The English-Only Policy in an Australian ELICOS Setting: Perspectives of English Students, Teachers and Academic Management

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Abstract

Beliefs in the advantages of target language-only instruction in English language teaching are widespread and often result in an English-only policy (EOP) in educational settings. Such policies rarely take into account the perspectives of all stakeholders. Situated within the critical and transformative paradigm, the study explored the perceptions of the EOP and its impact on students and teachers in an Australian English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) college. The mixed-methods study collected data using a student survey, group interviews with teachers, and a written response from academic managers in order to compare different perspectives. Quantitative and qualitative data analysis revealed an overall positive perception of the policy and its impact on English learning, mainly based on the beliefs about increased communication opportunities in the language. The realities of day-to-day EOP implementation, however, included negative psychological impact on some students and increased demands on teachers, sometimes leading to confusion as to their professional role. Research also revealed the limitations of framing a linguistic strategy as a policy, including the potential for conflict between the academic staff and the students. The study provides a foundation for future language policy decisions in the given setting and can be of interest to the wider ELICOS sector, particularly with regards to issues of language regulation. It contributes to the growing research on multilingual pedagogy and first language use in English teaching and learning, while drawing attention to the rights and needs of international students in Australia.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis titled "The English-only policy in an Australian ELICOS setting: Perspectives of English students, teachers and academic management" has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree at any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research, and that all information sources and literature used are duly referenced in the text.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, protocol number 5201800218, dated 17th April 2018.

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Abbreviations

AMEP	Adult Migrant English Programme
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
EAL	English as an additional language
ELC	English Language Centre
ELICOS	English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students
ELT	English language teaching
EFL	English as a foreign language
EOP	English-only policy
ESL	English as a second language
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IIO	Input, Interaction and Output model
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MMR	Mixed methods research
QUAL	Qualitative
QUAN	Quantitative
RQ	Research question
SCT	Sociocultural theory
SLA	Second language acquisition
TETE	Teach English Through English
TL	Target language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication

Chapter 1. Introduction

The long-standing principles of the so-called monolingual perspective (Butzkamm, 2002) have been hugely influential both in the fields of second language acquisition (SLA) and applied linguistics. In the domain of second language teaching, this position implies the benefits of maximum exposure to the language being learnt, at the expense of inter-language methodology such as translation or interpreting. This perspective is influenced by the modernist view of languages as autonomous systems that can be separated in the learner's mind. It gave rise to the interactionist approach in second language acquisition, whereby learning a language implies negotiation of meaning through exchange of utterances, modified input and output (Gass, 1997; Gass & Mackey, 2004; Gor & Long, 2009; Swain, 2005). In this model, little or no value is attributed to other languages that are already at the learner's disposal, including their mother tongue (L1). Instead, the impact of the existing linguistic knowledge is viewed negatively as interference or transfer, while the inability to achieve ideal native-like proficiency is discussed in terms of deficit (Gass & Selinker, 1992). The field of English language teaching (ELT) has not been immune to the monolingual standpoint. For example, the belief in the benefits of the English-only instruction is so ingrained in the ELT methodology that it has amounted to an article of faith (E. Ellis, 2007) among policy makers, teachers and students alike.

The current multilingual turn in language pedagogy (Canagarajah & Wurr, 2011; May, 2013b) is critical of the interactionist approach and rejects the view of language learning in terms of information input and output. Proponents of sociocultural theory, for instance, argue that language development is social as well as individual, and knowledge is co-constructed dialogically as opposed to transmitted (Lantolf, 2012; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Swain & Deters, 2007; Swain & Lapkin, 1998). Others stress the indivisible nature of one's linguistic knowledge (Cook, 2003, 2016; Cook & Li Wei, 2016; Herdina & Jessner, 2002) and the importance of L1 as an instrument in second or additional language learning and use (García & Li Wei, 2014). At the same time, native speaker competence is no longer unquestioningly accepted as the ultimate language learning goal and a measure of proficiency (Kramsch, 2014; Ortega, 2013). Other research also supports the multilingual perspective on language teaching and learning by demonstrating cognitive, communicative and social functions of L1 in the language classroom (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Cummins, 2007; Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009; Levine, 2014; Ma,

2016; Macaro, 2006; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009a). In this light, the pedagogical principles of teaching English exclusively through English appear dogmatic and unreasonably restrictive.

Another perspective that re-evaluates the monolingual philosophy is that of critical applied linguistics (Sinfree Makoni & Makoni, 2012; Pennycook, 2001; Rajagopalan, 2004). It is a tradition that links the issues of power and inequality from a wider social, political and ideological context to language-related matters, as well as questions the normative assumptions of mainstream applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2006). In the case of English teaching, the dogmatic nature of language policies in language education is exposed (Kumaravadivelu, 2003), and the prevalence of the Western ideology propagating native-speaker hegemony is also argued (Braine, 1999; Holliday, 2006; Kubota, 2002; Llurda, 2005; Mahboob, 2005, 2010). Although the effects of the critical research in ELT have been far-reaching, it remains a useful perspective on specific language education practices, especially those limiting the use of L1 and other languages in favour of English-only.

Despite the body of work that advocates multilingual pedagogy and raises the issues of social justice in education, some English teaching settings continue to employ an exclusively English-based pedagogy. This is often the case among Australian providers of English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS).The attraction of the sector for over 170,000 international students annually (English Australia, 2018a) lies in the anticipated immersion experience of language learning, leading to swift improvement in proficiency. To fulfil such marketing promises, as well as a convenient solution for managing multilingual classes, many ELICOS institutions implement a form of English-only policy (EOP). However, this solution stems from the prevailing monolingual mindset and potentially overlooks the perspective of the students, who are the primary stakeholders in this decision. Imposing a non-negotiated language policy on students already dealing with acculturation issues as newcomers to Australia constitutes a dismissal of the benefits of L1 use. Along with the growing body of research on the role of L1 in additional language learning, recent studies have shown its importance in establishing new social circles, combatting the feelings of isolation, and the desire to preserve cultural identity (Hendrickson, Rosen, & Aune, 2011; Sawir, Marginson, Deumert, Nyland, & Ramia, 2008; Shvidko, Evans, & Hartshorn, 2015). To date, little research has been done on how international English language students in Australia perceive the utility of EOPs in ELICOS.

Another perspective that is often overlooked is that of English teachers, who perform the duty of upholding such policies in ELT settings.

This study adopts a critical perspective on the English-only approach in Australian ELT and examines the impact a restriction on languages other than English may have on international students as well as teachers, the two principal parties to any language policy in an educational context. By examining the impact of the EOP in one ELICOS institution, the study seeks answers to the following research questions that are exploratory in nature and serve as a basis for further doctoral study:

1. In what ways do the English students believe the EOP impacts them?
2. How do the teachers perceive the impact of the EOP on the students?
3. How do the academic leadership perceive the impact of the EOP on the students?
4. In what ways do the ELICOS teachers believe the EOP impacts them?

The thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter 2 situates the study within the context of existing research on L1 use in second and additional language teaching, and ELT in particular. Chapter 3 describes the theoretical framework of the study as well as research procedures, instruments and participants. Chapter 4 reports the findings of the study, which are then summarised and discussed in the light of the existing literature in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 presents the implications and limitations of the study and outlines possibilities for further research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the multilingual perspective in applied linguistics, followed by an overview of research on bi- and multilingual practices in language teaching. After that, research on first language (L1) use in English teaching settings is discussed, including in Australia. Subsequently, the persistent monolingual bias in ELT is described, and the study motivation is explained.

2.2 Multilingual Turn in SLA and Language Teaching

Originating from the late 19th century Reform Movement in linguistics, the 'monolingual principle' (Butzkamm, 2002) was as a reaction against the classic grammar-translation method in language teaching. It denounced translation as a pedagogical tool and postulated the target language (TL) as both the object and the medium of study. From this perspective, native speaker-like competence was the ultimate goal of second language learning, while L1 use was perceived as a fall-back option and a sign of TL incompetence (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009b). The monolingual principle was perpetuated by the deep-rooted idea of 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin, 1994) of the 18th and 19th century European nation state, endorsing monolingualism in society and education. These enduring beliefs impacted modern linguistics to an extent that monolingual communication was taken as the norm for theorisation (Canagarajah & Wurr, 2011). For instance, both SLA and second language teaching domains have used a native speaker as the yardstick for measuring learning success, thus framing the developing bi- and multilingual abilities of language learners as deficient or imperfect (Ortega, 2013). The deficiency perspective, in turn, leads to a variety of ethical issues concerning classroom practices (Cummins, 2007; Edge, 2003, 2010; Jenkins, 2006; Kramsch, 2010), language policy and planning (Canagarajah, 1999; S Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 1994; Shohamy, 2006), as well as non-native teacher status and professional expertise (Holliday, 2006; Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009; Kubota, 2002; Mahboob, 2004, 2005, 2010).

Monolingual conceptualisation of languages as discrete entities to be embodied gave rise to SLA models based on input, interaction and output (IIO) as described by Block (2003). Influenced by Krashen's (1985) acquisition/learning distinction and the comprehensible

input hypothesis, in combination with methods of cognitive science, IIO proponents (Gass, 1988, 1997; Long, 1996; Skehan, 1998; Swain, 1985) saw language acquisition as intramental information processing, summarised in Figure 1.

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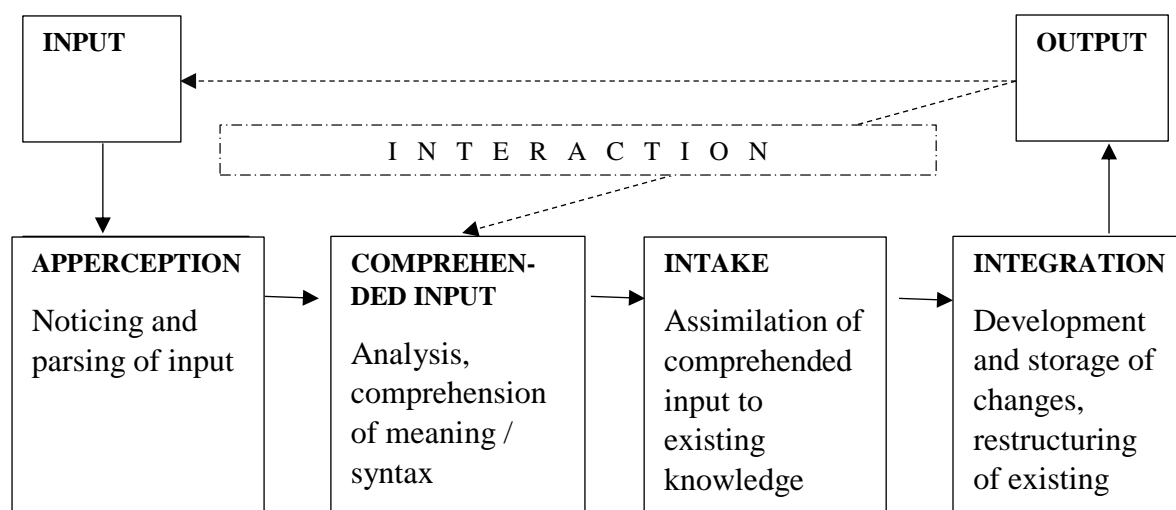
Figure 1. The IIO model of SLA.
Based on Gass (1997) and Block (2003).

This straightforward representation of mental behaviour does not fully account for the social and contextual factors in language acquisition, and the dynamic nature of language learning and use, such as the mutual influence of languages within and between their speakers. Even though interaction is afforded a place in the IIO model – the spoken exchange with other/native language speakers, for instance, and modified input and output – the focus of the framework remains on individual mental functioning (Chappell, 2014, p. 25).

Contemporary developments in applied linguistics, SLA and language teaching largely diverge from the monolingual and individualistic standpoint and have been grouped under the term 'multilingual turn' (May, 2013b). This new paradigm recognises the fluid and hybrid linguistic repertoires of bi- and multilingual speakers and diverse language contexts (May, 2013a). Monolingualism is questioned as the default for human communication, and nativeness is no longer seen as the superior form of language knowledge (Ortega, 2013). At the same time, proponents of the socially informed SLA (Block, 2003; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Lantolf, 1996 among others) strive to account for sociolinguistic and interactional dimensions of language, as well as the complexity of acquisition context. Following Firth and Wagner's (1997) seminal article, the need for a more socially-oriented SLA has been challenged by some IIO researchers (Gass, 1998; Kasper, 1997; Long, 1997; Poulisse, 1997) and accepted by others (Mackey & Philp, 2010; Swain, 2000). Despite Ellis' (2008)

suggestion of a framework that includes social, cognitive as well as personal factors of language acquisition, the debate is ongoing on whether the social-cognitive divide in SLA can or should indeed be bridged (Hulstijn et al., 2014; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). Nevertheless, significant work has been done to incorporate social factors into the theory of SLA, with particular reference to Sociocultural Theory (SCT) and Activity Theory (Donato, 2000; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Swain, 1997, 2000, Swain & Lapkin, 1998, 2002; Wertsch, 1998). These theoretical approaches see language learners not as processing devices converting linguistic input into output, but as interactive agents, mediating themselves to others in communities of practice and using their languages – including L1 – as cognitive tools (Block, 2003, pp. 109–110; Lantolf, 2006).

Table 1 summarises the features of the multilingually and socially-oriented paradigm in applied linguistics as compared to the earlier monolingual and cognitive-based perspective.

Monolingual Perspective	Multilingual Perspective
Systematised language	Mixed languages
Formal competence	Everyday performance
Individual enterprise	Social practice
Rules of correctness	Strategies of negotiation
Joining a community	Switching between communities
Target Language	Repertoire
Homogeneous speech community	Heterogeneous speech community
Cognition	Context
Linear models	Dynamic, complex systems

Table 1. Traditional and emergent paradigms in applied linguistics.
Based on Canagarajah and Wurr (2011).

As seen in Table 1, the ontology is changing from positivism to relativism; from assuming linear language acquisition that results in joining a native-speaker community to accepting the situational dynamics of language use and participation in a language community; as well as focusing on the social, rather than individual, context of language learning. In short, the modernist monolingual theories of language acquisition and teaching do not adequately reflect contemporary bi- and multilingual experiences (Canagarajah & Wurr, 2011; Ndhlovu, 2015). In fact, the term 'second' becomes problematic as an umbrella for all languages learnt after the mother tongue (Block, 2003). Not only may L2 be one's third or fourth language, but a distinction between L1 and L2 implies a stable L1 that remains intact

despite contact with later learnt languages. The latter assumption is consistent with the pervading monolinguistic bias in SLA. Various substitutes for 'second' have been introduced, including: 'other' or 'additional' languages (Block, 2003); 'LX speakers' of any language learnt to a degree of proficiency (Dewaele, 2018); and 'new speakers' in language revitalisation contexts (O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2013). Cook (2003, 2016) altogether rejects the idea of complete and separate language competence and advocates a 'multicompetent' speaker within whose mind languages have a mutual effect on each other. [1]

Overall, the focus of language learning theories has shifted to the interrelated nature of languages in individual speakers and speech communities. Some examples include linguistic interdependence hypothesis and the concept of common underlying proficiency (Cummins, 1981, 1991); the psycholinguistic dynamic model of multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner, 2002); the sociolinguistic dominant language constellation model (Aronin & Singleton, 2012); language as a complex adaptive system (Beckner et al., 2009; de Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008); the linguistic multicompetence perspective (Cook, 1991, 2016); and translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014). Although varied in their orientation, these theories are based on the premise that languages are not discrete entities, they have a mutual effect on each other within and between the speakers, and they should be approached holistically. The advance of the multilingual perspective and the continued departure from the view of languages as closed systems with their ensuing native-speaker norms has caused significant repercussions for the interactionist and cognitive SLA field. It now needs to come to terms with the evidence against the monolingual bias (Ortega, 2013).

Similarly, language teaching is required to recalibrate its ultimate aims to reflect the newly acknowledged value of bi- and multilingualism (Cook, 2007). Prolific research on L1 use in a language classroom (discussed in section 2.3) continues to reject the idea that the mother tongue is a hindrance in additional language learning. It also confirms that exclusive TL instruction, as espoused by the 'strong version' of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Howatt, 1984), is neither practical nor achievable. Despite this, little has changed on the ground, in particular in language education policies, due to the unchanged concept of language in mainstream multilingualism discourse (Ndhlovu, 2015). For example, Macaro

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[1] While acknowledging bilingualism and multilingualism as separate areas of research, this paper adopts the term 'additional language' to denote any language(s) learnt after the language(s) acquired from birth, regardless of the order of acquisition.

(2001, 2009) situates language teachers' views on classroom L1 use within a continuum. On one end, the language classroom is a virtual environment where all communication happens in the TL and L1 has no place in the learning process. This 'virtual' position sees languages as discrete and sustains the bias towards a monolingual reality and the native speaker. Consistent with the strong version of CLT and the audio-lingual method, maximum exposure is believed to enhance language acquisition. The other two beliefs admit the utility of L1 to a varied degree. The 'maximal' position disregards the pedagogical value of L1 but allows its limited use based on the immediate classroom needs, e.g. for clarifying vocabulary and tasks or explicit teaching of grammar. This is the position most evident in current research on code-switching in language instruction, which concedes that complete L1 exclusion is not achievable. Finally, the 'optimal' position acknowledges the bi-/multilingual realities of the world, justifies L1 use in enhancing additional language learning, and strives for multilingual pedagogy that conceptualises language proficiency as independent from native-speaker norms. Arguably, this position has not yet gained widespread acceptance among language educators.

2.3 Multilingual Practices in Language Education

Early advocates of L1 use in language teaching called for a 'postcommunicative' approach (Atkinson, 1987) and claimed it is effective at any level of proficiency (Auerbach, 1993). Today, there is a growing interest in mixed language practices in English as an additional language (EAL) classrooms[2]. Research on the use of translation as well as code-switching, defined as "the alternative use of two or more languages in the same conversation" (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, p. 7), is abundant in instructed language settings, as the following review will show.

Code-switching research reconceptualises recourse to L1, traditionally seen as an unfortunate reality in CLT (Brooks-Lewis, 2009; Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009; Levine, 2013, 2014; Ma, 2016; Murray & Wigglesworth, 2005; Polio & Duff, 1994; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003). Summaries of existing code-switching studies can be found in

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[2] Like Block (2003, Ch3.3), I find the traditional distinction between English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL) problematic. Firstly, given the mobility of English learners worldwide, there are opportunities to study and use English both in one's home country and in English-speaking countries. In addition, entire classes with shared L1 are not uncommon in English-dominant countries, particularly in migrant settings. More importantly, assumed contact with English in the community does not always transpire in ESL contexts (Chappell et al., 2018), often rendering 'ESL' contexts 'EFL' in nature. For these reasons, the term 'English as an Additional Language' (EAL) is preferable.

