Acknowledgements

Researcher and principal writer:
Margaret Bayly

Additional material:
John Adams
Ros Beaton
Ruth Crilly
Dina Guest
Janet Saker

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This short history of ESL education has drawn upon the memories and experiences of many people, as well as published and unpublished documents. The writers have made every effort to tell the story accurately, and apologise for any errors or inconsistencies that may have crept in.

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Preface

This book provides a brief history of the more than four decades of established assistance to students from language backgrounds other than English offered in Victorian government schools from 1960 to 2006. Such assistance was provided by both the Victorian Government and the Commonwealth Government.

The record is a source of pride and of satisfaction for those involved in the programs, and a cause for celebration of what has been achieved over the 46-year period. It can be said that much more could, and often should, have been done much sooner. However, the story is one of worthwhile endeavour overall, and it makes a significant contribution to our Victorian educational and social history.

From slow beginnings, strong, professional programs have been built in response to the changing needs of the migrants and refugees who have settled in Australia over these decades. Planning for English-as-a-second-language (ESL) students has always been challenging, as Australian governments, administrators and teachers have not been able to predict the world events leading to new influxes of migrants and refugees. What Victoria has been able to do, however, is establish a strong core program with sufficient flexibility to respond to new and emerging needs. This book is part of the story of how this happened in Victorian government schools.

Notes about the principal writer

Margaret Bayly spent 23 years in the Victorian Education Department (under its various titles) from 1971 to 1994. After graduating with a BA in 1950 and Dip Ed in 1951, she taught briefly in Melbourne and the United Kingdom. In 1964 she and her husband and four young children travelled to Greece for her husband's work in Athens. Living as foreigners spurred Margaret's interest in teaching English, after the family's return, to newly arriving Greek, Turkish and Yugoslavian immigrants just at the time school programs were starting in Melbourne.

In 1971 she began teaching at J. H. Boyd High School. Four years later she was seconded to Child Migrant Education Services, visiting schools to support ESL programs and running in-service and pre-service activities for teachers. After another four years she began a part-time secondment as lecturer in Curriculum Studies, teaching English as a second language in the Dip Ed course at the University of Melbourne, at the same time teaching at University High School, and then Prahran High School for a total of six years. In 1981 she gained a Master of Arts from the University of Melbourne. Then she was appointed to the child migrant centre at Myer House, which had become Multicultural Education Services, as Deputy Supervisor in the administrative area.

During all those years she participated in and organised a variety of national and state conferences and committees, and in-service and pre-service programs and activities.

In 1989 she was appointed foundation Principal of Blackburn English Language School, a primary and secondary school for newly arrived non-English speaking students, a position she held until her retirement in 1994.

In late 2000 she was approached with a view to producing a record of the Victorian State migrant education program, and this is the result.
1. The road to establishment 1960–72

The large post-war immigration program pursued by the Commonwealth Government through the 1950s and 1960s brought many non-English speaking families into school communities in Victoria. These schools were unused to teaching students with little or no English, and there was little support for them to draw on.

At first, there was no special provision for the teaching of English to such students, and teachers were expected to work towards assimilating them in any way possible. Schools recognised that they needed additional help that they were often not resourced to give. The presence of these new students was considered a real difficulty and, as early as 1954, the General Secretary of the Victorian Teachers’ Union (VTU) wrote to the Secretary of the Education Department expressing concern at the problem created for other students by the inability of ‘new Australian’ students to speak, write and understand English to a satisfactory standard. The General Secretary requested the appointment of specialist teachers where needed to benefit the ‘new Australian’ children, but also to ‘enable normal instruction to proceed with the other children’ (Martin J 1976, pp. 14–15).

In 1958 the Victorian Teachers’ Union again tried to elicit official support for specific help from the Education Department, which requested more information in support of its case. Union and departmental surveys of the extent of English language difficulties and of the nature of the help required remained somewhat inconclusive. No agreement was reached over measurement criteria, and the senior Education Department administrators did not accede to the request. It was claimed that there was a teacher shortage and that teachers could not be spared for the special teaching of migrants; moreover, that the needs of migrant children were already being met in schools. The responsibility to provide extra resources and funding was viewed as a Commonwealth government responsibility. Schools in the late 1950s, at the height of the ‘baby-boom’, were crowded and under-resourced places. The needs of newly arrived students were perhaps easier to overlook in such a climate.

The Commonwealth Government funded English classes for adults on board ships bringing migrants and their families to Australia, and also provided buildings for the conduct of classes in migrant centres, but no provision was made for children. There was some confusion and disagreement between state/territory and Commonwealth governments over the responsibility for the education of migrant students. As early as 1951 the Commonwealth Government had handed over responsibility for the organisation and supervision of English classes to the various state education departments. In Victoria, the new settlers’ children attended local regular primary and secondary schools, with the exception of one special class at State School 1479 in Brighton Road St Kilda in 1950 (Blake 1973, p. 1115).

Pressure mounted from the mid-1960s onwards in favour of provision of English-language teaching for school-age migrant children, as the long-term additional needs of many of them became apparent. This pressure came from many individuals and groups, from teacher unions, teachers, principals, good neighbour councils, parents’ groups, academics and others to provide adequate support for students learning English. Interest came from the Commonwealth Minister for Immigration, Billy Snedden, following an informal request from an acquaintance in the Victorian Education Department in 1967. He initiated discussion between Commonwealth and state departmental officers with a view to a greater contribution from the Commonwealth (Martin J 1976, pp. 27–9).
Commonwealth Government steps in

Particular groups continued to lobby for special assistance at both the Commonwealth and state levels. The Labour opposition in the Victorian Parliament voiced its concern about the educational difficulties experienced by children in inner-suburban schools throughout 1967, 1968 and 1969. Other surveys were conducted in Victoria and in New South Wales, and some provision was made in small programs in individual schools in Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania. Then, in January 1970, a meeting was held between officers of the Commonwealth and state governments to discuss the possible establishment of a Commonwealth Migrant Education Program (CMEP) in schools. Victoria was well ahead of the other states at this time in recognising the needs of students learning English as a second language.

The January 1970 meeting was of great significance, because the participants considered the extent of the resources needed in each state. It was agreed that the priorities included the production of suitable teaching materials, the development of teacher training, and the need for teaching accommodation. Other discussions followed that meeting, with the result that, in April 1970, the Minister for Immigration Philip Lynch announced in a statement to Parliament the inauguration of a five-year program of education for migrants in government and independent schools. The funds made available were to cover the salary costs of teachers employed to teach migrant children in special classes and the necessary supervisory staff; special training courses for teachers; approved language laboratory equipment; and suitable teaching and learning materials (Martin 1976, p. 34). The Commonwealth would be responsible for teacher training and for producing materials. Expenditure in the first year was estimated at $1 million. Legislation followed to implement the program. The first year’s cost was almost double the forward estimate.

Debates soon began concerning the definition of a ‘migrant student’, and which students would be eligible for support from the program. Should it only include children born overseas in a non-English-speaking country? Many considered that children born in Australia to parents born in non-English-speaking countries, and mostly not speaking English at home, also had need of the program. Loose criteria and terminology surrounded the definition of a ‘migrant student’, and accurate estimates of the proportion of students needing support were hard to determine. Some schools had a philosophy that all students who could benefit should be included. Some others did not necessarily recognise the needs of their students, and had to be encouraged to apply for resources for which their schools were eligible. Rough estimates suggested that one-in-four students in some schools were migrants, and in some inner-suburban schools the numbers were considerably higher.

Jean Martin points out that the CMEP ‘flushed out children whose educational difficulties were being ignored or accepted as irremediable or a sign of backwardness, and it unintentionally helped widen the very concept of migrant education’ (1976, p. 36). Moreover, many school teachers and educational administrators were concerned about the development of migrant students’ English literary skills, not just their oral skills.


Victoria’s response

In 1968 the first appointment of a Coordinator of Migrant Education in Victorian Schools was made, filled by Allen Humphries. This appointment was attributed to the efforts of John Cole, then Director of Primary Education, who may well have been Minister Snedden’s contact referred to earlier by Jean Martin (Blake 1973, p. 1119).
Humphries was seconded from the primary teaching service. He had been a part-time instructor and advisory teacher with Adult Migrant Education for 20 years, a principal in country primary schools, and a teacher in metropolitan primary and central schools, as well as having been involved with training courses for teachers of adults (Polycom, no.10, July 1975, p. 7). He presided over the establishment and growth of the Child Migrant Education Branch through most of the 1970s.

Humphries’s background and experience in the adult migrant field were brought to migrant education in the school system. In May 1968 the first four-day in-service course for teachers in schools was held at Central Brunswick State School. Such training continued until Commonwealth financial support, starting in 1970, allowed a four-week course to be established.

A Migrant Education Committee, with representatives from the primary, secondary and technical divisions of the teaching service and the Department’s Psychology and Guidance Branch, was created in 1968 to assist the Coordinator of Migrant Education in Victorian Schools with information and advice. Teachers of many adult classes were largely recruited from the Victorian Teaching Service, working after normal school hours. Other individuals were sought for teaching English as a foreign language in day-time classes. This meant that there were teachers in Victorian government schools able to teach English who were convinced of the need for special assistance for children as well as adults. From 1968 to 1970 the Victorian Education Department paid these teachers’ salaries, but the Commonwealth reimbursed the Victorian Government from 1970 onwards.

A survey in 1970 revealed that there were 396 schools with 10 or more migrant children enrolled, mostly arrived from Italy, Greece and the former Yugoslavia. Students were usually taken from their normal classes to special tuition classes for a minimum five hours a week of instruction.

The lack of appropriate English language materials for newly arrived school children had been an issue for years, and the Commonwealth Office of Education started publishing some material for distribution to all states and territories. The Victorian Education Department’s Curriculum and Research Branch distributed English Another Language – Interim Course B for children aged 8–15 years in 1968. The Migrant Education Committee published teachers’ guide notes. The Department published Interim Course A for infants in 1970, and established an Infant Sub-committee.

### Child Migrant Education Centre

The Child Migrant Education Centre was set up in 1971 when the Commonwealth Government agreed to finance a centre. It provided a conference room for migrant teachers, a resource room and other in-service facilities (Education Department Annual Report 1971–72, p. 10).

