements. Trottier offers insight into this sort of arrangement:

EFAS is different than other EAP programs because international students have to work in a very limited time period that is imposed on them by family or their governments in the form of scholarship fulfillments, which is a source of much pressure since acquiring academic English skills requires more time. UW's not doing them any favours but that's how the program works: they need to improve too quickly.

There is little doubt among EFAS instructors that students' academic skills greatly improve during the fourteen-week program, although it is felt that it fails to meet the proper standards of deep learning required of undergraduate and graduate degree programs. As Tlusty sees it, "if we release a candidate who is actually ready and is able to be effective in their department, that would legitimize EFAS automatically". Tlusty compares the present EFAS system to how a professor in mathematics releases a student to the next level of learning with the confidence that those concepts have been mastered. However, "math and the process of acquiring any language do not equate". This issue of the time constraints placed on students learning academic skills in English is an essential component taken up in the second part of this chapter, which explores English language competency among UW's international students. Nevertheless, these opinions express how a move to standardize the EFAS program in order to fit within the university's semestered structure has shaped the present state of the program.

The standardization of the EFAS program is necessary to make it efficient and to develop a united curriculum with similar pedagogical methods to students intending to enter diverse fields of studies. Tucker believes standardizing the program was inevitable because "it's a growing program with new teachers coming and going". For example, if there are several sections in one course being taught by different instructors, then it is necessary to be "systematic, organized and professional" in order to provide consistency. The standardization of the program

was also needed in order to meet the requirements of the TESL Association of Ontario. “We have a curriculum with benchmarking, testing and assessment, ongoing evaluation, and we’re a member of an accreditation group that’s reviewed and assessed periodically. Our teachers are also reviewed and observed in the classroom every year” (Thornton). Gaining the recognition as an appropriate EAP program that can serve the needs of the University of Waterloo’s international students’ language needs resulted in adapting the EFAS program’s curriculum to fit within the university’s schedule. As a result, it was necessary to standardize the curriculum in order to present a unified program to a student cohort who enrolls in an array of academic disciplines. Furthermore, standardization could enable new teachers to quickly adapt to it, due to the high turnover rate of the part-time instructors in the EAFS program.

6.5 Students’ Perceptions of EFAS Instructors

Each of the EFAS instructors and administrators interviewed were confident that students perceive them as professional teachers. Largely based on their experiences working as EAP instructors in various programs, as well as the awareness of most students’ previous experiences in English language learning, there is no reason to ascertain that their students devalue their level of pedagogy. Both Missere-Mihas and Jewinski think that EFAS students perceive their instructors to be as professional as any other teacher in the UW community. The difference is identified in the content that is learned, rather than the types, or quality of pedagogy they experience (Missere-Mihas). For Jewinski, students usually see differences in terms of their instructors’ age, whereby those who are “older have a certain cache because it’s obvious the person’s been working in the field for a long time and is worthy of respect”. Thomas agrees, “partly because of a level of confidence that I project in the classroom with many years of

experience. I don't ever feel the need to justify professionalism to students, because they can sense younger, inexperienced teachers".

As discussed in Chapter Five, one distinction students quickly see is a vast difference between EFAS and their previous English language learning experiences. Furthermore, because EFAS is housed within the UW community, a level of professional respect is naturally afforded to all instructors on campus (Missere-Mihas). Since EFAS serves a gatekeeping requirement for many EFAS students to enter their degree programs, it is their first educational experience on the larger University of Waterloo campus. At Renison, "most students see us as part of the UW community and think they're at the 'best school in the world', which is what they tell me" (Trottier). Although Terrion is confident students see him/her as a professional because "I'm helping them get to a level they realize they're not yet at", s/he thinks that some students feel "what's really important for me is waiting on main campus". However, Tellqvist believes that such a sentiment is only natural. In terms of satisfaction with their EFAS instructors, "we get student course evaluations, so clearly they see EFAS as a professional program".

Sometimes, a student's cultural background affects how they might perceive their experiences in EFAS. Turnbull notes that disruptions in class can be a result of the type of educational systems in their home country, such as what the cultural background or gender of the instructor is, which could be difficult for some students to accept. Nevertheless, "most students respect EFAS instructors, the knowledge we have, and what we're trying to do". Furthermore, the small classes offered in EFAS create far more interaction with teachers and students, which result in "more feedback and more direct comment on what students are doing. They don't receive that much attention in most of their university experience. They know me better" (Tomlinson).

None of the EFAS student respondents discussed the age of their instructors, nor did they mention whether the proximity to the University of Waterloo had an influence on the level of teaching they received in the EFAS program. However, each of them stated that they thought EFAS instructors were professionally trained to teach. The difference between them and professors at UW lies in the content that is taught, which is what Missere-Mihas understood the prevailing attitudes among students to be. Please refer to Table 3 for an overview of how students experience EFAS. Serena describes a “professional” as someone who “must be trained and have knowledge in their field”. A “professional teacher” is defined by Sarah as one who “went to teacher’s college to learn how to teach students”. Sandy adds that all teachers must continuously “change and improve”, which begins with completing an undergraduate degree followed by “teacher training, and [then continue to] change through experience [of teaching]”. However, she cautions that “not everyone can be a teacher because it’s a craft”. Sarah notes that not all university professors are necessarily “good teachers”.

Table 3: Students’ Experiences in EFAS

<i>EFAS Students</i>	<i>Open Themes</i>	<i>Relational Themes</i>	<i>Connecting Themes</i>
Samantha Sandy Sarah Sasha Scott Serena Sherry Sofia Stanley Stewart	How students view and experience EFAS.	EFAS is widely viewed as a professional program. Small classes and being on the UW campus are the greatest benefits.	<u>Main Theme:</u> EFAS instructors are properly trained/credentialed in Canada. <u>Description:</u> Compared with previous learning experiences, EFAS is superior.

Many students take for granted that their EFAS teachers are “trained professionally” (Sasha, Scott, Serena, Sofia, Stanley). “I know EFAS teachers are trained because they have a structure in their plan and they know how to get us to learn” (Sherry). “EFAS is a professional

system because of the organization of classes and the relation between the different parts [in which there is] logic in the courses and lectures” (Sofia). Stanley believes his EFAS teachers are professional because “they’re prepared for teaching and keep a professional relationship like a professor; not friends but friendly and helpful. They have a schedule for each day, they never arrive for class unprepared, and they are organized”. Sasha also assumes her EFAS instructors are professional, since “they have to learn techniques for how to make students succeed”. Samantha points to experience as the reason why she thinks her EFAS instructors are professional. “They already know what might become a problem and tell us not to be stressed out; they know it’s coming and tell us how to solve it”. Scott describes EFAS teachers as “professional, because they know every student’s level, so they approach students very well. They’re motivating and know when a student needs help or when to give them space”.

A second consistent response for why students perceive their EFAS instructors to be professional is that students believe that they have the same level of pedagogical expertise as their UW professors. A common response is that both are “professional and at the same level of teaching, but in different fields” (Samantha). Again, this is the other point Missere-Mihas made. Sherry elaborates on this content-based distinction. “The difference is the knowledge, because the writing and speaking skills are the things we need to know to communicate in UW courses. So, both are professional teachers but the material is different”. Sandy clarifies this distinction further. “Professors do [both] teach and research, but EFAS is focused just on teaching”. In summary, Stewart thinks that EFAS instructors are “really professional, but they’re different than UW professors because they [(professors)] just give you topics and you’re on your own; but not in EFAS because there’s closer feedback. So, they’re just different ways of teaching”.

Another theme that emerged among EFAS students was the benefit of having small classes with peers who are at similar English language proficiency levels. Stanley found it comfortable to study in this context, contrasting it with his engineering degree program. “Professors are impersonal. They don’t care about my name, where I’m from, my difficulties, and say ‘you just have to do this’”. In Scott’s oral skills course in EFAS, “they have information about our cultures and it’s sensitive, so their operation of students is very good”. However, Sofia is “not sure the word ‘professional’ is suitable for every EFAS teacher, but only one teacher was not good at teaching. All of my other teachers in EFAS were very professional”. “All my teachers were excellent, but I had friends in another level 300 class who complained some teachers weren’t very interesting” (Samantha). Finally, Sandy, who was an elementary school teacher in Turkey before immigrating to Canada, discussed a lack of experience in one EFAS course because the instructor “didn’t allow students to ask questions sometimes. Maybe [he or she] should be ready for questions *all* the time”. However, Sandy has enjoyed all of her other EFAS courses, where instructors are usually experienced, “they know how students have trouble”.

It is evident that students become familiar with their EFAS instructors, and they overwhelmingly report a positive learning experience as pupils in small classes who receive personal attention. For instance, Sasha describes her Academic Skills instructor, Toskala. “First, [s/he] is a lovely person, a great person, and a great teacher because [s/he] always explains things in a perfect way. If I have a question, [Toskala] is always in the right spot, and we all focus and want to learn”. Stewart shares a similar experience:

When I had a problem I didn’t have to wait because they would answer me on e-mail. Especially [Thomas] in Writing Skills was very helpful, which is why I remember [his/her] name, because writing was so difficult for me. I did extra essays, not required, and [Thomas] would read them for feedback. Actually, it

was [his/her] suggestion. I kept making adjustments and send them back to [him/her].

Sasha claims that she has never had an English language learning experience as positive as that in the EFAS program, explaining that instructors are “not like teachers I’ve had before that just go to class but can’t teach skills the right way”. Compared with her other teachers in Canadian high school or university, EFAS teachers are “more personalized, maybe because classes are small and I also live here, which helps”. Samantha compares her EFAS experience to studying English before moving to Canada. “The teachers here are better than my Canadian teacher in China because they don’t teach from the textbook because they already know the skills and how to use them. They communicate very clearly and I could always ask them about any difficulties that I was encountering”.

As mentioned in Chapter Five, Scott lamented that EFAS could be improved if courses were offered exclusively to graduate students. The curriculum would be more effective if it related directly to his academic discipline, which is exactly what the BASE program is intended to do (identified in Chapter Four). The only other criticisms of students’ experiences in EFAS came from Sarah, who did not enjoy her Academic Skills course “because my teacher had an accent. I don’t think EFAS teachers should have an accent, not even a British accent, because we’re in Canada”. Sherry complained about the topics in Oral Skills. She could not understand the purpose of learning about certain topics. “Why do I need to talk about this topic? But then maybe they just get us to practice”. She suggests that it might be more effective to use topics that “help us how to use English to buy things or how to make contact with professors. Maybe build a databank and let us choose the topics”. Despite these concerns, overall students were content with the skills they have acquired in EFAS, as well as the high level of teaching their instructors exhibited.

6.6 Social Status Experiences of EFAS Instructors and Administrators

As members of the university community, as well as associates of EAP teaching in the greater community, EFAS instructors experience reactions and attitudes toward their occupation, some of which have already been discussed earlier in this chapter. Within the University of Waterloo campus, these experiences range from a sense of inferiority to a much improved sense of prestige as EFAS becomes more recognized and its work better understood. As mentioned, Missere-Mihas works closely with each of the university's six faculties. EFAS programs have been designed based on the feedback received from academic departments with the intent of maximizing the effectiveness of meeting the English language requirements of the university. The prevailing attitude toward EFAS is that "departments appreciate what we do. They tell me, 'you're the experts, so you know what's going on here; you tell us what you need'" (Missere-Mihas). Regarding her experiences with individual professors who are not in positions to represent their departments, they do not give EFAS, or any other programs and faculties on campus, much thought, "not because they don't care, it's just not in their world. Professors don't think good or bad of what we do, they just don't think about it". Table 4 contains the themes for how instructors and administrators think EFAS fits within the hierarchies of both Renison University College and the University of Waterloo.

Table 4: Perceptions of How Renison and UW Affect EFAS

<i>Instructors and Administrators</i>	<i>Open Themes</i>	<i>Relational Themes</i>	<i>Connecting Themes</i>
Jewinski Missere-Mihas Tellqvist Terrion Thomas Thornton	Social status experiences of EFAS participants: At Renison and at UW.	Non-credit programs are below all others in the university hierarchy. An improved degree of prestige as EFAS became recognized:	<u>Main Theme:</u> A long and difficult process of attaining legitimacy for its work. <u>Description:</u> Misconception remains that all international students are EFAS

<i>Instructors and Administrators</i>	<i>Open Themes</i>	<i>Relational Themes</i>	<i>Connecting Themes</i>
Timgren Tlusty Tomlinson Toskala Tremblay Trottier Tucker Turnbull		a) Old stigmas equate to low social status. b) Affiliation with UW equates to higher social status.	graduates (but it is only one of three UW admission requirements).
	Renison's and UW's influence on the EFAS program.	A history of poor working conditions and limited resources, but an improving relationship with Renison. Difficulties with gaining recognition within the larger university. Results: a) Need for an integrated curriculum. b) EFAS serves a representational role for UW.	<u>Main Theme:</u> The fragmented skills sets common to most other EAP programs is inappropriate for the needs of UW. <u>Description:</u> Learned academic skill outcomes are lowered. New professional opportunities for EFAS personnel have emerged due to this relationship.

Most instructors are confident as professional teachers working in their field, but are aware of the hierarchy that exists while being employed within an academic environment. Some instructors do not sense much respect in a hierarchy that includes both degree and non-degree programs because such distinctions are evident. “Instructors are not professors” (Thomas). “I’ve heard from people in other areas of the university that EFAS is not a degree program, so they don’t see it on equal terms” (Trottier). Timgren notes that professors tend to categorize all international students as EFAS graduates. “They may complain that some of their international students’ skills are awful and think it’s our fault. However, they don’t realize that students can go directly to campus by achieving the right IELTS score, or by other means, such as attending a Canadian high school”. EFAS can also be easily confused with other EAP programs, such as the ELAS program at Conestoga College, which has a long-standing relationship with UW’s Faculty of Mathematics. Many attitudes toward the EFAS program stem from the reality that “most

people don't know much about Renison, and even less about the ELI. People who do know us certainly show respect" (Thornton).

There has been a growing awareness on the University of Waterloo campus that EFAS is indeed not a remedial English language program. Tomlinson (2013) credits this shift in opinion to the results of the external Program Review Report of the English Language Institute (Cumming, Olson and Sullivan, 2010), which is a primary document that is reviewed later in this chapter and analyzed in the following chapter. With increased awareness, "has come a greater sense of how professional we actually are. The UW departments recognize EFAS, they know they're not credit courses but they are considered an important part of the university experience for international students" (Tomlinson). Tremblay sees a change in attitude. "I did not feel equal during my first term here. I used to drive a professor home and I felt like a low person on the totem pole because of credentials, but that was only internal thinking. I don't feel like that as much now, and I don't feel like I'm looked down upon".

Among the wider community outside the university campus, some EFAS instructors and administrators experience social status perceptions similar to those expressed above during the early years of the program, when it was relatively unknown. Conversely, other EFAS instructors and administrators credit the association with the university as a source for providing greater prestige. It was noted earlier in this chapter that a general stigma exists about EAP teaching. Some instructors did not feel they shared equal status with teachers at the elementary, secondary or post-secondary levels. The acronym "EAP" itself is commonly confused with "ESL", and it can give rise to the idea that, "oh, you're an ESL teacher", so people just don't know what it is" (Turnbull). Terrion often does not feel much respect when people in the community ask what s/he does for employment. Tellqvist explains that people are interested in his/her work, "but

they think I teach people with no English skills, like ESL”. “I’m not taken as seriously as a high school teacher, or even taken seriously at all!” (Tucker). On the other hand, instructors like Thomas experience a great deal of respect in the community when people discover that s/he works on the university campus. Tremblay concurs. “The affiliation with UW gives my job a better reputation”. Trottier notes that people “think it’s great having a program like EFAS for international students to bridge them into their academic programs”. Even though old attitudes persist, mistaking EAP for ESL, the association with the university contributes to a greater sense of prestige among many EFAS personnel.

6.7 The Influence of Renison University College on EFAS

Housed within Renison University College’s degree and diploma granting educational institution, EFAS has a history of being treated as a low priority program. Much of this perception is demonstrated by where it is located in the physical structure of the institution, along with the poor working conditions instructors and administrators have had to endure. However, recently there is evidence that Renison has begun to focus on supporting and expanding the program. As mentioned, the external review conducted by Cumming, Olson and Sullivan (2010) was part of the University of Waterloo’s “Guidelines for Academic Program Reviews at the University of Waterloo”, funded by the university’s Office of the Vice-President Academic and Provost. Although the report was published prior to my interviews with EFAS instructors and administrators, two issues raised in the report directly relate to themes that emerged in my interviews.

First, the report found that “administrators and instructors expressed concerns about limitations on available classroom space at Renison University College and the University of

Waterloo, maintaining and using multi-media technologies, and developing more instructional resources” (Cumming et al., 2010: 11). Second, “ELI instructors have recently been allocated shared offices which they seemed to find sufficient for their purposes, though the area is somewhat contained and does not have a common room for regular meetings or informal interactions” (ibid: 12-13). Several EFAS personnel addressed these issues. As a non-credit program, EFAS fits into the institution’s hierarchy “below that of East Asian Studies, Applied Linguistics, and Studies in Islam because they offer minor degrees, which students can do by taking eight courses” (Jewinski). There are no UW academic credentials available by taking EFAS courses. Thus, its hierarchical status remains tied to its gate-keeping function. The credentials that are offered do not garner as much merit as those that count for credit.

Missere-Mihás explains that Renison’s perception of the EFAS program has not been completely clear until recently. For example, when the institution presented a strategic plan several years ago, which included instituting academic by-laws, the ELI was disregarded in its plans. This omission prompted an inquiry to find out where the ELI fit in: as an academic unit or as an auxiliary program. Renison decided that they “are part of the academic string”. However, there remained conflicting and inconsistent views on the fit. For instance, “if we had a class scheduled and a department wanted our room for an exam, then we moved rooms. But if we had a similar issue, they may or may not have moved” (Missere-Mihás).

Other instructors also mentioned “getting bumped” from their classrooms without prior notification (Thomas; Thornton; Timgren; Tomlinson; Turnbull). Timgren recalls “having nowhere to go with my students”. Credit courses were seen as providing more important support for Renison students, whereas “we’re the gate-keepers getting international students ready to move on to credit”. Thornton’s opinion is that EFAS was outright “forgotten”, alluding to

annual memos sent by the university college at the onset of the summer months. Reduced schedules for facilities, such as the library and cafeteria, would be announced, along with the entrances being locked at 4:00 P.M. with no meals in the cafeteria offered on weekends. Meanwhile, each year the ELI urged the need for expanded hours for these services because it was the busiest time of their academic calendar.

One year we offered EFAS students a special one-on-one tutoring forum which was scheduled after class hours, but the tutors couldn't get into the building, knocking on windows to get in. On average, we had one hundred and fifty students who at least needed breakfast, but we were told 'we don't do that because we have been told it's slow time' (Thornton).

The facilities and equipment have been a source of anxiety for EFAS instructors because they make it difficult to perform their work. "Given the amount of money it brings in and how little it's given in terms of facilities and resources that it's provided, down in the basement with crappy classrooms, it deserves better conditions" (Tomlinson). Other instructors and administrators are also concerned with the difficult working conditions. "The office spaces we now share with three other people, with at least some sort of workspace, small desks each, has only been available in the basement for three years [(coinciding with the results of the external review conducted by Cumming et al., 2010)]. For the longest time, there were no offices, and I worked here for four years before I could print" (Thornton).