Turnbull and Arnett (2002), Levine (2011, 2014) and Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009a). Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) build a compelling argument for using L1 as the base for additional language teaching, while Littlewood and Yu (2011) offer a set of practical principles for doing so. Some studies focus on learners' perceptions of code-switching (Brooks-Lewis, 2009; Nordin, Ali, Zubir, & Sadjirin, 2013) and teachers' beliefs about it (Macaro, 2001); others examine the actual code-switching classroom practices (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2004; Sampson, 2012; White & Storch, 2012). As a result, code-switching is reassessed as a natural feature of bi- and multilingual interaction, rather than a sign of deficient linguistic resources (Cook, 2001; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009a). For instance, in Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain's study (2004) advanced learners of German employed similar code-switching practices in class as in non-classroom situations. In addition, learners who are given a choice of languages are more autonomous (Levine, 2011) and benefit from practicing real-world employment skills (Macaro, 2006).

Together with code-switching, translation is enjoying renewed scholarly attention. Having fallen victim to the rejection of the grammar-translation method, it is reappearing as a valid pedagogical tool (Carreres, 2006) following early appeals for its restoration (Auerbach, 1993; Duff, 1989). This is an instantiation of the 'optimal' position on L1 use. Teaching methods incorporating translation, such as Weschler's (1997) functional-translation method and Sadeghi and Ketabi's (2010) critical-functional method, reject the TL-only 'virtual' position and emphasise the benefits afforded by the learners' other languages. Empirical studies examine the uses of translation in the language classroom (Calis & Dikilitas, 2012; Kalocsányiová, 2017; Ma, 2016) and attitudes to it (Carreres, 2006; Liao, 2006). The latter two studies, in particular, found positive views of translation as a learning tool among university students. The authors see its potential not only in comprehension checking, grammar instruction and vocabulary learning (similarly to Ma (2016)), but also in reducing anxiety and enhancing students' motivation throughout proficiency levels (Liao, 2006). In migrant settings, the repertoire-building approach is gaining importance, as adopted, for instance, by Kalocsányiová (2017) to examine how asylum seekers use their existing language resources in a French beginners class in Luxembourg. She argues that translation is multilingual interaction and its use in the classroom facilitates a shift away from a deficit model of learners and learning (p. 489).

Some studies caution against the over-reliance on L1 in language teaching (Castellotti & Moore, 1997; Coste, 1997; Turnbull, 2001) and note agreement among teachers on the

benefits of maximum TL exposure (Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). Others recommend a 'common-sense approach' to code-switching (Sampson, 2012) and L1 use that is 'balanced and flexible' (Carless, 2008, p. 331), 'judicious, limited and occasional' (Sa'd & Qadermazi, 2015, p. 159), or 'selective and principled' (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009b). It is also suggested teachers use their own judgement on the optimal uses of L1 for their classroom, as long as it both facilitates communication and leads to L2 learning (Macaro, 2006; White & Storch, 2012). The tension among these positions can be attributed to the virtual-maximum-optimal continuum of pedagogical beliefs about L1. However, it is also symptomatic of the continued language ideology that underpins monolingual thinking, namely its concern with "the number of 'language' things or objects" (Ndhlovu, 2015, p. 401).

In this light, it is useful to consider languages as inter-related rather than in competition with each other. Indeed, research drawing on the theories of language integration continues to shape the view of language learners as legitimate users of their own kind, and not deficient native speakers. Scott (2016), envisions a language classroom that validates all linguistic abilities through awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity. Brown (2013) proposes a multi-competent near native-like speaker as the more realistic benchmark of assessment and the better socio- and psycholinguistic model for language learners than the supposedly monolingual (and monocompetent) native speaker. A European research network investigating multilingualism in education recommends training teachers on the benefits of L1 use in language classrooms; treating languages in an integrative way; and encouraging students to use the knowledge of one language to learn another (Werlen, 2010). This is congruent with the sociocultural perspective in language teaching, which sees certain L1 usage as facilitating language development and appears more sensitive to the situationally-specific learner needs.

To summarise, within the current multilingual paradigm, favourable attitudes to L1 and its pedagogical uses are emerging as evidenced by a growing body of theoretical and empirical literature. Simultaneous use of more than one language is viewed as a natural skill of bi- and multilingual speakers, including language learners. Therefore, a classroom envisaged as a space where all linguistic resources are allowed makes the goals of language learning more attainable (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2004).

2.4 L1 Use in English Language Teaching

The issues of L1 use in language learning are particularly relevant to the worldwide ELT field, as evidenced by extensive research. This section reviews the literature pertaining to L1 use in a variety of English teaching environments: first, in settings traditionally termed EFL, and then in Australia.

2.4.1 L1 use in ELT in non-English dominant settings.

In the environments where English is not widely spoken outside the limited classroom time efforts are often made to increase TL exposure, up to the complete exclusion of L1. In reality, however, the literature on L1 use in these settings questions the universal applicability of the English-only rule and calls for situated methodology (Ur, 2013), driven primarily by considerations for optimal learning. For instance, native English teachers in a Japanese university have been found to contradict the official English-only guidelines by allowing a certain amount of L1 use in the classroom (McMillan & Rivers, 2011). The specifics of Japanese learners' cultural background is another reason to reconsider English-only norms in Japan, according to Weschler (1997). Similarly, it is argued that the official Teach English Through English (TETE) policy in Korean schools could not be optimally implemented because communicative language teaching *per se* had not been fully adopted (Moodie & Nam, 2016). Rabbidge and Chappell (2014), having studied elementary school teachers adherence to TETE, conclude that the need to maintain students' motivation often takes precedence over maximum TL exposure. Other reasons for using Korean, even by the teachers initially committed to English-only, include student proficiency, exam washback, institutional constraints, beliefs about language teaching and maintaining the status quo (Shin, 2012).

In other settings, such as task-based learning in Hong Kong, flexible L1 use has been found essential for students' involvement (Carless, 2008). In tertiary ELT in Taiwan (Wei, 2013) and Iran (Sa'd & Qadermazi, 2015), exclusive use of English was viewed as a factor in improving listening and speaking skills, although attributing learners' progress to such policy alone is problematic. Conversely, the insistence on English-only can impede communication between students and teachers and reduce text comprehension (Wei, 2013). Moreover, adult learners tend to perceive L1 as helpful in the learning process and a positive influence on the social classroom dynamics. This was the case in Brooks-Lewis' (2009)

Mexican study on incorporation of Spanish in an English language course. In particular, the participants noted the importance of revising and understanding the structure of L1 for better English learning. Sampson (2012) also demonstrated how, despite an official EOP, L1 can be used for communicative and learning strategy purposes in a Colombian English language school. Adult learners in the study used Spanish for socialising and humour, which contributed to group solidarity and friendship.

To summarise, a variety of local constraints may affect how the maximum exposure principle is put into practice, and it may not be possible to exclude L1 completely from the English language instruction, even when official English-only guidelines are in place.

2.4.2 L1 use in Australian ELT settings.

In Australia, English is taught in various settings, including the state-sponsored Adult Migrant English Programme (AMEP); English as a second language provision in mainstream primary and secondary schools; and English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS), including public providers such as university language centres and private language colleges nationwide. The majority of research on L1 use in Australian ELT focuses on AMEP (Chau, 2007; Gunn, 2003; Ma, 2016; Murray & Wigglesworth, 2005; O'Grady, 1987; Taylor, 2000) and English literacy of migrant school-aged children (Sharma, 2014).[3] Some studies are based in university ELICOS (Grasso, 2012; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003) and teacher training contexts (Shabir, 2017), while no published studies of L1 use and/or exclusive use of English in the private ELICOS sector have been identified.

Arguably, the realities of English classrooms with a shared L1 (Section 2.4.1) are different from Australian multilingual classrooms where English may be the only common language among students and teachers. However, Australian findings largely confirm the conclusions drawn by the studies in the previous section.[4] For instance, Storch and Wigglesworth (2003),

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[3] A detailed analysis of AMEP and ELT in mainstream Australian schools is outside the scope of the current study. For a comprehensive historical overview of both AMEP and state school English language education, see Oliver, Rochecouste and Nguyen (2017), Ramanathan, Morgan, and Moore (2007), Burns and De Silva Joyce (2007).

[4] In fact, Cummins (2007) argues that bilingual instructional strategies, can be utilised in multilingual classrooms, as well and provides several practical examples from Canada.

working within SCT, investigated how English learners in an Australian university used L1 as a mediating tool in complex pair work tasks. Students saw its utility for task clarification and management, and for explaining lexical items and grammar. Of particular interest to the present study is Grasso's (2012) survey of student L1 use in a direct-entry Australian university ELICOS programme enforcing a strict EOP. Despite appreciating the benefits of TL use, only 10% of respondents stated they never used L1 in class, whereas 20% felt happier and more motivated using L1. Bearing in mind considerations of cultural imperialism and the importance of affect in language learning, these findings highlight ethical considerations in mandating an EOP and call for a flexible approach to classroom language choice.

Grasso's conclusions are in contrast with Ellis's study (2003, quoted in E. Ellis, 2007), which examined teachers' views on student L1 use in Australian adult ELT. Only five out of 31 teachers unequivocally supported L1, while the majority (*n*=26) preferred a limited amount of L1 controlled by the teacher, corresponding to Macaro's (2001) 'maximal' position. Subsequent discourse analysis revealed the negative view of L1 perceived, at best, as a necessary comfort for the students. Overall, the teachers in the study tended to see no learner agency in making connections between languages. In fact, teachers' beliefs on students' L1 use may not always be based on well-articulated principles, as shown by varied results of Shabir's (2017) survey of native and non-native student teachers of English. While two thirds of the respondents (74%) agreed L1 should be minimised, less than half (48%) believed L1 use reduces students' exposure to English. Although such variation in opinions may be attributed to teachers' origins and work experience in different countries, as much as 40 per cent disagreed that English should be the only medium of instruction.

Overall, the results of the Australian-based studies concur with those in non-English dominant settings. However, research on multilingual ELICOS classrooms and how L1 is perceived or used in this context is limited.

2.5 Monolingual Realities in English Teaching

Despite the growing recognition of the importance of L1 in second language teaching and learning, the 'optimal' position in ELT remains largely an ideal. Widdowson (2011), for example, argues that ELT continues to perpetuate the pedagogic pretence of dealing with only one language by extensively ignoring L1 (p. 11). Others (Kramsch, 2014; Scott, 2016) agree that linguistic diversity is not fostered in institutional foreign language settings. The

native speaker myth has been problematized in recent years (Davies, 2003; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997), but it endures in language classrooms, textbooks and study abroad marketing material (Kramsch, 2014, p. 298) This, according to Ellis (2007), is due to the prevalence of communicative language teaching, the expectation of non-native English teachers to behave as monolinguals, and the lack of defined bilingual methodology. Similarly, Ndhlovu (2015) claims that the monolingual mindset, endemic in English teaching, prevents negotiation of linguistic resources of students and teachers and continues to disseminate normative versions of language through the classroom (p. 402).

Ideological considerations aside, in multilingual English classes monolingual teaching often becomes "an expedient solution to the problems of the bilingual incompetence of teachers and the multilingual competence of students" (Widdowson, 2011, p. 13). However, instead of providing a real-life example of, or an immersion into, authentic language use in an English-speaking country, monolingual instruction can, in fact, achieve the opposite if teachers modify their language to be understood. Macaro (2006) hypothesises that discourse modification features, necessary under Krashen's (1985) comprehensible input theory, are detrimental to learning and classroom interaction. They increase teacher discourse space due to repetition and slow speech, provide unnatural models of production, reduce lexical diversity and exposure to complex syntactic structures. Such practices do not occur in a natural out-of-class interaction where code-switching might be a more practical strategy.

It seems paradoxical that the value of L1 is both acknowledged, researched and yet not widely accepted in ELT. However, as Blommaert, Leppänen and Spotti (2012) argue, responses to the tension between modernity and post-modernity, especially in the issues of language, tend to deploy high modern measures, namely "denying or combatting hybridity, multiplicity and 'mixing', 'crossing' and related expressions of impurity" (p. 2). Therefore, the mono-normative and static version of language lives on as the legacy of the modernist monolingual perspective, not yet fully challenged in ELT. In fact, twenty years after her seminal article questioning exclusive use of English (1993), Auerbach (2016) concludes that "the ideology behind English-only is even more deeply entrenched" (p. 936). Indeed, in an effort to teach English, the language of international communication, efficiently and in the shortest time possible, belief in maximum TL exposure becomes pedagogical common sense (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 126). However, the modernist practice of compartmentalising languages into distinct codes and excluding some from the classroom limits learners' real-world skills, such as code-switching in the present-day multilingual workplace. Arguably, it

obstructs the very objective of language instruction, i.e. the learners' participation in bi- and multiingual language communities outside the classroom (Levine, 2013).

Several empirical studies confirm the above argument. Storch and Aldosari (2010) have demonstrated how a policy that stigmatises L1 does not exclude it completely but forces it into whispered interactions and learners' private speech. In addition, a strong monolingual approach introduces tension to the teacher-students relationship (Levine, 2013) and adds another layer of artificiality to a language classroom (van Lier, 1996). Yet, the majority of today's ELT institutions implement some form of English-only rule as a micro-language policy, of various degrees of formality and enforcement. As argued by Shvidko, Evans and Hartshorn (2015), such policies are rarely based on empirical research representing learners' perspectives and can indeed undermine the optimal environment for language learning. For instance, intensive language course providers are often guided primarily by the interactionist approach that rejects L1 in favour of maximum TL use (Bruhlmann, 2012). In fact, the origins of the intuitive 'maximum TL' approach taken by many curriculum designers and teachers can be traced to their own language learning experience, training and socialisation (E. Ellis, 2013; Macaro, 2001; Shin, 2012). It can also stem from Western ethnocentrism, ethnolinguism and the discursive history on language teaching and learning in general (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert et al, 2012; Canagarajah & Wurr, 2011; Reagan, 2004). That is not to say that such modernist discourses cannot be challenged. As believed by Kramsch (2014) and Blommaert et al (2012), for example, the primacy of the monocultural and monolingual speaker, traditionally enforced by the disciplinary mechanisms in educational institutions, has already been questioned by modern-day globalisation.

2.6 Motivation for the Study

English as a sole medium of instruction in the Australian ELICOS sector is not well researched. Rather, English-only is taken for granted and marketed to international students as the most expedient way to learn. As Ellis (2007) notes, it is such a common practice that "it amounts to an article of faith needing no defence" (p. 8). The purpose of this study, therefore, is to question this assumption by investigating the impact of the EOP on adult learners in an Australian ELICOS college. It is also important to explore how the English-only position affects English teachers. Not only are they responsible for implementing official language policies, but their personal beliefs, as observed by Macaro (2001), can also have a major influence on language use in the classroom. Unlike Grasso's (2012) study, the

focus is not on the uses or the amount of L1 in the classroom, but rather on exploring teachers' and students' perceptions of the EOP and its impact on them. Since language policies rarely result from a democratic process involving key stakeholders (Macaro, Graham, & Woore, 2015), it is important to provide an empirical justification for it, or otherwise. Moreover, given the significant contribution of the ELICOS sector to the Australian economy, the lack of research into its language policy warrants immediate attention. This is the gap the current study aims to address.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the research questions and theoretical assumptions in the study. It then presents the details of the study setting and participants, describes the data collection instruments and procedures, as well as approaches to data analysis. Finally, some ethical considerations are discussed.

3.1 Research Questions

The main aim of the study was to investigate ways in which an institution-wide EOP impacts teachers and learners in an ELICOS setting. Focusing on a private English Language Centre in Sydney, Australia (hereafter, ELC or Centre), the following research questions (RQs) were asked.

> RQ1: In what ways do the English students at ELC believe the EOP impacts them?

> RQ2: How do the teachers at ELC perceive the impact of the EOP on the students?

> RQ3: How do the ELC's academic leadership perceive the impact of the EOP on the students?

> RQ4: In what ways do the teachers at ELC believe the EOP impacts them?

The rationale for approaching the main research question from the three perspectives – students, teachers and Centre management – was to examine various stakeholder opinions at different levels of a language policy. The study was exploratory in nature and will serve as a foundation for further doctoral research.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Ontologically, the study was based on the premise that social reality is a product of individual consciousness, a construct rather than something universally and objectively true (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011, p. 5). Reality is multi-layered, and multiple interpretations of the same event are possible. Knowledge, therefore, is subjective and is co-constructed in interaction, including between researcher and their subjects (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 15). The study of a collectively adopted professional practice fitted well within these premises, allowing to reveal and compare various perspectives on the same phenomenon.

In addition to being interpretive in nature, the study assumed a critical applied linguistics lens. With its foundation in critical theory (Fay, 1987; Habermas, 1972, 1984; Horkheimer, 1972), this perspective is concerned with language-related issues of power and inequality within a wider social, political and ideological context (Sinfree Makoni & Makoni, 2012; Pennycook, 2006; Rajagopalan, 2004). Arguably, the effects of the critical stance in applied linguistics have been so profound that research in this tradition needs to shift to wider re-conceptualisation of language matters in society (Pennycook, 2010). However, the issues of inequality remain in an educational setting where learners' access to existing linguistic resources is restricted; and the critical perspective, together with the assumptions of the multilingual turn in language teaching and learning, provided the right foundation for this research. Thus, the study critically examined a micro language policy by tapping into collective understanding of the phenomenon.

In line with the above theoretical perspective, a mixed methods research (MMR) design was employed. As noted by Riazi and Candlin (2014), MMR is widely used in applied linguistics, including language teaching and learning research. The authors identify three paradigms underlying MMR methodology: critical realism; critical theory and transformative learning; and pragmatism. Given the study's theoretical orientation above, current MMR falls into the critical and transformative category, or what Mertens (2003) calls the 'transformative-emancipatory paradigm'. It is concerned with applying the results of inquiry to wider questions of social inequality and not simply being useful to those in power (Riazi & Candlin, 2014, p. 142). Thus, the transformative paradigm and mixed methods were commensurate with the research questions of the study.
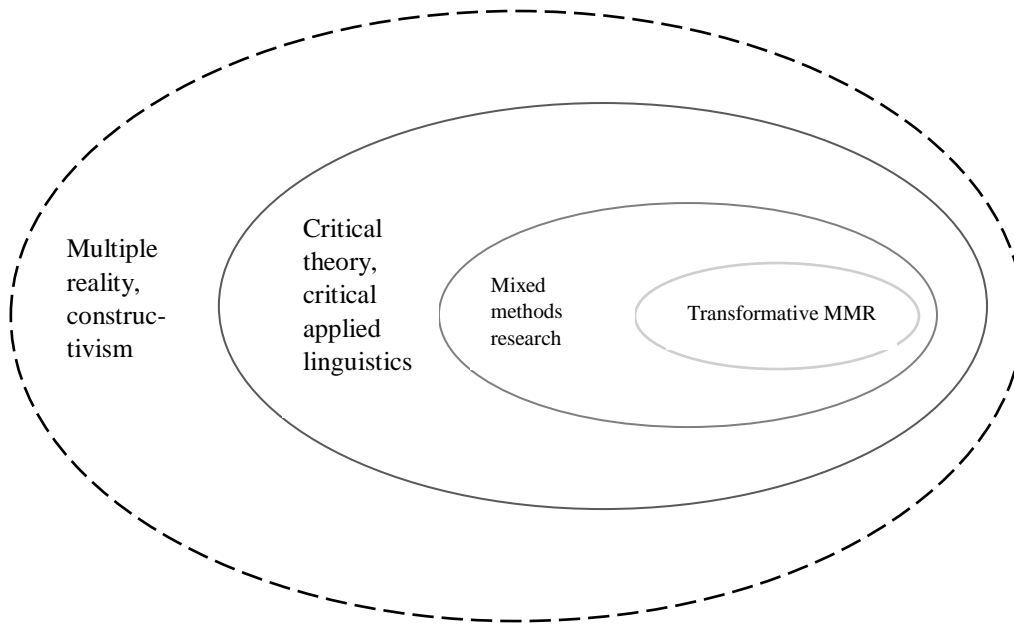
Figure 2. Theoretical framework of the study.

