Issues in ELT change management

Projects and programmes: Contemporary experience in ELT change management

Rod Bolitho

Introduction

This chapter draws extensively on my own long-term involvement as a consultant on a number of projects and programmes in Europe and in Central and South Asia. I have also listened to and taken into account views of colleagues and in-country partners engaged in similar initiatives in other contexts.

It is much more difficult, in this second decade of the millennium, to identify a single structured model for the design of ELT projects than it was, say, 20 years ago. This difficulty is perhaps partly attributable to changing views of projects and what they can achieve. For the purposes of this study, I am sticking to a view of an educational project as a structured and time-bound intervention aimed at bringing about change at an identified level within an educational system.

In the eighties and nineties, we were still thinking and acting in terms of idealised frameworks which focused, in tune with the spirit of the times, on fixed timescales, measurable outputs, sustainability, and the dreaded risks and threats. Project after project in different parts of the world ended when the money ran out and the planned time came to an end. This sometimes resulted in resigned acceptance in the host community (among some professionals in Hungary, for example, where the post-1989 injection of funding gave short-lived impetus to the fast-track training of English teachers), in disappointment (which I sensed most acutely in Romania, where funding ran out long before English teachers were able to contemplate paying for their own professional development or to access European Union funds), or in ill-feeling (as in francophone Africa, when ELT professionals there realised that most of their share of the aid cake was being redirected for political ends to the newly 'liberated' countries of Eastern and Central Europe). In each of these cases, there has been a degree of regression to 'old' ways of teaching, preparing teachers, designing curricula, and preparing examinations. The impetus and incentives to maintain the level and speed of change were often simply lost in the battle for day-to-day survival which many teachers in these regions continue to face. I have also encountered teachers who were never touched by the planned changes because

some of the projects which were launched in the nineties were far from inclusive in their coverage (often concentrating on a capital city elite) or relied on multiplier effects which never materialised, as change messages were diluted through several layers of cascading.

Ironically, too, at a time when learner-centred views of classroom practice were enjoying something of a revival, in part because of the rediscovery of Vygotsky's work and a renewed interest in the work of other progressive educational thinkers such as Dewey and Carl Rogers, educational projects remained essentially driven by and accountable to donors, even if some attempted to break this mould. In other words, even projects which advocated learner-centred and communicative approaches in ELT often had a centralised and top-down management structure.

In the rest of this paper, I will be reviewing in more depth a number of aspects of projects and programmes. I will first take a look at the concept and nature of a project itself, a term as often misunderstood as it is clearly grasped and useful. I will then go on to examine the fast-changing backcloth to educational change and the difficulty those with a stake in education have in keeping pace with these wider developments. However, the key starting points for change initiatives in education remain largely the same as ever – the curriculum, methodology, assessment, and materials – and in the following section I will subject these to close scrutiny. Having considered these fundamental issues, I will argue the case for solid research as the essential foundation for success in a project, and then go on to discuss intercultural issues, which can make or break a change initiative. In the final sections, I focus on the procedures involved in getting change messages across to those who need to put them into practice and the old chestnut of sustainability and what this term might mean in practice. At the end of the paper, I risk a few conclusions in the shape of a summary of what we have learnt about change through projects in the last 30 to 40 years.

Projects

Readers will, I hope, forgive me if I remind them of some of the earlier meanings and connotations of 'project'. It is a term much used in industry and construction in the United States of America, perhaps even more so than in the United Kingdom. The building of the Hoover Dam was consistently referred to as a 'project', as were the huge estates built to house workers in the industrial cities of the USA in the thirties and forties. More recently we have seen the term associated with innovation initiatives in industry and the corporate world. The influx of management practices into donor circles and educational institutions in the eighties and especially the nineties led to the adoption of the concept of a 'project' as an attractive way of packaging an aid-funded or otherwise sponsored intervention – attractive because of its neatness in terms of objectives, timescales, budget allocations, and deployment of manpower.

But the model did not always transfer easily. The language associated with projects (logical framework, outputs, deliverables, success indicators, assumptions, risks and threats, etc.) at first seemed alien to those involved in education, and frequently erected a conceptual barrier between those planning an intervention and those

charged with implementing it. More tellingly, perhaps, there was only a very gradual realisation that a project model created to deal mainly with tangible and three-dimensional outputs was not ideally suited to change efforts that necessarily depend at least as much on process as on products, and with countless variables in terms of context, affective factors in stakeholders, status issues, and so on. As a result, in the nineties, the term 'process project' began to emerge, carrying the implication that good practice might involve changing course, realigning objectives, or modifying expectations during the lifespan of a project.

The changing context of educational change

There is no doubt that the wider context for a discussion of these issues has changed almost beyond recognition over the last 20 to 30 years. In particular, we have come to understand with greater clarity what Toffler (1970) and other early change gurus were warning us about in the last century: that the speed of change is constantly picking up and that we had better get used to dealing with its impact on all parts of our lives. This realisation has had, and continues to have, an influence on thinking about the purposes of education, including the teaching of English. In educating the citizens of tomorrow, we are told, we should be preparing them to cope with change in our increasingly globalised world. Among other things, this seems to mean laying emphasis on using language as a tool for communication and for accessing information and developing transferable skills such as critical thinking and learning how to learn. These features should be in evidence in the curriculum and in textbooks as well as in classroom practices.

We are moving increasingly towards what Wedell (2009) describes as an interpretive and dynamic view of the educational process, with emphasis on teachers as supporters of learners in their learning, and away from a transmission-based view, which sees the teacher as an imparter of a pre-existing body of knowledge. Or are we? It is easy to see why educational thinkers and planners are attracted by this post-modern view of what we are all involved in. Yet in most of the 10 or so countries that I have been actively involved in as a trainer or consultant over the last 20 years, the reality has usually looked very different.

One plausible explanation for this gap between thinking and practice has been put forward by Holliday (1994) and others who have pointed out the gap between western and developing world contexts, and consequently their respective educational beliefs and ideologies. But that is only one part of the story. There is – and this goes straight to one of the core themes of this paper – almost always a yawning chasm between strategic thinking and planning for educational change on the one hand, and what teachers and other education professionals actually do at classroom level on the other. This applies as much in the west as it does in any developing country.

Planning for and implementing educational change is difficult enough when it all takes place within the confines of a system in a given context, as we found out in the United Kingdom when the National Curriculum for schools was first introduced in 1988. It becomes doubly complicated when, as in many ELT projects around the world, a donor agency such as DfID (Department for International Development),

the British Council, or the World Bank is involved. These agencies, whether they are 'gifters' or 'lenders' (Hunter 2009), always bring their own agenda and conditions to the planning table: there is usually no such sentiment as altruism at the apex of activity in a donor-recipient relationship, though it is (fortunately) often present in large measure in those involved in the detailed implementation of a project. Among the problems that this gives rise to are:

1. **The impulses for change.** Sometimes, donors' and recipients' priorities overlap or are even congruent. This happened to some extent in the post-1989 period in Central and Eastern Europe, when the political reform agendas at government level found resonance with the economic and political priorities of donor agencies. But this is not always the case and, in certain contexts, funding has not always been used as donor agencies have intended. There have been some well-documented instances, even in education and ELT, of acquiescence in the donor's agenda by recipient ministries simply as an expedient to obtain funding and to appropriate it for their own ends. However, DfID dealt a severe blow to ELT in the developing world in the nineties by redirecting its aid priorities to meeting the eight Millennium Development Goals, at the same time apparently failing to recognise the key role of English in working towards those goals.

2. **Conflicting time perspectives.** Wedell (op.cit.) and others have made the point that large-scale educational change requires a long-term view if it is to take root, anything from five years to a whole generation. Donor agencies, however, typically work to a limited time frame for projects, seldom more than four years from inception to exit. This would seem to lead to a view that it would be better for donors to limit their sponsorship to smaller-scale or local initiatives such as supporting training seminars in a particular district or seminars to teach teachers in a given context how to evaluate textbooks. However, probably for reasons related to impact, most aid agencies prefer to target larger-scale systemic change through their interventions.

3. **Value for money.** Feeding off an Anglo-American-led culture of accountability, many projects have been designed and implemented with a view to results and products that can be measured in quantitative terms at a given point in time. The dominant terminology in 'project-speak' still retains words such as 'outputs' and 'deliverables', as well as more familiar terms such as 'outcomes' and 'benefits' (see McIlwraith, this volume, for a discussion of these terms and their meanings in relation to each other). There is, as yet, no agreed way of assessing the value of 'process' in an educational project. Yet, from a recipient perspective, this is often where the value lies: projects can trigger dialogue among stakeholders, the revisiting of old problems, the uncovering of issues which need to be addressed, or fresh opportunities for professional development at different levels. If we take this just a step further, it is now recognised by at least some donor agencies that change itself is a process, rather than a measurable and time-bound outcome, which means that we should be looking at building provision for continuing change into projects, rather than seeking to quantify achievements in simplistic ways, for example by making absurd and ill-founded statements such as '2,500 teachers trained in implementation of the new

curriculum' (from a project report which fails to mention that all this training took place in one-day seminars which could do no more than scratch the surface of the in-depth training that would really have been needed).

4. **Top-heavy strategic planning.** Donor agencies need high-level clearance to get involved in initiatives at national level. This often leads to a majority of time spent in dialogue with education authorities and too little time in getting to know grass-roots views on matters relating to planned changes. Payback time in such cases usually comes later, when the planned changes trickle down to school and classroom level for implementation and teachers exercise their right to sabotage or ignore any aspect of the change they do not understand or agree with. However, without the political will from on high, a change project stands no chance of even passing first base, let alone succeeding.

5. **The role of local professionals and the cuckoos that arrive in their nests.** Local ELT professionals are often galvanised by the prospect of involvement in a project and by the arrival of an 'expert' appointed by the donor agency, especially if this offers the chance of a visit to the United Kingdom or another English-speaking country. In all too many instances, this initial enthusiasm declines pretty rapidly as the project comes to an end, the expert leaves, and funds for courses and visits run out. Zikri's account of ELT reform in Egypt (this volume) confirms how this can lead to 'short-termism' in the minds of both donor-appointed and local staff, and inevitably militates against sustainability.

6. **Those cuckoos.** UK donor-appointed project leaders are different in character these days from the ones who were active as trainers, Key English Language Teachers, and advisers in the last 30 years of the 20th century. At that time, these appointees were in post for the long haul and were deliberately embedded somewhere in the state education system of the recipient country. They were usually charged with the task of getting to know the system they were acting in from an insider perspective, and to this end they worked with counterparts who facilitated everything from ministry encounters to classroom observations. DfID's shift of policy away from ELT projects in the nineties to concentrate resources on key millennium goals such as poverty alleviation and equal opportunities for women had the unfortunate effect of sidelining a whole cadre of highly knowledgeable and versatile professionals with a history of involvement in project management, and ultimately led to a process of de-skilling in donor agencies, the effects of which are only now being felt. Many UK personnel charged with managing projects lack the kind of depth of perspective that was so valuable to their predecessors and it is usually left to local staff to compensate for this in both implementation and in follow-up. In some cases, this may even mean picking up the pieces. A further consequence has been a move towards outsourcing or buying-in of expertise on a consultancy basis, with mixed results in terms of achieving project objectives.

These issues form a kind of backcloth of experience to what is going on in projects today. There are, of course, some factors that remain current, either as areas of focus or as issues that affect success or failure in projects. In the following sections, I will attempt to pinpoint some of them and to highlight some examples of good practice.

Drivers of change and joined-up thinking

The four main points of entry for educational change are generally agreed to be the curriculum, methodology, textbooks and materials, and examinations. The most conservative of these areas, and at the same time the most powerful, is examinations. There is ample evidence from around the world that it is extremely difficult to push through change in any of the other three areas, if examination reform is neglected or even if it lags behind other changes. There is no real excuse for failing to take this into account at the design stage of an ELT project. Programme theory (Weiss 1997) offers a means of running a 'plausibility check' on objectives and expected outcomes, before time and expense are committed on the detail of implementation.

All the evidence in completed and current projects points to the need to synchronise efforts in all four areas, if a project is to succeed fully and have impact. The PKG project[1] in Indonesia in the eighties and nineties focused mainly on teaching methodology and was completely unconnected with the authorities responsible for curriculum, textbooks, and examinations (this from Brian Tomlinson, the project leader, in a personal communication, but see also Tomlinson 1990). Textbook reform projects in Russia, Romania, and Belarus, which I was involved in as lead consultant, all came up against heavily guarded interests, some of them in academia, in the areas of methodology and examinations, and also among local textbook authors. The laudably joined-up thinking that characterised ELTIP (English Language Teaching Improvement Project) in Bangladesh was frequently knocked back by often undeclared, but powerful, conservative influences in the areas of textbooks and examinations:

> *Although the project also wrote two influential course books (for grades 9 to 12), these and the revolution in methodology were, and are, doomed to slow progress without the reforms in national examinations. The oldest story in TEFL!*
> Former Project Team Leader, Bangladesh, in a personal communication

In textbook initiatives, there is often so much concentration on producing the materials themselves that the other dimensions can be overlooked:

> *Learners don't find our new books easy to use and teachers are also a bit confused. They are going to need training.* Belarusian textbook writer

> *The publishers have supplied the books but they haven't delivered on their promise to provide training. Teachers are just making the best of it.*
> School Director, Kurdistan Region of Iraq

In many systems, those responsible for these four main building blocks of change are in different departments of ministries and different locations, and an effort, as well as a directive from higher authority, is required to bring them all together in the same meeting to co-ordinate thinking and to reassure them about their roles in the change process. When this kind of co-ordination and joined-up thinking does

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[1] Permantapan Kerja Guru: Strengthening the Work of Teachers

take place, it expedites all aspects of work towards success in a project. Achieving this requires leadership and commitment. An example of this can be found in the English Reform Project in Uzbekistan, which has addressed all aspects of teaching English and preparing English teachers in higher education institutions across the whole republic. This took time, and project managers were constantly listening to teachers:

> *Teachers can't focus on communication in their classes with these out-of-date textbooks. The new curriculum can't be put into practice without materials.*
> Senior English Teacher, Uzbekistan

As a result of this kind of input, the curriculum reform has now been underpinned by the provision of teaching and learning materials, the establishment of Professional Development Centres, the provision of training courses based on training packages produced within the project, and, significantly, an overhaul of assessment procedures. For an account of this, see Gulyamova and Isamukhamedova (forthcoming).

Good research as the foundation of successful change

Any change initiative needs to be founded on a clear understanding of the status quo and also of the reasons for undertaking the change. This is achieved through a research exercise commonly known as a baseline study. Good practice in baseline research (cf. Tribble 2000) takes into account a number of factors and perspectives which may (and probably will) turn out to be crucial to the success or failure of the change initiative. Wedell (op.cit.), for example, reports in-depth on an initiative in Eastern Europe in the nineties (designed to fast-track the initial training of teachers of English), which was rushed into place without the underpinning of a baseline study, and he goes on to describe the consequences. By contrast, the successful tertiary level ESP (English for Specific Purposes) Curriculum project in Ukraine in the 2000s was based on a thorough study carried out by a UK researcher in close co-operation with in-country project partners (British Council 2003). The new curriculum has been broadly welcomed in Ukrainian universities and is helping to drive up standards of English in undergraduate and graduate students across a range of discipline areas (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine 2005).

