

**The price of admission:
Private English schools at the Inner/Expanding
Circle interface**

by

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Abstract

Each year multitudes of international students come to Vancouver, Canada from what Kachru (1984) calls the Expanding Circle: countries where English is considered a foreign language. Kobayashi (2006) notes that while English study makes up the majority of study abroad activity, it receives little scholarly attention. Researchers assume language acquisition to be the goal of short-term English programs, and fail to situate observations in a larger context. This macro-sociolinguistic exploration uses Bourdieu's (1977a) social practice framework to navigate the relationship between English, status, and power in short-term English language learning. It provides a thorough description of the socio-historical context, stakeholders and discourse themes involved in the local private English Language Teaching (ELT) sector. In doing so, it addresses a considerable deficiency in the research literature, and offers a foundation for further scholarship on private ELT in Canada. With it I seek to address the misguided avoidance of sociolinguistic factors in language acquisition research and teacher training.

Keywords: World Englishes; English language teaching; study abroad; Canada; ideology; symbolic capital

for myself

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

Commercial English language teaching (ELT) in the Inner Circle is an unexplored context for considering the changing range and depth of users and uses of English in the Expanding Circle. Kachru (1986b:122) argues that “the politics which the countries in the Inner Circle are playing against the Outer Circle” deserves a detailed study of its own. I extend that sentiment to the relationship between the Inner and Expanding Circles. The private sector of ELT in Canada has undergone rapid growth, becoming a much larger part of international education than many realise. The current study is a macro-sociolinguistic exploration of the private ELT sector in Vancouver, British Columbia, on the western coast of Canada. It uses social constructionist theories to analyze the actors involved and their practices, to determine what their goals are and how this industry serves them. This is data-led research, with an emphasis on building a detailed context in which to situate the social actors and their practices.

Private ELT plays a major roll in international education in Canada, but is nearly invisible in language teaching research. Commercialized ELT has been present in Vancouver for at least fifty years, providing a considerable source of income for the provincial and national economies. Over 47, 000 international students attended private English schools in British Columbia in 2012 (BCCIE 2013). That is 45% of all international students in the province (British Columbia 2012), which is about 5% of all students, or 1% of the total population of the province. This is a significant number of people. Both provincial and national levels of government have developed Internationalization strategies that aim for a drastic increase in the number of foreign students attending local tertiary institutions, which increases demand for these private English schools. In spite of this, private ELT is treated as merely peripheral to international education in both policy and research. Continually left outside the bounds of education regulations, providers are left to self-regulation as an industry, with minimal accountability for content. There has

been little to no statistical data collection by the government on tuition, student demographics, teacher qualifications, turnover or salaries. Kobayashi (2006) points out that while English study makes up the majority of study abroad activity, it has been the least examined topic in study abroad research. The majority of studies, in fact, focus on monolingual English speakers travelling to study other world languages. In Canada, most applied linguistic research on ELT focuses on immigrant populations in publicly funded institutions (cf. Norton 2000).

I will begin by explaining what private ELT encompasses. This term refers to for-profit companies that provide non-credit English language instruction. These companies range from small, locally owned operations to chains owned by international corporations; they may be exclusively devoted to language training, or part of a larger, more general private college. Programs target clients from areas where English is currently spoken as a foreign language. The students in these programs fall along a broad age range, but the majority are college-aged. The length of study for most students is MICRO-TERM: three weeks or less (Forum on Education Abroad 2009, cited in Jackson 2011), or SHORT-TERM (four to eight weeks) (Engle & Engle 2003). With respect to the staff in ELT, there is no government requirement for teacher credentials, and instructors are predominantly part-time. It is a bustling industry with little oversight and a wide variety of related businesses involved. Everyone wants a piece of the English action.

My own interest in private ELT came about through hearing the anecdotes of my schoolmates who took jobs as English teachers after undergraduate study in Linguistics. Listening to their stories, I was struck by the seeming contradiction between the official aims and actual practices at these schools. These young teachers expressed frustration over incompatibility between their own expectations and the limited resources provided by employers. Yarymowich (2004) asserts that these short-term overseas excursions are a leisure activity rather than serious educational training, with a primary outcome being increased self-confidence. The contrast between high costs and meagre linguistic outcomes for students made little sense to me. The attitudes toward language and education exhibited by different actors clashed. I was truly puzzled over how this sector maintains such momentum with these conflicts present.

Searching for an answer to this question I discovered general silence from government agencies, the press, and scholars alike. Kinginger (2009) finds the extant literature on study abroad lacking on a number of points. She notes a common assumption that language acquisition is a primary goal for students. Many studies are quantitative, attempting to measure gains in problematic constructs such as fluency, proficiency, attitude and motivation, with sociolinguistic factors usually overlooked (Kinging 2009). I have located a small number of critical analysis studies specific to private English programs in Canada, and these studies bring welcome attention to power relations. Unfortunately, they lack reflexivity, in both Bakhtin's (1981) sense of the essential role of context for meaning, and what Gaudner (1970) considers the necessary habit for the social researcher of applying the theoretical model to oneself. This leaves a need for a detailed, descriptive study of the sector to ground future research.

Questions remain regarding how the value of English is determined and reproduced at the interface between what Kachru (1984) describes as the Inner and Expanding Circles. This research project seeks to shed light on the mechanisms that maintain demand for private ELT in an Inner Circle country such as Canada versus the same pursuit in the Expanding Circle home context. The overarching goal is to identify the beliefs and value systems that inform the regulatory approach of governments, determine the respect accorded to language teachers, and draw wave after wave of students from overseas. This requires a thorough description of the socio-historical context, stakeholders and discourse themes involved in this field. The present study addresses a considerable deficiency in the literature, and offers a foundation for further research into private ELT, specifically in Canada and more generally in other Inner Circle contexts. With it I seek to speak to the misguided avoidance of sociolinguistic factors in language acquisition research and teacher training. This data also may become more widely pertinent as public education becomes progressively internationalized and privatized.

1.1. Methodology

This study is grounded in a post-structuralist understanding of the social function of language, informed by the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, Pierre Bourdieu, Braj Kachru, Benedict Anderson and Teun van Dijk. Using their theoretical models to form a flexible

analytic framework, I have pieced together a detailed, contextualized description of the stakeholder groups involved in private language education, their motivations and attitudes about English. This involves three stages of research: I first describe the context, then key actors and their practices, and finally look at the public discourse. This project draws on both primary and secondary data, using historical research, content analysis, and discourse analysis methods. Any one method has shortcomings on its own. For instance, in historical research the data set is only ever partial (Gidley 2004). However, multiple methods temper these weaknesses, and allow triangulation of results.

The lack of available statistics and relevant research on private ELT in Canada means that an exploratory approach is necessary. For this project I have pulled together a variety of data sources, both primary and secondary, including descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis. Historical records from academic and government sources contribute to description of the context. Contemporary records collected from a variety of sources serve as both secondary data and texts for discourse analysis. Texts include official websites of 64 private ELT schools, over 95 documents from a range of special interest groups, provincial and federal government departments, as well as 40 local news articles about the local sector from 2010 to 2016.

All of these documents are publicly accessible. I augment this data with participant observation as a teaching assistant and teacher in training with English for academic preparation (EAP) and international university students.

Van Dijk (1998) maintains that ideology should be examined through socially-situated discourse. Bakhtin (1986) speaks of INTERTEXTUALITY: the significance of a particular text includes the relationship with other texts and discourses, both current and historical. He asserts that language only has meaning in context. Bourdieu (1977a) also emphasizes the importance of context in the analysis of all social practice. The context of a given discourse includes historical, political and geographic details for the relevant domain, as well as the practices and goals of participants. Discourse analysis that properly considers all of these factors can reveal the ideologies that shape private ELT in Vancouver.

The next step is to determine who the most important stakeholders are, describe their practices and interests, and determine their position within the field. There is no comprehensive listing available for private ELT programs in the province of British Columbia, only a listing of those operators that belong to the national industry association. Therefore, I undertook a systematic review of websites for businesses currently providing English instruction in the Vancouver metropolitan area. I used the Google search engine to seek out local providers, and compiled a list of schools providing non-credit programs in the Metro-Vancouver area in 2015. I made a detailed inventory of their programs, facilities, services, and affiliations. Review of these websites, in combination with collected secondary data, produced a set of salient participants which I then grouped according to core activities, and relations to other stakeholders.

There is no single, standardized approach to discourse analysis. Tonkiss (2004:373) explains that discourse analysis examines “how social categories, knowledges and relations are shaped by discourse” in the broadest sense, and looks at “the rhetorical and technical use of language” in the more traditional linguistic sense. The term DISCOURSE is used to refer to language use on a variety of levels by many disciplines within the social sciences (Tonkiss 2004). Because this research is focused on the macro level, in this paper the word will refer to the public negotiation of reality through connected texts on a broad topic (van Dijk 1996a). Particular contributions to such negotiation by an individual or organization will be referred to as TEXTS. I have used QSR International's NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis Software to carry out several cycles of coding for discourse themes. In my analysis I considered senders, intended audience, semantic and pragmatic meaning, rhetorical structure, medium and genres. Of course, this is all within the larger context that will be set out. I have combined this with personal insights gained from participant observation as a teaching assistant and teacher in training with EAP (English for Academic Preparation) and international university students, along with data from existing literature on individual stakeholders to create as full a description as possible of this linguistic marketplace.

1.2. Chapter organisation

Before proceeding with the work in question, I will provide a quick overview of the organizational structure for this study. Chapter two describes the theoretical principles that support my analysis. I employ Bakhtin's (1981) theory of dialogics, van Dijk's (1996a & b) evaluative hierarchy, Bourdieu's (1977a & b, 1991, 1998, 2005) work on power relations in social practice, as well as Kachru's (1984) World Englishes paradigm, and Anderson's (1991) description of imagined communities. Taken together, these theories account for the interplay between identity, language and power. The third chapter provides a survey of the pertinent literature. It begins with a general overview of global research on study abroad from a sociolinguistic perspective, and then summarizes the literature specifically concerning private ELT in the Canadian context. Chapter four is dedicated to describing the context, which includes the history of English language teaching, its relationship with international politics and economics, the institutions and infrastructure involved in the industry, government oversight at different levels, and the unique geographic and demographic characteristics of the region. In chapter five I describe five key stakeholder groups. I present demographic information on students and teachers gathered from secondary sources, and provide primary data on the schools currently operating. A rough inventory of the non-teaching businesses with an interest in the local private ELT sector is included, as well as a list of government departments that are involved, the roles they play, and the regulations currently in place. Discussion of the trends observed in the descriptive data and discourse analysis make up chapter six. Here I lay out my argument that the social functions of English are prioritized above communicative functions in private ELT. The final chapter will wrap up the discussion with comments on the limitations of the current study, and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

In this study I am working from the constructionist philosophy, meaning that I am starting with an assumption that knowledge and truth are socially constructed. This analysis is also more narrowly post-structuralist, in that socially constructed concepts like knowledge, language and identity are viewed as variable and dynamic (Nöth 1990). Post-structuralism maintains that meaning, language and culture are in dialectal relationship (Carter 2013). Therefore, a text does not have a single, essential meaning, but multiple interpretations that are dependent on context, as well as the identities and subject positions of senders and receivers (Castree et al. 2013). This approach emphasizes that institutional influence and individual agency are both involved in the negotiation of meaning, rather than focusing solely on one or the other (Carter 2013). Post-structuralism rejects the objectivist reduction of dynamic processes to discrete, static, and universal systems (Nöth 1990). It also considers the subjectivist approach to be inadequate (Bourdieu 1977b).

While the scholars I draw from may not call themselves post-structuralist, their theories align with the suppositions above. The work of Mikhail Bakhtin predates such labels, and has no doubt informed much of post-structuralist theory. Though his contemporary addressee was the sphere of Russian literary theorists, Bakhtin's (1981) theory of dialogics is especially influential to the field of sociolinguistics. Van Dijk's work on discourse and ideology clearly conveys the interaction between the values and norms of groups and the attitudes of individuals (1996a & b; 1998). Anderson's (1991) work on imagined communities details the social functions that language plays in relation to the construction of national identity. Bourdieu's (1977b) theory of power relations in social practice illustrates how social practice is guided by context. His concept of language as symbolic capital provides an investigative framework for how evaluations of language change across contexts. Kachru's (1984) World Englishes paradigm applies a dialogical approach to the spread of English. His model of the concurrent processes of nativization and Englishization is the best representation of English spread and change that takes the social functions of language into consideration.

The primary object of study is the relationship between language and ideology. Park (2012) explains that language ideology is an important mechanism “through which language users attribute social meaning to linguistic forms” (37). Every language choice is based on what can be achieved by using a particular form, and how it will affect the opinion of others (Kachru 1994). One social function of language is as a marker of identity. The value ascribed to a language is not due to its utility for communication, but primarily based on the social meaning attached to it, derived from the status of the speech community (Bourdieu 1977a). Social groups construct systems of linguistic differences “which reproduce...the system of social differences” (Bourdieu 1991:54). Language ideologies may explicitly refer to language use, or be extra-lingual (Seargeant 2009a). As all ideologies are discursively constructed and articulated, it is not necessary to distinguish whether a cluster of beliefs is specific to language or not. It matters only that there is an influence on language use.

2.1. Ideology

Ideology is a complex and controversial concept. An investigation into real world manifestations of the notion must begin with a clearly stated position along the spectrum of definitions. Schaffner (1996) identifies the dominant definitions of the term, ranging from specific to most general. Ideology can mean the science of ideas, as articulated by the eighteenth century French philosopher Destutt de Tracy. This is the belief in the mission of science to improve society through the teaching of rationalism (Cranston n.d.). It can take the pejorative sense of false consciousness, or self-deceptive beliefs manipulated to serve the interests of the powerful (Schaffner 1996). More broadly it can refer to a world-view akin to religion, that dictates truth and conduct, or most simply a system of ideas and beliefs (Schaffner 1996). This last sense is the notion particularized in van Dijk’s (1996a & b) evaluative system theory.

Van Dijk (1996b:63) finds many “traditional aspects of the theory of ideology...intolerably vague and imprecise”, and he endeavors to develop a more precise framework. Van Dijk (1996a:7) conceives of ideologies as “basic systems of shared social representations that may control more specific group beliefs (knowledge, attitudes),” as

well as underlying norms and models, which further organise a set of opinions. These systems develop to serve the interests of the group (van Dijk 1996a).

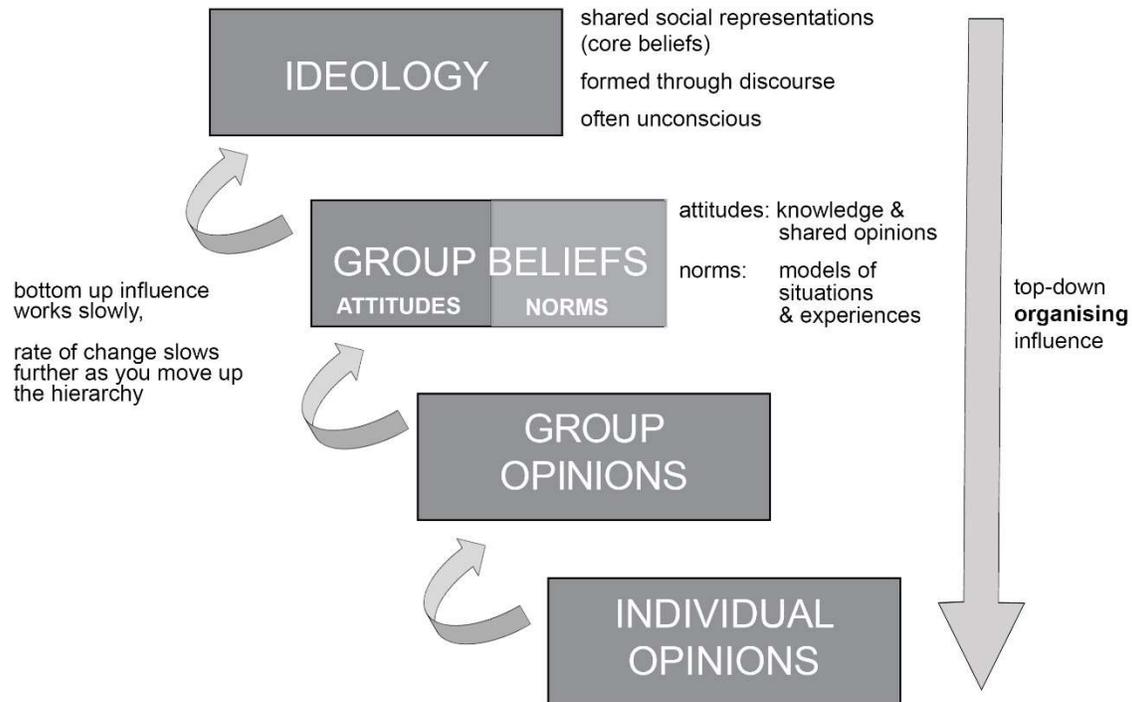


Figure 2.1 flows of influence in group belief systems, based on van Dijk's evaluative system (1996a).

In van Dijk's (1996a) system, as illustrated in figure 2.1, ideologies are bundles of group beliefs. Group beliefs are made up of values and norms. Values are comprised of knowledge and attitudes, which he defines as matrices of opinions formed and shared by a social group. Norms are the models for behavior for specific situations and experiences. Shared opinions are negotiated from individual opinions. Opinions, in van Dijk's framework, "imply an evaluation of *quality* relative to a social system of norms and values", but they may also be sensitive to context (1996a:10, emphasis in the original).

Flexibility of evaluations varies according to the level within the system (van Dijk 1996b). Moving up the hierarchy the rate of change gets slower and slower. Group opinions are slow to change, requiring a great deal of communication and consensus building (van Dijk 1996a). Group attitudes are even slower to change, and ideologies take very long indeed to shift. Ideologies can be considered stable, and generally not progressive, discouraging difference within the group. In fact, "ideology often functions to

limit the realm of disagreement by reproducing the socially contingent as necessarily factual” (Billig 1996).

Van Dijk (1998) advises that ideologies should be studied through discourse because that is often how they are formed. He explains that they are rhetorical, and are often not formalized, or even recognized consciously by group members. “[I]deologies themselves have to be inferred from more directly observable structures of cognition, interaction and society” (van Dijk 1996a:7). He describes public discourse as the negotiation of ideology (van Dijk 1996a). Through the analysis of public discourses, one can discover the ideologies of a social group.

2.2. Imagined communities

The concept of imagined communities is a very useful way to talk about how language ideology works in social systems above the most local level to define the self and the other, both of which are essential for explaining the forces at work in ELT. To help explain the mechanisms that hold nation states together, Anderson (1991) coined the term IMAGINED COMMUNITIES: the mental representations of social groups that are too large for any individual to know every member. Nations can be thought of as a form of imagined community, filled with individuals who feel connected though they have never and will never meet. People hold mental representations of the communities that they identify themselves with and those they do not belong to. These constructs are employed by individuals and institutions, like national governments, to define themselves and influence others. In the current paper I am principally interested in how public discourse constructs the imagined communities of Canadians and English Speakers.

Language is part of social identity. Seargeant (2009a:348) explains language ideology as “the way we think about language.” Social groups form ideologies to describe and explain how and why language systems differ (Seargeant 2009a). Language ideologies are used to create unity and stability by minimizing differences and enforcing standards within the community (Seargeant 2009a). They are also used to create separation and distinctions between groups through exaggerating linguistic differences and ascribing social and even biological significance to them. Bakhtin (1981) speaks of

LANGUAGE CONSCIOUSNESS as the idea a speaker has of their language being canonic, that is, singular, eternal, and unchanging. There is a sacred connection between this language and truth, and the pairing of words and meaning are not arbitrary. Anderson (1991) explains that no one can remember the birth of a language, and that sense of antiquity is easily transferred to a nation-state that has heavily identified with that shared language. This is the beginning of a national mythos, and ruling powers co-opt this mythos to legitimize their power and maintain the status quo (Anderson 1991). He makes a point of distinguishing between NATURAL NATIONALISM, where a national awareness comes about naturally, made possible by the spread of a common writing system and mass-distributed print; and OFFICIAL NATIONALISM, which is an “anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization or exclusion” (101). A ruling class that ties themselves to the language and the language to the nation state secures and naturalizes their authority (Anderson 1991).

The nationalist myth of an isomorphic (one to one) relationship between language and national identity, an inalienable link that legitimizes control of a specific territory, is strengthened through standardization by the institutions of government, media, and education (Anderson 1991). Bakhtin (1981:382) explains that language standardization serves to “preserve the socially sealed-off quality of a privileged community” and protect the interests of the ruling class. The social pressures of language standardization “cannot fail to exercise an influence – sometimes very profound – on the way we think in our actual lives” (Bakhtin 1981:383).

Anderson’s (1991) imagined communities clearly illustrate the importance of language ideologies to modern sociocultural identity. These constructs are built from public discourses, and used by individuals to help position themselves and others in relation to wider society (Anderson 1991). Since the start of the modern era, imagined communities based on territorialized and standardized languages are influenced and harnessed by national institutions to maintain power hierarchies.

2.3. Language and power

The social functions of language allow individuals to manage their identity in social interactions. Bourdieu's (1977b) framework for social practice is a balanced approach to analyzing social interaction. He considers the relations between language and power, showing how the language choices of individuals are influenced by social context, including ideological narratives about status and identity (1977a). In relating these concepts to current issues with English, Kachru's (1984) Three Circles of world Englishes model provides a useful vocabulary for relating localized English use to more general patterns of attitude and global politics. These models provide a clear picture of the ways social actors use language as a source of power on individual, national and international scales.

2.3.1. Linguistic capital

Bourdieu (1977b) characterizes social relations as a system of exchange. Within that system, language is one of several attributes and objects that can be used to acquire advantage. He describes how individuals are situated in social domains, which informs their behaviour. In this framework, institutional forces and context influence choices, but do not cancel out individual agency. The greatest strength of this framework is the descriptive and explanatory power in regard to the movement of symbolic capital from one context to another.

“Language is an instrument of power” (Bourdieu 1977a:648). What Bourdieu means by this is that competence in a particular linguistic code is **SYMBOLIC CAPITAL**: a resource that confers status and prestige on the individual as it is accumulated. Bourdieu problematizes Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogue, particularly the idea that it is a process between equals (Jackson 2008). He focuses on the power relations that arise within and between social groups based on the distribution of symbolic capital (Norton 2000). Adding the dimension of power to the bidirectional model of meaning-making presents the concept of **LEGITIMACY**, meaning “the right to speech” (Bourdieu 1977a: 648). Symbolic capital determines who listens and who speaks. Bourdieu explains that this legitimacy is acquired through linguistic competence. People use language to acquire recognition and affiliation.

A language community has power to accept or deny access to their social networks (Norton 2000).

Bourdieu (1991) talks about social relations in terms of FIELDS and MARKETS. A FIELD is a specific social context that corresponds to a type of capital (Bourdieu 1991). Each linguistic field has its own set of linguistic norms and conditions. A MARKET is a social space where one form of capital can be converted to another (Park 2011). The symbolic capital earned by an utterance in a particular market is determined jointly by the languages used, the identities of the participants, and the level of competence (Bourdieu 1991). The same utterance will earn a different value in different markets. Each individual has a HABITUS: the repertoire of all the forms of capital they hold, including linguistic resources. The habitus is continually being negotiated, and positions the individual within the current social space. This habitus determines the norms they are socialized to, available scripts, and expectations related to their position within the field. PRACTICE is the outcome of negotiation between the norms of their habitus and human agency (Bourdieu 1977b). It is the meeting point between the pressures of the larger social structures and choice, the individual's consideration of how appropriate a particular linguistic act is in the current context.

Bourdieu's use of vocabulary associated with the world of economics should not be misread as taking an economic approach to language. He states he is not promoting economic reductionism, that the economy is just one field among many that operate on the same logic (Bourdieu 1991). His theory of practice seeks to avoid the fetishizing of practices inherent in structuralist approaches on the one side and subjectivist phenomenology (in which he includes Marxist social theory) on the other, both of which fail to recognise the DOXA: grand narratives or self-evident universals in their models of knowledge (Bourdieu 1977b; 1991). In response to the philosophical poles of objectivist and subjectivist inquiry, Bourdieu (1977b) offers a dialectic approach that relates objective structures to socially-situated practices, perceptions and attitudes. Park and Wee (2013) contend that Bourdieu's framework has the flexibility to address both the structural factors and the contributions of individual agency at play in any localized linguistic practice.

2.3.2. World Englishes

Kachru's model of the spread of English around the world is extremely useful for discussing ideology. According to Kachru (1986a), the status of a language is measured by the range of domains where it is used, and by the depth of societal penetration, meaning how many people in which socio-economic classes have access to it. He postulates three main categories of language spread, calling them the Three Circles of English: the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles, represented in figure 2.2.

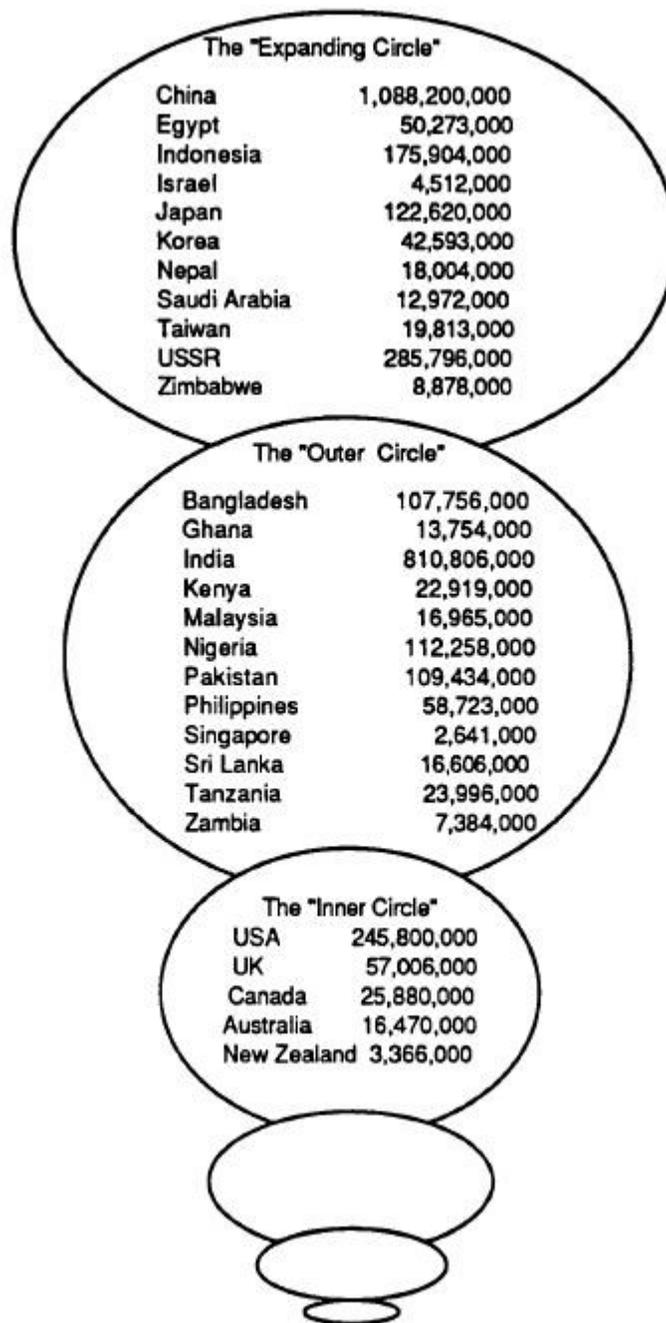


Figure 2.2 Kachru's Circles of English (1990:4).