3.3 Research Design

The study design included an online questionnaire for students, group interviews with teachers and a written response from the academic management, all intended to collect beliefs about and perceptions of the EOP in the Centre. The rationale for using mixed methods was that of complementarity (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Riazi & Candlin, 2014). It reflects the ontological premise of multi-layered reality, in that a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods can help examine different levels of a phenomenon. Thus, the quantitative study component addressed RQ1 (students' perceptions of the EOP), while RQ2 and RQ4 (teachers' perceptions of the EOP), as well as RQ3 (the academic management's perspective) were approached qualitatively. Importantly, the two methods were not used merely for triangulation or convenience, but were carried out interdependently and concurrently. Data from student questionnaire and the first round of interviews were presented to the second interview participants and shaped their responses to RQ2 and RQ4, as described in section 3.6. The interactive use of methods with the priority of qualitative data (*quant->QUAL*) helped reveal the complexity of the phenomenon under investigation (Riazi & Candlin, 2014, p. 144), while fulfilling the study's transformative purpose of raising awareness of the EOP impact (Mertens, Bledsoe, Sullivan, & Wilson, 2010).

The remainder of this chapter presents the details of the study, including research setting, participants, data collection and data analysis procedures.

3.4 Research Setting

The study took place in a private ELICOS college in Sydney, Australia, part of a thriving ELT industry that claims a 15% market share of English language students worldwide (English Australia, 2018b). Thanks to extensive regulation, the sector has enjoyed steady growth over the past years and contributed AU$1.6billion to the Australian economy in 2017 (Department of Education and Training, 2018).

The Centre is a large, well-established ELICOS provider that hosts fee-paying students from various parts of the world, including Asia, North America, South America, and Europe. Courses offered include General and Academic English; preparation for examinations such as IELTS, TOEIC and Cambridge; skills classes focusing on vocabulary, grammar, writing, or conversation; and a variety of electives such as public speaking, customer service etc. Students are placed in multilingual classes according to their language proficiency and study goals. The researcher is a casual English teacher in the school, and the choice of the study setting is determined by convenience but also the intention to critically examine professional practices from an insider's perspective.

The Centre implements a strict top-down EOP: students are strongly discouraged from using L1, or any languages other than English, both in class and elsewhere on the premises. The policy is marketed as ELC's distinctive feature, with a system of rewards and penalties at its core. Students seen practicing their English skills outside class are given lottery-style reward cards, each representing a single entry to a weekly draw of two financial prizes. Those found speaking a language other than English, in class or at break time, receive a penalty ranging from a verbal warning to a week-long suspension. The rewards and penalties are administered by ELICOS teachers and the academic management in all parts of ELC, including computer labs, student lounges and restrooms.

In line with the strong CLT ethos of the Centre, teachers are encouraged to promote the use of English only in class. Translation is discouraged, monolingual English dictionaries are preferred, as is the practice of mixing students of different nationalities for group work. All language-related explanations and class management are expected to be conducted exclusively in English. The students' L1 use is allowed in two cases only: when consulting an academic counsellor on study-related issues or for personal matters inside a specially designated and isolated Language Space. The EOP is communicated to the students at

orientation presentation, via posters in each classroom and weekly student notices. Examples of policy communication are provided in Appendix A.

3.5 Participants

The study population comprised three groups directly involved in and impacted by the EOP: students, teachers and the academic management of ELC.

3.5.1 Sampling strategy and recruitment.

Convenience sampling was used to recruit student and teacher participants. The online survey for students was advertised on posters, leaflets and in weekly notices. Sixty seven respondents completed the questionnaire, which was open to all students of English proficiency level Intermediate or above (CEFR[5] B1). It was deemed necessary for the students to fully understand the questions, therefore those of lower proficiency were excluded from the survey due to considerations of validity. Staff room posters and leaflets were used to inform teachers of the group interviews. No exclusion criteria applied, and ten teachers opted to participate. Purposive sampling strategy applied to the Centre's academic management, all of whom, six in total, received a written invitation to the study. Three chose to respond in writing to a question on the advantages and disadvantages of the EOP, while three declined. Copies of participant recruitment materials can be found in Appendix B.

3.5.2 Demographic information.

The demographic information of each study participant group is detailed below.

3.5.2.1 Students.

Sixty seven student questionnaire respondents came from thirteen countries, with the majority from Brazil and South Korea.

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[5] Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions)

Country of origin	Number of respondents	Percentage
Brazil	23	34%
South Korea	14	21%
Japan	11	16%
Colombia	8	12%
Mexico	2	3%
Thailand	2	3%
Other*	7	11%
Total	**67**	**100%**

Table 2. Students' country of origin.
*Including Chile (n=1), France (n=1), Italy (n=1), Spain (n=1), Switzerland (n=1), Taiwan (n=1) and Turkey (n=1).

Eighty five percent of respondents were aged between 18 and 30 years old.

Age group	Number of respondents	Percentage
18-25	43	64%
26-30	14	21%
31-35	5	7.5%
36-40	5	7.5%
Total	**67**	**100%**

Table 3. Students' age breakdown.

Over half of the respondents (56%) belonged to the CEFR B1 level of proficiency, just under 40% were within the B2 band, and the rest were C1.

English proficiency level	Number of respondents	Percentage
B1 (Intermediate)	38	57%
B2 (Upper-Intermediate)	26	39%
C1 (Advanced)	3	4.5%
Total*	**67**	**100%**

Table 4. Students' English proficiency.
*The exact percentage does not add up to 100 due to rounding

Ten different L1s were recorded among the students, while fifteen respondents stated they can speak one or more languages, eight in total, in addition to their mother tongue and English.

3.5.2.2 Teachers.

Ten teachers volunteered for the study, three male and seven female, ranging in age from their twenties to fifties. Half of them had ten or more years of English teaching experience, two between six and nine years, and another three participants had been teaching between one and five years at the time of the study.

Participant name	Age	Years of teaching experience	Native speaker of English	Class level taught during study (CEFR)
Stewart	21-30	1-5	Yes	B1 (Intermediate)
Paul	31-40	10+	Yes	B1 (Intermediate) B2 (Upper-Intermediate) C1 (advanced)
Catherine	31-40	10+	Yes	B1 (Intermediate) B2 (Upper-Intermediate) C1 (Advanced)
Hannah	31-40	1-5	No	A1 (Beginner)
Maria	31-40	10+	Yes	B1 (Intermediate) B2 (Upper-Intermediate)
Zara	31-40	10+	No	B1 (Intermediate) B2 (Upper-Intermediate)
Amelia	31-40	10+	No	A2 (Pre-Intermediate) B1 (Intermediate)
Anna	41-50	6-9	No	on leave
Michelle	41-50	6-9	Yes	B2 (Upper-Intermediate)
Nick	51+	1-5	Yes	A1 (Beginner)

Table 5. Teachers' demographic information and class levels.

Six teachers identified themselves as native speakers and four as non-native speakers of English. One participant did not speak any languages in addition to English, while the remaining nine could speak 11 different languages among them, including French, German, Bengali, Hindi, Polish, Italian, Japanese, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Greek and Spanish.

3.5.3.3 Academic management.

Three of the six members of ELC's academic management responded to the study invitation. Limited demographic information was collected from this group due to the low number of potential respondents and considerations of anonymity. Two out of three respondents were native speakers of English, and one could speak two languages in addition to English.

Participant	Years of teaching experience	Native speaker of English	Languages in addition to English
M1	1-5	Yes	No
M2	15+	Yes	No answer
M3	5-10	No	Yes (2)

Table 6. Academic management's demographic information.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

Three research instruments, one per participant category, were used in the study, including an online questionnaire, group interviews and an essay-style written survey, as detailed in Figure 3. Given the writer's dual position as an ELC teacher and a researcher, reflexivity was an integral part of data collection and analysis, and an account of engaging in it can be found in Appendix K.

DATA COLLECTION
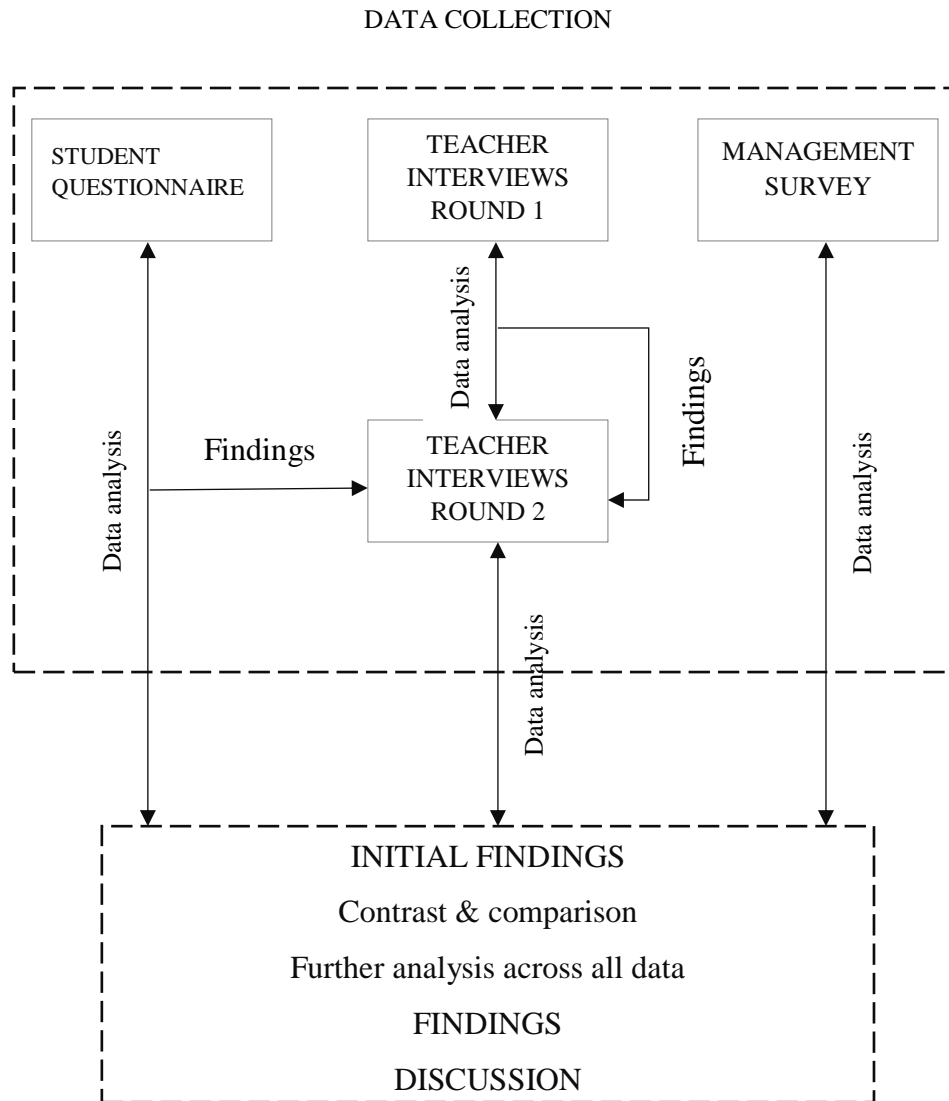
Figure 3. Research procedure and instruments.

3.6.1 Student questionnaire.

The student questionnaire was open for four weeks on the Macquarie University's online survey platform (*mqedu.qualtrics.com*). Students at ELC regularly complete feedback surveys, which include Likert scale-based evaluation of their courses as well as self-evaluations. Therefore, the online survey format was chosen as the most convenient and familiar to the potential respondents. It also preserved their anonymity, which in turn was expected to encourage honest responses.

The questionnaire contained 16 questions, 14 closed and 2 open-ended (Appendix C). Section 1 (Questions 1-7) collected demographic information such as class level, age, gender, country of origin, first and additional languages spoken, and time spent in Australia. Section 2 (Questions 8-11) recorded the students' awareness of and overall attitude to the

EOP. Section 3 (Question 12) used five-point Likert scales to collect students' perceptions of the impact of the policy on them. In Section 4 (Questions 13-14), the same format was used to explore students' attitudes to L1 use. Finally, open-ended questions in Section 5 (Questions 15-16) collected examples of personal experience with the policy and additional comments. At the end, students could opt to enter a prize draw.

3.6.2 Teacher group interviews.

Teacher group interviews were chosen over individual interviews for several reasons. Firstly, a group setting produces a wider variety of responses that supplement each other and contribute to reliability and completeness of the data (Arksey & Knight, 1999, p. 76). Secondly, in line with RQ2, a collective group response was being sought. Individual variations in perceptions create an opportunity for discussion (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 432), which aligns with the overall critical perspective of the study. Moreover, group interviews can serve as an initial exploration of themes to pursue in subsequent individual interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007), which can form part of the future doctoral project.

Bearing in mind possible drawbacks of a group interview, such as participants' dominance, group consensus and the suppression of dissenting views (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 432), the number of teachers per interview was limited to three (excepting one interview with four participants). It allowed the researcher to encourage teacher collaboration and attend to everyone's perspective without inferring from the more explicit opinions. Two rounds of group interviews were conducted and audio recorded for transcription.

Group interview participants	Round 1	Round 2
Interview 1	Stewart, Anna, Nick	Stewart, Anna, Nick
Interview 2	Catherine, Hannah, Paul	Catherine, Paul, **Michelle**
Interview 3	Maria, Zara	Hannah, Maria, Zara, **Amelia**

Table 7. Summary of teacher interviews attendance.
Names in bold are those who attended one interview only.

In the first round, teachers' beliefs about the EOP were explored, as well as their perceptions of how it impacts them and the students in ELC. In the second round, same groups of participants were given a collaborative task to map possible effects of the policy on the students. They were then presented with the main quantitative results from the student

questionnaire for review, which encouraged group interaction and critical discussion of collective and individual language practices in ELC. Instead of the researcher seeking points of comparison and contrast between teachers and learners during the subsequent data analysis stage, the teacher participants were able to compare their own and students' beliefs regarding the EOP immediately at the interviews. Such procedure contributed to the increased trustworthiness of the findings. Interview briefs can be found in Appendix D.

3.6.3 Management survey.

An online survey on *mqedu.qualtrics.com* was used to collect responses to RQ3 (Appendix E). It included brief demographic information collection, followed by the question "How does the English-only policy in ELC impact the students of English?" Given the professional and administrative demands on the school management, as well as the time limits of the current study, an online response form opened for one month was chosen as the most convenient for the participants. The scope of the future doctoral project will allow one-on-one 'elite interviews' (Gillham, 2000, p. 81) with this group for a unique perspective based on access to information and wide knowledge of the system.

3.6.4 Pilot student interviews.

As the findings from the current study inform further PhD research questions and data collection methods, student respondents were invited for a pilot one-on-one interview, based on their availability, to further discuss their responses to the questionnaire. Two thirty-minute interviews were conducted, the themes from which will be incorporated into further research. Given the constraints of the present study, student interview data do not form part of the analysis.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data from the closed-ended questionnaire items was analysed quantitatively. The open-ended items, the transcripts of the teacher interviews, and the management's written responses were analysed qualitatively.

3.7.1 Student questionnaire.

The analysis of the closed-ended part of the questionnaire was carried out using IBM SPSS Statistics 21.0 package. Descriptive statistics in the form of means and frequencies constitute

the bulk of the results. A limited amount of inferential statistics was used due to unrepresentative sampling of the student population.

Likert scale items were assigned a numerical value (*Strongly Disagree=1, Disagree a little=2, Neither agree nor disagree=3, Agree a little=4, Strongly agree=5*) and mean values were calculated for each such item. Means were used to analyse the students' opinions and compare them to those of the other participant categories. Other statistics included frequencies for the "tick all that apply" items, e.g. regarding the students' L1 usage, while cross tabulations were used to find relationship and interaction between variables.

3.7.2 Teacher interviews.

Interview transcripts were coded and analysed using QSR International NVivo 11 software. Several types of coding were chosen. First, Descriptive Coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 74; Saldaña, 2013, p. 87) was applied to identify topics in data passages. As an initial approach to data, this type of coding develops the basic vocabulary of the study (Turner, 1994, p. 199) and lays the foundation for further analysis.

Secondly, Versus Coding (Altrichter, Posch, & Somekh, 2008; Wolcott, 2003) was applied to the sections of data that revealed recurrent comparisons, such as between the students' perceived attitudes to and their adherence to the EOP; or between students and teachers-as-policy-enforcers. This type of coding is frequently used in critical studies addressing power imbalance, as well as individuals, groups or systems in conflict (Saldaña, 2013, p. 105). In addition, passages that expressed direct or indirect evaluation of the EOP and its impact were coded as positive vs. negative, supplemented by Magnitude Coding symbols (e.g. + Positive; ++ Strongly Positive) depending on the intensity of evaluation (Miles et al., 2014, p. 80). This helped gauge the overall as well as individuals' sentiment towards the policy.

Finally, In Vivo Coding, or participants' own words as codes, was used to capture the teachers' accounts of implementing the EOP and their attitudes to students' L1 use. This technique preserves the meaning participants ascribe to their views and uncovers shorthand terms that reflect a group's perspective and cultural categories (Charmaz, 2014). Such insider terms, metaphors and symbols of In Vivo codes contribute to rich category, theme and concept development (Saldaña, 2013, p. 94).

The coding methods each offered a different perspective on the data and, in combination, enabled thorough and multi-dimensional data analysis that informed the subsequent

development of more abstract categories and overarching themes of the study in answer to the research questions.

3.7.3 Academic management survey.

Similar coding procedures were applied to the managers' written responses to RQ3. Descriptive codes were generated and compared to the topics and categories from the teacher interviews data. Positive and negative Magnitude Coding was applied to the passages containing evaluation of the EOP and its impact. The topics from the first round of coding were further condensed into categories and themes. At this stage, analytic memos were crucial in comparing the perspectives of different participant groups on common issues.

3.8 Ethical Issues

The study was reviewed by Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee and adhered to the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). As the study was conducted in the researcher's place of employment, particular attention was paid to the issue of perceived coercion. Access to the participants was sought from senior management, and potential participants were not approached directly by the researcher. The voluntary nature of participation was clearly outlined to those who agreed to take part, as per Participant Information and Consent Forms (Appendix F). The identity of the Centre and the participants was protected throughout the study. Student respondents remained anonymous, unless they chose to be contacted regarding a pilot interview. Any reference to students is by participant number only. Teachers' names have been changed, and any identifying information removed from the interview transcripts. Similarly, academic managers' responses are anonymous, identified by participant number only.