Data collection in baseline research for ELT projects may involve any or all of the following:

■ interviews with and/or questionnaires to a range of primary and secondary stakeholders in the proposed change to gauge levels of interest in, attitudes to, and potential commitment to the proposed change

■ classroom observation to gain a first-hand view of practices

■ evaluation of teaching materials in use

■ a critical review of existing curriculum documentation and examination practices

- sample institutional audits to assess staffing, resources, management structures, etc.

- collection of relevant statistical data on numbers of teachers, learners, etc., as well as on examination results and other relevant academic issues

- a study of key contextual issues that affect travel and communication such as availability of internet access and telephones, and accessibility of target locations.

The purpose of all of this is to establish where everyone and everything is at the start of the project and to assess the extent and potential impact of the change on people and institutions involved. On the basis of all of this, strategic planning of the project can commence with some degree of confidence. Baseline data also provides an essential basis for future evaluations, mid-term, end-of-project, and long-term impact evaluations. In short, there is no way around a thorough baseline study, if a change project is to have any chance of success.

The culture gap

Fullan describes 'reculturing' as the process by which 'teachers come to change their beliefs and habits' (2007: 25). In international ELT projects, the term takes on considerable additional dimensions. There is potential for intercultural dialogue and for degrees of misunderstanding not only in classroom practices and everything that underpins them, from societal and behavioural norms to authority structures, from values to language and the way terminology is used. Examples of this include the way in which terms like 'methodology' and 'syllabus' are understood differently in the West from the way they are understood in Eastern Europe, where methodology is seen as a serious academic discipline in its own right, and where there are no simple and easily understandable translations of 'syllabus' or 'curriculum'.

Reculturing manifests itself in ways as simple as the 'sorry, but that wouldn't work in my classroom' syndrome or as complex as a decision to terminate a project or close down a donor's operation in a particular country on the grounds of cultural incompatibility. What western agencies and consultants have been learning slowly and sometimes painfully over decades is that it pays to start off by getting to know the recipient culture intimately and in some depth, and to work with partners from where they are at the time the project is launched and not from where the donor consultants are or where the consultants want their partners to be. The kind of cultural dissonance manifested in this quotation, for example, has not been uncommon in the Russian Federation in recent years:

> *We manage to forget, to cut off, the best things ever existing in our system of education and adopt the worst things from the West.* (Russian Professor of Education, speaking at a conference on methodology and textbooks)

But it is not a new phenomenon, as this comment by Tomlinson in connection with the PKG project bears out:

The optimum classroom culture for foreign language learning might be at odds with the culture of the school and the culture of the society. This could lead to a conflict of values and objectives... (1990: 36)

The need to find a shared vision and an acceptable starting point applies at all levels, from the ministry to the classroom. It requires patience and sensitivity, but it allows donor and recipient partners to walk through the change process hand in hand, rather than resorting to the kind of pushing and pulling which only results in alienation. It works best where agencies such as the British Council (as in India) are prepared to commit key staff long-term to a particular context or project to allow them to become sufficiently immersed in the local cultural norms to earn their partners' respect and trust.

Change, then, as Handal and Lauvas (1987), Claxton (1989), and others have recognised, will never succeed, if it focuses simply on behaviour. Classroom teaching, textbook and curriculum writing, and examination procedures are in one very important sense a manifestation of the values, attitudes, beliefs, theories, and experience of those who design and deliver these behaviours and artefacts. This is the 'deep culture' of any educational system, and some of it goes back a long way in history, in some cases to medieval times and even beyond. If a change project does not penetrate into these deeper layers, it cannot succeed in the long term. It is also from these deeper layers that resistance to change emanates. Whether in learners, teachers, or managers, resistance is always a likely response, especially in the early stages of a change initiative and most frequently among the more experienced and long-serving members of a teaching community. If the proposed changes seem to be imposed, rather than negotiated, and if they threaten or are incompatible with beliefs, values, status, or any other deep-seated factors in those involved, the change will be stalled and, in extreme cases, rejected outright. Sikes (1992) discusses this interestingly. But there is good news about resistance too. In my experience, in project after project, people use resistance as a strategy to gain time and make sense of the proposed change, often taking up the position of a devil's advocate in order to probe and understand more fully what the change is about and how it is likely to affect their lives. Gulyamova and Isamukhamedova put it very clearly in their reflections on lessons learnt through the English Reform Project in their own context:

Change is a long-term process. It does not happen in one day and it never ends. For example, in Uzbekistan some deep-rooted traditional practices mentioned at the beginning of the article still linger on. Bringing about change is a slow process and you have to be prepared to deal with resistance. (forthcoming, 2012)

Once they have satisfied themselves that they can live with what is proposed, they are often even more fully on board than early adopters who required no convincing from the outset. Doubters and resisters can be very valuable in pushing for modifications and rethinks in the process of change as it evolves, and if the project framework is flexible enough, this can create benefits for everyone involved.

Change is soluble and dilutable

When it works well, educational change might usefully be conceived of as a kind of soluble substance, capable of being absorbed into an existing system and becoming an integral part of it, at the level of both thinking and action. People involved in it become immersed in it to an extent that it no longer feels like an alien import but is seen as a valuable stimulus in their professional lives. This kind of process is also sometimes described as organic change. But change is also dilutable, as this 'earthquake' model shows:
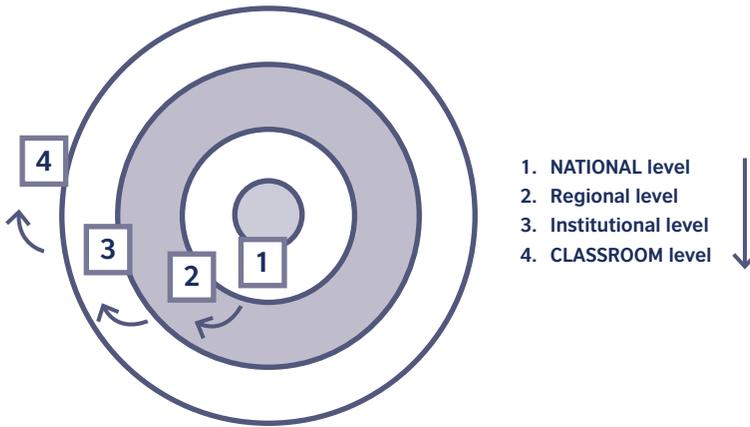

1. **NATIONAL level**
2. **Regional level**
3. **Institutional level**
4. **CLASSROOM level**

Figure 1: Change: The 'Earthquake' Model: Version 1

If the epicentre of change is located in a ministry or a national institution, that is where activity and momentum are likely to be strongest. If the structure of the project is based on dissemination or cascading from this centre of activity and on energy being transmitted through existing institutions at regional and sub-regional levels, there is every chance that change messages will be diluted and distorted by the time they reach the periphery of the earthquake zone (apologies for the mixed metaphors here). This has been a frequent criticism of cascade models. However, in some projects such as in the EWoW (English for the World of Work) project in Romania, activity and energy were generated initially at classroom level, with high levels of initial involvement of both teachers and learners, which in a very real sense put them at the epicentre of the project and thus reversed the flow in the 'earthquake' model:
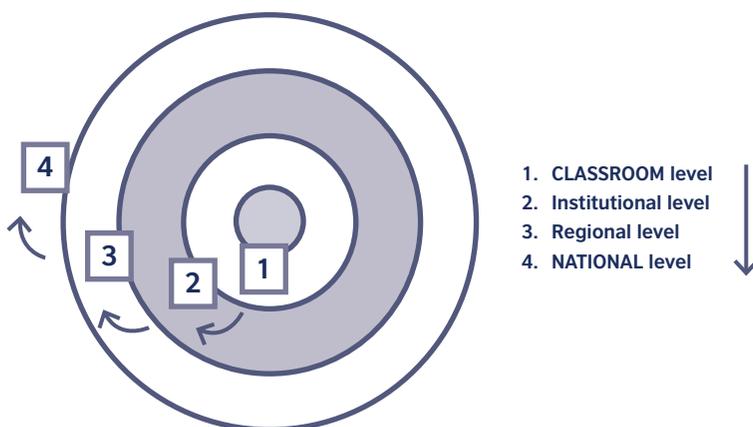
Figure 2: Change: The 'Earthquake' Model: Version 2

In cases like this, with noble bottom-up intentions, it is equally hard for good practice at classroom level to be disseminated as far as national level, where the impact might be heeded and lessons learnt. Dilution again! What we seem to have learnt – though it is not always evident in practice – is that we need to start change-oriented projects at both of these critical points, recognising stakeholder interests, and identifying and mobilising change agents at each level in a system. The major revision of the National Curriculum in the United Kingdom in the nineties gained much greater acceptance because there was wide consultation among teachers, who this time felt that they had had more of a say in its drafting and implementation. Examples of good practice in implementing the curriculum were subsequently recognised and highlighted in in-service training events across the country.

The real meaning of sustainability and capacity building

The need to build capacity and sustainability has long been a mantra in project design and implementation. But what kind of capacity and what form of sustainability? In the textbook projects of the 1990s and 2000s, local authors in Russia, Belarus, Romania (cf Popovici, this volume), and Uzbekistan were trained to produce contextually appropriate textbooks to match the demands of their respective curricula and to reduce dependency on products imported at considerable expense from British and American publishers. In each of these cases, some of the trained authors have continued to write, but also contribute to other projects as trainers or consultants. These are professionals who have found their voices and have shown a readiness to contribute to the longer-term development of ELT in their home contexts. In Uzbekistan, writers who produced training packages for in-service courses have gone on to be involved in testing and curriculum development projects, thereby making a major contribution to the development of ELT far beyond the brief they took on initially. This is the kind of capacity building that seems to make sense.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the notion of sustainability became associated with bricks and mortar and institutions, rather than just with people or ideas. This seems to have worked to some extent. On a recent visit to Sri Lanka, I was pleased to meet some resource centre co-ordinators who were able to report that their centres, set up under an aid project in the eighties and nineties, were still functioning effectively, in some cases despite the political unrest in their own region. These centres stand as change project products, and teachers in Sri Lanka still appreciate them.

A more modern view of sustainability is far less concrete but just as important. It is to do with sustaining those beliefs and values which underpin change and which recipient communities are asked to buy into when a project gets under way. These include a belief in the importance of change itself as a sustained and probably never-ending process in education, the same core value that underlies the contemporary notions of continuing professional development and lifelong learning in education professionals. This view probably needs to be part of the vision of project partners from the outset. It is about people, far more than concrete and clay.

Conclusions: What we have learnt about change

From the discussion above, it feels reasonable to offer a few conclusions about what can be learnt from previous experience in change management in the context of educational programmes and projects. I give these below as a list and hope that they will be, at best, useful and, at the very least, a starting point for further discussion.

1. Change is a process and not just a product. Change projects need to recognise this and to find ways of valuing and accounting for good process as well as outcomes. Part of an acknowledgement of this manifests itself through the degree of flexibility that is built into a project to accommodate evolving needs and priorities over the allotted timescale.

2. Projects targeting large-scale systemic change need to be seen as long-term undertakings. It may be better to see this kind of project as a means of kick-starting a change initiative, rather than seeing it through to a final conclusion.

3. A change project which starts without a baseline study and without a view of the planned change built on the baseline study is like a house built on sand – inevitably destined to collapse, and probably sooner rather than later.

4. Teachers are often the target of a change initiative, but they are also front-line change agents. They need to be involved in the project from the earliest possible stage and inspired to take ownership of the change.

5. Successful change projects are characterised by joined-up thinking between the key participants in the change process and by good communication both within the project and at the interface with all stakeholders with a legitimate interest in the change.

6. Donor consultants need to be ready to work on the terms of the recipient community rather than on their own terms and this implies immersing themselves in the realities on the ground in the host community.

7. Some of the routine lexicon of change projects, such as 'capacity building' and 'sustainability', needs to be re-examined and possibly redefined to take account of the way projects themselves are now being conceived and carried through.

8. As Fullan (2007) reminds us forcefully, change is all about people, and it stands or falls in direct relation to the impact it has on their lives. This is as true in ELT as it is in any other sector of education.

Planning for success: Culture, engagement and power in English language education innovation

David Hayes

Introduction

Developing proficiency in English amongst school students is of pressing concern to education ministries around the world. There is a general belief that success in English, beginning at the school level, is a key factor in national competitiveness and is of paramount importance to national economies in a globalised world. As an example, the 'Project Demand and Economic Analysis' for the Asian Development Bank 'Education for Knowledge Society Project' in Sri Lanka stated that:

> Given the major emphasis of the Project on improving English language and ICT skills, secondary and tertiary graduates will be more readily employable as their skills will more closely match labour demand in the private sector. (Asian Development Bank 2007: 51)

One of the 'Performance Targets/Indicators' was 'unemployment rates of educated youth reduced by 5 per cent from 2008 to 2012' (Asian Development Bank ibid.: 21). Similarly, in Thailand, the stated goal of the Ministry of Education is 'to build the capacity of Thai people to communicate in English language in order that they will be able to seek new knowledge by themselves and benefit their profession as well as international competitiveness' (Punthumasen 2007: 8).

These beliefs about the necessity for English are backed up by research which shows that, in some countries, proficiency in English, in the context of additive bilingualism, has been demonstrated to correlate positively with increased earning power for individuals (Posel and Casale 2011). Governments have, accordingly, made significant investments in programmes and projects[1] designed to improve the teaching and learning of English in state schools across the age range, with the focus usually being on implementing Learner-Centred Education (LCE) through Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approaches. In many countries, however,

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[1] For the purposes of this paper 'programmes' and 'projects' are synonymous. Though a programme is often conceptualised as of a larger scale than a project, there are enough instances of large-scale educational projects to render the distinction meaningless for most practical purposes.

these investments do not appear to have produced the changes to established patterns of classroom interaction to accord with new curriculum guidelines or to have raised student achievement as their funders intended (see, for example, Hu 2005 on China; Baker 2008 on Thailand; Kikuchi and Browne 2009 on Japan; Waters 2009 for a general review of innovation).

This effect – or lack of it – is not confined to innovations in English language education which prioritise LCE, as Waters and Vilches (2008) conclude for other subject areas of the Philippines Basic Education Curriculum, and Stronkhorst and van den Akker (2006) for science teaching in Swaziland. Similarly, reviewing 72 studies of the implementation of LCE in various curriculum areas which appeared in the International Journal of Educational Development, Schweisfurth (2011: 419) noted that 'the history of the implementation of LCE in different contexts is riddled with stories of failures grand and small'.