The Three Circles of English are distinguished by the mechanism of language spread, range and depth of use, and the source of language norms (Kachru 1986c). The Inner Circle includes the region where English first developed, as well as the nation states where English was the language of settler colonies. The Outer Circle encompasses former

resource colonies which are now in the midst of standardization and codification processes for local, nativized varieties. This shift toward local standards is termed ENDONORMATIVE. In the Expanding Circle, English has no colonial history (Kachru 1985). Historically, it has been used as a lingua franca for international communication, as a PERFORMANCE VARIETY, and as an icon of modernity, sophistication and wealth (Kachru 1986b). The term PERFORMANCE VARIETY describes a variety of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) that uses an Inner Circle variety as its model, for the primary function of communicating with an Inner Circle speech community (Kachru 1986b). A speaker's output is affected by local linguistic and sociocultural factors, but local innovations have not yet been codified (Kachru 1985:13). If these variations are recognised at all, it is usually in other speakers as a negative feature (Kachru 1986b). While the Expanding Circle is EXONORMATIVE: still relying on standardized Inner Circle varieties for so-called proper usage, in many places it is now gaining intranational uses. For instance, Matsuda (2000) documents common nativization features among Japanese speakers of English and a growing number of Japanese-made English compounds, in addition to many loan words.

Kachru's model has often been misunderstood and misrepresented. It has been misconstrued as a static model, and as too rigid to account for immigration into the Inner Circle (cf. Nero 2012). It has also been criticized for claiming linguistic homogeneity at the national level, reinforcing colonialism with the use of national language labels, and not incorporating representation of identity creation through stylistic practice on the micro-level (cf. Saraceni 2010). However, the model is actually a dynamic representation of the spread and functions of English over time on a macro level. The visual representation published in Kachru 1990 (figure 2.2) is meant as a snapshot, focusing on the three most relevant contexts at the time of writing. The model uses the nation state as the level of organization because it is still a key level for identity in our times (Hilgendorf 2013). Kachru's model does not assume linguistic homogeneity across a country, but considers the myth of homogeneity as part of national discourses and cultural identity.

Kachru (1994) describes English as having unprecedented functional range, cross-cultural domains of use, and deep social penetration. He explains that when a language moves to a new context, it becomes nativized, conforming to the needs of the local culture, gaining distinct sociolinguistic identities. Different attitudes and functions arise due to distinct history and type of contact in each context. His Three Circles represent

the cultural pluralism created by the diverse sociocultural contexts into which English has become integrated (Kachru 1990). He emphasizes the similarities in patterns of use and attitudes in different regions, pointing out that linguists often forget to do this in spending so much time looking for difference.

2.4. Chapter summary

The realm of international ELT involves both individual and institutional actors in multiple social systems, and the power dynamics involved are not yet well understood. I have gathered together complimentary theories of how language and discourse contribute to the construction of ideology, identity and power relationships in order to describe and interpret the practices of the local private ELT sector. Kachru's (1984) World Englishes paradigm can be viewed as macro-level linguistic marketplaces in Bourdieu's (1977b) social practice framework. Anderson's (1991) conception of imagined communities, van Dijk's (1996a & b) evaluative system and Bakhtin's dialogic (1981) provide insight into the ways that language ideologies and identities are built up and acted upon. Together, these models provide a way to map ideologies to the practices of private ELT.

Chapter 3. Previous research

In general, study abroad research has been dominated by structuralist theory. There is usually a tight focus on the micro level, and neglect of the social functions of language. For this research project I turn to the fraction of studies that consider sociocultural issues in study abroad. My search for research that takes a macro-sociolinguistic perspective on the ELT industry in other Inner Circle contexts has returned only a few isolated studies. Crichton (2003) looks at the positioning of teachers in the discourse of Australia's private ELT sector, while Choudhury & Le Ha (2014) critique the positioning of international students in university English teaching programs. Clark and Paran (2007) make a distinction between public and private providers in their study of native teacher bias in the United Kingdom. I have found no comparable research on the American context. For the Canadian context, I have gathered a modest number of papers that address private ELT. In this chapter I review studies on the promotional discourses of private ELT in Canada, the training of English language teachers, and workplace power relations in the industry. First, I consider the pedagogical justifications for language study abroad and the socially-situated research in this more general area.

3.1. Socially-situated pedagogy

Study abroad is considered by many to be the best way to learn a language, but the assumed benefits are not well-supported by the research literature. Kinginger (2009) argues that this is because the rationales behind the practice are based on flawed language ideologies. Reductive views of language produce poorly designed programs and unrealistic expectations. Several researchers that consider social factors in study abroad find that cross-cultural issues have substantial impact on student attitudes, which in turn affect language learning outcomes (Jackson 2008; Kinginger 2009; Kobayashi 2002, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2011).

Kinger (2009) provides an excellent overview of study abroad research from a sociolinguistic perspective. She argues that research, policy and practice in this area are informed by a folk linguistics that does not hold up under scientific scrutiny. Kinginger

(2009) confronts these myths and clarifies the limitations of study abroad using sociolinguistic theory and a thorough meta-analysis.

The folklore of study abroad is a collection of beliefs that are accepted without critical examination by students, practitioners and researchers alike (Kinging 2009). According to Kinginger (2009), the overarching myth is that the best way to really learn a language is to study it in its native environment. Underlying this myth are several problematic assumptions, foremost that native speaker usage is the appropriate norm for all learners. Other myths include the idea that simply being immersed in the language community enhances motivation, and that language learning in the study abroad context is “inevitable, effortless, and osmotic” (Kinging 2009:114). She notes that it is also assumed that study abroad increases the quality and quantity of exposure to input in the target language, ensuring plentiful authentic interactions with native speakers in the local speech community and providing abundant opportunities for practice. Homestay is claimed to be the best option for accommodation because it gives the most access to authentic local language and culture (Kinging 2009). She adds that the relationship between time abroad and increase in proficiency is presumed to be causative. Kinginger (2009) explains that these myths oversimplify the process of language acquisition and the contexts in which it takes place.

Kinging (2009) argues that many social factors must be considered when comparing students. She points out that studies are typically limited to students from wealthy OECD countries, and posits that students from these countries tend to be motivated by personal growth and cultural awareness, and they rarely spend more than a semester abroad. In addition, American students are predominantly monolingual and unfamiliar with border-crossing. Kinginger therefore warns that data on such students is not generalizable. Students may have a more or a less integrative orientation to the target community. They can choose to engage with their homestay family, or rely on their “electronic umbilical cord”, which reduces integration and socialization (149). Students can respond positively or negatively to their new sociocultural context, and may choose their home pragmatics over those of the target culture in alignment to their existing identity. Kinginger also draws attention to the spectrum of student intentions, which ranges from permanent immigration to tourism. Some students are only interested in the consumption of globalized leisure and entertainment, with study abroad being a “one-time-only chance

for travel and exposure to high culture” for them (Kinging 2009:149). These distinctions make study abroad students a disparate group.

When it comes to context, Kinginger (2009) reports this is usually reduced to a dichotomy of classroom versus naturalistic setting, with many uncontrolled factors ignored. Students receive exposure to different varieties of the language, different levels of pre- and post-trip supports, residence arrangements, and amounts of social activity in the target language. The interaction of cultural norms between sending and host communities can differ in many ways. This may include politeness, treatment of outsiders, and academic traditions. Neither group or individual experiences are adequately comparable.

With all of these factors in mind, the linguistic benefits of most short-term study abroad stays are modest at best and extremely context-specific. Kinginger (2009) says a major limitation is that short-term study abroad does not allow for adjustment of cultural expectations. Learner identity and language socialization are slow processes, and progress cannot be detected over a month or two. She finds evidence to tentatively support improvement in reading (especially when a different writing system is involved), and positive effects are also shown for writing in certain contexts. Study abroad can enlarge a student’s repertoire of informal language, but this may be of limited utility for their goals. Benefits are more visible for students who are already at an advanced level of proficiency. For those of low proficiency, improvements are much more limited. She maintains that students learn best when their language choices have social consequences for them. When they know the destabilizing experience is temporary, they are less invested, and in some cases “a relatively brief period of study abroad appears mainly to have reinforced the students’ affiliation to their original stances.” (202). According to Kinginger (2009) long-term study abroad, meaning a year or longer, has more potential. It can improve listening skills, grammar, and complexity, but not uniformly. In some contexts, long-term trips improve sociocultural awareness and pragmatic proficiency. These results are, however, by no means guaranteed.

Kinging (2009) is careful to state there is no evidence of a causal link between study abroad and linguistic competence compared to language study at home. There is a lack of evidence for improvement to pronunciation, and students spend no more time on task than at-home learners. The homestay environment does not give as rich a linguistic

environment as assumed. Target language input may be limited to service encounters outside the classroom and residence, and the quality of that input is diminished by technological interfaces for daily tasks like shopping. Kinginger (2009) emphasizes that cross-cultural identity work is slow, difficult, and can be painful. The accumulated data seems to stack the evidence against the claims of the folk linguistics of study abroad.

Kobayashi studies the behaviour and attitudes of Japanese students in different sociocultural contexts. She points out that interactions between international students are as big a part of the experience of study abroad as those with locals, if not more so (2006). She explains that students tend to segregate themselves when large numbers of students from the same culture are studying in the same location. Kobayashi (2009) reports that in an Inner Circle study abroad context, Japanese students are more likely to make friends with other Asian students, who have more visible and cultural similarities, than with students from other regions. Additionally, students travelling with a group of their peers are less willing to communicate in the target language than students travelling alone (Kobayashi 2010). Kobayashi (2006) describes how ethnic isolationism impedes student progress by reducing interaction in English. She also notes that short-term students are at a disadvantage for cultivating relationships with other foreign students, which reduces their opportunities for language practice.

Jackson (2008) describes a year-long program with students from a Hong Kong university studying English in the United Kingdom, which included interventions regarding cultural identity issues during, as well as pre- and post- trip. Two case studies illustrate that the attitudes of individual students are the determining factor in positive versus negative outcomes (Jackson 2008). She explains that a border-crossing experience can disrupt a student's sense of self. Successfully navigating this disruption depends on how strongly their identity is tied to their home culture (Jackson 2008).

Researchers are also looking into ways to provide the imagined benefits of study abroad in the home context. Yashima (2013) finds that when Japanese high school students shift their conception of the target community from the Inner Circle to an international fellowship of English users, measures of motivation increase no matter whether they are in a study abroad context or at home. These results add support to the

argument that the Inner Circle context does not necessarily provide a superior language learning experience for Expanding Circle students.

Promoters of English study abroad make many claims about the benefits of learning English in an Inner Circle environment, but evidence in support of those claims is minimal, with several caveats. To provide the best chances for improved linguistic and cultural competence, programs need to be long-term, with careful attention to matching students with homestay families, intentional scheduling of active participation in the local community, and cross-cultural training and supports before, during and after the study abroad experience. However, even when best efforts are made on the part of program developers, teachers, and locals, success still depends on the attitudes and goals of the student.

3.2. Marketing discourse

Turning to research that focuses specifically on the industry discourse, three studies investigate the marketing of private English schools in Canada. Yarymowich (2004), Pegrum (2004) and Abrile (2007) take a critical approach to analysing the marketing discourse of private ELT providers. Pegrum (2004) investigates magazine advertisements, Abrile (2007) looks specifically at websites, and Yarymowich (2004) investigates a variety of marketing messages as part of a larger ethnographic study of the administrative discourse of Canadian private ELT providers.

Pegrum (2004) critically explores the discourse of language school advertisements placed in a selection of popular industry publications from 2003. These advertisements target ELT teachers, agents and students. He details a number of culturally-entwined themes which ELT advertising “both feeds ... and feeds on” (3). Pegrum reports the presence of a neo-colonial narrative that reinforces Inner Circle ownership of English, as well as a consumer culture theme.

Regarding the neo-colonial theme, Pegrum (2004) finds abundant promotion of individualism and Western communication style. He notes that advertisements also capitalize on NATIVISM: ethnocentric attitudes, discriminating against cultural outsiders. In the context of ELT, it refers to the practice of denying legitimacy to teachers who speak

English as an additional language. Pegrum (2004) notes that advertisements in these publications never promote learning varieties other than standardized British or North American English. He states that many advertisements conflate the English language with global communication and assume that English is used and useful everywhere. Advertisements boast of innovation and novelty within teaching programs, which tie into a long-standing discourse that equates English with modernity, sophistication, science and technology (Pegrum 2004).

Pegrum (2004) also finds a prevalent consumerist discourse. He describes a universal portrayal of language skills as something to be purchased, not learned, “like fast food” (8). Pegrum (2004) highlights the repeated message that language acquisition should be easy and pleasurable. He argues that “this advertising plays on the image of a cash- and convenience-rich but time-poor stratum of society...designed to appeal to an affluent, upwardly-mobile demographic” (8).

Pegrum (2004) faults Western English schools for choosing to capitalize on these dominant discourses surrounding English, rather than critically engaging them, and condemns it as predatory. He worries that the discourses employed by language schools present the cultural norms of Western English-speaking societies as the default, and reinforce linguistic and cultural oppression. Though he seems to hold no hope that schools can be persuaded to abandon these discourses, he does view teachers as a possible antidote. Pegrum (2004) asserts that individual instructors can reduce the dangers of these discourses by critically engaging them rather than accepting them as norms. He argues that the myth of English built up from these discourses is precarious, and he believes that a small push could topple it. “[S]ome tropes prove to be partially or wholly incompatible, revealing a certain conceptual instability, a lack of self-identity, at the heart of ELT” (4). Pegrum (2004) advocates for teacher-mediated discussion in the classroom to expose these discourses.

Pegrum’s (2004) study provides a starting place for categorizing the discourse themes present in marketing materials for private ELT, although his analysis is heavy-handed about linguistic and cultural hegemony, as he subscribes to Phillipson’s (1992) rhetoric of linguistic imperialism. He appears to accept a unidirectional theory of media effects which does not allow for agency on the part of the audience. His call for teachers

to be agents of change leads to questions about the resources available to teachers in private English classrooms. Do they have the training and freedom needed to effectively lead students in critical engagement? There is also the question of how students would receive such an intervention.

Abrile (2007) investigates the internet marketing of two Montreal-based private English schools. Using Pennycook's (1990) critical applied linguistics framework, he finds two primary themes: an educational theme, and a consumer discourse theme that includes business, travel and leisure references "that create a customer-service experience" (Abrile 2007:55). Results for the two websites are very similar, with approximately one quarter of written text instances falling under educational or mixed discourse, and the rest taken up by the consumer theme. With respect to images, the contrast is more pronounced, with less than five percent of visual texts representing education.

According to Abrile (2007:24), "One of the ways in which ELT suppliers promote their goods is by emphasizing the allegedly intellectual, financial, and professional benefits that learning English entails". They promise that English will provide access to the global marketplace, as well as personal and economic success. He contrasts this with the promotion of VIP services to appeal to wealthy students found on the same websites. Abrile argues that "the discourse of educational rigor and authority contrasts with other textual instances positioning the school and potential students in a customer service relationship" (61). He contends that this interdiscursive mix "constructs schools and students in roles that are at odds with each other" and "represents ESL instruction in opposing ways" (Abrile 2007:71).

Like Pegrum (2004), Abrile (2007) appeals to Phillipson's (1992) account of harmful and commonly held imperialist assumptions in ELT. Abrile (2007) points out that the native speaker fallacy is still a commonly held assumption in ELT, as illustrated by the texts in his study. He argues that this perpetuates the fallacy that students need to be able to understand native English speakers. He criticizes private schools for continuing to seek out native English speakers for teachers regardless of their education or training, and for promoting essentialized stereotypes of the typical Canadian family as monolingually English. Abrile (2007) asserts that this "excludes the multi-ethnic character of Canadian society" (81).

Abrile (2007) argues that private English schools are just “selling ESL/EFL as a commodity” (13). The term commodification, popularized by Radin (1987), refers to considering something in economic terms that ought to be inalienable. It may be used in a narrow sense to apply only to the actual monetary trade of such things, or more broadly to include using market rhetoric (Radin 1987). Abrile (2007) sees the discourses on ELT websites as a normalizing tool that schools use to position themselves as legitimate educational institutions and to acquire new clients. He disparages the self-regulating framework of the sector, and places much power and responsibility on English schools both individually and collectively as industry associations. Abrile (2007) argues that the Canadian Association of Private Language Schools (CAPLS) “is advancing claims that legitimate the association as the lawfully self-governing body best suited to regulate the private language industry in Canada” (16). He alleges that the national government’s interests lay with the commercial growth of the private language industry, and not in “educational objectives” (10). In his estimation, government should be acting in the public interest for Canada and the global community, as a counter-force to regulate schools. Abrile (2007) concludes with a call for greater scrutiny of CAPLS and their government lobbying practices. Oversight of the industry is discussed in more detail in sections 4.3.4, 4.3.5, and 5.5.

Abrile’s (2007) study provides useful information about the marketing strategies used by some Canadian private ELT providers. It also provides an example of ideological narrative in the discourse of language education. At times he seems to shift genre from academic argumentation to polemic. The appeal to the common good, the charge of commodification, and placement of all responsibility for meaning making on the institutions suggests a strong ideological position. Additionally, in his criticism of the dominant consumer theme on these websites, Abrile (2007) describes texts “that emulate the discourse of advertising” (55). This suggests that either he does not consider company websites to be part of the genre of advertising, or he is taking a moral stance against advertising in general.

Yarymowich (2004) explores the administrative side of private ELT operators in Canada. She provides a discourse analysis of several school websites and other marketing materials, in addition to ethnographic interviews with the administrative staff and teachers at one particular private school in Montreal. She explains that because most

potential students are geographically distant, marketing activities typically include brochures, in-person recruitment trips, and websites. Her analysis uncovers a number of discourse themes in common with the genre of tourism promotion (Yarymowich 2004).

Yarymowich (2004) contends that students place consumer pressure on English schools that are trying to compete in a fierce international market. She states that administrators feel conflicting drives to both keep pace with and differentiate themselves from similar schools in the US, Europe and Australia. A large portion of Canadian language school websites look alike no matter whether they provide a strictly academic program or language tourism (Yarymowich 2004). In response to market demands, schools use several main marketing discourses to persuade students to choose them over hundreds of similar providers. Yarymowich (2004) highlights the discourses of self-improvement, pleasure, customer service, flexibility, legitimacy and prestige, community, and Canadian-ness.

According to Yarymowich (2004), the theme of self-improvement capitalizes on the consumer compulsion to pursue perfection outside the self. She asserts that the perception of English language proficiency as a tool for economic and social gain is a main force behind the rapid growth of ELT in Canada. A strong motivation for language tourists is “the wish to be (or at least to be perceived as) an international citizen with better than average linguistic/multilingual capabilities” (Yarymowich 2004:29). Language school is positioned as a gateway to achieving a more desirable lifestyle.

One of the most prominent themes that Yarymowich (2004) found in visual texts is pleasure, that is, that a good life is easy and enjoyable, filled with leisure activities. She argues that learning English is promoted as not only useful but also fun, therapeutic and fulfilling. The majority of images relate to tourism and recreation instead of depicting classroom-based activity. Many schools offer special programs, cultural activities, and recreational trips in order to set themselves apart from competitors. This mirrors the trend of niche marketing in the general tourism industry. She reports that this theme is so prevalent in the marketing of English schools that even schools with no organized activities highlight options for self-directed outings. Yarymowich (2004) reasons that “the advertised content of many language school activity programs lays the groundwork for cultural

practices, sites, objects and ideas to essentially become *equated* to recreation and thereby commodified” (57, emphasis original).

Yarymowich (2004) contends that the discourse of pleasure directly conflicts with another major theme of tourism, that of prestige and academic excellence. This discourse is generated through naming practices, references to native teachers, strict English-only policies, and years of service or number of clients served, since these schools do not have the luxury of well-known alumni, high-profile research or sophisticated facilities as universities do. According to Yarymowich (2004), most schools employ testimonials and lists of frequently asked questions (FAQs) on their websites to create a sense of legitimacy. Whether testimonials are offered freely or solicited, or even actually written by students, “[s]uch texts encourage readers to infer that discourse which positions the school in a favorable light emanates primarily from the students themselves” (48). Visual texts like traditional-style crests and official-looking certificates are also employed to increase the impression of authority and rigour (Yarymowich 2004).

Flexibility is presented as a strength to attract students (Yarymowich 2004). A common operating model includes continuous student intake and variable program length. Yarymowich (2004) also lists niche programming like English for Special Purposes (ESP), and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) as other common ways that schools present themselves as flexible. This generates an impression that students can “pick and choose items as though shopping in a department store” (54). She asserts that this disconnects the goal of attaining language skills from time and effort. Yarymowich (2004) also argues that this discourse of choice implies it is appropriate for students to set the terms and conditions of their language learning.

The themes of community and Canadian-ness give “the promise of meaningful human contact,” according to Yarymowich (2004:61). She maintains that this links academic success to cultural immersion, and employs an essentialized version of Canadian culture. Yarymowich states that “[p]romises of cleanliness, beauty, safety and intercultural harmony, paired with the promise of activities such as dog-sledding, canoeing, hiking or a visit to a [Canadian] sugar shack aim to both reassure and intrigue potential language tourists” (66). A sugar shack, or *cabane à sucre*, is a traditional maple syrup operation. Additionally, racial and gender diversity is depicted regardless of whether

it represents reality at the school. Yarymowich (2004) contends that this promotes the problematic idea that “students can participate in an authentic cultural experience without risk and with little or no personal effort or critical intellectual engagement required” (66).

Yarymowich (2004) concludes that private Canadian English schools are tourism businesses masquerading as educational institutions. However, she maintains that operators believe this is their only option for competing in a saturated global market. Yarymowich (2004) uses the term LANGUAGE TOURISM to describe “the practice of incorporating foreign language study into a holiday (or vice versa)” (11). It can be thought of as a subsection of EDUTOURISM, which she defines as “the pursuit of some sort of educational or culturally and/or intellectually-enriching experience intermingled with participation in leisure activities” (22). Yarymowich contends that these marketing discourses give potential students the message that flexibility, fun, prestige, and emersion in an essentialized community are what they should expect in a language tourism experience. These discourses also encourage the idea that English will help them achieve their goals and dreams, and can be easily acquired on their vacation. She asserts that these “ambiguous and sometimes contradictory messages” (39) must be examined for what they do not say as much as for what they do. Realistic descriptions of language learning potential are not discussed. Explanation of program levels, the kinds of cultural knowledge that can be acquired through program activities, climate and school facilities are also absent from the marketing discourse (Yarymowich 2004).

Staff beliefs about the main goals and results of the language school do not line up with the marketing discourses (Yarymowich 2004). Staff do not appear to buy into the discourse of flexibility, particularly the message that students should have the authority to determine what they study and how. Yarymowich (2004) reports “a general perception that students often do not know what they want, and also that they do not always realize what they are getting” (122). Staff believe that many students underestimate the time and effort needed to acquire a language, and overestimate their level of proficiency. Staff also contend that students have unrealistic expectations about the gender and ethnic mix in their classrooms, and of the homestay experience. They arrive envisioning a monolingual white family in a suburban house, and are disenchanted when placed with busy single parents in urban apartments (Yarymowich 2004). There is a “dissonance between the views expressed by various staff members about what students gain by completing a

language course...and the construction of language learning that is reflected in the official design and objectives of...courses" (107). She says that when staff are asked how the courses at their school benefit students, the answer is most often increased self-confidence, and not language acquisition. Staff think the short, flexible program structure still benefits students by motivating them to continue studying on their own, even though they do not believe that it provides quantifiable language acquisition in the short term (Yarymowich 2004).

Yarymowich (2004) provides a detailed catalogue of discourse themes used in the marketing of private ELT in Canada. The gap that she describes between the portrayal of private ELT in marketing texts and the attitudes held by teachers is a promising area for further investigation. While the link she makes between private ELT and tourism marketing is insightful, care should be taken not to ascribe all of these themes specifically to tourism. Yarymowich does not consider whether these features could be largely part of the general domain of advertising. Two other assumptions that Yarymowich makes that require caution are that students attend these programs with the main goal of acquiring English language proficiency, and that school administrators adopt these marketing strategies in response to fierce market competition.

The three studies above illustrate how commercial English schools in Canada use a variety of discourses and strategies in their marketing texts, with some striking similarities to tourism. All three authors argue that private ELT operators are not selling an education, but an experience or lifestyle connected to a powerful culture and language. Yarymowich (2004) touches on the mismatch between the promises made in the marketing discourse and what teachers feel ELT is really about. The next section will discuss further research on the experiences of teachers in commercial ELT in Canada.

3.3. English language teachers

The studies in this section focus on training, workplace culture, and advocacy in regard to teachers in private ELT. They reveal a mismatch between the expectations held by the business side of ELT and the teaching side regarding the purpose of ELT, and the training and resources needed by teachers. All three studies suggest an inherent conflict

of interest between education and profit, and question the efficacy of industry self-regulation.

Thomson (2004) examines the state of English teacher training in Canada. Motivated by concern regarding the lack of regulations, he sets out to determine range of quality in teacher education programs. His study surveys the spectrum of programs available and uses a set of base criteria to evaluate program quality.

According to Thomson (2004), at the turn of the twenty-first century the number of training programs for English teachers in Canada increased sharply. Thomson suggests that the number and nature of these programs have continued to grow in response to the combined overseas and local demand for EFL teachers. He alleges that the foreign market demand creates an opportunity for disreputable businesses to fill the gap in supply. There is no over-arching accrediting body in Canada for ELT teacher training, and Thomson notes a wide variation in program length and quality. Many schools have high fees, and not all programs give graduates the credentials needed to teach in Canada. Thomson (2004) reports that some schools do not even have entrance requirements, or give adequate assessment of student performance.