This chapter has summarised the theoretical and methodological approach of the study, its design as well as data collection and analysis procedures. The following chapter will report the study findings.

Chapter 4. Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the qualitative and quantitative study findings based on the research questions. Additional findings not originally envisaged by the research questions are also presented.

4.2 Global Impact of the EOP on the Centre

In order to provide context to the specific study findings related to the impact of the EOP on the teachers and the students, it is necessary to outline the overall view of the policy at ELC. Both the teachers and the school administrators viewed the EOP as essential to maintaining the Centre's reputation as a high-quality ELICOS institution. One response from the academic management started and concluded with the description of the Centre as "a highly reputable" and "one of the best" ELICOS providers in Sydney (M3[6]), which is a possible early indication of the importance attributed to the policy. Similarly, the teachers mentioned ELC's unique approach to teaching and language use.

> I know that in Korea they call our school 'Spartan' because we are apparently famous for being tough, for enforcing English, for encouraging people to study and we've got the disciplinary action for that, and a lot of Koreans do choose our school because of that (Anna, 1.1[7]).

> I've worked in other schools and I haven't seen anything of this kind of policy being implemented so strongly and it's good, it's really good […] and the school really promotes this policy very strongly so it's pretty unique (Zara, 3.1).

In general, both managers and teachers expected the students to be well aware of the EOP, its scope, and in particular, restrictions on other languages while in ELC. Both participant groups spoke about the physical visibility of the policy displayed on posters around the building as well as continuous reminders to students to speak English only. Overall, the EOP

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[6] Academic managers' responses are referenced as M1, M2, M3.
[7] Teachers' responses are referenced by pseudonym and the interview number

was perceived as an instrument designed to expedite English learning, and justifications for the exclusion of other languages tended to emphasise the benefits for students.

> They are reminded that they are sacrificing a lot to be here and should use every opportunity to speak English (M3).

> [The English-only policy] can only be beneficial for getting them ready and up and running for life in a country that speaks that language (Paul, 2.1).

Despite that, many teachers highlighted the impossibility of the global and homogeneous application of the policy. When initially asked to describe the EOP in one word or phrase, the teachers referred to it as a very good idea (Zara, 3.1), useful (Maria, 3.1), motivational (Nick, 1.1), and holistic (Anna, 1.1), but also elusive (Stewart, 1.1), utopian (Paul, 2.1), mixed (Catherine, 1.1) and ideal (Hannah, 2.1). In particular, as described below, the interviewees mentioned the difficulties in implementing the policy evenly and consistently across student proficiency levels and throughout the ELC premises.

The following sections present the study findings related to the research questions concerned with the impact of the EOP on the students and teachers. These should be considered in the light of the above context, namely: the Centre's reputation as a reputable ELICOS provider known for its strict language policy (CENTRE REPUTATION[8]); the overarching belief that the EOP throughout the Centre is beneficial for English learning (LANGUAGE LEARNING); and simultaneously, the practicalities of implementing the policy consistently in the everyday running of the institution (IDEALS VS. REALITY).

4.3 Students' Views on the EOP Impact on Them (RQ1)

Responses to the research question about the EOP impact on the students were mainly quantitative. Some participants answered the optional open-ended questionnaire items, which constituted the data analysed qualitatively.

4.3.1 Quantitative findings.

On a scale from 1 to 10, the student respondents gave the English-only policy a mean rating of 8.8. The majority of responses (85%) attributed for the ranking values of 8, 9 and 10. A

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[8] The codes used to capture categories and themes within data are represented in SMALL CAPITALS and are listed in Appendix G.

one-way between-groups analysis of variance to explore the impact of gender on the EOP rating showed no statistically significant difference: $F(1, 65) = .02$, $p = .90$.
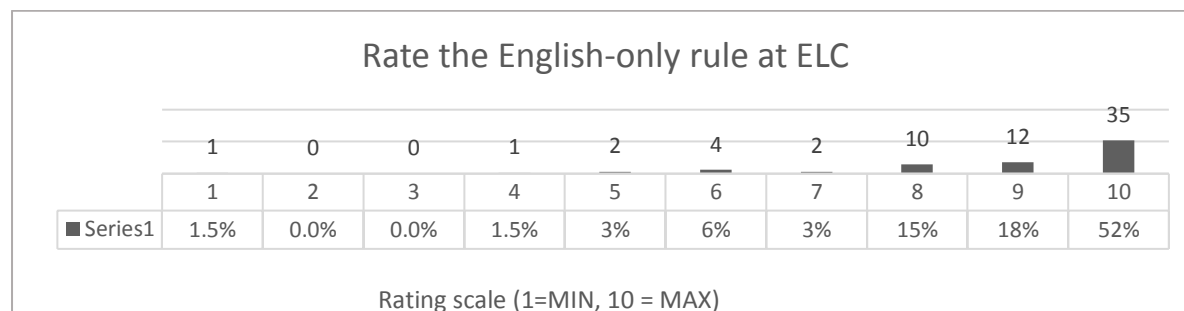
Rate the English-only rule at ELC									
1	0	0	1	2	4	2	10	12	35
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
■Series1 1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	3%	6%	3%	15%	18%	52%

Rating scale (1=MIN, 10 = MAX)

Table 8. Breakdown of the policy rating by students.

Just over half of the students (*n*=35; 52%) had previously received a reward card for speaking English, while seven students (10%) had received a penalty for using other languages.

		What is your opinion about the English-only rule in ELC? 1=IT'S A VERY BAD IDEA 10 =IT'S A VERY GOOD IDEA								Total
Rating		**1**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	
Have you ever got a reward card for speaking English?	Yes	0	0	0	3	2	6	6	18	**35**
	No	1	1	2	1	0	4	6	17	**32**
Total responses		**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**10**	**12**	**35**	**67**
Have you ever got a penalty for speaking your own language?	Yes	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	3	**7**
	No	1	1	1	4	1	8	12	32	**60**
Total responses		**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**10**	**12**	**35**	**67**

*Table 9. Crosstabulation Q9/10*Q11.*
Have you ever got a reward card/a penalty in ELC? What is your opinion about the English-only rule in ELC?*

The students believed the English-only rule was important for English LANGUAGE LEARNING (*M*=4.48 on a five-point Likert scale[9]) and that it contributed to their MOTIVATION to learn (*M*=4.06). The policy was also seen to encourage international FRIENDSHIPS (*M*=4.39) and prepare students for using English outside the Centre (*M*= 4.30). The overall policy rating, in combination with high mean values of student attitudes to the EOP, reflect the importance attributed to the policy and the beliefs about its utility for learning. Tables 10 and 11 present

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[9] 1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree a little, 3=Neither agree nor disagree, 4=Agree a little, 5=Strongly agree

the summary of answers to questions related to EOP and its implementation. Detailed data from the student questionnaire can be found in Appendix H.

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 Strongly disagree – 5 Strongly agree)	Mean	"Agree a little" + "Strongly Agree"
The English-only rule is important for learning English successfully	4.48	90%
The English-only rule increases my motivation to learn English	4.06	79%
When I first started at ELC, it was difficult to speak only English	3.37	54%
The English-only rule helps me learn English in class	4.33	87%
The English-only rule helps me practice English when not in class	4.24	81%
The English-only rule helps me make friends from other countries	4.39	87%
The English-only rule prepares me for using English outside ELC	4.30	81%

Table 10. Mean values of students' beliefs about the EOP.

Items related to the actual POLICY IMPLEMENTATION did not demonstrate a similar unequivocal support for the EOP. Although the students preferred the teachers to be strict about the policy in class (M=4.03), they appeared less certain about the possibility of learning English without referring to their own language (M=3.61). They were also undecided about speaking their own language(s) outside of class times (M=2.91), in contradiction with the official restrictions on any languages other than English. However, being told not to speak their language(s) did not seem to cause discomfort to students (M=2.43). Interestingly, the majority of respondents agreed or agreed strongly that they would like to achieve a native-like level of English proficiency (M=4.51), which might explain the relatively low value attributed to their first language(s) use while in Australia (M=2.82).

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 Strongly disagree – 5 Strongly agree)	Mean	"Agree a little" + "Strongly Agree"
Teachers must be strict about the English-only rule in class	4.03	73%
I can learn English without using my own language	3.61	63%
It should be ok to use my language during break time	2.91	34%*
I feel stressed when someone tells me not to use my L1 in ELC	2.43	27%
I encourage other students to speak only English	3.78	61%
I want to learn to speak English like a native speaker	4.51	88%
I want to use my language while I'm in Australia	2.82	31%
I speak only English at ELC so I don't get in trouble	3.75	70%

Table 11. Mean values of students' beliefs about policy implementation.

NOTE: *28% neither agree nor disagree

When asked about whether and when students use L1 in class, the majority (84%, $M=4.30$) agreed that they can follow class instructions in English. A similar percentage stated it is easy to communicate in English with their teacher (81%, $M=4.16$) and other students (84%, $M=4.13$). Just over one third of the students (37%) believed they did not need L1 in class, while others mentioned when it might be required (Table 12).

It should be ok to use my language in class when...	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
I don't understand the task	13	19%
I don't know some new words or phrases	24	36%
I need help from other students	11	16%
I want to compare English to my L1	17	25%
I don't need my own language in class	25	37%
Other (Please specify)*	1	1.5%
*I think that depends on your English level, if you're a beginner it's much easier use your own language and English at the same time, but when you're improving your English level you don't need [L1] neither in the school nor job (P6, B2, Colombia).[10]		

Table 12 Students' responses to Q14. "It should be ok to use my language in class when..."

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[10] Participants' wording has been preserved.

4.3.2 Qualitative findings.

Whereas the quantitative results are mainly an indication of students' beliefs about the policy, the answers to the open-ended items in the questionnaire recount their actual experience with it. Despite the limitations of the instrument discussed in section 6.3, the analysis of qualitative findings overall tended to corroborate responses to the closed-ended items. Those who completed the open-ended questions, linked the EOP to LANGUAGE LEARNING and increased COMMUNICATION opportunities.

> I agree with the English-only rule at the school because we come from other countries just to learn how communicate in English, and this rule is essential to achieve that (P61, B2, Colombia[11]).

> I strongly agree with Only English rule in the Centre. The reason why I came here is to study English so I need to speak English wherever I go (P53, B2, Korea).

> I like this idea because it makes it easier to communicate with people from other countries that have the same goal as me, which is to learn English and it's a really good way to make friends (P62, B1, Mexico).

Similarly, the EOP was perceived as a contributing factor in creating a student community "without language exclusions" (P31, B1, Brazil), whose members encouraged each other to speak English as a common language.

> I have a Colombian classmate and when I ask him something, he tries to tell me the meaning in Spanish and I always tell him, "Just English, please" (P44, B2, Colombia).

The open-ended questionnaire items were also more revealing of the emotional and psychological impact on students, especially in cases of indiscriminate POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.

> I was crying and talking to my mother because I have received a bad news from my country. I was in an empty room, but it wasn't the specific space that I am allowed to speak in my language. […] A teacher saw me and she was very rude and made me go to the correct room (P67, B2, Brazil, EOP rating 5.0).

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[11] Students' responses are referenced by participant number, CEFR proficiency level and country of origin

Similarly, strict adherence to the language policy at times resulted in communication breakdown for lower level students, while fellow students were hesitant to offer assistance in their common language due to the threat of a penalty for doing so.

> When I had a meeting for university pathway students after class, one Korean guy came in who has poor English skills and he couldn't understand what teacher said. I could help him in Korean but I wasn't allowed to speak my own language at that time (P9, B2, Korea).[12]

In contrast with the prevailing belief about English-only and communication opportunities, one respondent claimed that strict policy implementation can in fact prevent some students from establishing friendships (P42, B2, Brazil), presumably with students of the same language. Another student suggested softening the penalty system by assigning extra homework prior to delivering an official warning to those not speaking exclusively English (P35, B2, Brazil).

All student responses to open-ended questionnaire items can be seen in Appendix I.

4.3.3 Summary.

Student questionnaire responses demonstrated the duality of beliefs about the EOP and its impact. On the one hand, the students linked exclusive use of English to enhanced language learning, increased motivation and opportunities for communication. The high rating of the policy indicated the predominantly positive view of its utility in the English-learning setting. However, first-hand accounts of experiences with the policy revealed occasional negative views of its impact, as well as criticism of policy implementation.

4.4 Teachers' Perceptions of the EOP Impact on Students (RQ2)

Unlike the academic managers, who adopted a primarily theoretical view of ELC's language policy, the teachers interviewed during the study focused mainly on the realities of policy implementation both in class and outside class times. While agreeing in principle on the benefits of the EOP for language learning, they were also observant of the emotional and psychological impact of the policy on the students. Some teachers expressed strong support

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[12] A startling example of policy adherence was given during a teacher interview (3.2). When a student experienced a medical episode in class, another student felt compelled to ask the teacher's permission to offer help in Portuguese.

for the policy (e.g. Zara, Anna, Paul), while others were less certain about its unequivocal suitability for all students (e.g. Stewart, Hannah).

4.4.1 EOP and language learning.

Similarly to other categories of respondents, when asked about the possible impact of the English-only policy on the students at the Centre, the teachers tended to first mention its role as a catalyst in English LANGUAGE LEARNING. Common themes included improved fluency and pronunciation, opportunities for listening practice and expanding vocabulary through regular communication in English. These opinions are consistent with ELC's justification for the policy, as well as with its marketing as a unique feature of the institution.

> I think that students that speak only English improve at a faster rate compared to students that don't. And I think you can see that because you can really notice when your students are speaking English in the breaks and after school, and they're chatting together in the classrooms, compared to the others that just rush off […] (Maria, 3.1).

Paul, who teaches higher-proficiency classes (CEFR B2, C1, C2), believed the overwhelming majority of his students "get stuck in and get involved with" the English-only rule and find it useful in class (Paul, 2.1). Stewart, however, critically evaluated the assumed connection between the EOP and language learning.

> Students who love [the policy], are they actually improving within English? The students that break it, are they hindering their English? If there was a way to see the actual – it's impossible (Stewart, 1.1).

Teachers' perceptions of the usefulness of the policy appeared to stem from their beliefs regarding language, as well as their own experience of studying a language. For instance, those who had experienced a language immersion setting earlier in life expressed positive opinions about the increased exposure to English via the EOP (namely Zara, Anna, Amelia).

> I believe in the policy, and when I was growing up and the school that I went to, we were always encouraged to speak in English and it works, this thing works. So if I didn't believe in it, then I wouldn't have been so – promoting it so strongly (Zara, 3.1).

As a teenager, Amelia had attended an English-only language camp, and she attributed that experience to her improved language abilities:

> Before that I had a few hours of English here and there at primary school but it didn't work for me until I went to the special place when teachers kept telling us, "Speak English now, five push-ups punishment" (Amelia, 3.2).

Similarly, Anna believed that her love of English was instilled by an immersion-type setting with native-speaker teachers where even beginners were encouraged to communicate exclusively in English.

4.4.2 Psychological impact and motivation.

Another common theme was the EMOTIONAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT of the policy on the students. Across the interviews, teachers mentioned how coping with the English-only rule might cause the feeling of FRUSTRATION among the lower-proficiency students at the inability to express themselves (Zara, 3.1, Catherine, 2.1, Maria, 3.1, Hannah, 3.2, Amelia, 3.2). Being subject to a disciplinary action for not adhering to the policy could cause the students to feel embarrassed (Amelia, 3.2, Maria, 3.2, Hannah, 3.2), patronised (Stewart, 1.1) or infantilised (Maria, Zara, 3.1)

MOTIVATION was at times perceived as related to the students' emotional states. On the one hand, the increased motivation to speak English was attributed to the embarrassment of "being caught in the act" of speaking another language (Hannah, Amelia, 3.2). At the same time, students with a strong motivation to speak English had expressed frustration at themselves for having to resort to L1 (Hannah, 3.2). On the contrary, inconsiderate application of the policy was seen as a potential source of resentment towards the policy (Michelle, 2.2), leading again to frustration and demotivation (Anna, 1.2).

Some teachers were perceptive of the difficulties students may face when moving to a new country, securing a job and having to speak a different language. Stewart and Nick (1.1), for example, compared US-based German language learners who might enjoy the challenge of TL-only to the English students at ELC:

> In Australia the situation is they wake up at 5am and work as cleaners and are away from their family. I don't think that they're exactly the same (Stewart, 1.1).

There was, therefore, a considerable degree of sympathy on the part of the teachers towards the students.

> Imagine how difficult it must be for them to communicate knowing, "Oh we will be punished if we're using…" So I can't imagine what must be going through their mind, it must be really very, very difficult (Zara, 3.2, reviewing student questionnaire responses).

Other teachers encouraged their students to speak English by using humour (Nick), by reminding them about the benefits of the policy (Hannah, Zara), by sharing stories of their own English learning success (Amelia, Zara) or by discussing their own experiences as bi-/multilingual speakers (Amelia).

> So I told them a few times that this translation, this process, if you're not a native speaker […], it never stops, so don't worry about it. And this helps them so much because it just opens their eyes and they say, "Okay, my teacher has to translate in her head as well" (Amelia, 3.2).

4.4.3 Communication opportunities.

Teachers were generally positive about the increased COMMUNICATION opportunities for students resulting from the policy. Many believed the EOP helped students establish FRIENDSHIPS with peers from other countries (Nick, 1.1, Maria, 3.1, Hannah, 3.2, Zara, 3.1), as well as, speculatively, with native speakers of English outside ELC (Nick, 1.1, Michelle, 2.2).

> So even in their breaks they – you can see they don't rush off to their same little friend from – I don't know, the same friend from their same country but they tend to stay with their friends from the class who are from a lot of different countries (Maria, 3.1).

In addition, having a language in common was believed to contribute to a sense of COMMUNITY in class (Nick, 1.1, Maria, 3.1, Zara, 3.1). This is similar to a student's belief that the EOP eliminates language barriers (P31, B1, Brazil). Teachers also reported using certain tactics to encourage communication in English, including using mixed-language pairs for classroom tasks, as well as arranging seating to separate same-language groups (Anna, 1.2, Hannah 2.1).

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They are sometimes put out of their comfort zone, they wouldn't approach a student from a completely different background very often, right? And then suddenly it worked, it turned out that they are nice to each other, they speak in English, they can communicate (Anna, 1.2).

Friendships among the speakers of the same L1 were rarely mentioned during teacher interviews, perhaps because they do not, in teachers' opinion, provide increased opportunities for English practice. In fact, several teachers referred to same-language groups in a somewhat demeaning manner.

[In another school] there's no such policy, so there's always people grouping by first language which creates, sort of, little cliques, and they never get that sort of connection. So English is something you do for a short time when the teacher's there, and then you go back to your native thing, even though we're here in Australia and they should be doing the full immersion (Nick, 1.1).

But as a general thing I like the idea that [the policy is] trying to instil – like it could avoid cliques, you know, people gathering in their own nationality and speaking… (Catherine, 2.1).