The membership of the Migrant Education Committee was widened to include teacher organisations, and one tertiary and three ethnic group representatives. Its enlarged brief was to investigate migrant student needs; to recommend research programs; to direct course development; to assist with teacher in-service programs; and to develop teaching and learning materials. A grant of $50 was made available to each migrant teacher to buy teaching and learning materials.

The Commonwealth Minister for Immigration, Alexander Forbes, submitted a report on the Migrant Education Program to Parliament in September 1971, in which he said that salaries and equipment were available to schools employing special teachers:

> A condition is that special teachers must be additional to the normal staff of the schools and engaged exclusively in teaching English to migrant children (Polycom, no.1, February 1972, p. 7).

The role of the migrant teacher was not always understood as programs were being established in schools. While schools welcomed the additional resource, the uncertainties caused confusion in some schools.
The Child Migrant Centre issued some special resources to schools, including a mini-language laboratory, a reel-to-reel tape recorder, an overhead projector, a slide projector and a felt board. Teachers used these resources to add more variety to their teaching, as they experimented with new teaching strategies. Spare rooms in which to hold classes were often not to be found, and many teachers had to use storerooms, canteen areas and isolated portable classrooms. Where designated classrooms for the migrant program were able to be provided, creative hubs for English language teaching were developed. Four-week teacher training courses were offered to new teachers when needed, and those who were employed part time were invited to attend full time. They were paid at the rate of $2 per half-day session they attended in excess of their teaching time fraction.

The first office set up for Child Migrant Education as a separate entity was at the Special Services Centre at 234 Queensberry Street Carlton. There were nine teachers responsible for supporting specialist migrant teachers in primary, secondary and technical schools: two worked in the post-primary area, two in the primary area and two in the infant area. There was also an Italian interpreter, a Greek interpreter, and an administrative officer who was also editor of Polycom (the bulletin for teachers of non-English speaking migrant children established in February 1972). The coordinator had an office, but other staff worked in cramped conditions at desks made out of boards supported on packing cases, and the unit had to share the one telephone for school contacts. Old-fashioned typewriters and the Gestetner duplicating machine on which Polycom was printed made for a very noisy office.

Response in government schools

When Alan Hird, Assistant Director of Primary Education and Officer-in-Charge of Migrant Education, provided the foreword to that first issue of Polycom, he wrote about migrant children having a ‘learning deficit’ because of their language problems. He explained:

As the migrant child often faces the additional problem of being torn between two cultures, it is important for his teachers to remember that they are often the only worthwhile link between his home, the school and the community. It is our task to help the migrant child become a fully functioning person – well informed and open to new experience (Polycom, no.1, February 1972, p. 1).

Such a statement demonstrated support by a senior Education Department officer of an extended role for migrant teachers, encouraging them to become involved in much wider support of their students’ families. At the same time, teachers had already begun to realise how critical that support was to their students’ education. Many became strong advocates for migrant students and their families, both within and
outside the school, some provoking epithets that they were ‘mother hens, mothering and smothering’.

It was during these years that many teachers developed strong, professional and innovative teaching programs in an area that had not until then received much attention. They also developed strong collegiate support and set the stage for greater recognition for the ESL curriculum and how it benefits students across all subject areas.

**Extended role of the migrant teacher**

Migrant teachers who took their work conscientiously were very aware of the difficulties students and their families faced as they settled into a new country, including the need for interpreting and translating services, particularly in the areas of education, health and welfare. Many migrant teachers and class teachers in schools without specialist teachers gave all kinds of help to families when needed, and the two interpreters at Child Migrant Education were always heavily booked. Emergency support was hard to find. Far too often, other children who spoke the same language or older brothers and sisters were asked to interpret, often to the embarrassment of all parties, and to the dismay of parents when cultural sensitivities were involved or when medical or other private matters needed to be discussed.

The requests for help sought from teachers, especially migrant teachers, in those early days were many and varied. Their assistance with form-filling was constantly sought. School information was usually not available in other languages. Some parents had acquired sufficient English or familiarity with the school system to understand the information they needed to provide, or had a friend or friends to translate for them, but it was a continuing problem for newly arrived immigrant groups with little or no community support.

In the early 1970s, teachers became aware that some students disappeared at the beginning of first term and returned to school in April. They went with their parents on fruit-picking expeditions to areas such as Shepparton, Cobram and Mildura, and they rarely attended school while away. Many students also had part-time paid work after school and during school holidays at local factories, often under assumed names. Teachers were concerned that they were not protected by the then *Labour and Industry Act*. Safety became a worry for teachers and parents when a young Turkish girl aged about 13 had her hand cut off by a machine in a Sydney factory. While teachers knew these students were helping the whole family to become established in its new country, they remained concerned about their interrupted schooling, their possible exploitation by employers and the sometimes detrimental effect on their education. All they could do was give informal cautions to these students.

Sometimes distress calls were received by teachers at home on matters that teachers 30 years later would be perhaps more able to refer on to more appropriate agencies and qualified professionals for support. One such example was a telephone call received one night by a teacher:

> Miss, can you come to the city watch house? The police say I have to give them my bank book and I don’t know what to do. Can you help me? They say my teacher can help.

The story that unfolded was that the student’s fiancé, from an arrangement to marry made in the home country, had worked his passage to Australia on a merchant ship, which he deserted in Melbourne to be with her and her family. He was apprehended and detained in Maribyrnong Detention Centre, where he escaped through a high window in only his underwear, cutting his thigh on the glass in the process. He had a friend’s address and reached help there. However, he was inevitably caught again. The police were impounding her bank book and that of her brother as security for letting him out on bail. The teacher’s identification of the student and verification of the family’s story was sought. They also wanted assurance that she was not being forced into a marriage against her will, which the student happily gave. Several weeks later
the teacher was an honoured guest at the wedding. Several months later the family all took out Australian citizenship.

It was not unusual for teachers to be asked for help in health matters, especially if visits or admissions to hospital by family members were involved. Support services were just not available at public hospitals, so teachers helped where they could. When ethnic teacher aides were first appointed, the schools that received them found that family assistance and school communication were greatly improved. Until then, it was not easy to check the illness or unexplained absence of students.

In the early 1970s, door-to-door sales canvassing was rife around Melbourne, particularly by encyclopaedia salesmen. They saw newly arrived migrant parents as easy targets because they had high aspirations for their children’s education. Teachers received complaints that some parents had signed up because of pressure put on them about the need for such a set of books at home in English for their children, and then they realised that they could not keep up the payments. Other goods were also sold in this way. Many teachers were relieved when Victorian legislation was enacted to allow a 10-day ‘cooling off’ period during which contracts with door-to-door salespeople could be cancelled.

While the majority of the teacher workforce went out of their way to render every help at their disposal to migrant students, there were isolated incidents of ignorance where teachers had preconceived ideas about the capabilities of migrant students. One migrant teacher wanted to recommend that a student of considerable ability should sit for the entrance examination for a nearby selective government high school, because her existing high school offered no mathematics after Year 9. The girl’s parents were keen that she should have the opportunity, but their request was refused on the ground that if she was ‘in the migrant English program she could not possibly go to that school!’ No amount of pleading was able to alter the decision; however, with the assistance of a Child Migrant Education interpreter, she was able to transfer to another high school offering mathematics and science at a senior level, going on to do very well at university.

Review of the early 1970s

By the early 1970s, the Education Department in Victoria had established a program with significant Commonwealth Government financial support to provide teaching of English to non-English-speaking students in government primary, technical and high schools that applied for support. Interested teachers were able to apply for positions to teach in these schools, in varied kinds of accommodation, and with very limited training or knowledge of the backgrounds or language needs of their students. Few appropriate teaching materials were available. Audio-Visual Education produced *English Another Language Picture Series B* to be used in conjunction with Interim Course B, designed for 8–12-year-olds; and, in 1971, the Commonwealth Department of Education distributed the adult *Situational English* textbooks to schools, pending the development of more suitable student resources. While some equipment was provided with Commonwealth funding, little outside help was available because there were no interpreters and very few social welfare and health professionals trained in migrant welfare. The specialist teacher was required to work exclusively in teaching English to non-English-speaking children, and to:

be catering for the needs of a minimum of 30 children, raising their competence with the English language to a level whereby the child is at no disadvantage, because of his facility in English, in pursuing the full educational program of the school (Polycom, no.1, February 1972, p. 7).

Although the Child Migrant Education office, established in 1971, assisted schools and teachers where possible through its staff of seconded teachers and its coordinator and consultants, migrant teachers were mostly thrown back on their own resources and were an important source of help for migrant students and their families. By 1972 there
were 363 equivalent full-time migrant teachers at 146 schools across primary, secondary and technical divisions.

There were people who wanted swift reactions to students’ educational needs, and felt badly let down when they did not happen. Lack of provision of additional resources and lack of security and continuity of employment for teachers and consultants were inherent in the nature of a program expanding and contracting according to the constantly fluctuating demand created by new waves of migration.

Some teachers were employed on secondment from otherwise permanent positions, and temporary arrangements applied to the use of buildings, the provision of cleaners and to all kinds of maintenance. Annual extensions applied to many of those employed in the schools and in Child Migrant Education. There was little flexibility to respond to changes in the immigration program until some time had elapsed, assessments had been made, arguments mounted, evidence provided, officials persuaded, funds approved and implementation authorised. The unavoidable time lapse led to a shortage of finance, buildings, teaching and other personnel, and suitable teaching materials in the field.

**Joint study of student needs**

The decade saw a growing awareness of the educational needs of migrant students, and increased understanding of the learning issues they faced. Many educators believed that there were large numbers of students not being adequately catered for; however, in the absence of adequate measuring criteria, calculated guesses had to be made. Therefore, as Jean Martin points out, ‘schools where migrant children with language problems remain unidentified or are tolerated as an insoluble problem’ were missing from reports (Martin 1976, p. 42).