Thomas maintains that these sort of conditions were due to EFAS' low priority status at Renison. "One time, the Principal saw that my desk was very small and said that I could borrow a desk from a professor who was going on maternity leave. Clearly, I couldn't get a desk, only one on short-term loan". Moreover, Thomas could not get a computer desk, and "had to beg for a printer; all the things professors would get automatically". Thomas documents difficulties getting responses from Renison's custodial services, obtaining second-hand furniture on his/her

own from storage, and dealing with the personnel from Renison's information technology services who would often not respond to requests, or send work-study students to deal with EFAS after making repeated requests. "These things made it quite clear of our low priority. We're small peanuts down here".

Among the more recently-hired sessional instructors, Tellqvist compares EFAS with his/her previous position in the ELAS program at Conestoga College. "It had a good atmosphere, and cooperation among colleagues existed because we had room for all ELAS instructors, but in EFAS we only have a tiny photocopy room with two old computers, so I felt a bit isolated". Trottier describes those computers. "They don't even work well, with keys missing and they usually don't link to the printer". Due to the poor facilities, both full-time and sessional EFAS instructors do not feel EFAS has similar status to other non-academic programs that are afforded their own space in which to work. Tellqvist notes that the small photocopy room is also a mailroom used by all of Renison's sessional and many full-time faculty and staff. "Sometimes I need to meet students and people are in and out, photocopying a step away, so it's not a good environment. We also need space just to think, with available resources and not an old computer that may or may not work". Most students who are enrolled in EFAS are experiencing their initial UW lives as students at Renison, intending to pursue degree programs on the main campus. For this reason, Thornton argues the program should have much more support. "We should at least appear professional. One semester, students used the topic of our classroom conditions just to practice a grammar point, and we forwarded them to the Principal at the time, and the students were very critical of the basement classrooms for EFAS, writing about the cold, the shoddy paint and the stained and smelly carpets".

These issues of poor working conditions and limited resources seem to be remnants of the ELI's long evolution from being a small operation that offered short-term ESL programs to the emergence of offering both the EAP program and ESL credit courses for UW. Missere-Mihás explains, "for so many years before we ever started to do EAP, we only did those summer EFS [(ESL)] programs, so people at Renison knew us for running auxiliary ESL programs". In summary, since it transitioned from an ESL appendage into a full EAP program, there has been confusion with how it fit in with Renison's other academic degree and diploma programs. Missere-Mihás clarifies this situation, "UW is really getting to know us as an EAP program, and they were *not* familiar with that other EFS/ESL role, so it's easier for them to take us than it was for Renison".

Turnbull notes that EFAS is now firmly included in Renison's scheduling, so classrooms are never scheduled at times that conflict with other courses. Furthermore, having been assigned the title "Staff Language Instructor" has provided a distinguishing characteristic that better defines roles and remuneration. Renison's change in attitude toward EFAS began when the ELI divided into the ELC and ELS (Thornton) (Figure 4). "When Julia Williams started the credit side of the ELI, we started to see immediate growth, and I think more credibility". In brief, it took many years for Renison to recognize EFAS as a legitimate gate-keeping program to serve UW's international students English language requirements. Improved conditions during recent years seem to indicate that it is gaining legitimacy.

6.8 The Influence of the University of Waterloo on EFAS

I have discussed how the change in language teaching purpose, from ESL to EAP, resulted in the creation of the EFAS program, with the goal of assisting second language learners

to improve their academic skills. The objective learning outcome of this type of pedagogical endeavour is to enable non-native speaking international students to pursue higher educational degrees through the medium of English. The program transformed in order to meet the specific English language requirements at the University of Waterloo. It eventually became accepted as a gate-keeping program requirement for many international students hoping to enrol at the university. UW has increasingly become an international destination for students seeking to study at universities in English-speaking Western countries. During the past decade, EFAS has continued to adapt to serve non-native English speaking students by developing an integrated and standardized curriculum that meets UW's English language proficiency requirements. Largely due to its location on campus, the EFAS program has also taken on a representative role within the higher educational institution in which it is situated.

The change in curriculum was a significant decision to expand the ELI's services to assist second language learners immigrating to Canada for the purpose of studying at a higher educational institution. As Tomlinson puts it, "the seriousness of adding the 'A' to 'EFS' affected the curriculum development". This shift in purpose, to focus on the specific academic needs of UW students in particular, "is when the ELI began to make connections and build bridges to main campus. A critical association developed when UW graduate students realized the existence of EFAS". Rather than EFAS operating like an independent EAP program, the university became aware that there was "this nice little non-credit program at Renison already working with international students who hadn't received acceptance to the university but were coming here just to improve their academic English skills" (Tlusty).

An increasing number of undergraduate and graduate students began to enrol in the program, and EFAS grew from being relatively unknown, "people on campus didn't know we

were here” (Thomas), to serving a prominent gate-keeping function for UW’s international students. The initial impact of this relationship was an increase in course hours. For example, Tlusty had designed the level 400 Academic Skills course, whereby “main campus required students to write proper reports, so we needed to teach all of the layers involved with that process, and that requirement added many hours. I recall that Writing Skills, for example, went from a forty-five hour course to seventy-some hours long”.

A significant consequence is that many international students now enrol in the EFAS program as part of their home government’s scholarship requirements (Tomlinson). Connections have been made between UW and foreign governments in which taking EFAS’ level 300 or 400 has become a requirement. Jewinski notes that UW is confident that EFAS meets the needs of the university’s English language requirement, “so it’s very happy to take advantage of the expertise that’s there”. EFAS personnel knows that “UW takes us seriously”, so it is integral that EFAS works in partnership with them. “We understand that every department has their own specific requirements and specifications, so we have to keep all that in mind to prepare students” (Timgren).

As discussed, Missere-Mihas is in contact with each of UW’s departments. “They’re under the assumption that we take care of ourselves and do what we need to do. We’re housed in Renison so we go through them for our needs, but our relationship with UW is very positive”. If EFAS was not operating on the UW campus, then it would be a completely different type of program because “preparing students for campus is what shapes what the program is, so if a student isn’t thinking of going to UW then they should be looking at a different EAP course, because EFAS is designed to tunnel international students to main campus” (Timgren).

“Everything we do is based on what UW expects of their international students’ language requirements” (Missere-Mihas).

An integral aspect of this working relationship was the development of an integrated curriculum, rather than the segmented skill sets taught in traditional EAP programs. This posed a challenge for both instructors and students. The four core skill sets taught in most EAP programs are reading, writing, listening, and speaking. These components are not taught separately in EFAS, but are instead built into three broader-based courses called “Academic Skills”, “Writing Skills”, and “Oral Skills”. In order to address the skill sets demanded of students at UW, such as giving presentations, participating in debates, researching, and especially writing academic reports and essays, EFAS has designed its courses to teach the four core skills by applying them to the university’s particular needs. For example, in Academic Skills, all four skills are involved, whereas in Academic Writing, academic rhetorical writing patterns and grammar are emphasized. The decision to design courses this way was a result of supported research in the field of EAP:

We found that it’s a more natural way of delivering the content in a more authentic context, in terms of preparing students for UW courses. For example, if a student will be sitting in a lecture then they must learn to take and organize notes, understand assignments, how to do report or essay writing, and summarizing and paraphrasing research. Most students don’t have those skills, so we want to create a situation that will clearly mimic the situations they’re going to be in, but to incorporate the skills that they need (Timgren).

Teaching a skill in isolation, such as grammar, gives rise to problems when students are asked to apply it to their own writing. Thus, by integrating the skill into the practice of applying it to actual university assignments, “we’re causing them to think about it and produce it in a more realistic way” (Timgren).

This more prescribed curricula in EFAS differs from what many instructors have taught in other EAP programs. Turnbull explains that in previous EAP positions it was common practice to be “given objectives that had to be met” and then be handed a textbook and told to “go and teach”. Tremblay finds that teaching EAP in the EFAS program is “more demanding, with more ‘prep’ work [and that] the stakes are higher because students need to perform to start their UW programs”. For Toskala, EFAS would not have direct feedback from the university if it operated independently, which would likely lead to the program “groping in the dark and hoping that we’d equip those students with adequate skills” needed to succeed in their UW programs.

Not only did previous research support this approach to EAP pedagogy, but Tingren is convinced that it is appropriate and necessary. Nevertheless, EFAS instructors and administrators generally agree that it would be easier for both teachers and students to have courses that focus on one skill at a time, which is how most EAP textbooks are produced. This is how most students have learned basic ESL abilities in their previous learning experiences. Tingren reasons that students will eventually be forced to apply these individual skills, so it is better to do this sort of preparation in EFAS instead of “trying to figure that out on main campus”.

Many students come from learning environments in which classroom participation is not common. As Tingren puts it, many international students are more familiar with strict practices of listening to the instructor, where “the sage is on the stage” to deliver information. However, in EFAS students must learn that there is a cultural component to learning that will be a different experience for them at university because there are certain expectations that they will need to be aware of. All of these considerations are taken into account when designing EFAS courses. For

instance, if students have learned by rote in the past they may lack critical thinking skills to enable them to develop or elaborate on research information. Thus, it is necessary to help students synthesize research into a larger context. Tingren finds that many international students do not understand plagiarism. They are also unfamiliar with the dynamics of classroom interaction in Canadian universities, such as knowing that it is acceptable to challenge the teacher in a respectful manner, because that sort of interaction could reflect critical thinking abilities. Furthermore, learning to work in groups is important because it is a common pedagogical practice in many departmental courses, but for some students, working with someone who is of another gender can become a genuine obstacle.

Another important dimension of EFAS' integrated curriculum is the need for it to be broad-based because students' academic disciplines are diverse. Some students, such as Sherry and Scott, expressed concern that some topics were not related to those found in their degree courses. These students must understand that topics are utilized as vehicles for learning skills. Toskala identifies the challenge of instructors' requiring the abilities to work with and understand an array of subject matter. For example, instructors may need to present information on nanotechnology to students who intend to major in a biology or health sciences program. "The language serves the purpose for learning a certain text, not the other way around" (Toskala). While courses were being developed in EFAS, influenced by UW faculty feedback, students recognized that the program was becoming increasingly more difficult to pass because it started meeting those language benchmark requirements of the university (Tlusty). However, most EFAS students are not aware of all of the components taught on the main campus, thus they often do not appreciate what they have learned until they enter their degree programs. Tellqvist recounts a common story when encountering former students on campus, in that they tell him/her

that they had to perform a specific task learned in EFAS in one of their course assignments. “So it’s good that you taught us that or we wouldn’t know where to begin or how to organize it”. A positive effect of EFAS’ situation on the UW campus is that the courses are directed at preparing students to participate effectively in UW classes, and to successfully complete specific assignments.

The affiliation with UW has also provided EFAS personnel with greater professional opportunities. For instance, Jewinski is uncertain if she would have ever even been involved in the fields of ESL and EAP teaching anywhere else. “I was really handed an opportunity to develop a course in an area which I found terrifically rewarding. EAP was in its infancy, and those were exciting times”. A result of the evolution of the EFAS program and its connection to UW is that “we probably wouldn’t have permanent positions” (Tomlinson). I have discussed how several instructors credit EFAS’ affiliation with UW as providing a sense of prestige, but it also provides opportunities to develop more skills as EAP instructors. “At conferences, the affiliation makes us look better” (Tremblay). Tucker is certain that it provides strength to his/her position, “it’s only a perception, but it gives us that next level up”. Tellqvist claims that opportunities to attend conferences hosted by a variety of academic disciplines would not be possible if s/he worked at another EAP program. Thomas is becoming more involved with the UW community due to his/her involvement with the BASE program, as a result of the “emphasis on research, which I like and is an important part of my job. I enjoy the possibilities that being in a university community holds to further that research. BASE will help my career and I’ll continuously be assessing my teaching and developing curriculum”.

For Tucker, being a part of the university is “the best of both worlds” because of the opportunity to teach small classes while utilizing the facilities of a large institution. “I constantly

have the sense of representing UW and the standard they've set, and we're helping students attain that level that the university requires of them". Instructors credit the rapid growth of EFAS as a result of being situated on campus, which, as mentioned, includes students who are sponsored by their governments to enrol in the program. The cooperation between EFAS and UW is not only a contributing factor for attracting students but also assists students with opportunities to become familiar with courses before entering their programs. For example, when Thomas used to instruct a course called "Lecture Skills", s/he was given permission to take students to UW lectures. In the 2+2 program, which runs between UW's spring and fall semesters when there are few courses in session, classes are intentionally scheduled all over UW campus so that students can become more acclimatized with the university (Timgren).

The EFAS program benefits from being on campus and it is viewed by its instructors as providing an essential service. Tomlinson observes, "given that the university is driven to develop its strong body of recruitment to become more internationalized, EFAS is becoming more necessary, and with our necessity develops our profession more because it's specialized teaching. It may help TESL in the public school context too because someone will have that as an extra teachable course". However, due to its desire to become an internationally recognized university, Tlusty insists that UW is forced to lower its English language competency standards:

There's nothing wrong with that, but it's problematic because many of our international students are not nearly ready by any standard, yet they're being accepted and once they're here, theoretically they should be ready to integrate into the main campus in three semesters [if they begin in level 100], or even one semester [if they enter level 300 or 400]. That's not even logical in any universe of language acquisition. That sort of incongruence in the system is what frustrates EFAS instructors because the standards suffer. So, opening more doors means lowering standards because they can't open doors and keep standards high, or else no one would come. They'd just go to another university.

6.9 Summary of the Main Themes

EFAS instructors, administrators and students understand the program, including both its curricula and pedagogy, to be a professional teaching endeavour. Several barriers that need to be overcome for EAP to continue to develop as a specialized enterprise within the teaching occupation's hierarchy have been identified. Among these is the persisting stigma attached to EAP as a remedial teaching endeavour, despite the post-secondary and specialized teaching credentials required to work in the field. In order for EAP and the EFAS program to be removed from its low hierarchical position within the occupation of teaching and within the university system, lines of communication need to be created so that it can be treated as a legitimate academic program. This includes conveying that it is not a transient teaching career in education. It must also overcome the chronic part-time status of its teachers in order to provide more stability for a program that serves an essential function within a degree-granting educational institution.

Due to the nature of providing a service for a Canadian university, the EFAS program's instructors and administrators experience unique levels of social prestige in their work among both UW and the larger community. For example, EFAS instructors and administrators have described a long and difficult process in attaining legitimacy for its work while operating within the university system. They have also identified stigmas attached to their work practices as perceived by members of the larger teaching occupation. While its relationship with Renison is improving, the EFAS program has endured poor working conditions since it emerged as an academic program. This EAP program is affected as a result of its direct association with the University of Waterloo, and Renison University College, in particular. In the following chapter, I will discuss the analysis of the themes found in the data collected, which includes interviews,

participant observation, and reviews of web-sites and official documents. Whereas Chapter Five contains the details of the historical evolution of EFAS and the idiographic accounts of respondents' life experiences which led them to become participants in the program, this chapter presented the themes found in the data regarding the professional status of the EFAS program. The next step is to make connections between these themes and the literature on the sociology of professions.

7 Chapter Seven: Analysis of the Research Data

An important way that EFAS instructors and administrators discussed the professional status of EFAS was by comparing their work with other types of teaching. These include how TESL fits into the hierarchy of the public educational system, how EAP fits within college institutions, as well as comparing it with university teaching. Themes that emerged from the data presented in Chapters Five and Six are examined in this chapter in relation to the literature in the sociology of professions. As a result, concrete empirical evidence can be drawn from the qualitative case study analysis in order to determine how an EAP program operates within a Canadian university setting. It is necessary to begin this analysis by determining whether or not teaching is an occupation or a profession. This can be accomplished by exploring how the literature in the sociology of education defines the purpose of the educational system in North America, and how it became institutionalized.

This is followed by an inquiry into how university teaching has become professionalized. It was discovered in this research that EFAS is a developing profession within the context of UW as an institution that houses multiple professional disciplines. The main difference between a discipline that has achieved professional status and a program which is service-oriented is autonomy of work practices. The final part of this chapter is an analysis of the work that EFAS instructors and administrators perform, which is to help international students attain an appropriate level of English language competency and to acquire the academic skills needed to succeed in the coursework of their degree programs. Therefore, it is important to assess the English language competency requirements at the University of Waterloo in order to determine whether EFAS has the autonomy required to perform its EAP teaching objectives.

7.1 Theoretical Contributions to Understanding Professions

In Chapter Three, “professionalism” was defined as a set of institutions which permit the members of an occupation to represent and regulate the work that is performed by that group. It was also explained that a division between manual and mental specializations of work occurred after the Industrial Revolution. Mental specializations refer to the type of intellectual knowledge and skills that are applied to different kinds of work. During the nineteenth century, a highly complex division of labour emerged which established the social processes required for an occupation to secure both social status and economic purpose in order to gain recognition as a profession.

One way in which this type of process became identified in society was through the dominant hegemony of the belief that certain types of work are so specialized that they are inaccessible to those lacking the necessary education and training (Freidson, 2001: 17). For example, in Chapter Three it was explained that the modern educational system was created to instil values of citizenship and nation-building among society. As educational institutions evolved, the state had a hand in regulating and controlling the public educational system. Many institutions continue to be created in order to control accessibility to occupations and professions alike, partly through the requirement of obtaining educational credentials. Furthermore, the state creates institutions in order to regulate licensing and credentials, as well as to regulate monopoly control in terms of the jurisdiction where an occupational group can offer its services in the market. To reiterate, EFAS instructors and administrators argued that their work is professional as it compares to teaching in both the public educational system and post-secondary education. Therefore, this part of the analysis is organized into these two areas.

7.1.1 The Public Educational System

To the degree that the state controls the modern educational system, the work of teaching is devalued to the extent that it is not considered as a profession. Teaching lacks the social status it needs to be identified as a profession. The literature in the sociology of education supports the view that educational institutions are connected to social stratification. However, there is much debate whether this system is regulated by the state in order to enable social class mobility based on merit, or if it serves the role of social selection or exclusion based on people's socio-economic status. Therefore, in order to determine the social status of public school teaching, it is necessary to understand the role public education has in North American society. The following is a discussion of similar theoretical perspectives in the sociology of professions, presented in Chapter Three, in terms of how they define the social role of education. These include the functionalist perspective, their critical responses, as well as how the formation of status groups utilize the educational system for purposes of social exclusion. This latter argument is similar to the socio-historical approach to understanding professions, as it includes the phenomenon of credential inflation and how social status is central to determining an individual's or group's degree of prestige in society.

Functionalist theory claims that schools are essential institutions in society because they perform two important functions. The first is to provide a rational means of selecting talented people for different work roles. Here, the most competent members in society fill the highest status employment positions. Second, schools teach the cognitive skills needed for the execution of most tasks in an increasingly knowledge-based society (Hurn, 1978: 30-1). Intrinsicly, the functionalist paradigm is predicated upon the notion that society is meritocratic, and that modern society must emphasize rationality, efficiency and the selection of talented people for skilled

work in order to progress. In this sense, the modern capitalist education system must provide students with the cognitive tools needed to quickly and effectively acquire more specialized competencies. The functionalist perspective of education maintains that inequality in society is the result of merit, or lack thereof, and not the result of hereditary class assignment (Hurn, 1978: 35).

The functionalist model represents classic liberal orthodoxy, as it claims children from more indigent backgrounds in the public school system are given the same opportunities as the wealthy to move up the social class hierarchy. This perspective also asserts that, in order to achieve equal opportunity, a further expansion of schooling is required because work roles can be occupied by people who possess the necessary educational credentials to perform the required tasks. Therefore, functionalist theory advocates that talented people from presumably all socio-economic classes can step in and carry out either manual or specialized tasks demanded by work roles in industrialized society. According to Parsons (1970: 14) the functionalist perspective emphasizes the normative (ideal) roles societal members choose, and the purpose of education is to nurture competent citizens in a democratic society.