Others [..] just rush off or go back straight to their little group of – little – oh I say 'little' but they only hang out with friends from their country, and you know that as soon as they leave the building, as soon as they leave the classroom, they'll try to speak their language so you have to keep an eye on them (Maria, 3.1).

Overall, a higher value was ascribed by the teachers to communication in English as opposed to other languages, as well as to friendships made on the basis of English as a *lingua franca*. The view of the students unwilling or unable to follow the EOP consistently as immature and in need of monitoring contrasted with students' own views on establishing new relationships, as mentioned in section 4.4.2. Among the teachers, Stewart was again the voice of dissent on this matter, "I think the idea of speak English, make friends – I'm not saying it's negative, I just think it's [an] ideal" (Stewart, 1.2).

4.4.4 Students' agency in following the policy.

If the ability to consciously use only English was viewed as a sign of maturity on the part of the learners, then it is unsurprising that some teachers tended to focus on the STUDENTS' AGENCY and their own responsibility for following the officially prescribed policy.

> I'm sure they have been told before they come to the school, I'm assuming, that okay, this is a school that really promotes this policy so it's a very good initiative and it's going to help you better your language skill (Zara, 3.1).

> If we don't remind them constantly then they will keep on doing what they're not supposed to be doing […] They know what they're getting into and they should understand the value of it; that it works, it has a positive side, yes (Zara 3.2).

Similarly, Nick (1.1) thought the students should not feel surprised if they are disciplined for not following ELC's language policy. However, some teachers noted that students may not be as aware of the EOP as generally believed.

> I would say to them, "Oh but you know, the rule was given to you at orientation or when you came here, and you signed the contract, you got the rules." And they said to me, "Teacher, I just sign, don't understand, sign." They have no clue apparently (Hannah, 3.2).

Likewise, Stewart (1.1) drew on the example of a newly-enrolled Brazilian student whose level of English was so low that the policy had to be explained to him in Portuguese. Nick sought to explain the students' non-adherence to it in terms other than merely a lack of volition. He drew an analogy between breaking the English-only rule and the more commonplace transgressions.

> People break the [road] rules and then you go, "Oh, it's frustrating." […] But human nature is that people will break the rules for various reasons (Nick, 1.2).

> It sort of like saying I know that I have to exercise more and eat less; I don't follow. It's a human nature thing, isn't it? We try but we often fail to follow through (Nick, 1.2).

It appears, therefore, that treating students as customers, as opposed to language learners with individual needs, at times resulted in contractual obligations that had not been

negotiated and fully understood. The responsibility for compliance with externally-imposed rules took precedence over students' agency in decisions regarding their learning.

4.4.5 Impact on students of lower proficiency levels.

Although students of proficiency level below CEFR B1 (Intermediate) were excluded from the study, the teachers repeatedly argued that this student population may be more negatively affected by the policy than their more proficient counterparts. In terms of psychological impact, LOWER-LEVEL STUDENTS were presumed to lack the ability to communicate effectively in English and as a result feel "dumb" (Hannah, 2.1) or frustrated at not being able to express their emotions (Anna, 1.1). These views were similar to those held by the ELC administration, who suggested students might feel isolated due to communication breakdown (M1, M3). Stewart (1.1) believed that lower-proficiency students may experience a loss of their personality that "makes sense in another language", while others perceived them to be more in need of reverting back to L1 after class as a means of de-stressing (Nick, 1.1, Maria 3.1, Hannah, 3.2). These opinions seem compatible with the students' appreciation for L1 communication, especially for establishing new social circles in Australia. Paul also noted that adult beginners may feel particularly disadvantaged in an English-only classroom.

> When you're an adult in – perhaps in charge of your own business, you got a family – and you're being forced to spend your day talking about your favourite colour, it's inhumane, it's not right (Paul, 2.1).

Many teachers reported making situation-specific allowances in relation to policy implementation, such as ignoring isolated instances of translation and concentrating on "the bigger issues of speaking English only" (Nick, 1.2) in lower-level classes.

4.4.6 Summary.

Similarly to other respondents, the teachers interviewed in the study believed in the benefits of the EOP for students in terms of enhanced language learning, motivation, and communication opportunities. Unlike the academic managers, the teachers were more aware of the impact of the everyday policy implementation, including emotional and psychological consequences for the students, with lower proficiency especially affected. Yet, some

teachers emphasised the official nature of the policy and demonstrated expectations of students' compliance with it.

4.5 Academic Leadership's Perceptions of the EOP Impact on Students (RQ3)

The findings in this section are based on the opinions of three respondents, or half of the originally targeted population. They are not representative of ELC's entire academic management, but they do provide valuable insights into the group's beliefs in the context of the study, as well as material for subsequent in-depth exploration.

The management respondents were aware of both the advantages and disadvantages of the EOP. However, they described its impact on students in primarily positive terms. Similarly to the students and teachers, two respondents stressed the importance of speaking English only for LANGUAGE LEARNING. They saw it as a means for students to practice new vocabulary and listening skills, and stressed the opportunities for peer-to-peer learning (M1, M3). The policy was also believed to foster a sense of COMMUNITY and inclusiveness for students of various nationalities (M1).

On the other hand, the respondents mentioned potential negative emotional impact of the policy, including isolation and FRUSTRATION of the LOWER-LEVEL STUDENTS due to inability to communicate effectively in English (M1, M3). One manager's response aptly summarises the students' attitude to the policy, "They feel it's important in theory but struggle with it in practice" (M2). The contradiction of IDEALS VS. REALITY was also a recurring theme in the teacher interviews when the attitudes to the policy and its implementation were discussed.

The formal perspective of the academic leadership is evident in the reference to the official aspects of POLICY IMPLEMENTATION and its relevance to the students.

> During their orientation, they are provided with a contract in which the policy has been clearly outlined, inclusive of the suspension periods, or alternatively, the reward system. They are also explicitly told (verbally) that they will be breaking their study contracts should they choose to speak in their own language (M3).

Such distancing from the personal and everyday aspects of policy implementation may be the result of a higher-order vision that the administration adopt as part of their leadership role. Therefore, both ELC as a commercial entity and the students as fee-paying customers are expected to fulfil their contractual obligations. Not all management respondents are

involved in day-to-day teaching, therefore they may have a more idealistic and 'by the book' view of the policy. This perspective was in contrast to some teachers' position on EOP implementation, which was at times tailored to the situation-specific requirements of the classroom and students.

4.6 Teachers' Views on the EOP Impact on Them (RQ4)

One research question (RQ4) sought to explore how the EOP impacts the ELICOS teachers at the Centre. Teachers' own views on this matter were collected during group interviews.

4.6.1 Part of the job.

Some teachers tended to view the demands of the policy implementation as an integral part of their job, sometimes coupled with the belief in EOP utility for the students. For Zara, who strongly believes in the benefits of the policy for the students, the latter's negative reactions towards it were "something to deal with" (Zara, 3.1). Paul admitted not feeling good about issuing penalties to those not speaking English only, but stated it was necessary in order to maintain students' awareness of the policy, "It's not fun but some of us need to do it" (Paul, 2.1).

Other teachers noted the additional pressure the EOP put on them, and in particular, time constraints in monitoring students' compliance during short breaks (Stewart 1.1, Anna 1.1, Nick, 1.1, Hannah, 2.1, Maria, 3.2). A related concern was that the requirements of implementing the policy might detract from the teachers' primary role.

> I think certainly the English only policy should absolutely not become the main focus of our jobs, no. It's a by-line, it's an extra, it's something if we have time. It should not be the be-all and the end-all of this position (Paul, 2.1).

Speaking about the ways the policy is communicated to the students at the Centre, Catherine was concerned about any additional means of doing so, "I think if we do a lot more than what we are doing now it just – that becomes your job, policing instead of teaching almost" (Catherine, 2.1).

Some teachers expressed feelings of professional insecurity and dissatisfaction in the instances when the use of other languages is unavoidable. Nick, who does not have extensive teaching experience, admitted to wondering whether he is failing as a teacher when unable

to provide an explanation in English (Nick, 1.1). Zara, in turn, noted her dissatisfaction with the limited options in getting her message across to the students.

> I mean it's frustrating sometimes, and I feel bad that I've tried everything and still I just cannot make him understand, and I don't have any options like translation or like asking friends or whatever. (Zara, 3.2)

Overall, ELC's language policy tended to be viewed by the teachers as a professional requirement, which at times was perceived to detract from their primary job of teaching.

4.6.2 Professional vs social identity.

Further exploration revealed a degree of confusion among teachers when implementing the policy either in class or on campus outside class times. Many, although not all, noted the contrast between their teacher-in-class and teacher-outside-class role. The former is a confident disciplinarian within the confines of his/her classroom, with few reservations about exercising authority. The latter is a polite, at times insecure, member of the community guided primarily by the social rules and conventions.

When asked about implementing the EOP in class, teachers reported feeling "perfectly comfortable" (Stewart, 1.1) and "generally ok" (Catherine, 2.1) doing so; and for Paul it was "super easy" (Paul, 1.2) to maintain English-only. In contrast, when monitoring student language use outside class times, teachers appeared less confident about how to proceed. Some stated they felt "unbelievably uncomfortable" (Stewart, 1.1) or "a bit weird loitering" trying to catch extracts of conversation (Catherine, 2.1). Others felt surprised (Zara, 3.1) or intimidated (Maria, 3.1) by students' negative reaction to warnings or reminders to speak English. For some, considerations of social politeness outweighed the prescribed requirements of the job. Hannah, for instance, claimed she would not interrupt a student's phone call, even if it was conducted in a language other than English (2.1, 3,2). To Stewart, who had once disturbed a phone conversation between a mother and a daughter in Mongolian, doing so "just felt wrong" (1.1). He also repeatedly contrasted his feeling of control in the classroom with being at a loss when required to follow disciplinary procedures at other times.

> Strictness in break time is the area where it all falls apart in my opinion, and I think everyone's asking a lot from teachers to be both helpful, friends, disciplinarians, name-takers… (Stewart, 2.1).

The degree of assertiveness in implementing the policy appeared to depend on the teacher's personality and beliefs. Some seemed to avoid confrontation in general (Nick), others were consistently confident in implementing the EOP (Paul). For Anna, students' financial expenses and customer expectations were an important consideration that offset her own insecurity about policy implementation.

> And I felt uncomfortable, but on the other hand, I haven't […] There's always somebody in the class who would say. "Why are all those people speaking in Portuguese? I paid here to be speaking English all the time" (Anna 1.1).

Overall, however, the strict nature of the policy did not translate into clear teacher strategies for its fair, consistent and Centre-wide application.

4.6.3 A sense of resignation.

Several teachers commented on the ineffectiveness of the POLICY IMPLEMENTATION within ELC, despite their regular efforts. This reflected the above-mentioned mismatch between the expectations of the EOP and the extent of its impact in reality.

For instance, among the perceived effects of the policy, as mentioned in section 4.5.3, are the increased opportunities for COMMUNICATION in English among students from different countries and of various proficiency levels. In reality, according to Stewart, out-of-class additional language practice does not always materialise among students of significantly different English abilities.

> It's just not going to be a conversation that I think is very beneficial for anyone. And more than that, I think it's slightly unrealistic to expect that to actually occur out there instead of what does usually occur, which is just teachers walking around going "Hey, speak English, hey, speak English, hey, speak English, hey, speak English" (Stewart, 1.1).

For Amelia, a reactive approach to policy implementation also appeared to be the issue in trying to achieve the goal of English being the only language at ELC.

> [The students] just refuse, and they become really upset and angry with you when you ask them not to speak their native language. Maybe it's an overgeneralisation

but I don't think it will change with the evening [students]. 'Cause I've tried so many times, it does nothing to them like seriously, nothing. They don't care (Amelia, 3.2).

In other cases, the student-as-customer entitlements were perceived as more important than the Centre's language agenda. In reaction to a student's suggestion to penalise first-time policy offenders with additional homework instead of an official warning, Hanna pointed out:

Most of them are adults, like 18 and above, so you can't really enforce that? They are paying a lot of money to be here, so they could just say, "Well no, I am not doing it" (Hannah, 3.2).

At the same time, teachers' beliefs regarding language learning contributed to their reasoning as to why the policy may be ineffective.

Sometimes, doesn't matter how many times you tell them, they'll still go back to translating. Just some people just like to do that. (Catherine, 2.1)

Some teachers, therefore, reported reactive ways of monitoring policy compliance, a lack of motivation in doing so, as well as a degree of RESIGNATION from achieving a fair, effective and functioning EOP as originally intended.

4.6.4 Summary.

Overall, the teachers viewed EOP implementation as an integral part of their professional activity. Some believed it put additional demands on them in terms of time and limited instruction methods. Whereas the majority of teachers were confident about upholding the policy in class, some displayed uneasiness at the requirement to monitor students' compliance with the policy during breaks. A minority of respondents felt pessimistic about sustaining the English-only environment at ELC.

4.7 Impact on Teachers and Students: Metaphors of Policing

The language used by the teachers when discussing their ways of upholding the EOP deserves further scrutiny. Although not a direct answer to the original research questions (RQ2, RQ4), it provides invaluable insight into how the teachers perceive their role in POLICY IMPLEMENTATION and what effect it might, in turn, have on the students.

Some teachers appeared to view the task of promoting the EOP and administering associated REWARDS AND PENALTIES as a type of law enforcement activity. This is evident in passages across all interviews where the teachers talk about "patrolling" the premises and "catching" students who don't "comply" with the English-only rule and try to "get away with" using L1. Others spoke about "pushing" students to speak English by constantly "reminding" them about it and "checking" that no other languages are used in class. The role of surveillance in implementing the policy is evident in the following interview extracts (emphasis added).

> You know that as soon as they leave the building, as soon as they leave the classroom, they'll try to speak their language, so you have to *keep an eye on them* (Maria, 3.1).

> If it's a higher level speaking with a lower level, then you try and speak to the higher level student and say, "Come on, help your friend." But if it's higher level speaking with each other […], then you can *crack down on that* a little bit more (Paul, 2.1).

> I suppose it's not always easy to *catch* every single student that's not speaking English because of how big the school is and you can't always be *patrolling* (Maria, 3.1)

> I also think management needs to get involved more and *patrol*. And walk around during break time and *show a little bit of authority* in respect to this policy. (Michelle, 2.2)

The most frequent METAPHORS OF POLICING are presented in Table 4, which shows how often and in how many interviews they appeared.

Word and derivatives	Number of interviews	Frequency count
Enforce, enforcing, enforcement	6	28
Forced, to force, forcing	6	26
Catch, catching, caught	4	17
Police, to police, policing	3	11
Patrol, to patrol, patrolling	3	10
Comply	2	8
Conform	1	6
Carrot, stick	1	4

Table 13. Metaphors of policing in teacher interviews.

The above metaphors may be an example of a wider organisational discourse, and are not necessarily a reflection of teachers' individual attitudes to policy implementation. It was clear that not all respondents felt comfortable with such policy application. However, those expressing their disapproval resorted to similar language. For example, Nick admits that outside the classroom, he is "not going to be actively *hunting people down*" and "not going to *drag people away*" to the management office to receive a penalty (Nick, 1.2, emphasis added). Similarly, Hannah questions the applicability of the policy to the lower-level students, "How can elementary students really *comply* with it? There's no chance." (Hannah, 3.2, emphasis added).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the study findings, in particular, the view of the EOP and its impact on the educational process and its participants from various perspectives. The following chapter summarises the main findings and relates them to the existing research.

Chapter 5. Discussion

This chapter summarises the main findings of the study and discusses them in the light of existing literature on the topic of L1 use in additional language instruction.

5.1 Summary of Main Findings

The study achieved its aim of exploring, from a variety of stakeholder perspectives, how an EOP impacts teachers and students in a private ELICOS college. The following sections summarise the main findings of the study.

5.1.1 Research question 1.

In what ways do the English students at ELC believe the EOP impacts them?

Overall, the students credited the EOP with a high rating of 8.8 on a maximum 10-point scale, which may indicate their positive evaluation of the policy and its goals. Other quantitative findings revealed a perceived association between the EOP and successful language learning. The majority of the students also believed that the policy helps them practice English both during and after class, while increasing their motivation to learn. Similarly, the students tended to see the policy as a good preparation for life in an English-speaking country, as well as a means to establish an international social circle in Australia.

Although the majority of the students saw native-like proficiency as one of their language learning goals, fewer agreed that they were able to learn English successfully without referring to their mother tongue. Participants also agreed on average that strict implementation of the EOP is required in class, and slightly fewer reported encouraging others to speak only English at ELC. At the same time, the students were less certain about the obligation to speak English beyond class times, despite the official policy. Such findings point to the students' indecisiveness about the value of their own languages in comparison to the strongly-promoted English language. They may also show a conflict between contractual obligations of course enrolment and the students' own beliefs about and preferences regarding language use.

Qualitative findings, although limited, revealed a more nuanced impact of the EOP implementation on the students. Similarly to the quantitative results, responses to the open-ended questionnaire items tended to emphasise the importance of the EOP for English

learning. Increased opportunities for communication and establishing interpersonal relationships were also noted. Crucially, the importance of forming same-language friendships was perceived by some as important as international relationships based on English as a common language. Discussions of policy implementation at ELC uncovered missed opportunities for collaborative learning using L1, as well as mutual linguistic support among students. Strong emotional impact of uncritical policy implementation by the staff was also mentioned.

5.1.2 Research question 2.

How do the teachers at ELC perceive the impact of the EOP on the students?

The teachers expressed perceptions regarding the link between the EOP and enhanced language learning that were comparable to students' responses. However, they were more specific in detailing the advantages of increased exposure to English, including aural and oral practice, vocabulary acquisition and improved fluency. Other benefits of the EOP noted by teachers included its contribution to community building and the establishment of interpersonal relationships among the students. Interestingly, cross-linguistic friendships based on English as a *lingua franca* were emphasised and encouraged, while friendships formed through the same L1 appeared less valued.

At the same time, some reservations were expressed about the positive impact of maximum TL exposure on students' language acquisition. Moreover, teachers' attitudes to the policy appeared to be based on either wider beliefs about or their personal experience of language learning. Some teachers emphasised the importance of target language immersion, while others recalled their own inter-language techniques for language learning, such as translation.

Teachers appeared well attuned to the psychological and emotional impact of the EOP on the students. On the one hand, the policy was seen as a source of frustration or embarrassment for the learners, especially in cases of communication breakdown or inconsiderate policy application. In some instances, the teachers reported offering support to the students that demonstrated a considerable degree of empathy. At the same time, the EOP was seen by the teachers as a catalyst for language learning motivation, based on either the fear of punishment or the sense of competition among the students.

In the majority, and similarly to the academic management, the teachers presumed the students to be aware of the aspects of the policy, including the associated system of rewards and penalties. As a result, a certain degree of responsibility for following the policy was expected from the students. However, their lack of compliance may not stem from a lack of agency or volition, but from other factors noted by the teachers, such as misinterpretation of the EOP due to low English proficiency, the need to quickly address non-academic issues, or the desire to de-stress after English-only classroom experiences.