What lies behind this consistent pattern of failure? Schweisfurth (2011) identifies a number of barriers to implementation of LCE in general which can be applied to CLT in particular. First, the nature of the change expected is too great and the speed at which it is required to happen is too rapid. CLT/LCE is seen to be particularly demanding 'because of the profound shifts required in teacher-learner power relations, and due to the nature of teacher professional learning' (ibid.: 421), which is shaped by prior learning experience as well as sociocultural context. Secondly, in many countries, the resources to support innovation – school infrastructure, class size, teaching-learning materials, and teacher capacity – are severely constrained. Thirdly, innovations based on imported pedagogy are often opposed to local cultural values in various ways, particularly the role expectations of 'teacher' and 'student', and there may be a corresponding resistance to innovations perceived as western. Fourthly, change is driven by people who do not have to implement it, either donor agencies external to the context or educational administrators and policy makers internal to it.

As policy tends not to 'reflect joined-up thinking which takes into consideration all parts of the education system' (ibid.: 423), teachers find themselves being instructed to use CLT/LCE in the classroom, while, for example, success in high-stakes examinations is still determined by 'learners' ability to reproduce fixed bodies of knowledge' (ibid.: 423). In circumstances where teachers are judged by their students' performance in such examinations, it is little wonder that 'traditional' teacher-centred, knowledge-focused pedagogic practices align with the examination imperatives to win out over the learner-centred, communicative approaches mandated by curriculum innovations. In the face of this evidence of continual failure, where does the interest – or obsession – with CLT/LCE come from and why does it persist?

The export of educational reforms

CLT is seen by some as part of the 'linguistic imperialism' of the west (Phillipson 1992; 2001). In English language education worldwide, there has been widespread criticism of the deference accorded to native speakers[2] of the language and intense debate about western ideological influences on pedagogy (see, for example, Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2005; Kabel 2009).

Western English language educators are seen, wittingly or unwittingly, to collude with commercial publishing interests to export CLT around the globe. The enduring worldwide popularity of western teacher-training manuals such as Harmer's (2007) *The Practice of English Language Teaching*, now in its fourth edition, and the global sales of textbooks such as the *New Headway* series published by Oxford University Press or the New Interchange series published by Cambridge University Press bear witness to this process, as does the fact that some version of CLT and a learner-centred curriculum for English is to be seen in state education systems in most countries. For example, the Papua New Guinea Lower Secondary Syllabus for English states that:

> *English is a practical subject and teaching and learning must reflect this. Learning will be done through practical activities; students will learn by speaking and listening, creative thinking and doing. [...] The English Syllabus uses a student-centred approach as a vehicle to guide and facilitate students' learning.* (Department of Education 2006: 6).

Advocates of the malign effects of linguistic imperialism would not be surprised to learn that the syllabus was developed with outside assistance, in this case 'with the support of the Australian Government through the Curriculum Reform Implementation project (CRIP)' (ibid.: iii), or that there has been criticism of the way in which curriculum development has been handled. A recent blog by the head of the Department of Economics at the University of Papua New Guinea comments:

> *When the Australian consultants came in with their PhDs and masters degrees and earning their K200,000 salary packages, the local curriculum officers were quite overwhelmed and did not feel confident to question or challenge them.*
>
> *CRIP consultants took advantage of this situation to push the project through quickly and soon started producing policy documents like the National Curriculum Statement and Assessment Policy, which they claimed were written 'by Papua New Guineans for Papua New Guineans'.*
>
> *But it didn't ring true.*
>
> *From what I saw, the new OBE [Outcomes-based Education] curriculum documents seemed to be largely drafted by the Australian consultants with token input from subject advisory committees, then rubber stamped by Curriculum Unit, and printed with everybody's names inside to make it look like they were written by the Papua New Guineans.*
>
> *But they weren't. I know because I was there.* (Kora 2011)

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[2] I acknowledge the contested nature of this term but retain it here, as it is still the most widely used in the literature.

Papua New Guinea is not alone in feeling that outside 'experts' do not pay sufficient attention either to stakeholders or to the context in which reforms have to be implemented. Gu (2005) analyses the experience of British Council projects advocating the use of CLT in Chinese universities and comments that:

> As Chinese teachers saw it, what British specialists were lacking were cross-cultural adaptability and an understanding of the Chinese educational context. (Gu ibid.: 292)

An understanding of the importance of context to educational innovation is also lacking in another of the major stimuli to educational innovation across the globe: the increasing attention paid to international comparisons of educational achievement. When one's own education system is deemed to be deficient in some way, it is perhaps natural to look to other, apparently more successful countries to determine the reasons for their success and to generalise from this to one's own context. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) rankings have led many people to look to Finland, for example, which has had great success in these rankings, to uncover the underlying reasons for their accomplishments. Burridge (2010) reports that more than 100 delegations from other countries visited Helsinki in 2009 in order to find out the secrets of Finnish success in education. However, though there may indeed be something to be learnt from others' experience, the attempt simply to transfer 'best practice' in education from one country to another is a cause of failure in much innovation.

Any conclusions about what may be best practice in English language (or any other) educational innovation need to be framed within the constraints and opportunities of the context(s) in which the innovation is to be implemented, as well as within an understanding of the sociocultural and historical context of the system from which the innovative practices derive. In his discussion of 'the Finnish miracle of PISA', Simola (2005) focuses on these dimensions and cautions against 'comparative educational studies [being] turned into a political tool for creating educational policy or a mode of governance, rather than remaining in the realm of intellectual inquiry' (op.cit.: 456). He sees Finnish achievement as being the result of a whole complex of factors viewed in sociological and historical perspective, citing Välijärvi, Linnakylä, Kupari, Reinikainen, and Arffman (2002):

> Finland's high achievement seems to be attributable to a whole network of interrelated factors, in which students' own areas of interest and leisure activities, the learning opportunities provided by schools, parental support and involvement as well as social and cultural contexts of learning and of the entire education system combine with each other. (op.cit.: 456)

In contrast to this situated understanding of educational achievement, Walker and Dimmock (2000: 157) note that 'there appears to be a naïve belief among many policy makers and practitioners that policies and practices designed in one context can be unproblematically transported elsewhere'. As we have seen, experience in a number of non-western contexts with the implementation of western-derived CLT/LCE indicates that this kind of transfer is indeed often problematic, rather than being the panacea expected (Gu 2005; Holliday 2005). Does this mean, then, that

innovation in English language education is something that education ministries should avoid or that nothing can be transferred successfully from other contexts to one's own?

What makes for successful innovation?

Clearly, abstaining from innovation is not an option for most countries and the pressure of being measured in international comparisons is unlikely to lessen. Technology is driving change in many aspects of the global economy, as well as in wider society. All education systems need to respond to these changes to ensure that the students they educate are as well-equipped as possible to assume productive roles in society, as well as to realise fully their individual human potential (OECD 2001). A critical examination of programmes and projects to determine the factors which are most likely to lead to change, when an innovation is designed and implemented, and those which are most likely to result in stasis is, therefore, essential to inform the decision-making process of those educational policy makers and administrators who seek to innovate. Analysis of a number of these key factors follows.

Owing to inevitable restrictions of space, I shall confine discussion to four issues in effective programme and project design and implementation, viz. (1) the systemic nature of innovation; (2) grass-roots stakeholder involvement; (3) adequate support during the process of implementation; and (4) power and leadership in managing innovation.

The systemic nature of innovation – the importance of 'joined-up thinking'
As we have seen from Schweisfurth (2011), policy tends to ignore the fact that reform in one area has an impact on other areas of the system – there is no 'joined-up thinking'. To illustrate the importance of joined-up thinking, Hayes (2007) points out how a proposed policy change to the grade level at which English was to be introduced in Vietnam would reverberate across the whole grade spectrum and would also affect areas as diverse as teacher staffing levels, both pre-service and in-service teacher training, and curriculum and materials. Further, there are associated financial implications for the government, which must make additional resources available to accommodate the proposed changes. Hayes (2007: 50-51) comments:

> *Changes are, however, not just necessary in the new grade levels in which English is introduced but throughout the entire system, as earlier introduction of a subject inevitably requires adjustment to the curriculum and materials in all subsequent grades. The follow-on implications of a decision to teach English earlier in the school cycle are profound. Once a decision has been made, then, to teach a language to primary school children, if failure as identified by Graddol (i.e. that children could be deterred from language learning in future years) is to be avoided, all manner of other factors come into play which are common to systemic educational reform for any subject area in the curriculum. These are, primarily:*

- *ensuring that there are adequate numbers of teachers to teach the subject to the particular grades*

- *ensuring that these teachers are well trained for the task*

- *ensuring that instructional time is available in the curriculum for the teaching of the subject*

- *ensuring that curriculum materials and teaching-learning approaches are appropriate to the age group*

- *ensuring that adequate time has been allowed for the preparation of new curriculum materials*

- *ensuring that appropriate and timely in-service training is given to teachers in the use of the materials and teaching-learning approaches*

- *ensuring that adequate in-school advisory support is available to teachers as they implement the curriculum*

- *ensuring that appropriate evaluation procedures are in place to evaluate the effectiveness of the innovation*

- *ensuring that adequate material and financial resources are available to implement all of the above*

- *and, of course, ensuring that necessary adjustments are made to the curriculum and materials for all subsequent grades, and that teachers are given training to introduce them to these changes in the higher grades.*

The widening circles of impact from a change to the grade level at which a subject is first taught affect the entire school curriculum, as the factor 'ensuring that instructional time is available in the curriculum for the teaching of the subject' cannot be treated in isolation. If, for example, English is introduced as a compulsory subject at earlier grades, where does the time come from? Are other subjects to be given less time (at the risk of alienating teachers and others with an investment in those subjects) or is the school day to be extended (with all kinds of implications for schools and for parents who must accommodate the extension in their own personal and professional lives)?

In another example of widening impact, even where individual teachers do manage to overcome the cultural change factors which Schweisfurth (2011) identifies as contributing to failure, they may encounter resistance from other teachers who feel that new pedagogical behaviour does not fit with local accepted school norms. Hayes (1996) illustrates this kind of impact with the example of a Thai teacher who was keen to put into practice the CLT approach she had learnt on training courses, but whose classes were criticised by her colleagues for being too noisy, contrary to the local cultural norm of passive, obedient students listening intently as the teacher transmitted knowledge. The teacher spoke about her students and teaching in this way:

You know they're good students, very good, and they love me a lot. They like the way I taught them and they thought that English is easy when they study with me, and they can enjoy studying. But every time they study English, it's a problem, so they have to be very quiet. When I make a loud noise, when my students make a loud noise, when I come back to the staffroom ... I have to walk quietly. (Hayes ibid.: 181)

Here the teacher tries to remain true to her ideals, reinforced by the positive response from her students, but the reaction of her colleagues was such that, as Hayes (ibid.: 181) comments, 'after a "noisy" class she tried to make herself less noticeable by virtually tiptoeing into the staffroom'.

It is also surprising how often mismatches between mandated teaching-learning approaches and high-stakes examinations are cited as a cause of failure of pedagogical innovations. O'Donnell (2005: 305), for example, notes that for many teachers in Japan 'the main purpose for teaching English is to prepare students for university entrance examinations' and he concludes that the teachers he interviewed all believe:

...lasting change can only occur as entrance examination content changes along with the way teachers conceptualise how they can teach English. Teacher-participants argue that reform of the content of English university entrance examinations must occur in tandem with curricular reform, so that more teachers can be won over to the implementation of reform in their classrooms. (O'Donnell ibid.: 314)

Given that the importance of success in these examinations for students – and for teachers, who are judged by their students' success – is widely acknowledged in society, one wonders why educational administrators, who have themselves been through this very system, fail to see that reform of classroom pedagogy will not happen unless changes are made so that the examinations test students in a manner consistent with the way innovators propose that they should be taught. I share Wedell's (2009: 44) exasperation when he says, 'I find it difficult to understand how so many policy makers and their educational experts can remain so blind to their own educational cultures', of which high-stakes examinations are for many a very significant element.

The systemic nature of innovation: lessons from experience
The lesson to be drawn here is that those responsible for English language innovation must not think of it in isolation from other aspects of an education system, including the teaching and learning of other subjects. Innovators must take steps to ensure that their thinking is truly 'joined up', i.e.

■ that they are aware of all the human and material resources required to implement the innovation

■ that they understand its likely impact on the wider educational – particularly school – context into which it will be introduced, with respect to which evaluation needs to be an integral element of innovation design (see Kiely, this volume, for an extended discussion)

- that innovative pedagogy is in harmony with high-stakes examination procedures

- and that they have the necessary commitment of the people who are responsible for implementing the innovation at classroom level.

It is to this latter group – teachers – that we now turn our attention.

Grass-roots stakeholder involvement – the importance of listening to teachers
A cause of persistent failure in educational innovation is that it is driven by people who do not have to implement it (Schweisfurth 2011). Wedell remarks that:

> *…at national level educational-change policy makers and planners often seem able to delude themselves that it is not necessary to think about how the people affected by implementation will react to change, or about how the implementation process might be affected by the existing classroom conditions.*
> (Wedell op.cit.: 45)

Yet, if 'educational change depends on what teachers do and think – it's as simple and complex as that' (Fullan and Stiegelbauer 1991: 117), then central to effective innovation is an appreciation of teachers' views of what will and will not work in their classrooms. Teachers are, as Murray and Christison (this volume) put it, 'the linchpins in the implementation process'. However, classroom teachers are rarely consulted about educational innovations when these are in the planning stages. Prapaisit de Segovia and Hardison (2009: 161) make this point for Thailand, noting that 'although the teachers played a major role in the reform, they were an untapped resource in the decision-making process'.

The practical outcome of this failure to consult those responsible for implementing innovations in the classroom can be observed in Hayes' (2010) case study of a teacher of English in north-east Thailand. The teacher spoke about the demands of trying to implement reforms with inadequate training or support:

> *The Ministry of Education, I think they have a very good intention to develop or to reform education but people, people who are supposed to do their job, they don't have any motivation or knowledge to do it. Like when they said write your own material which is relevant to your students' needs, for example, how can they do that? Writing materials is not that easy, it's difficult. They need somebody to come and sit and help, look at their job and then give them advice. And then what the government does, they just bring teachers together and train [them] for one week for example. And some of the knowledge of the speaker is very high like that and the teachers' knowledge is like this low [makes gestures to illustrate the difference].* (Hayes ibid.: 313)

This teacher's experience can be seen as support for Canagrajah's (2002: 140) stance that 'this is perhaps the right moment to empower the local knowledge of teachers deriving from years of accumulated experience, wisdom, and intuitions about what works best for their students'. Yet the empowerment of local pedagogical knowledge runs counter, not just to much of the prescriptive advice on methods found in the ELT literature, which as we have noted influences curriculum

and syllabus development worldwide, but is also inimical to the very nature of many educational systems, which are highly centralised. Schools are generally 'rule-steered', which, as Berg (2000: 198) explains,

> …implies that street-level bureaucrats get directives, instructions, and/or orders from superior political levels within the organisation. In the extreme case, these instructions do not leave any actual scope for the street-level bureaucrats' own independent actions.