Thomson (2004) assesses ten popular programs across Canada: one at a university, others at community colleges and online businesses. His criteria include the depth of course content, qualification of instructors, entrance standards, assessment protocol, whether or not there is a supervised practicum, and outside accreditation. Results overall are not positive. All ten of the programs surveyed by Thomson (2004) have the same name: *Certificate in TESL*, but this means little, as there is currently no regulation for the naming of non-degree programs in Canada. Of the ten, only one program meets all six of Thomson's criteria, and that is the university program. He considers instructor qualifications, entrance standards, assessment, and practicum acceptable at most of the ten schools, however, the range in content and hours of instruction is broad, with most receiving a failing score. The range in tuition also varies widely, but is not correlated with the length of the course. Only four of the ten schools are accredited by Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) Canada. In the worst cases, Thomson (2004) finds unsubstantiated claims about content, accreditation status, and job guarantees. One program has plagiarized large portions of their training manual, and two programs have

fabricated their own accreditation bodies. In the end, Thomson (2004) concludes that some programs offer a “minimally acceptable introduction to the field”, but many do not even pass minimum standards (53).

Thomson (2004) deems most of the training programs in his study inadequate at preparing ELT instructors for Canadian classrooms. He argues that if programs are not meeting minimum standards for basic teacher training, they certainly are not equipping them to challenge the rhetoric of their employers or to navigate the contradictory roles of teacher and customer service representative. Thomson (2004) sees a need for improved self-regulation in the relatively young field of teacher training, but is confident that this will come about as it matures. He asserts that one-month programs should not be accredited, and that TESL Canada should make their assessment procedures more rigorous, including regular program reviews. He contends that “[o]nly through stringent standards will adult ESL instructors receive the recognition and respect that other similar professionals enjoy” (43). He makes the assumption that ELT schools will demand increasingly higher credentials and expertise in their employees, which will pressure training programs to meet these higher expectations. However, if private ELT operators embrace a consumption model, they may not see a need for more than customer service skills in their teachers.

Breshears (2008) explores how unionization affects power relations for teachers in the private ELT sector through the narratives of four teachers from two large and successful private English schools in Vancouver. For the majority of English teachers working at private schools in the city, working conditions are difficult (Breshears 2008). Teachers in general have lower wages than professions with similar education, and ELT wages are in a state of decline. Breshears explains that most jobs are part time, meaning no benefits, and many teachers hold two or three positions at a time to make ends meet. On top of poor pay and long hours, English teachers at most private schools are expected to create curricula and materials on their own. Breshears (2008) adds that micro-managing, bullying and other oppressive management practices are prevalent, and argues that these conditions are the reason for high levels of attrition.

Breshears (2008) contends “ESL teachers are situated in a cultural and economic system that does not value their labour for its intrinsic worth but rather for its exchange

value” (160). She argues that this affects the teacher-student relationship as well as that of teacher and manager. Part of the problem, in Breshears’ estimation, is the perception of language instruction as a service industry, which forces the teacher into conflicting roles of teacher and service-provider. She explains that:

In educational facilities that are also businesses, the student is as much a customer as a learner, thus wielding consumer power in the classroom and reversing the assumption made in critical pedagogy of the teacher being structurally positioned as superior to the student. (Breshears 2008: 31)

Business interests sometimes clash with what teachers see as appropriate. Breshears argues that the use of client comment cards, student feedback surveys and complaints as evaluation tools by managers emphasizes the service-provider role. She views this as a “punitive approach to teacher development” (137). Teachers are left feeling like “baby sitters,” or “entertainers” (Breshears 2008:137).

While Breshears (2008) finds working conditions to be poor for most teachers working in private English schools in Vancouver, the situation is improved for those who choose to unionize. She asserts that in the absence of government action “the burden of change is on practitioners” (30). Unfortunately, she notes that “[w]hile the interests of most public school teachers in Canada and the United States are represented by unions, the vast majority of ESL teachers in the private sector are without collective agreements” (50). She estimates 170 private English schools in Vancouver alone, with just three unionized schools in all of British Columbia at the time of writing. Low membership in this sector could be due to the young age of many teachers. Breshears notes new teachers have little experience with or knowledge of unions, and may fear jeopardizing their jobs. Her participants report that the union has given them both material gains like employee benefits as well as job stability, and more of a voice in their workplace, which makes it more likely that they will stay long-term.

Breshears (2008) believes that a commodity-based approach to language education neutralizes the authority of teachers in the classroom, and disenfranchises them. She argues that students, employers, and teachers perceive the nature of their interaction in drastically different terms, which causes multiple conflicts. Breshears (2008) pleads for more empirical studies of ESL teachers’ working conditions. She urges

provincial ministries of education to implement mandatory registration and accreditation of schools, and asks for government monitoring of the industry to provide data such as the number of schools, number of teachers, salaries, training levels, rates of attrition and union representation. Breshears (2008) also emphasizes that teachers should be asked for input into policy formation.

In one final study on teachers in private ELT, Shaw (2014) explores the negotiation of teacher identity in British Columbia. Shaw (2014) works within a critical framework, combining ethnography, semi-structured interviews, and survey data to shed light on the power relations of the industry. She argues that teachers are marginalized by the dominant discourses of neo-liberal market principles. Shaw (2014) speaks of the English teaching industry as an educational contact zone, using Pratt's (1992) framework for cultural identity negotiation. She envisions the workplace as an ideological battleground between "the wider discourses of education" and those of neo-liberalism" (32). Concepts like professionalism and quality are contested. She notes that half of survey respondents said they do not feel respected by their institutions. Teaching ELT has a reputation for high attrition and low levels of skill and experience (cf. Johnson 1997, Breshears 2008:142), but Shaw's (2014) survey shows the majority have a graduate degree and five or more years of experience. Teachers feel confused and frustrated by workplace practices that are in direct conflict with what they see as the primary goal of language learning. Shaw (2014) believes that "English is a powerful tool in the world and helping students to access that tool can be very meaningful to instructors" (102).

Shaw (2014) argues that English language teachers are marginalized in multiple ways. She describes the working conditions as precarious. Women are over-represented, and contracts are mostly temporary with low pay. There is little room for advancement, and no job security. Teachers make do with small, poorly lit rooms that lack adequate teaching resources. They are bullied through the practice of teaching observations by unqualified managers. Teachers feel pushed into a customer service role, where work is increasingly standardized, which Shaw (2014) cites as one of many effects of corporatization. She reports that many teachers experience social and administrative isolation due to late teaching hours, and adds that the omission of teachers from the public discourse on English teaching leaves them feeling undervalued and voiceless.

According to Shaw (2014), the position of teachers in the dominant, neo-liberal, globalist model of ELT “is in sharp contrast to the negotiated identities E[nglish as an] A[dditional] L[anguage] instructors develop in our teacher training programs” (74). She wants to empower teachers to make change for themselves by including political economy theory in teacher training. She also sees a need for deeper study of institutional practices and a full census of instructors, although this would need the backing of a government department or university.

Shaw (2014), Breshears (2008), and Thomson (2004) offer valuable insight into the position of private ELT teachers. Unfortunately, they do not consider how narratives from the discipline of education may be contributing to tensions in the workplace. These studies fail to situate the discourses in question within historical context, or to recognise their own ideological assumptions.

3.4. Chapter summary

The studies presented above give an overview of private ELT in Canada from several angles. The first set of studies explored the dominant pedagogical approach to study abroad research, and the socially-situated responses in that area. The next group analysed the marketing discourses by private ELT operators in Canada. The final set of papers focused on issues surrounding English language teachers in the Canadian private sector. These studies provide different perspectives that build toward a more complete picture of private English language education in Canada.

While all of these researchers bring needed attention to the social factors involved in private ELT, and add to a description of this field of practice, there are still many large blank spaces to fill in. Most of the studies so far take a narrow focus, and include neither historical perspective nor political or economic context in their analysis. So far it is rather like the fable of the blind men and the elephant, with fragmented and contradictory understandings. I observe several reductive assumptions present in the literature, foremost of which is the matter of what students actually want out of the experience. Other problematic assumptions involve the fundamental issues of how meaning is made, and how human society is structured, which influence the power ascribed to advertising, the

rigidity of discourse interpretations, and the problem of establishing common ground in public discourse, among other things. I will endeavor to address these issues in the pages that follow. I devote the next chapter to developing an inclusive context in which to place the actors and their practices for a more nuanced analysis.

Chapter 4. Context

Bourdieu (1991) states that it is necessary to systematically reconstruct the market and its relationship to the broader social space in order to understand the interests at stake. Defining the context for private ELT in Vancouver will require consideration of geographic position, sociocultural setting, politics and economics, history, as well as connection to other discourses. There is a difficulty in trying to separate these phenomenon into discrete categories, as they are all entwined. No matter where boundaries are placed they will be artificial. In this chapter I will organize the discussion chronologically and geographically, from past to present, from England to the Inner Circle colonies, and from national to provincial down to the city.

Foreign language teaching developed to support trade, religious missions and the spread of academic knowledge (Hilgendorf 2012). This is certainly true for English, from its beginnings in feudal times through the modern period to today. It is not within the scope of this research project to provide a complete history of ELT; however, a brief outline is necessary to situate the current discussion. For an in-depth treatment, the reader should turn to Howatt (1984). Clark (2013) provides a thorough history of the codification of English as part of her discussion on English and identity, and Phillipson (1992, 2012) gives a detailed history of the British Council.

4.1. Early English

The English language is relatively young, having only been standardized and codified from 1500-1800 CE (Clark 2013). England transitioned to monolingualism in the late middle ages, under the Tudor dynasty (Howatt 1984). This made English language learning more important to continental Europeans for trade. The East-Central Midlands region was the centre of trade, so that dialect became the language of government by the end of the fifteenth century, with Latin and French the languages of education. Howatt (1984) explains that the arrival of large numbers of religious refugees from the continent during the Reformation in the sixteenth century, then another wave from the Restoration in the seventeenth century, spurred development of the first English language textbooks.

According to Howatt (1984), most of these early texts were bilingual manuals in English and French, the Western lingua franca of trade and politics at the time.

In the eighteenth century, English primarily spread through scholarship. Howatt (1984) states that most learners of English at this time were foreign European scholars interested in English academic works, as British philosophy and literature were gaining in popularity across the continent. He notes that most textbook authors and teachers spoke English as an additional language. There was intense standardization activity in England at this time, with formalization of spelling, grammar, and dictionary writing, and English slowly took over as the medium of education by the end of the century (Howatt 1984). Formal education was still primarily the preserve of the upper class (Anderson 1991). Universal education did not come about until the nineteenth century (Clark 2013).

4.2. Colonial Expansion

Expansionism spread the British Empire, and English around the world, which increased the power and prestige of the language. Howatt (1984) explains that British advances in maritime navigation allowed for exploration further afield, and discovery of important natural resources in the Americas, South East Asia and Africa, for which scientific and industrial developments created demand. This fueled colonization as the British, French and Spanish raced to secure resources for funding their wars. Britain won North America, India and other strategic parts of South East Asia, coming out of the century as the dominant military power in Europe.

Blommaert (2010) refers to the nineteenth century as the era of globalization. During this period rapid industrialization produced two key phenomena for ELT: the railway and the middle class. While Britain enjoyed a long period of peace, the growing middle classes put their attention and energy into upward mobility, acquiring material wealth and aspiring to inclusion in polite society (Anderson 1991; Howatt 1984). The railway provided new mobility, and tourism became a popular application for disposable income. This was a time of increasing international commerce and immigration, which Howatt (1984) argues, generated demand for language learning focused on travel and work, outside of formal education. He describes growing numbers of middle and working-class Europeans who

wanted to immigrate to English-speaking countries, or to communicate with loved ones who already had, and sought evening language classes. The stars of this new form of language teaching were based in Germany, with the most famous being Maximilian Berlitz. Howatt (1984) also notes that many of the issues mentioned in current critiques of modern ELT schools were already present in the early Berlitz schools, such as minimal training and high teacher turn-over. These conditions were directly related to the “teacher-proof” education model that Berlitz promoted (Howatt 1984:205).

4.2.1. English and nationalism

The nineteenth century also saw the rise of European nationalism, where language played a key role in defining citizenship. Blommaert (2010) calls this connection between language and nation state “one of the key concepts of modernity” (138). As stated in section 2.2, Anderson (1991) carefully distinguishes between natural nationalism as a bottom-up phenomenon, and official, top-down, official nationalism. With natural nationalism, print, capitalism and the inception of the middle class combined to create a sense of connection among the reading public of particular vernaculars. The “bourgeoisie were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis” (Anderson 1991:77). Since divine right was no longer accepted as a license to rule, state governments co-opted these imagined communities to create a shared identity for rulers and ruled. A single, shared language helped to legitimize authority and created unity and stability at a national level through the ideology that an imagined community bound by language had the right to self-rule (Anderson 1991). Clark (2013) contends that public education acted as a vehicle to enculture this national consciousness among the working classes through linguistic and cultural homogenization. Wright (2012) notes that universal education also helped to maintain a complacent and skilled industrial workforce.

With the popularity of nationalism, the myth of monolingualism took hold across Europe. A single shared language has both positive and negative effects on a community. Robichaud and De Schutter (2012) point out that it facilitates democracy by providing equal access to information and a voice for participation. However, connecting one language to national identity also carries exclusionary force, which can result in discrimination. Wright (2012) gives the example of proficiency and use of the national standard being taken as symbolic of a citizen’s political loyalty.

Howatt (1984) credits nationalism with the delayed establishment of a new lingua franca in the West to replace French. Nation states turned inward for scholarship and cultural prestige. The combination of nationalism and expansionism culminated in the upheaval of the World Wars. In the aftermath of the Great Wars, the United States held the greatest military and economic power. English continued to climb steadily in prestige over the next sixty years to claim the role of trade language on a much larger scale.

4.3. Institutionalization of ELT

In the twentieth century, as mobility of people and information continued to increase, governments sought new strategies to aid in managing national identity. Inner Circle governments began institutionalizing ELT, at first for cultural diplomacy, and later for global economic competition. The ELT system took a different shape in each context, in the same way that the language itself has.

The development of Canada's ELT sector has been less coordinated than in other Inner Circle countries. Government structure and priorities have prevented centralized management of education, and Canadian businesses did not begin providing English Education specific to foreign students until the second half of the twentieth century, as the English language became firmly connected to global economics. This is very different from the centralized systems in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom.

4.3.1. The British Council

Within the UK, the language learning needs of increasingly large numbers of immigrants demanded attention, while externally, the government began to use language teaching abroad as part of a new strategy of cultural influence in global relations (Phillipson 2012). The British Council was created as the main instrument for this. ELT became closely tied to national higher education systems, and to the internationalization of those systems.

Phillipson (2012) notes an increase in activity promoting English overseas beginning with the advent of the twentieth century. The Rhodes scholarship was established in 1902, bringing foreign students to Oxford (Rhodes Trust n.d.). At the urging

of diplomats trying to establish peaceful relations, and business owners wishing to expand internationally, the British government began to organize English language teaching overseas (Phillipson 2012). The British Council for Relations with Other Countries was officially inaugurated in 1935, made up of business leaders and educators, and funded with various ratios of government and private funds over the years. Phillipson (1992) comments that much of the government funding for the council has come from the Foreign Office, and Council activities generally focus on areas where national competitors have a stronghold. The organisation is upfront about the political nature of its mandate. The official website states that the Council employs this “soft power” strategy against “threats to British prosperity, security and influence.” (British Council n.d.: Contribution to UK soft power, History).

ELT was viewed as a resource for winning allies during World War II (Phillipson 1992). The next big task for cultural diplomacy was to woo other nations away from the temptation of communism, and overseas teaching was focused on Asia during the cold war. By the late sixties, commercial needs began to overtake war strategy once again as the main motivation behind ELT (Phillipson 1992).

During the Second World War, many home offices were created to deal with waves of incoming refugees, and after the war, these were organized into the Home Division to work with international scholarship students (British Council n.d.: History). As expansion of teaching activities continued, the number of available English teachers lagged behind demand. In the 1960s International House began a one-month teacher training program to quickly deal with the human resource shortage, and it is still being used all over the world (Thomson 2004).

Current Council activities focus on the internationalization of education (British Council n.d.: Our work in education). The organization does lobby work at the international level, and provides services like professional development for school administrators, and curriculum resources. The Council also administers Accreditation UK, the state’s quality assurance program for language schools, with overseas exam administration, and training for education agents. The Council also includes the promotion of British arts and culture as well as other diplomacy initiatives in its mandate (British Council n.d.: Our organisation).

The British Council is a centralized, national institution that manages ELT on behalf of the British government. While the activities of the council have addressed different issues over time, the core purpose has always been managing the image of the United Kingdom.

4.3.2. The American context

In the United States, competition with England has helped to shape ELT. Identity politics accentuated the divergence of the local dialect from the English spoken across the Atlantic. Clark (2013) marks the early eighteenth century for the emergence of a distinct American English dialect, which was closely tied to political independence from the British Empire. By the twentieth century, North American English speakers outnumbered those in Britain (Clark 2013).

After the First World War, the US government also began to view the English language as a resource for advancing foreign policy goals, and developed language teaching efforts at a pace with the UK (Phillipson 1992). Early on, the US focused on programs to bring foreign students to American universities for education in English language and culture. Phillipson (1992) reports that the US State Department created a Cultural Relations division in 1937, and by the 1950s was coordinating strategies with the British Council for English education overseas. He notes that the US pulled out ahead of the UK in English textbook publishing and linguistic academics by the 1960s. With its military, economic and media power, the United States is now considered by many to be the most sought-after destination for English study abroad (Ferguson 2012; Kizilbash 2011).

Like the UK, the US takes a centralized approach to ELT. The US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (USECA) is a counterpart to the British Council. Its mandate is to “advance U.S. foreign policy objectives through educational, professional, and cultural programs” (US Department of State n.d.: About the Bureau). The bureau manages the Fullbright scholarship program, American English resources for overseas teachers and students, international student recruitment, and other cultural diplomacy initiatives. The twenty-first century has brought increased regulation and monitoring of international education. The USECA works with the Department of

Homeland Security (DHS) Office of Academic Engagement to oversee the majority of foreign student visits to the US. The Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA) is an industry association recognized by the federal government as the primary accreditation body for private ELT (CEA n.d.).

4.3.3. ELT in Australia

Australia is important to our discussion of ELT in Canada in part due to the commonalities between the two countries. Trilokekar (2007) notes that “Australia is seen to have several parallels to the Canadian case in history, size and nature of challenges” (78). Both countries are former settlement colonies, close in age, geographically large, diverse, and sparsely populated, but there are also important differences. Most notably, ELT has developed earlier and faster in Australia, due to centralized government control.

Chowdhury and Le Ha (2014) describe the development of international education in Australia as shifting from traditional cultural diplomacy, to international development, and then to global economic competition. The Australian government began recruiting international university students in the 1950s, developing the Colombo Plan in response to Cold War concerns (Chowdhury & Le Ha 2014). In the 1980s, Australia increased efforts to recruit international students (Knight & De Wit 1995). Tourism had already been an important economic resource in Australia for some time, and so the country led a trend in bundling tourism and education into an international marketing campaign. Former managing director of the Australian Tourist Commission, Jim Morse, claims that Australia was the first nation to employ a branding strategy to promote the country (Redwood 2001, cited in Forsey & Low 2014). By the mid-nineties education and training had become a major export earner for the country. By 1994 international students made up 15% of enrollments in Australian higher education institutions (Back & Davis 1995). Education and training made up 25% of service exports to Southeast Asia, rivaling wheat as an export (Australia Ministry of Employment, Education and Training, cited in Back & Davis 1995).

The turn of the century marked Australia’s movement into what Chowdhury and Le Ha (2014:98) call the “commercialized global education market” era as a result of sharp cutbacks in government funding over the last decade. The Education Services for

Overseas Students (ESOS) Act was passed in 2000 to provide a quality assurance framework and regulate student visas (Australia Ministry of Education and Training 2015). The Department of Education and Training released its Draft National Strategy for International Education in 2005, and established the International Education Advisory Council (IEAC) in 2011. It oversees 70 private schools across the country under the English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) system (Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade n.d.).

International students now make up a significant portion of visitors to Australia (Forsey & Low 2012). Most of these come from Asia, where the geographic proximity and increasingly multicultural population give it strong appeal. The majority of international students attend credit programs at universities and colleges, while just under one third take non-credit language programs, mostly through ELICOS schools, though there are a small number at unregulated schools (Australia Ministry of Education and Training n.d.).

The rapid development of Australia's ELT sector has led to some problems. The country's higher education system is now dependent on international students for financial survival (Chowdhury & Le Ha 2014; Kizilbash 2011). Locals have at times responded to changing student demographics with racist behavior (cf. Whinnett & Hussain 2014; Mwenge 2013). International students complain that Australian schools have too many Asian students, which they worry will inhibit their English acquisition (Chowdhury & Le Ha 2014). Kizilbash (2011) foresees that as higher education options improve in the outer circle, the advantage of study abroad in Inner Circle countries will diminish. It is a precarious economic situation.

Canada and Australia each see the other as direct rivals in the bid for global market share in ELT. They are fighting over a distant third place while the US and UK fight over the lead, and up to this point, no other Inner or Outer Circle country has had a sector large enough to challenge these four countries in English education (Norris 2014). These rankings must be considered in light of the fact they are based in part on data from industry associations, which does not include unaffiliated schools. The key information to retain is that the relationship between the Inner Circle countries is one of both alliance and competition.

4.3.4. Institutionalization in Canada

For the Canadian context, I am forced to shift from describing developments in ELT to speaking more generally about the internationalization of education, as ELT has been largely ignored. Trilokekar (2007) describes Canadian government policy on international education as ad hoc. Regulation of education is decentralized, and complicated by domestic language issues. According to Trilokekar (2007:82), “the importance of the internationalization of higher education is stated more in terms of its economic value for the domestic context” in government policy. The federal government has primarily looked at international education as a service export, and most activity falls under marketing.

Canada is a young country, having only achieved confederation in 1867. The political structure of the country is federalist, meaning that the central and regional (provincial) governments have equal power. Trilokekar (2007) notes that while this arrangement is very responsive to regional distinctions, it also results in tension between federal and provincial governments over major issues like language policy, trade, and education. In Canada education is under the jurisdiction of the provinces, but the federal government also sees it relating to the state interests of foreign affairs, trade, and domestic industry. This requires continuous negotiation between the two governments, and has produced no clear policy for cooperation (Trilokekar 2007).

While the UK and US were managing ELT as part of their foreign policy, Canada was preoccupied with internal language management issues (Burnaby 2008). Canada has always had a large French-speaking population, concentrated in the large province of Quebec. Divisive French-English relations have long been a major source of difficulty for the federal government (Trilokekar 2007). Official bilingual language policy was enacted in 1969 to bolster unity, and through the 1970s the government endeavored to strengthen national identity. The discourse on English and French education has been distinctly domestic in focus, centered around public schools and immigrant populations (Burnaby 2008).

Private ELT in Canada began to develop in the 1960s, but as it grew it received little attention from the federal or provincial governments. The provincial ministries of advanced education across the country for the most part excluded private language

schools from education policy, and so ELT as an industry was left to self-govern (Breshears 2008). At first, Canadian language education providers organized themselves in two networks, one for the public system and one for private operators. The public system focused on providing official language education to immigrant populations, receiving funding from the government. Public schools networked through the Canadian Language Council (CLC), and private operators formed the Canadian Association of Private Language Schools (CAPLS), which operated from 1997 to 2008, when the two groups merged to become Languages Canada (Linda Auzins, Languages Canada Director of Member Services, pers. comm., December 3, 2015). The association provides accreditation, promotion and government lobby for member businesses (Languages Canada n.d.: About).

Austerity measures in the 1990s drastically reduced funding for education, forcing public universities to become more entrepreneurial (Yarymowich 2004). The general policy of privatization created an environment that encouraged private businesses to meet the demands left by inadequately funded public programs and institutions (Yarymowich 2004). Internationalization became a major trend at universities across the country. Knight (1995) notes that the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) “identified internationalization as an issue of critical importance” (101).

The federal government began to take an interest in international education in the 90s, as the economic framing of internationalization became dominant. Trilokekar (2007) states that “Since the 1990s, the federal government’s commitment to a ‘knowledge based society’ has re-kindled its interest in the higher education sector, and in particular universities, for purposes of enhancing national prosperity and international competitiveness” (30). A formal commitment was made to creating international education policy as part of foreign cultural relations, but with little financial support. The provinces and associations regularly asked for funding and marketing from the federal government but were unwilling to accept program management or policy along with it (Trilokekar 2007). The first attempt at creating a national oversight was the Canadian Education Centre Network (CECN) in 1994 (Chakma et al. 2012). This was jointly funded by Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (DFAIT, now referred to as Global Affairs Canada), and

the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The initiative had limited success and was not renewed.

Around the turn of the twenty-first century there was a significant boom in private language teaching in Canada (Canada Innovation, Science and Economic Development 2008). Federal departments responsible for industry and trade took notice and began collecting data. Industry Canada (now Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada (ISED)) ran the Language Industry Initiative (LII) from 2003 to 2008. The LII established Association de l'industrie de la langue/Language Industry Association (AILIA) in 2003 to bring the language technology, translation, and language education sectors together. AILIA has been embraced by the language technology sector, but translation and education-focused businesses have preferred more specific, already existing forums. The LII also made C\$2 million of funding available to private firms in the three language industry sectors for marketing, which was distributed primarily to language schools (Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada 2008).

Industry Canada commissioned an economic impact assessment for the language industry in 2007. The report estimates that the language industry in Canada contributes a minimum of 0.2% of Gross Domestic Product to the national economy (Conference Board of Canada 2007). ELT is equated with tourism because it serves international students who “inject money directly into the Canadian Economy” (Conference Board of Canada 2007:21). Increased foreign consumption is identified as the main economic benefit of language schools, so the sector is considered a service export. The authors identify difficulties with statistical accuracy because “[t]he language industry is currently poorly defined from a statistical point of view” (Conference Board of Canada 2007:7).

The federal government eventually found common ground with the provinces around a purely economic approach. DFAIT unveiled the Imagine Education in Canada brand in 2007, with the goal of increasing international student numbers, increasing the use of Canadian curricula overseas, and generating education-based trade agreements (Roslyn Kunin & Associates 2012). The division of labour gave the federal government responsibility for branding and marketing, while the provinces were to administer the quality assurance side. Implicit is the idea that the resulting increase in international student fees would replace dwindling government funding for institutions. Even with this

marketing plan, Canada spends much less on internationalization than other Inner Circle countries (Trilokekar 2007). Australia, for instance, spends roughly nine times more on marketing international education than Canada does (Chakma et al. 2012).