Regarding the impact of daily policy implementation on students, the teachers noted the necessity to tailor its application depending on specific situational factors. In the majority, the respondents conceded the impracticality or unfeasibility of consistent and unambiguous EOP enforcement throughout ELC. Similarly to the other categories of respondents, the teachers' beliefs about the benefits and goals of the policy contrasted with the reports of its actual functioning.

5.1.3 Research question 3.

How do the ELC's academic leadership perceive the impact of the EOP on the students?

The study confirmed that the academic administrators in ELC are generally aware of the potential impact, both positive and negative, a strict language policy may have on the students. Among the possible benefits of the EOP the participants named increased learning motivation and language practice opportunities, which is comparable to the teachers' beliefs. They also viewed the single common language on campus as conducive to establishing friendships, fostering a sense of community, and mitigating the effects of isolation experienced by newcomers to Australia.

Conversely, the potential of the EOP to limit communication opportunities was noted, in particular, for students of lower English proficiency. This category of learners was perceived to be vulnerable to the feelings of isolation and frustration arising from the inability to effectively express themselves exclusively in English. Thus, the policy benefits were perceived as not equally applicable to English learners of varied degrees of language abilities.

Responses also revealed a perspective that was abstracted from the realities of daily policy implementation. Compared with the teachers, for example, the academic leaders in the study appeared less concerned with the psychological impact of the EOP on the students. One

response focused almost entirely on how the policy is communicated to students, the financial incentives of speaking only English, as well as the contribution of the EOP to the Centre's reputation as a high-quality ELICOS institution. Such top-down view of the policy may be in line with the need to provide a unique offering in the highly commodified and competitive market of English teaching (Stanley, 2017), especially considering the financial performance expectations of ELC as part of an international chain. Despite that, all respondents displayed varied degrees of awareness of the theoretical vs. actual impact of the policy on students.

5.1.4 Research question 4.

In what ways do the teachers at ELC believe the EOP impacts them?

The study investigated the impact of the EOP on the ELICOS teachers, its primary upholders at ELC. The findings can be grouped into several categories. First, some teachers viewed the policy as an integral characteristic of the Centre and its implementation as an essential part of their job. This was particularly true for those who positively evaluated the policy and its goals. Additionally, some teachers displayed a sense of duty to uphold the EOP as an institutional obligation towards the students and educational agents. Such beliefs may infer a value-laden discourse regarding the policy within the Centre, as well as its perceived importance as a unique feature of ELC. Interestingly, the teachers did not mention a common language as potentially useful for conducting their teaching duties, such as multilingual class management.

In terms of day-to-day policy implementation, however, contradictions to the above beliefs were noted. A prominent issue faced by the teachers was the requirement to enforce English-only both in class and in other parts of campus. This appeared to put psychological pressure on the teachers and cause confusion regarding their role as perceived by the students. Most respondents claimed to be at ease with teaching through English without recourse to translation, dictionary use or other L1 student practices. Teachers of the lower-level classes reported using a variety of comprehension techniques to compensate for limited instruction methods. Outside of class times, on the contrary, the majority of teachers felt uncertain about indiscriminately upholding the EOP. The social conventions appeared to take precedence over their job requirement to monitor students' language use on campus. As a result, some teachers reported feeling highly uncomfortable or guilty in certain instances of enforcing English use outside class. Many displayed empathy towards the students and admitted to

being less stringent about the policy than was expected of them. Some teachers were conscious of the wider issues of social justice and language policy, which affected their position on administering penalties to students speaking languages other than English.

Apart from the psychological impact of the EOP, some teachers reported additional demands on their schedule, such as having to balance the requirements of policy implementation and availing of the short break times. Others believed that additional measures to ensure English-only at ELC might detract them from carrying out their teaching duties efficiently. At the same time, some reports revealed a reactive and repetitive approach to policy implementation. This might be an underlying reason for the sense of resignation expressed by some teachers who felt their efforts to sustain the EOP were unsuccessful.

Overall, the ELICOS teachers interviewed agreed in principle on the benefits of upholding the EOP within the Centre. However, the requirement to implement the policy as dictated by their professional duties may have led to negative psychological and emotional impact on some teachers, as well as reduced motivation to monitor students' language use outside of class times.

5.1.5 Additional findings.

Certain findings of the study do not relate directly to the research questions above, yet complement them in insightful ways. One of such findings stems from the analysis of the language used by the teacher participants when discussing EOP implementation. Namely, metaphors of surveillance and policing were strikingly obvious in teacher interviews. Such metaphors may imply a perceived confrontation between teachers and students on the matters of language use and may contribute to the 'us vs. them' attitude among the academic staff and students (M1). Although critical discourse analysis was not the original focus of the study, the language observed may be indicative of the dynamics of student-teacher relationships affected by the requirements of the exclusive English use.

Another theme evident throughout the study was the different impact the EOP may have on students of various levels of English language proficiency. Higher-level students were considered to be better equipped to deal with the demands of the English-only rule. As a result, the full scope of the policy, including the system of rewards and penalties, was considered applicable to them. Conversely, lower-level students were reportedly granted

some concessions in terms of their L1 use because they were perceived to experience communication difficulties and stronger emotional impact associated with the EOP.

Finally, teacher and student participants both evaluated the EOP and made recommendations about its implementation. Although these findings are outside the scope of the current study, they have been included in the final report to the Centre management.

5.2 Discussion of Main Themes

The restrictive language policy at ELC is a stark example of enduring monolingual practices in ELT. To an extent, it embodies the features of 'strong' CLT methodology and interactionist approach to language teaching. Implementation of the EOP comes at the expense of existing linguistic resources of the students and is contrary to much of the contemporary research based on the premises of language interconnectedness. In line with the critical and emancipatory paradigm (Mertens, 2003), the results discussed below highlight the importance of incorporating the perspective of those most affected by research (i.e. ELC students, teachers), as well as traditionally included decision makers (i.e. ELC managers) when assessing the impact of the EOP.

5.2.1 EOP as an instance of monolingual perspective.

Despite the extensive existing research advocating multilingual methodology (Canagarajah, 2011; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007; E. Ellis, 2007; García & Li Wei, 2014; Kramsch, 2014; Levine, 2013; Macaro, 2006; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009a), the monolingual mindset persists in ELC as illustrated by the ban on virtually all L1 use potentially conducive to English learning. For instance, translation and bilingual dictionary use are perceived as redundant and strongly discouraged, contrary to the findings by Carreres (2006), Kalocsányiová (2017) and Liao (2006) that postulate translation as a useful pedagogical and learning tool. At the same time, the premises of EOP enforcement tend to ignore the fact that classroom code-switching is used for a variety of purposes, ranging from purely linguistic and administrative to social and discourse-related functions, as shown by Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2004), Ma (2016), Sampson (Sampson, 2012), Storch and Aldosari (2010) and White and Storch (2012) among others.

The tendency to isolate languages corroborates the existence of what Wilson and González Davies (2017) call 'the plurilingual student/monolingual classroom' phenomenon. There

were, as a result, neglected opportunities to use L1 for collaborative learning and TL 'scaffolding' (Thomsen, 2003). The findings also concur with Ndhlovu (2015), who claims that despite the attempts to overcome the monolingual assumptions in language education, overall beliefs about language remain unchanged, and 'ignored lingualism' persists as the default mode in the classroom. Moreover, since learners conceptualise the classroom as a community of practice (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2004), the explicit prohibition of their existing resources arguably contributes to an educational environment detached from the linguistic realities of the outside world and the modern Australian or international workplace (Macaro, 2006).

Admittedly, other factors than monolingually-oriented beliefs about language learning are potential contributors to the situation in the study. In the highly competitive ELICOS market, the EOP is viewed, firstly, as a distinctive marketing feature of the institution, and, secondly, as a means to maximise learning outcomes for fee-paying customers. The focus on fulfilling ELC's contractual obligations speaks to the increasingly commodified nature of English teaching and learning in Australia, as discussed by Stanley (2016, 2017).

5.2.2 EOP and teachers' beliefs about L1 use.

The study uncovered teachers' beliefs about L1 utility for English learning comparable with Macaro's (2001) classification of 'virtual', 'maximal' and 'optimal' L1 use. As argued in existing studies, such beliefs may stem from the teachers' own language learning experience, as well as institutional constraints (E. Ellis, 2013, 2016; Shin, 2012). In the study, the main premise of the official EOP is creating a 'virtual' English-only experience supposedly reflective of life in Australia and beneficial for English language acquisition. In reality, while admitting that some L1 use is unavoidable, the teachers generally favoured 'maximal' exposure to English. The use of students' L1 was perceived as undesirable, with rare concessions for the lower-level students or to support those "stuck with the capital S" (Zara, 3.1). Instances of the 'optimal' position that favours explicit connections between languages were not observed. It would be fruitful to explore whether the teacher beliefs as expressed in the interviews are influenced primarily by their personal convictions or the institutional discourse around the EOP. Increased teacher awareness of the issues surrounding language isolation may begin to address the theoretical understanding of language within the profession as urged by Ndhlovu (2015).

Another common theme throughout the study was the perceived difference between the L1 requirements of students of lower and higher English proficiency. Unlike Cook (2001) or Anton and DiCamilla (1998), the teachers in the study did not see the value of L1 in lower-level classroom management or negotiating task instructions, both of which they believed could be conducted in English.[13] However, like Shvidko et al (2015) and Levine (2003), the teachers appreciated the benefits of L1 in relieving stress and facilitating communication. Their empathy with the beginner students, often in the form of L1 use concessions, seemed to take precedence over the interactionist principles of maximum TL exposure. The sympathy, however, did not extend to the higher-proficiency students who were expected to have outgrown the need for L1 (Paul 2.1). This is in contrast to the arguments by Auerbach (1993, 2016) and studies including Belz (2002) and Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2004) emphasising that L1 use happens and is beneficial at all levels of proficiency.

5.2.3 EOP and the psychological impact on students.

The study uncovered participants' perceptions regarding the link between the EOP and students' affective states. On the one hand, positive evaluations of the policy were expressed. The teachers and administrators emphasised its motivating factor, including the financial incentives to use English at ELC. Similarly, a large majority of the students agreed that the EOP is essential for learning English successfully (90%) and that it increases their motivation to learn (79%). These results are comparable to Grasso's (2012) study, in which 90% of student respondents agreed that maximum TL use improves their English knowledge. Other studies, however, caution against the unquestioned acceptance of the link between motivation and exclusive TL use. For instance, Liao (2006) found translation can increase motivation to learn English among Chinese students. Rabbidge and Chappell (2014) also concluded that L1 use to maintain student motivation can take precedence over maximum exposure principle in Korean English classrooms. Thus, the study concurs with Dewaele's (2005) position on the importance of psychological and emotional dimensions of instructed language learning for language acquisition.

On the contrary, some teachers in the study mentioned the potentially detrimental impact of the EOP on students' motivation, especially in relation to the feelings of isolation, frustration and embarrassment at the inability to communicate clearly in English. This was particularly

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[13] The majority of students in the study (84%) agreed they can follow classroom instructions in English. This figure, however, is based on the respondents' proficiency levels of CEFR B1 (Intermediate) and above.

true in cases when L1 use was viewed by the students as an undesirable lapse in concentration or a linguistic gap. These findings are similar to Rivers (2011), who observed Japanese learners' feelings of guilt and disappointment at not being able to use English as much as expected in the environment prohibitive of L1. Although the majority of the students in the study did not appear emotionally affected by the reminders to speak English (a minor 27% claimed to feel stressed by them), the fact that 61% stated they actively encouraged other students to speak English only may indicate a certain amount of peer pressure in upholding the policy.

Thus, the EOP can be perceived to have both positive and negative impact on the students' emotional states and motivation. Further research on motivation and language anxiety in the context restrictive of L1 may provide more insights on this topic.

5.2.4 EOP and communication opportunities.

The psychological impact of the EOP on the students should also be considered within the wider sociocultural context of moving to a different country, often associated with changing social and economic status and the loss of familiar networks (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). A major belief about the EOP in the study was its contribution to communication opportunities for the students.

While the students appreciated the value of both co-national and international friendships, the teacher participants expressed strong beliefs that L1 communication significantly reduces TL exposure and practice. Previous studies on intercultural transitions of international students have also acknowledged the limiting impact of co-national friendships on linguistic and cultural learning (L. Brown, 2009; Maundeni, 2001) and short-term nature of their support (Kim, 2001). However, they have also stressed the importance of same-language relationships for intellectual exchange (Woolf, 2007), relieving stress (L. Brown, 2009; Kim, 2001) and increasing self-esteem (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998). Nevertheless, some teachers in the study tended to see L1-based peer groups as 'cliques', the term usually associated with exclusivity and transient adolescent behaviour (Davis, 2008).

The majority of the students (81%) believed the EOP prepares them for using English outside ELC, while the potential of the policy to introduce students to life in Australia was also mentioned by some teachers. This is interesting to compare with Brown's (2009) ethnographical study of international students in the UK that revealed same-language

friendships were established within days of arrival. Kim (2001) also argues friendship networks including a heterogeneous mix of both co-national and host-nation friendships take time to evolve. This might be an example of how participants' beliefs about communication opportunities in English contrast with the actual experiences of international students. It has been found, for instance, that plentiful opportunities for communication with local English speakers do not always occur upon arrival to Australia (Benson, Chappell, & Yates, 2018; Chappell, Benson, & Yates, 2018). Regardless, the current study findings suggest a bias, by both ELC administrators and its teachers, for communication based on English as a *lingua franca* and the corresponding lack of appreciation for L1 communication among students.

5.2.5 EOP and students' cultural identity.

Identity is a key issue for second language learners (Block, 2007; Norton, 2000, 2013), yet the absence of any significant discussion of the issue in the study is immediately noticeable. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995, 2012), failure to mention students' culture and identity in the context of limiting their L1 use may be revealing of power relations and ideologies underlying the communal discourse in ELC. The link between the students' cultural identity and their L1 appeared to be a non-issue to the study participants, including the students themselves. Within the context of EOP implementation, the small Language Space, "the smallest, pokiest little room" (Paul, 2.2) where L1 use is allowed is merely a nod in the direction of multilingual values. Indeed, from the native- speakerism perspective (Holliday, 2006), such lack of attention to students' cultural identity may be viewed as an example of 'othering' of students and an imposition of the Western ideas about English teaching construed as superior methodology.

The majority of the teachers mentioned the difficulty of implementing English-only outside the classroom. This is interesting to compare with Shvidko et al (2015), who found that students choose to use L1 outside the classroom despite the EOP when there is a perceived threat to their cultural and linguistic identity. The authors also argue the importance of L1 in establishing cultural bonding among students, which in turn provides safety and support in a new environment. Such considerations do not appear in the current study. Apart from isolated comments on social justice (mostly by one teacher, Stewart), there appeared to be little awareness on the part of the teachers and administrators of the 'cultural loneliness' (Sawir et al., 2008) arising from the loss of familiar cultural and/or linguistic environment. The results suggest that issues of students' sociocultural adjustment to life in Australia are

overlooked, while the enhancement of English learning opportunities is prioritised. With the main focus on EOP implementation, the issues of students' culture and identity are the blind spot of the academic and administrative staff and warrant further investigation and critical assessment.

5.2.6 EOP and impact on teachers and teacher - student relationships.

Whereas the ELC students are primary stakeholders affected by the EOP, teachers are also impacted in a number of ways. As mentioned in section 5.2.1, the restrictive policy and the surrounding discourse have the potential to influence teachers' beliefs about additional language learning and L1 use. This might especially be the case for less experienced teachers like Nick, whose expressions of professional insecurity appeared linked to instances of student L1 use. In addition, the requirements of EOP implementation created additional demands on teachers' time and negatively impacted their motivation to uphold the English-only ethos of the Centre.

More importantly, as noted by Shvidko et al (2015), adherence to a policy requires enforcement, and the results demonstrate that not all teachers are equally comfortable with this part of their job. Some, in fact, reported strong psychological discomfort following attempts to ensure students' compliance with the English-only. At the same time, the view of the EOP as something to be enforced is clearly evident in the metaphors of surveillance and policing throughout the teachers' interviews. As Lakoff and Johnson (2003) caution, metaphors tend to shape social realities and guide future actions. Therefore, the policy compliance practices based on the perceived need for monitoring and enforcement are likely to generate animosity between the teachers and the students. This, in turn, may undermine their social relationships and negatively affect the educational process. In short, the ways the teachers and the students are affected by the policy are interconnected.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the main findings from the study and discussed them in light of the existing literature on L1 use in additional language teaching. The following chapter will consider the limitations and implications of the findings, outline recommendations for ELT practitioners, and point out possible directions of future research.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This chapter briefly summarises the study and presents its contributions based on key findings and with reference to the methodology. The limitations of the study are also discussed and suggestions are made for further research.

6.1 Study Summary

The purpose of the study was to explore the impact of an EOP on students and teachers in a private ELICOS college in Sydney. It did so by comparing perspectives on the policy of the main stakeholders, including students, teachers and academic leaders. The study employed a mixed-methods *quan-QUAL* design compatible with the overarching emancipatory and transformative framework within critical applied linguistics. Results of the study reveal differences in perceptions of the policy and its impact on the education process participants. They also suggest the need for collaborative dialogue among all parties in the development of future language policy in this setting.

6.2 Contributions and Implications

The study makes several important contributions. Firstly, it provides an empirical base for the reassessment of the existing language policy at ELC. Crucially, it brings the students' perspective into the discussion and highlights the impact of the externally imposed policy. The academic managers can use the findings to re-evaluate their view of ELC students as clients paying for a one-size-fits-all product in favour of seeing them as language learners with unique needs and preferences. It would also be fruitful to involve the students in a negotiation of an English-mostly rule as suggested, for example, by Rivers (2011), to substitute the strictly monitored English-only position. This would take into account individual learning experiences and aspirations, involve the students' agency and autonomy, and may contribute to their language learning motivation. At the same time, ELC teachers will have more choices methodologically, while feeling less conflicted in terms of their professional identity.

Secondly, the study contributes to the existing research on L1 use in language teaching and learning. It has revealed how even within the prevailing interactionist approach to teaching L1 use does happen and serves a number of important functions. The results are consistent with the literature that advocates the 'optimal' position on classroom language use, which

views L1 as an indispensable tool for language learning. There are arguments to be made for adopting features of multilingual methodology in ELC, such as translation, as well as allowing L1 use for social and culture-bonding needs of international students. Thus, the results also point to the importance of the holistic view of language learning and understanding the differences between in-class and out-of-class TL and L1 use.

Finally, the study offers a contribution to the critical perspective in applied linguistics by applying mixed-methods research with an emancipatory purpose. It has provided a platform for students to voice their beliefs and opinions about the EOP, which can contribute to the evaluation of the policy by the Centre. In addition, presenting the students' opinions at teacher interviews generated a discussion that alerted the teachers to the previously unseen impact of EOP implementation. Thus, the study's transformative goal is fulfilled by drawing attention to restrictive language policies that, on a global level, shape the view of human rights of international English students in Australia. Other ELT settings characterised by English-only may benefit from the results of the study, should they choose to critically reassess their language policy.