There have been several critical responses to the functionalist perspective of education. These include economic and cultural reproduction theories, as well as the role social status plays in education. Althusser (1971) argues that the capitalist ultimately depends upon the reproduction of the labour power that allows its machinery and mass production to continue operating unimpeded. As a result, the capitalist system is organized to not only provide people with hourly wages, but it must also ensure that there is an educational system in place which educates people so that they will accept different work roles and social class positions (Althusser, 1971: 125). According to this perspective, this is why the educational system is

controlled by the state. Althusser notes, “the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order” (1971: 127). Here, individuals are taught the rules of proper conduct and behaviour for the work position to which they will be destined. They are taught, in effect, how to behave appropriately within the matrix of the capitalist hierarchical order. At the same time, schooling ensures the “subjection to the ruling ideology” of the pupils in the classroom so that they learn to accept the dominant ideology (Althusser, 1971: 127-8).

Althusser explains that those who “buy in” to the premises of the capitalist order (the belief that the system rewards people based on merit) commonly assert that inequalities in society are simply a fact of life, and that private property is sacrosanct. Thus, people are less inclined to challenge this arrangement forcefully (1971: 131-2). The educational system, then, at least within economic reproduction theory, functions to make legitimate the existence of different socio-economic classes intended to serve different needs of the capitalist state. Put differently, the educational system validates inequality in society, and the school system is grouped into the “educational wing” of the ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1971: 136-7). Thus, the economic reproduction perspective in education purports that people who go through the educational system are taught to respect the social class divisions in society. Moreover, Anyon (1980: 13) finds that children from different socio-economic classes are taught different skills to prepare for different work roles in life, with children from the lower socio-economic class receiving a qualitatively poorer education than those belonging to the elite social class.

A similar critique of the functionalist perspective of education is Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory, which states that the educational system functions to transmit a certain cultural inheritance to students. The dominant culture that is transmitted to students is created by

the upper socio-economic classes. This type of culture is most easily accessed by the elite members of society because it is learned at home, and is a requirement to succeed in the schooling system. In other words, school success demands cognitive skills that are most frequently found among the children from higher class families that dominate the cultural discourse and its parameters (Bourdieu, 1973: 80-1). Certain dominant values and attitudes are privileged, and students are told that these ideas are natural and indispensable (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977: 9). Bourdieu defines this as the orchestration of the “habitus” that envelops the student, whereby some things are made to appear “normal” or “common-sensical” (1977: 79-80).

Cultural capital refers to the aggregate of all the social advantages, skills, and experiences that children from upper class families possess even before they first arrive at school. It is presumed that the educational system tends to value linguistic competence in the early years. Since the parents of upper class children will be better positioned to impart this competence to their offspring, these pupils have a prohibitive advantage that allows them to excel in an educational system that values the very skills their parents possess, which have been passed on to them (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 83). For Bourdieu (1977: 85), schools reflect, and are responsive to, the cultural orientations of the dominant class.

Cultural reproduction theory, then, posits that the educational system functions to impress upon students certain cultural values that are not simply “natural” per se, but are the creation of the elite social class. Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory places an emphasis on how a certain dominant culture is passed down to children, benefitting those from upper class positions. The major difference is that Bourdieu emphasizes the transmission of cultural capital from one generation to another and how elite groups transfer to their children the same cultural capital that is embraced and rewarded by the school system. The economic reproduction model, on the other

hand, emphasizes how children are taught to respect and accept the capitalist inequalities in socio-economic class-based society through an entirely devised ideological state apparatus. This debate led to the development of the hegemonic state reproductive model to understanding the social purposes of educational institutions.

Hegemonic reproductive theory in education states that, while the educational system stands alongside the capitalist economic system, the culture of schooling is actually reflective of, and advances, the perspectives and attitudes of the economic ruling class (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985: 88). Of course, different schools are characterized by diverse relationships and phenomena, each possessing different ideologies, organizational styles and classroom social relations that collectively conspire to make it difficult for the capitalist system to control them completely. Nonetheless, there is a distinction that is made in the school system between “high-status” knowledge, which serves the interests of the business elite, such as with the advancement of science, and “low-status” knowledge that does not serve those interests. Schools must therefore stress “logic” and prepare students to be “productive” members of the capitalist work force (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985: 89).

Furthermore, what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggle among identifiable class, race, gender, and religious groups (Apple, 1982: 250). Apple (1993) emphasizes the control over curricular content as the key element of inequality in education, since the dominant hegemonic forces attempt to define what really counts as legitimate knowledge in the schools. It is “the movement in state legislatures and state departments of education to ‘raise standards’ and mandate both student and teacher ‘competencies’ and basic curricular goals and knowledge, thereby centralizing even more at a state level the control of teaching and curricula” (Apple, 1993: 20). Educational institutions are

seen as key actors in the production of knowledge that is similar to Bourdieu's discussion of the production and transference of cultural capital. However, hegemonic reproduction theory, as articulated by Apple, is really all about perpetuating and propagating a curriculum that privileges conservative political and cultural themes (Apple, 1993: 21).

Finally, the formation of status groups is the basis of another critical perspective of educational institutions. Educational attainment is of paramount concern in modern society because material contributions and mental production both determine which groups will be able to organize and exert their own interests. High status groups will be able to articulate their ideas and therefore dominate the ideological realm (Collins, 1975: 57). Those members of society that have the cognitive skills and cultural capital which allows them to flourish academically will possess the linguistic skills and political acuity to protect their own social status. Social structures, governing ideologies, and ideas are the products of interest groups which have had the power to impose their ideas upon society, and human beings have a natural propensity to use power to advance their own interests even if it comes at the expense of others (Collins, 1975: 61).

For instance, there are those in positions of power who have the capacity to tell others what to do most of the time, and there are those who have some power to tell others what to do but must also endure orders from those above them in the hierarchy, and there are those who are strictly order-takers (Collins, 1975: 63). Thus, an individual's educational attainment, what schools they have attended and what degrees they have obtained, greatly shapes whether one will be an order-giver or an order-taker. Consequently, educational credentials can be linked to the fierce status competition that has emerged as minority groups have increased their demands for legitimacy and access to more technical occupations. At the same time, Collins (1979: 191)

finds that educational credentials, because they are so central to the struggle for status amongst competing groups, are a subject of controversy because they seem to offer access to high-status jobs even though there is no assurance that the skills taught through formal education cannot also be learned on the job by someone who has no such credentials. For Collins, the workplace is where an individual is required to subordinate his or her wishes to another party (1975: 65). However, subordination can really only occur if one party has more educational credentials than the other party. This relationship can only occur smoothly if the inferior party has been sufficiently socialized to recognize the appropriateness of following orders, or how such obedience is portrayed as advantageous.

Each of these sociological theories acknowledges the role of the state in regulating the public educational system, despite the different perspectives of its purposive role of social stratification. Whereas the functional perspective argues that education regulates credentials earned by merit, critical theorists counter that those credentials do not necessarily represent learned technical competences. Rather, they serve as a mechanism of social reproduction and exclusion. Despite these theoretical differences, teaching in the public educational system cannot be considered a profession because it is strongly regulated by the state. Thus, it lacks work autonomy. Nevertheless, educational credentials have an essential role in what types of specialized training is required for an occupation to attain professional status. Furthermore, the specialized knowledge that is required for most professions is housed within universities due to their commitment to the pursuit of scientific discovery. Thus, it is necessary to analyze how university teaching became professionalized.

7.1.2 The Professionalization of University Teaching

In Chapter Three, it was explained how the distinction between manual and mental specialization of work was a result of the Industrial Revolution because mental types of work require the application of scientific knowledge to specific work practices. These new types of specialized work continued to fragment into more and more kinds of intellectual occupational specializations, thus creating new sources of occupational status. As new kinds of occupations emerged alongside the advancement of scientific knowledge, such as how engineering or the medical professions apply intellectual knowledge to their manual work tasks, they formed institutional organizations in order to claim professionalism for performing their skilled work.

Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new kinds of measures were taken to limit the number of occupational groups who could claim professional status. One of these ways of creating social stratification was through credentialing. This was a primary reason for the state to institutionalize the educational system, which it continues to regulate. As a result, the division of labour in capitalist societies led to structural differences within occupations that emerged from within, or branched out of, established hierarchies of another field of work. When this occurs, some occupations remain subordinate within the larger occupation's division of labour (Freidson, 1970: 76). What follows is an analysis of how specialized education and training became housed within universities because it had become required training for an occupation to attain professional status.

The reason why university teaching is regarded as professional, compared to other teaching endeavours, is due to the dual role of teaching and pursuing scientific research. Despite the practical demands of the educational credentials in other occupations, they do not control their own training of members because they do not create their own specialized body of

knowledge and skill. Freidson (2001: 92) explains that the “content of their [(occupational)] training is largely synthetic, derived from both technical and theoretical knowledge and skill produced and controlled by other occupations”. As a result, this type of knowledge and skill is transferable to several work sites. For Freidson, in ideal-typical professionalism, the training of members is completely under the control of the occupation, which usually takes place in a school that is attached to institutions of higher education (2001: 92).

The creation of new tasks and technologies was discussed in Chapter Three, utilizing the examples of how the specialized work of engineering and medicine emerged in the division of labour. It was explained that engineering arose out of the increasingly technical quality of new machinery used to transform physical structures, such as with the design and construction of roads, bridges, railway tunnels, and for military service. As these endeavours became more technical, the requisite education increased correspondingly (Abbott, 1988: 92). It was noted that civil engineering was the first in the field to attain professional status during the early nineteenth century when associations were institutionalized and lobbied the state for legal jurisdiction for the specialized work that its members perform. Thus, engineering’s major source of support was initially political because of its importance to affairs of nation-building, such as developing infrastructure.

During the Industrial Revolution, engineering broke up into several specialties that continue today. Each specialty is based on prevailing scientific discovery. For example, civil engineers no longer focus strictly on transforming physical structures. Presently, they engage in technical planning of consumer goods and services that form the basis of modern standard of living (Freidson, 2001: 167-8). Nevertheless, “consonant with the demands of professionalism”, during the course of its struggle for academic recognition, “engineering faculties asserted their

intellectual commitment to abstract theory and formed their training programs around such theory” (ibid: 170). Thus, engineering and other occupations continue to utilize scientific knowledge and applications as the legitimate basis for pursuing professional status.

Professions draw on the value of science, and this implies that extensive academic research must be undertaken in order to be able to demonstrate the highest standard of rationality in their education and training methods. The other example in Chapter Three used to discuss this shift toward scientific legitimacy was the field of medicine. During the early nineteenth century, medical knowledge was not intrinsically valued in Western society until the evolution of the medical school. Unlike the mainstream medical institutions at the time, this new specialist institution “claimed legitimacy precisely on their technical and scientific expertise” (Abbott, 1988: 189). Over the course of the next century, the university became the major centre for the production of professionally relevant knowledge. In this context, competition among professions occurs in the recruitment of students to join specific academic disciplines (Abbott, 1988: 92).

Higher educational institutions that house specialized knowledge have continued to evolve. This is one of the crucial reasons why the socio-historical approach to understanding professions is suitable for situating the changes that occur among professional training institutions across time and place. For instance, Larson explains how these professional training institutions increasingly depend on the same institutional structures that organize markets and services, in that the evolution of training and research “is at least partially subject to common conditions and is at least partially articulated with the larger society by the same institutional and extra-institutional mediations” (1977: 50). These practical considerations of the market have a direct influence on what constitutes professionally relevant knowledge, and upon the production of that knowledge (ibid: 50). As a result, Larson argues that a profession, in its modern sense,

“appears to be a structure which links the production of knowledge to its application in a market of services: the training institutions are the empirical arena in which this linkage is effected” (1977: 50-1). As markets and institutions change to reflect the cultural values of a particular society at a specific period of time, so does the knowledge that is considered legitimate. In capitalist societies, such knowledge is based on scientific rationality.

Just as the professional status of occupations changes, so does the organization and training that is required. For example, some occupations in other nations do not require formal training in specialized schools that their counterparts in Canada require. Instead, their members might be trained as apprentices. This was noted by both Tellqvist and Toskala regarding the difficulties they had encountered when transferring TESL credentials from their home countries to Canada. Even among established professions new immigrants to Canada must upgrade their credentials by enrolling in a university degree program, because academic standards differ according to location. Another important comparison EFAS instructors and administrators made was the difference identified in their work and status position to their EAP counterparts who work in colleges, such as the ELAS program at Conestoga College.

In tracing back how Western educational systems have come to be connected to bureaucratic systems of control, Brint and Karabel (1989) provide a practical example with the rise of vocational schools in American society. From its origins at the turn of the twentieth century, these community colleges exhibited both the egalitarian promise of equal opportunity in “the world’s first democracy” and the constraints of its dynamic capitalist economy (Brint & Karabel, 1989: 6). Likewise, in Canada the introduction of diploma-granting colleges fundamentally altered the configuration of higher education because it introduced a new tier in the existing educational hierarchy. This new educational track reveals the acceptance of

democratic pressures from sub-classes in order to provide access to higher levels of education, but the differentiating of the curriculum in fact reproduced existing economic divisions of labour (Brint & Karabel, 1989: 11). The availability of colleges moved the two-year college system from the bottom of the liberal arts academic hierarchy to the top of the occupational-training hierarchy, thereby removing academic competition between colleges and traditional universities. Brint and Karabel (1989: 213) note that this newly formed academic arrangement ended up serving to merely “manage ambition” in a society that generates higher aspirations for upward mobility than it could possibly satisfy.

For Brint and Karabel, the structure of the educational system is a powerful instrument for the dissemination of meritocratic ideas because schools promote academic “failure” as a result of individual deficiency. Since all citizens are born into the same system the onus is on the individual to succeed (1989: 224). Built into the nature of college education is a channelling away from four-year institutions and the upper-class jobs that go with them. The two-year college institution has accentuated patterns of inequality as it constitutes the bottom tier of a class-linked tracking system in higher education (Brint & Karabel, 1989: 225). Thus, college teaching has not attained professional status, although it is higher up the hierarchy than teachers in secondary school because it is an occupation that requires the transmission of greater specialized knowledge and skills. In order to summarize the levels of occupational prestige among the different levels of teaching discussed thus far, please refer to Table 5.

Table 5: Characteristics of Training by Type of Occupation

<i>Characteristics of Training</i>	<i>Craft</i>	<i>Technician</i>	<i>Profession</i>
Proportion of training in school	Low	Significant	High
Teachers members of the occupation	Always	Not always	Always
Primary training on the job	Always	Sometimes	Seldom

<i>Characteristics of Training</i>	<i>Craft</i>	<i>Technician</i>	<i>Profession</i>
Full-time teachers	Rarely	Sometimes	Usually
Teachers do research	No	No	Yes
University affiliation	No	No	Yes

Adopted from Freidson, 2001: 93

To reiterate, during the course of the nineteenth century, universities became the seminal institutions within the culture of professionalism because of a specialized knowledge claim to science. Within the hierarchies of its own institutions, it also accounts for the reasons different types of university teaching experience varying levels of prestige. For example, research positions are commonly held in the highest esteem due to their connection to scientific research. These teaching positions garner the highest level of status than other types of university teaching. Furthermore, some departments are regarded as more prestigious, in terms of the importance of their work, than others. Within the hierarchy of teaching, generally, based on the responses of EFAS instructors such as Tellqvist, Terrion, Timgren, Tlusty, Tomlinson, Toskala, Tremblay, Trottier, Tucker and Turnbull, it can be argued that academic programs operated by universities, such as EFAS, have greater occupational prestige than EAP programs that are housed within colleges. This line of reasoning could filter throughout the teaching ranks, whereby state-regulated teaching in secondary institutions might enjoy greater social prestige than those teaching at the elementary school level.

Nevertheless, universities can serve as authorities that provide “grounds for the exclusive exercise of practice”, as well as “house the function of knowledge development” (Abbott, 1988: 196). Professors who train new recruits in academic disciplines are “more or less full-time teachers” (Freidson, 2001: 92). Thus, abstract theory is taught formally in an environment that is insulated from the practical demands of work. As a result, the university pedagogue is considered the only genuine professional in the hierarchy of teaching because, “the faculty of the

ideal-typical professional school is expected not only to teach, but also to be active in the codification, refinement, and expansion of the occupation's body of knowledge and skill by both theorizing and doing research" (ibid: 92).

Two important issues are raised in this analysis of the hierarchy and professionalization of university teaching that need to be addressed. First, students who train in academic disciplines are insulated from the practical demands of actual work settings. However, an important part of the educational experience for many students at the University of Waterloo is to participate in its cooperative program. This extensive work-placement program serves as a feedback mechanism in order to analyze how the cognitive skills learned in the school are applied to real-life practices of work. Second, competition within the practice of university teaching occurs "by attracting students and monopolizing the teaching of courses in subjects" (Abbott, 1988: 196). Here, EFAS plays an important role at UW because it attracts a large number of international students (Cumming et al., 2010: 3).

In summary, the role of scientific knowledge and applications is a key feature in the formation of professions after the Industrial Revolution. Within the hierarchy of teaching, university disciplines are recognized according to their contributions to science and technology. In Chapter Two, it was discussed how this commitment to scientific advancement played a major role in the emergence of EAP as a distinct English language teaching endeavour. Specifically, international students are attracted to science, technology and business programs offered in post-secondary educational institutions. Since EAP (including EFAS) does not make a direct contribution to scientific advancement, it does not possess the professional status that academic disciplines enjoy within the university hierarchy. Thus, it is necessary to address the

professional status of EFAS teaching because it is an EAP program that is in the unique position of operating within a Canadian university institution.

7.2 Defining EFAS as a Profession

This section analyses the professional status of EFAS as it was identified and perceived by its instructors and administrators. The central themes that emerged are directly related to several aspects in the literature in the sociology of professions, such as the core traits that functionalist theorists identify with professions, credentialism, and social status that individuals experience regarding their work.

EFAS instructors and administrators define a profession by describing the need for strong commitment to one's work and the requirement of belonging to an organizational body that regulates professional activities. Moreover, dedication is necessary in order to maintain a high level of consistency when applying available knowledge in a field. This includes two distinguishing characteristics that are believed by EFAS instructors and administrators to separate a profession from other occupations. The first is that there should be no limits to learning and advancing one's knowledge and skills, and the other is the element of self-reflection of one's work, which enables a person to critically assess their work performance. However, several occupational groups also demonstrate these two core traits, such as nursing or social work. An organizational governing body is also a distinguishing characteristic of a profession because of the need to instill defined guidelines and to regulate certification and training through recognized credentialing institutions. Such guidelines include mandating a code of ethics that provides accountability and predetermined standards in terms of proper conduct and interactions with both colleagues and clients. Credentials indicate that a standard of education and training

has been acquired. Credentials represent, and guarantee to the public, that an investment of time and commitment has been put into mastering the knowledge and practices of the professional field. Another need for an organizational body is to provide fora for members to share knowledge. It was also noted by several EFAS personnel that different levels of prestige exist among professions, and within the hierarchy of a professional field.

EAP teaching was identified by EFAS instructors and administrators as a legitimate profession due to the vast amount of research that has been produced in the field and the high level of credentials required of its members. EAP has a strong emphasis on research, the credentials represent training in specialized pedagogy, and membership to an accredited organization, like TESL Canada, stipulates that continued professional development among members must occur. Furthermore, EFAS instructors, in particular, must possess previous teaching experience in order to be considered for employment. Within the teaching occupational hierarchy, school boards continue to consider TESL as low priority subject matter. As a younger teaching endeavour TESL remains at the lower end of the hierarchy.