It was realised that the learning needs of migrant students required a formal investigation. The Victorian Education Department, the Commonwealth and the Catholic Education Office of Victoria agreed to undertake a joint study ‘of the needs of migrant children in schools of high migrant density’ (*Education Department Annual Report 1971–72*, p. 10). The study was to identify problem areas in the education of migrant children, and permit evaluation of the situation and consideration of changes. Its report, issued in 1973, found that ‘only a third of the children identified as suffering “learning difficulties through an English language disability” were in special classes’ (quoted in Martin 1976, p. 42).

**Educational Task Force**

Migrant teacher appointments continued to increase as statistical returns of migrant student numbers and school applications arrived at the Child Migrant Education Office. However, schools and migrant teachers became increasingly impatient with what they considered to be inadequate provision for their needs.

A group of school principals and teachers in some inner suburban schools with large numbers of migrant students linked up with equally concerned academics working at La Trobe University in 1972 to form an ‘Educational Task Force’ to improve the situation. Their approach was to try to develop experiments and models of open schools; community schools; bilingualism; and broader social change in the school system through ‘new approaches to teaching in the poly-ethnic, industrial, urban school setting’ (Lopez 2000, pp. 175–6). The then Director-General of the Victorian Education Department, Dr Laurie Shears, gave his approval to the project. The principals of Collingwood High School and Brunswick Girls’ High School responded to an advertisement in the *Victorian Teachers’ Journal* to take part. The Collingwood project began in 1972. Dr Marta Rado’s bilingual materials were introduced to Brunswick Girls’ High School the following year, ‘the first experiment in the bilingual education of migrants in Australia’ according to Lopez (p. 177).
Lesson learned

Teacher associations

Members of the primary, secondary and technical teacher unions at that time were active in pressing for additional resources and developments in migrant education. The Victorian Association for Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (VATEFL) started as a professional support group for teachers of English to adult classes, but in the early 1970s it accepted school teachers as members. It filled a need felt by those who had little or no training for what was required of an English language teacher at the time. Many teachers were eager to seek any help that they could find from any source. By 1975 VATEFL had changed its name to the Victorian Association for Multicultural Education (VAME).

A shift in perspective

The 1960s and early 1970s laid an important foundation for migrant education in Victoria. There was a community shift in perspective away from the prevailing assimilationist and integrationist approaches to dealing with migrants in favour of a more ‘multicultural’ view of society, which respected migrants’ cultural heritage as equally important to that of their adopted country, and where bilingualism was encouraged. The early 1970s also saw the growth of ethnic lobby groups, who campaigned for the rights of migrant families in the workplace and education.

The next chapter will examine how this new thinking spread to ignite change, which grew and gathered pace at both Commonwealth and state levels.
2. Growth initiatives 1973–76

Responses within the schools were determined by Commonwealth and Victorian government legislation and provision of financial and other support. They were also determined by policy decisions of the Commonwealth Immigration Department.

To a large extent, changes in Australia’s immigration policy, legislation and provision of financial and other resource support were all prompted by world events, such as wars, and the increased numbers of people wanting to migrate to Australia for political, economic, social and other humanitarian reasons.

Commonwealth contribution

Under the administration of the Immigration Minister Al Grassby from 1972–74, support was given to the development of policy at the Commonwealth level. He was sympathetic to requests in the area of migrant welfare and education and ‘threw himself passionately into his self-created role as the migrant’s champion’ (Lopez 2000, p. 201).

Early in Grassby’s term he publicly expounded his views through the phrase ‘family of the nation’, a concept that evolved as his ideas developed throughout his term (Lopez, p. 202). He played a major role in the establishment, in February 1973, of the Emergency Telephone Interpreter Service in Melbourne, a 24-hour on-call service with direct lines to the police and major hospitals (Polycom, no. 5, August 1973). This was a boon to schools and families in times of emergency, and it was also able to provide information and assistance in the caller’s first language. He was also responsible for the creation of a Migrant Task Force in each state. The focus of their 1973 reports was child migrant education (Martin J 1976, p. 48).

By 1973 the Commonwealth had provided 18 demountable classrooms to Victorian schools for migrant education (Victorian Education Department Annual Report, 1973–74). They were a welcome extra resource, offering better facilities than the regular portable classroom; however, demand exceeded supply. Schools with enrolments that were likely to decrease had low priority. In the same year, the Commonwealth Department of Immigration trained and appointed, through the Victorian Education Department, six bilingual or multilingual welfare officers to work in schools for the benefit of migrant pupils and their teachers (Martin J 1976, p. 54, also Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1972–73, p. 10). They were able to assist schools and families with liaison between home and school, and school and community.

Australian Schools Commission

In December 1972 during the first months after the Labor Government came to power, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam established the Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission, chaired by Professor Peter Karmel, to report on the immediate financial needs of the school system. The report presented in May 1973 recommended a new direction towards devolution in the school system and a greater role for the school within the community.

The Karmel Report found serious deficiencies in Australia’s schools, referring to a lack of resources; inequalities in opportunity and provision and quality of education (with inadequate teacher training and professional development); and standardised curricula and teaching methods, which did not cater for differences between students, especially those with varied languages and cultures. The Commonwealth Government invited applications for funds from individuals and groups within schools and the wider community with a view to fostering change. Proposals were to contain stated objectives, anticipated usefulness, likely consequences for change, and how the
Lessons learned

The Government's aim was to promote innovative responses to perceived student disadvantage.

The Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) was one of a number of Commonwealth education programs coming out of the Karmel Report. It was established to tackle educational inequalities and to examine the link between poverty and education. Begun in 1974, it ran almost unchanged for 20 years. Funds were allocated to schools designated as ‘disadvantaged’ on the basis of Commonwealth census data for people living in a particular school neighbourhood, and later on the census-based Ross Index, and during its early years had a significant non-English-speaking background (NESB) component. It provided a source of funds to assist disadvantaged schools with large numbers of migrant students, and was welcomed heartily by school personnel and by the broader community.

The Victorian Education Department Annual Report for 1974–75 (p. 23) stated that encouraging reports of the implementation of the DSP were received, including:

- a re-vitalisation of interest and enthusiasm within many schools, together with a quickening of parental interest as a result of participation in the formulation of programs. Regular group meetings of teachers involved in funded programs in some areas are a most significant development and should lead to ongoing re-assessment of goals and priorities.

Support for migrant education action

There was increasing dissatisfaction with the progress that had been made towards recognising ethnic rights among the core of ethnic organisations in Melbourne. A group of them began to organise a Migrant Workers’ Conference in early 1974. They were greatly encouraged when the Immigration Minister Al Grassby accepted their invitation to open the conference, held in Melbourne in September 1974.

A Migrant Education Action Committee was formed from people active in the trade union movement ethnic rights area, and included members of the Inner-Suburban Group of the Victorian Secondary Teachers’ Association. Other teachers, parents, ethnic communities, trade unions and cultural, religious and welfare organisations were all represented. ‘Topics discussed included English language education for all migrants, adequate trained teachers and multicultural and multilingual curricula for schools’ (Martin S 1998, p. 16).

Minister Grassby had established a Migrant Task Force in each state, concerned with child migrant education. The Commonwealth Government also set up the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools in 1974. The Ecumenical Migration Centre, the Australian Greek Welfare Society and the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria were all established around that time.

Child migrant education was the focus of a number of conferences, seminars and workshops in those years, with a great variety of people and groups producing papers or taking part in discussion. As was noted by Jean Martin, ‘Leaving aside official documents, people working in Victoria have made the most substantial contribution in each of these different ways’ (Martin J 1976, p. 49).

Victorian Education Department’s role

As early as 1971 a Migrant Education Committee was formed to investigate migrant students’ needs, to recommend research programs, to advise on course development, and to assist with teacher in-service training and with the development of materials. It consisted of representatives of the Department’s primary, secondary and technical divisions, a tertiary institution, teacher organisations and three ethnic groups. It was able to lend support to the decision of the Victorian Education Department and the Commonwealth to undertake a joint survey on the needs of migrant children in schools of
high migrant density in Melbourne, which began in 1972 and reported in 1973 (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1971–72, p. 10).

**Openings for career advancement**

The shortage of accommodation for Migrant English classes was an ongoing problem for some schools, despite 18 demountable classrooms having been allocated to schools by the end of 1973.

A total of 443 migrant teachers had been appointed to 255 state schools by the end of the year. In May 1973 the first 60 positions were advertised in primary, secondary and technical schools for assistant teachers with responsibility in migrant education. They were to provide leadership at the school level. Their role consisted of:

- co-ordinating the work of migrant English teachers, maintaining liaison with other staff members ...
- developing English programs, carrying out pastoral work with migrant children, establishing effective liaison with parent and community groups (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1972–73, p. 9).

These positions were the first offered for migrant teachers to gain promotion within their field. Most of the 30 positions offered in primary schools were filled, but vacancies remained in secondary and technical schools for a variety of reasons, including the insecure tenure of the frequently temporary, part-time arrangements governing migrant education at that stage, and the general teacher shortage (Martin J 1976, p. 40).

There were plans to increase the number of consultants over the ensuing three years to assist schools and teachers through Child Migrant Education Services. In addition, provision was made in 1975 to appoint 25 interpreters attached to Special Services Division in Greek, Italian, Turkish, Serbo-Croat, Arabic, Maltese and Spanish early in 1976 (Martin J 1976, p. 55).

**Relocation of Child Migrant Education**

At the beginning of 1975 the headquarters of CME moved from Special Services Division at Queensberry Street, Carlton to the fifth floor of 200 Little Collins Street, Melbourne:

> There is now enough room to allow for the expansion of the various activities of the Branch. For the present, telephone facilities, furniture, resources and requisites are notably absent, but the staff is optimistically looking forward to a productive and interesting 1975 (Polycom, no. 9, April 1975).

Therefore, the branch began with the same inadequate provision as the first centre in 1971. After a period of frustration it became fully operational and took on more staff, including English as a second language (ESL) consultants, and its first ethnic consultants. Facilities were much better for offering in-service education courses, and one primary consultant was deputed to collect teacher reference books, teaching materials and aids to form the nucleus of a resource centre. As mentioned earlier, the Victorian Education Department appointed six bilingual or multilingual welfare officers to work in schools. The provision of demountable classrooms had risen to 36 by 1975.