While federal departments have viewed ELT in terms of foreign trade, one might assume that the provincial government, which has full oversight for education, would take a broader view of the sector. In fact, the provincial ministries tasked with regulating education have taken much the same approach.

4.3.5. British Columbia

The province of British Columbia has been at the leading edge in institutionalizing and promoting ELT and international education in Canada. The British Columbia Teachers of English as an Additional Language (BC TEAL) association, organized in 1967, was the first professional organization for English language teachers in the country (BC TEAL n.d.). The British Columbia Centre for International Education (BCCIE) was established by the Ministry of Advanced Education as a non-profit society in 1990 (McKellin 1998). The provincial government has encouraged the development of private ELT, but has seen no reason to regulate it.

BC TEAL has historically focused on the professionalization of English teaching with the hope that this would improve working conditions. The association was one of five that started Teaching English as a Second or additional Language Canada (TESL Canada), although it is no longer a member (BC TEAL n.d.). Members include teachers who work at public or private institutions, as well as administrators and businesses (BC TEAL 2012). BC TEAL has never acted in the capacity of a union to represent members in labour disputes. The Education and Training Employees Association (ETEA) was established in 1995 to fill that role (ETEA n.d.). The early years saw slow growth; Breshears (2008) reports a union presence in only a handful of private English schools in Canada. The pace increased as the industry grew, reaching ten locals by 2015. The union has had some success engaging with the government over regulations for private colleges (Drager 2016). The ETEA has brought change at individual schools, but has limited capacity to influence the industry as a whole so far.

Responsibility for education in the province is divided between two ministries. Public schooling from kindergarten to grade twelve falls under the provincial Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Advanced Education oversees public post-secondary education. The province joined Canadian confederation in 1871, and so post-secondary education has only been available in British Columbia for a hundred years (Macdonald 1962). Demand for vocational and technical skills grew rapidly over the first half of the twentieth century. There is a firm distinction made between public and private education, and the regulation of private tertiary education has long been eschewed. MacDonald explains:

Our tradition of education in British Columbia, at all levels, has involved the separation of public and private systems. As a result, both have been able to accept their respective responsibilities. I think that our tradition has worked in the past, and I see no reason to depart from it. (1962: 45)

The Ministry of Advanced Education has primarily encouraged education institutions to take responsibility for internationalization. The BCCIE was the first organization of its kind in the country (Chantal Moore, BCCIE Communications Manager, pers. comm., May 2, 2016). Although it started out as a non-profit organisation, it became a crown corporation in 2012 (BCCIE n.d.). The organization serves both public and private institutions at all education levels, acting as a clearinghouse for information in addition to its main functions of marketing and professional development for school administrators (McKellin 1998).

Minimalist regulatory structures have been put in place for private education institutions, but have not included ELT. The Private Post-Secondary Education Commission was created in 1992 as an arms-length body to assume responsibility for monitoring private post-secondary institutions (UBC Centre for Policy Studies in Education 1992). This was replaced by the Degree Authorization Act and the Private Career Training Institutions Act in 2004, as a further deregulation push. The Private Career Training Institutions Agency (PCTIA) was governed by an elected board of industry leaders. Only private institutions providing non-degree career training programs were required to register, and could also voluntarily undergo accreditation. International language schools did not fall under any act. They could apply to PCTIA voluntarily for a fee, but there was little incentive.

In this relaxed regulatory environment private institutions proliferated, and so did accounts of misconduct. Media reports brought problems like visa mills (MacLeod 2008), and schools or landlords taking advantage of vulnerable foreign students (Barde 2012; Spencer 2014), into public attention. Watson (2008) was commissioned by the Ministry of Advanced Education to review the Private Career Training Institutions Act after a spate of bad press in the wake of several private college scandals (MacLeod 2008). He addresses concerns from stakeholders like the Chinese and Indian consulates, regarding the lack of regulation and reports of Visa fraud and victimization of students. He also notes concerns of bias on the industry-dominated board. Watson (2008) concludes that self-governing of the private education sector under the PCTIA was ineffective and lacked credibility. Private schools needed no license to practice, were under no standard code of ethics, or any professional structures or policies. Watson (2008) points out that the act did not even regulate naming practices for programs. Rates of voluntary accreditation were typically low, and the office was underfunded and understaffed. Watson (2008) makes thirteen recommendations, including giving the board jurisdiction over education standards and making registration mandatory for international language schools.

The provincial government's focus has been on expanding education as an export economy for the province, rather than policing it. The Council of the Federation, made up of all the provincial leaders, came up with a collective international education market strategy in 2011 (Canada. Council of Ministers of Education 2011). A year before the next election, the BC provincial government released an International Education Strategy, linking internationalization to the BC Jobs strategy (BC Ministry of Advanced Education 2012).

The local private ELT industry has recently developed quickly without the obstruction of regulations. The federal and provincial governments have become eager to promote ELT as part of international education branding. Both levels of government view ELT through an economic lens. International students are positioned as consumers, contributing to market share in the economic and political rivalry with other Inner Circle nations. Kachru (1986b) calls this the "feud between the cousins" (134). Meanwhile, local teachers have continued to struggle against a model of language school popularized well over a century ago that considers them low-skilled and interchangeable.

4.4. Local geopolitical and cultural context

Vancouver is the largest city in British Columbia, second largest city in Canada, and home to Canada's largest port. As a hub for trade, immigration and tourism, it is a popular destination for international students. Along with Toronto and Montreal it is a pillar of the booming ELT industry.

The geography of the area gives the city major tourism appeal. Vancouver is situated on the Pacific coast, in the lower west corner of the province. Its location on the Pacific Rim puts it in close proximity to East Asia. The region has a milder climate than the rest of Canada and the northern US. There is easy access to the Pacific Ocean, lakes, rivers, and mountains for year-round outdoor recreation, and adjacency to the US border gives easy access to major American cities along the West Coast.

Along with climate, the demographics of the city also make it desirable for immigration. Vancouver has a much larger immigrant population than major US cities like New York and Los Angeles, slightly lower than in Toronto (Hou and Bourne 2004). Forty percent of the city's population was born outside the country (Statistics Canada 2011). Visible minorities make up over 45% of the over one million residents in the consolidated metropolitan area, and are expected to reach 50% by 2017, with Chinese and South Asian the largest groups (Bélanger & Malenfant 2005). Approximately 200 different languages are spoken in the city, and more than a quarter of the population speaks a language other than English at home (Statistics Canada 2012). This multicultural setting provides access to many comforts from a visitor's home culture.

Vancouver is also the largest hub for education in Western Canada. The metropolitan area is home to two public universities as well as many private universities and colleges. While Ontario brings in the largest share of international students per province, British Columbia comes in second with 25% of long-term students and 37% of Languages Canada students (Canada Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development 2014; Languages Canada 2014, 2015a). The provincial government estimates that seven percent of export dollars came from international students in 2010 (BC Ministry of Advanced Education 2012). In 2015 almost 28% of Languages Canada member schools were located in the province, the vast majority of them in Vancouver. These 63 schools

generated an estimated C\$502 million in revenue for the year (Languages Canada 2016a). There are more private schools in the city unaffiliated with any regulating body. Aside from this, we know very little about the local ELT industry.

4.5. Chapter summary

In this chapter I have endeavored to provide a concise overview of the demographic, geographic, economic, and political circumstances relevant to the current state of private ELT in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. This description is exemplary, not comprehensive. This brief review of history reveals that many of the current conditions in ELT are not new, but are part of slow processes and recurring patterns. The core drivers for learning English as a foreign language have grown in scope, but have always been related to politics, economics, and access to knowledge. All of these spheres are currently dominated by the US, and thus Standard American English (Ferguson 2012). The prestige of American English comes from this dominance in science and technology, military power, economics and politics (Kachru 1986a).

ELT has taken a different trajectory in each Inner Circle country. Private ELT in Vancouver has been shaped to some extent by comparison to other Inner Circle countries, but primarily by factors specific to the national and local context. Those factors include the tension between federal and provincial governments over jurisdiction, the higher priority given to domestic language politics, the multicultural character of the city, its geographic proximity to the US and Pacific regions, and its tourism appeal.

Chapter 5. Stakeholders

The next step in reconstructing the private ELT sector in Vancouver as a linguistic marketplace is to identify the stakeholders and describe them in detail to enable a more accurate interpretation of their values, desires and relationships. For this study, I have identified five core stakeholder groups involved in the local private ELT sector. These groups are students, teachers, school operators, ancillary businesses, and the host government. Parents of students, governments of sending countries, and potential employers might also be considered as separate stakeholders for this market, but due to the scale of the current project I have decided to include them only as factors influencing students. It is more appropriate to consider these actors in more detail as part of future studies.

Due to a lack of regulation of private ELT in Canada, very little data is collected and assembled in one location, so I have begun my exploration of stakeholders by gathering what information is available online from various sources. In the following sections of this chapter I relay my findings for each core stakeholder group involved in private ELT in Vancouver. As commercial language schools are the most prominent gap in the data on English language learning (both in the research literature and government statistics), I begin with this group, identifying patterns of ownership, accreditation and affiliation with larger organisations. I clarify the different program types and their distribution among schools, and describe services provided in addition to content delivery. Other noteworthy features of the information on official websites are also highlighted.

5.1. Language schools

The private ELT sector in Vancouver is constantly in a state of flux. It is not uncommon for small schools to pop up and disappear within a few years, to change names, or to be bought out by larger companies. Over the course of one year (2013-14), through online searches and word of mouth, I compiled a starting list of 65 schools operating in the Greater Vancouver Municipal Region. Not all schools are advertised in English on the web. One school that was discovered while walking downtown did not come up in any Google online searches, as the website was only in Japanese. It is not known

how many other schools may be advertising solely in other languages. Over the course of the study two schools merged, three changed their name, and six schools that were open at the start of the study closed, leaving a final total of 59. Public primary and secondary schools that have internationalization programs are not included in this list, nor are businesses that provide teacher training only. Public universities and colleges are only listed if they offer non-credit programs that are not part of the regular course structure. This is an extensive but not comprehensive inventory of private ELT providers active over the year in question. A detailed table of all schools included in this study can be found in appendix A.

Websites of private ELT operators were primarily analyzed for school and program characteristics. Data available on the websites regarding school ownership, affiliation with regulatory bodies and other institutions, content, length, and other salient features of the programs were recorded. When conflicting information was encountered, this was clarified through telephone or email contact with the main office of the business. If data on a particular aspect of the school was not available on the website, it was not pursued through other channels. The following is a summary of the main trends found.

A large portion of schools are not independent small businesses, as characterized in Yarymowich 2004. Table 5.1 shows that just over half of the schools investigated for this study are owned by larger corporations. Seven schools are part of national language school chains or umbrella corporations owning various post-secondary educational institutions. Twenty-three of the schools listed are owned by international corporations based in the US, Europe, and Australia.

Table 5.1 Ownership.

	Local (single school)	National	International
Language-specific	14	4	20
Mixed education assets	15	3	3
Total	29	7	23

Affiliation of some kind is heavily relied on for legitimacy. Many schools list accreditation or affiliation of some type on their website, though not always in a prominent

location. As table 5.2 shows, less than half of the schools in this study are accredited with Languages Canada (the largest membership organisation in Canada for language teaching programs). When cross-checked against Languages Canada's 2016 membership list, six operators who had listed affiliation with the organisation on their website were not listed as current members, and there were eight members on the Languages Canada list that I did not come across in my original web search. Ten operators show affiliation with international associations, and eleven schools display membership in tourism associations. Thirty-six schools are listed on the Imagine Education in Canada website as approved for student visas, having completed the accreditation process through the province (BC Education Quality Assurance). Recent changes to regulations are discussed further in section 5.5.

Table 5.2 Affiliation/accreditation.

	Study Visa Approved	Languages Canada	International ELT Associations	Tourism Associations	Other	None
Local	16	8	0	4	5	13
National	6	6	2	3	0	2
International	14	14	8	4	0	4
total	36	28	10	11	5	19

Affiliations listed on school websites, grouped according to category of ownership. The column titled “Study Visa Approved” refers to schools that have met BC EQA requirements for student visa applications.

Many schools take what can be characterized as a department store approach to course offerings, trying to provide something for everyone’s taste. General English programs are the most widely available, offered by 73% of schools. Exam preparation courses are the next popular, at 69%, followed by business English at 66%, as seen in table 5.3. In response to the government push for more international students, 28 schools now offer courses labelled as EAP. The most noticeable trend is the spread of Pathways programs, which guarantee acceptance to select universities and colleges without requiring students to take standardized tests (TOEFL or IELTS), as long as they obtain a minimum score upon completion of their course. This type of program is promoted by at least 26 different English school operators in Metro Vancouver, and one school offers two pathways programs, giving access to two tiers of universities, with the top tier access at much higher tuition. Another company initially appeared to be a typical private English school, but turned out to focus purely on providing referrals to Pathways programs for other operators in Canada and was not included in the data.

Table 5.3 Program type.

	General English	Business English	Exam preparation	EAP	Pathways	Work experience	recreation
Local	17	14	19	12	10	5	6
National	7	6	5	5	5	5	3
International	19	19	17	11	11	8	10
Total	43	39	41	28	26	16	19

Categorization of 212 programs found at 59 schools, grouped according to type of school ownership.

There is a strong theme across school websites linking ELT to employability or even direct employment. In addition to the popular business English programs, some schools market English for specific purposes (ESP) courses targeting specific vocations. In the current study seven schools advertise medical English programs, likely connected to the rise in popularity of medical tourism. A local community college offers ESP in support of their culinary arts program. One of the recently closed schools offered English for the oil and gas industry. These programs are of course subject to the booms and busts of the specific industries they cater to.

Programs that arrange work experience placements for language students are even more popular than ESP courses. While new federal regulations for student visas and work permits have motivated a few operators to discontinue these programs, they are still offered by many English schools. Sixteen of the schools reviewed in this study offer some kind of work experience option, described variously as experiential education programs, paid or unpaid internships, work-study, or volunteer placements (see table 5.3). They typically involve a fifty-fifty split of classroom instruction and work, with three or six months of each. Some of these programs require hefty placement fees. One unusual program in this category is a barista training course, presumably targeting those interested in working holidays. By the end of the study, 14 schools that list work experience programs have been accredited by BC EQA.

ELT in Vancouver is still presented as more play than work. Vacation-oriented programs are offered at 38% of the schools (see table 5.3). A breakdown of the most popular formats is shown in table 5.4. The top format is the youth camp, combining part-time classroom study with outdoor recreation for one to four weeks. These camps usually have a summer or winter theme, and are timed to coincide with elementary or high school vacation periods in sending countries. Prices for these programs usually include homestay, and compare with the cost of an ocean cruise. Of the 14 schools that offer youth camps, only seven make their prices publicly available. Full costs range from C\$800 to almost C\$1600 per week. Other recreation-focused programs include family camps (two schools), ranch and farm stays (two), and packages that combine classroom time with golf, surfing, skiing or snowboarding (one current, two closed).

Table 5.4 Recreation programs.

	Youth camps	Family camps	Ranch/farm stay	Sports package	other
Local	6	0	0	1	0
National	2	0	1	0	0
International	8	1	1	0	2
Total	16	1	2	1	2

Breakdown of recreational programs into sub-types, grouped according to category of school ownership.

Even if recreation is not a major component of a program, it is still a prevalent theme. Most general English programs include weekly activities (66% of schools), which can include everything from English movie nights to weekend ski trips in Whistler or excursions to Seattle, Washington. Even schools that do not provide recreational activities pepper their websites with photos of youth engaging in sports and leisure, and suggest tourist attractions for students to visit on their own. The focus is squarely on leisure.

The spectrum of choice for time and money invested by students is very broad. There do not seem to be many norms or common conventions for program structure. Full time study can mean anything from 20 to 39 hours a week. Most schools (80%) offer part time studies in general English of less than 20 hours of instruction a week, allowing ample time for independent leisure pursuits. The range of options appears in table 5.5. It is difficult to compare tuition between schools, as some list costs per hour and others per week, and an hour of class is a full 60 minutes at some schools while at others it is only 50 minutes, plus schools vary widely in the additional fees they charge. Tuition for general English classes ranges from as low as C\$40 a week for part time, to over C\$1500 a week for full time studies. Languages Canada has reported an average of C\$305 per week (Roslyn Kunin & Associates 2012). Business courses are usually more expensive than general English or academic preparation classes. One-on-one lessons are the most expensive. One school listed private executive lessons topping C\$4200 for 39 hours of instruction a week. This wide range of options could be seen as a positive thing, but it also makes comparison of value across schools extremely difficult.

Table 5.5 Minimum hours per week (part-time option).

	1-2	3-5	6-9	10-13	14-15	16-18	N/A
Local	2	3	1	2	4	3	7
National	0	1	2	2	0	0	0
International	0	1	2	5	7	4	1
Total	2	5	5	9	11	7	8

Number of schools that set the minimum number of instructional hours within given ranges per week for part-time general English programs, grouped according to category of school ownership.

Short and micro-term programs are the rule rather than the exception in private ELT. Table 5.6 provides a breakdown of program lengths available. Ninety percent of schools offer programs of less than six months in length. Fifty-nine percent offer micro-term programs, and 22% offer short-term programs. General English programs are the most flexible for length, from one week to a full-year. Forty-one percent of schools take new students every week, usually on Mondays. Four websites advertise daily intake for new students. Academic programs (like test preparation and EAP) are much more structured, with firm start and end dates, usually eight to twelve weeks in length. Business programs vary greatly. The average length of stay for students seems to be in line with international statistics. Deloitte Malta (2014) reports that among members of the Association of Language Travel Organizations (ALTO), short-term language courses make up about 75%, with juniors (under 18 years) averaging 2.3 weeks and adults averaging 6.1 weeks. Languages Canada (2014) reports that among their members, the majority of students nation-wide study 4-12 weeks, with an average of 11.9 weeks.

Table 5.6 Minimum program length.

	<1week	1 week	2-3 weeks	4-6 weeks	7-8 weeks	12-15 weeks	1 year	N/A
Local	1	6	2	7	3	4	1	5
National	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
International	0	13	7	2	0	1	0	0
Total	1	24	10	10	3	5	1	5

Minimum program length for general English programs, grouped according to category of school ownership.

Most private English schools offer accommodation to students, usually through third party agencies. Options include homestay, dormitories, and apartments or hotel rooms. The most common offering is the homestay. Costs vary widely, and can include steep extra fees for guardianship of minors. Prices are generally calculated per week. Websites present homestay as an opportunity to gain more English practice as well as exposure to local customs and culture, but families are vetted for security purposes only, leaving the quantity and quality of interaction up to the individuals. With accommodations in dormitories, apartments and hotel rooms, social interactions are limited to roommates who may or may not share a first language.

As mentioned above, not all school websites list full information about their schools and courses. A few schools do not provide a physical address or phone number. This is presumably because all of their potential clients would be contacting them via email, but it does detract from the image of legitimacy. A number of schools only provide tuition information on request, after completion of a detailed form. Details about school size, or the facilities where classes are held vary from scant to non-existent, allowing prospective students to fill in the gaps with their imaginations.

Schools list information they think will have the biggest influence on student decisions. Mention is made of the big screen television in the student lounge, free wireless internet and proximity to tourist destinations. While there is reference to teachers as *our most important asset*, only details and photos of administrative staff are provided on websites. This may be connected to Yarymowich's (2004) observation that low salaries and unstable hours contribute to high staff turnover, which would make website maintenance more difficult. It is equally likely that both schools and students undervalue language teachers, as Shaw (2014) argues.

Professional standards for language teachers at private schools are low. As mentioned in section 4.1.6, there are no regulations regarding teacher training and so qualifications vary widely across schools. Only 16 websites list the number of teachers employed by the school, which varies widely from one to 64 staff. It is interesting to note that 15 of those websites belong to locally owned schools, while no nationally owned schools, and only one internationally owned school provided the number of teachers employed. Regarding teacher qualifications, only 58% of websites give some indication of

the education and expertise their teachers possess, although this may be as little as stating that they are *certified* (see table 5.7).

While a large number of schools provide no details about teaching staff on their websites, locally owned schools are more likely to include information about teachers than those owned by larger companies. Of those schools that do volunteer information about their teachers, most hire those with the minimum level of education required for accreditation by Languages Canada, which is a bachelor’s degree plus TESL certification: a 100 hour certification course with a 20-hour practicum. Twenty-five schools state that their teachers have certification, although 28 are accredited by Languages Canada. Only nine schools list teaching staff with graduate-level education, and eight of those are locally owned. Degrees specializing in education, TESOL or linguistics are not common.

Table 5.7 Teaching staff credentials.

	certificate	Bachelor degree	BA + Certificate	Graduate degree	Grad degree + certificate	N/A
Local	1	3	7	5	3	10
National	0	0	5	0	0	2
International	1	0	8	1	0	13
Total	2	3	20	6	3	25

Highest level of qualifications listed for teaching staff, grouped according to category of school ownership. The term CERTIFICATE includes but is not limited to certification by TESL Canada, which is required for Languages Canada accreditation.

More troubling than omission of details is contradictory or false statements, which suggests a lack of professionalism and legitimacy. Two school websites have conflicting information about tuition costs on different pages. Another school has conflicting information about class sizes. The most questionable website makes inaccurate statements about local tourist sites which may indicate fraudulent activity. For instance, it claims that *If game sports interest you, Grandville (sic) Island is loaded with many varieties of fish and wildlife and is home to the Squamish Indians*. In reality Granville Island is a shopping and entertainment district, and the territories of the Squamish Nation are spread across southern British Columbia. Such phrasing suggests that the creator of the site, may be remote and unfamiliar with the area.

One bright note is some small evidence that native speaker syndrome appears to be slowly diminishing. Only a few schools still insist on advertising native English speaking teachers. The number of schools promoting pronunciation or accent reduction classes have also dwindled to just a handful. While there are still statements like *homestay hosts speak only English in the home*, there are also schools that champion diversity. One school entreats students to *Please keep in mind that Canada has a very diverse cultural makeup with citizens from a wide variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds*. Another announces *Teachers from diverse backgrounds*. This shows improvement over Yarymowich's (2004) description of native teacher preference and essentialization of Canadian families. This may help to align student expectations with classroom realities, relieving some teacher frustrations.

This initial look at the local private ELT operators reveals some intriguing characteristics and trends. It is interesting to note the corporate absorption and heavy international interests represented in the local market, which are not addressed in the previous literature. This undermines assurances by federal and provincial government of the economic benefit to local communities. Also connected to the government stance on the industry, there are some troubling attributes that argue against self-regulation. The low rate of accreditation with Languages Canada calls into question government policies based only on statistics from this organization. The motley approaches to presenting program details, tuition and fees makes it very difficult to compare programs as a researcher, never mind as a foreign student. Additionally, the omission of information about teachers obscures the disparity in teaching qualifications created by the meagre industry standards for teacher training.

The tourism theme noted in the literature is strong across schools. Direct affiliation with tourism organizations on local, national and international levels is the most obvious indication. There is also wide spread emphasis on recreation, with scheduled leisure activities, add-on excursions and frequent mention of local tourist attractions. An emphasis on consumption is also present, with descriptions of the comfort and luxury of school amenities. A deeper discussion of these themes follows in the next chapter.

Another trend of note is the orientation toward international proficiency exams. Aside from the EAP courses designed for general academic preparation, courses geared

toward specific English proficiency exams are widespread. On top of this is the growing number of programs that allow students to bypass these exams and secure conditional acceptance at affiliated tertiary institutions. This trend of partnerships between private ELT operators and larger institutions warrants further scrutiny by scholars and policy makers. Overall, these programs indicate a demand for very specific linguistic resources.

Most striking is the dominance of micro- term study across schools and programs. As noted previously, few researchers have looked at the effectiveness of study abroad programs this short. (Kinging 2009) argues that with short-term study, students do not have time to interpret socio-cultural norms and adjust their expectations accordingly. Exposure to the assumed benefit of interacting with native speakers is minimal, and inconsistent between programs. She points out that it is up to the student to take advantage of opportunities for linguistic and cultural immersion in the homestay context. Students who pass on homestay and choose the alternative dormitory or hotel accommodations get even less exposure. Factoring in the schedule filled with classes and group activities, the majority of student interactions are with each other. As Kinginger (2009) notes, research has not provided solid evidence that short term study abroad confers benefits that cannot be obtained at home. Despite these problems, international students continue to sign up for short term programs. It cannot simply be the case that students fall prey to advertising which plays on their desire to acquire English proficiency and their naiveté about language learning. Enough of them return home satisfied with what they received in exchange for their time and money to spur continued demand. Private ELT is not primarily providing linguistic resources to students, but other forms of capital.

5.2. Ancillary businesses

Many peripheral businesses have sprung up around ELT to support and profit from a rapidly growing industry. They range from local entrepreneurs to large international corporations with diverse holdings. In my initial explorations, I have found publishing companies, assessment specialists, marketing firms and other business consultants, as well as a host of intermediaries recruiting students, organising homestays and creating recreational programs for language schools. This section provides a broad overview of the

many businesses that operate alongside ELT programs and can powerfully influence other stakeholder groups.

At the grass roots level niche businesses come into existence to fill gaps in expertise and resources for school operators. Local businesses that have grown up around ELT in Vancouver include tour operators that target individual international students or make contracts with specific private English schools for group activities. There are also a few small businesses that provide consulting services. They offer professional development for teachers, curriculum and materials development, and staff management solutions.

Accommodation is a necessity for international students. Finding a hotel, hostel room or apartment on their own is an expensive and intimidating option. A homestay with a local family is a popular alternative, and homestay management has flourished. There are companies that operate on a global scale, others that specialize nationally, and many local businesses addressing this demand. A quick search online turns up over a dozen Vancouver-specific websites for such services. Some are small operators that vet host families, others are larger network sites where students can browse through many service providers. Fees vary according to how much service and risk management are provided. Some charge commission to both hosts and students.

Travel insurance is another necessity, as it is required by most schools. Some insurance companies specialize in packages specifically for international students. INGLE International and Guard.me are both large companies that sponsored the 2014 Languages Canada conference.

Publishing is a major area of activity connected to ELT. The most obvious is the publishing of textbooks and other teaching materials. There are international academic publishing houses like Oxford, Cambridge and Pearson, which have long histories in ELT, as well as smaller companies. At the BC TEAL 2014 conference the marketplace was dominated by Canadian English variety-specific and academic preparation textbooks. At the grassroots level, there are teachers who, after many years of frustration with commercial texts, self-publish materials. One such entrepreneur claimed that their

resources avoid the politics and fashion trends of big publishing, and are proven in actual classrooms.