Nevertheless, EFAS instructors and administrators recognize that their area of TESL requires the highest level of pedagogical skills among teachable subjects, due to demands of meeting diverse students' needs and the persistent demand for acquiring new knowledge. Its clear distinction of specific purpose makes it distinctive as a highly skilled teaching occupation. EAP is gaining recognition as a result of its more recent association with university education. However, this new type of arrangement has often resulted with it being perceived by EFAS instructors and administrators once again as a lower status, non-credit teaching initiative operating within a degree-granting institution.

I have argued that the functionalist perspective is insufficient for providing a practical and coherent definition of professions because it neglects issues of the power professional's yield in creating monopolies for their services, and it does not acknowledge the changing status of professions in specific times and places. However, the traits and processes that are commonly used to identify and legitimate an occupation as a profession continue to adopt the functionalist perspective, which include prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge and collective adherence of members to a service orientation (Wilensky, 1964: 138). Many respondents made reference to these terms in their interviews, because functionalist concepts remain the common way that an occupation argues for professional legitimacy. In Chapter Three I discussed that specialized training must be legitimized and supported by the profession in order to create its own specialized knowledge (ibid: 140). In addition, the profession must control access to that knowledge and train its own members (Goode, 1966: 36). Regarding the service orientation of professions, the practitioner defines their clients' needs and, at times, must make personal sacrifices, such as allocating time to perform altruistic deeds (ibid: 36).

EFAS instructors argue that their occupation reflects these two essential traits. One reason is that members must create their own specialized curricula. This is essentially the specific purpose in EAP teaching that distinguishes it, not only from other teaching endeavours, but also other ESP initiatives, such as EOP. Furthermore, one of the major themes that emerged from data is that the service orientation is an important part of the work that EFAS instructors perform. For example, Jewinski described EFAS in terms of the large amount of time invested, and remuneration needing to be sacrificed: "it may not be the best paying job, but it is one of the most rewarding careers one can have". Tingren and other full-time members discussed the requirement of being much more than a classroom pedagogue because "we are advocates" for

each of the international students who rely on their EFAS instructors for support while adapting to a new culture and learning environment.

Nevertheless, it was also pointed out in Chapter Three that it is a fruitless endeavour for functionalist theorists to seek out inclusive characteristics in order to ultimately define the concept “profession” because the meaning and social understanding of the concept changes over time and according to geographic location. For instance, Adams and Welsh (2007: 256) agree that in North America both professions and occupations often possess similar characteristics of an esoteric knowledge base, formal education and skills credentials, and a service orientation in their work, but these characteristics have not consistently been most relevant in identifying a profession over the past century. Here, the evolution of the EFAS program is an ideal model of how EAP is viewed as a profession. It can certainly be characterized by the two core functional characteristics that identify a profession, but it clearly does not possess a high level of socially-recognized status and prestige for its work, as stated by its members. Since a theme evoked by EFAS instructors involves the level of prestige they experience while working within the teaching and university hierarchies, the issue of social status must be considered in order to determine whether EAP and the EFAS program can be considered a profession.

As mentioned, the communicative responsibilities an organizational body performs include mandating a code of ethics and procedural guidelines, as well as providing a forum to disseminate knowledge in which members can share their own expertise and experiences. EFAS instructors and administrators identify the need for an association that regulates educational and training requirements as an essential component for EAP to be recognized as a profession. Specialized educational credentials are required to teach in all ESL and EAP enterprises, and the level of these education and training requirements have increased rapidly since EAP emerged as

an independent field in ESP's English language teaching. Furthermore, the EFAS program's association with the University of Waterloo has also inflated the credential requirements of its members, because full-time instructors and administrators require the additional credential of a graduate degree.

Since the initial critical responses to the functionalist perspective of professions, several sociologists have argued that the control of educational credentials is an integral method in which professions gain a monopoly control of the market and legitimize their exclusive rights to practice within it. For example, Freidson (1986), finds that "professional control over the workplace relates to control over credentialing" among other economic and political aspects (cited in Krause, 1996: 16). Larson is critical of the institutional framework within which expert professionals are tied to the apparatus of the state, because "upgrading...qualifications is...equated with growing proportions of *credentialed* employees" (1977: 143). Since credential inflation is occurring among most occupations in modern Western societies, it is unclear what educational credentials are required for an occupation to claim professional status, or whether it can be used as an item to claim such status at all.

To reiterate, credentialism refers to the means by which monopolization of access to higher socio-economic status jobs and their coinciding economic opportunities are attained by holders of educational qualifications. In Chapter Three, I explained how the significance of credentials seem to be more cultural than a reflection of a person's actual technical competencies, and that modern Western societies have moved toward credential-based systems of social selection. Collins (1979: 146) describes how the medical profession, one of the better-recognized established professions, has utilized this system during much of the twentieth century to exclude membership from the lower socio-economic classes:

Training in basic medical services...remained essentially informal, but became added on at the end of a unified medical school curriculum...The actual practical skills of medicine have thus been acquired on the job, as they are in most occupations...the elaborate educational requirements leading up to and including medical school have served primarily for screening, indoctrination into the [social] group, and for an idealized facade.

The rapid escalation of educational requirements in other types of work is due to high status professions identifying “insiders” while posing barriers to those identified by social class as “outsiders”.

This process of credential inflation is self-driven and feeds on itself (Collins, 2002: 24). Similar to the above critique of the functionalist traits and process approach to understanding professions, credential inflation is a product of the socio-political and economic organization of capitalist societies during the past century. That is, it has not been a consistent phenomenon across time and place, which is further support for the socio-historical approach to identifying and understanding a profession. Thus, educational credentials that are regulated by an organization also change, by increasing their requirements. Belonging to an institutionalized governing body has thus become a common method of organization for occupational groups, not only for professions. Whereas possessing educational credentials was formerly a primary means of social exclusion for certain established professions in the past, just as Collins (1979) has depicted for the medical profession, credential inflation has resulted in the need for many occupational groups to acquire increased levels of educational certification. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the socially-recognized status of an occupation, like EAP teaching, working within the institutionalized hierarchical organization of a field in order to determine at what point an occupation can be identified as a profession. In summary, the educational credentials identified as a key element to claim professional status for EAP teaching is insufficient because many occupations require such increased certification due to credential inflation.

7.3 Social Status within the Teaching and University Hierarchies

The third theme that emerged from data was how EAP programs function within the hierarchies of both teaching and the university structure. As I have discussed, the EFAS program is clearly distinct from other EAP initiatives due to its association with the University of Waterloo. I have also explained that in modern Western societies, like Canada, it is common practice for occupational groups to organize into, and associate themselves with, hierarchical institutions. There are recognizable steps that many of these groups undertake as they emerge to become identified socially as new occupational groups. Weberian analyses of social status and prestige offers more analytical insight than the traits and processes approach to understanding how occupational groups attain professional status. To reiterate, the factor that creates an individual's social class in society is economic interest, whereas one's social status is determined by the evaluation which others in society perceive to be their social position. Thus, the type of work an occupation performs and the level of prestige it may enjoy operating within an occupational field is perceived externally. Essentially, the EFAS program has not attained the same status of an established profession because it does not develop science. Rather, it is a service for students to acquire a facility that enables them to go on and learn knowledge and skills in academic disciplines.

While engaging in my first research question, in Chapter Two I described how EAP emerged from the larger field of ESP, and in Chapter Five I explored how TESL in Renison University College of the University of Waterloo evolved into the EAP initiative, EFAS. Within the field of ESP, EAP has come to be recognized as a unique, specialized teaching endeavour, and its organizational structure is characteristic of many other occupational groups' institutional

hierarchies. However, the EFAS program not only operates within the hierarchy of its own governing body, but also as a non-credit program within the hierarchy of a degree-granting educational institution. For this reason, a distinction must be made between the status of EAP teaching and that of the EFAS program. EFAS instructors and administrators have identified it as a teaching profession that is gaining prestige within both of these hierarchical organizations.

The term “work” is not only defined by the practice of knowledge and skill of a craft, but it must also include the elements of social, cultural, and economic circumstances in which it is performed. Placed within such context, I have explained how functionalist theorists argue that there are prescribed steps in which an occupation moves along a continuum in an attempt to attain professional status. Briefly, these include new occupations establishing an association with definite membership criteria, asserting a technical monopoly in the market, developing a code of ethics stating its social utility, prolonged political agitation, and opening training facilities (Caplow, 1966: 20-21). I also discussed the critiques of this conceptual process, because it neglects issues of power and control over work. A key part of these arguments is that professions must gain protection from and patronage of some members of the elite social class who share similar values, which in turn secures its status through political and economic influence (Freidson, 1970: 72). Nevertheless, despite these theoretical differences, it can be argued that occupational groups often seek professional status, even if they are unsuccessful, by creating similar institutions as more established professions have created, and, as mentioned, these institutions are organized hierarchically.

A straightforward example is illustrated by Freidson (1970) with how the occupations of nursing, paramedics and dentistry emerged from the medical profession. Although the mental specialized work of nursing has established similar organizational institutions as medicine, it

lacks work autonomy. Thus, nursing does not share equal professional status as those in the medical profession. As Freidson puts it, nurses “take orders from, not give [to], physicians” (1970: 76). This distinct situation of an intellectually specialized occupation that is subordinate to another profession is what Freidson identifies as a “paraprofession” (1970: 75). Here, the newer occupation operates within an existing profession’s division of labour, but at a much lower position in the institutional hierarchy.

EFAS instructors and administrators describe their type of work as a vocation requiring much teaching experience, but many lament that it must still endure lingering social stigmas as a result of its TESL history of operating within the larger teaching occupation (discussed in the previous chapter). Indeed, members of all EAP teaching endeavours must contend with attitudes of people far removed from the occupation. For these reasons, it is commonly viewed from within and outside of the larger teaching hierarchy as subordinate to both public school and post-secondary educational teaching. Teachers at the elementary and secondary school levels have created professional associations, and I have discussed how TESL initiatives fit into these teaching hierarchies.

Despite mirroring the same characteristics and undergoing the same processes that other types of teaching have undergone, such as creating its own specialized curricula and requiring members to go through the process of acquiring credentials, respondents indicated that it does not garner the same social prestige as other types of teaching. However, my overarching research question focuses on how EAP fits within post-secondary educational institutions. In this context, EFAS resembles a paraprofessional teaching occupation as it is situated within the UW hierarchy. In addition to greater status and prestige that is given to academic disciplines that contribute to scientific advancement, non-credit programs like EFAS have not attained work

autonomy that is needed to claim professional status. Like the occupations of nursing or dentistry operating within the larger established medical profession, EFAS must take orders and direction from those higher up the university hierarchy. This is how Freidson (1970: 76) defines the concept “paraprofession”.

The social status which EFAS instructors and administrators describe about their work indicates that it is a more prestigious EAP teaching position than other TESL positions that operate within the public educational system and EAP programs in colleges. EFAS requires the creation of more specialized curricula that closely reflects the academic requirements of UW’s academic faculties, so it is designed specifically to meet the English language requirements of the University of Waterloo, and it requires a higher level of educational credentials among its full-time instructors and administrators. Nevertheless, EFAS is not necessarily perceived with greater prestige by people who are unfamiliar with the occupation of EAP teaching. As an EAP program operating within a Canadian university setting, EFAS represents a phenomenon that has been developing new associations with academic disciplines, and, as mentioned, increased the level of the required credentials to teach EAP in this context. As a result, EFAS continues to work toward attaining paraprofessional status as it stands within the structure of the University of Waterloo.

An individual or an organization cannot claim social status, which can only be given collectively by other members of society. As Weber explains, status groups are normally communities of people, and these communities are situated in society, whereby “all life-fate of [people]...is determined by a specific (positive or negative) social estimation of honour” (1958: 180). The degree of social status granted to one’s occupational work is determined externally by other members of society, which is what Tlusty, Tomlinson and other EFAS instructors and

administrators articulated when asked to describe the level of prestige they felt in their work. Moreover, this is why people performing the same occupational work over a period of time can attain a high degree of social status and then lose such status. It is not their choice because it is how members of society and the university community perceive the value of the type of work that is being performed, which provides the level of social prestige. This is the point made by the socio-historical approach to understanding professions, that an occupation can only be identified as a profession in a specific time and place because the degree of its social status is not constant. While operating within the University of Waterloo, several EFAS instructors and administrators observe that their level of social prestige has improved as the program has gained recognition.

However, it was also reported that their level of social status was perceived to be very poor when the program was in its infancy. They also explained that their status has dramatically changed as EFAS continued to expand, serving more students who were enrolled in an array of academic disciplines. For example, Tlusty had felt negative attitudes toward his/her career while teaching in the EFAS program several years ago, which was a perception that has not only changed over time but one which was self-perceived as well, "I became more comfortable in my own skin" as an EFAS instructor. In addition, Tremblay noted that non-verbal attitudes on campus toward EFAS were only experienced "internally", and were not necessarily an accurate reflection of other people's perceptions. As discussed, social status is assigned to individuals and groups by other members of society.

In summary, EFAS instructors and administrators identify EFAS as a legitimate teaching profession that is slowly gaining recognition within the larger teaching occupational hierarchy. Its association with the University of Waterloo serves as a vehicle to gain greater social prestige

in this context, partly due to becoming recognized as a legitimate pedagogical endeavour operating within the university structure. Therefore, in relation to the literature in the sociology of professions, the EFAS program is characteristic of a paraprofession as it is situated within the hierarchy of UW, which is an institution that houses multiple professional academic disciplines. It does not enjoy the work autonomy that established professions possess because it is an academic service-oriented program that provides learning outcomes that should have taken place earlier in students' educational process. Thus, EFAS sits in a position to correct international students' communicative facilities to enable them to pursue academic disciplines.

EFAS instructors and administrators have received more recognition for their work within the university hierarchy since the program first emerged. Its curriculum has been shaped because it operates within this context. As a result, EFAS instructors and administrators have identified a time constraint for students to reach the appropriate benchmark for passing each level in order to fit within the university's semester system. It is an important and valued program for UW because it attracts international students to the university. The final part of this analysis is an evaluation of the learning outcomes of the EFAS program. In order to measure international students' English language competency, data is analyzed from interviews with EFAS instructors, administrators and students, reviews of UW's web-site that states its intentions of becoming an attractive higher educational institution for international students, and external reviews of both the ELI and UW's English language competency requirements.

7.4 English Language Competency at the University of Waterloo

A major theme that emerged from data indicates that EFAS has subordinate status within the university institution in which it operates. Because it is not afforded professional status, the

autonomy to control its own work practices, EFAS is in a position that is not entirely conducive to meeting its students' needs. The integral issue for everyone involved in EFAS is student learning outcomes. The program is entrusted as a gatekeeper for meeting UW's English language proficiency requirements. Its work practices are centred around teaching language competency and to prepare students for university coursework. This position has helped shape the EFAS curriculum, and it is affected by the requirement of operating within the university's semester system. Therefore, the issue of control over its work practices needs to be overcome in order for it to continue to gain greater legitimacy as a teaching endeavour. This part of the analysis identifies UW's English language competency requirements, and examines how the university and EFAS are addressing student language needs, as UW aspires to become a prominent international learning institution.

7.4.1 The University of Waterloo's Academic Standards

The University of Waterloo has clear definitions of the academic expectations for all of its undergraduate students, which includes attaining a high standard of English language proficiency. There are ongoing internal and external reports that help establish guidelines to ensure that these language learning competencies are met. However, several faculties and cooperative employers have expressed concern about their international student cohorts' English language competencies. A response to such matters was the establishment of The Task Force on Support for English Language Competency Development at the University of Waterloo, in 2012 by the Office of the Vice-President Academic and Provost (Ager, D'Alessio, Olson, Stublely and Walker, 2012).

The skills and knowledge that students who complete a bachelor degree program at one of Ontario's publicly funded universities are defined by the Ontario Council of Academic Vice-Presidents. Along with the dimension of funding for academic research, this represents the degree of control the state has over university institutions. As a member of this governing body, the University of Waterloo has adopted its undergraduate degree level expectations. The first expectation is "depth and breadth of knowledge", which includes:

A developed knowledge and critical understanding of the key concepts, methodologies, current advances, theoretical approaches and assumptions in a discipline...a developed ability to...gather, review, evaluate and interpret information...detailed knowledge of and experience in research in an area of the discipline...developed critical thinking and analytical skills inside and outside the discipline (University of Waterloo, 2014a).

Another expectation is "knowledge of methodologies", which outlines the skills needed to describe and comment "upon particular aspects of research", followed by "application of knowledge" that includes "the ability to review, present, and interpret quantitative and qualitative information to...develop lines of argument" (ibid, 2014a). One other pertinent degree-level expectation is "communication skills", including "the ability to communicate information, arguments, and analyses accurately and reliably, orally and in writing to a range of audiences" (ibid, 2014a).

The English language competency admission requirement for the University of Waterloo requires "a credit in Ontario Grade 12 English or equivalent with [a] minimum final grade of 70 per cent" (Ager et al., 2012: 21). Non-native English speaking students must submit additional evidence that show "their four most recent years of schooling instruction have been in English", achieving a standard test score from an approved English language proficiency test, such as IELTS or TOEFL, or "they have completed the advanced (400) level of the English for Academic Success program, at Renison University College, with an overall average of at least 80

per cent” (University of Waterloo, 2014a). However, beginning in the academic year of 2013/2014, most UW faculties required an average of 75 per cent in each skill area of EFAS’ level 400 (Renison University College, 2014). The two exceptions from this language requirement are graduate students in the Faculty of Engineering, who are required to complete level 300, and for undergraduate students enrolled in the 2+2 program. Students in this program who belong to the Faculty of Science need to pass level 300, whereas students in the Faculty of Environment are required to take, but not pass, level 300 (Missere-Mihás).

Once students have gained admission to the University of Waterloo, whether they are native or non-native English speakers, they must earn the English Language Proficiency (ELP) certification “before the end of their 1A, 2A or 2B academic terms” (Ager et al., 2012: 29). Native-speaking students achieve this requirement by writing the English Language Proficiency Exam (ELPE). Students are given one hour to write a 300 to 500 word essay that “is marked on organization, application of language, and use of common knowledge” (ibid: 27). Those students who fail ELPE can re-write the exam at a later date, or may satisfy the ELP requirement by passing an approved UW English credit course, depending upon the student’s faculty. Many international students take either ESL 102R (Error Correction in Writing) or ESL 129R (Written Academic English) offered by the ELI’s English Language Studies (ELS) credit branch at Renison University College. These courses are restricted to non-native English speakers.

The University of Waterloo boasts that it attracts “the best and the brightest” students who have an “87.7 per cent average entering grade”, in which “12 per cent [of] undergraduates are international students” (University of Waterloo, 2014c). Regarding the university’s language requirements, the task force states, “while it is true that some disciplines may rely more heavily on a mathematical or scientific language than on English, there is no program at the University

of Waterloo that does not require its students to be able to communicate effectively in English” (Ager et al., 2012: 14). By enforcing university-wide language benchmarks along with high admission standards, the university is sending “a strong message that the development of language competency is a key component of any Waterloo degree program” (ibid: 20).

However, the task force found:

Many Waterloo faculty members believe that students who meet the ELPE admission requirements do not necessarily have the language skills required to be deep learners in their discipline. Analysis of work term performance [from] co-op employer evaluations of engineering students indicates that employers have similar concerns about students’ workplace communication skills (ibid: 1).

The University of Waterloo has the “largest faculty of engineering in Canada”, along with the “largest post-secondary co-operative education program in the world” with “more than 18,300 students enrolled in 140 accredited co-op programs” (University of Waterloo, 2014c). These facts demonstrate that UW is attempting to position itself by promoting those disciplines that contribute the most to scientific advancement. The report’s assessment of the Faculty of Engineering’s co-op students included interviews with members of its departments. It echoes the doubts about the inability of many non-native English speaking students at UW being able to grasp “deep learning” structures in English:

According to anecdotal evidence, many Waterloo faculty members believe that students who meet the admission requirements...do not necessarily have the requisite language skills to be deep learners in their discipline...the workplace skill most identified as needing improvement after the first work term was communication (written and oral) (Ager et al., 2012: 22).