**King Valley Educational Advancement Centre**

The mention of ‘significant numbers of migrant pupils around Mildura, Robinvale, Kyabram, and in the Goulburn Valley and the King and Ovens Valleys’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1974–75, p. 23) was the first official acknowledgement of the special needs of migrant students living in regional Victoria. It gave rise to an innovative development in the King Valley, supported by funds from the Commonwealth Schools Commission and encouragement from the Victorian Education Department. The then isolated community in the north-east of Victoria had a large migrant population of Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, French and Germans,
many of whom were seasonal tobacco workers. The area lacked facilities, such as a doctor or library, and public transport, while housing was scarce and not likely to attract experienced teachers. ‘Thus, you have itinerant pupils plus itinerant teachers; a basis for an area of severe disadvantage’ wrote Carol Thomas (Polycom, no. 13, July 1976, p. 7).

In 1973 the teachers of six primary schools in the valley produced an imaginative submission for the Commonwealth Schools Commission’s Disadvantaged Schools Committee to fund a language resource centre at Whitfield Primary School to serve pupils who needed further help with their language development. Although the grant submission failed, it was approved when they re-applied the next year. The resource centre was named the King Valley Educational Advancement Centre.

The group sought financial assistance from local people to supplement the grant sufficiently to buy a bus to transport students from the other schools to the centre’s language experience program, working with Wangaratta Technical College motor mechanics students to service the bus. Their educational program comprised the centre’s language program and follow-up from the two migrant teachers who worked in the school, an excursion program, and use of the centre’s wide-ranging resources. Home visits gained the interest and cooperation of parents. It included all students in need of language development, whether or not they came from English-speaking families.

Its official launch in December 1975 attracted a large gathering of senior personnel from the Education Department and other government departments, members of parliament, local councillors, parents, teachers and other local citizens. It was a worthy early example of a community initiative and educational participation.

**An intensive class for older adolescents**

Until 1975 students 15–18 years of age who arrived without English had no alternative but to join a class at secondary school (which was likely to be far below their age group), and sit through frustrating work that they could not understand. Even schools with a good migrant education program could seldom provide enough tuition to help them to catch up. It was increasingly argued that sending these students, many of whom were living in hostels, to local schools was not appropriate for the students or the recipient schools. Liz Freeman advocated initial classes at hostels prior to enrolment in a school in an article called ‘Problems Faced by Migrants’ (reprinted in Polycom, no. 5, August 1973, p. 17) based on her experience in Victorian technical schools. Others believed it was wrong to segregate students from regular schools, and that total immersion was the right course. This argument would continue over many years.

The Education Department agreed to support the establishment of the first official intensive class for older adolescents in July 1975, as a pilot program. It was available to those who had received continuous education in their country of origin, and who had enrolled in a post-primary government school that had no migrant English program. Eligible students came from all over Melbourne, so it was decided to establish the pilot program at the CME centre so that it was accessible by public transport. Teaching duties were undertaken by two experienced migrant English teachers seconded from high schools, from which they borrowed books and other resources. Other resources were donated from schools. A small monthly grant of petty cash was the only resource funding made available.

Their teaching load was heavy until a third teacher was appointed in 1976. The classes became a popular destination for students, and built up a varied program. As new curriculum materials were discovered or developed, there was a ready-made group able to test them, and consultants based at the centre could ensure that they and the resources were still in touch with students. The program teachers were seconded each year to continue teaching there if they wished. As with so many aspects of the CME program, arrangements were temporary, and therefore subject to fluctuations in supply and demand where students, teachers and funds were
concerned. Staff working within the area had to cope with constant uncertainty about tenure in their positions or else abandon the field for more permanent employment. Moreover, all consultant positions were dependent upon annual secondment.

Creation of senior administrative position

Victoria had been the first state to appoint a full-time Coordinator of Migrant Education back in 1968. Likewise, it was the first state to advertise a senior position as Assistant Director of Special Services – Ethnic Education (ADSSEE) in Melbourne newspapers in January 1976. The duties were, ‘under the Director of Special Services, to organise and supervise a service to meet the needs of students of non-English speaking and Aboriginal backgrounds whose access to education or whose progress within the educational system is restricted’ (Martin J 1976, footnote to p. 64). For the first time, Aboriginal Education, Adult Migrant Education and Child Migrant Education would come under the banner of Ethnic Education in Victorian government schools. The appointee, Ian Adams, had a strong background in modern languages and in secondary education.

The length of basic in-service training courses provided by CME for newly appointed migrant teachers was increased to six weeks in 1976, and refresher courses were offered. Sessions were organised for classroom teachers and for school administrators, and limited January vacation classes were run for secondary students.

A second periodical was produced by CME called Communique, a monthly bulletin for all teachers working in schools with migrant populations, ‘conveying news and information on all aspects of migrant education’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1975–76, p. 15). Polycom was still sent to all migrant teachers, but was also sought by increasing numbers of people in other areas as its editor broadened its scope. Of course, in a few schools, both magazines frequently ended up in the staffroom pigeon-holes of the migrant teachers, even though the intended recipients were clearly differentiated on the covers. The migrant teachers in these schools thought it reflected an attitude that the welfare of migrant students was regarded as their sole responsibility. However, in most schools both periodicals were shared around and read with pleasure by interested teachers and principals, and some schools showed commendable initiatives in the migrant teaching area.

By the end of 1975 there were 1050 migrant teachers working in 394 schools assisting 29,000 students. These teachers also helped many other students needing literacy support alongside classroom teachers, as the withdrawal of students from their normal classes for special tuition began to receive less emphasis.

Teaching materials and curriculum

From the beginning of the child migrant education program there was a complete absence of appropriate or adequate teaching materials for English classes. Newly appointed migrant teachers had difficulty with starting their work, since at that time there was little information about the language and cultural backgrounds of their students, no books for students to read in their first language, and few teachers who spoke the students’ first languages. As mentioned in the first chapter, teachers received one payment of $50 to buy resources; while felt-boards, overhead projectors and tape recorders were issued from Commonwealth government funds. These provided some capacity for teachers to develop their own materials. Most teachers began by taking students from their normal classes to give them concentrated and partly sequenced work. Primary school students usually worked back in their mainstream classes for part of each day, and all day if their migrant teacher was only there part time.
Course materials issued to schools

In 1971 the adult course, *Situational English*, was issued to schools with migrant education teachers, with accompanying pictures and cassette sets, as an interim measure (*Polycom*, no. 1, February 1972). *English Another Language Picture Series B* (to go with Interim Course B), designed for students aged 8–12 years, was also published, and welcomed by teachers as all specialist ESL teaching resources were.

In 1974 the Commonwealth Department of Education and Science issued units for the same age group, *Learning English in Australia*, comprising textbooks, pictures and readers. According to one teacher, they were ‘highly structured, teacher dominated’ and, as with *Situational English*, perpetuated the idea of sequential language development, which mitigated against the spontaneous use of language (Martin J 1976, p. 41). Although the materials came in for some criticism, they were welcomed as useful resources for non-specialist teachers trying to teach a new language to disparate groups of students. Imaginative and resourceful teachers creatively adapted what they could from the supplied materials, supplementing them with others, and with what they wrote or prepared themselves. In particular the pictures that came with *Learning English in Australia* lent themselves to a more communicative approach to teaching, and encouraged students to use their English even though they knew it was not ‘correct’. Most schools made continuing requests for appropriate materials, especially for post-primary students where mainstream teaching resources were harder to adapt for new learners of English.

Adult migrant teachers ultimately became disenchanted with the *Situational English* approach, although it was regarded as revolutionary for its time (Martin S 1998, p. 131). In this approach, groups of related sentence patterns were presented and drilled repeatedly, and student responses were elicited by the teacher’s use of set hand and arm gestures or flourishes. One teacher reported that students ‘reacted with Pavlov-like reflexes’, and Eric Baker expressed the following opinion in *The Australian Financial Review* (2 August 1973):

> Children, unskilled workers with little or no educational background, illiterates and inarticulates, university lecturers, musicians, conductors and nuclear physicists all get the same treatment because the department is unshakeable in its belief that Situational English is the only one and true religion (Martin S 1998, p. 131).

Teachers began to change combinations of units, delete structures and add others in each of the Commonwealth-supplied course materials, and increased their requests for more relevant resources for schools. Few schools used *Situational English* much after the early 1970s, except for its picture series and a few readers, and it ceased publication in 1978. Its successor, *English Another Language – Interim Courses A and B*...
B materials, were welcomed by some migrant teachers, eager as they always were for new materials and approaches.

### Alternative approaches

A shortcoming of all of the materials published over the early 1970s was that they were aimed only at the needs of beginners. There were no materials of note to use after the initial stages of students' English language development except what teachers developed for themselves.

The 1973 Report on the Survey of Child Migrant Education in Schools of High Migrant Density in Melbourne, conducted by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration, revealed that only one-third of those students identified as requiring extra assistance in English were in special classes to receive it.

Fortunately, many people, including teachers, academics and officials, began to work towards improving that situation, seeking materials and teaching techniques wherever they could find them, or helped to develop new ones. In an article describing the teaching of migrants at an inner-suburban technical school in 1973, Ken Green wrote:

> We had a room, pupils, and teachers. What to do? What we needed was a method which allowed for an all-out bombardment of the senses, while still following a consistent progression. Approaches using methods based on formal grammar, rote learning, vocabulary acquisition, audio-lingual techniques, and situational presentation; Gattegno and others – all these seemed to have something to offer. The English Another Language scheme, developed by the Curriculum and Research Branch of the Victorian Education Department, formed the core of our program (Polycom, no.5, August 1973, p. 4).

Similarly, Julia Sykes described how challenged she felt when confronted with three frightened little girls without a word of English, when she did not know what to do:

> So, you fumble around in the cupboards, spend hours at home trying to organise some sort of course, and continually berate those in power who made the insane assumption that a major in English literature somehow qualifies one to teach a language – the basics of which are buried somewhere in one’s subconscious. You start screaming when you realise you have introduced one seemingly simple structure that confuses everything you have just done because no-one ever taught you how to teach the English Language (Polycom, no.11, October 1975, p. 19).