Another area of publishing activity that has sprung up around ELT is travel magazines and newspapers for students. One local magazine targets international students already in British Columbia, while two other magazines promote international education in Canada, one published jointly by the Ontario and federal government. At the international level, Study Travel Magazine (www.studytravelnetwork/magazine/) is aimed at education agents (more on this term below), and is also the only publicly available source I found for global statistics on ELT. Undoubtedly there are similar magazines in the languages of major sending countries.

While each school tends to develop an in-house rubric for their general English programs, most instrumental programs are based on Standardized assessment schemes that are recognised on a national or international scale. In Canada there are two nationally recognized metrics, Canadian Academic English Language Assessment (CAEL), and Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIPS), both owned by Paragon, a subsidiary of the University of British Columbia. There are also several measures that are recognised internationally. Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), and Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC), are both owned by Educational Testing Service in the US. Cambridge English Language Assessment is operated by a subsidiary of Cambridge University in the UK, and International English Language Testing System (IELTS) is now jointly owned by the British Council, Cambridge English Language Assessment, and IDP Education Limited, based in Australia. The demand for Standardized test scores is expanding beyond university entrance requirements. For example, TOEFL has recently expanded to include testing for secondary and elementary level students as well.

The largest segment of business activity surrounding ELT is marketing and recruitment. Aside from the marketing activities of individual schools, there are many players involved in the recruitment of international students for English programs in Canada. There are hundreds of individual education agents in Canada and many more overseas. There are also event companies that run international education fairs, as well as education-specific marketing agencies, industry associations, and government

departments at both the provincial and federal levels that are focused on promoting English education in Canada to potential students all over the world. This is where most attention and money is focused in Canadian ELT.

International education agents or counsellors are small-scale operators offering information and advice to students wishing to study abroad. Agents typically target a specific sending country or language group, and may choose to work in the sending country or the destination country. An agent usually works on a contract basis with a school, getting paid based on a quota of students who register at that school (Carletti & Davison 2012). Some also charge fees to students (Languages Canada 2015b). Both public and private schools in Canada utilize agents (Languages Canada 2014). Industry surveys suggest that a large proportion of course bookings go through agents (Deloitte Malta 2014).

In Canada, education agents do not need specific accreditation. Global Affairs Canada (previously the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, DFAIT) has partnered with International Consultants for Education and Fairs (ICEF) and Canadian Consortium for International Education (CCIE) to provide an online, self-directed course (Canada Global Affairs & Council of Ministers of Education n.d.). If an agent passes the paid exam, they are listed on a government web resource. To date, 200 agents have taken the course (ICEF n.d.: Agent training, Canada course). Currently, the government does not closely monitor agents (Chakma et al. 2012; Canada Foreign Affairs Trade and Development 2014). There have been reported problems with agents giving misleading information, using intimidation, and other manipulation to achieve their quotas. Some agents attract students by telling them that studying in Canada puts them on a fast track to immigration (Carletti & Davison 2012). The government's response to these issues has been to lay responsibility with schools, encouraging them to include explicit conditions in contracts with agents to ensure ethical practices (Carletti & Davison 2012).

On a larger scale, event companies specialize in education fairs that attract thousands of prospective students. Most fairs occur in the sending countries, but a few companies operate in Canada, reaching out to foreign nationals already in the country, as well as local residents. The largest international operator of education fairs is ICEF. Based in Germany, ICEF has been running fairs for over twenty years and has been involved

with language travel for 50 years (ICEF n.d.: History). In addition to fairs they also provide training to agents and schools, conduct market research and provide other marketing services.

Other companies operate internationally in marketing, data analysis, specialised software, web services, and even video production specifically for the language travel industry, or for international education in general. Most are based in the US, UK, and Germany. Not all marketing is contracted out to private firms. A great deal of research and marketing is handled by industry associations. Members are able to pool resources to obtain more market research and generate coordinated advertising campaigns for greater impact. An extensive network of special interest groups, variously called business associations, trade associations, consortiums, and professional associations connects the local, national and international levels. They are all non-governmental, non-profit organizations with the main activities of publicly promoting member interests and lobbying the government. In this study, I began with investigating those associations that ELT operators listed affiliation with, and ended up encountering 23 distinct special interest groups that have a stake in Canadian ELT. Many have a broad scope of tourism, higher education in general, or internationalization of higher education, but 9 focus exclusively on ELT. I will briefly highlight key organizations here. A list of the ELT-specific organisations can be found in Appendix B. As with individual schools and businesses, this is not meant as a complete catalog but a representation of the scope of ancillary businesses as a stakeholder group.

In British Columbia there are at least seven organizations with a vested interest in the growth of international education in the province. The only one exclusively concerned with language teaching is BC TEAL. More details on BC TEAL can be found in section 4.1.7 of the previous chapter, and in section 5.4 following. At the national level, there are at least 12 organizations with a stake in international education, three of which are specifically related to ELT: TESL Canada (teacher accreditation), AILIA (refer back to section 4.3.4), and Languages Canada (this organization is covered in more detail in sections 4.3.4 and 5.1). Internationally, there are no less than eight organizations working to promote international education, with five of them specializing in ELT. The International association of teachers of English as a foreign language (IATEFL) focuses on professional development. The remaining four, Federation of Education and Language Consultant

Associations (FELCA), International Association of Language Centres (IALC), Global Alliance of Education and Language Associations (gaela), and Association of Language Travel Organizations (ALTO), represent all other business stakeholders in language tourism internationally.

Almost all of these organizations have a predominantly economic focus, working to maintain or increase demand for the products and services of members. They further aim to establish a relationship with government bodies that allows for maximally profitable operation. The influence of these organizations on the public discourse and government policy for ELT should not be overlooked.

ELT in Vancouver does not only involve the school operators, teachers and students. It includes a variety of businesses at local, national and international scales that benefit from sustained demand for ELT. Enterprises range from assessment and publishing to brokering services for programs, accommodation and other amenities, to marketing, professional development, networking and lobbying. All of these groups together form a complex of commercial interests that rely on the continued growth of ELT.

5.3. Students

For the purposes of this study, I am defining INTERNATIONAL STUDENT as an individual who is in Canada on a student or tourist visa. Students who have obtained Canadian residency for the purpose of education are not included in this group, nor are those enrolled in Canadian offshore schools situated in other countries, although both groups are significant and worth studying separately.

Exact statistics on international students at private language schools in Canada are not publicly available. The federal and provincial governments track the number of student visas, but these are only required for a study period of six months or longer. International students who are in Canada on a tourist visa are not tracked. Both government rely on Languages Canada for data on these short-term students, but as shown in section 5.1, many private ELT operators are not affiliated.

Statistics reported for the number of international students in Canada vary. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2013) lists Canada's share of international tertiary students in 2011 at 4.7%, while Education estimates six percent. In 2012 there were over 265,000 student visas according to the national government's International Education Strategy (Canada Foreign Affairs and Development 2014). That year British Columbia hosted 40% of those students (106 600) (BCCIE 2015). The vast majority (77% in 2013-14) chose to study in the Vancouver area (BC Ministry of Advanced Education 2016a). Students at private language schools make up the largest portion of international students in BC, at 38%. The provincial government estimates that 43,500 international students attended private English schools in British Columbia in 2013-14 (BC Ministry of Advanced Education 2016a). Public universities in British Columbia host 35% of international students, and private colleges host 15%, while international students in public elementary and secondary school make up the remaining 12%, a small but rapidly growing group (BC Ministry of Advanced Education 2016a).

5.3.1. Sending countries

International students in non-credit English programs represent many sending countries. Percentages from each country of origin fluctuate from year to year depending on many factors both in the home and host country. The most represented countries of origin are the same for both private English schools and international education as a whole for the province and country. The top sending countries in recent years are Japan, South Korea, China, Saudi Arabia, and Brazil (Languages Canada 2016b). All of these countries can be described as current members of the Expanding Circle. They all have recent Memoranda of Understanding with the federal or provincial government, and Brazil, China and Saudi Arabia are on the list of "priority markets" for the Global Markets Action Plan (Canada Foreign Affairs Trade and Development 2014). These nations have relatively new (and in some cases growing) middle classes that are now free to travel abroad. These are large populations recently immersed in economic liberal discourse of consumption and aspiration, responding to the increased competition of global market economics.

Asia leads the global trend in student mobility (Abelmann et al. 2014; OECD 2013). The Asia-Pacific region has the sharpest growth in the middle-class population (Cooper 2017). In South Korea, for example, participation in study abroad is near-universal for both

elementary and high school students. Park (2011) reports that in South Korean public discourse, poor communicative ability in English “is frequently invoked as a main cause for Korea’s weak economic influence in international relations and a major stumbling block to the country’s globalization” (451). Across the Korean Strait in Japan, English language study is also given a high priority. English is a compulsory subject in Japanese schools from primary to university levels (McKenzie 2008). The Japanese government has had ambitious policies to increase the number of students going abroad to study English, as well as the number of university English programs and English-medium high schools and universities (Japan MEXT 2008). However, Kubota (2016) reports that the need for English in the Japanese workplace is limited to specific kinds of jobs, for which opportunities are unevenly distributed. Kinginger (2009) describes the value of English in Japan as “a complex amalgam of responses to global economic competition, affirmation of cultural nationalism, and academic capital within local education hierarchies” (26). The Chinese government also promotes English for national economic development (Yan 2015). Lee (2008) reports several Chinese international students in her study express a sense of responsibility to learn English for their country. The Gaokao (national college entrance exam) includes a major English section. Yan (2015) explains that this high-stakes exam determines prospects for students, rankings and funding for high schools, as well as job assessments and salaries for teachers. Families will go to great lengths to gain an edge in this exam culture where regular schedule is 14 to 16 hours a day, six days a week for three years of high school (Yan 2015). Other families choose to bypass this system by sending their children to English offshore schools in China, or moving them to Inner Circle countries for high school or even earlier (Chiang 2016; Chow 2014). Almost 60% of international students in BC elementary and secondary schools in 2012 were from China (BC Ministry of Education 2015).

Saudi Arabia is another Expanding Circle country that is strongly pursuing English. The Saudi Arabian government promotes study abroad in the hopes of reducing economic dependence on oil and foreign workers (Denman & Hilal 2011). Government spending on education has increased greatly in the last decade. Public universities are free to citizens, yet many families send their children to study in Inner Circle countries (Alzahrani 2014). The number of Saudi students abroad more than quadrupled from 2006 to 2010, due in large part to the Cultural Bureau’s King Abdulla Scholarship Program (Denman &

Hilal 2011). English is the only foreign language currently taught in schools (English First 2016).

Brazil has received a great deal of attention in the last twenty years for their industry, natural resources, and growing middle class (O’neill 2001). While English and French have been compulsory subjects in secondary school in Brazil on and off for 200 years, since 1971 government policy has only mandated the study one foreign language in grades 5 to 8, and two in senior secondary school, without specifying particular languages (Celani 2008). Rather than a tool for trade or corporate expansion overseas, the main function of English in Brazil has been one of scholarship. The National Curricular Parameters – Foreign Languages states “Except for the specific situation of some tourist areas or a few multilingual communities, the use of foreign languages seems to be more connected with reading of technical matter or for leisure.” and goes on to say that entrance exams at local universities only require reading skills (Brasil 1998, cited in Celani 2008:417). English is viewed as “the language that will open doors to the world of science, technology and the arts” (Celani 2008:419). While not as directly economic in nature, the public discourse in Brazil still positions the English skills of students as the key to connecting the nation to the world.

Private ELT students in Vancouver come from Expanding Circle countries that have only recently gained active participation in the global free-market economy. These countries have large populations newly introduced to middle class mobility. Both the public and the government are highly identity- and status-conscious and eager to invest their recent economic gains and protect themselves from the vagaries of the market. Public discourse in these countries contain a strong theme of students’ responsibility to the economic success of their country in the global market through mastery of English (cf. Kang & Abelmann 2014; Seargeant 2009b), but Ferguson (2012) reminds us that there is still no empirical evidence to support the premise that this investment in English is economically beneficial for all.

5.3.2. Social characteristics

Until very recently international students were primarily university-aged, but the trend has been for younger and younger students to study abroad. Young children may

be enrolled in private ELT in order to prepare them for an academic future at home or in the Inner Circle. While INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS were originally created to serve the families of Inner Circle civil servants and military personnel stationed abroad, this label later broadened to include local students (Silova & Hobson 2014) and now includes schools located in the Inner Circle. There are several private kindergarten to grade 12 schools in Vancouver that market themselves specifically as international schools. Public and private elementary and secondary schools across the country have also begun actively recruiting international students to offset budget shortfalls (Sieniuc 2014). The British Columbia Teachers Federation (2012) reports an increase in non-resident students at elementary and secondary schools of almost three percent from the 2007/08 school year to 2011/12. Citizenship and Immigration Canada estimates that in 2012 60% of international students in the province's K-12 schools were from China or South Korea (Guhr & Nelson 2015). Ihm and Choi (2014) report that primary and middle school are the fastest growing groups for study abroad in South Korea. Chiang (2016) notes a steep rise in study visa applications to Canada for young Chinese students, as Express Entry immigration for post-secondary students has become a lottery system. Studying abroad at a younger age is viewed by many as advantageous both for language acquisition and re-entry into the home culture (Ihm & Choi 2014). The term GEESE FAMILIES describes the common situation of one parent (usually the mother) travelling with the children as guardian while the other remains behind to work and pay the tuition (Abelmann et al. 2014; Shin 2014). In other parts of Asia similar educational migration has been labelled PARACHUTE KIDS, SATELLITE CHILDREN, or ASTRONAUT HOUSEHOLDS. It is no longer appropriate to consider internationalization as a process happening only in higher education.

Another assumption about international education that must be questioned is that only the elite classes of these countries send their children abroad. Yarymowich (2004) argues that "students must come from the upper socio-economic levels in order to pay the steep tuition and living expenses" (33). While it is true that the fees at private English schools are expensive, it is no longer just the wealthy who are paying them. Ihm and Choi (2014) note that what was a luxury of the upper classes for most of Korea's history became the ambition of the upper middle class in the 1980s and 90s, and has continued to trickle

down. Many families of modest means are taking on enormous debt to give their children foreign education (Ihm & Choi 2014).

5.3.3. Motivations

We should suppose this broad group of students will have broad motivations for choosing private ELT in Vancouver as well. Unfortunately, scholars, course designers and teachers often assume that international students are here to acquire linguistic resources. When probed, student motivations turn out to be multiplex and sometimes conflicting, as was touched on in section 3.1. Tarp (2006) describes the agendas of Danish upper-secondary students on two-week class trips to other European Union countries as diverse, with language learning only one of many goals, including socialization with peers, personal development, and cross-cultural experiences. While I have found no data specific to students at private ELT schools, there are some clues in the literature.

Yarymowich (2004) argues that students often have strong extrinsic motivation to learn English, but no intrinsic motivation (for a discussion of different categories of learner motivation see Noels 2005). There may also be complex interactions between students' desires and the motivations of parents who make or influence decisions about study abroad. For instance, teachers in Yarymowich's (2004) study speculate that some students attend English classes as a condition for holiday travel imposed by parents. Almost all of the international undergraduate students surveyed in Chen 2008 report that the decision to study abroad was a long-term plan made early on by parents or jointly as a family. Extrinsic motivations can take many forms, from personal pragmatic goals to social imperatives. Chen (2008) reports that more than half of their survey respondents list immigration as the main motivation for attending university in Canada. English also serves as a gate keeper for jobs and education in Expanding Circle countries. High stakes English exams in China, South Korea and Japan perform a selection function to maintain the prestige of academic institutions and corporations (Kinging 2009; Prey 2005; Rivers 2012; Xiaoyang & Yangyang 2014).

There are many ELT institutions for students to choose from both at home and around the world. In addition to the most popular Inner Circle destinations, a growing number of Outer and Expanding Circle locations have private ELT sectors, most notably

Singapore (Kobayashi 2011), the Philippines (Kobayashi 2011; Song 2011), and China (Abelmann et al. 2014). So why do hundreds of thousands of students chose Canada? Inner Circle governments and corporations have spent a great deal of time and money trying to determine the perfect formula.

Higher education consulting firm Hobsons (2014) reports that for students who choose to study in the UK or Australia “The five most important factors...in order of importance are: quality of education (compared to their home country), international recognition of qualifications, the country’s attitude to international students, safety and ease of getting a visa” (20). In a survey of Brazilian students at 25 Canadian colleges and universities, the Canadian Bureau of International Education (2014) finds that the top five reasons given for choosing Canada are perception of Canadian society as tolerant and multicultural, its reputation for a high quality education system, perception of Canada being safe, the belief that Canadians have positive attitudes toward international students, and international prestige through global rankings of institutions. A recent report for the British Columbia Ministry of Education notes that international university rankings published by Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU, aka Shanghai Ranking), the QS World University Rankings, and the Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings, are weighted heavily, especially among Asian families (Gurh & Nelson 2015). In Chen's (2008) survey on factors influencing choice of host country among international university students, the following eight factors receive a score of more than three on a five-point scale: safety (highest score), studious environment, multiculturalism/tolerance, quality of life, prestige of credentials, ease of visa process, immigration, and proximity to the United States. From my own experience with international students, I have heard many times that they value the proximity to the United States, which can be taken as geographic, cultural or dialectal closeness. So, it seems that Canada has a reputation as a safe, friendly and prestigious destination that appeals to many families as they choose where to send their children. Questions that none of the above studies address include what information these perceptions, especially that of prestige, are based on and how the actual experience of study in Canada compares to the expectations.

International students at private ELT institutions have received surprisingly little attention considering how significant a portion of the student population they are. While

the outdated stereotype is of a small number of college aged elites, the current reality is a growing number of younger and younger students from broader economic means. Their families make ever larger investments in English education as part of long term strategies in the hopes of maintaining or increasing the socio-economic position of their children. The home countries of these students are part of the Expanding Circle, and look to English as the key to global market participation and prosperity. End goals for individuals are diverse, including immigration, overcoming gate keeping mechanisms in the home country, to access to knowledge and technology through English scholarship. Whether private ELT or international education in general help them to meet these goals remains to be seen.

5.4. Teachers

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the main reasons I began this research was the frustration often voiced by teachers working in private English schools. The previous literature on ELT in Canada, summarised in chapter three, deals at length with the difficult conditions and contradictory roles that teachers in private English schools face, as well as the lack of consistency in teacher training programs in Canada. The data in this study supports the claim that instructors in private ELT are marginalized. Despite continued growth of the local teacher associations described in chapter 4, there remains a tension that stems from the conflict between stakeholders over the nature of teaching and learning, as well as a lack of awareness or refusal to consider the political economy of English.

In the texts I reviewed, teachers are ignored by other Inner Circle stakeholder groups. Section 5.1 shows the regular omission of teaching staff in the presentation of information on school websites, which not only supports Shaw's (2014) accusation of systemic marginalization of instructors, but also reinforces it. Government discourse rarely mentions private ELT specifically, but when it does issues related to teachers are not included. The news media in recent years have only mentioned English teachers in connection with the large scale cutbacks of government funding for ESL (cf. Culbert 2014; Smith 2014). The contribution of skilled teachers to the success of language learning, student experiences in Canada or the economic benefits of private ELT are never discussed.

The provincial English teachers' association (BC TEAL) operates under the belief that professionalization will lead to improved working conditions in ELT. Texts produced by BC TEAL focus on professional development with an uncritical assumption of proficiency in Standard Canadian English as the primary goal of students. BC TEAL Membership has rapidly increased over the last decade. By the spring of 2014 there were over 940 members. In addition to individual teachers, there were 30 schools granted membership (Mattila 2014). At the 2013 annual conference, classroom management and learning assessment dominated presentation topics. The new peer-reviewed BC TEAL Journal also concentrates on language acquisition issues. In recent years, more attention has been given to other forms of advocacy besides professionalization. For instance, a formal position statement has been developed "against discrimination on the grounds of nationality, ethnicity or linguistic heritage" (Dobson 2014). However, as efforts move in this direction, there is potential for conflict of interest within the association in areas where the best interests of teachers and institutional members do not align.

Professional development and union action have created some improvements in improving working conditions and morale for private ELT instructors, but do not address the root causes of conflict between teachers, students, and other stakeholders. The ideological nature of this antagonism needs to be addressed in order to make better progress. In the next chapter I will turn to the value systems of different stakeholder groups hold to.

5.5. Government

The government does not regard ELT a discrete sector, but considers it as a component of the language industry (Conference Board of Canada 2007), and private education sector (Roslyn Kunin & Associates 2012). The main connection between private ELT and government in Canada is through the discourse and initiatives of internationalizing education. The federal government only takes interest in education as it pertains to the mandates of international relations, trade, domestic economy, immigration and border security. To attend to these political and economic interests, government activities focus primarily on promotion and recruitment. The provincial government holds the mandate for public primary and secondary schooling as well as post-secondary

education through the ministries of education and advanced education, respectively. These departments currently take an economic liberal approach to governance. The main functions of education are considered to be supplying the local economy with skilled workers and increasing service exports. New policies and regulations for international education do improve accountability for long-term ELT programs, but still do not address short-term programs.

5.5.1. Federal

As mentioned in section 4.3.4, while there is no single federal agency in charge of education, ELT is touched by many departments. Global Affairs uses internationalization of higher education for economic power relations. The Ministry of Innovation, Science and Economic Development (ISED) funds development of the language sector for domestic economic benefits, and has an interest in *brain circulation* into the country (Chakma et al. 2012). Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (previously Citizenship and Immigration Canada) seeks to manage the credentials and skills of new immigrants. The Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) wants to minimize security risks related to increasing international student numbers. Through marketing activities, trade negotiations, and shifts in funding and regulations these federal departments influence the local private ELT sector.

The federal government changed regulations for student visa approvals in 2014 to improve coordination between agencies and address the issues noted in section 4.3.5 (Canada CIC 2014). Under the new rules, international students must hold a student visa in order to study in Canada for six months or more, and work part time off-campus. Registration at an approved institution is required. To be included on the list of designated learning institutions, private ELT operators must complete an accreditation process with the provincial government. The new requirements — which Languages Canada calls “onerous” according to Baker (2016) — may encourage private operators to stick to short-term programs as an avoidance tactic.

Global Affairs

Trilokekar (2007:13) calls the federal foreign affairs strategy a “competition state” approach to global influence through dominance in international trade. Global Affairs

Canada sees value in education as a growing service export. By 2011 education services ranked eleventh in Canadian exports (Roslyn Kunin & Associates 2012). Higher education is now used as a centerpiece of trade agreements like the Canada-Brazil Science and Technology Agreement (Embassy of Brazil in Ottawa n.d.). The main goal is to increase international student numbers in order to increase global market share.

The minister of international trade released the official International Education Strategy in 2014 (Canada Foreign Affairs Trade and Development 2014). The document shows the economic approach that dominates higher education issues at a national level, with a theme of competition in the global knowledge economy repeated throughout. The strategy is predominantly marketing-focused, with the main aim of recruiting international students as consumers and potential immigrants. It also lists increasing offshore education activity and research collaboration as goals, but dedicates most of the document to marketing and recruitment.

Emerging market economies dominate the list of priority target countries. The strategy targets Brazil, China, India, Mexico, the Middle East and Vietnam. These countries have a growing middle class, demand for post-secondary education that outstrips supply, and potential for lucrative long-term trade partnerships. All but India are in the Expanding Circle.

The core idea is to increase traffic through Canadian education institutions. The strategy sets a lofty goal to double the number of international students from 239,131 in 2011 to more than 450,000 by 2022 (Chakma et al. 2012). In 1993 the Association of Universities and Colleges Canada (AUCC) had a target percentage for international students of less than seven percent (Knight 1995). By 2009 actual numbers of international post-secondary students had beat that by one percent already (Chakma et al. 2012). The plan makes no mention of the logistics of such an increase. All issues related to capacity and resources are left to the provinces and individual institutions, in line with the economic liberal tenet of divesting as much risk and responsibility as possible to maximize profit.

The Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC) is the main mechanism of communication between the federal and provincial governments on education issues.

CMEC oversees operation for national marketing programs, including licensing of the logos, promotional activities like recruitment fairs and tours, and managing the student web portal at educanada.ca. It promotes the industry to other national governments, and represent national interests with supra-national bodies. There are currently 32 education mobility agreements, including India, Brazil, China, Japan and the Republic of Korea (Chakma et al. 2012).

Ministry of Innovation, Science and Economic Development

The ISED engages with internationalization of education from a domestic economic perspective. It sees two types of return on its financial contributions to international student recruitment. International students are seen as consumers, with their spending equated with job creation. Additionally, they are positioned as brain capital to counteract the projected skilled labour shortage (Canada Department of Finance 2014). They are highly valued as potential immigrants already adjusted to culture and language, with their training self-funded. These ideal international students are referred to as “the best and brightest” (Government of Canada 2014:5). Within ISED texts the theme of global competition is also well developed in relation to higher education. At the launch of the ministry’s new innovation agenda, Minister Navdeep Bains (Innovation, Science and Economic Development, Launch of Innovation Agenda Speech, June 14, 2016) peppers his speech with over a dozen references to competition in the global market.

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

The IRCC has increased emphasis on language skills for immigration criteria. In January 2013, the agency put in new requirements for proof of English language proficiency for immigration (Canada CIC 2012). This could be a strategy to push potential immigrants to learn English, gain skills and acculturate at their own cost before immigration, reducing state costs for settlement services. In 2014 the federal government made funding cuts to all but basic level ESL for immigrants (Culbert 2014). Hyslop (2014) reports 17 institutions in British Columbia were affected by these changes, which led to major layoffs for teachers from well-paying full-time teaching jobs with benefits, and increased competition for positions at private schools. Some institutions began charging tuition to keep programs running. The model of ELT delivery seems to be steadily moving toward full privatization.

In keeping with their mandates, federal departments and agencies view private ELT, along with all education in Canada, in relation to federal economic and political goals. Involvement in the internationalization of education is centred on improving Canada's international position. Increasing economic power for international relations, improving human capital for the domestic workforce, or securing a larger market share in education as a service export, the federal government aims to do it with as little spending as possible.

5.5.2. Provincial

Influence on ELT from the provincial government is also felt primarily through the internationalization of public education. Both the Ministry of Education, responsible for public primary and secondary schooling, and the Ministry of Advanced Education are determined to increase the number of international students in the province, in line with the 2012 International Education Strategy. The focus is on recruitment to increase service exports for the province and to boost local economic capacity, as well as solving funding issues for domestic education.