In rule-steered systems, school principals feel they have no leeway in implementing ministry directives and they direct their subordinates – teachers – to follow suit, rather than consulting them about the nature of the changes they are being asked to implement and feeding this information back to the central administration. This administrative style may guarantee public adherence to centralised reforms but does nothing to ensure that they are implemented in the more private world of the classroom.

Grass-roots involvement: lessons from experience

To call for the empowerment of local pedagogical knowledge may be swimming against the tide of centralised control of teachers' work, but research shows quite clearly that current centralising trends result in teachers feeling 'that they have little autonomy in their work, that they are constantly overloaded, and that they are not always able to meet the needs of their students as they would wish: in essence, that their sense of a professional self is under threat' (Hayes 2006: 160). This de-skilling of teachers, as Dadds (2001) concludes of experience in the United Kingdom, results in the sacrifice of learning for the teaching of prescribed coverage, which is paradoxical, given the espoused focus on LCE. Thus, if educational administrators and others who are responsible for educational reform are truly concerned about the effectiveness of what they propose and wish to heighten the chances of its being implemented in the classroom, it is essential that they listen to classroom teachers at every stage of the reform process. As Kiely (this volume) puts it, 'the key locus of innovation management [is] that of practice rather than policy'.

Adequate support during the process of implementation

As the teacher in Hayes' (2010) case study in section 3.2 lamented, education officials may have very good intentions but they often fail to appreciate the demands they are placing on teachers, when they ask them to innovate. O'Sullivan (2001: 111) reminds us that:

> The process of implementing change can be very deep, striking at the core of learned skills, philosophy, beliefs, and conceptions of education, and creating doubts about self-purpose, sense of competence, and self-concept.

The full extent of the demands placed upon teachers may not even be apparent until they begin to implement an innovation. This means that, even if teachers are consulted during the design and planning stage of an educational reform, they are still likely to need considerable support during the implementation phase, as they strive to incorporate the innovation into their existing patterns of classroom practice.

For many education systems, the implementation of an innovation is simply a matter of providing in-service courses to teachers to inform them about what they are required to do, often in a cascade model of training. We have known for almost 20 years that research shows investment in in-service teacher development can have an impact in raising the quality of schooling (Pennycuick 1993) but, unfortunately for educational administrators, there is not a simple one-to-one correspondence between an in-service course and improved classroom practice. There are all too many examples over the years of in-service courses having limited or no impact on the teachers involved, particularly in the long term (see, for example, Lamb 1996; Stronkhorst and van den Akker 2006). Cascade systems have also been criticised for offering diluted training the further one progresses down the cascade, though, where this has happened, the lack of take-up at grass-roots level may be as much a function of the lack of consultation with teachers by policy makers in the initial stages of curriculum (re)design as the cascade model itself (Gilpin 1997). Hayes (2000) feels that cascades can be made to work successfully provided, *inter alia*, that they operate with notions of professional development which go beyond top-down, skills-based training. His experience is that the most productive courses are those that adopt a reflexive approach *vis-à-vis* the curriculum innovation. In essence, this means that if, for example, an activity-based, learner-centred curriculum is to be introduced in schools, the training methods used on courses for both trainers and teachers should model this activity-based and learner-centred approach. Without such reflexivity, it is likely that teachers will see a divorce between their own training and the innovative practice they are being asked to implement in the classroom. In such a case, why should teachers have faith in the innovation itself?

Research also favours a cyclical programme of in-service courses for maximum effectiveness in the classroom. O'Sullivan's (2001) study of courses in Namibia revealed that teachers benefited from linked programmes of courses, with data from follow-up visits to appraise teacher behaviour in the classroom after one course then informing a subsequent course.

The Namibian experience is reinforced by qualitative research into in-service programmes from the perspective of teacher trainers. For example, in Hayes' (2004) study in Thailand, the trainers themselves expressed the view that teachers needed a regular programme of courses if there was to be any significant improvement in classroom practice. This kind of approach, with the opportunity to respond to teachers' needs at various points in a programme of courses, has great scope for showing how an innovation may be accommodated to the classroom realities which teachers face on a day-to-day basis as they implement change and which might otherwise militate against the change taking root.

O'Sullivan's (2001) study points to the importance of in-school follow-up for the success of teacher development courses. This is reinforced by a review of teacher professional development in Australia (Ingvarson, Meiers, and Beavis 2005: 9), which noted that many in-service programmes aimed to improve teachers' classroom skills, but it 'found that few participants actually received assistance and

evaluation in their classrooms during the critical and difficult implementation phase when they were trying out new practices'. It concluded that:

> One of the most significant findings in this study across the 80 programmes was how rarely designers built in opportunities for feedback and coaching in the workplace, despite research on their centrality to learning new and complex skills. (Ingvarson et al. ibid.: 18)

One of the reasons for the lack of this type of coaching (or mentoring) is obviously the cost, both human and financial, but:

> … money spread thinly, when it comes to professional development, is unlikely to produce significant change. Where significant change is sought, it may be wiser to involve fewer teachers than produce less significant change among many. (Ingvarson et al. ibid.: 17)

Whether a school system would want to be seen to promote such an inequitable practice is a moot point, given that, in many contexts, those most in need of the help – teachers in poor, under-resourced schools – would be the least likely to receive it.

Adequate support for implementation: lessons from experience

Developing supportive conditions and establishing professional learning communities amongst teachers in all schools – which can provide the right conditions for fostering opinion and coaching – are vital if innovations are to succeed across an educational system. Muijs and Lindsay (2008: 195) note that the literature 'has confirmed that where teachers are able to reflect, access new ideas, experiment, and share experiences within school cultures and where leaders encourage appropriate levels of challenge and support, there is greater potential for school and classroom improvement'. However, in research by Day, Stobart, Sammons, Kington, Gu, Smees and Mujtaba (2006), teachers commented that the time and opportunities they had to reflect on their own teaching and to share practice with their colleagues were insufficient. This indicates a mismatch between the forms of in-service development which are shown to be most effective and the time available to teachers to pursue them in their own school contexts. As Ingvarson et al. (ibid.: 17) note, it:

> …is not enough to provide well-designed professional development programmes from outside the school. Policy makers and school administrators need to give equal attention to building the conditions that will enable schools to provide fertile ground for professional learning on an ongoing basis and as a routine part of the job. This study indicates that a substantial level of professional community is vital to significant change. The key ingredients here are time to think, analyse, and talk about the specifics of what is going on in classrooms and what students are doing and learning.

Thus, unless the 'considerable gap between the conditions that research indicates are optimal for professional development and those that are provided' (Ingvarson et al. ibid.) in schools worldwide is lessened, successful innovation is unlikely to occur.

Power and leadership in managing innovation

Innovation in English language education, like any other form of change, should be seen as a process, and one which needs to be managed (Wedell op.cit.). Initially, the power emanating from a Ministry of Education and other relevant authorities at provincial and district levels will secure at least surface acceptance of any innovation. However, much more is needed if an innovation is to persist and particularly if it is to alter classroom teaching and learning behaviours. Support from administrators for change, crucially at local as well as national level, and effective management of change at all levels of the educational system is vital (Wedell op.cit.). In this connection, O'Sullivan (2001: 113) found in her study that 'the least improved teachers worked in schools with ineffective principals who did not support the programme as effectively as principals elsewhere'.

In many countries teachers have expressed a great deal of concern about the nature and dynamics of their relationships with school principals. Typical of this, as noted above, is the experience of teachers in Thailand where 'rule-steered' school directors were heavily criticised for being remote from the classroom and autocratic in their decision-making processes (Hayes 2006). Yet, teachers in Hayes' study did not necessarily wish to see school principals' powers curtailed, perhaps as deference to authority was the norm in the context, but they expressed a specific desire to have them more involved in day-to-day teaching in a supportive fashion. The indications from the teachers' perspectives were that, too often, principals were more concerned with fulfilling administrative requirements than they were with the quality of classroom instruction in their schools and that this was something to be regretted. Moreover, teachers generally felt that their work was not appreciated. In this respect, teachers' experience in Thailand has much in common with the experience of teachers in other countries reported consistently over the years. In Malta, Farrugia (1986) found that teachers wanted to have their efforts appreciated by school principals; while Evans (1998), in a study of teachers in the United Kingdom, found that teachers were strongly motivated by recognition of their efforts and demotivated by lack of recognition. Murray and Christison (this volume) also emphasise the role of school leadership in managing innovation, exploring the skill sets required and noting the importance of building effective interpersonal relationships in support of change.

Power and leadership: lessons from experience

Teachers, as research has long since shown, favour effective leaders of schools who 'focused on active leadership, motivating staff, motivating students, reaching the community, and continually improving the school' (Fullan and Stiegelbauer 1991: 159). And, in contexts of educational reform, 'leadership demands include being responsible for the professional development of staff so that they may cope better with the complexity, dynamism, and unpredictability that are the keystones of change' (Bajunid 2000: 184). If, as we concluded above, the development of professional learning communities is a key factor in successful change, then, given the way in which schools are structured at present, principals have primary responsibility for the establishment of conditions conducive to teacher learning in collegial working environments which will assist in the implementation of educational innovations. We cannot assume, of course, that principals have the skill to do this by virtue of their position, and they too must be provided with effective support as they learn how to foster collegial environments and innovation in their schools.

Conclusion

All education systems must cope with change (Wedell op.cit.) and if innovations are to be successfully implemented, there are important lessons to be learnt from research into international practice. To draw together the conclusions from the discussion above, there are three critical areas which require focused attention.

Policy and resources

Educational innovation is not value- or culture-free but must be considered in relation to the context in which it is to be implemented. Sometimes, there is a failure to recognise how costly innovation can be and the resources needed to implement it successfully are underestimated. Often, too, the impact of an innovation in one area of the system on other areas is not fully thought through or the powerful effect of existing practice on the likelihood of an innovation being adopted is not adequately appreciated, particularly where there is a curriculum – testing mismatch. There are thus three key lessons for policy makers.

1. Innovation in English language education must be contextualised within a specific education system and the impact of an innovation on all other aspects of the system must be considered when it is being planned.

2. Particularly important is that pedagogical innovation must go hand in hand with parallel innovation in high-stakes testing.

3. Sufficient financial, material, and human resources must be available to implement the innovation.

Stakeholder engagement

No matter how sound an innovation might be theoretically, if it does not secure the wholehearted support of the people who have to transfer it from theory to practice in the classroom, the chances of successful implementation are very limited. The process of implementation is also long-term and support must be provided to teachers on a continuing basis and in a variety of ways as they come to terms with an innovation. Policy makers who are responsible for innovation must, therefore, consider three key points.

1. All innovations require the support of those primarily responsible for implementing them: classroom teachers. Teachers must be consulted – and their views respected – at all stages of the innovation process, from initial conception to implementation.

2. Adequate support must be provided at all stages of the innovation process, in the form of effective in-service training and in-school follow-up to training.

3. Developing professional learning communities amongst teachers is critical to school improvement; and time and opportunity for reflection on teaching and sharing practice are central to the development of such communities.

Management

Educational innovation is a process, rather than something which is accomplished simply through policy statements at ministry level, though these official policies are clearly a necessary element in that process. As such, any innovation needs to be managed actively throughout the various stages of its formulation, adoption, and classroom instantiation. What is often neglected in English language educational innovation, as with innovation in other curriculum areas, is that its managers require just as much support as they come to terms with an innovation as do the implementers in the classroom, the teachers. Once again, there are three key learning points for policy makers.

1. Power from ministries may secure surface acceptance of an innovation but is insufficient to guarantee change in classroom practice.

2. Effective management of an innovation at all levels of an education system is vital if it is to succeed; and school leadership is particularly important in a centralised system.

3. Just as teachers need adequate support at all stages of the innovation process, so too do those charged with managing change: educational administrators, in-service trainers, and school principals.

Understanding innovation in English language education: Contexts and issues

Denise E. Murray and MaryAnn Christison

Introduction

The terms 'innovation' and 'change' are mostly used interchangeably. However, as technical terms in educational policy and planning, they represent quite different concepts. In this context, change can be defined as 'predictable and inevitable, resulting in an alteration in the *status quo* but not necessarily in improvements', while innovation 'results from deliberate efforts that are perceived as new, that are intended to bring about improvements, and that have the potential for diffusion' (Stoller 2011: 37). For the purposes of this chapter, we will use the terms innovation and change in accordance with Stoller's definitions, understanding that the introduction of innovation brings about changes that need to be managed.

Innovation is a highly complex process, because different individuals and cultures have different attitudes towards and beliefs about innovation. Therefore, innovations that are successful in one context may have to be adapted (or even rejected) in another. Contexts for English language education vary across the globe and so policy development must be responsive to the local context. This study discusses innovation and change, details the various contexts for English language education around the world, and then examines issues common to all contexts, but whose responses need to be local.

Innovation and change

There has been extensive research done on the nature of innovation (see, for example, Dyer, Gregersen, and Christensen 2011). For innovation both to occur and to continue various local conditions are required. These relate to the organisational cultures that support it, the role of leadership, and the nature of the innovation itself. Each of these conditions is discussed below.

Organisational cultures and structures

Much of the work on organisational cultures and structures has been in relation to the business world, rather than education. However, some groundbreaking research in business has also been found applicable to education. One such piece of fundamental research is that of Kanter (1983), who identified organisational cultures that facilitate change and those that impede it: these are classed as

segmental and integrative. Segmentalist cultures suffocate change, because they do not foster interaction across areas or encourage thinking outside the box; instead they view ideas and problems in isolation. In contrast, integrative cultures see issues as part of the whole and experiment with different ways of addressing them. Employees identify with the whole organisation, not just their own section.

Organisational cultures lead to specific organisational structures, so that segmentalist cultures have organisational structures that are *hierarchical or mechanistic* (Gibson, Ivancevich, Donnelly, and Konopaske 2009), with different departments and levels insulated from one another, with no interaction among them, except for reporting and instructions. Employees' tasks and positions are narrowly and strictly defined, so they do not think beyond their assigned tasks. Problems and issues are seen and attended to at a very segmental level. There is little, if any, communication between sections and so there is no exchange of ideas. Not only do segmentalist organisations fail to foster innovation, but their culture and organisational structures are threatened by change. Such organisations try to keep everything on course and to maintain the status quo, looking only to the past for ideas and solutions.

Integrative cultures, on the other hand, have organisational structures that use a team approach to problem solving (also known as organic organisational structures—see Gibson et al. ibid.), with teams consisting of people from different parts of the organisation who are chosen for their range of specialisations. Not only does this type of organisational culture lead to innovative approaches to dealing with issues, but it also allows the organisation to embrace and take charge of change.