Sykes went on to recommend the use of Dr Caleb Gattegno’s work, as Green had done in his list, referring to The Silent Way approach to language teaching, which had numerous users in the mid-to-late 1970s. One of its prime objectives is for students to work independently as learners of a new language, an approach that struck a chord with many teachers already questioning more rigid methods of language teaching and learning.
Peter Lumb, when president of the South Australian Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language, believed that the Child Migrant Education groups in Victoria and South Australia approached the content of secondary courses along a continuum between teaching of English structures and what he called ‘English through anything’. He argued that at one end of the continuum was the assimilationist position, but at least its adherents had clearly defined aims. The proponents of the other extreme could be piecemeal, vague and paternalistic. He believed that most secondary teachers of migrants were nearer to the centre of the continuum because they probably had two main aims: to enable their students to use English freely within their context, and to enable students to develop an identity that could grow outside the school environment (Polycom, no.8, 1975, p. 3). Certainly, during the 1970s, an eclectic approach to the learning and teaching of English to migrant students was the one usually advocated.

Teachers and others interested in the progress of migrant students were able to draw on the evidence provided in the 1973 Report on the Survey of Child Migrant Education in Schools of High Migrant Density in Melbourne to add weight to their assertions that too few students who needed help were receiving it. Jean Martin wrote that criticisms of the CMEP were that it failed to lift the English ability of large numbers of migrant children to the level of literacy and cognitive understanding necessary to cope with secondary schooling’ (Martin J 1976, p. 44). It was also realised that provision was inappropriate for students in their late teens when they arrived from overseas intending to continue their schooling. The sons and daughters of migrants who did not speak English at home began to be officially recognised as in need of assistance. The CMEP needed considerable adaptation in the light of experience in the early 1970s, and teachers, school administrators, welfare workers, politicians, educational officials and others were able to give informed opinion, gained in the field, on issues, and to exert influence on future developments.

**How should reading be taught?**

When sufficient numbers of teachers reinforced each others’ requests for help in the teaching of reading, a skill unfamiliar to most secondary teachers, the post-primary sub-committee of the Education Department’s Child Migrant Education Branch organised a reading seminar for post-primary teachers in November 1973. That was followed by a two-day workshop on reading in May 1974. To ensure the benefits were fully used, a workshop report was compiled and distributed to schools.

At the same time, primary teachers were arguing strongly for:

- language development, using themes and topics within the experience of the child, planned across the curriculum and linked closely with conceptual development. Teachers generally are now more deeply involved in ascertaining the needs of migrant children and determining the necessary programs (Victorian Education Department Annual Report, 1973–74, p. 31).

In her *Polycom* article, ‘Reading as Part of a Language-Experience Program’, Marilyn Woolley provided an excellent list of readily available resources for a child-centred program, emphasising the importance of showing students that they can read, can spell, and can write (no.12, April 1976, p. 13). That was followed by Jenny James’s article ‘Breakthrough to Literacy and the Migrant Child’, which developed some of Woolley’s work (no.14, November 1976, p. 12). She described the system as:

- a series of materials that build on the resources already possessed by children – their spoken language, their interests and their experiences. The materials enable children to make up their own sentences using words and phrases that they have already used in speech. These sentences become their first reading material.

Although the scheme was designed as initial reading material for English-speaking students aged 5–6 years, Woolley and James believed it to be also highly appropriate
for young migrant learners and also older migrant students already literate in their first language.

By the mid-1970s, the situational and direct methods of teaching English had declined, and the ‘functional–notional’ approach came into favour. This latter approach emphasised the use of language more than its forms, for example, including the act for which it was required, such as apologising, agreeing, accepting, refusing, complaining and other things we actually do, instead of the grammatical approach of Situational English, which often resulted in language meaningless to the student.

Course design also became a matter of great concern. Course books designed and produced overseas were readily available, but they were lacking local relevance in their settings and also in their language content, because they were often presented in the rather stilted formal English common in teaching materials of the time.

Teachers were aware of the differing requirements for varied target groups of students. Target audiences and their needs had to be considered, levels defined, objectives set and methods developed. The Longman publishing house sent one of its high profile authors, Louis Alexander, on a short Australian tour in November 1976, and a large audience of teachers attended a combined meeting of the Victorian Association of Multicultural Education and the Child Migrant Education Branch to hear him discuss the functional–notional approach. *Polycom* published an edited and abridged transcript of his talk (no.16, July 1977, p. 17). The potential of the Australian market was finally acknowledged, and teachers and others could at last have their views heard as possible purchasers of newer appropriate materials. There was still, however, a demand for materials actually set in locations familiar to the target students dealing with their activities and interests.

In 1974 the Commonwealth Department of Education’s Language Teaching Branch organised a national seminar for advisory teachers from all states and territories. It was held in Canberra, had a wide-ranging agenda, and involved representatives from state/territory government and Catholic Child Migrant Education offices. Such gatherings were enormously beneficial forums for the exchange of ideas on school needs, problems and possible solutions (*Polycom*, no. 8, February 1975, pp. 14–16).

**Migrant Education Project 1974**

In January 1974 a three-year project was started by the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) ‘to provide educational tests and allied devices that will be of practical help to teachers of migrant students – particularly, but not solely, to those who teach English’ (*Polycom*, no. 8, February 1975, p. 13). The purpose was ‘to develop tests of speaking, writing, listening and reading comprehension for the use of teachers of migrant pupils’ (Martin J 1976, p. 49). The project was financed by the Commonwealth Departments of Education and Immigration, with six project officers covering the fields of linguistics, educational measurement, the teaching of English as a second language, and the teaching of foreign languages. It was based in Victoria, but covered Australia, so it involved contact with Child Migrant Education services in all state/territory education departments and all Catholic Offices of Education.

Among other things, the tests were planned to determine whether students should be withdrawn from normal classes or returned to the mainstream classroom, and to provide initial placement tests, tests to cover all skills, and others to monitor a child’s progress throughout school. It was a grand concept. Visits to 50 schools gave the researchers an overview from which to develop language tests in English. The resulting tests were known as ‘TEMS’, standing for Teaching English to Migrant Students. The sad outcome, however, was that after the three years of development most teachers preferred to use the tests as teaching materials.
The broader curriculum

As early as 1973–74 it was reported that ‘withdrawal groups and tightly structured and sequential courses are now much less used’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1973–74, p. 31). In the following year, the Victorian Education Department Annual 1974–75 Report stated:

Standard withdrawal group procedures are still used, but an increasing number of school support programs are being transferred, at least in part, into the classrooms. A heartening feature is the growing awareness among classroom teachers of their responsibility to provide for the needs of migrant pupils (p. 23).

Secondary students also had a strong desire to remain whenever possible in their normal classes in order ‘to keep up with’ other subject work. This was often unrealistic, especially if these students had little knowledge of English when they began school. Some groups of teachers were willing to acknowledge that they needed help to offer the best support to their migrant students. Others with an assimilationist view felt that they should not change anything – that the migrant students were obliged to change and assimilate, or at least to integrate.

While there were many teachers who found it challenging to adapt to working with large numbers of newly arrived students with inadequate English, there were some dedicated professionals of skill, enterprise and fine judgment. Dr Paul Gardner, of Monash University, perceived with great clarity the problems of many in an article published in the Science Teachers’ Journal, entitled ‘The Language Difficulties of Science Students’ (vol. 20, 1974). His views were based on the needs of all students, but they were also relevant to migrant students. He made excellent contributions to professional development activities involving migrant education. Bruce Devlin, of the Department’s Secondary Division, fulfilled a similar role in the field of mathematics. Other teacher associations or teacher subject groups followed suit. The Home Economics Teachers’ Association asked for help from Child Migrant Education, and ran a series of workshops at weekends for their teachers to start understanding cultural and other problems expressed by students, for example, dietary taboos, as well as language difficulties. English and history teachers from the Curriculum and Research Branch of the Education Department were also prepared to offer their professional support to the cause.

Migrant students and the Higher School Certificate

An awareness developed that the requirements of the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board (VUSEB) for migrant students to pass their Higher School Certificate examination were far too difficult, with discussion on the issue starting in 1974 between the Board and the Child Migrant Education Committee (Polycom, no. 7, August 1974, p. 7).

The Victorian Education Department accepted private Asian students in select metropolitan high schools through the 1960s as part of its commitment to contribute to the developing nations of the Asian region. Only 200–300 overseas students were involved annually, supported by a host family scheme where required. Their subject results are analysed in the Education Department annual reports and concern was expressed several times at their high rate of failure in English at the then Higher School Certificate (HSC). The report of 1971–72 stated:

The failure rate in English Expression was again rather high. There appears to be a need for special arrangements to provide help for those students whose ability in English Expression is below their performance in other subjects (p. 32).

A special examination was instituted by the VUSEB entitled ‘English for Asian and African Students’. Its aim was to allow such students to acquire sufficient mastery of English to enable them to pursue studies in other fields at university and elsewhere. Exam applicants had to be temporarily resident in Australia for less than three years,
and had to obtain the endorsement of their school principal. While that helped some Asian and African students, it excluded the increasing numbers of migrant students from the newer source countries who were arriving as intending permanent residents, but who had also resided for less than three years. Discussions and submissions began between the Victorian Association for Multicultural Education, Child Migrant Education, Ethnic Education Services, and the VUSEB and its English Standing Committee concerning these inconsistencies in the arrangements. Ian Adams, the Assistant Director, Ethnic Education, pointed out to the VUSEB that while an Arabic-speaking Egyptian student (i.e. an African) could sit for the examination for African and Asian students, an Arabic-speaking student from Lebanon would have to enter the full Higher School Certificate English examination (unpublished letter, April 1977).

The scheme attracted further criticism when, in 1976, it was revealed that, of the 995 candidates who had entered for the special examination, 71 per cent of them had never attended an English-speaking school, but had had their exam papers sent by a school in Kuala Lumpur operated by George Taylor and staff. This was contrary to the eligibility criteria requiring candidates to be temporarily resident in Victoria or permanently resident for less than three years. In 1976 *The Age* newspaper published a report that alternatives were under consideration (7 October, p. 11), but it took until 1978 for satisfactory changes to be achieved, and for the name of the paper to be changed to ‘HSC English as a Second Language’ (Report to CME and VAME, April 1978, p. 2, M Bayly).