Within the Ministry of Advanced Education, policy and procedures are now in place to meet federal study visa requirements. In the spring of 2015 the British Columbia Legislature passed Bill 7 to replace the Private Career Training Institutions Act with the Private Training Act (PTA). As of September 2016, the Private Career Training Institutions Agency (PCTIA) has been replaced by the Private Training Institutions Branch, a smaller office with a single commissioner, directly under the Ministry of Advanced Education. Changes are intended to restore public faith in the governance of private colleges in the province, as well as "reduce red tape" (BC Ministry of Advanced Education, PCTIA n.d.: Why Change?). The act now includes provisions for the new federal requirements for vetting schools for student visa approval, but has already received criticism. Kim Carter (2015), provincial ombudsperson from 2006-15, objects to the omission of education standards from the act. She charges that many recommendations from commissioned studies have gone ignored in favor of a lean, consumer-focused approach (2015). Languages Canada (2015a) complains that the act adds too much cost to institutions while failing to give enough protection to students. The PTA does mention language schools, but the addition seems like an afterthought. Participation is still voluntary for schools with programs less than six months.

The Ministry of Education is working more and more with the private sector to increase internationalization at the elementary and secondary levels. One way is through offshore schools, run by private companies that hire provincially-certified teachers to deliver British Columbia high school curriculum in the Expanding Circle. Of the 44 offshore schools currently in operation, 33 of them are in China, owned by 12 companies (British Columbia Ministry of Education n.d.: Certified offshore schools). Five offshore schools are in South Korea; Japan, Qatar, Thailand, Egypt, Columbia and France have one offshore school each. The ministry has also been looking to improve secondary to post-secondary transitions for international students, after this was made a priority in the British Columbia International Education Strategy (Gurh & Nelson 2015). Actions in this vein include putting in a new student information system for data collection and looking at different models of pathways partnerships with private ELT providers (Gurh & Nelson 2015).

The top-down drive for internationalization has had an influence on the local private ELT sector. Heavy recruitment of international students keeps demand for short-term ELT programs high, as the “growth objectives of quality education providers have started to outstrip the supply of directly admissible students” (Gurh & Nelson 2015:6). New student visa regulations put in place by the federal government and managed by the provincial government standardize business practices for institutions providing long-term programs, but do not address teaching qualifications or program content. This overlooks the majority of private ELT operators who provide micro- and short-term programs. This may entrench short-term programs in the private sector.

5.6. Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a thorough exploration of the characteristics and practices of the five key stakeholder groups involved in private ELT in Vancouver. My examination of the websites of local private ELT providers reveals many issues that need deeper investigation. While detailed statistics are not available, the information I have assembled in this chapter provide a great deal of insight about the stakeholders and their goals. The sheer scale of the private industry surrounding the local ELT sector becomes apparent once the ownership patterns and ancillary businesses are addressed. While students in private ELT come from very different regions and cultures, the majority are

from those Expanding Circle countries with recently liberalized economies, where governments are emphasizing English learning in response to the Globalist discourse. The primary motives for studying English in Canada, taken along with the trends in program offerings, indicate links to important narratives which are analyzed in the next chapter, along with the discourses present in the texts.

Chapter 6. Discussion

A large portion of this paper has been given over to careful description of the context surrounding private ELT in Vancouver. In the previous chapter I catalogued the main stakeholder groups involved. At this point there is enough data for a rudimentary analysis of patterns and trends, connections and contradictions, in relation to the political economy of English, using the theories discussed in chapter 2. These generalizations provide insight into the relationship between the daily practices of stakeholders and specific attitudes and ideologies.

Several patterns are apparent in the design of ELT programs based on duration, scheduling, curriculum, cost, associated activities, marketing messages, the nature of assessment and credentials awarded. Based on these patterns I find it useful to divide ELT programs in Vancouver into two groups, which I will refer to as LANGUAGE TOURISM programs and INSTRUMENTAL programs. Each of these cater to different conceptions of how English can transform the habitus of the learner. They provide different strategies for accumulating English as symbolic currency for socioeconomic gain. When language study abroad is positioned as a cultural good and leisure activity for consumption, it is indexed to the larger construct of tourism, and functions as a marker of social status and identity through this narrative. When private ELT is situated as a mechanism for acquiring skills and credentials to satisfy institutional requirements, it is connected to a narrative of knowledge labour and the global market. Each type of program appeals to a different sensibility and caters to a different strategy of acquiring symbolic capital to increase power and security.

Further evidence to support a strong link between program types and narratives comes from a preliminary analysis of the discourses present in the texts under examination. These documents ascribe to English properties of sophistication, power, access and transformation. Many texts detach the benefits of English study abroad from classroom instruction, and emphasise location, leisure and recreational activities, as Yarymowich (2004) describes in her study. There are also frequent references to knowledge capitalism, information access and global economic competition. One conceptual thread running through discourse on both program types, and education in

general, is global citizenship. Texts associate this term with a variety of meanings, connected to certain worldviews. Looking at the tendencies of some stakeholder groups to favour particular meanings for global citizenship suggests an ideological polarization within the sector.

In this chapter, I explain how discourse themes point to particular ideologies held by stakeholders in the host culture, and consider the ways these ideologies are obscured by the multiplex meanings of popular terminology in the sector. I explain my categorization of programs, describe the discourse themes and larger narratives employed, and triangulate the prominent program design features with the common discourse themes and the functions (both real and imagined) of English in the contexts where students expect to benefit, in order to illuminate the presuppositions behind the actions of different stakeholder groups.

6.1. Language tourism

For many students, micro- and short-term private ELT primarily provides symbolic and cultural capital through the practices of tourism. The functions that these programs serve for Inner Circle institutions also overlap with tourism. Aside from a primary goal of financial gain, private ELT also contributes toward the goal of state-building by reinforcing discourses of national identity. Observations from tourism studies help to clarify the social functions of ELT for different stakeholders, as well as the ways that ELT differs from the activities traditionally studied as tourism.

The programs that I place under the category of language tourism are general English, as well as recreation-specific programs like youth camps, family camps, sport and adventure packages. These programs are designed to be maximally flexible. As noted in chapter 5, general English classes are offered by a large majority of ELT operators. These programs usually have weekly intake, and variable length, with a minimum commitment of a single week, or even just an hour. Both part-time and full time schedules are available. These programs often include a recreation component with social activities, visits to local tourism sites, and add-on packages for an additional cost. Recreation programs, offered by 40% of operators, are usually one or two weeks in length, and are

timed to coincide with school holidays in sending countries. The structure of these programs is consistent with what Yarymowich (2004) terms language tourism. They present language learning as a recreational activity, easily paired with other tourist pursuits. The focus on flexibility and customer service creates convenience for the student rather than conditions conducive to learning, and packages English study abroad as a means of improving the self through consumption (Yarymowich 2004). The uniformity of school websites, filled with visual texts of tourist and recreation activities also fit Yarymowich's (2004) definition. The programs in this category blend the concept of education with leisure and travel for mass appeal.

6.1.1. Defining tourism

Tourism is a very broad subject of study. It involves a wide variety of practices and people. Economically speaking, tourism has grown into a global cultural industry, and it has become the largest sector of international trade in recent decades (Dann 1996; Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). A most basic definition of tourism is travel for business or pleasure that is temporary as opposed to migration. Boundaries between different types of tourism – business versus pleasure, for instance – are blurry (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). O'Reilly (2005) cautions against trying to make sharp distinctions between different types of tourism and tourists. She suggests that rough categories could be based on attributes like length of travel time, mode of travel, expense and attitudes, and so forth. It depends on what aspect of tourism activity you are investigating. A key characteristic common to all forms of tourism is that it is dialectic (Jules-Rosette & Bruner 1994). It always involves an encounter between the tourist and the other, the meaning of which is symbolically and ideologically constructed (Jules-Rosette & Bruner 1994). Or as Urry (2005) puts it, tourism is socially constructed by hosts and visitors together.

History of Tourism

It is often thought of as a modern phenomenon, but the practice of tourism has probably been around since humans became sedentary. Dann (1996) refers to texts from ancient Greece that speak of the need to escape from the crowded cities for relaxation. Later, the Grand Tour of the early modern period was undertaken by wealthy young men of pre-industrial society as preparation for a life of civil or business leadership (Dann 1996).

Tourism was institutionalized halfway through the nineteenth century (Urry 2005; Coupland & Jaworski 2005). This accompanied the changes to transportation and communications brought by the industrial revolution (Urry 2005). Industrial developments made imagining and visiting far-away places a possibility to a growing number of people. Where previously only those in the upper class had the time and money necessary for long distance travel, steam engines made it attainable for the growing middle class. Famously, Thomas Cook started the first travel agency once rail lines crossed most of England and Europe. Nineteenth century railroad companies in the United States put a great deal of money and effort into marketing tourism by train (Dann 1996). Mass media also played an important role in constructing schemas of other cultures around the globe. By the early twentieth century huge numbers of people in the Western world had both the will and the means to travel.

A second wave of time-space compression, brought on by air travel and the internet, has increased the accessibility and popularity of distant locations even further (O'Reilly 2005). Independent travel has become a right of passage for middle class youth. O'Reilly (2005) sees the working holiday as the modern, working class version of the Grand Tour, offering freedom, personal development, and fulfillment. Independent travel is looked upon favorably by employers, seen as giving young people practical experience, and a worldly perspective (O'Reilly 2005). As free-market capitalism and Western consumer culture have spread around the world, tourism has changed among other societies as well. Traditionally, tourism has been characterised in the literature as flowing from wealthy Western places to the South and East, but some scholars have started to consider flows in the other direction (Prentice 2004; Jules-Rosette & Bruner 1994). Tourism has been embraced as a social ritual (Hallett & Kaplan-Weinger 2010), and grown into an industry that rivals even petroleum (World Tourism Organization 2017).

Functions of Tourism

Tourism can serve many functions for both tourists and hosts. Tourists may pursue leisure through travel, for pleasure and to achieve distraction or escape from daily routine. They may also wish to acquire symbolic capital through identity work, cultural knowledge, and souvenirs. Hosts receive economic gain, international prestige, and social control. These functions are not discrete or exclusive but shift and interact in complex ways.

Many scholars agree in conceptualizing two main categories of function for the tourist: leisure and acquisition of symbolic capital. For instance, Dann (1976) describes two main purposes: one being to relieve anomie, feeling morally unsupported by society, and the other the need for self-actualization, or ego enhancement, which he notes is closely connected.

Much of the allure of tourism comes from the cost, in both money and time. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010:97) contend that tourism is “a sign of modernity and a status symbol” because mobility itself is symbolic capital. Licensed mobility, the freedom to leave work and family duties in order to travel by choice, is associated with status (Lew et al. 2004; Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). The freedom to ignore time and dispense with schedules is indexed to wealth and power (Dann 1996). Further, “The ultimate luxury and privilege of tourism” is going home (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010:120).

In addition to conspicuous wealth, another main function of tourism for the traveller is leisure. Even business travel includes time for the pursuit of pleasure and escape from responsibility and labour. Dann (1976) explains that “holidays are essentially experiences in fantasy” (19). Travel to exotic locales allows the tourist to overstep “the dictates of convention” and “transcend the monotony of everyday life” in order to escape from role expectations (Dann 1976:21). It is not only as an escape from work and family but from the self as well. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) note that a holiday allows an opportunity to try on alternative identities. Because these identities are temporary there is little risk involved. O'Reilly (2005:162) explains that “single serving friendships” made abroad are assumed to not last beyond the trip, and are a way to test out new identities without long-term repercussions. Tourism also supplies resources for long-term identity cultivation after returning home.

The trappings of tourism continue to provide symbolic capital after the holiday has ended. Upon return from holiday, tourists gain prestige through displaying the signs of wealth and status they have acquired. This includes evidence of their adventures through stories, photographs, and other souvenirs. Tourists acquire rare and exotic items not available at home to display as trophies for friends and family (Dann 1976). Lozanski (2010) states that the exotic other serves as a contrast to help define self and home. Exotic experiences satisfy a desire for mystery, discovery and conquest. Maoz (2006) claims the

tourist sees the exotic other as primitive, spiritual, open and permissive; but inferior, to be conquered and added to the self. Telling the tales of their travels allows the tourist to show knowledge of strange and distant people and places. Experience in exotic locales gives the tourist status in the eyes of less well-travelled individuals (Salazar 2012). When tourists return, they can employ “trip-dropping” and one-upmanship to increase the perception of their sophistication (Dann 1976:20). O'Reilly (2005) notes that personal development is an effective mitigation for parental objections against independent holidays. Many independent travellers (backpackers) claim greater confidence after returning home, as well as a new perspective on the world and their place in it. The global education assumed to result from travel is valued by employers as evidence of maturity, broader perspective, and initiative (O'Reilly 2005). Souvenirs and stories from travel act as markers of sophistication, wealth and power for the tourist, contributing to the project of self-fulfillment and self-improvement.

The main function of tourism for hosts is financial gain. Williams (2004) states that tourism helps to maintain the capitalist economic system of production and consumption. Maoz (2006) points out many economic opportunities that arise from Western tourists visiting less wealthy countries like India. An increase in visitors means opportunities for employment. Church (2004) notes that tourism diversifies the local economy and can fill gaps left by the decline of other industries. The promise of economic growth motivates many communities to develop tourism sectors.

For governments, tourism also serves the purpose of state-craft. Graan (2013) explains that a free market nation state is treated like a business, and the government's job is to attract outside capital through branding for investment, tourism and trade. A national brand is “a coherent place-based representational identity” (Graan 2013:166). National brands target two audiences, international and intra-national (Graan 2013). Within the state a successful brand will increase unity and stability while separation and distinction from other states are enhanced. A national brand is developed and managed through cultural production (Graan 2013). Profiting from tourism as a supplier requires control of access to cultural products through commodification (Williams 2004). No one will pay for something they believe they can get for free. Indexing cultural products to place and state authority gives a sense of ownership and authenticity to this national imaginary.

When considering the discourse of tourism, genre cannot be overlooked. The most abundant texts are marketing materials. Tourism suppliers and hosts are often institutional, like travel agencies, airlines, hotels and resorts, as well as government agencies charged with promoting the tourism industry in their region. According to Dann (1996), most governments spend the bulk of their tourism budgets on promotion. He argues that the aim of institutional tourist discourse is to sell rather than inform. Institutional texts are largely advertisements; thus, the tourism discourse includes many characteristics that belong to the advertising genre as a whole. This includes aspirational rhetoric, which creates a tension between desire for and attainment of ideals (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). If attainment is too easy, people will not be motivated to consume. Advertising often relies on phatic language, appealing to emotion to build connection with the audience (Cook 2001). It is a powerful discourse type, but has limits. Cook (2001) reminds that the difference between the function a sender has for a message, and the function for a receiver must be kept in mind. No matter the motives or strategies of advertisers, controlling the receiver's interpretation of a message is impossible.

Tourism marketing promises pleasure and distraction, as well as a boost to symbolic capital. As an industry, tourism is prized as a strong addition to the local economy and a tool for managing the image of the state. It largely targets the middle classes, for whom a lifestyle of leisure is just out of reach. Individuals receive these messages, interpreting them along with other information gathered about the destination, to generate a composite representation – a tourist imaginary.

The Tourist Imaginary

Tourism is often more about visiting an imagined place than a real one. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) point out that “a key part of what is actually produced and consumed in tourism is the semiotic context of the service” (7). The tourist discourse is a “discourse of myth” (Dann 1996:6). The traveller builds an imaginary; a cognitive schema of concepts built from sensory input. Forsey and Low (2014) describe the tourist imaginary as “a vision, a version, of a nation formed by marketers, filmmakers, television production companies, academics and so on” (157). Salazar (2012) contends that tourist imaginaries are institutionally grounded, but trans-locally negotiated and co-produced by media, marketing, tourists and locals. They form within a context of fictional worlds (books, films,

etc.), global news media (which can be very selective), and “historically inherited stereotypes” (Salazar 2012:871). Forsey and Low (2014) argue that an individual who has never been to a particular place before will likely uncritically accept and internalize this input. An individual who is conceptually or geographically distant from the subject of the message may not have need or opportunity to critically analyse it. The real-life destination will be held up against expectations based on the imaginary.

Like other socially constructed phenomena, tourist imaginaries are intertextual and not consciously recognised, making them slow to respond to change. Dann (1996) speaks of the tautological nature of tourism discourse, meaning that tourists most often go to see or experience what they already know is there, and their experience simply reinforces the discourse. He gives the example of tourist photographs reproducing images they see in brochures and postcards. They focus on the few most recognizable symbols from the discourse for meaning making, creating a “circular phenomenon” (Dann 1996:67). According to Salazar (2012), the tourist sees the local inhabitants as frozen in time, homogenized, essentialized and immobile. He submits the example of texts describing holiday destinations that, separated by centuries, barely differ. This gulf between reality and expectation often leads hosts to perform the imaginary in order to satisfy tourists (Heller 2010; Jules-Rosette & Bruner 1994; Maoz 2006; Salazar 2012; Thurlow & Jaworski 2010).

The general characteristics noted above apply to tourism as a broad concept. As a specialized niche, language tourism has several distinct attributes to consider. The next section discusses how language tourism conforms to and diverges from other categories of tourism.

6.1.2. Tourism features in private ELT

Private ELT has many features in common with tourism. On the school websites in this study I have found multiple examples in both the discourse and practice. Program structure and scheduling prioritize recreation and leisure over instruction and study. Texts reference tourism directly through the naming of programs and use of specific lexical items, as well as indirectly by drawing heavily on the discourse themes of pleasure and self-fulfillment. It should also be noted that this category of private ELT does diverge from

other kinds of tourism in important ways. Language as a cultural product is a principal focus of the trip. Additionally, the conventional power relation between tourist and host does not hold. In regard to the function of providing symbolic capital, language tourism delivers an additional layer of value. These features support the position that micro- and short-term programs are designed for people who are not looking for language proficiency but for symbolic currency.

Evidence of general tourism features

School websites contain myriad examples of tourism practices and discourse themes. Evidence from practice shows prioritization of convenience, flexibility and recreation. This includes the structure of programs to fit with the short-term travel plans and recreational activities of students. The flexibility of program length allows for students to attach a short period of study to a longer holiday, or fit it into a break between study periods at home. Likewise, the weekly intake schedule privileges convenience over classroom continuity. The adjustability of instruction hours allows students to spend the bulk of their time pursuing activities outside of the school. These features allow ELT to fit into the student's lifestyle and leisure plans, requiring as little commitment and adjustment as possible. Additionally, the ownership of a few schools by tourism corporations, and membership in tourism associations by others show that these private ELT operators view their business as providing tourism services.

Regarding discourse, texts on school websites exhibit the tourism themes noted by previous research. The discourse theme of self-fulfillment and self-improvement is often attached to aspects of the travel experience unrelated to the language classroom. For example, one website declares *In today's society, knowledge of the world is an essential commodity for success. Travelling abroad to study the English language, learning about different cultures and making lasting friendships is a great way to contribute to this knowledge.* The websites in this study make heavy use of the theme of leisure and pleasure. For example, one website proclaims *Enjoy life in Canada!* Student testimonials include sentiments like *the classes are fun!* Websites describe the *beauty of the city* filled with an *endless variety of sports and recreation.* They highlight the fashionable interior design of the campus, the proximity to tourist attractions, and the comfort of the student lounge. In addition to the many images of smiling youth engaged in sight-seeing, hiking,

shopping and socializing outside the classroom, explicit reference to tourism is made through lexical items like *holiday*, *camp*, and *adventure* in the names and descriptions of programs. From this evidence, one might gather that the only thing distinguishing these schools from language education at home, aside from price, is the tourism experience.

It must be remembered that private ELT websites are within the genre of advertising, and contain features of that genre that are not exclusive to tourism. For instance, appeal to instant gratification and overly positive descriptions are common strategies in advertising (Cook 2001). Thus, catch phrases like *Speak English Now!* or the conspicuous omission of details like extreme weather and cramped, windowless facilities may only be features of the advertising genre and not tourism specifically. That being said, there are sufficient features unambiguously belonging to tourism discourse to claim that private ELT serves as a form of tourism for many students.

Characteristics unique to language tourism

Language is an integral part of all tourism interactions, serving two important roles as medium of communication and cultural object (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). When language is the focus of the travel experience some dynamics of the tourist-host relationship change. The direction of mobility in private ELT is from less-powerful nation states to more-powerful ones. As a result, the power dynamic of language tourism differs from conventional tourism. The local language also has a different distribution of functions that gives it greater social value than the language(s) already spoken by the tourist.

Language is the medium through which humans socially construct culture, identity and values. When language is employed as a tool for communication about tourism (especially through mass communication), it carries norms and values as well as information (Dann 1996). Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) explain that tourism is a “quintessentially semiotic industry” (130). It is a site of cultural production, where semiotic resources (linguistic, visual and material) are interpreted across cultural boundaries (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). In this way language is a part of all forms of tourism.

As an object, language is a marker of cultural difference (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010). Dann (1996) notes how both hosts and tourists use *LANGUAGING*, peppering discourse with words from the local language, to create the appearance of authenticity,

expertise, membership, or sophistication and cosmopolitanism. Language classes are just one cultural product of many that are consumed and brought home for display. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) contend that language learning can be a recreational activity “on a par with trying different local culinary specialties or learning new skills such as sailing, horse-riding, skiing and so on” (183). In the traditional model of tourism, the main functions of the host language are restricted geographically. The tourist primarily uses it to communicate with locals while on holiday, where it has high value in the immediate linguistic marketplace. Once the tourist returns home, the language functions as an exotic souvenir, giving symbolic capital in the home marketplace. It has little or no value as a tool of communication. Kinginger (2009) asserts that the tourist’s desire to study language while abroad is influenced “by the value societies assign to foreign language competence as a desired outcome of travel” (12). Linguistic souvenirs represent knowledge of the exotic other and mark membership in the stratum of society with wealth and power enough for leisure travel.

In language tourism, the host language has more prestige than the home languages of the tourist. It is a standardized language, connected to a powerful culture, with broader influence as a regional or global trade language. This gives it high value across more linguistic marketplaces. A marker of connection to a powerful language community is a very desirable form of symbolic capital. Over and above the caché of tourism, language tourism adds the value of a prestige language community. In these ways, symbolic currency is gained through more than just the prestige of leisure travel.

It is the identity function of a particular variety that matters most, and this function is currently still firmly tied to place. Heller (2010) emphasizes that in language tourism location is vital; students believe they must travel to the Inner Circle for an authentic form of English. She notes that “older nation-state ideologies of language, identity, and culture are appropriated and mobilized in the commodification of authenticity” (105). Outer Circle Englishes are indexed to the place, culture and people of Outer Circle nations, and are assigned less symbolic value than Inner Circle Englishes, which are indexed to the wealth and power of Inner Circle cultures. The pilgrimage must be made to the source of power.

The power dynamic between hosts and visitors is also different for language tourism than typically assumed in tourism research. In the conventional model the power

relationship is in the favor of the tourist rather than the local host (Coupland & Jaworski 2005). In language tourism, the host culture is more powerful than the home culture of the tourist. This is the very thing that gives value to the language and draws the tourist. Of course, dynamics may be more complex for specific hosts and tourists; Maoz (2006) argues that even in conventional tourism, hosts as well as guests wield influence over the behavior and attitudes of the other. While locals are keenly aware of how tourists hold power over them, tourists are unaware of the ways locals influence them (Maoz 2006). When the travel is from countries with emerging market economies in the Expanding Circle to Inner Circle countries it cannot be assumed that power dynamics are the same as for British retirees in Jamaica or Canadian backpackers in Thailand.

To sum up language tourism, it is the consumption of language as a high-status cultural product. Private ELT operators in Vancouver who provide language tourism programs capitalize on the symbolic value of Inner Circle varieties of English in addition to that of tourism as marker of status. Structuring programs for flexibility and convenience, and forefronting recreation provides an experience that serves the functions of leisure and identity management rather than language acquisition. Marketing texts use the terminology of leisure travel, emphasizing the importance of place to student goals. In addition to structural features and marketing discourse characteristics, business links with the tourism industry, and government equation of education with tourism as service exports indicate that this set of private ELT programs should be considered as much tourism as education, if not more so.

6.2. Instrumental programs

Students who enroll in instrumental programs (or at least their parents) are focused on practical goals. Some are looking to build linguistic competence in a particular domain in order to participate in a new community. For instance, they may want to work in medical tourism. Others want acceptance into sought-after institutional positions. Institutions of education and employment around the world utilize English credentials for gatekeeping, to maintain exclusivity when other measures of distinction have lost their value. As a result, a growing number of students want English as a credential and not for communicative function.

The program types that I place in this category are more highly structured than language tourism programs. I include test preparation, business English, EAP, pathway programs, work-study, and ESP. One characteristic these programs have in common is explicitly promised results: job placements, conditional university acceptance, fast tracked immigration, certificate of completion, or guaranteed test scores. Most have a set program length, with a rigid curriculum related to an international skill assessment test. Linguistic proficiency is quantified and standardized according to international measures. Motivation comes from external criteria of success rather than intrinsic satisfaction with personal growth.

Detailed data on motivations and program choices of students in private ELT have yet to be collected. However, it is possible to infer instrumental goals by looking at program offerings along side the functions of English in home countries, coupled with studies like Chen (2008) on the motivations of international students at Canadian universities. The relationship between course choice and instrumental goal is not isomorphic, as the skills and credentials from each program provide several opportunities. Students in business English, ESP, or work-study programs are likely aiming for immigration and employment in Canada, but may also have employment in their home country as a main goal. Students who take EAP and Pathways courses are focused on entry to post-secondary education in the Inner Circle, with immigration as a long-term goal for many. Those in test preparation courses may be pursuing immigration, entry into an Inner Circle university, or school and work in their home country. The proportions of students who are pursuing any one particular goal, or even taking one particular program type, cannot yet be ascertained. Even with these very general assumptions about the goals of students in instrumentally-focused programs, it is clear they need very different forms of competence for each goal.

Whether or not those goals are situated in the Inner Circle or Expanding Circle determines the kind of linguistic resources or credentials that are necessary for success. No one ever has complete mastery of even their first language, we master what is needed for daily life and not more. When learning additional languages, a person develops what Blommaert (2010) calls truncated multilingualism. They need different forms of competence for different contexts, and gain competence in the domains that are useful. In order to integrate into an Inner Circle community as an immigrant a high level of proficiency in general English is beneficial. Adequate English proficiency for success at

an Inner Circle university requires at minimum high proficiency in reading more formal registers with specialized vocabulary for various academic areas. This may be enough in the case of those who desire an Inner Circle education only as a credential for employment in the Expanding Circle, and have strong academic and social support in their first language. Students who do not have these first language supports also require strong listening and speaking skills for the classroom environment plus proficiency in the casual register of everyday social interaction. Expanding Circle contexts are very different. Passing gate-keeping exams for education and job opportunities requires linguistic resources in English that are more narrowly focused. Even internationally oriented jobs in the expanding circle will have restricted domains, specific to the nature of the work. Students taking instrumental programs want English for a variety of different functions, which requires different resources.