Although it is a pass or fail exam, the report explains that the average ELPE grades of international students from all faculties are relatively equal, so the conclusion that engineering students are not meeting the university’s high language competency requirements, from the

perspective of faculty members and co-op employers, “likely applies to students in most programs” (ibid: 22).

Coming to the University of Waterloo from different countries while learning to master a new language, as well as learning academic skills often for the first time, poses critical problems for both the international student contingent and the university. Missere-Mihas finds that the most common concern among academic departments is plagiarism. If this problem occurs, Missere-Mihas insists that the “perceptions of plagiarism are so different” among international students that they may not be purposely attempting to cheat. Rather it is often that they have previously learned that it is an acceptable practice, or they lack the skill to properly paraphrase research material. In Chapter Five, six students stated that they had never been aware of the concept of plagiarism. The other four explained that they had never learned how to avoid it prior to taking the EFAS program. In fact, each of the Chinese students reported that they had previously learned that copying directly from other scholars’ work was to honour those people. This corresponds to the report findings, since effective writing involves the use of accurate and complex grammatical structures, a breadth of vocabulary, and knowledge and use of rhetorical patterns. This suggests that the academic skills taught in EFAS are not fully grasped by those students who report occurrences of plagiarism prior to even entering into their degree programs.

Like any person who travels to another country, international students often experience difficulty in negotiating culturally determined language contexts. For example, differing context include the ways people interact with family or people in authoritative positions, or in the context of writing, between academic or business styles (Ager et al., 2012: 17). Several students noted the difficulties of understanding humour with Canadian peers. A lack of English communicative skills was discussed by six students as contributing to their experience of culture shock upon

arriving in Canada, whereas the other four respondents affirmed that they either already had family and friends in the UW community or had immigrated to Canada earlier with their spouse.

According to Tomlinson, the failure of international students at UW to attain a high level of English language competency is because “we ghettoize students. We ask them to come here from countries like China for the math stream, but then tell them that they must first work on their English, and then they’re put into a building full of other Chinese students and they’re seldom going to have to read or speak English”. Similarly, Tlusty claims that international students are given the “wrong impression” upon being accepted into a UW program. “It’s a perceptual problem because UW promotes EFAS as a requirement that will only last a few months, so students think ‘I’m paying an arm and a leg and I’m entitled to my degree program, but EFAS is holding me back’”. This viewpoint is also supported by the task force report, which describes many international students being streamed, “by choice or otherwise – into interacting with peers with the same language or culture. Thus, they may not gain as much exposure to the Canadian context, reducing their likely degree of success both in the classroom and in the workplace” (Ager et al., 2012: 17).

Prior to taking EAP, most students have never been introduced to academic skills that are common learning and utilitarian techniques used among Western English-speaking educational institutions. As a result, such skills represent a completely foreign learning culture, rather than merely “brushing up” on language skills. Thus, acquiring a completely new culture of learning requires much time and practice. Sometimes, students must repeat standard EAP benchmark levels in order to acquire new academic learning strategies. Since EFAS does not have control of most recruitment practices, this is the issue that needs to be communicated more clearly to international students during UW’s recruitment stage of attracting students who display the depth

of cognitive ability required to succeed with learning the knowledge taught in their academic disciplines. If students cannot grasp the cognitive concepts taught in their academic disciplines due to a lack of English language comprehension and poor academic skills, then they are at a significant disadvantage in terms of their academic learning outcomes. Since the recruitment of international students is beyond the control of EFAS, there is little communication regarding expectations and requirements between the program and its own student clientele until they arrive in the program. As a result, very few students understand the difficulties of meeting the language benchmarks for learning new academic skills within one semester.

7.4.2 Attempts to Address Student Language Competency

Initiatives to improve international students' English language competency are ongoing. As mentioned, they involve external reviews of both the University of Waterloo's policies on English language proficiency requirements and the EFAS program's operations. In this section, I will discuss the results of these evaluations, explore student feedback regarding the effectiveness of EFAS, and discuss how its instructors and administrators propose to improve the program. The task force on UW's language requirements has formulated a call for action to develop language proficiency at the university, "above all, it calls on the university to make English language competency a core value at Waterloo: for the sake of student academic and lifelong success and for the sake of the institution's reputation for excellence" (Ager et al., 2012: 2). As discussed, EFAS is in a unique position to support these goals because it has become situated as a gatekeeping program that serves the university's language needs. Conversely, this position impedes EFAS from attaining professional status within the university hierarchy because of the inability to control all of its work practices.

Regarding the external evaluation of the present state of the EFAS program, the general observations of the ELI as an institute is a sense of satisfaction. It has the internal ability to help the university meet its language benchmarks, and its personnel contribute to the development of English abilities and adaptation to academic studies among the diverse international student cohort who study at UW. ELI's programs:

have each established a distinct and complementary institutional structure and appropriate policies, procedures, and resources within Renison University College. The programs are staffed by instructors and program administrators who have established careers and relevant experience in English language instruction, who appear comfortable and...enjoy working in this context, and who contribute to and interact regularly with local professional associations related to English language teaching (Cumming et al., 2010: 2-3).

Cumming et al. show how EFAS has evolved within the ELI, "from a small ESL program into a diverse set of courses and related services for undergraduate, graduate, and visiting international students" (ibid: i). Not only are EFAS instructors given credit for creating an essential service to the UW community but also for the appropriateness of its curricula, which was developed internally. "The EFAS curriculum review in 2006 appears to have been a successful and acknowledged...start for the process of curriculum development" (ibid: 7). Like other academic programs and disciplines at UW, EFAS was reviewed externally as part of the "Sixth Decade Plan" initiative marking the university's fiftieth anniversary. Part of this strategic plan for the future is to achieve "an even greater degree of academic distinction" and to "pursue global excellence" (University of Waterloo, 2014b).

The EFAS program was accredited by the Languages Canada federation in 2006, "providing national recognition of their standards of quality and organization" (Cumming et al., 2010: 3). The ELI as a whole is a founding member of Languages Canada (formerly Canada Languages Council), which is "Canada's premier language accreditation body" (Renison

University College, 2014). The development of the EFAS curriculum involves benchmarking learning outcome objectives against the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The reason for selecting the European system rather than the Canadian Language Benchmarks is that the latter “is presently more for ESL, so we benchmark ourselves against the common European standard, which is the same as IELTS” (Missere-Mihas).

In assessing the EFAS curricula, the external report states, “they seem internally coherent, appropriately conceptualized, and serve student needs and populations” (Cumming et al., 2010: 6). One of the recommendations to improve students’ academic skills in EFAS was to change the passing grade from an overall average of eighty per cent to seventy-five per cent for each of the three courses because the overall average could mask a lack of ability in one skill area. Missere-Mihas explains that this new evaluation system could increase competency because individual band scores have more meaning than an overall average. Missere-Mihas credits UW’s Registrar’s Office as being helpful in coordinating and enabling her to meet with each faculty in order to ensure that EFAS can incorporate direct feedback that shapes the EFAS curriculum. For example, just as Timgren has described, an extensive review of departmental expectations and work that prospective students will be assigned, such as writing survey reports, is a crucial part of the procedure because it guarantees that the tasks required in the EFAS curriculum mirror those assignments (Missere-Mihas). Research into what other Canadian universities expect of their students in their writing is also undertaken when devising specific course curricula, such as selecting the most frequent rhetorical styles of academic writing.

People in EFAS administer a needs analysis for every student in the program. I have discussed the requirement of placement testing in order to determine what EFAS level is most appropriate for a student, but Missere-Mihas elaborates on this mechanism. When students enter

the program, “we ask each of them what their academic plan is, their goals, where they want to apply and if they’ve been accepted”. This is a necessary step because it ensures that students are not only in the proper program but also in the appropriate level that matches the purpose of their specific academic and language needs. Student evaluations of the EFAS program, collected after each semester, indicate that it “enhances writing, improves listening, reading and time management skills, but an area they wish more of is vocabulary development in relation to each of their own academic disciplines” (ibid). The external report findings support this feedback, “students who...have taken courses from the ELI indicated satisfaction with what they have learned and accomplished” (Cumming et al., 2010: 3).

There was also a consensus among the EFAS students interviewed in this research that EFAS greatly improved their English language and academic skills. For example, Sofia’s position is that “me and students I know from EFAS found it very useful. Friends from China who didn’t take it regret that because it’s better for us to come here earlier and prepare for writing and academic skills. One friend went to high school in Canada, and she thinks we have an advantage because we went to EFAS”. As a student in the 2+2 program, Serena thinks that “six weeks was a good length for the program. Fourteen weeks would be too long because then my whole schedule would be disorder, because some [UW] courses I need are only offered once in a full year. But six weeks was not enough for my boyfriend. He should have done EFAS for fourteen weeks”.

Students also reported that attending EFAS assisted them with cultural elements and the ability to become acclimatized with the campus and community. Sofia describes having left home and the need to make friends, which she was able to do because of “EFAS’ small classes; a really good way to make friends who I still meet for lunches and parties”. Sandy credits the

program with helping her restore a sense of self-esteem as a new immigrant living in Canada. As previously discussed, Sandy moved to Canada with her husband, who is a professor at the University of Waterloo. She held a graduate degree in Turkey where she worked as a teacher. “EFAS has really helped me with the language [since beginning the program in level 100] and it helped me personally, too. They treat me with respect in EFAS. I had a status in Turkey, but here it’s different; that’s all behind me. Here, I like being a student again, learning to improve my English” (Sandy).

In addition to calls to improve EFAS by including more specific, discipline-based vocabulary in the curriculum, another concern raised by students, particularly Scott and Sherry, was to have more UW personnel involved, and to include some non-academic skills, such as learning how to apply for jobs. Sofia would like more guest lectures by professors from the main campus. “Maybe you find it funny, but the UW instructors’ accents are Chinese and Indian, and I think Australian, and one Canadian with good pronunciation speaks too low. So, I got used to perfect pronunciation in EFAS when I arrived, but now I have to get used to all kinds of accents”. Sherry intends to continue her education in an English-speaking graduate program and feels that EFAS could be improved by teaching “how to write resumes and personal statements because they’re part of our lives”.

The instructors, administrators, students and the external review all report high degrees of satisfaction with the EFAS program. However, many EFAS instructors and administrators express concerns that an insufficient amount of time is allotted for many students to succeed in their academic degree programs after taking EFAS. Please refer to question 6 in Appendix C, question 6 in Appendix D, and Table 6, which summarizes the themes related to EFAS students’ English language competency.

Table 6: EFAS Students' English Language Competency

<i>EFAS Instructors and Administrators</i>	<i>Open Themes</i>	<i>Relational Themes</i>	<i>Connecting Themes</i>
Missere-Mihas Tellqvist Thomas Thornton Tingren Tlusty Tomlinson Toskala Tremblay Trottier Tucker Turnbull	Identifying UW academic standards and concerns. Identifying faculties/ departments' concerns. Identifying how UW and EFAS attempt to address low student language competency.	UW a member of Ontario Council of Vice-Presidents that adopts common degree level expectations. UW officially requires English language competency for all of its degree programs. Cooperative employers are dissatisfied with UW student employees' productive English language skills. UW wants productive skills for students' lifelong learning and for its own international reputation.	<u>Main Theme:</u> English language competency among the international student cohort is insufficient for deep learning of disciplinary knowledge, and applying academic English skills to research and the workplace. <u>Description:</u> The EFAS curriculum is properly benchmarked, but student competencies suffer in the confines of UW's semester structure.

An insufficient amount of time to complete EFAS was particularly an issue for students who are required to pass or complete level 300. Although they consider level 300 to be well-designed, and that it meets the prescribed language benchmarks set by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, fourteen weeks is not long enough for many students to master the level's skill objectives. Although EFAS utilizes the European English language benchmarking system because it is appropriate for EAP rather than ESL, the arrangement of operating within the University of Waterloo's semester system has a direct effect on its relationship with the TESL Canada governing body.

To reiterate, the EFAS curriculum was created internally and organized differently from other EAP initiatives in order to meet the direct needs of UW international students.

Furthermore, as a member of the TESL Canada Federation, level 300 has been approved as meeting the language benchmarks for student learning outcomes, but this requirement is compromised because of the need to fit into the university's semester system. Specifically, there

is not enough time allotted for students to practice the learned skills in order to attain the benchmark level of acceptable competency, which results in lowering the English language competency requirement at the University of Waterloo. I will first address the issue of time constraints placed on students in EFAS.

Only students who commit themselves through self-study and quickly adopting strict time management skills gain enough practice time to be successful in their future academic programs. As part of his/her research when developing EFAS curricula, Turnbull finds that the standards students need to reach in level 300 is very difficult to accomplish in only one semester. “Research indicates that it takes two years longer for non-native speakers than native speakers to complete a four year degree”. Toskala explains that even if a student earns a “passing grade” in EFAS they need more time to be able to apply their newly acquired skills, but “most of them don’t do that and they end up in a loop, making the same errors and not applying our feedback. They hear it but they don’t listen to it”. EFAS courses are regarded as being well designed in order to teach students how to succeed in all academic skill areas that they will need for their future academic disciplines. However, they are not designed to incorporate the amount of practice time that is necessary to master those skills.

Toskala is convinced that for students to master the skills within the present structure, they need to “spend forty-five minutes just to prepare for a class, by reading course materials to find interesting combinations, collocations, vocabulary, and anything else” because the learning process must be a holistic experience, rather than a point by point, segregated skills type of learning. Tlusty agrees, comparing second language learners to native speakers. “Language students have to learn from form to function, then from function to use. That’s the progression, whereas native students can start at that usage and can then work into function. EFAS students

just know grammar, and they don't even know it well'. In summary, although EFAS instructors are content with the curriculum design for each level, they acknowledge that there is not enough time for many students to apply learned skills in order to achieve a high level of English language competency for the deep learning that is required in academia. Sarah, Scott and Stewart also identified this time constraint problem.

In Chapter Six, Scott complained that the professors in his graduate program assume that he and other international students comprehend course materials and instructions, even though this is not the case. Samantha discussed difficulties with listening to her UW professors, and also expressed concerns about her English language competency when working with peers during required group work assignments. Certainly, it is a challenge for both EFAS students and instructors to work with an integrated curriculum. It was discussed in Chapter Six that it would indeed be an easier task to present to students four courses in each level that would teach the core English skills, similar to EAP programs operating independently of a university setting. However, it is more practical in the University of Waterloo context to learn how to apply these skills in EFAS' three courses in each level because they encompass and mimic the tasks required of students upon entering their degree programs. The key issue raised within this relationship is not that EFAS' three courses in its four levels are inappropriate, because they are widely accepted by both TESL Canada and the University of Waterloo as meeting the English language benchmarks for university students, but the time constraints placed on individuals to acquire those skills is too limited within a semester.

To address the issue of the limited amount of time during class hours that are needed to improve academic skills, several instructors expressed the view that only extremely responsible EFAS students who adapt to the new Canadian learning environment quickly can attain a high

level of English language proficiency when taking the program. Tucker claims that students must be “hard-working and responsible for their own learning. One needs to be a certain kind of student in order to be successful here”. Several instructors agree that students must be active, independent learners to succeed after taking EFAS. “Some students complain that paraphrasing is too difficult, and all I can say is ‘yes, it requires great effort and time to become good at it’. In the end, they need to put much more time into learning each skill” (Tellqvist).

Timgren also recognizes that only “responsible learners” make the necessary time to succeed in EFAS, “if students follow the directions and put the practice time in, then it’s enough, so they must work inside and outside of class”. EFAS instructors and administrators believe that students are not well-equipped with the proper time management skills to quickly adapt to the demands required to maximize their learning experiences in the EFAS program. If this is accurate, then the time required to actually learn how to be successful in EFAS ought to be articulated to students during the recruitment stage, because one semester in the EFAS program is not an efficient method to maximize effective English language communication skills required in higher level academics. Missere-Mihás notes, “research indicates that it takes six weeks just to get to know the environment and become acclimatized” to a new culture and learning medium.

7.4.3 UW’s International Aspirations and English Language Competency

A significant component of the University of Waterloo’s stated commitment to becoming more academically and socially relevant in the world involves attracting prospective undergraduate students who have attained high grade averages at the secondary school level, as well as graduate students who have maintained strong grade point averages during their undergraduate studies. It is a proud achievement of the university to be “consistently ranked

Canada's most innovative university...[by] inspiring innovations with real impact today and in the future. [The University of] Waterloo is shaping the future of the planet" (University of Waterloo, 2014d). The university promotes its Maclean's Magazine reputational rankings among Canadian universities, which six students cited in Chapter Five as a motivating factor in their decisions to apply to UW. For the past twenty-two consecutive years it has been ranked Canada's "most innovative" university, as well as "best overall – 18 of 22 years [and] leaders of tomorrow – 15 of 22 years" (University of Waterloo, 2014c). Furthermore, it has a "96 per cent co-op employment rate 2012/2013, [and] six months after graduation, 92 per cent of co-op students are employed in a field related to their area of study". The Ontario average is seventy-three per cent (ibid, 2014c). These goals and facts about the university are supported by the task force's observations that "the university's reputation for excellence rests largely on the performance of its students when they move into careers or higher learning" (Ager et al., 2012: 1).

The University of Waterloo is committed to "developing the excellence that will lead to its global recognition as a top-tier university" (ibid: 11). As mentioned, a key part of attaining this aspiration is to attract an increasing number of international students. The Sixth Decade Plan is described as "a bold strategic vision" that focuses on four areas: "expanding the quality and amount of research; significantly growing graduate student opportunities; enhancing undergraduate studies; and embracing the world, by expanding the University of Waterloo's presence around the globe, providing international opportunities for Canadian students and attracting more international students to Waterloo" (University of Waterloo, 2014b).

The university recognizes the necessity of incorporating English language learning into its overall curricula. "Many top-tier universities, including Harvard, Stanford, and the University

of Toronto, explicitly recognize the importance of English language competency in establishing their students' success and have made the development of this competency in their student body a top priority" (Ager et al., 2012: 11). Attracting more international students expands the search for "the best" students outside of Canada, and it is a stated commitment of the university's Sixth Decade Plan that this trend will continue, "as evidence...there appears to be an increasing number of degree program forms, such as 2+2 programs, that will further increase the size and diversity of the NNES [(non-native English speaking)] student population" (ibid: 10). In pursuit of these goals to be among the leading international universities, it is uncertain whether or not international students are well-equipped with the required academic English language skills to enable the university to meet such aspirations.

As noted, part of the miscommunication between the university and international students who gain admission is that students are not aware of these language expectations prior to their arrival. They are often under the impression that EFAS is merely a continuation of the ESL-type of English classes that they might have taken in their native countries. In Chapter Five, all ten students discussed their English language learning experiences prior to enrolling in EFAS as using various types of rote learning methods. Each student reported that they were forced to memorize material, which was not effective in developing their English language proficiency. Consequently, students commonly believe that their academic English language learning experiences in EFAS will be a continuation of such pedagogical methods. "It is usually a rude awakening for them when they arrive" (Missere-Mihas). As a result, "some students enter EFAS with an inflated sense of their language ability than they actually have" (Timgren). This can become a contentious issue if students attempt to convince EFAS administrators that they belong

in a higher level, despite the results of both their external testing and EFAS' diagnostic needs analysis.