**Teacher training**

As the CME advisory service became established, it was possible to develop some in-service training for migrant teachers. The offerings at first were rudimentary, and newly appointed staff had to cope with no real help until they were eligible for the next available sessions. According to the *Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1973–74* (p. 31), a one-day introductory course and a four-week general course in 1973 were attended by 148 migrant teachers, with refresher courses planned for the following year for all migrant teachers appointed before 1973. These refresher courses were all run by advisory staff who called in outside speakers considered to have additional expertise in certain areas. Some who attended these courses were desperate for whatever help was available. In-service programs were increased in number by the end of the 1976 financial year (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1975–76*, p. 13) to include orientation courses; six-week basic courses; refresher courses; and courses for regular classroom teachers, school principals and administrators.

Many people supported the notion of pre-service training for teachers working in migrant education. Among the first available courses was a Diploma of Migrant Teaching offered for external study by Armidale College of Advanced Education in New South Wales, in 1973. It was a two-year course, during which staff visited students in the main centres three times a year. It proved popular with Victorian candidates, who regarded it as quite substantial. Other courses included components of varying purpose and content to make some attempt to fill the void, with several more created and accredited after 1976.

Within the universities in Melbourne were academics who had considerable interest in the broader view of migrant education, referred to by Mark Lopez (2000, p. 310) as ‘the multiculturalists’. Professor Jean Martin taught ‘The Sociology of Migration’ course at La Trobe University, and that university’s Bachelor of Education course offered three units in migrant education: Bilingual Education; Cultural Diversity and the Migrant Contribution; and Integration, Pluralism and Conflict. Similarly, Associate Professor Michael Clyne of the German Department at Monash University set up a Centre for Migrant Studies with some colleagues in mid-1974, with the aim of fostering multicultural research and ideas in the university.
Lopez described how 'the multiculturalists' lobbied the Commonwealth Department of Education to hold a national seminar for teacher educators, which eventuated in August 1974 at Macquarie University, and was entitled 'The Multicultural Society' (p. 358). It was attended by 75 educationalists and officials from state/territory and Commonwealth departments of education. Participants reported that the seminar failed to achieve its aim of persuading the educationalists and bureaucrats to adopt multiculturalism (p. 357), but 'the multiculturalists' kept trying to influence Commonwealth Department of Education policy. They argued for the inclusion of multiculturalism in teacher training courses and for the holding of more conferences on related topics. Most importantly, they provided a theoretical context in which to argue for a broader interpretation of migrant education.

This group were not alone in their pursuit of their goals. Teachers were eager for information and expertise, and keen to gain formal qualifications. Language teachers, classroom teachers, school administrators all had a thirst for knowledge in the area, and the teacher unions urged support for such courses and promoted the right of study leave to attend them.

Towards the end of 1976 new groups of migrants were arriving in Australia in increasing numbers. At the same time, previous source countries had fewer people wishing to migrate to Australia. The needs of these people proved to be vastly different from many of those who had arrived in earlier years, necessitating major adjustments in public policy and in provision for their successful settlement. In June 1975 the first Vietnamese refugees had arrived in Australia and, in August, refugees from Timor arrived in Darwin with, and later moved to migrant hostels in New South Wales and Victoria (Martin S 1998, p. 17). During the subsequent years, large numbers of refugees arrived from Indo-China, Timor, Poland and central America.

Commonwealth contribution

The Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) expanded enormously between 1970 and 1977. The official expenditure amounted to $1.8 million in 1970, but increased to $26.4 million in 1977, which was ‘a huge increase, even allowing for the halving of the value of the Australian dollar through inflation’ (Cahill et al., 1996, p. 11). The 1975 annual report of the Commonwealth Schools Commission supported English as a second language provision (ESL) as a vital focus, but it also acknowledged the arguments for the teaching, or at least the maintenance, of ethnic or ‘community’ languages, and the broadening of education for all students. The Commission’s 1975 Report for the Triennium 1976–78 (AGPS, p. 91) made this statement, widely publicised at the time, that:

the multicultural reality of Australian society needs to be reflected in school curricula – languages, social studies, history, literature, the arts and crafts; in staffing; and in school organisation. While these changes are particularly important to undergird the self-esteem of migrant children, they also have application for all Australian children growing up in a society which could be greatly enriched through a wider sharing in the variety of cultural heritages now present in it.

In 1978 there was a further increase of $10 million in Commonwealth funding for the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) for the following three years to support the extension of educational programs. That commitment followed the Commonwealth Government’s review commissioned in 1977 of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, known as the Gaibally Report (Cahill et al. 1996, p. 15). The report was tabled in Parliament in May 1978 by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, who added his praise for the thoroughness of the review. Cahill believes that the ‘assimilationist period’ ended with the implementation of many of its recommendations (p. 15). It marked the culmination of years of effort in many areas surrounding the needs of immigrants and their families, and it was particularly concerned with extending access to programs and services. Shirley Martin (1998, p. 18) attributes to Lidio Bertelli the statement that:

the real impact was not from the originality of the findings but from the fact that the Government was willing to commit real funding to the implementation of the recommendations.

This bipartisan political support heralded a long period of official endorsement. The notion of multiculturalism was not new, as ‘multiculturalism had first been placed on the political agenda by the Whitlam Government (1972–75), and was further encouraged and developed by the Fraser Government (1975–83)’ (Martin S 1988, p. 22). By the end of the 1970s, ‘cultural pluralism had become accepted as the mainstream or official version of multiculturalism’ (Lopez 2000, p. 444).
The Commonwealth Multicultural Education Program was established in 1979 as a direct result of the Galbally Report, and as part of the Commonwealth Schools Commission. As Cahill pointed out, it gave ‘a certain national cohesion to immigrant and intercultural education’ (Cahill, p. 15). Supervisory groups were formed to develop and oversee the implementation of the program at a national level. In 1983 the Commonwealth Schools Commission established a review of the Commonwealth Multicultural Education Program (by Cahill et al. 1984), which found that there were successes, but that the program had yet to bring ‘about substantial and lasting change’ in schools (Cahill et al. 1996, p. 17). Grants were made under the program to fund worthwhile projects by schools. Submission writing for funds allocated annually often proved a challenge, but highly motivated projects with clear aims, skilled teachers, and wide staff support were usually successful.

The Commonwealth Department of Education Language Teaching Branch, set up in 1971 to support Adult Migrant Education teachers, gradually spread its work to school teachers. In 1975 and 1976 the branch also made available a series of Asian Language Notes to help school teachers to understand the likely English language difficulties of their students from the new source countries. Cultural background notes were also made available, and student teaching materials were produced in consultation with the users. In 1978 the circulation of its TEFL/TESL (Teaching English as a foreign language/Teaching English as a second language) newsletter was extended to teachers of English to migrant children (Polycom, no. 18, May 1978, p. 27).

One of the features of post-war immigration to Australia had been the large number of refugees and displaced people. The definition of a refugee at that time was the revised 1951 United Nations Convention on the status of refugees, which describes a refugee as:

an individual who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who, not having a former nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

This included 171,000 from the camps of post-second world war Europe between 1947 and 1952. ‘Then the 1956 uprising in Hungary brought 14,000 to Australia, the 1968 Czech uprising brought 5500, and the 1974 troubles in Cyprus a further 4000. In the latter part of 1976 those fleeing from the Lebanese civil war were treated by the Australian Government as refugees and many came here’ (David Cox, ‘The World’s Refugees and Australia’s Response’, in Polycom, no. 17, November 1977, p. 14).

Cox pointed out that an increasing proportion of refugees accepted by Australia originated from continents other than Europe at that time. They came from Latin America with the 1973 coup in Chile; and from Asia, because of turmoil in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Victims of political coups or of aggression between countries involving violence and bloodshed were resulting in increasing numbers of refugees wishing to settle in Australia.

Traditional Australian attitudes to non-Europeans were beginning to change, to the point where Michael MacKellar, Commonwealth Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in a Liberal Government, tabled in Parliament in June 1977 a policy statement that ‘Australia has accepted a responsibility to contribute towards the solution of world refugee problems’.
Lessons learned

Victorian Education Department’s role

At the time when people from previous immigrant source countries were no longer coming to Australia in the same numbers, new trouble spots were forcing significant numbers of people to seek respite here. At the beginning of 1976, following the 1975 withdrawal of the Portuguese, Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor, causing refugees to be evacuated to Darwin, but destruction created by Cyclone Tracey resulted in these refugees being transferred to other Australian cities. Of the 362 who were sent to Melbourne, some were placed at the Commonwealth’s Midway Hostel in Maribyrnong and others at Enterprise Hostel in Springvale.

Then, in March 1976, a group of Indo-Asian (Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese) refugees arrived from a camp in Thailand where they had spent between one and three years and, after health checks at Heatherton Sanatorium, were transferred to Nunawading’s Eastbridge Hostel (Polycom, no. 17, November 1977). The Department had only three days’ warning of their arrival, and little information was initially made available about their background, languages spoken or previous education. There was a lack of appropriate interpreters and it became clear that extra educational provision was needed, since local schools were not in a position to respond appropriately to the needs of these students. The nearest schools enrolled 35 primary and 22 secondary students, and when more refugee students arrived they were spread around other schools in the area.

The needs of these newly arrived Indo-Chinese students set in motion a period of information-gathering of the kind that followed each new wave of immigration. The receiving schools were requesting assistance, the Education Department’s officers were asked for help, and the Child Migrant Education staff offered any support they could. In May 1976 at a residential seminar for CME personnel held at Ocean Grove, resolutions were passed drawing attention to the Commonwealth Government’s stated intention to increase the migrant target to 70,000 in 1977, and asking for advance notice of expected arrivals. The Commonwealth was also asked for increased resources for the education of refugees and other children. Resolutions included the setting up of a work group to form concrete proposals for the establishment of ‘language centres’ for initial English instruction in areas of need. These resolutions were widely distributed to school principals’ associations, to senior departmental officers (including directors of finance and planning) for consideration and endorsement, and to appropriate Victorian and federal government ministers (document listing resolutions, 30 May 1976).