In practice, the organisational cultures in English language teaching programmes (ELTPs) are variable and varied and dependent on context. For example, a successful ELTP may promote a segmentalist culture and a mechanistic organisational structure, while a sister programme in the same city may have success with an integrative culture and an organic organisational structure. It is also possible that a programme with a history as a segmentalist organisational culture may adopt characteristics of an integrative culture for the purposes of making specific changes that are perceived as distinguishing the programme from others. In many of those countries which Kachru (1986) has characterised as being in an 'Inner Circle', ELTPs have elements of both mechanistic and organic organisational structures with definite protocols in place for reporting and decision making, as well as considerable freedom among instructors in relation to change and innovation in their courses (for example, programmes that encourage action research projects among their teaching staff).

The role of leadership
Integrative organisations need leaders with a specific set of skills so that they can manage innovations (and change) effectively. 'First are "power skills" (also called *relational skills* (Fullan 2003) or *soft* skills (Christison and Murray 2009a) – skills in persuading others to invest information, support, and resources in new initiatives driven by an "entrepreneur"' (Kanter 1983: 35-36). Success as a leader is not only based on what one knows but also on how one interacts with others. These two components of leadership determine a leader's overall sphere of influence

(Donaldson, Marnik, Mackenzie, and Ackerman 2009). A leader's ability effectively to bring about change and innovation is dependent on the relationships cultivated both inside and outside of the school. 'Second is the ability to manage the problems associated with the greater use of teams and employee participation' (Kanter ibid. 36). Leaders need to be able to facilitate groups and support others as they learn how to facilitate their own teams and groups, as well as to confront conflict and build consensus. 'Third is an understanding of how change is designed and constructed in an organisation – how the microchanges introduced by individual innovators relate to macrochanges or strategic reorientations' (Kanter ibid.).

The skill sets needed for leaders who are managing innovation and change, and at the same time having to work to build school capacity, require forms of learning and experiences with leadership development that are not typical of leadership certification programmes and courses. Most leadership courses involve learning about leadership through lectures, readings, case studies, simulations, and role plays. Although these activities can certainly be valuable for leaders as they hone their skills, they are not sufficient for building leadership capacity for innovation and change. Leading for innovation requires that leaders learn skills for leadership on the job and by participating in real team meetings or in discussions among colleagues with differing points of view, resolving conflicts, or caring for and supporting others in the workplace.

The nature of innovation
Whether an innovation is adopted depends largely on people's perceptions of the innovation, whether or not they fall in what Stoller (2009) calls the 'zone of innovation'. She identifies the following parameters of this zone:

■ compatibility: whether the innovation is sufficiently compatible with current practice

■ complexity: whether the innovation is neither completely simple nor too complex

■ explicitness: whether adopters are clear about exactly what the innovation involves

■ flexibility: whether the innovation is sufficiently flexible for some variation in implementation to be possible

■ originality: whether the innovation is not so novel that adopters do not understand it

■ visibility: whether the innovation will increase the visibility of the organisation positively.

Therefore, policy makers, in trying to implement innovations to educational practice, need to examine their own specific contexts to determine whether the conditions for innovation uptake and diffusion are present. Is the organisation integrative? Does it have leadership with the appropriate skills? Is the innovation within the zone of innovation?

Contexts for ELT innovation

Quirk (1988) posited three types of language spread: demographic, econocultural, and imperial. Demographic spread is the result of the migration of people to new areas, while the econocultural spread results from the language used for high culture (for example, French in previous centuries) or technology (for example, English as the medium of information technology). The imperial model refers to the introduction of a new language through political domination. Although the demographic model requires the movement of large numbers of people, the imperial model does not necessarily. Usually just sufficient people for administration of the colony settle, but the language of administration, education, and law is that of the coloniser.

The spread of English during the British colonial period and, subsequently, the economic and political dominance of the United States, also an English-speaking country, have resulted in English being used across the globe. Kachru (op.cit.) was the first to articulate the linguistic features and consequence of this spread, developing a model of three concentric circles of English use: an Inner Circle, an Outer Circle, and an Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle comprises countries where English is the dominant language, such as Australia, while the Outer Circle includes countries where English is one of several functional languages, such as Singapore. The Expanding Circle comprises countries where English is taught as a foreign language, such as China. The differentiation between Outer and Expanding Circles has been that, in the former, English is used in intranational domains; whereas, in the Expanding Circle, it is used in international domains (Lowenberg 2002).

Since Kachru's seminal work, however, the landscape of English use worldwide has changed considerably. For example, the distinction between 'second language' (L2) and 'foreign language' use has less contemporary relevance than it formerly had. There is much more use of English nowadays in some countries of the Expanding Circle, where it is only a foreign language (as in Scandinavia and the Netherlands), than in some of the Outer Circle, where it has traditionally held a special place (Crystal 1997: 56).

Further, for many Outer Circle users, English is their primary language. For example, in India, many families use English in the home, as well as in education or government. Similarly, the distinction between Outer and Expanding Circles is blurring, because many countries in the Expanding Circle are teaching bilingually or even teach subject areas in English in high school, as is the case in Germany. In addition, the model does not account for the complexities of language use in immigrant countries such as Australia or the United States, or in multilingual countries such as Malaysia or India with their code-switching, pidgins, and creoles.

English now plays a critical role in many domains of international communication, communication in which non-native speakers now outnumber native speakers three to one. In 1997, Graddol listed 12 domains:

- working language of international organisations and conferences

- scientific publications

- international banking, economic affairs, and trade

- advertising for global brands

- audio-visual cultural products

- international tourism

- tertiary education

- international safety

- international law

- relay language in interpretation and translation

- technology transfer

- internet communication (Graddol 1997: 8).

Additionally, it plays a major role *intra*nationally, not only in Inner and Outer Circle countries, but in Expanding Circle countries where people listen to popular music, watch TV, or see and hear advertising in English. Thus, we see the move from imperial to econocultural spread. 'It takes military power to establish an international language, but it takes economic power to maintain and expand it' (Yano 2001: 21).

English language education, therefore, has to respond to these different contexts and different uses and varieties of English. For the purposes of this study, we will use Kachru's three circles to describe the overarching different contexts, realising that within each of these circles are different contexts and the circles themselves are permeable and fluid.

Issues in ELT innovation

A number of issues in ELT cross contexts. Here, we identify these issues and describe how they vary across the differing contexts of Kachru's circles. We limit these issues to (1) teacher knowledge and beliefs, (2) the quality and content of teacher education programmes, (3) print, multimedia, and teacher-developed materials, and (4) public and political perceptions of language teaching.

Teacher knowledge and beliefs

Research has shown that teacher knowledge and beliefs are critical to shaping instruction and, therefore, have an impact on student performance (Kennedy 1991; Richards and Lockhart 1994; Freeman and Johnson 1998; Farrell 2004; Borg 2006). The knowledge that teachers have and the beliefs they hold about teaching and learning can affect their abilities to adopt innovative approaches to instruction. Teacher perspectives are crucial in developing policies, because the best policies and practices will only be effective if they are implemented, and teachers are the linchpins in the implementation process. Innovation in fact often requires a reculturing on the part of teachers (Fullan 2007; Wedell this volume).

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) surveyed more than 70,000 middle-school teachers and leaders in 23 countries, representing a workforce of two million teachers, in order to provide comparative insights on teaching and learning (Schleicher 2009). Although the OECD survey was not specifically focused on English language teaching, the results of state school teacher perceptions in these international contexts can provide important insights into the challenges that teachers face in teaching and learning, and can be instrumental in promoting policies that can make teaching more effective.

The comparative results of teacher perceptions in the OECD study targeted four distinct areas for change: professional development, teacher evaluation and opinion, teaching practice, and school leadership. In each of the targeted areas, teachers' perceptions of how teaching and learning could be improved were consistent with the six parameters outlined in Stoller's zone of innovation. For example, one-half of the respondents reported that the most common obstacle that kept them from participating in professional development was conflict with their work assignment. This suggests that professional development activities are often inflexible, with little or no variation possible in implementation.

Teacher perceptions suggest that if more teachers are to become involved in professional development opportunities aimed at making change, the offerings need to be more flexible. In addition, relatively few teachers participate in collaborative research projects and qualification programmes with a teaching appraisal component, even though teachers acknowledge that both of these professional development activities are among the most beneficial in terms of making changes in their practice. The highest participation rates for professional development are in professional development activities with which teachers are the most familiar, even though teachers consider these activities to be the least effective. In the examples provided from the OECD data, the teachers stated they would select familiar professional development activities over novel ones, even though they believed the familiar ones to be the least effective and the novel ones to be the most effective. Two parameters in Stoller's zone of innovation may provide explanations for these perceptions, namely the parameter of compatibility—whether the innovation is sufficiently compatible with current practice—and that of originality – whether the innovation is so novel that adopters do not understand it. Throughout the OECD data are examples of teacher perceptions that suggest state school education could benefit from considering change within the framework of a zone of innovation.

Teacher language awareness

Knowledge of and about language and about how languages are learnt is necessary to teach language learners effectively in both language and mainstream classes (Fillmore and Snow 2000; Andrews 2003). Knowledge of language can be characterised in terms of level of language proficiency, while knowledge about language refers to understanding language systems, and knowledge about how languages are learnt refers to how to manage language learning in a classroom environment (i.e. pedagogical knowledge) (Edge 1988; Andrews ibid.). Each of these

three areas of knowledge plays a critical role in ELT innovation and should be borne in mind by policy makers who are considering introducing innovations in English language education.

Level of English proficiency

The level of teacher proficiency in English is a critical issue around the globe; however, the nature of the issue varies among the three Kachru circles. Often the issue is exacerbated by (or even caused by) government or local policy that attempts an innovation without a full understanding of its implications. In the Expanding Circle, many countries are moving towards beginning English language instruction at earlier and earlier grades of schooling, but primary teachers are trained as instructors in their country's medium of instruction (MOI). These teachers may or may not have acquired communicative skills in English or the specific skills associated with academic English; consequently, they may be unable to provide effective language input for their learners (see Simpson in this volume). In Outer Circle countries, by contrast, teachers may use the local variety of English, whereas the Ministry of Education requires that teachers use Standard British English or Standard American English as the target language. In Inner Circle countries with large immigrant populations, there is often resistance on the part of administrators to employ non-native English speakers as teachers, even if they have advanced proficiency and high levels of pedagogical expertise, despite research having shown that non-native speaking English teachers provide additional strengths to the language classroom – as role models and mentors for their students (Amin 2001; Ellis 2002). These employment practices are based on the naïve assumption that native speakers of a language are automatically better teachers of that language and often on ethnocentric attitudes towards non-native speakers. Additionally, in Inner Circle countries, primary teachers are often native speakers of English with little or no language learning experience. As such, they are usually proficient speakers of English but possess little knowledge about language systems and so are unable to help their non-native English speakers develop their English skills.

Knowledge about language

Teachers need to develop expertise about language in order to understand their roles as teachers of English language learners (Wright 2002). Being a native speaker of a language (i.e. a proficient user of the language) does not inherently qualify someone to be a teacher of that language. This area of teacher language awareness encompasses teachers' knowledge about the forms and functions of language systems with specific focus on syntax, morphology, phonology, pragmatics, and semantics. Teachers need to develop high levels of metalanguage – language that is used to talk about and analyse language – to be conscious of their own linguistics processes, as well as of the linguistic processes of language learners. In many Inner Circle countries, teachers may have high levels of language proficiency but low levels of knowledge about language. This is also the case in Outer and Expanding Circle countries that employ native speakers without training. In countries in the Outer and Expanding Circles, teachers may have knowledge about language but may struggle with high levels of language proficiency.

Pedagogical expertise

In Expanding and Outer Circle countries, individuals who can speak English often fill positions as English teachers, even though these individuals may have no pedagogical expertise or no specific training as English language teachers. Language teaching organisations and institutions often provide in-service training for untrained teachers, with varying degrees of success, believing that it is easier to develop pedagogical expertise, rather than language proficiency. The practice of employing untrained teachers suggests a view of pedagogical expertise that is rooted in learning as a 'discrete set of behaviours, routines, or scripts' (Freeman and Johnson op.cit.: 399) that can be easily acquired, rather than in a view of teaching in which teachers use their knowledge about teaching and classrooms and the processes involved in teaching to develop pedagogical expertise. The latter views the development of pedagogical expertise as a sophisticated and complex endeavour that is cognitive in nature and develops from one's practice.

In Inner Circle countries, mainstream teachers are responsible for educating English language learners (ELLs) at primary and secondary level; however, these mainstream teachers may lack the pedagogical expertise necessary to do so effectively, so that the result is negative student outcomes such as lack of class participation and low scores on measures of academic achievement (Harper and de Jong 2009). Historically, state school systems have not made investing in professional development to improve teacher preparation for ELLs a priority (Fillmore and Snow 2000); consequently, pedagogical expertise among mainstream teachers as it relates to language learners is often quite low. Similarly, at the college level, lecturers have classes that include both international students and immigrants for whom English is not their primary language. Yet discipline staff lack the knowledge of how best to help these students, often resorting to an 'error correction' approach that focuses on surface grammar, rather than on discourse and organisation (Christison 2011).

Subject matter expertise

The integration of language and content in second and foreign language teaching has become an important curricular trend in Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle countries, and it has created some challenges for teachers as it relates to subject matter expertise. Academic subjects can be taught through the medium of a language that is being learnt. The reverse can also be the case in contexts where English is taught by studying academic content (Graddol op.cit.). Because few English language teachers are experts in both academic content and language, teaching English by studying academic content often proves difficult. When English is taught through academic content, it requires that teachers either develop subject matter expertise in the content area or collaborate with content area teachers. Both of these approaches require changes in schools and in relationships within schools. In Outer and Expanding Circle countries, particularly in institutions of higher education, many lecturers are finding it necessary to deliver all or portions of their lectures in English, because much of the commercially available material and the research is available in English. Although these teachers and lecturers have subject matter expertise in the country's medium of education (MoE), they may struggle with the delivery of subject matter in English.

Attitudes of content teachers to being responsible for language learning

Many mainstream teachers, particularly in primary and secondary school contexts in Inner Circle countries, define their roles as content area experts, not as language teachers (Mitchell and Hooper 1991). The refusal of mainstream teachers to see the dual nature of their roles as content and language teachers is problematic, because language learners in such contexts continue developing academic language skills for anywhere from five to ten years (Thomas and Collier 2002) and mainstream teachers are their main source of language support. In some cases, mainstream teachers may willingly assume the roles of both content and language teacher; however, they are most often underqualified to fulfil the role of language teacher (Short and Fitzsimmons 2007; Escamilla 2009). Integrating content and language in English language instruction has become an important curriculum trend in a number of countries in the Outer and Expanding Circles, particularly in Europe, where it is known as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). Subject matter and language are taught together; however, learners are not expected to have English language proficiency, so it is different from English-medium education. Because there is no agreement on how content and language integration should be implemented and no specific training or educational programme for teachers, the practice has evolved in many different ways, thereby, creating a situation relative to teacher qualification as exists in Inner Circle country primary and secondary school contexts.