Timgren suggests one reason for wanting to accelerate their EFAS experience with such attempts to move up levels is that they likely have pressure imposed on them by either the conditions of their government scholarships to pass an EFAS level required by their faculty department, or self-imposed timelines to complete their degrees, such as family expectations. A common complaint heard among instructors once courses commence is that some students believe there is far too much work and assignments involved in EFAS. "We tell them it's a vacation compared to main campus, where professors might not know their name or care if they go to class" (ibid). Missere-Mihas adds, "they are very surprised with the workload and we tell them this isn't anything compared to what's waiting for them".

I have also discussed that EFAS instructors observe that, upon arrival, many students look beyond the program because they are eager to begin their academic disciplines. This attitude makes it more difficult to establish a positive pedagogical relationship. Tlusty describes the first few weeks for some students learning EFAS skills as "driving with the brakes on". Reports of such behaviour are consistent among instructors, especially during the first weeks of a semester. Likewise, I have discussed that many students often do not come to appreciate the skills they learn in EFAS until much later in the course or after completing it, when they enter their credit courses. This suggests that, while UW claims to be sending the message that language competency "is a key component of any Waterloo degree program", this message is not being heard by many international students (Ager et al., 2012: 20). There are perhaps conflicting messages within this language policy, since "this same implicit message has the potential to deter

many applicants who have the potential to thrive in a Waterloo program but may not meet the English Language Proficiency requirements” (ibid: 20).

Many international students pursue their degrees under more duress because of a lack of language proficiency. This situation is compounded with reports from EFAS instructors and administrators that “language learning is not what they want” (Turnbull). As Tlusty puts it, “they might come with an affective filter that’s very high, in that they arrive with a great deal of negativity and resentment because they don’t want to be where they are”. The problem that has been discussed “ad nauseam” in EFAS meetings is that some potential student candidates are allowed to arrive “long before they’re even remotely ready for level 100, let alone 300 or 400” (ibid). Tlusty surmises that this problem originates with recruitment initiatives and with the “hopeful ideas on behalf of the candidates”.

Tellqvist detects that some EFAS students “just barely pass because they have at least had some exposure to English in class and get a lot of help from instructors, but when they move to campus they just stop doing anything to continue developing their English skills”. Tellqvist adds the following comment from both his/her spouse, who is a mathematics professor at UW, as well as participating at a recent conference where a professor of statistics spoke. “They say that Chinese students, in particular, use one student to translate all course material from English and then the translations go viral. As a result, their students can’t articulate much, and on exams many cannot understand the instructions”. A continuation of learning and practising the language does not seem to occur among much of the international student population.

Students in this research have acknowledged being aware of this issue. Samantha claims that “EFAS was excellent but I feel like my skills is hard to improve tremendously because it takes time to level up. I know the skills now to apply in my UW classes, but the next step is for

me to use them”. Sherry found value in both the Academic Skills and Writing Skills courses, “they were very good to learn all those skills, but I could also improve a lot more”. Serena realizes that, “I know I still need more practice, to use the basic skills that I learned and practice them”, and, as mentioned, Scott makes a distinction between EFAS and his UW graduate courses. “All of the professors just assume everyone knows English, but we are still only learning it”. Finally, Sandy has entered into level 300 of EFAS and comments, “I’m a perfectionist, and I know that I have a long way to go”. Clearly, the people who are directly involved with the EFAS program, its students, instructors and administrators, report positive learning experiences for students despite acknowledging the time constraints placed on them to acquire skills within the structure of the university’s semester system.

This issue of UW’s English language competency requirements directly addresses the central research question of how an EAP program operates within a Canadian university setting. EFAS lacks the professional status to control its work practices, because it is forced to lessen the time required for students to attain the level of its language competency benchmarks. This is partly due to UW’s recruitment process, in which EFAS is not given an opportunity to communicate its requirements and expectations with many of its student cohort until the start of the program. As UW seeks to attract an increasing number of international students, EFAS is positioned in a subordinate role of providing a service to help students succeed in their academic disciplines. This represents a lack of work autonomy in EFAS, so it cannot be considered a professional program the same way that academic disciplines are. Thus, an important result of EFAS operating within the university structure is that it occupies a subordinate position within its post-secondary educational institution’s hierarchy. This is a similar position to the paraprofessions which are subordinate to their related established professions.

8 Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

This case study research set out to explore how an EAP program operates within a university setting. EAP has its own history in the context of English language teaching. It did not originate as an appendage to higher educational institutions. However, EAP programs have become common within university institutions. Therefore, it was important to gain an understanding of the historical developments in EAP and the reasons why the University of Waterloo adopted the EFAS program. The second part of the research was to explore the professional status of EAP, because there is a lack of empirical evidence that sheds light on how these programs operate within a university setting. Thus, it was necessary to analyze this arrangement as it relates to the literature within the sociology of professions in order to clarify what the characteristics and processes of professionalization are, and how professional social status affects the people involved. In order to address these issues, the third research area was to find out how EAP became the EFAS program at Renison University College because it now functions as a gatekeeping program for many of the University of Waterloo's international student cohort.

8.2 Theoretical Contributions: The Sociology of Professions

Many of the characteristics and processes that EFAS instructors and administrators apply to describe EAP as a profession are discussed in the sociology of professions literature. They include the attributes that are associated with EAP, the institutionalized associations that regulate its activities and credentials, as well as its perceived social status within both public educational teaching and university hierarchies. Although professional institutions share similar hierarchical

organization, the services that are offered and the degree of work autonomy they are granted change over time. For example, scientific advancement affects work practices, and social attitudes can alter the value of a profession's services within a particular occupational field. Due to these institutional and ideological changes, a result of how manual and intellectual work is organized in modern capitalist societies, an inclusive definition of "profession" that can be applied across time and place is not possible. As Freidson (2001: 180) argues, historical contingencies must be considered in order to understand how the institutionalization of professions reveals the level of social status and prestige they enjoy at a specific place and time. It is necessary to conceive institutions according to the distinct period and location in which they exist because they serve specific purposes in a society for a definitive amount of time. Thus, the socio-historical approach to understanding professions is appropriate.

The sociological perspectives to understanding professions have been identified chronologically, beginning with the functionalist "traits and processes" approach. Critical perspectives critique this approach because it ignores the concept of power. For example, it is important to understand professions in terms of how they create and monopolize markets for their services, and how credentialism serves the purpose of social exclusion from professional groups. Finally, the socio-historical approach to understanding professions places an emphasis on social status to determine whether an occupation can be considered a profession, since both social status and institutions change over time and according to geographic location.

The functionalist perspective captures the characteristics and processes that established professions, like engineering or medicine, acquired and undertook to gain professional status for its group members until the mid-twentieth century. In other words, it provides concepts that have a descriptive value. The critical approaches emphasize the need to consider how

professions create their own market jurisdictions. A key distinction is made in that established professions lobbied for state legislation in order to create monopoly control of their services.

This process counters the functionalist altruistic characterization of professionals.

However, while seeking to understand the professionalization of EFAS teaching, it was discovered that its instructors and administrators characterize their work in relation to functional concepts, often comparing their work with other teaching positions. These included comparisons with TESL in the public educational system, EAP taught in colleges, as well as with the teaching of other university disciplines and programs. The adoption of the functionalist traits and processes approach to understanding and asserting claims of professional legitimacy for EAP indicates the dominant hegemony that pervades Canadian society. According to the literature on the sociology of professions, many occupations continue to adopt the functionalist approach in attempts to attain professional status. This research offers further empirical evidence that occupations, like EAP teaching, apply the language and concepts of functionalism despite the fact that it does not ensure the attainment of professional status. As a result, functionalist theory appears to be a legitimating ideology in modern Western class-based capitalist societies. Put differently, other occupations have attempted to emulate the functionalist traits and processes that had helped older, established professions gain high social status, such as forming associations to lobby for state legislation to protect its members from impeding competition for occupations offering alternative services. However, during the past century this method has proven to be ineffective, since different types of work are valued by the state and capitalism more than others.

An important finding was that once the public educational system was institutionalized by the state during the nineteenth century, teaching was a strongly state-regulated and devalued

occupation. Thus, this occupation lacks complete control over its own work practices that is necessary for it to be identified as a profession. As mentioned, EFAS instructors and administrators also compared their work with EAP teaching in Canadian colleges and with university teaching. Drawing on the literature in the sociology of education, it was argued that college education was created during the early twentieth century to stream members of the lower socio-economic classes into diploma-granting post-secondary educational institutions. Over the course of the century, educational credentials became requirements for various types of work. In relation to the analyses of professions, credentialism became an effective measure of social exclusion because professions often utilize university degree programs as required credentials to join their groups, due to the esoteric scientific knowledge bases that are created and taught in academic disciplines. As a result, university instruction is granted much work autonomy, so it is recognized as the only teaching profession.

During the early twentieth century, established professions, such as engineering or medicine, gained prominence because their scientific knowledge bases offered services that were valued by the state for purposes of nation building and to help create civil society. By the time functionalist theorists began to study professions as a concept approaching the middle of the century, these professions had attained ideal typical status in society. This is likely the reason why functionalists developed an ideal type model that includes an extensive list of traits and processes in which to measure and compare the degree of professionalism among other occupations. Nevertheless, by the mid-1970s the literature in the sociology of professions revealed that there appeared to be a decline in the status of many established professions. For example, professions were receiving less funding and support from the state, and a shift in the organization of capitalism toward corporate capitalism was occurring. Due to these changes, the

socio-historical approach to understanding professions is necessary to not only analyze professions but also the evolution of the EFAS program because of its unique situation operating within the university hierarchy.

As mentioned, it was necessary to trace the evolution of the program because there is no empirical evidence that explains the professional status of EAP operating within Canadian university institutions. However, as Freidson concedes, the only true trait criterion for distinguishing professions from other types of work is autonomy (1970: 82-3). By adopting the socio-historical approach it is possible to understand the institutional composition and social purposes professions serve as institutional remnants of a particular time and place. In this context, a proper starting point to identify a profession is to determine the degree of autonomy it has in its work, and the level of social status it garners during a specific historical period. Thus, it is possible to understand the institutional, formal level of professions as organizations, since they are part of the larger social division of labour (Freidson, 1970: 83). Since the degree of autonomy a profession can gain is tied to how much the state values its work practices it is necessary to examine the actual work that professionals do and how their jurisdictions are created and maintained in society. I have been able to measure the level of autonomy in the work practices of EFAS in relation to its operational position within the hierarchy of the University of Waterloo.

An important variable of the socio-historical approach to understanding whether an occupation has attained professional status is the institution. Since institutions are socially constructed, they represent artifacts of a certain time, culture and location. They are formal mechanisms for political rule-making and enforcement, yet they appear to be part of the natural landscape. According to hegemonic reproductive theory, many institutions are argued to be

oppressive because they only reflect the culture of a minority of people. Nevertheless, an examination of institutional interactions provides a way to understand the processes which establish an occupation's social position in society. Thus, at the core of understanding professions is to identify the social status of an occupation through the institutional hierarchy it operates within, as well as how those institutions interact with one another. For these reasons, the case study of the EFAS program is a vehicle for understanding the social status of EAP as it is situated in the context of the larger university institutional hierarchy.

A distinct process in which occupations have acquired professional status over the past century is the formation of an association that restricts and regulates membership. This is at the crux of Weber's social closure theory, whereby organizations limit access to the required education and training of an occupation through the process of obtaining educational credentials. Adams and Welsh (2007: 257) explain that professions with much social closure have higher social status; conversely, those with less social closure have less social status due to less extensive formal educational training in abstract scientific knowledge. Education is a vehicle that provides social closure to high status jobs for the lower socio-economic classes. It is a prominent mechanism for social selection and social class stratification, placing people into all types of work within the division of labour.

A lack of work autonomy has been revealed in each of the educational hierarchical structures the EFAS program operates within. Within the teaching hierarchy of the Ontario boards of education, TESL has been firmly placed in the lower echelon of priority, and EAP's association with that type of pedagogy has had an impact on the amount of social prestige it receives. It remains stigmatized by its ESL derivation. Housed within Renison University College, there has been ongoing struggle to not only gain satisfactory resources and facilities but

also to gain recognition as a legitimate educational program, such as being included in the institution's academic plans. Finally, as an appendage program operating within the hierarchy of the University of Waterloo, EFAS is dependent on its gatekeeping role to provide English language proficiency to UW students, which not only determines the curriculum content but also the length of time its courses run so that they fit within the institution's semester system. Thus, its dependency on the higher educational institution results in a lack of work autonomy for it to achieve similar status as established profession. In this particular instance, EFAS resembles a paraprofession.

To reiterate, in order to fill these new types of intellectual work roles, schooling has provided the means to stratify populations into specific jobs. As the demand for cognitive skills continues to grow, in step with scientific discovery, the higher educational institutions contribute greatly to this knowledge economy. This is the reason why university teaching achieved professional status. The dynamic of research in its work practices connects it to the rationalized legitimacy of science as a world view in capitalist societies. The feedback mechanism at the University of Waterloo that provides a link between understanding what is learned by students in their degree programs and how they apply that knowledge in an actual work role is the co-operative program. The results of data analyses discussed in the previous chapter reveal that their English language productive skills are problematic among UW faculty members and employers in the cooperative workplace.

These communicative language competency issues are tied to the diverse types of learning cultures that are found throughout the world. Thus, the evolution of the EFAS program is tied to the processes involved in economic globalization. In Chapter Three, I discussed the history of EAP as it emerged as a unique language teaching enterprise for the specific purpose of

teaching the academic skills required of non-native speaking students wishing to pursue higher levels of education through the medium of English. This phenomenon is due to English becoming a global lingua franca, as well as credential inflation, as an increasing number of people continue to pursue post-secondary degrees offered in Western countries since the Second World War. EAP is directly connected to these phenomena. As mentioned, it emerged as a “specific purposes” English language teaching endeavour offered to students who were pursuing post-secondary degrees in science, technology and business. Furthermore, EAP programs have become appendage programs for Canadian universities in order to attract more international students to scientifically based degree programs. As a result of these large migration patterns, people are forced into learning how to adopt new types of educational cultures.

At the University of Waterloo, it was found that many EFAS students do not appear to be expecting this major change in learning strategies. In fact, most EFAS instructors and administrators reported that the majority of students arrive with the predetermined goal of immediately pursuing their degree program. Not much importance is placed on the fact that they lack the cultural learning techniques that are necessary for them to succeed in those degree programs, which is the content that is transmitted in EFAS. Consequently, many international students arrive unprepared to effectively maximize the potential to translate their cognitive skills into the English language productive skills that are not only required for deep learning of academic content but also for Western workplace settings. Such skills required in English language learning compromise a significant portion of the EFAS curriculum. This arrangement affects the occupation of EAP, and policy implications for UW’s accreditation status. In terms of understanding the professional status of EFAS, the results of the international students’ learning outcomes show that the program is placed in a subordinate position within the

University of Waterloo hierarchy. This is further evidence that the EFAS program possesses the same characteristics as a paraprofession, since it takes direction from the larger educational institution.

Many EFAS instructors and administrators lamented that EFAS is often perceived as a remedial program to prepare international students for their “real” academic disciplines. This is a key reason why EFAS does not enjoy the same level of status that academic disciplines do. Therefore, I have borrowed Freidson’s (1970) description of paraprofessions in order to analyze how EAP fits within the university hierarchy. Similar to other paraprofessions, EFAS is in a subordinate position as it operates at a lower echelon of the university hierarchy. Specifically, it serves a functional need for international students so that they can continue on after completing EFAS to pursue the scientific knowledge-base curricula of academic disciplines. Thus, EFAS is situated in a subordinate position in relation to other academic disciplines and programs that operate within the same university structure.

8.3 The Social Status of the EFAS Program within the University of Waterloo

In summary, the EFAS program at Renison University College was created for the purpose of serving the academic language needs for non-native speaking students who intend to pursue higher educational studies through the medium of English. While operating within this organizational structure, the social status of its instructors and administrators was low during its initial years, but a greater sense of prestige has been cultivated as the program gained legitimacy for its work. It became recognized as providing an essential service for the University of Waterloo’s international student cohort. EFAS personnel have had to overcome several barriers in order to gain a level of social recognition needed to work comfortably within this

organizational hierarchy. For example, within the greater teaching community, instructors and administrators have had to contend with the misconception that their pedagogy is remedial, which induces perceptions of low social prestige.

As an academic program housed within Renison, the EFAS program was given low priority status due to its physical location operating out of Renison's basement, as well as poor working conditions and limited resources despite annual increases in revenue that it generated for the university college. For instance, its budget was formerly devised as a limited lump sum intended to cover its entire expenses, despite its fluctuating student enrolment. During those early years, there were conflicting messages sent to EFAS by Renison, evidenced by its exclusion from the institution's strategic plans, classrooms being displaced to suit other discipline and program's needs, and there were reduced hours of services during the EFAS program's busiest times of the academic calendar. As recently as the 2010 external report of the ELI, some of these issues had not been resolved, such as insufficient office spaces for both full-time and sessional personnel, although these spaces have been improved from the cramped confines of a utility photocopy and mailroom.

The people involved with the EFAS program have been aware of their low social standing within Renison's organizational hierarchy. However, these perceptions were not felt in their own work practices, partly because students did not make distinctions in the quality of teaching they receive between EFAS and their UW courses. Differences students make between the two learning experiences lie in the content that is delivered. Following an increase in graduate student enrolment into EFAS, the program began to gain recognition from the University of Waterloo. As a result, the program has increased in size to serve undergraduate and graduate students from each of the university's six faculties. As discussed, it presently

serves as a gatekeeping function for many of the university's international students. It is one of three admission requirement options for this student population. Thus, UW works in cooperation with many foreign governments and now promotes EFAS as meeting its English language competency requirements.

As EFAS gained legitimacy and recognition from UW, remuneration for its full-time personnel began to increase. Operating within the university structure has also affected EFAS' EAP curriculum, as well as the title designations of its part-time instructors. The EFAS curriculum differs from many other EAP initiatives because it integrates the traditional core skills in order to mimic UW curricula, and to fit into UW's semester scheduling. A significant change is an increase in the number of hours allotted for each course. The curriculum also required standardization in order to present materials to students from an array of faculty disciplines. Toskala reiterates that such materials are merely instruments used to learn academic skills. In summary, it is designed to emulate UW's courses and the type of assignments students will be assigned in their degree programs. Thus, the EFAS program is designed to channel students into main campus disciplines (Missere-Mihas).

Due to its gatekeeping function, the stakes are much higher for EFAS students than many of their peers who are enrolled in independent EAP programs. This association with the university not only makes it a more challenging EAP program because of pressures placed on both instructors and students to pass the program in order to enter their degree programs, but also as a result of the core skills being integrated rather than taught separately. It is a more difficult task to apply academic skills to actual university assignments than it is to teach and learn those skills independently. Moreover, this arrangement affects the pay scale of EFAS instructors and administrators because of its status as a non-credit program. For example, it is not a member of

UW's Faculty Association because it operates as an independent unit from the university.

Therefore, the initiative was taken to compare EFAS teaching with other non-credit programs on campus, which resulted in changing the designations of part-time instructors to "Staff Language Instructor" in order to seek fair and comparable compensation.

Two common misconceptions for the reasons of attracting international students to UW are that they take the place of Canadian students, and that the university stands to gain increased tuition income, since it is often believed that international students pay more fees than domestic students (Missere-Mihas; Thornton). Missere-Mihas points to a declining Canadian birth rate for the need to attract leading student candidates from abroad. This rationale is supported by Citizenship and Immigration Canada statistics for 2011, which show an increasing number of permanent residence and Canadian citizens who were born outside the country (Ager et al., 2012: 10). Since the University of Waterloo is a publically funded Ontario university, Canadian students' tuition fees are subsidized. The idea that UW recruits international students to gain higher tuition fees is not accurate because their total fees are comparable to Canadian students' subsidized costs. According to Thornton, the difference in tuition fees between the two contingencies "is in the hundreds of dollars, not the thousands". Furthermore, in Chapter Seven it was discussed that UW's real motivation to attract international students is a result of its Six Decade plan to become recognized as an international institution of higher education.