As more students began to arrive, local schools became more committed to providing assistance. In 1977 the Education Department’s Secondary Division released a qualified Vietnamese teacher to work through CME, to help with the resettlement of the Indo-Asian students in schools in the Nunawading area. Improvements followed for later groups, through ‘better coordination of government departments and hostel personnel whose responsibility lies in the care of the health, social welfare, and education of these refugees’ (Jones E, Polycom, no. 17, November 1977, p. 23).

With increasing numbers of Indo-Chinese students arriving, sometimes without the support of their families, pressures mounted rapidly on the available support. At that time, the Adult Migrant Education Program courses were divided into the provision of on-arrival courses for newly arrived migrants and refugees, and ongoing courses for longer-term residents (Martin S 1998, p. 99). Because the needs of the newly arrived school-aged refugee students were so different to those who had been in Australia for some time, it was decided that a new kind of provision was needed for them. Thus, what became known as the New Arrivals Program (NAP) began as an emergency response, funded by the Commonwealth Department of Education. It offered intensive English language instruction to students, and orientated them and their parents to the Australian school system and to their local community. Very importantly, the program offered an adjustment period to students, enabling them to overcome trauma as they settled into their new country.
Lessons learned

New challenges requiring new responses 1977–83

Language reception centres

The first language reception centres were established in late 1978 to cater for refugee students living in hostels run by the Commonwealth Government. The three centres were at Nunawading’s Eastbridge Hostel, Williamstown’s Wiltona Hostel (newly reopened to cater for the Indo-Chinese refugees) and Midway Hostel in Maribyrnong. Under the Commonwealth Refugee Contingency Program, six teachers were appointed to each centre for three years. In the case of Eastbridge, classes that had begun at Blackburn Primary School (secondary classes were also held there) stayed there until May 1979, when they moved to the vacant St Joseph’s Catholic School in Surrey Hills. Students had to be transported there by bus from the hostel. Midway’s classes had started in mid-1978 at Christ the King Catholic Primary School in Braybrook and at Ascot Vale’s St Mary’s Catholic Primary School, until they moved to the hostel grounds.

Staff for all the centres were appointed by the Department’s Primary and Secondary Staffing Divisions to Child Migrant Education Services, and allocated to the centres as required. Teaching was planned to take place in small groups, a principle that governed the centres from then on. Ethnic teacher-aides were gradually appointed as essential links between children, parents or other relatives, hostel authorities and teachers. Students aged between four-and-a-half and 18 years were offered six months’ tuition before placement in regular schools (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1979–80, p. 38).

Improvisation was most important in the establishment of these centres. Few, if any, staff were specialist teachers of English as a second language (ESL). Many were appointed from the list of unemployed teachers then seeking work, some had just returned from family leave, others from travelling overseas. ‘The first week was spent by the teachers in visiting other ESL classes at schools in the metropolitan area, observing and talking to those involved in teaching new arrivals and other students’ (Brief History of Footscray English Language Centre, notes from Janet Saker, covering Wiltona, Midway and Footscray).

The centres’ staff had to constantly adapt to fluctuations in student numbers; develop the capacity to cope with very different language and cultural backgrounds; and deal with often traumatised children, some with little or no education in their own countries due to war and other upheavals. They had to make creative classrooms out of sometimes inappropriate teaching spaces, and to try to provide (or at least to identify) all the different support required. At Wiltona, for example, the hostel provided some furniture and a few old blackboards, and classes started before the demountable classrooms arrived. The youngest students met in the child care centre, the middle groups in residential flats, and the older students in a large room in the administration centre. The centres began with few teaching materials. Many staff approached surrounding schools to glean whatever resources were on offer, and the schools were generous in their donations of reading books, paper, chalk, pens, pencils, drawing materials and excess furniture.

The resources from the Learning English in Australia materials were distributed to the centres, and were eagerly welcomed by the teachers, as few other new-arrivals teaching materials were available. Teachers used these resources creatively and, although their limitations soon became apparent to teachers who quickly developed ‘communicative’ approaches to teaching English, the students loved the workbooks and readers and they were often used as homework. The biggest difficulty was stopping students from completing the whole book in one sitting. They were carefully admonished by their teachers, ‘Remember, only two pages tonight!’.

As teachers began to develop their own materials and curriculum, they began to incorporate ideas from mainstream teaching, such as ‘language experience’, into their programs. Curriculum development grew into a high priority throughout the program.
The *Polycom* editor visited some centres and reported:

The fact that the language reception centres were established in response to emergency is illustrated, at first sight, by the improvised nature of their accommodation. Yet despite the far-from-perfect physical conditions, each classroom as we entered offered a new surprise of warmth and animation. Teachers had gone to great pains to make small barren rooms into kaleidoscopes of colour. Picture charts reminded us that every object has a name and every name must be learnt (Polycom, no. 24, May 1980, p. 21).

The surroundings of the Wiltona Hostel were anything but encouraging, and it had only been recently reopened to house the refugee families. It was set among factories and oil refineries with barbed-wire-topped fences, and there were no footpaths along nearby Kororoit Creek Road. When students first began to move into the local schools, Commonwealth-funded buses had been provided to take them there;
however, this stopped in June 1981, as the funding was only available for refugees for six months. The Victorian Government declined to replace the buses, citing the technical requirement of a precise minimum distance between the hostel and the students’ schools of 4.8 km. However, this was measured ‘as the crow flies’, not along the roads the students actually walked to get to school. Parents stopped their children from attending school rather than let them attempt the long dangerous walk along Kororoit Creek Road. Some teachers drove students in their own cars in order to keep them at school. Most of the teachers at Wiltona were transferred to Midway at the end of 1981, as the last of the Indo-Chinese families moved out. Early in 1982 the hostel reopened to accommodate a group of Polish refugees, finally closing at the end of 1982.

Teachers’ roles were broad where the language reception centres were housed in a migrant hostel. They included liaison with the reception officers at the hostels, district settlement officers, and with ESL and other teachers in the schools that the students would later attend. Meetings with parents were also important, especially since school placement often triggered parents to move from the hostel to be nearer the school. Centre staff built up ‘transition programs’ to ease student transfer.

By May 1979 four additional centres were established. Maribyrnong High School took secondary students from the Midway Hostel, and Westall High School took secondary students from Enterprise Hostel in Springvale. Primary students from Enterprise were provided for at a language centre at Springvale Primary School. A significant number of refugee and migrant students living in high-rise housing commission flats in Richmond and Collingwood were catered for by the establishment of Kuranda Language Centre in Punt Road Prahran. It was a large Edwardian house previously used as a hostel for university students, bought by the Victorian Government to be used as a combined state and Commonwealth migrant settlement centre, and then renovated to be more suitable for school-aged children. Students travelled by bus to all these sites.

By 1980, 700 students attended these language centre programs, with 10 teachers on average at each centre. The appointment of increased numbers of ethnic teacher aides provided essential assistance to all involved. A feature of the development of these centres was the need to expand and contract in response to fluctuating student numbers, the availability of buildings, and overall resources for the New Arrivals Program. During this time, the focus of these centres changed from only catering for refugee background students to all newly arrived students.

In early 1980 Eastbridge Language Centre had several satellite classes running at Parkmore and Mitcham Primary Schools, and others in the Nunawading area. When the Commonwealth Government closed the Eastbridge Hostel in the middle of the year there was a sharp drop in enrolments.

The language centre at the former St. Joseph’s Convent in Surrey Hills moved to the site of Blackburn South Primary School, where it remained for eleven years. Another centre was established in Noble Park in February 1980 to serve the needs of students living in the Enterprise Hostel at Springvale (Polycom, no. 24, May 1980, p. 18). At this time, intensive centres were established at Kuranda and Noble Park, in addition to the one at Myer House, to cater for the needs of so-called ‘second-phase learners from non-English-speaking backgrounds in post-primary schools who needed intensive instruction in English to prepare them for full participation in the regular school’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1979–80, p. 38).

Another centre began at Victoria Park Primary School in Abbott Street Abbotsford in 1981 in unused upstairs classrooms, catering for primary and secondary students. Increased numbers of Vietnamese and Timorese refugee students from the high-rise public housing flats in West Richmond, and enrolled in nearby schools, were transported by bus to the Victoria Park Language Centre, which expanded as classrooms became available. In the same year, Collingwood English Language Centre (ELC) was established at Collingwood’s Cambridge Street Primary School to
cater for secondary students who had to move out of the Kuranda Language Centre while it was being renovated. It took students who were not refugees, and second-phase learners referred by schools. When the renovations at Kuranda were completed, there was sufficient demand for its services for the Collingwood centre to remain open. Over the ensuing years the student intake reverted to only those who had recently arrived (Notes on the history of Collingwood Language Centre, Althea Thomas).

These language reception centres added a vital new section to the already established ESL programs existing in schools.

### Student welfare and health

While many refugee students came to Victoria with members of their families, some came alone. In an article about Indo-Asians in Victorian Schools (Polycom, no. 24, May 1980, p. 22), teachers were asked about the children’s backgrounds, and the ‘traumas-in-transit’ of which so much had been heard. One teacher reported:

> The refugees of 1979 came from a range of economic backgrounds, but were mostly middle-class. They are the children of doctors, dentists, lecturers, teachers, farmers and fishermen. Some family units are complete; more are broken. A mother is lost. A father is in prison. A grandparent or a big brother is in charge. All the teachers had tragic stories to tell. One child had lost his whole family in the China Sea. ‘We wondered why his concentration was so poor’, said his teacher. Another little boy had seen his parents shot in Kampuchea. In a secondary maths class we met a 16-year-old boy who ‘has quite a problem to solve’ in the words of the teacher-in-charge. He came from Vietnam several months ago with his older brother, leaving the rest of the family behind. His brother was drowned. His mother writes, ‘Are you both working hard? Is your brother well? Tell him to write…’. The surviving boy has not found the courage to tell his mother that the elder boy is dead.

Most refugees had escaped traumatic circumstances. The Timorese lived in a climate of fear from the Indonesian military, as did Chilean refugees after the coup and during the many years of military rule that followed. Anxiety, death, isolation, dislocation, helplessness were all too familiar to these students and their family members. Student art work and conversations were often concerned with war-planes, exploding bombs and rockets until these images could be replaced in part by more benign subjects. The role of ethnic teacher aides and appropriately qualified interpreters was vital in such situations. The experiences and difficulties of these students were also to be found in mainstream schools, where they enrolled without the benefit of the six months’ transition period available in language centres.