Implications for policy makers

Policy makers, therefore, need to consider the language proficiency of the teachers in their particular context and how they can develop that proficiency to appropriate instructional levels, before they embark on innovations that are dependent on high levels of proficiency. Similarly, policy makers need to focus on the linguistic and pedagogical expertise of their teachers, ensuring that appropriate in-service is provided. Such in-service needs to consider teaching as a complex, continuing, cognitive activity and that teachers learn through reflective practice (Wallace 1994; Edge 2002; Whittaker in this volume). Because language and content areas are often intertwined, policy makers need to consider what organisational structures will best facilitate both language and content instruction. Traditional barriers across subject areas may have to be broken down.

The quality and content of teacher education programmes

In the previous section, we have focused on teachers. However, teacher education programmes play a critical role in the education of current and future teachers. Through their own instruction and attitudes towards instruction, they can model innovative practice and be incubators for innovation. Traditional teacher education programmes are often in organisations that are highly segmentalist, with little or no interaction across disciplinary boundaries. However, for innovation to occur in schools, teacher education programmes need to involve discipline staff in the content areas being taught in schools, as well as linguistics and applied linguistics staff, with their knowledge of language and language learning. This may require retooling and re-culturing (Fullan 2007) education staff so that they can work in new ways. Komorowska, in this volume, provides a case study of a programme designed to achieve this retooling and demonstrates the importance of context in implementing any innovation in ELT.

Pre-service programmes to develop new teachers with appropriate knowledge and understanding

It is incumbent on institutions of higher education to develop teacher education programmes that reflect current research on effective teacher preparation in order to respond to the changing needs of learners and society in the 21st century. In Inner Circle countries, practising primary and secondary school teachers need both academic subject matter expertise and teacher language awareness so that they can assume responsibility for adapting the curriculum. This view of teacher preparation stands in sharp contrast to traditional views of pre-service teacher preparation that focused on differences, rather than similarities, and led to separate teacher education programmes for different academic disciplines.

The development of pre-service teacher education programmes that are collaborative and interrelated is dependent on a complex set of institutional factors that are best addressed from a top-down rather than a bottom-up approach (for example, redesigning an existing pre-service teacher education programme to make it collaborative and interdisciplinary, as opposed to adding courses to already existing pre-service teacher education programmes to create an ESL endorsement). Similarly, in Outer and Expanding Circles, teacher education programmes are traditionally highly segmented. However, as governments insist on English language competence for students exiting their educational systems, all teaching staff become models of English and language instructors.

In-service programmes to develop current teachers' levels of expertise

In Inner Circle countries, the changing demographics have created a situation where most mainstream teachers have language learners in their classes. Many of these teachers have not developed the teacher language awareness needed to work effectively with language learners. For example, the state school ad hoc decision-making process in the US state school system for policy and planning places the focus on how to train in-service teachers quickly to work with language learners by giving them short workshops that are composed of toolbox-type strategies, rather than on an integrated educational programme derived from theory and research and on an understanding of what teachers need to know to provide effective instruction.

Coupled with this demand to train teachers as quickly as possible in ELL education is the misconception that L2 teaching is 'just good teaching' (Harper and de Jong op.cit.), a position that undermines the credibility of English language teacher expertise and contributes to misunderstandings about what teacher language awareness is.

In Outer and Expanding Circle countries, the need for English teachers exceeds the number of teachers available. Consequently, many ELTPs employ individuals with English language proficiency, but with no training or experience as teachers. While some programmes are willing to invest in teacher education, many programmes are not. Creating in-service teacher education programmes can be expensive, and the fear is that if teachers get training and become better qualified, they may end up leaving to work for another school or sector of education. The workshop

approach to in-service teacher education in Outer and Expanding Circle countries is also prevalent and results in teachers who may be trained in the use of specific classroom strategies but not educated to make decisions about teaching on their own or to reflect on their practice in order to develop their professional expertise (see, for example, Hayes, in this volume).

Teacher educators' ability to convey innovative approaches
Challenging the *status quo* is often difficult for teacher educators, even in university-based teacher education programmes. This situation is true in Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle countries. Teacher preparation must often be aligned with local agencies (for example, state standards and core curricula), school procedures, and approved materials. Further, because of the hierarchical nature of many university-based programmes, the *status quo* is preferred, and newer, younger staff with innovative ideas are marginalised. Primary and secondary school teachers are often worried about learners' performance in standardised exams and can be guilty of implementing a 'teaching to the test' curriculum. These constraints often make it difficult for teacher educators to use innovative approaches and to convince teachers to experiment with approaches in their teaching.

Implications for policy makers
Policy makers need to examine their own contexts to determine what changes are needed in their teacher education programmes in order to facilitate innovation in English language teaching. They need to apply the theories about innovation development, implementation, and diffusion to the teacher education programmes, turning them into learning organisations (Duke 2002; Zarins 2002) that are integrative, rather than segmental.

Print, multimedia, and teacher-developed materials

In the classroom teaching-learning enterprise, teachers, learners, and materials all play crucial roles. Materials fall into three categories: print, multimedia, and teacher-developed. The term 'print' refers to commercially available books, pamphlets, workbooks, and other paper-based and printed materials. Multimedia (also referred to as non-print materials) is an umbrella term that is used to refer to images, sound, video, and interactive content that can be accessed by using portable electronic devices such as computers in the classroom. The most common teacher-developed materials are paper-based handouts, overhead transparencies, and PowerPoint presentations.

One of the attractions of using materials in classroom learning is for teachers to be able to convey information quickly and effectively to all students and to keep them interested in learning. Resource-poor contexts occur in all three circles: in inner city and rural schools in Inner Circle countries, in rural and marginal community schools in Outer Circle countries, and throughout state schools in many developing countries in the Outer and Expanding Circles. While access to resources does not in itself improve education, there is evidence that it can have a positive effect on learning. For example, children's ownership of books or access to book lending has been shown to have a positive affect on behavioural, educational, and psychological outcomes (Reading is Fundamental 2011).

Difficulty of getting innovative ideas published

Commercially available English language teaching materials have a huge impact on the way in which English is taught, particularly as these materials are used by untrained teachers or by teachers who have low levels of English proficiency. Despite their influence, commercially available materials are not generally thought to be original or to represent the most recent thinking and research in language teaching methodology; and publishers are often resistant to new and innovative ideas, preferring to publish tried and tested ideas with modest variations. Because textbooks need to be profitable, publishers design their materials so they will have the broadest possible reach. Thus, the materials are often bland, general, and culturally neutral. They do not always provide learners with the models of discourse that they will encounter when interacting with other English speakers, whether they be native speakers or not. Additionally, materials may move too quickly for a particular teaching context or be at an inappropriate language level (see Simpson, in this volume) or the innovative materials are not carefully aligned with the textbook currently in use (see Woodward, in this volume).

Difficulty for teachers in devising supplementary materials

In Inner Circle contexts, teachers have English language learners in their classes with differing levels of language proficiency. Unless teachers are lucky enough to find multilevel texts, they are responsible for creating supplementary materials to support their learners.

In Outer and Expanding Circle countries, in institutions of higher education, many of the books for academic subjects are in English and often too difficult for the language learners; consequently, teachers must create supplementary materials in the form of additional readings, lecture notes, and PowerPoint slides to support their learners. However, teachers may not have the expertise or resources to develop adequate supplementary materials.

The dilemma of multimedia

Many countries are trying to find ways to improve education when they have limited funds and a limited number of trained teachers. Multimedia has therefore been proposed as a panacea by many companies and Ministries of Education. These proposals rest on assumptions that are not accurate. These assumptions are that multimedia can replace teachers, that it is cheaper than teachers, and so more efficient. However, only 30 per cent of the world's population is actually online (Internet World Stats 2011) and these statistics do not tell us the level of usage and understanding of the medium, which vary from negligible to expert. While there is a strong argument for including multimedia in instruction, because students will need it for their future work lives, its implementation in education is still in its infancy. Initial costs are high, and continuing maintenance and upgrading are also high. Therefore, with limited resources, institutions need to consider what is the best use of those resources.

Implications for policy makers

Policy makers have a clear stake in the materials that are used in their classrooms, because they reflect attitudes to and understandings of language and language learning. They need to consider both the external materials that are adopted for use in schools, the expertise teachers have in developing their own materials, and be judicious in their use of multimedia.

Public and political perceptions of language teaching

At the broadest level, language teaching across all three of Kachru's circles is largely misunderstood by the general public, and often by policy makers who are not language experts. All individuals, except for those with severe disabilities, learn a first language, seemingly seamlessly. Therefore, the non-language specialist public's perception of language and language learning is often misguided, and they propose simplistic remedies for the teaching of a second language such as English. For example, many countries have started the teaching of English early in the child's education, assuming that children learn languages easily. However, as we discussed earlier, while this may be the case in natural language settings, it is not the case in instructed settings, where the quality of instruction relies on the expertise of the teacher, as well as the motivation of the learners, a point made by Reilly in this volume when discussing the implementation of bilingual education for young learners in Spain. Other myths include the beliefs that the native English speaker is automatically a better teacher and that the only appropriate variety of English to learn is Standard British or Standard American English. Policy makers in many countries have adopted frameworks, methodologies, and materials developed in a different context but, as we discussed above, while such innovation may be adopted at national government levels, it will often be adapted or even rejected by teachers and local administrators because of local contexts (Rogers 2003; Adamson and Davison 2008).

Conclusion

While responding to change innovatively and also consciously innovating are critical to the improvement of English language teaching worldwide, innovation must be undertaken with a clear understanding of its nature and how the local context impacts the way the innovation will be adopted and diffused, as is illustrated by Zikri in this volume for an innovative project in Egypt. In understanding the nature of the particular innovation, policy makers and administrators need to ask whether the innovation lies within the zone of innovation discussed by Stoller (2009), illustrated in this volume by Simpson's report on the introduction of English-medium education in Rwanda and O'Donahue's project in Tamil Nadu to improve teacher confidence in using English in the classroom:

- How compatible is the innovation with current practice?

- Is the innovation too complex or too simple for adoption?

- Are adopters clear about exactly what the innovation involves?

- Is the innovation sufficiently flexible for some variation in implementation to be possible?

- Is the innovation so novel that adopters do not understand it?

- Will the innovation increase the visibility of the organisation positively (or negatively)?

In examining the local context, policy makers need to consider teacher knowledge and beliefs, the quality and content of teacher education programmes, materials, and local perceptions about language and language learning. If ELT teachers worldwide in all three of Kachru's circles are actively to adopt innovative practices, they need to be supported with appropriate in-service education that develops their English language proficiency and their pedagogical and linguistic knowledge, and addresses their beliefs about language, language learning, and teaching. Further, policy makers need to view teaching as a complex, cognitive activity that teachers adopt and adapt through continuing reflective practice. Teachers need to be supported to adopt a current reflective approach to their practice. Policy makers need to ensure that organisations have permeable structures that allow for cross-disciplinary interaction. They need to invest in teacher education programmes that are integrative, model innovative practice, and promote innovation. They need to consider the external materials that are adopted for use in their schools, the expertise teachers have in developing their own materials, and be judicious in their use of multimedia.

Designing evaluation into change management processes

Richard Kiely

Introduction

The early 1990s were a seminal period for both innovation management and programme evaluation in English language teaching (ELT) projects. The work of two writers in particular captured key strands of changes in thinking: Adrian Holliday and Pauline Rea-Dickins.

Holliday, in a series of publications drawing on his experience of ELT projects and his Ph.D. research into change and innovation processes in ELT, articulated the importance of context, the notion of tissue rejection in projects, and the role of means analysis as an alternative to initial needs analysis in the process of managing change. For Holliday, a key requirement was analysis of the context – human, cultural, and socio-historical – to complement any technical specification of the change to be introduced as part of the project (Holliday 1992; 1994).

Rea-Dickins, like Holliday, an experienced ELT project consultant and evaluator, wrote a state-of-the-art article (1994), where she predicted a shift from evaluation as a management experience to evaluation as a learning and development strategy:

> *In addition to focusing on the evaluation of quality processes in language teaching, there will be greater appreciation of the different role(s) of the evaluator(s), both internal and external, and of the relationships that hold between practitioners, sponsors, and other relevant stakeholders. If evaluation in ELT is to be effective, we will see a stronger integration of evaluation within practice, as part of an individual's professionalism, and an increase in collaborative activity where teachers (and other relevant participants) are actively engaged in the monitoring process.* (Rea-Dickins ibid.: 84)

The 'stronger integration of evaluation within practice' indicates a key role for stakeholders. This has been developed in work with Dermot Murphy (Murphy and Rea-Dickins 1999) and with me (Kiely and Rea-Dickins 2005). The imperative here is to involve all participants, to analyse their stake, and to extend their capacity to determine the steps required for effective change and to take action to improve practice.

Together, these changes in orientation in the management of innovation in ELT signalled an engagement with process and complexity which established a pivotal role for programme evaluation processes. This article maps these changes over the subsequent two decades. The second section examines the challenges of outcomes-focused evaluations in ELT and discusses new quantitative strategies which hold promise for ELT projects. The third and fourth sections explore the ways in which the focus on context and the involvement of project stakeholders have changed evaluation designs and strategies. Their impact is linked to a range of other factors which have come to shape educational processes, such as engagement, investment, and culture change through intense experiences, where participants can envisage a different future for themselves. The fifth section considers different constructions of innovation in ELT and the sixth examines the changing interface between research and evaluation. The seventh section explores the implications of this discussion and outlines roles for three characterisations of evaluation which contribute to stakeholder involvement and the effective management of change. These, evaluation as project support, as quality assurance, and as practitioner research provide for a rigorous, context-sensitive strategy for designing evaluation into change management processes in ELT projects.

Evaluation and the measurement of impact

An ELT project is constructed around goals. The investment of resources is justified in terms of desired outcomes, and project activities are designed to achieve these goals. It seems reasonable, then, to consider project evaluation as a means of measuring these outcomes and assessing the impact of project activities. However, the realisation of this logic has proved problematic in our sector. Six factors in particular make the measurement of outcomes as a focus of project evaluation challenging.

1. In the evaluation of alternatives in social practice generally, the gold standard has long been comparative studies using rigorous experimental designs (Kiely and Rea-Dickins op.cit.). In foreign language education and ELT, the problem has always been the specification and control of the alternatives. In the Bangalore Project evaluation (Beretta and Davies 1985), for example, it was not clear how the task-based classrooms differed from the 'traditional' oral-situational classrooms; in the Hong Kong EELTS (Expatriate English Language Teacher Scheme) evaluation (Kiely and Rea-Dickins op.cit..), it was not clear how the teaching of the expatriate English teachers differed from the teaching of local English teachers. In the ELT field, the complexity of the activity, especially in the tangled mix of orthodoxy and context-driven diversity of teaching practices in the post-method age, defies easy resolution of the comparison problem.