It is not just the real-world demand for linguistic resources that influences these students and programs. Beliefs and values attached to English also contribute to the prestige that allows English to function as a gatekeeper in contexts where it is not widely needed for communication, motivating Expanding Circle governments to invest heavily in English education. Dominant economic discourses of knowledge, education and identity appear throughout host and sending government texts on international education, marketing texts for instrumental programs, and the voiced sentiments of students and their families in previous research. These discourse themes reinforce Inner Circle varieties of English as indexed to wealth, sophistication, modernity, science and technology.

6.2.1. Instrumental themes in ELT discourse

I have found several connected themes running through the texts from governments, media, marketing and previous research on student motivations. ELT is frequently framed in relation to the knowledge economy. Global competition is consistently used as a rationale for promoting or participating in private ELT. All stakeholders invoke English as the key to accessing people and knowledge. In this section I provide examples of how these ideas manifest in the discourse surrounding instrumental ELT programs.

English and the knowledge economy

Fuchs (2013) explains that the term KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY is a reference to the increasing dominance of mental labour in the late capitalist system. He elaborates that the forces of “informational capitalism” are knowledge labour, information technology, science and theoretical knowledge (Fuchs 2013:427). Heller (2010:104) writes that language has an “increasingly central economic role” in both the processes and products of labour in late capitalism. It is necessary for managing flows of resources over expanded space and compressed time, for mediating knowledge and service industries, and for providing symbolic added value such as indexing cosmopolitanism, authenticity and exoticism (Heller 2010). In many countries one or more local languages are used in this context. In the Outer Circle, and increasingly in the Expanding Circle, English serves in place of a local language, especially within the domains of information technology and science (cf. Hilgendorf 2007). At the international level English dominates. In the discourse of global economics, it is implicit that the language of the knowledge economy is specifically English.

Current institutional discourse on education centres around the knowledge economy. In my data, special interest groups court governments with statements like *Language is a fundamental element in top quality education and the productivity of a nation*. Government agencies repeatedly make mention of the knowledge economy in relation to education, on both national and global scales. They emphasize the importance of *knowledge-based*, or *knowledge-driven* sectors and *knowledge infrastructure*, extoll the value of *diplomacy of knowledge*, and call for an increase in *knowledge exports*, as well as *harnessing our knowledge advantage*. These texts refer to students as future *knowledge workers*, or *human development*, positioning them as capital rather than citizens. The economy is assumed top priority for any nation, and the term LANGUAGE assumed to mean a high level of fluency in a Standardized Inner Circle variety of English.

The utility of English is not consistent across all areas of economic activity. In the Expanding Circle English credentials regularly serve to differentiate candidates socially, rather than provide skills necessary for their work. Kubota (2016) reports that at international companies based in Japan, use of English is limited to specific jobs, most often written communication, and that there is more call for other Asian languages.

However, English test scores are routinely required for promotion regardless of the job description (Kubota 2016). The English requirements used for gatekeeping by Expanding Circle universities and employers, discussed in section 5.3.1, increase the local value of English for socio-economic mobility. Many students seek English credentials, especially prestige variety credentials, in order to rise above the competition in the workplace. Referring again to the example of South Korea, several studies show that families send their children abroad to study English in the hopes of securing future employment options through attending prestigious local universities with high English requirements (Kim 2014; Koo 2014; Kang & Abelmann 2014). Acquiring English credentials is often a strategy to maintain or increase socio-economic position in an unstable economic environment.

The advertising discourse examined in this study links English skills and credentials to employment, financial success and social mobility. Host government marketing and industry advertising texts proclaim, *you'll learn key skills, develop your abilities, sharpen your talents and transform your life, and move ahead in your career, or get into the international university of your choice*, and that studying English in Canada *will open doors for your future and benefit your career*. One private school includes the message in their company mission statement, promising to *Foster language learning progression so our graduates attain the educational goals that are necessary for them to excel in their communities and in the global marketplace*. Another school website provides a list of international corporations that recognise Business Language Testing Service (BULATS) test scores. These texts ascribe life-changing power to the English language, and insinuate it is necessary for success in the future.

The idea that English is integral to the knowledge economy stems from the fact that English occurs as a product of informational capitalism as well as a medium (Heller 2010). Widespread adoption of English benefits Inner Circle nations economically, politically and socially. These governments work to ensure adequate language skills in the domestic labour force, and leverage English as an economic product internationally. The position of English as a medium of international communication in highly visible domains is easily overgeneralized. The increased emphasis on knowledge labour and information technology, together with the dominance of science and theoretical knowledge by powerful Inner Circle nations adds strength to the marketing message that English is the exclusive

language of the knowledge economy, and reinforces the idea that English is a superior vehicle for knowledge transmission.

A legitimate conduit for knowledge

English is now considered by many to be the default language for disseminating certain kinds of information. Both Fuchs (2013) and Heller (2010) note that access to knowledge, especially related to science and technology, is a key function of English in informational capitalism. The privileged position that English holds indexes it to epistemological authority, similarly to French in the later half of the medieval period or Latin before that. This idea that English is superior for the transfer of knowledge is capitalized on by marketers of ELT.

Many national governments in the Expanding Circle express a desire to catch up to powerful Western countries in science and technology through access to existing research. The situation in Brazil, as mentioned in section 5.3.1, is a clear example. For decades, English teaching in Brazil has been focused on reading for access to technical materials and research. The current Science Without Borders program of educational cooperation with Canada suggests this is still a top priority (Embassy of Brazil in Ottawa n.d.). The agreement positions Canada as a custodian of knowledge and progress, granting access to Brazil through the normalized route of study abroad in English. Korea is another nation that sees English as necessary for growth as a nation. Kang and Abelmann (2014) report that English study abroad is essential to the narratives of modernity and development in the South Korean press. They also tell of the government-funded Education City, a development filled with offshore English-only high schools and branches of British and American universities. These massive government investments seem to be premised on the assumption that language is the only barrier to equality in global power relations.

Lillis and Curry (2010) argue that this belief in English as the key to knowledge is due in large part to the American dominance of research. They observe that in the realm of academic research, *international* is often considered synonymous with *English-medium*. The journal citation indexes and impact factors that have gained so much influence were developed in the United States. As well, many of the largest and most globally-influential journals are based in Inner Circle countries. Lillis and Curry (2010)

reason that this strong relationship between the language and the authority of scholarship leads to the attitude that research published in English is of higher quality.

Marketing on the websites of many local private operators attempt to tap into this language consciousness by promising that English study will *open doors, and open your world*. Slogans like *English expands your world, Connecting people to the world* and *Where the world comes to study* convey the message that without English, one's sphere of influence and understanding is small and ineffective.

Many nations and individuals in the Expanding Circle have come to view English as the most direct route to knowledge, influence, and progress. However, uncritical adoption of English is not equally beneficial for all. Park (2011) criticizes the idea of English as a liberating language, saying it is too simplistic and uncritical. He argues that the pursuit of English actually reproduces the social inequalities that it is supposed to ease. Parmenter (2011) agrees, stating that this view of English devalues knowledge production in the societies of sending countries, and creates mono-epistemological scholarship. Many other factors influence access to knowledge, and ability to utilize that knowledge, and are not simply cancelled out by possession of linguistic resources. The dominance of Inner Circle countries in science and research has indexed English to concepts like scientific progress, modernity, and knowledge (Kachru 1986b). It is the connection to the dominant cultures that lends these attributes to the language, not intrinsic linguistic properties.

The iconification of English as the language of knowledge, research and science intersects with the growth of commercial models of knowledge, intensifying the myth. Education institutions increasingly rely on transactional funding, designing their programs to maximise student numbers. Levidow (2002) reports a growing presence of English medium universities in the Expanding Circle. He contends that these universities reinforce existing power structures by catering to the demand for English education. Bourdieu (1991:58) argues "It is one of the generic properties of fields that the struggle for specific stakes masks the objective collusion concerning the principles underlying the game", meaning that students and Expanding Circle governments are perpetuating the linguistic power relations simply by privileging Inner Circle English norms, whether as a linguistic resource or credential.

English and Global competition

The theme of global competition is present throughout the discourse on English and education. Business interests counsel sending and host governments that harnessing English as a resource is necessary for participation in the global market. National governments join businesses in attempting to persuade individuals that English will give them an advantage for school and jobs by invoking global competition. The discourse assumes competition to be a fundamental social relation. All nation states are positioned in competition with each other, as are all individuals. The rhetorical strategy of comparison and competition is used liberally in the genres of advertising and politics. It appeals to both ambition and fear. Explicitly framing the struggle as economic and on a global scale invokes and strengthens the narrative of economic liberalism.

In the texts examined for this study, business interests employ comparison as a marketing strategy. They target host governments in the Inner Circle, sending governments in the Expanding Circle, as well as individuals. These texts frequently cite statistics comparing various host countries on economic gains from ELT, and rank them based on their global market share. To persuade sending governments, they compare Expanding Circle countries on proficiency test scores and economic indicators like GDP. The most striking instance of this is a marketing text presented as an article in a prominent US business magazine. The text relays the results of an annual survey of English proficiency undertaken by one of the largest English language education firms in the UK, and is written by the head of research for that firm. It compares results from proficiency tests delivered online to participants in 60 countries, and finds a correlation between these scores and national economic performance measures. The piece then goes on to claim a causative relationship between English proficiency and national prosperity. This article has since been cited by newspapers, bloggers, businesses and special interest groups, reinforcing the notion of English supremacy in global economics. Global competition is invoked in persuasive rhetoric as both a promise and a threat in order to encourage consumption of ELT.

Host governments also utilize the concept of global competition to induce intra-national cooperation, and reinforce current social structure. The promise of global hegemony is used to rationalize the deregulation and internationalization of education.

Maintaining export demand for English contributes to economic advantage over other nation-states. Texts are peppered with vocabulary like *world-class*, *world's best*, *globally recognised*, *world leader*, *global strategy*, and *global leadership*. Recall the rivalry between Canada and Australia described in section 4.3.4. Canadian texts use statistics that position Australia as just ahead of Canada in performance to motivate Canadian actors, while Australian texts use measures that position Canada slightly ahead of Australia. Economic competition is a primary argument to justify policy decisions regarding international education in the Inner Circle.

For sending nations the principle of competition triggers desire to rise in the ranks of world powers through international trade. Texts by these governments suggest a belief that English proficiency is a condition for full participation in the global market, which in turn is needed to win a position near the top of the hierarch. English competency among the work force is expected to increase trade for a more prosperous country. Celani (2008) reports that Brazilian government documents on language learning policy “reflect a view of learning English in order to take part in the world” (416). White papers from the Japanese Ministry of Education and Technology (MEXT) announce *dedication to increasing English proficiency among citizens as a means of developing global human resources, ...to nurture global leaders who can compete internationally*, in order to lead *the global society in every field*. Likewise, the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau (n.d.) aims *to compete on an international level in the labor market and in scientific research*. Based on these documents, Expanding Circle nations accept the premise that international relations are inherently adversarial, and believe that acquiring English will neutralize the advantage held by Inner Circle nations in international power relations.

The marketing for instrumental ELT programs integrate the themes described above, echoing obligation to and benefit of economic involvement at a global level. Texts on school websites declare that English is one of the *essential skills needed to participate fully in society*, and to *participate in the global economy*. It is no surprise to find the common advertising strategies of comparison and competition in school websites. What merits attention is the global economic orientation.

In the texts examined for this study, the concept of global competition is used as a persuasive strategy by commercial interests in English language teaching. This notion

transforms all human relations into a false dichotomy of winning or losing. It plays on the rivalry between Inner Circle countries for dominance of ELT as a service export market, as well as the desire to attract human capital from around the world to enrich the domestic workforce. Marketing messages use comparison to exploit the ambitions of nations in the Expanding Circle to match the achievements of Inner Circle countries. Governments also employ global competition in the attempt to persuade citizens to align their goals and behavior with national language interests. Local private ELT operators repeat and reinforce these messages as they seek to stir consumer desires. News media uncritically relay claims by these sources about the relation between English and success on a global scale, transferring the message from the advertising genre to a more credible form. This reinforces the connection of English to the ideas of progress, knowledge, influence, and global competition. These discourse themes surrounding instrumental ELT fit together within the economic liberal narrative.

Instrumental programs are growing in popularity, and now make up a significant portion of private ELT courses in Vancouver. This configuration of English instruction provides specific linguistic resources for employment or further education to some students, but also provides symbolic capital in the form of credentials to access higher level universities and jobs in the Expanding Circle. Similarly to those students who choose language tourism programs, many students use instrumental ELT for socioeconomic mobility.

The discourses for both styles of private ELT construct socioeconomic hierarchy on a global scale, but while the language tourism discourse focuses on signalling membership in an imagined global elite through conspicuous consumption, the instrumental discourse revolves around the qualifications necessary for access to education, employment and financial security, through the global free market economy. Texts iconify English; making claims about its power to grant access to knowledge, opportunity and people. Unfortunately, the rising tide of English does not lift all boats. Regardless of time and money expended, linguistic resources do not improve the habitus of everyone in a social field equally. The value of symbolic capital is very context-specific and volatile. Kubota (2011) recounts how one participant's investment in English for a new career actually led to economic disadvantage through salary practices that discriminate against non-native speakers. (Park 2011) cautions that linguistic marketplaces are

regularly recalibrated to maintain the balance of power. As an example, Park (2011) tells how TOEIC was once the main gatekeeping criteria for jobs in South Korea, but as more and more students scored in the top tier it became criticized as an inaccurate measure and lost favor. A more exclusive gatekeeper was found. Expanding Circle investment in Inner Circle English standards maintains existing power relations rather than upsetting them.

6.3. Global citizenship

Allusion to a global imagined community is found throughout the discourse on ELT, as it is found in the current discourse on education in general. The texts in this study continually encourage individuals to reorient themselves to a global imaginary. Sometimes it is explicitly referenced through specific terms like *global citizenship*, *international* and *cosmopolitan*. Other times it is more indirect, through themes like the knowledge economy, or human rights. Global citizenship is conceptually vague but generally positive, which makes it highly effective for persuasive discourse (Cameron 2014). It is indexed to diverse meanings through different ideological frames. References to global citizenship found in this study are primarily aligned with two ideologies, which I will refer to as SOCIAL HUMANISM and ECONOMIC LIBERALISM. social Humanism employs a communitarian frame which favors a sense of global citizenship focused around shared responsibility. This ideology is prevalent in the discipline of education. Government and business texts prefer versions of global citizenship that prioritize adversarial economic relations, in line with economic liberal ideology. Where the majority of students fall ideologically remains to be seen, but there is some evidence that students accept an interpretation of global citizenship as something that can only be gained by going to global places and doing global things, like studying English in Canada. In this section I explore the most prominent of the multiple meanings assigned to global citizenship and the larger ideologies with which they are associated.

Global citizenship is a concept that surfaces many times in the marketing texts for private ELT. The term is striking in both its ubiquity and vagueness. Cameron (2014) claims that this vagueness is what makes the term so popular, allowing it to represent very different and contradictory agendas concurrently. As a marketing strategy, it fosters

“warm, fuzzy, feel-good” associations, but what the term entails is implicit rather than explicit (Cameron 2014:24). Clues to intended meanings can be found in the behaviors associated with it, the context it is placed in, the conditions that are assigned to it, or the concepts with which it is contrasted. Some marketing texts seem to define global citizens by their participation in specific activities or phenomena on the global level. For instance, the description for a non-credit English course at a large post-secondary institution reads *English for the Global Citizen (EGC) is an English language program that puts language learning and practice in the context of global themes including environment, cross-cultural communication, media and technology*. Other texts present global citizenship as something that is acquired from particular environments. One school website describes the campus as *a safe, inclusive environment that promotes global citizenship*. Another site urges prospective students to *Study English in Toronto, or study English in Vancouver, two of Canada’s most cosmopolitan cities*. Another site ties cosmopolitanism to the character of the city in a more poetic way: *The urban feel of the city mixes seamlessly with numerous beaches and parks to create an atmosphere that is both cosmopolitan and Zen-like*. Many schools suggest an essential element for global citizenship is mixing with students from many different countries, which gives *the chance to learn English and also to learn about cultures from all over the world*. In all cases, ELT operators capitalize on the desirability of global citizenship, claiming that it is attainable through their programs. Before proceeding with further analysis, it will be useful to look at the conventional understandings of this term as they are presented in current research on the subject.

6.3.1. Defining a slippery term

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.), a CITIZEN is generally an inhabitant of some defined place, with rights and responsibilities connected to their residence. The word citizenship is currently most familiar in relation to nation states. Citizenship on a larger scale is less a part of everyday knowledge. Brehm and Webster (2014) point out that describing national citizenship is much easier than describing global citizenship because the requirements for participation are concrete and legally defined. Not everyone who lives in a country counts as a national citizen, and those rights and responsibilities are enforced by the state government. Bagnall (2014) suggests that another part of the challenge in defining global citizenship is that “there is no simple

common global pool of memories, no common global way of thinking, and no *universal history* in and through which people can unite” (102, emphasis original). This provides a working definition of global citizenship as recognized membership in a shared imagined global community, accompanied by rights and responsibilities shared by all, and enforced by the highest authority. There are three unresolved problems with this definition. One problem arises with different conceptions of the imagined global community providing different criteria for membership. The other two problems are connected: lack of agreement on what the rights and responsibilities should be, and agreement on who is authorised to enforce them. It may not be possible to come to a single, definitive definition.

It is instructive to look at how the term has been understood through history. An ancient conception of global citizenship is found among the Classical Greeks. The term COSMOPOLITAN, coined by Greek philosophers, translates as *citizen of the world* in English, denoting identity and responsibility to both local and world-wide communities. Held and colleagues (1999) point to the enlightenment period as another important point in the development of cosmopolitan philosophy. This was a time of dramatic change in Western thought about the individual’s relationship to society and humanity. For instance, Kant conceived of global citizenship in a predominantly intellectual way, freeing thought and scholarly discourse from religious and governmental control (Held et al. 1999). These older meanings have been reinterpreted by different schools of thought in later contexts.

Current understandings of global citizenship both overlap and contradict. Different domains of activity are involved, and varying emphasis is placed on rights and responsibilities. There are differing opinions on the nature of those rights and responsibilities, and on the criteria for being considered a global citizen, both between and within disciplines. Vertovec and Cohen (2002) distinguish between six different rubrics in the theoretical literature based on socio-cultural, philosophical or political relations involving institutions or individuals. Cameron (2014) marks a difference between THICK and THIN conceptions of global citizenship. His thick version is based in the social humanist tradition, which considers all humankind to be interconnected, and promotes a secular moralism based on the common good. It assumes a causal link between personal actions and unjust conditions in the world, and places emphasis on responsibility and social activism. What Cameron (2014) labels as the thin version of global citizenship encompasses everything from neo-colonial expansionism to cultural relativism. He argues

that the thin version downplays obligation to others, instead emphasizing rights and benefits like mobility, access to knowledge, prestige, and legitimate voice, but is much more effective for persuasion, and is often employed in advertising (Cameron 2014). However, Cameron fails to acknowledge his own ideological bias. While all categorization involves generalization, his binary distinction creates a false dichotomy between two extremes, exclusively focused on responsibilities or on rights. His analysis makes a moral judgement, positioning thick global citizenship as good and thin global citizenship as bad.

In an effort to frame the current discussion from a more ideologically objective middle way (Kachru 2005), I distinguish three core understandings of world citizenship in the data and name them according to their criteria for membership: what Cameron (2014) calls thick global citizenship I label COLLECTIVIST, and what he calls thin global citizenship I sub-divide into two separate but related understandings: a CONSUMER sense and a LABOUR sense. This is not to say these three encompass all senses of the term, only those that are dominant in the private ELT discourse.

Collectivist

To avoid the evaluative connotation associated with Cameron's (2014) thick label, I have chosen the term collectivist, which speaks more to the relational approach associated with this sense. This designation has often carried a negative connotation, leading many to avoid it, instead using words like internationalist (cf. Brehm & Webster 2014) or similar. By using this label, I wish to emphasize the ideological lineage of this sense as well as the antipathy between it and the ideology connected to the other senses.

This understanding of global citizenship is connected to the philosophy of social humanism, or communitarianism. It is one side of the split in Western thought which developed from the Enlightenment. In this ideology all people are connected through the human condition; the universal experience of being human (Davies 2008). Of course, what is included under human nature is always translated through the socio-cultural context of the current time and place (Davies 2008). This conception of global citizenship assumes the supremacy of the social field over the economic. Collectivism is concerned with the common good, believing there are universal ethics and human rights, and stressing shared responsibility for social justice and world peace. Every human meets the credentials for this version of global citizenship simply by being alive.

The stakeholder group in which this sense of global citizenship is most strongly represented is teachers (as well as education scholars). Inner Circle public education has been under the guidance of social humanism almost since its inception. At the core of this philosophy is the idea that knowledge is emancipatory. Education is considered a human right. It is deemed to be collaborative in nature, with a primary purpose of aiding citizens in full civic participation.

Scholarship on global citizenship in the context of education concentrates on teaching students how to be good global citizens in a social humanist sense (cf. Silova & Hobson 2014). The manifestation of this ranges from individual cultural sensitivity to consciousness of global human rights issues and advocacy. English is viewed as a resource for global citizenship, not a credential. It should be used to promote equality by improving cross-cultural communication, and helping individuals to participate fully in global society. In this perspective every person has a right to learn English, but it is not a requirement for global citizenship. Practitioners and researchers are socialized into this worldview, and these norms and values are taken as self-evident truth.

Parmenter's (2011) survey of university students around the world regarding their views on global citizenship suggests compatibility of this collectivist sense with students' own understanding of the concept. Responses include themes of interdependence and shared destiny with all people in their understanding of the term. However, Parmenter points out that some responses also show that English is commonly seen as a requirement for participation. She also cautions that little has been done to look at "alternative cultural understandings" of the concepts involved in the collectivist version of global citizenship (378). Parmenter (2011) does not compare student responses by geographical location, socio-economic class or department of study. It is also unknown how student understandings of global citizenship develop over time.

Consumer

Global citizenship is envisioned as membership in the top tier of social class in the consumer sense of the term. It is conspicuous mobility, in both a geographic and socioeconomic sense, identified by markers of wealth, and symbols of contact with or membership in high-status cultures. This includes material artifacts, knowledge and linguistic resources. This perspective puts emphasis on benefits, and minimizes

responsibilities. It is the version of global citizenship most often found in tourism discourse, as discussed in section 6.1. The consumption and display of cultural products and consumer goods is used to signal membership in the global elite.

Inner Circle Englishes are strongly indexed to this understanding of global citizenship. As indicators of membership in the most powerful cultural group of the moment, Standardized Inner Circle varieties of English are currently markers for membership in the global socio-economic elite. Advertising for high-end consumer goods in the Outer and Expanding Circles frequently employs English to index sophistication and exclusivity (Martin 2002; 2006). It also serves an identification function for the tourism industry, connected to the “mythology of super-elite, freedom of mobility, global citizenship, cosmopolitanism and conspicuous consumption” (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010:29). This connection between wealth, power and English suggests that English gives access to higher socioeconomic classes, or at the very least secures current status against increasing competition. It taps into class anxiety among the middle classes, spurring increased demand. In this way, private ELT operators, ancillary businesses and host governments can all be considered purveyors of global citizenship. Membership is through conspicuous consumption, and requires the credential of English as a semiotic resource, a symbol of wealth, mobility and global influence.

The texts that use this sense of global citizenship the most are promotional texts, presenting the school, the city, or the country as sophisticated, multicultural and rich (in culture, knowledge, land and opportunities). It is central to the marketing of language tourism programs. (Cameron 2014) claims that students prefer forms of global citizenship that do not impose obligations, but this is reductionist. Parmenter (2011) shows that international university students hold multiplex ideas of global citizenship. It is unknown exactly how much weight the consumer sense has for different subsections of students, or how stable it is over time. Consumer culture is present in all the countries mentioned in this study, but takes a unique form in each context. A consumer version of global citizenship is frequently employed in marketing texts, but the senders have little control over interpretation, which needs more consideration.

Labour

This understanding of global citizenship is found in the economic liberal discourse on globalization; what Fairclough (2009) refers to as GLOBALISM. Allegiance is still conceived of at the national level, but the labour market is constructed at the global level (Blommaert 2010; Bourdieu 2005). The focus of this sense is the responsibility of the individual, to the self and the state, for the acquisition of skills and qualities labelled as necessary for participation in a global workforce. The skills and qualities promoted revolve around the concept of flexibility, which is prominent in the economic liberal discourse on information labour (Fairclough 1999; Levidow 2002). It is reasoned that cross-cultural experience, multilingualism, and socialization to Western norms increase a worker's ability to adjust to rapidly changing work environments, leading to higher efficiency and thus greater profit for the employer. Benefits of global citizenship in the labour sense include employment and personal success for the individual, and a healthy economy for the state. The only domain included in this sense is economic, and so all relations are viewed as economic relations, and the only responsibilities are economic in nature (Cameron 2014).

A clear understanding of the labour sense and its importance to the current discussion requires a more detailed description of economic liberalism than is usually provided in the literature on global citizenship. Many scholars attribute practices and concepts to neo-liberalism without defining this system of beliefs or situating it in context. The neo-liberal label is often used in a disparaging and dismissive way for everything connected to globalization, or the interaction of economics and politics since the 1970s. I find it more useful to define and discuss economic liberalism in more general terms, maintaining a connection to the origins and continued development of economic theory. Bourdieu (1998) sums up economic liberalism as the supremacy of the economic field over the social field. As with any ideology, economic liberalism is complex and evolving, with divergent and conflicting variations which I do not have space to explore here, but I will present what Turner (2008) considers the common core for this philosophy.

Liberalism is more than just an approach to economics, it is a world view that developed over the last three centuries in Western Europe and North America. Turner (2008:116) describes it as "a complex movement of economic, social and moral objectives." The ideology centres around the relationship between government and

individuals, arising originally among the propertied merchant class in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, in retaliation against the monarchy's heavy taxation to pay for war, and then revived in the twentieth century, as a reaction to the growing popularity of collectivist politics around the world.

Turner (2008) explains that classical liberalism has three core values: individualism, liberty, and progress. Individualism is characterized by self-reliance and self-improvement; taking responsibility for one's own development. This concept draws from Protestant moralism, Victorian philosophy, and the enlightenment attitude that the poor are responsible for their own situation rather than systemic social causes. Liberty is "the moral sovereignty of individuals" (Turner 2008:43). In other words, it is the negative right to be free from interference. The liberal idea of progress comes from evolutionary biology as understood at the time of the enlightenment. It is survival of the fittest. Free competition is considered a natural, harmonious system. Competition leads to innovation and continual improvement of the species. Thus, economic growth is seen as part of evolution, the law of nature.