The problems related to international students discussed above, that UW faculty members and co-op employers exhibit dissatisfaction with their English language proficiency, are identified by EFAS instructors and administrators as partly due to a failure of the university to clearly communicate its language requirements and expectations to prospective students. As a result, many international students arrive in the program with the belief that it will be a

continuation of their past language learning experiences in remedial, rote-learning and ESL-based programs, along with attitudes that are not congruent with UW's objectives of promoting a high level of English language competency. Furthermore, it is a source for how teachers have described the large amount of time required for students to adapt to this new learning environment, as well as why only a few select students possess the appropriate time management skills required to succeed in their studies, by practising learned language skills outside of class.

Regardless of UW's stated requirement of the need to meet language entrance standards, "language development does not stop with an offer of admission. Rather, it should be assumed that students will develop their language skills and their ability to use language in specific cultural contexts throughout the course of their university education" (Ager et al., 2012: 17). Many instructors and administrators think that EFAS students are "channelled" or "ghettoized" into segregated cultural groups that are not conducive to English language learning despite living in an English speaking culture. This issue was also raised by some student respondents who realize that learning should never cease, that they "must keep adding to skills learned" or they will dissipate (Toskala).

8.4 Policy Implications: A Call to Enhance EFAS

As with any language, the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking are interrelated. In order to attain maximum proficiency of the skill sets taught in an English for Academic Purposes course, these separate language skills often need to be applied together in order to accomplish the tasks and communicative requirements involved in higher educational institutions. Renison's EAP program, EFAS, operates on the University of Waterloo campus to

serve a gatekeeping function for its international students who are required to attain a high level of English language competency, as stated in the university's official objectives and policies.

The task force employed to support English language competency development at UW acknowledges that "these skills develop at varying rates and to varying degrees in each person...[and that] competency in one form does not guarantee competency in the others" (Ager et al., 2012: 11-12). It is common practice that the communicative skills required for both university assessments and for co-op employers involve "productive" English language skills, such as writing and speaking. As a consequence, the task force report states that "students are thus apt to focus on the development of productive skills, especially writing skills" (ibid: 12). In order for non-native English speaking students to attain acceptable proficiency in such skills, it must be understood by all parties involved that it is a long-term process. The continued work that is performed in EFAS can greatly aid in achieving these objectives. The program's instructors and administrators identify key issues that impede students from maximizing their learning outcomes regarding the attainment of greater English language competency. However, a lack of control in their work practices prevents them from implementing remedies, such as being excluded from the recruitment process that hinders effective communication with students of the program's stated requirements and objectives.

The 2010 external program assessment of the ELI, which includes the EFAS program, concluded that the University of Waterloo has greatly benefited by having its own EAP program to serve the language needs of its international students. As one of the programs offered at the ELI, it has "provided courses that are widely appreciated" (Cumming et al., 2010: i). Despite the reported success of EFAS, "the one negative issue raised...concerned the perceived marginal status of instructors...both in terms of remuneration as well as working conditions" (ibid: 10).

These same issues were identified by EFAS instructors and administrators in this research, even though it is widely viewed as providing an invaluable service to both UW and Renison, and that “revenues...are substantial and have for many years exceeded those of its program costs and required resources and facilities” (ibid: 5). Furthermore, the EFAS program has increasingly enabled the University of Waterloo to bring in more international students and “helped visibly to improve the abilities in English” among those students (ibid: i).

There is no government funding available for the EFAS program. Since students who enrol in the credit courses, offered through the ELS branch of the ELI, receive such assistance because they earn UW credit toward their degrees, perhaps EFAS students should be given more financial support when they enrol in the program. This might improve attitudes among students toward the requirement of EFAS as a necessary gatekeeping role for the University of Waterloo, because a lack of government subsidies can be a source of stress for students who are eager to move on to their degree programs. For example, Stewart noted that he would have preferred to enrol in Conestoga College’s ELAS program due to its lower costs, but his father and friends convinced him that the EFAS program would help him develop his academic skills with the added advantage of becoming acclimatized with the UW campus. It costs more for EAP students to attend EFAS, and it adds to the amount of time needed to complete their degree programs.

Remuneration for EFAS’ part-time instructors remains lower than instructors who work in many other EAP programs, despite claims that EFAS is a more challenging curriculum to transmit due to the integrative nature of its courses and the layers of detail involved with completing assignments. Nevertheless, several sessional instructors continue to choose to work in EFAS over other EAP employment opportunities. Some of the reasons given for overlooking monetary comparisons include greater availability to attend professional development sessions

and university-wide conferences, along with a greater sense of prestige working within the University of Waterloo. These options are seen as valuable benefits by EFAS' part-time instructors.

EFAS is forced to rely on the services of part-time instructors because of its unstable student enrolment patterns. This is partly a result of UW's international students' asserting their rights to enrol in the program whenever they arrive on campus, because EFAS is often a stated requirement before entering their degree programs. For example, some students may simply arrive late for the start of an EFAS program due to visa issues, while others may not be informed of their insufficient IELTS scores required to enter a degree program upon arrival in Canada. Students may arrive at any time. In any case, EFAS must accommodate students because of the stakes involved in potentially deferring the start of their degree programs. If EFAS is found to be a more challenging program to teach than other EAP programs, which is a direct result of its connection to UW, and it is forced to rely on hiring part-time instructors, often with very short notice, then the University of Waterloo ought to take these issues under consideration in order to improve employment consistency for its key English language competency gatekeeping program.

Based on the themes that emerged from data collected through reviewing information contained on web-sites and official University of Waterloo documents, in-depth interviews with EFAS instructors, administrators, students, and the special advisor to the University of Waterloo's Vice-President Academic and Provost, as well as my own participant observations, the program has clearly evolved not only as an independently functioning EAP program due to the internal efforts of its personnel, but as an essential service that has helped enable UW to pursue its goals of becoming a leading international educational institution. In recognition of the

successful evolution of the EFAS program housed within the larger University of Waterloo campus, the external report calls for further support of the program: “the challenge now is to “scale these up”, increasing their recognition, utilization, and communications with the University of Waterloo...[and to] regularize appointments and salaries for instructors on long-term teaching appointments” (Cumming et al., 2010: i, 10). These initiatives would likely improve the paraprofessional status of EFAS, according to the sociological understanding of professions, because it would be granted greater autonomy and control of its work practices.

8.5 Suggestions for Future Research

The purpose of this case study research was to observe and participate in the EFAS program in order to understand how it operates within the University of Waterloo’s institutional organization. EFAS shares many characteristics with other EAP programs that are increasingly being employed by universities in Canada to assist their non-native English speaking students to succeed in their academic degree programs. The next step of this research is to explore how EAP programs operate within other Canadian university institutions. The EFAS program was created internally, and the first TESL initiatives were taken by experts in the field who were employed by the university during the early 1970s, which coincides with the emergence of EAP in the mid-1960s. It is unclear whether this is a unique phenomenon; if other Canadian universities have developed their own EAP programs or if they employ such services externally.

The arrangements between EAP and Canadian universities may have differing effects regarding how EAP curriculum is constructed. Furthermore, since EFAS is offered during UW’s three semesters, it is not known how EAP learning outcomes are affected if other EAP programs operate independent from their university’s schedule. For example, a significant finding in this

research was that EFAS instructors, administrators and students discussed time constraints learning many of the academic skills taught in the program. There are several other variables to consider in order to determine whether EFAS is in a unique position at UW. The University of Waterloo has stated intentions of becoming a leading international educational institution. This objective relates to the continued growth and reliance on EFAS, but it is unclear if this sort of dynamic places more pressure on EFAS to pass students so that they can enter their degree programs. Do other EAP programs face this sort of dilemma?

It would also be important to explore whether there is a trend among Canadian university academic departments to control the teaching and curriculum of EAP. For example, EFAS was created and evolved into a gatekeeping service for UW through the sheer hard work and determination of its full-time instructors and administrators, particularly from the efforts of Jewinski and Missere-Mihas. Thus, it is worthwhile to find out how other EAP programs operating within Canadian universities emerged; whether they were created by an academic discipline, such as a department of English. It would be helpful to explore such relationships in order to discover the extent EAP curriculum and pedagogy is affected in these settings.

It would also be fruitful to explore what the literature on the sociology of organizations can offer in gaining a better understanding of how EAP programs operate within a Canadian university hierarchy. Organizations arise at definite periods of time, and like institutions, they are artefacts which exhibit patterns of social relations. Various forms of organizations affect social life, and it is found within the literature on the sociology of professions that professionals are losing work autonomy and social status to managerial positions. Thus, is there evidence of a pro-managerial bias in organizational hierarchies? It would be important to explore how wider

relations of power and control in society affect, and are affected, by the organizational hierarchy of modern institutions.

It was discussed that people who work and teach in universities pursue the application of science to their curricular and pedagogical advancements, which is a necessary contribution to the capitalist knowledge economy. However, as the state becomes increasingly tied to the capitalist economy, higher education has lost much of its autonomy. For example, Leicht and Fennel (2001: 216) explain how the convergence in organizational forms that defines the elite division of labour now encompasses the aspirations of the “managerial project” that is strongly based on the rationality of economic efficiency. Historically, the “managerial project” is an attempt to expand the autonomy of managers by way of investors (ibid: 217). Managers represent a third party that diminishes the autonomy of university professors. This is an intrusion that makes life more difficult for those pursuing tenure track positions due to the prospect of being replaced by more cost-effective sessional instructors who are considered “a perfect substitute for the skills” brought to this labour market (ibid: 223). Furthermore, it is argued that this shift toward state support for corporate capitalism dilutes the expert advancement of the abstract esoteric specialized knowledge base in the university teaching profession (ibid: 223). For example, the selection of research topics is increasingly dictated by the demands of corporations, replacing the traditional state-funding for the advancement of pure scientific research.

Another area that requires exploratory research concerns the strong support EFAS has received from UW. A significant result of this relationship is that academic disciplines have worked closely with EFAS. For example, the Bridge to Academic Success in English (BASE) program was introduced in the fall semester, 2013. Undergraduate students in this program have

earned conditional acceptance into a UW degree program because they do not meet the university's English language requirements. However, students in BASE take their EFAS courses while earning a credit course at UW. The latter course comprises a significant portion of the EFAS curriculum, particularly in Academic Skills where the instructor attends the UW lectures with students. This is a unique feature of how EFAS has evolved within the University of Waterloo system. It also represents a possible solution to the above problem of student incentive regarding learning attitudes, costs and length of time to complete a degree program for UW's international students.

Finally, EFAS evolved from its EFS (ESL) origins to specifically address the EAP needs of international students who intend on enrolling in UW degree programs. Other Canadian universities may have adopted EAP programs in a different manner. For instance, some programs may have been created internally, similar to EFAS, while others could have been outsourced to independent EAP programs. Nevertheless, this research provides proper context for how EAP evolved to occupy an important place that offers crucial services to Canadian universities, and it provides empirical analysis of the degree of social status within the EAP teaching occupation. It also demonstrates strong support that UW values the need for the EFAS program. Therefore, by setting the boundaries of time and place in which EFAS emerged and how it presently operates within the University of Waterloo hierarchical organization, it is reliable data that can be compared with other EAP programs that are associated with Canadian universities. If categorical themes found in this research are similar to those found in other case studies that explore this growing phenomenon, then this research can represent the characteristics required for constructing an ideal type, which would increase generalizability of the patterns found in the relationship between EFAS and UW.

8.6 Final Comments

The sociological perspectives on professions find that the one true trait that identifies an occupation as a profession is work autonomy. Whether a profession has lobbied for support from a segment of the elite class that shares similar values to gain its autonomy, or if it has fought to win legislation that grants it a market shelter that enables it to monopolize and maintain a legal jurisdiction to offer its services, the ability to control one's work practices and dictate clients' needs are the essential qualities of a profession. I have argued that the socio-historical approach to understanding professions is the most accurate method of conceptualizing the concept in sociology. Professions first appeared in Western capitalist societies as a result of an emerging complex division of labour during the nineteenth century. The institutional changes that have occurred within the established professions' own hierarchical associations, as well as how they have interacted, competed and emulated other institutions show that their characteristics and processes in attaining professional status are not static.

Professions, the modern state and the capitalist economy emerged together during the "great transformation" induced by the Industrial Revolution. Since that time, "the state influences and shapes capitalism and professions, capitalism influences and shapes both the state and professions, and the professions act to influence and confront the power of both capitalism and the state" (Krause, 1996: 1-2). Occupations and professions that offer services are valued differently by the state and members in society. These factors combine to determine whether an occupation is granted high social status, but status can change over time and across locations.

The history of EAP is an appropriate representation of a new occupational group that attempts to gain legitimacy for its work. It is an educational institution that has dramatically

changed since it separated from its ESP origins to focus on the pedagogy of academic language and skills instruction. During the past decades, EAP has become recognized by university institutions in Canada as providing an essential service as they recruit international students who need training to acquire academic English skills prior to engaging in degree programs. The case study of the EFAS program identifies how this type of arrangement affects EAP as a distinct institution operating within an established professional hierarchy. As a non-credit program in this context, EFAS resembles a paraprofession because, although it controls its own curriculum and pedagogy as a contributing member of TESL Canada association, its curriculum and scheduling are designed to meet the specific requirements of the larger university institution.

While tracing the evolution of its role in UW, I found that EFAS has emulated the traits and processes that other occupational groups commonly adopt in order to gain legitimacy and social recognition for its work. In particular, extensive education and training has become an essential requirement for its instructors and it adheres to the service orientation due to its commitment to assisting an international student clientele. However, during this same period of time several occupational groups have also required increased levels of education and training credentials, and offering altruistic services does not necessarily garner a high level of social prestige. For these reasons, according to the literature in the sociology of professions, the EFAS program resembles a paraprofession due to less social prestige that it garners than other disciplines and programs operating within the larger UW institution.

There appears to be more support for the EFAS program within the hierarchy of Renison University College. As of March 7, 2014, plans were underway to expand the English Language Institute. A new building is under construction to house both the ELC and ELS divisions of the ELI, and it is scheduled to open before the start of the winter 2015 semester. This facility will

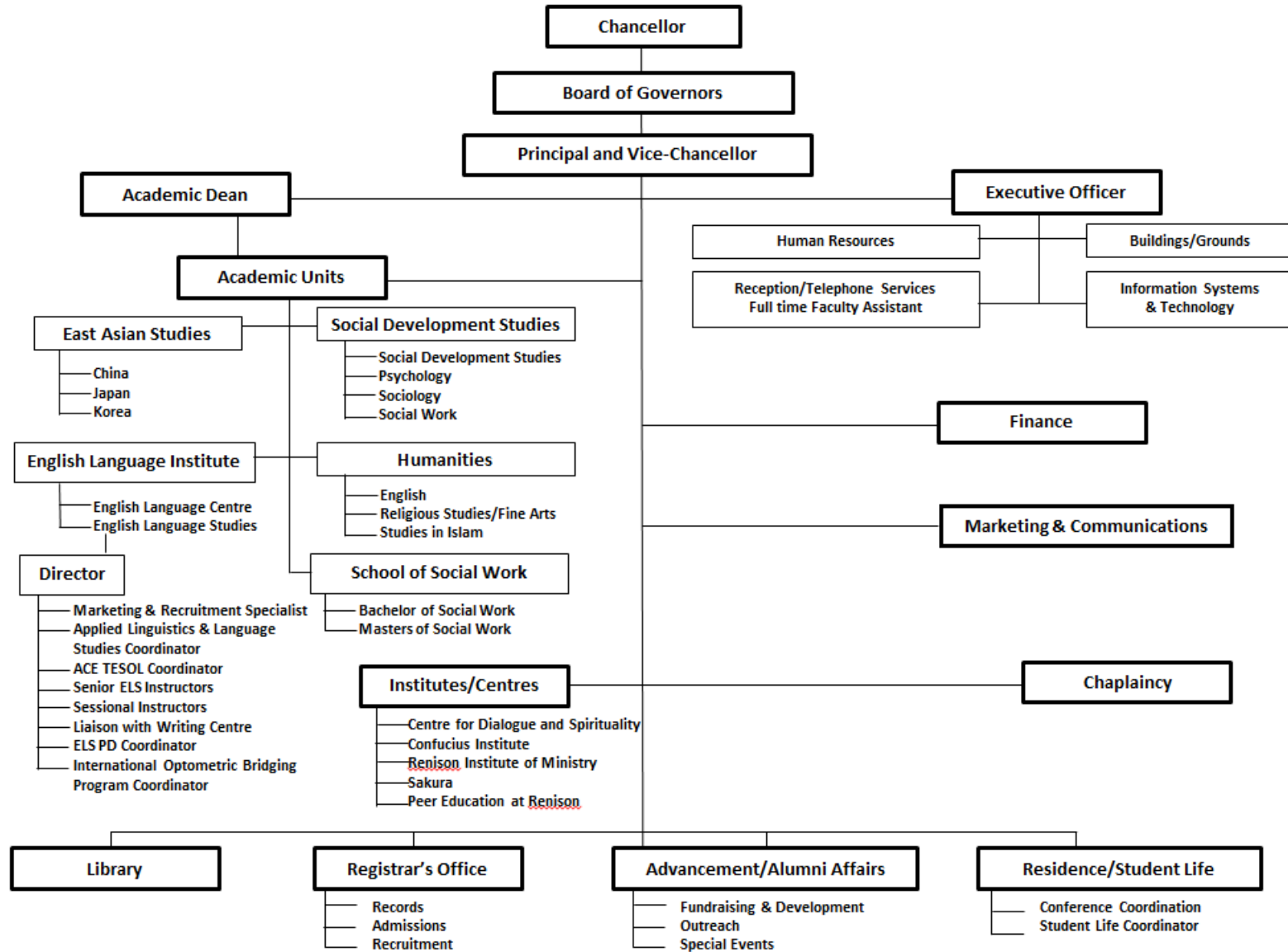
“house eight new classrooms, a student lounge, a meeting room, a glassed-in atrium capable of hosting small events, and office space for 15 staff and faculty members” (Renison University College, 2014). Although this new addition is being built “largely to house the quickly expanding programs in the English Language Studies (ELS) department”, which offer UW credit courses, the university college also acknowledges the growing importance of the ELC’s BASE program as another service offered at the ELI (ibid, 2014). It is unclear whether the construction of this new facility will improve the working conditions of EFAS, in particular.

The poor working conditions and limited resources that EFAS personnel have previously endured appear to be issues of growing pains of an occupation gaining legitimacy and recognition while operating within the university. From the students’ perspective, it is hoped that EFAS can continue to offer small classes, since this was conveyed as a key element that is conducive to learning difficult new skills and adapting to a new educational environment. Specifically, students are able to improve their academic skills in English while working within a tightly-knit group of peers who are at the same language proficiency level, the small class sizes are beneficial for practising group work skills that are required in many UW courses, and they find much advocacy and support from EFAS instructors who identify their individual learning needs. The commitment and dedication of EFAS instructors and administrators toward the work that they perform has been a distinguishing characteristic throughout this research process. Indeed, they are among the most talented pedagogues that I have encountered during my entire teaching career.

As an educational occupation working within a university structure, the EFAS program and its personnel can be described as a paraprofession only because it operates within the university hierarchy. As a result, it lacks the degree of work autonomy of academic disciplines.