2. The timing of measurement of outcomes is always problematic. In measuring increased language proficiency from a new English curriculum, a new teacher education initiative, or a new course book, it is reasonable to expect that this will not be evident in the short term. There may even be a reduction in learning gains as the innovative practice beds in. A measurement of attitudes may be achievable before outcomes in terms of practices or learning, but here too there

is likely to be a delay in achieving the full impact of the project. Many projects are funded for periods of one to five years. The case studies in this volume which reflect positive outcomes are those which look at impact over decades: the Polish Teacher Training Colleges project (see Komorowska, this volume) and the PROSPER (Project for Special Purpose English in Romania) project in Romania (see Bardi, this volume) show positive outcomes of English language teacher education and University English projects initiated two decades ago. Resources cannot be allocated, however, on the basis of positive outcomes a decade later: propriety in such spending quite reasonably expects evidence of value for money (VFM) at funding renewal points. Such outcomes-based, short-term evidence is not easy to access when the focus is on short-term outcomes (see, for example, the Egyptian CDP and the Paraná ELT case studies, Zikri and Palmer, this volume).

3. The actual measures to be used may be problematic. Where the project goal is improved language proficiency, the default measure is test results. This raises the question of which test type to use, an issue profiled in accounts of the Bangalore project (Prabhu 1987). In the Paraná ELT project, (see Palmer, this volume) the initial focus was on increasing the language proficiency of English teachers, to be measured by a Cambridge ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) test. Further engagement with the teachers showed that confidence and self-esteem, in relation to English language skills, were the key issues requiring change. These aspects of language use, however, may not be developed by test processes or evidenced by test results. Identifying measures for improved teaching is equally challenging: using features of the communicative orientation of language teaching (COLT) construct (Spada 1987) or measures of teacher talk and student talk is problematic, as these practices have value in qualitative rather than quantitative terms (Walsh 2002; 2006). The situation can be even more difficult: in situations such as the CBB (Council for Business with Britain) ELT project in Sri Lanka (see Dick, this volume), the focus of the project was more communicative teaching in schools and classrooms, but the course books and examinations remained unchanged, so that teachers were placed in a situation where they were expected both to innovate and to continue with existing practices. Our understanding of how English language classrooms work is still insufficiently theorised to facilitate the use of valid, convincing measures of success in learning or improved teaching practices in the evaluation of ELT projects.

4. ELT, as an activity, is subject to change from many directions. Therefore, a project designed and implemented to improve changes in teaching and learning is likely to coexist with other factors which constitute drivers for these changes. For example, in the last two decades, increased awareness of English language proficiency as an economic good and the growth of English language use in electronic contexts (media and communication) may be substantial contributors to increased English language proficiency among schoolchildren and students, independently of any project activities or inputs (Kennedy 2011). In the Spanish EBEP (Early Bilingual Education Project) project (see Reilly, this volume) and Azerbaijani ELTA (English Language Teachers' Association) project (see Leather,

this volume), the key successes of the projects may well be influenced by these factors from outside ELT. Of course, such convergence does not detract from the success of the project: it just creates a challenge for the effective measurement of the specific contribution of project activities and resources.

5. A significant challenge for the measurement of project success in terms of quantified outcomes is 'soft' impact, such as culture change, ownership of innovative pedagogies, and acceptance of learner-centring of the curriculum. Many ELT project case studies (for example, O'Donahue, Leather, Solly and Woodward, Whittaker, and Popovici in this volume) reference such phenomena as achievements. While such accounts may be valuable as indicators of project success before the 'harder' results are evident, they are challenging to incorporate into valid quantitative evaluation designs. The Egyptian CDP (curriculum development project) project (see Zikri, this volume) emphasises the centrality of such soft impact. This project was set up in the 1970s, when a focus on rational, technical measures was dominant. The problems of communication and local ownership limited the chances of success from the outset.

6. Finally, an evaluation which measured project outcomes and addressed challenges 1–5 above would be very expensive. It would require a specialist team, oriented to collection and construction of attitude, classroom interaction, and test data, possibly with involvement of an external assessment body. There would be limited contribution to management and development of project activities. There is a risk of practitioners – teachers, teacher educators, materials writers – feeling that the evaluation is focusing on issues and using terminology which is alienating, which was an issue in the Tunisian PRINCE (Projects in Controlled Environments) project (see McIlwraith, this volume). The question of whether project resources for evaluation should be used for external testing emerges as an issue in the CBB ELTP (English Language Teaching Programme) project in Sri Lanka (see Dick, this volume).

These are enduring challenges for traditional positivist experimental evaluations and explain why they have not had a major profile in ELT project evaluation since the 1980s. Two more recent approaches to the measurement of impact may present opportunities in our field. First, the realist approach to evaluation (Pawson and Tilley 1997), which takes a theoretical rather than probabilistic approach to understanding outcomes data, offers the possibility of determining the impact of specific interventions in complex contexts. The realist orientation is theoretical: through analysis of the chains of reasoning and volition which characterise the social world, measures of impact can be predicted and operationalised in terms of quantifiable data. Pawson and Tilley focus on mechanisms (M) and contexts (C), which generate outcomes (O), a framework which could, for example, be used to design a learning materials evaluation which theorised links between classroom processes and learning outcomes (Kiely and Rea-Dickins op.cit.: 46).

Secondly, multilevel modelling (MLM) (Thomas and Goldstein 2008; Rasbash, Steele, Browne, and Goldstein 2009) is a statistical process which allows for drilling down in statistical data on whole systems (national examination results, for example)

to identify the factors which cause or contribute to success in certain school types and classroom contexts, and in relation to individual teacher and student characteristics. The Student Performance in National Examinations (SPINE) project, funded by DfID (Department for International Development) and ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council), and directed by Pauline Rea-Dickins (see Rea-Dickins, Khamis, and Olivero 2009; Rea-Dickins, Yu, and Afitska 2009), illustrates the potential of this strategy for project evaluations.

I am not aware of evaluation studies in ELT which used these approaches. A key factor here is the level of resource involved: realist and MLM designs are expensive, and the resource involved is a specific commitment to knowledge building and accountability, without any early or significant contribution to the development of the project. Both orient towards research, rather than the tradition of project evaluation which comments on impact (or early indicators of impact), while at the same time offering consultancy, professional development, and communication opportunities to the range of people brought together by a given project. It is this set of concerns and opportunities which have characterised developments in ELT project activity in the last two decades, notably in the work of Adrian Holliday and Pauline Rea-Dickins.

Tissue rejection and means analysis

The notion of 'tissue rejection' in Holliday's seminal article (1992) is based on the organ transplant metaphor, which sees systems as organic and coherent and with a capacity to reject any alien element which does not fit in with the ecology of the situation. Thus, innovations introduced by an ELT project risk being rejected either straight away or when special measures to maintain them are lessened or withdrawn, experiences well documented in the ELT project literature, for example, Holliday (1994), Hayes (1995), Bolitho (2005), and Kiely and Rea-Dickins (op.cit.). The case studies in this volume, for example Wedell on the Oman project, illustrate the reality of rejection when a project seeks to change the culture of schooling and teaching.

The metaphor is important in two ways. First, the existing system, though not functioning well, does not see itself as deficient in the way an external perspective might (see Zikri, this volume, as an example of such a perspective). Rather it sees itself as coherent and self-sustaining, and through a range of processes which Holliday labels 'informal orders', it achieves stability and a capacity to meet the diverse interests of people working in the system. Secondly, because the system has this form of operational stability, a change, in order to be effective, has to be implemented in a way which acknowledges the key features of the existing system and negotiates a way forward on this basis. Thus, the key process is not so much needs analysis (an objective perspective on what a context needs, based on available technologies and experience elsewhere and carried out at an early stage in a project) as a means analysis (a continuing process of negotiation which adapts both the specification of the innovation and the timeframe in which it is introduced).

The Holliday analysis draws on an explicitly sociological account of the nature of communities and organisations, and their inherent capacity to meet their members' social and material needs. It also addresses a range of perspectives on project evaluation in language education which portray the difficulties in implementing and evaluating a project as initially conceived. Tomlinson (1990), Coleman (1992) and Hayes (1995), for example, illustrate the forces of resistance which may be encountered by a project management perspective which seeks to implement faithfully the activities of the project as originally designed. More recently, Widin (2010), writing about ELT projects supported by the Australian government, describes the same process of 'tissue rejection' which Holliday analysed. The key issues on the surface are resistance and limited impact of changes introduced. Underlying these are issues of cultural appropriateness and ecological validity, that is, what can be made to work and sustained through ownership by professionals in the project context.

A stakeholder perspective

Rea-Dickins sees such project contexts as peopled spaces and identifies a key role for these people at all levels in the activities of the project. Her call for greater involvement of professional constituencies in such project evaluations reflects a stakeholder approach. This approach sees innovations as primarily changes in practices and holds that practitioners should have a voice in how practices operate and how changes in practice might be achieved. Her work draws on the characterisation of teacher-led curriculum evaluation of Stenhouse (1975), democratic evaluation set out by Macdonald (1976) and the CARE (Centre for Applied Research in Education) group of educational evaluators at UEA (University of East Anglia) (Kushner 1996; Norris 1998), as well as evaluators in the US context such as Weiss (1986) and Patton (2008).

The stakeholder approach has two key features. First, it establishes the key locus of innovation management and project evaluation as that of practice, rather than policy: the practicalities and possibilities of practice should inform policy development and lead the change process, rather than an exclusively top-down policy development process, where teachers and other practitioners are required to implement curriculum changes in which they have had no design role. The task in stakeholder evaluation is to document and extend practitioners' understanding of their work, a role clearly evidenced in all the case studies in this volume. Secondly, it acknowledges the power and authority ecology within project contexts. While senior policy makers may have the authority to determine what should be done, it is the practitioners who have the power either to make this happen or to subvert it. The PROSPER and SSA (Sharva Shiksha Abhiyan) case studies illustrate the benefits of building on the agency of teachers and trainers (see Bardi and O'Donahue, this volume). The Oman BA (bachelor of arts) and Korean INSET (in-service education and training) case studies provide insights into project contexts where there is a gap between policy maker and practitioner perspectives (see Wedell and Hayes, this volume).

The importance of people and their social relations in change management has been an important theme in the literature on ELT. Arnold and Sarhan (1994) emphasise such relationships in their analysis of how counterparting can be more effective in ELT projects. Bax (1995) emphasises 'content-negotiability' as a principle for managing change in teachers' work, thus highlighting the need for them personally to adapt innovative practices. Kiely and Rea-Dickins (op.cit.) and Kiely (2009) illustrate how important the social dimension of teachers' work is and how evaluation can be a context for structuring collaborative activity within programmes and schools. Palmer (this volume) emphasises the importance of 'emotional intelligence' in developing the Paraná ELT project, illustrating the need to build confidence and self-esteem as part of the development of project activities.

Stakeholder roles within projects are complex. A conventional view (for example Alderson and Scott 1992) divides stakeholders into project insiders and outsiders. Insiders can participate in project activities (including evaluation) in three ways: in planning, implementing, or benefiting. DfID defines stakeholders as 'intended beneficiaries and intermediaries, winners and losers, and those involved or excluded from decision-making processes' (DfID undated). These are further classified as primary and secondary stakeholders. The former are typically those closely involved with, and affected by, project activities. The latter are more remote stakeholders, for example, public sector authorities, bodies such as trade unions, professional associations, and businesses, and DfID. A further classification is 'key' stakeholders, who are those, either primary or secondary, who have the power to shape projects and determine the likelihood of success. This 'power' factor, which varies from context to context and may be difficult to predict at the outset, is a key element in discourses of stakeholding (Weiss op.cit.; Guba and Lincoln 1989; Murphy and Rea-Dickins op.cit.). In the Polish TTC (Teacher Training Colleges) project, for example, local authority figures who had been members of the Communist Party, and as such might not have supported the change in language teacher education, proved instead to be key enablers, by ensuring that educational institutes in their towns participated constructively in the project, and setting up and staffing colleges (see Komorowska, this volume). In the ELTA (English Language Teachers' Association) project, a teachers' association became a key stakeholder and contributed to the goals of the project through local ownership of curricular innovations and teaching resources. Where powerful local stakeholders engage with the project, the chances of success are enhanced (see Reilly, this volume, on the involvement of local inspectors in the EBP (Early Years Bilingual Project) in Spain; where they distance themselves or are excluded, achieving project goals is more difficult (see Zikri, this volume, on the limited involvement of university teachers in the Egyptian curriculum development project).

The Rea-Dickins and Holliday positions come together in focusing projects on the actual, rather than the ideal. They posit a theoretical answer to the problems encountered in designing and carrying out programme evaluations and in using these to understand key issues in project development and promoting change. They establish a coherence across the different levels in ELT project activity, in particular through linking the characteristics of the communicative classroom with the wider policy development process. Thus, as in the classroom, where effective

learning results from engagement, agency, ownership, and investment of the students, which is supported by teachers, projects which aim to innovate in the contexts of teaching, teacher education, assessment, and materials development need to act to secure engagement, agency, ownership, and investment by the key stakeholders in these processes. Processes which are particularly important here are the evaluation activities such as listening, debating, negotiating, and building in ownership and use of evaluation findings as part of projects. These processes not only communicate an understanding of the changes proposed by the project, but also open up spaces for discussing these changes and their impact.

The nature of change and innovation

Our understanding of change processes has also developed over recent decades. As set out in Rogers (1983), Kennedy (1988) and Stoller (1994), an established approach to change management has been an analysis of the change-context relationship according to five parameters:

- net relative advantage over superceded policy/practice

- compatibility with existing values

- complexity [inversely related]

- trialability

- observability (Kennedy ibid.).

These constitute a basis for a needs analysis undertaken from a rational, external perspective. They provide a perspective on the likely success of the change and, thus, guidance as to the change management processes which might be beneficial. This assumes a top-down, somewhat industrial process, such as the research and development model outlined by White (1988), and locates processes of analysis at the planning stages, undertaken at the policy level by experts, rather than practitioners (see Hayes, Wedell, and Zikri, this volume). An additional perspective on this is provided by Kennedy (1999b) and Lamie (2004; 2005), who draw on the work of social psychologist Ajzen (1988) to examine the gaps between attitudes and behaviours (of teachers in particular) as the locus of problems in the management of change in ELT. Their analysis is based on the phenomenon that teachers on training courses commit to the new practices introduced but then on return to the workplace fail to implement these (see Wedell, this volume for a telling illustration of this). While this phenomenon can be labelled resistance, or lack of effort or commitment, a better explanation comes from understanding the complexity of such changed practice by teachers: they can only do what is possible for them, and as classroom practice is shaped by many factors, a new instructional technique introduced in isolation will not seem possible or useful.