6.3 Limitations

The study has achieved its goal of exploring the impact of an EOP on the students and teachers in a private ELICOS college. The findings, however, are limited to this specific research setting, characterised by an exceptionally restrictive language micro-policy, and may not be generalisable to other Australian ELICOS institutions. Furthermore, the study focused primarily on the English students of intermediate language proficiency and above, while lower-level students were excluded from the investigation. The reports of policy impact on the latter were gathered mainly second-hand via teacher interviews. This reduces the trustworthiness of the results related to the students of lower English proficiency.

The online survey format had its advantages in terms of reaching the student population. However, the investigation of students' beliefs about the EOP is limited by the mostly closed nature of the survey. It is also possible the sample was affected by self-selection bias. Specifically, the respondents may have been particularly invested in their learning or had a negative experience with the EOP. In combination with exclusion of the lower-level students, this means the study sample is not representative of the entire student population at ELC. In addition, the number of the management respondents was low. Overall, however,

the study aimed at exploring the phenomenon of EOP impact in depth, rather than achieving representativeness.

6.4 Further Research

During this exploratory study a number of further research possibilities came to light. First, it is possible to extend the study to include other ELICOS providers nationwide, which would contribute to the representativeness of the results. Involving students of lower English proficiency might also reveal a perspective different from the current findings.

The study constraints did not allow the full potential of mixed-methods research to be utilised. In the future, its results, such as qualitative findings from the teacher interviews, can be used to develop quantitative instruments that can reach a wider population sample. Similarly, the results from the student survey can inform interviews with this participant category, leading to more in-depth understanding of their perspective. The study of teacher beliefs can also be complemented by observations of actual classroom practices, as well as linked to their personal experiences of language learning as proposed by Ellis (2016).

Unlike research on L1 use in monolingual settings, research on L1 use in multilingual classrooms is currently limited, and further studies would be highly beneficial. They have the potential to further question the persistent view of languages as discrete entities and contribute instead to the ELT profession's appreciation of bi- and multilingual repertoires of language users. The Australian ELICOS sector appears to be a prime location for such research, in addition to being a suitable setting for exploring the interplay between in-class and out-of-class English learning.

Words: 19,970

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Appendix A. Samples of EOP communication

1. Weekly student notices (formatting preserved)

Extract 1:

Remember we have a few rules at ELC – this is because we want you improve your English as quickly as possible. **First, please don't use your mobile phone in class.**If your teacher asks you to use your phone for an exercise, then it's ok, but normally, your phone should be on silent in your bag. […] **Second, please only speak English while you are in school**. If you need to skype your mum (or that guy/girl you like back home), you can use [the Language Space], but in other places in the school, you should only speak English.

Extract 2:

Why did *YOU* choose to come to ELC? A lot of students choose ELC because we have a rule that everyone speaks English in the school. Lots of you are speaking your own language in the school, and it is not good. You have come here to learn English and so have your friends. When you speak your own language, you are stopping you AND YOUR FRIENDS from learning English.

If we find you speaking your own language, we will warn you and we write this on your file. If we find you speaking your own language again, you will not be allowed to come to school for a day. Last week, five students were not allowed to come to school.

Extract 3:

Remember, the moment that you come out of the lift, you are in an English-speaking zone. You can **only** speak English at ELC. If you need to speak your own language with your friend or make a phone/skype call to your mum, you **MUST go to [the Language Space]** or leave the building. If you are caught speaking another language, this is what will happen:

- 1st time – you will be warned
- 2nd time – you will not be allowed to come to school for 1 day and you will be marked absent
- 3rd time - you will not be allowed to come to school for 3 days and you will be marked absent
- 4th time - you will not be allowed to come to school for a week. Your agent/parents will be informed

Many of you chose ELC because of our 'English Only' policy. This helps you learn English faster, so it is really important.

2. **Classroom poster (extract)**

ENGLISH ONLY!!!

We have an English ONLY Policy in the school. This means that whenever you are in the school, you must speak English (the language you have come here to learn).

The English policy is in place to help you and your fellow students get the most out of your language learning experience at ELC. We expect all students to follow and respect this policy and are sure you will see your language skills improve as a result.

3. **Teacher Handbook (extract)**

English Only Policy

- English must be used at all times within the English Only Zone and on official school events.
- Writing, speaking, reading and listening to another language are not permitted in the English Only Zone or on official school events. Official school events include: field trips, activities and parties organised by ELC
- The English Only Zone includes the Computer Lab. Ideally, all computer usage (including incoming/outgoing email and Internet) should be in English Only. The only exceptions are after 5:00pm Monday-Friday when students can use the computers in their native languages. Students must speak in English during this time.
- The following punishment schedule will be followed:

  FIRST OFFENCE:
  Written warning

  SECOND OFENCE:
  Suspension from the campus for one day

  THIRD OFFENCE:
  Suspension from the campus for three days

  FOURTH OFFENCE:
  Suspension from the campus for one week and a letter to the agent and/or parents

Appendix B1. Participant recruitment poster - Students

Student survey about the English-only rule in ELC

- Is your ELC level Intermediate (I1) or above?
- Do you know about the English-only rule in ELC?
- Tell us what you think about it!
- Two people will win a **$15 voucher**.

Use the link OR scan the QR code to take a short survey:

www.bit.ly/ELCstudent

This is **not** a study by ELC. Your answers are confidential and all opinions are welcome. Contact Yulia.Kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au for more information.

FIND OUT MORE
Macquarie University NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 7111

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CRICOS Provider 00002J

MACQUARIE
University

Appendix B2. Participant recruitment poster - Teachers

Teacher focus groups

A STUDY ON THE ENGLISH-ONLY RULE IN ELC

WHAT
A series of 60-minute focus groups with ELC teachers to talk about the English-only rule in ELC.

WHO
ELICOS teachers of any class, level or teaching experience are invited.

HOW AND WHEN
Focus groups in ELC this May-July, in teaching weeks 1,2 or 3. Times will suit teachers working on different timetables.

You will receive a **$30 voucher** for attending one focus group, or a **$50 voucher** for attending two. You are kindly asked to attend two focus groups, if possible.

CONTACT
To get involved or ask a question, please email Yulia on:
Yulia.Kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au

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MACQUARIE University

Appendix B3. Participant recruitment poster - Management

Appendix C. Student questionnaire

English-Only Policy in ELC - Student survey

Welcome!

We are interested in understanding your views on the English-only rule in ELC and how it impacts you as a student. This survey will ask you questions about the English-only rule and also some questions about you. Your answers are confidential and your name will not be used. The survey is voluntary and you can finish at any time. It will take you about 10 minutes to complete. You can use a laptop, a desktop computer or your mobile phone.

At the end of the survey you can enter a draw for one of two $15 Woolworths vouchers. For that, you need to give us your email address, so we can contact you if you win. However, this is optional and you don't have to do it.

 You can contact:

- Dr Philip Chappell (Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au) if you have any questions about the survey
- Ms Yulia Kharchenko (Yulia.Kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au) if you want to get the results of the study
- The Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au) if you are not sure about any ethical aspect of this study

By clicking the button below, you agree that:

- you volunteer to participate
- you are 18 years old or more; and
- you know that you may finish the survey at any time and for any reason

Section I. About you

Q1 What is your current class level?

○ I1 (Intermediate)

○ I2 (Intermediate)

○ I3 (Upper-Intermediate)

○ I4 (Upper-Intermediate)

○ A1 (Advanced)

○ A2 (Advanced)

Q2 How old are you?

○ 18-25 years old

○ 26-30 years old

○ 31-35 years old

○ 36-40 years old

○ 41-45 years old

○ 46-50 years old

○ 51 years old or more

Q3 Are you...?

○ Male

○ Female

Q4 What country are you from?

Q5 What was the main language(s) of your childhood home?

Q6 In addition to English and your own language, can you speak any other languages?

○ No

○ Yes (Please specify)

Q7 How long have you been living in Australia?

◯ Less than 3 months

◯ Between 3 and 6 months

◯ Between 6 and 12 months

◯ Between 12 and 18 months

◯ Between 18 months and 2 years

◯ More than 2 years

Section II. About the English-only rule in ELC

Q8 Do you know about the English-only rule in ELC?

◯ Yes

◯ No

Q9 Have you ever got a reward card for speaking English in ELC?

◯ Yes

◯ No

Q10 Have you ever got a penalty for speaking your own language in ELC?

◯ Yes

◯ No

Q11 What is your opinion about the English-only rule in ELC?

Move the slider from 1 to 10
1=IT'S A VERY BAD IDEA to 10 =IT'S A VERY GOOD IDEA

| | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

Section III. About your experience with the English-only rule in ELC

Q12 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
Please read the statements carefully and select one answer per statement

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree a little (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree a little (4)	Strongly agree (5)
The English-only rule is important for learning English successfully	○	○	○	○	○
The English-only rule increases my motivation to learn English	○	○	○	○	○
I speak only English in ELC so I don't get in trouble	○	○	○	○	○
When I first started in ELC, it was difficult to speak only English	○	○	○	○	○
The English-only rule helps me learn English in class	○	○	○	○	○
The English-only rule helps me practice English when I'm not in class	○	○	○	○	○
The English-only rule helps me make friends from other countries	○	○	○	○	○
The English-only rule prepares me for using English outside the school	○	○	○	○	○
I can follow class instructions in English	○	○	○	○	○
It is easy to communicate with my teacher in English	○	○	○	○	○
It is easy to communicate with other students in English	○	○	○	○	○

Section IV. About your own language

Q13 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
Please read the statements carefully and select one answer per statement

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree a little (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree a little (4)	Strongly agree (5)
I want to use my language while I'm in Australia	○	○	○	○	○
I can learn English without using my own language	○	○	○	○	○
It should be ok to use my language during break time in ELC	○	○	○	○	○
I feel stressed when someone tells me not to use my language in ELC	○	○	○	○	○
I encourage other students to speak English only in ELC	○	○	○	○	○
I want to learn to speak English like a native speaker	○	○	○	○	○
ELC teachers must be strict about the English-only rule in class	○	○	○	○	○

Q14 It should be ok to use my language in class when... *(Choose all that apply)*

☐ I don't understand the task

☐ I don't know some new words or phrases

☐ I need help from other students

☐ I want to compare English to my own language

☐ I don't need my own language in class

☐ Other (Please specify)

Section V. Final questions

Q15 *(optional)* Write a personal example or a story about your experience with the English-only rule in ELC.

Q16 *(optional)* Do you have anything else to say?

Competition time!

Q17 *(optional)* If you want to win one of two $15 gift cards, write your name and email address below. Your email is confidential and it is not linked to your answers.

○ No, I don't want to enter the competition

○ Yes, I want to enter the competition. Here is my name and email:

Interview invitation

Q18 *(optional)* Would you like to come to a 30-minute interview in the near future to talk about the results of this survey? If you agree to participate: your answers above will be linked to your name; you will receive a $15 voucher for attending the interview

○ No, I don't want to come to an interview

○ Yes, please contact me about an interview. Here is my name and email

Appendix D1. Teacher interview briefs

Teacher interview 1

Welcome to the group interview. Today we will talk about the ways an institutional English-only policy impacts on the learners of English within an ELICOS setting such as ELC. You are welcome to think about your personal experience as a teacher, while also thinking from the perspective of the students. Unless specified, the questions relate to the use of English both in the classroom and on campus outside the class times.

This interview will last approximately 60 minutes and will be audio recorded. You will be asked to provide your name at the start of the interview, however, try to refrain from using personal names after that. For the ease of transcription and analysis, please wait your turn to speak, if possible. Finally, please be mindful that what we discuss here is confidential and other people's opinions should not be disclosed outside the interview.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Opening Question

1. Can you briefly tell us your name, how long you've worked in ELC and what class you're currently teaching? *(2 mins)*

Setting the scene Question

2. To start off today's discussion, I'm going to give you a short task:
   If you could use one word to describe the English-only policy in ELC, what word would you use? Please take a few moments to think about it and explain your choice in one sentence. You are welcome to agree or disagree with the others. A different word per person would be great. *(5-7 mins)*

Core Questions

3. What is the **positive impact** on the students of using English as the only language **in the school**? *(10-12 mins)*
   Probes:
   a) How about lower level students?
   b) How about higher level students?
   c) How about using English-only **on campus** outside the class times?

4. What is the **negative impact** on the students of using English as the only language **in the school**? *(10-12 mins)*
   Probes:
   a) What difficulties do your students encounter when using English only **in class**?
   b) What about higher/lower level students?
   c) How about using English-only **on campus** outside the class times?

5. How strict are you about enforcing the English-only rule within the school? *(10-12 mins)*

    Probe:

    a) In what cases can the students' own language be used in the classroom?

6. Can you think of any memorable stories or **examples** of your **students'** experience with the English-only rule in the school? *(8-10mins)*

Extra Questions

7. What do you think about the way the English-only policy is implemented in ELC?
8. How do you feel implementing the policy (in class/outside class)?

Concluding Questions

9. To summarise ….
10. Have we forgotten anything? / Do you have anything to add? *(5 mins)*

Thanks and wrap up

Teacher interview 2

Welcome to our second focus group. Today we will talk about selected results of the student survey, while expanding on the themes of the first focus group. You are welcome to think about your personal experience as a teacher, while also thinking from the perspective of the students.

This interview will last approximately 60 minutes and will be audio recorded. I'll be taking some notes, but please don't let that distract you. It's ok to use your names during the interview; you will be de-identified in the transcript of the recording. However, please be mindful that what we discuss here is confidential and other people's opinions should not be disclosed outside the interview.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Opening Question

1. To begin, can you briefly state your name and what class you're teaching this session? *(2 mins)*

Collaborative Task

2. To start off today's discussion, I'm going to give you a short group task: Thinking about the English-only policy in ELC and perhaps about what we've discussed previously, can you please work together to complete a mind map?

The central question is "In what ways does the English-only policy affect students in the school?" Feel free to agree or disagree, add and extend the branches of the mind map, think of examples etc. You have *approximately 8-10 minutes,* after which we will discuss the mind map together
[MOVE ASIDE AND TAKE NOTES ON INTERACTION]
Thank you. Could you please talk me through your mind map? *(5-7 mins)*
> *Probe: why/in what ways/can you give an example? Address those not speaking   (15-20 mins total)*

Results review task

3. As a second part of today's discussion, we're going to review some results of the student survey. First, here is the summary of quantitative findings. [SHOW, TALK THROUGH IF NECESSARY] *(10-15 mins)*

   How do you think that compares to your beliefs or expectations as a teacher?

   > *Probe: Do you find any of the results surprising? Did you expect to see any of these results? What do you think about the uses of mother tongue pointed out by the students?* [REFER TO THE MIND MAP]

4. And now, here are some comments the students have left when asked to tell about their personal experience with the English-only policy in the school [SHOW]. Please take a few minutes to review them individually and mark/highlight the ones you agree or disagree with, or the ones you find surprising [DISTRIBUTE]. After a few minutes, we will discuss them in more detail. *(3-5 mins)*
   Discuss, with reference to mind map, if possible. *(10-15 mins)*

   > *Probe: Do you find any of the results surprising? Did you expect to see any of these results? In your experience, how does this compare to the comments on the policy that students make?*

Concluding Questions

5. To summarise ….
6. Have we forgotten anything? / Do you have anything to add? *(5 mins)*

Thank you very much for your time and interest in my study. Results will be available at the end of the year. If you're interested, please email me, so I can send them on to you asap.

Appendix D2. Interview participant data sheet

Teacher interview - Participant data sheet

Please complete this form and bring with you to the interview. Thank you.

First name, Last name: _____	
Age range	☐ Under 20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51+
Years of language teaching experience	☐ Less than 1 ☐ 1-5 ☐ 6-9 ☐ 10 and more
Are you a native speaker of English?	☐ No ☐ Yes
Can you speak languages other than English? If yes, please specify:	☐ No ☐ Yes (please specify)_____ _____
Would you like to choose a pseudonym to be used instead of your real name in the study report?	☐ No (one will be assigned to you) ☐ Yes (please specify) _____ _____

*Please make sure to read the **Participant Information Consent Form** carefully and sign two copies if you agree to participate in the study.*

Appendix E. Academic management survey

English-Only Policy in ELC - Academic Management Response Form

Welcome to the study,

We are interested in understanding perceptions of the impact of the English-only policy on ELC students, and we are collecting the views of teachers, students and the academic management. First, we will ask you some questions about you. Then you will be asked to write a brief response (approximately 250 words) to a question about the English-only policy in the school.

You have previously received a Participant Information Form relating to this study. A copy of the form can be seen here: Management Information Form.pdf [HYPERLINK]

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

By clicking the Next button below, you acknowledge that:

- you have read and understood the Participant Information Form
- any questions you have asked have been answered to your satisfaction
- you agree to participate in this research, knowing that you can withdraw at any time without consequence

Section I. About you

Q1 How many years of English teaching experience do you have?

○ Less than 1 year

○ Between 1 and 5 years

○ Between 5 and 10 years

○ Between 10 and 15 years

○ 15 years or more

Q2 Are you a native English speaker?

○ No

○ Yes

Q3 Can you speak any languages other than English?

○ No

○ Yes (please specify)

Section II. Main Question

Q4 "How does the English-only policy in ELC impact the students of English?"

Please write around 250 words and consider both the positive and the negative impact of such policy.

Use the box below to record your answer

_____

_____

Q5 Do you have any comments about this study? (optional)

_____

_____

Appendix F1. Director Information Form

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
NSW   2109
Phone: +61 (2) 9850 9603

Email: Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au

Chief Investigator / Supervisor: Dr Philip Chappell

Information Form

Name of Project: "English-Only policy in Australian ELICOS: Perspectives of English learners, teachers and academic management"

This form provides information about a study of English-only policy within ELC. The purpose of the study is to investigate perceptions of the policy and its impact on the learners of English as a second language. More specifically, the study will gather and analyse the views of English students, teachers and academic management on the significance of such policy in the language learning and teaching processes, both in the classroom and on campus. This is a pilot study for a larger project to be conducted in the future.

The study is conducted by Ms Yulia Kharchenko (Yulia.Kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au) to meet the requirements of Master of Research in Linguistics under the supervision of Dr Philip Chappell (Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au; Ph +61 (2) 9850 9603) of the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University.

The study involves four interrelated research activities:

1. A brief written response by the academic management to a question on the significance of the English-only policy in your institution;

2. An anonymous online questionnaire completed by students (of intermediate level and above) on the topic of the study. Participants will have an option to enter a draw for two $15 Woolworths gift cards;

3. One-on-one interviews with the students who volunteer to discuss the results of the survey. Those who agree to participate will receive remuneration in the form of a $15 Woolworths voucher;

4. Four focus groups with teachers, approximately 60 mins in duration, between April and July 2018. In the focus groups, some pre-set questions will be asked, and new ideas will be explored as they appear. The proceedings will be audio recorded for subsequent analysis. The groups should not present any undue stress or risk for the teachers. Participants

will receive remuneration in the form of a Coles Group & Myer gift card ($30 for attending one focus group and $50 for attending two).