Within this type of arrangement, EFAS is situated in a subordinate position to credit programs. However, within the hierarchy of EAP teaching, the EFAS curriculum and pedagogy is cutting-edge. The fact that the program has been created internally is a testament to the high degree of commitment and competency of its entire personnel. The University of Waterloo is fortunate to have such a legitimate EAP program operating within its own institution, so it should be supported as such.

Appendix A: Renison University College Organizational Hierarchy



Appendix B: Qualitative Interview Guide for EFAS Students

- 1) Where are you from?
 - When did you come to Canada? Why did you come here?
- 2) How important is it to you or your family to learn English?
 - Do you enjoy studying English? What do you like / not like about it?
- 3) What was your first ESL experience?
 - What is your career in ESL? Please tell me all the countries and institutions where you studied either ESL or EAP.
 - Are the academic skills taught in English much different from the academic skills taught in your native language? Please explain any differences.
 - Did you have EAP programs available near your home/school?
 - Why didn't you complete an EAP certificate before moving to Waterloo?
 - Has your attitude toward learning English changed from when you first began learning it? How so?
- 4) What level in the EFAS program are you in?
 - Please identify what skills are easier or more difficult for you to learn. Do you find certain skills to be more difficult to learn than others? Could you provide an example of what you mean?
 - Do you enjoy being in the EFAS program? What do you like and don't like about it?
 - What is the importance of studying academic English skills prior to entering your degree program at UW?
 - Could you please explain how it might help or not help with your future studies at UW?
- 5) How often do you speak English outside of the EFAS classroom?
 - Do you have friends in the EFAS program or in a UW degree program who have completed the EFAS program?
 - If "yes": Has their English improved? How confident are they using English in their degree programs?
 - Do they help you/each other with English language skills? How do they help?
 - Please explain how effective you think the EFAS program is for improving your English skills?
- 6) Where do you plan to work upon graduation? In Canada, back home, elsewhere?
 - Do you feel that you will be able to communicate in English effectively in your future job? Please explain why or why not.
 - Do you think English will be important? How so?
- 7) Why did you choose Renison and UW?
 - Were there other options available for you to pursue a degree?

- How much influence did your family have in this decision?
- Why is it important to them that you attend university here? Why is it important to you?
- What do you think is more important, earning a UW degree or acquiring more English skills (neither or both equally)? Please explain the importance of both.

8) What is it like using English in your daily life, with interactions on campus or in the Kitchener-Waterloo community (or traveling in Canada)?

- Please explain whether you can communicate easily/effectively.

9) Do you ever feel culture shock and miss being home? In what ways?

- What sort of support do you have to help you here at the university? What sorts of programs or counselling do you/might you join/use?
- Have you been back home since you enrolled at UW? When and for how long?

10) How do you perceive your EAP teachers?

- In your opinion, are they professional teachers? Please explain why or why not (in what ways)?

11) Do you see your EAP teachers as the same or different from your faculty instructors? Please explain the similarities and/or differences.

Appendix C: Qualitative Interview Guide for Instructors in the EFAS Program

- 1) When did you begin teaching? What subjects and level of school did you teach? Why?
 - What is your educational background?
 - Where and when did you earn your ESL/EAP credentials?
- 2) When did you begin teaching EAP?
 - What were your options once you graduated from your BA program?
 - Why did you choose EAP?
 - How many jobs you have you held as an EAP instructor? Where? When? How long did you teach in each?
- 3) Have you ever taught in an EAP program that is not affiliated with a university?
 - If yes, could you please list those jobs? Are there any differences in your experiences between working for independent institutions or within a university community? (salary/vacation time/status).
 - If no, what were those experiences like working within a university community?
- 4) When did you begin teaching in the EFAS program?
 - What do you teach in the EFAS program?
 - Are you full-time or part-time?
 - Is it similar to past EAP programs that you have taught in?
 - Are there any opportunities to cooperate with instructors from other disciplines?
 - Are you satisfied with your compensation?
 - As far as you are aware, is it comparable with other teaching positions? How so and in what ways? Can you compare this experience with your other teaching positions?
- 5) Do you think that you will continue to work in the field of EAP, here at Renison or elsewhere?
 - What sorts of career teaching options do you have? Do you have options in terms of grade levels, other programs or disciplines to teach?
 - Will this teaching position at Renison help you with further career plans? Please explain.
- 6) Overall, do you feel that students graduating from the EFAS program are well prepared and equipped to pursue their studies in the mainstream university courses?
 - Do you think there is enough time spent in the program for students to master enough English and academic skills to succeed in their studies?
- 7) What do you think makes a job a “profession”?
 - Do you think EAP is an established profession?
 - If “yes”: Why do you think so/in what ways? Are there certain characteristics of EAP teaching that make it a professional occupation?
 - If “no”: What would you/your occupation need to do in order to become a profession?

- What, if any, are the barriers/challenges that EAP needs to overcome to become a profession?

8) How is EAP similar or different from professions such as law, medicine, engineering (or any other professional occupations that you are familiar with)?

9) How do you believe you are perceived by your students, administrators or the dean? That is, do they see you as a professional? Why or why not?

- If “no”: Please explain why you believe that you are not seen as a professional by other people involved in the community?

10) When speaking with instructors from other disciplines at UW, do you feel as though you are on equal professional terms with them? Please explain some of your experiences/conversations with these teachers and their attitudes toward your profession.

- Do you see yourself as on the same professional level as faculty who teach at UW? Please explain.
- How do you perceive yourself as a professional teacher?

11) Does the university have an effect on how the EFAS program operates?

- Would the EFAS program run differently if it was independent? Why not, or How so?

Appendix D: Qualitative Interview Guide for the Administrators of the EFAS Program

- 1) How long have you been working in the ELI?
 - What is your past and present position in the program?
- 2) Could you please explain your history of working in ESL and EAP?
 - Have you worked in EAP programs that were not affiliated with a university?
 - If “yes”: could you please compare and contrast your past EAP experiences with the EFAS program?
 - Why did you become involved in EAP and/or the EFAS program?
- 3) Could you describe the organizational hierarchy in the EFAS program?
 - Do you assist with hiring teachers?
 - What do you look for when recruiting and hiring teachers? Are you hoping for the promise of lasting commitments or a faster turnover rate by hiring new teachers often?
 - Are they members of the Faculty Association, covered by its arrangements with UW?
 - If not, have there been initiatives to have them included? Why or why not?
 - Who is applying and getting hired in the program (level of degrees earned or amount of past experiences in EAP)?
 - How is the EFAS program funded?
 - How is the budget determined?
- 4) (If applicable) could you explain how the EFAS program got started; what the early years were like?
 - Do you recall the reason why the EFAS program emerged 14 years after the ESL program?
 - Whose idea was it? Where did the initiative come from? What were the reasons and goals for starting up the program?
 - Please describe the difference between the ESL program begun in 1980 and the EFAS program that started in 1994.
 - What do you think the main purpose of the EFAS program is?
 - Several teachers have told me that it took “a tremendous amount of hard work” for the EFAS program to gain recognition from UW as a legitimate way for international students to improve their academic English skills. Could you please elaborate on what they are referring to? In other words, what steps have been taken to get the EFAS program to be recognized by the university?
- 5) What stage of the EFAS program must students pass in order to take UW credit courses?
- 6) In your opinion, do you think there is enough time spent in the program for students to attain enough English skills to succeed in their future disciplines?
 - Do you think passing the appropriate EFAS levels are effective in preparing students to succeed in their degree programs?

- What do other departments/disciplines expect from the EFAS program with respect to their students?
 - Are the program levels designed in cooperation with other departments/disciplines?
 - What sort of feedback do you receive either prior to or after students enter their programs?
 - Is there any cooperation with other departments in terms of course development or student assessment?

7) Basically, what are the specific arrangements between the EFAS program and the University of Waterloo?

- Is the EFAS curriculum affected by university regulations, such as curricular materials to be used or language benchmark standards?
- Can you think of any other way the program is affected by its placement within the university?
- What do the English Language Institute and Renison stand to gain?
- Is it solely financial or more for academic recognition/prestige? How so?
- Based on end of courses evaluation feedback and your personal conversations with them, what do students think about the effectiveness of the program?

8) How are English proficiency levels measured? Is a recognized Canadian national standard used?

- Could you please describe how a needs analysis is done for international students prior to them being accepted into the EFAS program?
- When are students' needs assessed: before they leave their home country or when they arrive here at Renison?
- In what ways are the needs analyses taken into consideration with respect to the construction of course syllabi and materials development?

9) Why do you think it is important to attract international students to Renison and the University of Waterloo?

10) Do you feel the English Language Institute, and the EFAS program in particular, has the same status as other academic programs? Why or why not?

11) How would you define what a "profession"/ "a professional" is?

- How is EAP similar or different from professions such as law, medicine, engineering (or any other professional occupations that you are familiar with)?

12) How do you believe you are perceived by your students, instructors or the dean? That is, do they see you as a professional? Why or why not?

- If "no": Please explain why you believe that you are not seen as a professional by other people involved in the community?

13) When speaking with instructors from other disciplines at UW, do you feel as though you are on equal professional terms as them? Please explain some of your experiences/conversations with people in the UW community and their attitudes toward your profession.

- Do you see yourself as on the same professional level as faculty who teach at UW?
Please explain.

14) In summary, does the University of Waterloo have an effect on how the EFAS program operates?

- Would the program operate differently if it were independent from UW or Renison?

Appendix E: Qualitative Interview Guide for the Special Advisor to the Vice-President,
University of Waterloo Office of the Vice-President, Academic and Provost

- 1) What is your position in relation to the EFAS program?
 - Do you have any other experience with EAP? If so, where, when and in what capacity?

- 2) Could you explain how the EFAS program got started?
 - How did the ELI at Renison become the place for the University of Waterloo's EAP initiative?
 - Were you involved with it?
 - If "yes": please explain what your role was. Why did you become involved?
 - If "no": when did you join the program? Why did you become involved?
 - Where did the initiative come from? Was it an individual's idea, or did the university look to EAP models offered at other universities (such as Carleton or Queens)?
 - Why did it become a recognizable need?
 - What were the goals of the program in the early years?

- 3) Could you please describe the organizational hierarchy in the EFAS program?
 - Who are the key players in the decision making processes for the EFAS program? (Who reports to you, and how often? Who do you report to and how often?)
 - How is the EFAS program funded? Is it supported by the University of Waterloo or is the English Language Institute more autonomous?
 - How is the budget determined?
 - Is the EFAS program and courses inclusively owned and controlled by the English Language Institute and Renison or does it come from outside the department? Is this legislated in the university? Please explain.

- 4) What are the main considerations when evaluating the degree of success of the EFAS program?
 - What are such evaluations based on (student enrolments; percentage of students who pass the exit requirements)?
 - Do you think these are fair and accurate evaluations for how the program is run? How so?

- 5) Does the university accept students from other countries with an already proven level of English proficiency; therefore, without the condition of first graduating from the EFAS program prior to entry into their academic disciplines?

- 6) What is the importance of attracting international students to the University of Waterloo?
 - Where does the recruitment of foreign students fit into the University of Waterloo's plans? Why is it important?
 - Do you think the EFAS program gains a level of prestige for the University of Waterloo (by attracting a large cohort of international students)?
 - Why is it important to attract international students to the University of Waterloo?

- In your opinion, how important are national or international university rankings to the university? Why (or why isn't) this important?
- How does the enrolment of an international student cohort fit into these rankings?

7) How would you define what a “profession”/ “a professional” is?

- What do you think makes a job a “profession”?
- Do you think EAP is an established profession?
 - If “yes”: Why do you think so/in what ways? Are there certain characteristics of EAP teaching that make it a professional occupation?
 - If “no”: What would the occupation need to do in order to become a profession?
 - What, if any, are the barriers/challenges that EAP would need to overcome to become a profession?

8) How is EAP similar or different from professions such as law, medicine, engineering (or any other professional occupations that you are familiar with)?

9) How do you believe the EFAS program is perceived by the students and other members of the UW community? That is, do people see EAP as a teaching and learning profession?

- If “yes”: Please explain why you think it is perceived as a profession like any other program or discipline in the university.
- If “no”: Please explain why you believe that EAP is not seen as a professional by other people involved in the community?

10) Do you think the English Language Institute, and the EFAS program in particular, has the same status as other academic programs at UW?

- In your experiences, why do you think so?

11) When speaking with instructors/professors from the university disciplines, do you feel as though the EFAS program is on equal professional terms as them? Please explain some of your experiences/conversations with people in the UW community and their attitudes toward the EFAS program.

- Could you explain whether or not they are pleased with the outcomes of the international students entering their courses who have completed the EFAS program?

Appendix F: Chart of Themes from Qualitative Data

<u>Open Themes</u>	<u>Relational Themes</u>	<u>Connecting Themes</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biographies of EFAS personnel and students: The reasons for joining EFAS. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discovery of the evolution of the EFAS program. • Teacher’s various pathways to choosing EAP as an occupation/career. • Provides an understanding for why students become aware of and enrol in EFAS. 	<p><u>Main themes:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The traditional and present methods of acquiring TESL certification necessary to teach EAP in Canada. • EAP options are not available in students’ home countries, and EFAS’ location at UW a contributing factor to enrol.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EFAS participants’ understanding of “profession”. • EFAS participants’ occupational prestige. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of profession requires strong devotion/commitment to one’s work. • Must belong to an organization/association. • Requires education and training credentials. • Hierarchical systems within and among professional organizations a characteristic/reality. 	<p><u>Main theme:</u> Non-monetary concerns.</p> <p><u>Description:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance placed on learning and contributing to new knowledge, participation, passion, self-improvement and accountability. • Must self-evaluate in order to develop a craft. <p><u>Main Theme:</u> Validation through organizational associations.</p> <p><u>Description:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networking and communication required to be aware of colleagues’ activities across time and place. • Provides credentials to ensure competencies to clients/public. • Provides consistency and standards in work/avoids stagnation.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defining EAP/EFAS. • Identifying barriers to EAP seeking professional status. • How EFAS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possession of many publications/much research involved in the field. • Credentials are an essential requirement. • Hierarchical structure: a) EAP is one subject in the teaching occupation; b) Different level of 	<p><u>Main Theme:</u> EFAS is among the most professional type of teaching.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> EFAS requires diverse curricula and individual student needs.</p> <p><u>Main Theme:</u></p>

<u>Open Themes</u>	<u>Relational Themes</u>	<u>Connecting Themes</u>
has changed over time.	<p>prestige than other professional groups; c) Stigmas are attached to EAP/EFAS resulting in low status.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meeting the needs of UW results in standardized curriculum (one result). 	<p>EAP is a young teaching profession.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> EAP is becoming globally necessary.</p> <p><u>Main Theme:</u> Persisting misconceptions of its historical evolution.</p> <p><u>Description:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stigmas of remedial teaching, it is easy to obtain credentials, and it is a transient occupation. Required new title designations for EFAS instructors in order to attain equality within the institutional hierarchy.
How students view and experience EFAS.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EFAS is widely viewed as a professional program. Small classes and being on the UW campus are the greatest benefits. 	<p><u>Main Theme:</u> EFAS instructors are properly trained/credentialed in Canada.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> Compared with previous learning experiences, EFAS is superior.</p>
<p>Social status experiences of EFAS participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> At Renison. At UW. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-credit programs are below all others in the university hierarchy. An improved degree of prestige as EFAS became recognized: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Old stigmas equate to low social status. Affiliation with UW equates to higher social status. 	<p><u>Main Theme:</u> A long and difficult process of attaining legitimacy for its work.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> Misconception remains that all international students are EFAS graduates (but it is only one of three UW admission requirements).</p>
Renison's and UW's influence on the EFAS program.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A history of poor working conditions and limited resources, but an improving relationship with Renison. Difficulties with gaining recognition within the larger university. Results: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need for an integrated curriculum. EFAS serves a representational role for UW. 	<p><u>Main Theme:</u> The fragmented skills sets common to most other EAP programs is inappropriate for the needs of UW.</p> <p><u>Description:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learned academic skill outcomes are lowered. New professional opportunities for EFAS personnel have emerged due to this relationship.
Students' English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UW a member of Ontario 	<p><u>Main Theme:</u></p>

<u>Open Themes</u>	<u>Relational Themes</u>	<u>Connecting Themes</u>
<p>language competency:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying UW academic standards and concerns. • Identifying faculties/ departments' concerns. • Identifying how UW and EFAS attempt to address low student language competency. 	<p>Council of Vice-Presidents that adopts common degree level expectations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UW officially requires English language competency for all of its degree programs. • Cooperative employers are dissatisfied with UW student employees' productive English language skills. • UW wants productive skills for students' lifelong learning and for its own international reputation. 	<p>English language competency among the international student cohort is insufficient for deep learning of disciplinary knowledge, and applying academic English skills to research and the workplace.</p> <p><u>Description:</u> The EFAS curriculum is properly benchmarked, but student competencies suffer in the confines of UW's semester structure.</p>

Appendix G: Recruitment and Information Letter

Dear _____,

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Doctoral degree in the Department of sociology and Legal Studies at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Alicja Muszynski. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

During the past twenty years, English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs have become adopted by many Canadian universities to help non-native English speakers succeed with their studies, despite differences in both learning objectives and the separate trajectories of the two types of teaching professions. The emergence of this language teaching specialty was largely due to a growing number of people wanting to learn the English language for the purpose of sharing knowledge in science and technology, as the spread of English had begun to accelerate to many countries by the 1960s. The differences in teaching and learning endeavours represent a unique problem for the field of EAP because it remains unclear how EAP as a profession fits within the university structure. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate how an EAP program fits within a degree-granting Canadian university institution.

The English for Academic Success (EFAS) program, operated by the English Language Institute at Renison University College, is such an EAP program that was adopted by the University of Waterloo. I intend to trace the historical developments in the field and the reasons why the University of Waterloo adopted this program. Another part of my research will focus on the professional status of EAP. These programs are separate and distinct teaching occupations apart from the teaching of university disciplines and it is unclear how EAP teachers are affected by an association with the university system. It will be important to find out how EAP practitioners see themselves and how they are viewed in a degree-granting university. My analysis can contribute to a clearer understanding of what the characteristics and processes of professionalization are, and what professional status means to the people involved with the EFAS program. Therefore, I would like to include you as one of several participants to be involved in my study. I believe that because you are actively involved in the teaching of EAP, you are best suited to speak to the various issues, such as issues of professionalism.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately one hour in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study; however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for approximately two years locked safely in my home. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. Although there are no known risks to you as a participant in this study, I am well aware that the EFAS program involves a small, tightly knit community. Therefore,

because I am conducting a case study involving your participation as interview respondents, it is conceivable that participants might be able to be identified based on the description of study participants and comments used in my dissertation. In order to minimize or eliminate any such risks, I will provide you with a transcript of the interview prior to its usage so that you can choose what quotes and comments are acceptable or what you would like to exclude from the original interview. Since the purpose of my research is to make a contribution to the academic community, it will be my priority to provide you with both a link to access my thesis and an executive summary of my findings.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 519-742-4266 or by email at nasmithw@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Alicja Muszynski at 519-888-4567 ext. 35187 or email alicja@uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to those directly involved in the study, as well as to the broader research community. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Neal A. Smithwick

Appendix H: Recruitment E-mail Message to EFAS Students

Dear EFAS students,

One of our English Language Institute teachers, Neal Smithwick, is doing research on pre-university English language programs. In particular, he is interested in learning about international students' experiences adjusting to the Canadian learning environment in the EFAS program, as well as students' experiences of living in a new culture. He is doing interviews with EFAS students that will last approximately one hour. If you are interested in sharing your experiences with him, please contact (EFAS secretary) for further information. This is a great way to practice your conversational English with a native-English speaker!

Neal would like to thank you for your time.

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