According to Turner (2008), "neo-liberals did not break with core liberal concepts such as liberty and individualism, rather they changed their specific meaning" (219). She states that neo-liberals focus on the principles of the market, property, the constitution and welfare. The market is the combined economic relations of all individuals. It is seen to be the evolutionary pinnacle of social organisation, and treated like an organism. The market is "driven by...individual success and short term financial gain" (Turner 2008:130). It is governed by the rules of exchange; the forces of supply and demand are kept in equilibrium through the mechanism of pricing, and every market exchange entails mutual benefit. Neo-liberals value freedom over democracy, and envision a restricted role for government consisting of national defense, criminal and contract law, as well as protecting and maintaining the free market (Turner 2008). They argue that state provision of social welfare is inefficient and ineffective, and call for privatization of healthcare and education, ending social security, income tax and minimum wage, and removing tariffs and trade restrictions. Turner (2008:209) reports that "Neo-liberals reject the popular notion of a public interest that represents the common good or general will of all members of society." and disapprove of social justice and egalitarian ideals. They advocate that responsibility for social welfare should rest first with family, the church and charities. Property is the

most important concept in neo-liberalism, according to Turner (2008). It is a right earned through enterprise, and the best incentive to labour. The accumulation of property is considered the ultimate expression of human will, and the redistribution of it through taxation is regarded as a form of violence (Turner 2008). This reinterpretation of classical economic liberalism came in response to the shift toward collectivism around the world in the first half of the twentieth century.

Economic liberals argue that globalization (meaning a unified global free market) is the inevitable result of progress. A liberal definition of a global citizen is one who participates in the global free market, taking responsibility for their own education, social and economic well-being. A single global language is efficient, with the language of those holding the means of production being the most efficient choice. Standardized English proficiency is a skill for knowledge labour, and English education is a commodity to be exchanged in the pursuit of profit, not a right.

The labour sense of global citizenship is perhaps the most common found in the discourse of private ELT and international education. This sense is used by governments for promoting nation-building strategies to citizens. It is present in sending governments' encouragement of citizens to acquire English, as well as in host government texts linking international education to the domestic economy. A discourse of global economic competition is repeated throughout the federal strategy document. The word *global* and its synonyms are used 56 times in 30 pages, connected to the concepts of economy, markets, competition and leadership. In the final report of the advisory panel before the strategy was released, the goal of transforming both domestic and international students into *global citizens* is emphasized and connected to the concept of the global marketplace, but never concretely defined. It is also found in the marketing of instrumental ELT programs. Even practitioners and scholars accept the argument that student success requires acquisition of skills for the global workplace. There is some evidence of this sense influencing students, as in the sentiment among students in Parmenter (2011) that some mastery of English they have not yet obtained is necessary for global citizenship.

This necessarily detailed explanation of economic liberalism is important to the examination of the many ways that the concept of global citizenship is presented and understood in the context of ELT. While most individuals have a nuanced understanding

that incorporates aspects of several different senses, some stakeholder groups seem to favor particular ones. Persuasive texts often make use of the strongest versions of a concept for rhetorical effect. Each sense promotes a particular way of positioning individuals in a global context, aligning with different worldviews. While the basic concept of citizenship includes both responsibilities and benefits, each sense of citizenship on a global level has a different idea of what those are. The collectivist sense considers all human beings to be members of this global imagined community, and emphasizes responsibilities to the rest of the community. The consumer sense constructs global citizenship as purchasable, with a focus on the benefits of membership. The labour sense positions citizenship as attainable through knowledge labour in the global economy. While the collective sense is most encountered in the contexts of education pedagogy and research scholarship, the consumer and labour senses dominate government and industry texts. This reveals an ideological opposition between teachers, who are inculcated into a social humanist tradition, and other stakeholder groups that have more influence over policy and procedure, who are socialized into an economic liberal framework.

6.4. Clashing ideologies in ELT

The monolith of Western thought contains many different world views at odds with each other. Chief among these is the conflict between what Davies (2008) describes as the two ideological extremes born out of the social, political and economic upheaval of the enlightenment. On one hand is a political version of humanist thought, prioritizing individual freedoms, while at the other end is a philosophical humanism that values knowledge and altruism (Davies 2008). When these divergent value systems come together in the practice of English teaching the result is what Boxer (2002) calls a “clash of expectations”. Stakeholder groups take the validity of their own views for granted, and are offended when another’s attitudes or behavior violate the norms of that ideology. This clash can be seen in the positioning of ELT instructors by their employers, disagreement over program outcomes, critique of advertising ethics in the literature and differing expectations for government involvement.

The discourse themes described in this chapter reveal ideological conflict within private ELT. Shaw (2014) characterizes ELT as a contact zone of English in the globalized

world, where cultures, interests and identities meet and clash. For the current discussion I wish to highlight culture based on ideology rather than nation, heritage or language. The most prominent clash in private ELT is between Inner Circle stakeholder groups. Imagined communities are envisaged as homogeneous, but are far from such. Teachers, the host government, school operators and ancillary businesses may identify equally as English speakers, Canadians, North Americans, or Westerners, but take opposing sides over the nature of the social contract. To illustrate the depth of this divide, I will address a number of concepts that, like global citizenship, receive radically different interpretations from different stakeholder groups, hindering meaningful discourse between them.

Common equivocal terms encountered in the discourse of private ELT include *education, engagement, professionalism, and quality*. Turner (2008) points out that the philosophical language of economic liberalism uses familiar terms in very precise ways that may not be transparent to those unfamiliar with this school of thought. In the same way, these words take on different specific meanings when interpreted through communitarian ideology. These interpretations are unmarked and viewed as self-evident when not explicitly challenged.

These two groups hold divergent beliefs about the nature and purpose of education. As a practitioner, Shaw (2014) presents this as the struggle between “the forces of globalization” (32), and the “wider discourses of education” (91). She describes the discontinuity between the expectations that are developed in teacher training programs and the realities of the workplace as “morally disorienting”, explaining that teachers are ingrained with an ideology of education as collaborative and supportive, and a primary goal of language acquisition (Shaw 2014:68). Education is a core concept in the social humanist tradition. It is considered a civic right, with the main purpose of equipping individuals for full participation in civic society. Education is believed to be most beneficial when approached as a collaborative process (Shaw 2014). This clashes with the economic liberal view that education is a private good that is best regulated by the free market. Education is conceived of as a simple mechanism of information exchange, its primary purpose to maintain a skilled workforce. It is the responsibility of the worker to ensure they adjust their skills to fit the needs of a constantly changing market through LIFE-LONG LEARNING. This is very different from the social humanist interpretation that individuals should stay curious after childhood because of the inherent value of learning.

The treatment of education by current government and private industry as a service export contrasts with the perspective that it is a social resource and right of citizenship.

Other prevalent terms build upon the divergence between these systems of thought. The word ENGAGEMENT is linked to very different realms of activity for each ideology. Within the social humanist framework, it refers to civic participation, commitment, collaboration, and acting on responsibilities to the common good. The current economic liberal sense refers exclusively to participating in the economic realm. Shaw (2014) argues that when economic liberals speak of professionalism they mean ORGANIZATIONAL PROFESSIONALISM, which is a top-down strategy of control through standardization. She maintains that teachers have a bottom-up understanding of professionalism as individual practice that encompasses training and experience, specialized knowledge, personal standards and autonomy. The stronger the top-down structure is in a school, the less room there is for employees to express bottom-up professionalism. The word quality also has incongruent meanings. Communitarian usage is perhaps the narrowest, pertaining to degree of excellence. It denotes superiority of the content and efficacy of the method of instruction, and requires agreement between values, claims and results, as determined by experts. The primary economic liberal sense of quality is more about fidelity. Consistency across all units of a product is maintained through QUALITY CONTROL. Sufficiency in this conception is determined by customer satisfaction, often signaled by the money back guarantee. There is also a secondary sense suggesting a superior rank or high standard, which has become almost meaningless due to overuse in advertising. These words and others are iterated throughout the discourse of ELT, appearing consistent and straight forward on the surface, but imbued with ideological meaning by the speaker. This extends a clash of values that can be traced back throughout Western philosophy. The ideologies one is socialized into are normalized as self-apparent truths, becoming invisible (van Dijk 1998). Stakeholder groups involved in the delivery of private ELT are aligned to conflicting ideologies, but this is masked by syncretism in the discourse and the assumption of shared culture.

6.5. Chapter summary

In this chapter I have described several patterns apparent in the current practices of private ELT in Vancouver. Analysis of program design reveals two main categories that frame English language resources as symbolic capital for different specific functions in the contexts of the Inner and Expanding Circles. Language tourism positions English as a cultural product that, along with other tourism symbols, increases the status of the visitor. Instrumental programs provide narrowly defined linguistic resources which can be used for limited communicative function in some domains, or used to pass gatekeeping mechanisms, usually in the form of standardized proficiency exams, for higher education and employment. The discourses surrounding each of these two categories are dominated by the persuasive genres of advertising and politics, which index English language study abroad to socioeconomic security, framed on a global scale.

Most private ELT programs are designed for convenient, efficient and flexible delivery of symbolic capital. They are not designed for collaborative learning, or acquisition of communicative proficiency in English. A main difference between program types is in how symbolic capital is packaged, based on the function of English in the context students will be using it. Language tourism programs are short, with generalized content and require minimal commitment. They fulfill a leisure function, and provide students with symbolic capital through linguistic souvenirs used as markers of mobility. Instrumental programs are designed around more concrete goals, are tied to international standardized testing for evaluation (and legitimization), and provide students with credentials for entry into higher education or employment. The tourism discourse is employed to market language tourism, while the global knowledge economy discourse is utilized for instrumental programs. Both of these discourses construct English as a marker of high status in a global socioeconomic hierarchy. The multiplex concept of global citizenship ties all of these themes together.

Examination of the most prominent discourse themes employed in the promotion of private ELT, compared with the criticisms from teachers and ELT scholars, draws attention to the persistent conflict between the ideologies that the fields of economics and education traditionally align with. Social humanism constructs ELT as a collaborative effort between stakeholders to equip students with communicative proficiency in English, along

with inter-cultural awareness for the common good of human kind. The economic liberal frame interprets ELT as an exchange of information for money, with teachers, students, and language as resources to be leveraged in global economic competition. The Janus-faced nature of private ELT manifests at many levels. This exploration of the various stakeholders in private ELT and their practices reveals that this sector is not only a nexus for Inner Circle and Expanding Circle linguistic marketplaces, but also for two opposing worldviews within ELT provision.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This exploration of the practices and discourses of private ELT in Vancouver is a starting point for more in-depth study of the goals, attitudes, and ideologies that motivate the different stakeholders. It highlights the relevance of sociolinguistic theory to the issues of English language learning and international education, and exemplifies the importance of building up a detailed context to facilitate the most accurate analysis of social practice as possible. I have assembled evidence from a variety of sources to show that it is the social functions of English that drive demand in the Expanding Circle for Inner Circle study abroad. Language is intrinsically social, and meaning cannot exist outside of social context (Bakhtin 1986). Kachru's (1984) circles of English are large-scale, context-specific linguistic marketplaces, where varieties of English serve different functions and therefore receive different values. For many individuals in the Expanding Circle, English is considered a tool for mobility, while institutions commonly regard it as a vehicle for modernization (Kachru 1986b). In the Inner Circle, where English is indexed to national identity, industry and government stakeholders treat English as a commodity to control and profit from, as well as a tool for statecraft. Language functions as a sign of wealth and authority, an indicator of lifestyle and taste (Bourdieu 1991). English, especially the standardized Inner Circle canon, is indexed to Western discourse themes and ideologies.

7.1. Limitations

The claims I can make from this analysis are constrained by a number of factors. There are limitations due to the types of research used, and constraints inherent to the macro level of analysis. There are also limits to the explanatory power of theoretic models of human behavior. This work is also unavoidably affected by the habitus of the sole researcher involved.

I have stated throughout that this study is exploratory in nature, and so is not exhaustive. As mentioned in section 1.1, using mixed methodology mitigates, but does not remove the weaknesses of particular methods. There is also the formidable challenge of accessing statistics on private ELT in Canada. The government reliance on data collected by Languages Canada, in a processed and opaque state means that economic figures do

not reflect the entire sector. Employment data on teachers, and details about students on tourist visas are proprietary, if collected at all. As Kubota (2011) notes, gaining access to private schools can be a serious struggle for researchers, limiting the scope of study.

There is an inherent paradox to constructionism. While an important aim of post-structuralist analysis is to avoid taking any ideological frame for granted, the philosophy is unavoidably based on a set of epistemic principles, meaning that bias can never completely be removed. Theoretical frameworks must be somewhat simplistic to be manageable. By necessity, looking at patterns and trends in larger populations erases individual differences. In my analysis I make many generalizations. This is not to say that there are no exceptions. While this paper does not have room for discussing cases that do not fit larger patterns, I wish to emphasize the need for both macro and micro scale studies on a subject to provide the most holistic results. For the sake of descriptive ease, I have used categorical terms for phenomena that are not categorical, and labels based on modernist ideas of nations and languages. These imagined communities do not allow for the superdiversity of modern societies. Blommaert (2010) argues that any generalizing metaphor lacks complexity and is only useful for “aesthetic and rhetorical aims” (18). However, Brehm (2014) points out that the nation-state “remains the main unit of analysis in the international order” (232). Cultural identity is linked to national media, and other national institutions (Bagnall 2014). These are the labels used by the stakeholders of private ELT, and so they are relevant to the discussion of how these groups imagine and interact with their world.

To give full account of the limitations of this study, I must also disclose the biases and disadvantages related to my own habitus. I am a monolingual English speaker raised in a Western culture, who leans toward communitarian views. Bakhtin (1986) cautions that dogmatism blinds one to all but the familiar, and so I have endeavoured to cultivate a perspective of what he calls OUTSIDENESS, what Kachru (2005) calls the middle way (as noted in section 6.3.1), of viewing not only the other, but myself and my culture from the outside. Of course this process is never perfected. I am a part of the English Inner Circle which, as Lillis and Curry (2010) point out, dominates academic research. This project was only able to investigate the English language versions of school websites. The translated sites may have different connotations in the languages of sending countries. As Bakhtin (1981) instructs, all participants and their historical contexts must be

considered for proper discourse analysis. To carry on with this work, I will need to collaborate closely with multilingual scholars.

As a preliminary investigation, this project has produced a set of conclusions that will require rigorous testing to refine and strengthen. These results provide insight for more structured research going forward.

7.2. Future research

As the business sector and governments continue to promote international education and English, there is an urgent need for research to catch up with the current functions of English and attitudes about it around the world. There is a dizzying array of questions that need answers. Here I will discuss what I view as the most fruitful areas of inquiry for future studies.

The data that must be gathered first is more detailed student demographics. Fine-grained statistics on students should include program choice, accommodation choice, frequency of study abroad, age, and gender ratios. Obtaining the resources and permission to undertake data collection of this scale may be daunting, but not impossible. Approaching provincial and national agencies and special interest groups like the BCCIE, Canadian Bureau for International Education, and Languages Canada, may yield useful partnerships. The new interest in public-private partnerships with ELT operators may force more examination of private ELT in the local context, or at least make it more possible.

Diachronic studies that trace the development of attitudes about English held by students, from first arrival to university and on to job search may show the extent of influence that the marketing discourse has, as well as give an idea of the prevalence of different trajectories through the education system, and reveal how much benefit English proficiency and credentials actually confer. What does English use look like in their daily lives?

It is also necessary to expand the analysis of the marketing discourse to include marketing texts in Chinese languages, Brazilian Portuguese, Arabic, Korean and Japanese. The

ways that Western narratives of tourism and the global free market are deciphered and reconciled with local world views will enrich understanding of the Expanding Circle.

Back in the Inner Circle, a more in-depth exploration of the relationship between the promotion of English study in Canada and national identity maintenance is warranted. The fact that ELT is used as a tool for attaining and defending state interests should not be surprising, nor should it be particularly worrying, but it bears deeper consideration. Varga (2013) explains that the neoliberal state views itself as a business, utilizing marketing for both the externally-focused function of attracting outside capital, and an internal opinion management function. Governments have been moving from public education to brand marketing as primary mode of cultivating national identity for unity and social order (Varga 2013). It would be informative to interpret the marketing discourse of international education and ELT as narrative intended for Canadian citizens and businesses as the audience. A related question is how much of the political and marketing discourse produced by government is in response to the persuasive tactics of the larger corporate players in ELT. Blommaert (2010) suggests a nation is an embedded actor, an “intermediate institution responding both to calls from above and below” (186). Even powerful national governments may be influenced by the narrative of global competition.

A final key area for investigation is the possibilities for intervention. Bourdieu (1991) asserts that the pursuit of symbolic profit is often unconscious. Jackson (2008) advocates teaching students to step outside their own culture to view the relation between self and other. Adding World Englishes and the social function of language to the curriculum may aid cultural adjustment for language students. Further studies should extend sociolinguistic education to parents, and examine the effects of early intervention on choice of program type and location of study (home versus abroad), and length of study abroad as well as changes to quality of experience and attitudes. Brown (2002) and Baumgardner and Brown (2003) report success with introducing the World Englishes paradigm to graduate level TESOL students. It is imperative that this be extended to short course TESOL and in-service teacher training as well. Cross-cultural communication must also be imparted to teachers and administrators before it can be taught to students. Boxer (2002) notes that the difficulties of cross-cultural communication can be as serious in a multicultural workplace as in international education. Unacknowledged differences in social norms affect solidarity in the workplace, and impedes provision of services (Boxer

2002). Adding ideological reflection to teacher education may help to ameliorate the job dissatisfaction expressed in Breshears (2008), Shaw (2014) and others. Studies could look at whether the inclusion of sociolinguistic instruction in short, pre-service training programs and professional development workshops improves sense of agency and ability to navigate power relations in the work environment. Bourdieu (1991) also states that gatekeepers are not necessarily conscious of how the market works, either. It might be equally fruitful to raise awareness of cross-cultural pragmatic principles among other stakeholder groups. We should regard these ideological factions as similar to cultural groups, rather than accepting the narrative of a homogeneous culture and language associated with a nation identity. Increasing the intercultural competence of all stakeholders will not solve all the issues of private ELT, but would certainly be an improvement.

There is much work to be done. Greater access to existing proprietary data on private ELT operations is needed, as well as more public data collection. The interpretation of discourse themes in the languages of the Expanding Circle requires examination. Long-term studies of student trajectories after study abroad are necessary for challenging the claims of the marketing rhetoric. Perhaps most pressingly, cross-cultural training should not be reserved solely for students preparing for a globalized future, or considered only in regard to the crossing of national borders. Education of all stakeholders about the social functions of language may alter expectations and practices in positive ways, and should be pursued.

7.3. Summary

Private ELT is not a new phenomenon, but a continuation of slow, historical processes. Research into the private sector of English language teaching has been long overdue. The hesitance of scholars to tackle this area is somewhat understandable. The challenge of gaining access to private business settings and the disregard by policy makers leads many researchers to more easily attainable projects with immigrant programs, and public school settings.

Continuing to ignore or sideline private ELT is unwise. This sector is integral to current strategies of internationalizing higher education in Canada. Private ELT schools are feeders to colleges and universities desperate to attract students from new markets. The number of international students with English proficiency scores high enough for admission to English-medium post-secondary institutions cannot keep up with “growth objectives” for provincial schools (Gurh & Nelson 2015:6). Even among international students graduating from British Columbia high schools, many do not meet admission requirements (Guhr & Nelson 2015). Changes to the private ELT sector could benefit the whole system. Private ELT may also be considered an early indicator of what lies ahead for other areas of education in Canada, much like the canaries that coal miners historically used to warn of the presence of poison gas. This private sector has become essential to the public delivery of post-secondary education in the province, which makes it worthy of closer attention.

This research project was motivated by the question of what maintains the booming private ELT sector in Vancouver, Canada. These programs are marketed as language education, but there is little evidence of language proficiency as an outcome. The sector has a poor reputation among teachers for job security, wages, and workplace values, yet student satisfaction continues to maintain demand. The practices of private ELT involve an exchange of symbolic capital that fulfils the immediate goals of all stakeholder groups except teachers.

All stakeholders in private ELT obtain their ideologies about English by interpreting the public discourse on English through their personal and cultural contexts. That discourse is a chain of multiple levels of utterances (texts), each one created in context by an author — individual or impersonal, anticipating a response from the addressee — single or group, concrete or indefinite (Bakhtin 1986). Each utterance is linked to those that came before it, and those that will come after (Bakhtin 1986). In this way private ELT is given multiple meanings.

The main product of private ELT operators is symbolic currency. For many students (maybe the majority), travelling abroad for a short-term English course is not about language acquisition, but power. Standardized Inner Circle varieties of English are indexed to social mobility. Tokens of English study abroad, whether in the form of

truncated linguistic resources, travel souvenirs, or academic credentials, are more markers of status than tools for international communication in the home marketplace. Even in the case of English for academic purposes, the choice to pursue advanced studies in the medium of English is based on the role of English as a gatekeeper for knowledge, employment and opportunity. Short term English study abroad is not primarily about linguistic functions but social ones.

Dividing private ELT courses into two categories based on the course structure and the discourses they are linked to highlights the different functions they serve. Language tourism presents learning English as a leisure activity to be enjoyed along with other forms of recreation as part of holiday travel, and then displayed at home as a symbol of affiliation with a high status imagined community. Instrumental programs frame Inner Circle English credentials as a requirement for career success and financial stability. These credentials may take the form of a resume boost, targeted skills to pass entry exams for Expanding Circle universities, or proficiency scores for acceptance to Inner Circle universities or immigration. The need for linguistic resources varies across these different functions, but more important is the symbolic function of English as a language of power and privilege.

One discourse theme of concern, found across most texts related to private ELT regardless of sender or program type, is that of global citizenship. This narrative links English to a privileged global imagined community. The concept of global citizenship is complex and ambiguous, but there are three common senses used in the discourse. In the consumer culture interpretation of global citizenship English is a symbol of conspicuous wealth, acquired and displayed as identification of membership in a global elite class. The global labour market interpretation positions English as an essential skill for employment in a unified knowledge economy. There is also a collectivist version, which views English as a tool for levelling socio-economic inequalities, allowing full participation by those previously deprived. What all three of these variants have in common is the idea that English will improve one's position in life. In reality, English credentials can have limited applicability, and may be outweighed by other social markers in the workplace. Many students and their families view study abroad as a financial investment, but high returns are not guaranteed. The definition and evaluation of skills is not neutral, but ideologically defined. The value of a form of symbolic capital is not only calculated from

the cost of acquisition, but also scarcity. If that scarcity is lost, the value is renegotiated (Bourdieu 1991). Another marker takes its place.

There are multiple markets on different scales that interact to create a system of values for English. Some are hierarchical and others overlap. In the context of private ELT there are at least three markets that students are trying to navigate: the home country, inner circle, and the global unified market. As Kubota (2016) notes, in contemporary society English is assumed to be a universal language. However, in each market particular varieties have different functions and are assigned different values. Park (2011) warns that “what can be gained from English is always subject to the structure and constraints of the linguistic market” (4).

Even within the Inner Circle it is a mistake to consider English to be a single language. Host country stakeholders use specialized lects or registers that appear to be mutually intelligible, but interpret meaning through ideologies that are sometimes incompatible. In private ELT, educators, business and government use the same popular jargon of the sector, like global citizenship, lifelong learning, professional standards, and quality control, but attach very different meanings to the terms. Assumptions about the means and ends of ELT are informed by these ideologies, but remain implicit, hindering communication. Consider again the complaints brought by Breshears (2008), Shaw (2014), Yarymowich (2004) and others, as noted in chapter 3. In the discourse, both ideological positions tend toward dogmatism. The lack of ideological and cross-cultural pragmatic awareness among Inner Circle stakeholders in private ELT, especially those tasked with leading students through cross-cultural experiences, is troubling. It further undermines the legitimacy of the international education industry, and illustrates the inseparability of ideology from the language classroom.

Private ELT is involved in the negotiation of ideology surrounding language and identity that shapes lives all over the world. The social functions of English in the Expanding Circle draw students to the private ELT sector in Vancouver, Canada, looking for symbolic capital to help reach their goals for education, employment and social status, although they might not be able to articulate this. As such, the ideologies that guide language attitudes and practices are unconscious for most. There is a need for more sociolinguistic theory in both the research and practice of ELT in Canada. Including the

social functions of private ELT in the discussion of internationalization highlights the connection between language, access to knowledge, and power that must inform everything from classroom practice to national policy.

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Appendix A.

Private English language schools in Vancouver, BC

Description:

The accompanying Excel spreadsheet shows the data collected for all private ELT schools analyzed for this study.

In the column headings, the grey headings (columns D-L) are program types labelled GEN (General English), EAP (English for Academic Preparation), PATH (Pathways programs), TEST (Test preparation), BUS (Business English), 1:1 (Private lessons), CAMP (Recreational programs), CO-OP (Work experience), and OTHER (miscellaneous). The orange columns (columns P-S) are accommodation types. In column A (Parent Company), INT represents International, NAT represents National, and LOC represents Local ownership, while ELT represents English programs only, and MIX represents mixed English and vocational programs.

Filename:

VancouverPrivateELToperators.xls

Appendix B.

Special interest groups for ELT

Organization name	Website	HQ	Activities*
International			
Association of Language Travel Organizations (ALTO)	www.altonet.org	UK	Industry development for agents, schools, & natl. associations
Federation of Education & Language Consultant Associations (FELCA)	www.felca.org/	London, UK; Bangkok, TH	Lobbying, promotion, market research
Global Alliance of Education & Language Associations (gaela)	www.gaela.org/	unknown	Promotion, PD, lobbying, standardization, market research
International Association of Language Centres (IALC)	www.ialc.org/	Kent, UK	accreditation, market research, promotion
International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL)	www.iatefl.org/	Kent, UK	PD
WORLD Youth Student and Educational (WYSE) Travel Confederation formerly International Student Travel Confederation (ISTC) & Federation of International Youth Travel Organisations (FIYTO)	www.wysetc.org	Amsterdam, NL	market intelligence
National			
Association de l'industrie de la langue/Language industry association (AILIA)	ailia.ca	Toronto, CA	Lobbying, information sharing
Languages Canada	languagescanada.ca	Ottawa ON; Aldergrove, BC, CA	Promotion, lobbying, accreditation
TESL Canada	www.tesl.ca	Ottawa, CA	Training & accreditation, research, lobbying,
Provincial			
BC TEAL	www.bcteal.org	Vancouver, BC, CA	PD, lobbying for teachers & students, research funding & scholarships, promotion

*details on activities taken from association web sites