We would like to ask you to share the information about the study with your staff and students. You are also kindly asked to give permission to place research recruitment posters in the student lounge area (for student participants) and the staff room (for teacher participants).

The researcher is a casual teacher in the school but will not contact the potential participants directly in the course of her work. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Those who decide to participate are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Quotes may be used in the dissertation and resulting publications, but they will be de-identified. A summary of the results of the data can be obtained by contacting Ms Yulia Kharchenko.

If you require further information or clarification, please contact the researchers.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr Philip Chappell

Ms Yulia Kharchenko

Appendix F2. Participant Information and Consent Form - Teachers

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Email: Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au

Chief Investigator / Supervisor: Dr Philip Chappell

Participant Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: "English-Only policy in Australian ELICOS: Perspectives of English learners, teachers and academic management"

You are invited to participate in a study of the English-only policy within ELC. The purpose of the study is to investigate perceptions of the policy and its impact on the learners of English as a second language. More specifically, the study will gather and analyse the views of English learners, teachers and academic management on the significance of the policy in the language learning and teaching processes, both in the classroom and on campus. This is a pilot study for a larger project to be conducted in the future.

The study is conducted by Ms Yulia Kharchenko (Yulia.Kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au) to meet the requirements of Master of Research in Linguistics under the supervision of Dr Philip Chappell (Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au; Ph +61 (2) 9850 9603) of the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to attend two focus groups with other teachers, approximately 60 mins in duration. These will be conducted at your workplace between late April and early June 2018. Some pre-set questions will be asked, and new ideas will be explored as they appear. The proceedings will be audio recorded for subsequent analysis in conjunction with the data collected from ELC students and academic management. The focus groups will be conducted in a relaxed but professional manner, and should not present any undue stress or risks. You may exit at any time.

Your contribution is vital in achieving the aim of the project and will be highly appreciated. If you take part in the study, you will receive remuneration in the form of a Coles Group & Myer gift card ($30 for attending one focus group and $50 for attending two).

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. Only the researcher, the supervisor and a professional transcribing service will have access to the data. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Quotes may be used in the dissertation and resulting publications, but they will be de-identified. Whilst all care will be taken to maintain privacy and confidentiality, you may experience embarrassment if one of the group members were to repeat things said in a confidential focus group.

To get the results of the study, please email Ms Yulia Kharchenko at the address above.

The researcher is a casual teacher in the school. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

_____

I, *(participant's name)* _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:_____
  (Block letters)
Participant's Signature: _____ Date:_____

Investigator's Name:_____
  (Block letters)
Investigator's Signature:_____ _ Date:_____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(PARTICIPANT'S COPY)

Appendix F3. Participant Information Form - Management

*Consent given online.

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Email: Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au

Chief Investigator / Supervisor: Dr Philip Chappell

Participant Information Form

Name of Project: "English-Only policy in Australian ELICOS: Perspectives of English learners, teachers and academic management."

You are invited to participate in a study of English-only policies within ELC. The purpose of the study is to investigate perceptions of the policy and its impact on the learners of English as a second language. More specifically, the study will gather and analyse the views of English learners, teachers and academic management as to the significance of such policy in the language learning and teaching processes, both in the classroom and on campus. This is a pilot study for a larger project to be conducted in the future.

The study is conducted by Ms Yulia Kharchenko (Yulia.Kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au) to meet the requirements of Master of Research in Linguistics under the supervision of Dr Philip Chappell (Philip.Chappell@mq.edu.au; Ph +61 (2) 9850 9603) of the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to write a brief (approximately 250 words) response to a question on the significance of the English-only policy in your institution. You will also be asked to provide generic demographic information, such as your teaching experience and the number of languages you speak. For convenience, your response can be completed online. The information obtained will be analysed in conjunction with the data from the student questionnaire and interviews, and focus groups with teachers.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the data. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Quotes may be used in the dissertation and resulting publications, but they will be de-identified. A summary of the results of the data can be can be obtained by contacting Ms Yulia Kharchenko at the email address above.

The researcher is a casual teacher in the school. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

If you require further information or clarification, please contact the researchers.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr Philip Chappell

Ms Yulia Kharchenko

Appendix G. Codes used in qualitative analysis

Codes	Description
IMPACT ON STUDENTS	Beliefs re impact of EOP on students; incl. LOWER LEVELS
LANGUAGE LEARNING	Beliefs about how EOP helps students with English learning; increased acquisition opportunities etc.
PSYCHOLOGICAL & EMOTIONAL IMPACT	Impact of the policy on students in terms of emotions, feelings, motivation, decisions to uphold the policy etc.
AFFECTIVE STATES	Including the feelings of EMBARRASSMENT, FRUSTRATION, ISOLATION; also MOTIVATION
UPHOLDING THE EOP	Students upholding the policy, encouraging peers to speak English
COMMUNICATION	Students' social activities and the EOP; increased COMMUNICATION; FRIENDSHIPS; a sense of COMMUNITY
IMPACT ON TEACHERS	the effects of the policy on teachers; how they feel implementing it; how they adapt; coping strategies
PAST EXPERIENCE	Teachers' personal experience of language learning or working in other schools with/out EOP
POLICY IMPACT & DEMANDS	Requirements/expectations of teachers, pressure on them; extra workload etc.
IN VIVO - How teachers feel	Words teachers use to describe how they feel about/when implementing the EOP
STRATEGIES AND COPING	Strategies teachers use to adhere to the EOP; Humour; a sense of RESIGNATION re EOP effectiveness
IMPACT WITHIN ELC	EOP impact within ELC in general; its VISIBILITY; intentions re policy and its use; CENTRE REPUTATION; and students' AWARENESS of the EOP
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION	Technicalities of EOP implementation; REWARDS & PENALTIES; Language space; L1 use in class vs outside class; STUDENTS' AGENCY in following the policy
IDEALS VS REALITY	How policy is implemented in reality, contrast with expectations; specific situation vs the global rule
IN VIVO – metaphors of policing	Words used by teachers to describe the EOP implementation that resemble a law enforcement activity
TEACHERS' BELIEFS	Teachers' beliefs about language and language learning
BELIEFS RE L1 USE	Teachers' beliefs re L1 use; classification as per Macaro (virtual/maximal/optimal)
NATIVE SPEAKER BELIEFS	Teachers' beliefs re native speakers; goals of L2 learning; instances of native-speakerism; social justice issues

Other codes

Codes	Description
POLICY EVALUATION AND SUGGESTIONS	Teachers' evaluation of the EOP and suggestions for improvement
Evaluation	Teachers' evaluation of the EOP (use with the Magnitude codes)
NEG -	e.g. bad
NEG - -	e.g. hurtful, very bad
NEG - - -	e.g. inhumane
POS +	e.g. good, useful
POS ++	e.g. very good, very useful
POS +++	e.g. excellent, extremely useful
Suggestions	Teachers' ideas re improvement of policy implementation, the system of rewards/penalties etc.

Appendix H. Student questionnaire detailed responses

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly disagree	Disagree a little	Neither A nor D	Agree a little	Strongly agree	Mean
	n	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*	
	%	%	%	%	%	
The English-only rule is important for learning English successfully	*3*	*1*	*3*	*14*	*46*	**4.48**
	4.5	1.5	4.5	20.9	68.7	
The English-only rule increases my motivation to learn English	*5*	*1*	*8*	*24*	*29*	**4.06**
	7.5	1.5	11.9	35.8	43.3	
I speak only English at ELC so I don't get in trouble	*5*	*6*	*9*	*28*	*19*	**3.75**
	7.5	9.0	13.4	41.8	28.4	
When I first started at ELC, it was difficult to speak only English	*10*	*9*	*12*	*18*	*18*	**3.37**
	14.9	13.4	17.9	26.9	26.9	
The English-only rule helps me learn English in class	*2*	*3*	*4*	*20*	*38*	**4.33**
	3.0	4.5	6.0	29.9	56.7	
The English-only rule helps me practice English when I'm not in class	*3*	*3*	*7*	*16*	*38*	**4.24**
	4.5	4.5	10.4	23.9	56.7	
The English-only rule helps me make friends from other countries	*2*	*2*	*5*	*17*	*41*	**4.39**
	3.0	3.0	7.5	25.4	61.2	
The English-only rule prepares me for using English outside ELC	*3*	*2*	*8*	*13*	*41*	**4.30**
	4.5	3.0	11.9	19.4	61.2	
I can follow class instructions in English	*2*	*1*	*8*	*20*	*36*	**4.30**
	3.0	1.5	11.9	29.9	53.7	
It is easy to communicate with my teacher in English	*2*	*2*	*9*	*24*	*30*	**4.16**
	3.0	3.0	13.4	35.8	44.8	
It is easy to communicate with other students in English	*2*	*3*	*6*	*29*	*27*	**4.13**
	3.0	4.5	9.0	43.3	40.3	

Student questionnaire detailed responses, continued

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly disagree	Disagree a little	Neither A nor D	Agree a little	Strongly agree	Mean
	n	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*	
	%	%	%	%	%	
I want to use my language while I'm in Australia	*15*	*13*	*18*	*11*	*10*	**2.82**
	22.4	19.4	26.9	16.4	14.9	
I can learn English without using my own language	*3*	*11*	*11*	*26*	*16*	**3.61**
	4.5	16.4	16.4	38.8	23.9	
It should be ok to use my language during break time	*11*	*14*	*19*	*16*	*7*	**2.91**
	16.4	20.9	28.4	23.9	10.4	
I feel stressed when someone tells me not to use my language	*23*	*14*	*12*	*14*	*4*	**2.43**
	34.3	20.9	17.9	20.9	6.0	
I encourage other students to speak English only	*4*	*3*	*19*	*19*	*22*	**3.78**
	6.0	4.5	28.4	28.4	32.8	
I want to learn to speak English like a native speaker	*1*	*3*	*4*	*12*	*47*	**4.51**
	1.5	4.5	6.0	17.9	70.1	
Teachers must be strict about the English-only rule in class	*1*	*5*	*12*	*22*	*27*	**4.03**
	1.5	7.5	17.9	32.8	40.3	

Appendix I. Student responses to Q15.

"Write a personal example or a story about your experience with the English-only rule in ELC" (as presented to the teachers during second round of interviews)

THEMES	COMMENTS
HELP WITH LEARNING GOALS **COMMUNICATION**	I had had both experiences at ELC, I got a reward card and a warning. I agree with the English-only rule at the school because we come from really other countries just to learn how communicate in English and this rule is essential to achieve that (P61, B2, Colombia).
UPHOLDING THE POLICY	I have a Colombian classmate and when I ask him something, he tries to tell me the meaning in Spanish and I always tell him: "Just English, please" (P44, B2, Colombia).
HELP WITH LEARNING GOALS **COMMUNICATION** **MAKING FRIENDS**	I like this idea because it makes it easier to communicate with people from other countries that have the same goal as me, which is to learn English and it's a really good way to make friends (P62, B1, Mexico).
HELP WITH LEARNING GOALS **DIFFICULTIES WITH EOP** **L1 USE**	I strongly agree with Only English rule in ELC. The reason why I came here is to study English so I need to speak English wherever I go. It's really helpful but sometimes little bit annoying, particularly who are in basic level. They don't know lots of words and sometimes they cannot understand even a homework. So, for this situation I think other students (who is come from same country) can help them (P53, B2, Korea).
UPHOLDING THE POLICY **USING ENGLISH OUTSIDE SCHOOL**	I talk to my boyfriend only in English at ELC and we tend to continue speaking English outside school (P60, B2, Brazil).
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION/ EXTERNAL PRESSURE **EMOTIONAL IMPACT**	I was crying and talking to my mother because I have received a bad new from my country. I was in an empty room, but it wasn't the specific room that I am allowed to speak in my language. But anyway the room was empty, but a teacher saw me and she was very rude and made me go to the correct room (P67, B2, Brazil).
UPHOLDING THE POLICY/ EXTERNAL PRESSURE **COMMUNICATION BREAKDOWN**	When I had a meeting for [University Pathway] students after class, one Korean guy came in for a meeting who has poor English skills and he couldn't understand what teacher said. I could help him in Korean but I wasn't allowed to speak my own language at that time (P9, B2, Korea).

UPHOLDING THE POLICY **MOTIVATION** **(MAKING) FRIENDS**	Since I have been here I've tried to run out of speak my own language, even though I couldn't even speak properly at the first month and this rule help to others thinking more like me. I had a bad experience before in other English school which I couldn't learn English because most of time we were speaking in our own language. So, when I came here I'd have learn a lot with friends and maybe that's why I could be confident to push myself to learn more and speak only English (P45, B2, Brazil).
MOTIVATION (LACK OF) **MAKING FRIENDS** **POLICY IMPLEMENTATION** **MAKING FRIENDS (USING L1)**	Some people doesn't have a good English and also is shy, so they don't push themselves too much and make their times bad in the school. Just speak English it is good to make friends for another countries and push yourself to always think in English. Q17: Anything else to add? Don't be a strict rule, otherwise some more can't make friends or have a good time on the school. It is not a problem from me, but I heard from other students (P42, B2, Brazil).
UPHOLDING THE POLICY	I try to speak English with my friend[s]. Because I want them to understand me (P55, B2, France).
ENVIRONMENT	The English-only rule helps to keep a good environment without language exclusions (P31, B1, Brazil).
USING ENGLISH OUTSIDE SCHOOL	The English-only rule in ELC makes me think in English even when I am outside of the school and alone (P10, B2, Brazil).
HELP WITH LEARNING GOALS	This rules make me getting better in English (P27, B1, Thailand).
UPHOLDING THE POLICY **HIGHER PROFICIENCY**	When I was in the lunch room I had a Chilean friend and Greek saw me listening Spanish and my friend was speaking Spanish. He told us that was incredible that [we] speak in our native language being in [Upper-Intermediate]. (P39, B2, Colombia).
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION **PUNISHMENT**	In my opinion the rules should change about the punishment, I think that student speak [their] language should give opportunity to correct the mistake doing some homework. If the student don't do it, give for him yellow card! (P35, B2, Brazil)
UPHOLDING THE POLICY (FEELINGS)	Many students in ELC are speaking their own languages after school but at school, not outside of school, especially in the computer labs and student lounges, and this makes me annoyed. It seems they do not care about this rules and are breaking these. (P65, B2, Korea)

Appendix J. Ethics approval

FHS Ethics <fhs.ethics@mq.edu.au>   Tue, Apr 17, 2018 at 6:32 PM
To: Philip Chappell <philip.chappell@mq.edu.au>
Cc: Ms Yulia Kharchenko <yulia.kharchenko@students.mq.edu.au>

Dear Dr Chappell,

Re: "English-Only policy in Australian ELICOS: Perspectives of English learners, teachers and academic management" (5201800218)

Thank you very much for your response. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee and approval has been granted, effective 17th April 2018. This email constitutes ethical approval only.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site: https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:
Dr Philip Chappell
Ms Yulia Kharchenko

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1.   The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2.   Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.
Progress Report 1 Due: 17th April 2019
Progress Report 2 Due: 17th April 2020
Progress Report 3 Due: 17th April 2021
Progress Report 4 Due: 17th April 2022
Final Report Due: 17th April 2023

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources

3.   If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4.	All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Sub-Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources

5.	Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6.	At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/post-approval
https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources/research-ethics

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Naomi Sweller
Chair
Faculty of Human Sciences
Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee

FHS Ethics
Faculty of Human Sciences Ethics
C5C-17 Wallys Walk L3
Macquarie University, NSW 2109, Australia
T: +61 2 9850 4197 | http://www.research.mq.edu.au/
Ethics Forms and Templates
https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources

Appendix K. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a tool that helps claim integrity and trustworthiness in qualitative research. It implies "an explicit, self-aware meta-analysis of the research process" (Finlay, 2002, p. 531). Below is the examination of my position, perspective and presence in the study.

Research on EOP was a result of personal reflection on the language practices at my workplace. I had witnessed some students' enthusiasm for both the language and the policy. At the same time, I could see the detrimental effects of the EOP on some students' wellbeing, especially in cases when it was unquestioningly enforced. Some 'scientific' feedback to the management on the effects of the EOP was in order. This study, intended as a test run for the bigger doctoral project, was an opportunity to reflect on my professional stance, as well as on my strengths and weaknesses as a researcher.

As an English teacher, and a speaker of Russian as my first language, I feel conflicted about the requirement to prohibit the students' existing languages. As a researcher, however, I am expected to manage, or bracket (Tufford & Newman, 2012), my personal views and experiences during the study. I have tried to do so by designing research instruments that do not ask leading questions and let the respondents speak for themselves. I was aware of the pitfalls of using a questionnaire to investigate student beliefs about language learning, and have conducted pilot interviews with students to further probe their responses. By reviewing teacher interview transcripts I have identified instances where I did ask leading questions and will make an effort to avoid these in the future. It was also important not to be selective with my data and ensure that the results reported represent all teachers' opinions. Stewart, for instance, was often a contradictory voice in the discussion, and I have tried to give him an equal share of representation.

Conducting research at one's own place of work can be both an advantage and a challenge. On the one hand, the insider's perspective is useful for focusing on the issues that require the most immediate attention, especially in a study with a transformative agenda like mine. On the other hand, being part of the 'system' may have prevented me as a researcher from noticing and interpreting phenomena that require distancing. Mertens (2003) points out that objectivity in transformative research implies an informed and balanced view of the phenomenon, balanced with researcher participation and their interaction with participants. For me, the instances where I identified with the teacher participants as my colleagues are

of particular interest. During the interviews, I was aware of the instinct to join the conversation as I normally would in the staff room, unsure whether this would encourage a more meaningful discussion or influence the responses in other ways. The extracts from the interviews below illustrate how my teacher-researcher perspective can be reconciled with my beliefs in knowledge co-construction.

Overall, this study has served its primary purpose of being a pilot for the PhD research. In addition, I have become more aware of my teacher vs. researcher stance, practiced my interviewing skills, and have tried my best to act ethically and responsibly while generating credible findings. Lessons have been learnt for the future.

Extracts from teacher interviews with comments

Interview extract	Comments
Interviewer: Am I summarising it right? (1.2)	An attempt to verify my interpretation of the answers. However, summarising may paraphrase and distort the original participant responses. Ask the participants to summarise instead.
Interviewer: If you think of the positive impact on our students, lower levels or higher levels in class or outside the class, could you think of any positive impact of the English only policy? (2.1)	Long and unclear question; participants might respond to one part only and omit the other. Practice asking direct questions.
Interviewer: Let's say if they're doing pair work or group work would you let them use whatever language resources they have including first language or would you still police that it's English only? (2.1)	Adopting the metaphors of the respondents. Subjectivity; researcher's personal position is clear; might influence the responses. Practice asking open questions.
Interviewer: Do you think we as teachers should get kind of more help or training or encouragement with how to implement [the EOP] or is it just left to us how to do it? (3.1)	Identifying with respondents may help gain their trust, but may also influence their answers. Need to balance. Leading question; suggesting ideas; threat to validity.
Interviewer: Or are we being insensitive to their culture and identity? (3.1)	Leading question; suggesting evaluation; threat to validity. Practice asking open questions.