Waters and Vilches (2001) provide a valuable overview of the complexity of change management processes in ELT. They identify eight areas at two levels where change is necessary. The foundation-building level is a starting point, and 'potential-realising level' represents what the project should achieve. Project activity is in four areas:

PROJECT ACTIVITY	1. Curriculum development	2. Teacher learning	3. Trainer training	4. ELT manager learning
POTENTIAL-REALISING LEVEL	MODERN	SCHOOL-BASED	METHODOLOGY	DEVOLUTION
FOUNDATION-BUILDING LEVEL	TRADITIONAL	COURSE-BASED	CONTENT	ORIENTATION

Table 1: Four areas of project activity (Adapted from Waters and Vilches 2001:140)

Waters and Vilches observe that conventional activity focuses on two of the eight cells: the 'modern' in curriculum development and 'course-based' activity in teacher learning. This is due in part to a belief in the superiority of communicative language teaching over traditional pedagogies and, in part, to a judgement of how widest impact might be achieved. The lack of attention to the other cells constitutes a persuasive analysis of why effective change within ELT projects has been less successful than anticipated and indicates ways in which an continuing means analysis might be structured for teachers and project leaders.

The weaknesses of established approaches to change management within ELT projects are the limited engagement with practitioners at the planning stage (see Zikri and Palmer, this volume), the assumption that experts' reasoning and strategies will address the challenges practitioners face in their work in classrooms and training rooms (see Wedell and Mathews, this volume), and the reliance on making teachers aware of new approaches through training courses (see Donahue, and Solly and Woodward, this volume). Where the project focus does not connect with teachers' perspectives, there may be perceived resistance or lack of investment by teachers, which may lead to limited impact in classrooms and on English language learning (Holliday 1992; 1994; Palmer 1993; Hayes 1995; Wedell 2011a).

More recently, change is seen as affecting all stakeholders and impacting differentially on them, according to their tasks and their understanding of these tasks and the resources they draw on in undertaking these tasks. This is particularly important in the key activity in ELT: classroom teaching. This is a social activity, where teachers perform their social identity (Block 2003; Richards 2006; Kiely 2008) in organising and managing learning activities for their students. They take into account:

1. the expectations and needs of the students

2. the assessment processes involved

3. the materials available

4. the experience and insights of the teacher which inform a view of what can work in that situation

5. and the training and guidelines provided for the teachers which frame a view of what should work.

Any proposed change must have what Prabhu (1990) labels 'a sense of plausibility' for teachers: it must be seen as possible, relevant, and likely to resolve the problems they experience and consider are important for them. Each teacher manages change in their own context, not so much in terms of implementation of the policy, but rather in terms of what is possible, appropriate, and desirable for them as individual professionals, and what is valued in the context. The notion of innovation at this level of practice is more complex than characterisations at policy levels. The change management process must reflect this, and project evaluation, as a set of enquiry and communication activities, can structure and guide the process. In Holliday's term, it is 'means analysis' which is particularly important. This cannot be undertaken at the planning stage, but rather it has to be carried out as the project is implemented and led by professional stakeholders such as teachers and teacher educators. This has implications for evaluation design.

Innovation, evaluation, and research

While there is an increasing literature on ELT innovation and programme evaluation, much activity is not documented or in the public domain. There are good reasons for this: ELT project activity (including evaluation) is a domain of practice, rather than research; many project reports to sponsors remain unpublished, and what is published is likely to represent bodies of practice which are successful and which participants are proud to document and disseminate. What is published tends to fall into four categories:

1. Books on management of change and programme evaluation in ELT which either draw on studies in one context (such as Lynch 1996; Markee 1997; Lamie 2005) or guidance for practice drawing on studies in a range of contexts (Rea-Dickins and Germaine 1992; Alderson and Beretta 1992; Kiely and Rea-Dickins 2005).

2. Research studies which provide focused, theoretically-informed accounts of project impact, drawing on extensive (and expensive) data sets and focusing on theoretical issues such as language learning interventions. The most celebrated programme evaluation of this kind is the Bangalore evaluation (Beretta and Davies 1985; Prabhu 1987), with the studies in Alderson and Beretta (1992) and Norris (2009) also reflecting this research focus.

3. Reflective articles by experienced professionals which draw on a range of experiences to analyse recurrent problems in managing innovation and carrying out programme evaluation, and identify solutions which might be taken up in new contexts and projects. The case studies in this volume are examples of such accounts.

4. Articles in the ELT Journal and professional newsletters in which ELT professionals describe innovative practices which they and colleagues have developed. A survey of such articles in the ELT Journal: Volumes 57 and 60 (2003 and 2006) (Kiely 2008) found such studies constituted programme evaluations which described both process and impact.

It is not the purpose of this paper to review all the strands of relevant knowledge building in these publications and the wider education, management, and development theories and frameworks on which they are based. Rather, it is to note that they constitute an account of the complexity of the activity we are focusing on and to recognise the plurality in knowledge building in our field. Four decades ago, it seemed that theoretical work in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition would lead policy and practice development in ELT. Now, most would agree these play a role, but as Ellis puts it, 'like any other body of technical knowledge, [SLA] can feed only indirectly into the practical knowledge that informs acts of teaching' (2009: 141-2). The themes set out by Holliday and Rea-Dickins constitute gateways to engaging with this 'practical knowledge'. Language programme evaluation as a varied basket of activity types provides a framework for articulating it, sharing it, and extending it. The next section outlines two ways in which evaluation can play this knowledge-brokering role in ELT programmes and projects.

Implications for evaluation design

The key theme in the discussion of ELT project evaluation so far is 'complexity'. Projects are themselves complex, often having pedagogic, managerial, cultural, political, and social dimensions which do not sit easily together or which do not all contribute towards project goals in a period of two or three years. To manage this complexity, the messages of Holliday and Rea-Dickins are fundamental:

1. understand the context and the informal orders, and complement any needs analyses or baselines with continuing means analysis

2. understand and involve stakeholders, and base strategies and activities on an analysis of their stakes.

The discussion in the preceding sections shows that there is a richness of possible designs for project evaluation. Three approaches to project evaluation are outlined here: evaluation as project support, evaluation as quality assurance, and evaluation as practitioner research. These contribute respectively to project management and development; project embedding in local systems and structures; and the building of knowledge relevant to project success, both local and in the wider field of ELT. In a given project, the best design is a situated, customised one, providing both guidance and opportunities for creativity, and autonomy for project leaders and participants.

Evaluation as project development support

The shortcomings of the one-off project evaluation study carried out as a consultancy or research study have been well-documented in the field: Bowers (1983); Greenwood (1985); Alderson (1992); Markee (1993); Tribble (2000); Elder (2009). The case studies in this volume all observe that continuity and continuing partnership are beneficial in achieving the desired impact of ELT projects. An alternative model is the building-in of a continuing developmental strand, so that the external contribution is part of the project, advocating for the success of the project activities, but also constitutes an analytic, critical voice which identifies both problems and solutions.

An example of this is the British Council Project Development and Support Scheme (PRODESS), which was established to provide such support for a range of initiatives in Eastern and Central Europe in the 1992–98 period. The context was the post-Soviet era, when a range of countries were looking west and rewiring their education systems. A major shift in policy was the establishing of English, instead of Russian, as the first foreign language. Projects included the development of pre-service language teacher education institutions and curricula, in-service programmes, including retraining of Russian teachers as English teachers, English language programmes for the university and primary school sectors, and materials and assessment renewal initiatives. The aims of PRODESS were the development of project evaluation skills and the capacity of project personnel, both local and expatriate, so that they could carry out a range of review activities for the effectiveness of the various activities (Kiely and Rea-Dickins 2005). A key theme was continuity, developed through visits, formative evaluation reports, continuing communication, colloquia and seminars, a newsletter which was published from 1993–98, and participation in regional seminars and conferences. The impact of the PRODESS initiative is evidenced by major evaluation studies such as that of PRINCE in Poland (a collaborative evaluation) (Rea-Dickins, Reid, and Karavas-Doukas 1996) (see Komorowska, this volume); and PROSPER in Romania (carried out solely by the project team) (Bardi, Chefneux, Comanetchi, and Magureanu 1999) (see Bardi, this volume); a range of studies published as conference proceedings, such as Melia (1998); and the English Language Teaching Contacts Scheme (ELTECS) set up by the British Council to maintain the project evaluation community of practice in the region and extend it further east, where educational reform and extension of English language teaching was taking place in the 2000s.

One driver of the PRODESS scheme was the perceived need to counter the negative impact of a perceived accountability focus in project evaluation. The perception of many in the sector, for example Alderson (1992), Coleman (1992), and Jacobson (1995), was that the need to be accountable in terms of the original outcomes and time frames involved exaggeration of successes and minimising of problems. This can lead to a lack of openness, which in turn limits dialogue, sharing of project concepts and values, and critical debates on what is possible and desirable, and why.

A core concept in PRODESS was the wide dissemination of core concepts of quality in ELT activities and use of such understandings by stakeholders at all levels in programmes and projects. Thus, the development of a pre-service English Language Teacher programme involved a construct of teacher education which was developed locally, rather than transplanted from outside, and built an understanding of this construct by programme leaders, teacher educators, mentors in schools, and teacher trainees themselves (see Komorowska, this volume). This feature of PRODESS demonstrates the transformative potential of evaluation activity, achieved through the dialogue initiated when stakeholders carry out evaluations and reflect on what they find.

Within a project support approach to evaluation, the audience for an evaluation report is primarily the local project team: it is a working document, a stimulus to debate and discussion in meetings where periodic reviews and planning are undertaken. This notion of externality in programme evaluation as the voice of a critical friend has continued in recent years. In contexts such as the evaluation programmes to introduce foreign language learning in primary schools in Ireland (Harris and Conway 2002) and year abroad studies in higher education language learning (Byram 2000; Saunders 2000), the role of the evaluator was an continuing one, participating in programme meetings and contributing as both advocate and sceptic. Tribble (2000), drawing in part on one of the projects supported by PRODESS, outlines one specific way in which professionals within the ELT context might play a stronger role in projects and project evaluation: they might manage baseline studies, so that it is this insider account which has an ecological validity and is a basis for project activity.

Evaluation as quality assurance (QA)
Project and programme evaluations have always had a quality enhancement and assurance function: their *raison d'être* is the improvement of learning experiences in language education. To this end, they have focused on what are generally acknowledged as the drivers of quality: the education and training of teachers, the development of effective assessment formats, learning materials and uses of technology, and classroom activities which promote and sustain English language learning. In the past, the focus has often been on quality control: adherence to some externally conceived and validated process, determined through a rigorous inspection process. Measures of learning outcomes – tests – still have an important role in quality assurance. In the case studies in this volume, internal and external tests are used to understand patterns of student and teacher learning (see, for example, Palmer, Dick, Bardi). Such data on learning outcomes should be related to data on quality enhancement: accounts of positive learning experiences, growing professional confidence, and a sense of ownership and agency. The quality is located in implementation: materials are used by teachers in classrooms in ways they consider possible and appropriate, regardless of the constructs course book writers worked with; schemes and instruments for lesson planning and reports on classroom practice in language teacher education are interpreted and used by teaching practice supervisors according to their understanding and values.

This view of quality embeds an important role for programme evaluation. In documenting the experience of students, trainee teachers and those supporting their learning, we can capture both how successful the learning experience is, the factors which contribute to this, and how these might be further enhanced. Where this evaluation process is part of a wider dialogue linking comment to enhanced understanding and action, there is a reasonable expectation that evaluation activity leads to learning and to quality enhancement. Weir and Roberts (1994) and Kiely and Rea-Dickins (2005) examine how this activity, typically carried out by questionnaire or focus group study at the end of courses, contributes to change in both teacher and student behaviour.

Establishing a quality assurance system in the project context or integrating local QA practices are important strategies for external accountability and sustainability. The Polish TTC project illustrates how involvement of local universities in supporting QA in the new colleges was a strategy which contributed to the success of the project (see Komorowska, this volume). The EBEP project in Spain benefited from the QA role played by local school inspectors (see Reilly, this volume). In contrast, the positioning of the CDP project in Egypt as separate from and independent of local universities proved a major factor in the limited success of that project (see Zikri, this volume). An evaluation as QA approach works both ways in terms of capacity building: integration with local practices can establish credibility and sustainability, and the expertise of professionals in the project context can be extended through working with project activities and resources.

Evaluation as practitioner research

Kiely (2008) analyses the scope and focus of articles in two volumes of the ELT Journal which are carried out by teacher researchers in their own programme contexts. These are evaluation studies of innovations these teachers have developed, sometimes as part of a wider curriculum development and research project, sometimes in the context of study for a higher degree, and sometimes as part of an individual professionalism (Leung 2009) which motivates a career-long search for better practice.

Such studies meet three important goals in the nexus of innovation and project evaluation. First, they document practice in detail and show how it connects with policy and models of good pedagogy elsewhere. The articles surveyed examined practices such as the use of poetry and drama in the English language curriculum and the development of process writing and peer review in classrooms. Such practices and accounts of innovation and detail are the lifeblood of effective ELT, but are unlikely to be documented in detail in conventional evaluations or other reports. Secondly, these studies reflect the stakes of practitioners in a valuable way: their work achieves recognition, and the achievement of a publication such as this can be a form of career capital. Thirdly, such accounts can be examples of how innovations achieve socio-historical and cultural fit, and constitute means analyses of how innovations can be introduced, teacher by teacher, classroom by classroom, and made to work. In this way they show how a single coherent policy is not so much one recommended practice, but rather a framework, encompassing a range of possible practices, which can only be understood when implemented, documented, and accounted for by the teacher.

These three forms of programme evaluation represent three separate dialogues. Programme support captures a dialogue between programme insiders and an external who is both an advocate and a sceptic. Quality assurance processes structure a dialogue within programmes between students and teachers, and teachers and managers. Practitioner research studies frame interactions between the local and the global, between specific parts of programmes and theories, trends, and issues in the ELT sector as a whole. These are dialogues which can be structured as part of project design, planned for and resourced at the outset, or engaged in during a project as a context for project personnel to consider how the evaluation resource might be used.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed key trends in programme evaluation over recent decades. While, overall, the picture has become more complex, two strands in the discourse are particularly salient: the need to engage with the socio-historical and cultural context of projects and the need to involve stakeholders. By working with these principles, the processes of change can be understood and managed more effectively, and the project personnel can be engaged in debates about what is possible as well as desirable, and in what time frame. The range of approaches to designing evaluation into change management processes is rich and varied. What has become clear is that evaluation is not one thing, one research type-study. Rather, it is a multifaceted dialogue, as complex as a conversation, with structure and distributed agency contributing to its development. The three approaches to evaluation set out in this chapter – evaluation as project support, evaluation as quality assurance, and evaluation as practitioner research – are different ways of taking forward the themes outlined by Holliday and Rea-Dickins nearly 20 years ago.