In 1978 the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters published its levels of accreditation for translators and interpreters, which helped to provide structure for the employment of adequate bilingual staff. However, since new waves of migrants arrived from different countries, and so many different languages were represented through the 1980s, those known as bilingual teaching assistants or ethnic teacher aides often became locked in to their positions. Some schools kept them even when the numbers of students and families speaking their particular language dropped below a level sufficient to justify their retention (Cahill et al. 1996, p. 131).

The School Interpreter Service was in 1982 based in the Counselling, Guidance and Clinical Services (CG&CS) section of the Education Department and the interpreters were located throughout Melbourne and Geelong at CG&CS centres. They were available to work with teachers and covered 14 languages (Polycom, no.31, June 1982, p. 24).

Refugees were given various health checks on arrival, but teachers became aware that school-aged children were often not adequately screened for eyesight or hearing problems. Obviously, such problems could adversely affect their education, so
teachers and CME staff were often the ones ensuring that such difficulties were followed up. A teacher reported that she took a girl after school to collect a new pair of glasses. ‘Have you worn glasses before?’, she asked. ‘No, Miss. When a country is at war, you do not get glasses!’ was her reply. Eventually, the School Medical Service extended its support to language centres and schools enrolling newly arrived students.

The event that always jolted students and teachers was the sudden departure, with or without explanation from those concerned, of students whose parents were being deported for overstaying visas, as illegal immigrants, or other problems with authorities. It was sad to see students who were eager to learn and settled in their friendships suddenly plucked out of school to be returned to their country of origin, or to another temporary place of settlement. One teacher recalled a brother and sister still shocked when they told in whispered tones how some men had gone to their house in the dark, and taken their father away in a large black car. They later went to visit him in the Maribyrnong Detention Centre, where he was growing a beard because he was denied access to a razor as a suicide risk. After years in Portuguese Timor, and two years in Melbourne, they were returned to Brazil via London. They sent a letter to the teacher describing their journey under duress.

**Victorian Advisory Committee on Migrant and Multicultural Education**

The establishment in 1979 of the Australian Multicultural Education Program by the Commonwealth Government, following the Galbally report, provided the impetus for a major broadening of the whole approach to multicultural education, extending it far beyond English as a second language, although that remained a priority.

As part of its implementation, the Victorian Government created the Victorian Advisory Committee on Migrant and Multicultural Education (VACMME) to advise the Minister of Educational Services on all aspects of migrant and multicultural education; and to make recommendations on the disbursement of Schools Commission funds for Victoria ‘for education for a multicultural society, and on the funding made available for community language programs in ethnic schools by the State Government’ (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1980–81*, p. 38). Twenty-six people with experience and expertise in multicultural education, from government, Catholic and independent school systems, were appointed to the committee for a term of two years, under an independent chairman. The committee advertised and administered two associated funding schemes – Small Grants and Major Projects. The first were largely used for school-based community language, bilingual education and multicultural and school community programs, and the second for broader projects involving clusters of schools and inter-systemic cooperation. The committee also made recommendations on funding of curriculum development projects, publications and teacher education. Thus, many new programs were encouraged and developed.

The official Victorian Education Department's position was stated in its *News Exchange* (no. 3, 14 March 1979) by its then Director-General, Dr Shears, in three principles:

- proficiency in English for everyone
- the opportunity for migrants and their children to study the language, customs and history of their forebears
- the opportunity for all our citizens to study the language, customs and habits of a variety of cultures.

In 1983 the Education Department restructured the whole area of Ethnic Education Services. A position was created to coordinate Child Migrant Education, Adult Migrant Education, Aboriginal Education and VACMME, designated Principal Migrant and Multicultural Education Officer, filled by Eric Ford. It was placed under the Directorate
of Equal Educational Opportunities, filled by Ian Adams. Frank Golding was appointed Supervisor of Child Migrant Education Services (CMES) at that time.

CMES ‘continued to provide a consultative and advisory service to regions, schools and teachers involved in the teaching of English to students who speak a language at home other than English, in the teaching of community languages, in bilingual education and in the development of multicultural perspectives across the curriculum’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1982–83, p. 57). Staff numbers were increased in 1983 to include coordinators, consultant organisers and consultants to ‘provide support and leadership in all major areas of multicultural and migrant education’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1983–84, p. 77).

At the end of 1982 a work group on ESL set up by VACMME decided to find out how many ESL teachers were actually working in the area. Although in earlier years exact numbers had been issued for all schools (see Chapters 1 and 2), they were no longer available, despite the large increase in funds spent on the program. The brief of the work group was to consult with those trying to develop a national ESL policy, with the Victorian Association of Teachers of English and with CMES. It was stated in the summary of the meeting (6 October 1982) that there was need for a policy paper to inform principals and teachers about the principles and practice of teaching English as a second language (TESL) and the ESL learner, which would also enable schools to be more aware of student requirements and the role of the ESL teacher. It took several years for official documents to be produced and issued. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

Teaching resources and curriculum

During the late 1970s and early 1980s ESL teaching resources gradually improved. An excellent series of workshops was developed at CMES to give teachers the opportunity to write their own materials. The first of these workshops was held in 1977 and repeated in 1978. Due to their success, three more were held in 1979: for the teaching of English as a second language, bilingual and community language programs, and education for a multicultural society.

Teachers were developing their own resources and materials, and these needed to be made available to more teachers. Funds were obtained from the Victorian In-Service Education Committee (VISEC) to conduct a number of 10-day workshops held in five stages, involving periods of information and planning, followed some weeks later by a three-day residential seminar outside Melbourne. Concentrated effort in groups resulted in the creation of draft materials to be tested in the teachers’ schools. Some three months later the teachers went to another three-day residential venue where they
modified or extended their drafts, after consultation with their school colleagues. Personnel from CMES and staff from the Education Department’s Audio-Visual Resources Branch, Curriculum and Research Branch, and Publications and Information Branch were also involved. The final stage involved a day of discussion and display of the materials produced. Sets of materials were reproduced for all participants, for teachers’ centres and resource centres. Further details of the conduct and the outcomes of these workshops can be found in ‘Develop Your Own Materials – Who, Me?’ (Alex McKnight, Polycom, no. 25, August 1980, p. 17).

Some innovative examples from the workshops were published in Polycom (no. 31, June 1982). These workshops created a great deal of interest. They showed how ESL curriculum had developed, and they gave teachers a much-needed opportunity to meet ESL and other subject teachers and to learn from them. In 1981 a position was created for a materials development officer at CMES, to prepare units of work from the workshops for publication. By mid-1982, 18 papers had already been published (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1981–82, p. 47).

Throughout this period Polycom continued to be published three times a year. Its professional approach and breadth of articles ensured it a key place in keeping teachers informed about new ideas in migrant and Aboriginal education.

Language across the curriculum

As ESL teaching practice became more sophisticated, the phrase ‘language across the curriculum’ was used increasingly to describe the teaching approach needed for students to reach their potential and to learn in all subject areas. Subject teachers were included in CMES in-service programs, and information was made available to all interested schools and teachers on modifying assignments, and teaching English in the content areas. This involved all staff in developing awareness of the English language needs of students, and moving towards ESL teachers working in support and team-teaching roles with teachers of other subjects. Bill Cleland and Ruth Evans began to develop their ‘Topic approach to ESL’ after working in depth with Gattegno’s Silent Way method; they later wrote three books in different subject areas for secondary students, published by Longman Cheshire.

The needs of students learning English as a second language were recognised further by such events as the endorsement of the nomination by the Curriculum and Assessment Committee of the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education (VISE), the Victorian Year 12 examination authority, of four ESL representatives to join its English Subject Committee in 1983. They had
special responsibility for the development of materials for the Year 12 ESL examination. The membership of ESL experts on that committee and on those that replaced it was maintained for many years. There were also two representatives on the VISE Committee for Consideration of Disadvantage for some years supporting the needs of ESL students.

**Behind the News**

ESL teachers also used resources that were targeted at mainstream teachers, particularly for students who were more proficient in English. These resources helped them to become familiar with the kinds of material they would meet in mainstream classrooms. A key favourite was *Behind the News*, a long-running weekly ABC television current affairs program. It was widely used in secondary, technical and upper primary schools through the 1970s and 1980s. Interesting, topical, far-ranging and easy to watch and enjoy, it enriched ESL students’ vocabulary, and helped to fill some of the gaps they had about current affairs in Australia. It also gave them excellent note-taking practice and increased listening skills. A generous teacher at the Bruce College of TAFE in Belconnen, Canberra for years provided every week, free of charge to all who asked for them, several pages of well produced follow-up exercises for each episode, and they were highly valued.

**Drama in schools**

In June 1978 a theatrical company known as the Polyglot Puppets began to perform a 50-minute puppet production consisting of segments from six cultures, each presented in its original language: Spanish, Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Serbo-Croatian and Italian. The company is still operating into its third decade. The first shows were offered to primary schools and were booked out six months ahead with 12–14 performances a week. The theme involved a search by two characters, using gifts from other communities, to build an identity as an ethnic Australian. It aimed to make migrant children feel at home, and to encourage them to take pride in their language and culture. A team of 30 people cooperated in mounting the production, including directors, script-writers from the Institute of Early Childhood Development, a musical director, producer, puppeteers and manipulators; while translators, narrators and ‘voices’ were provided by staff at Child Migrant Education Services. Initial financial support came from an Australia Council Grant, from the Commonwealth Schools Commission, and from the Department of Ethnic Affairs. New programs were developed following the success of the first one (*Polycom*, no. 20, November 1978, pp. 28–31).

A multilingual drama project at Brunswick East High School was planned, initiated and executed by an enthusiastic group of teachers with the backing of their principal. They prepared a submission for a grant to the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education (MACMME), the renamed VACMME, in 1983, which provided funds to develop, perform, and report upon a play by Year 11 students at the school. The whole process is described in the report *A New Life: A multi-lingual drama project at Brunswick East High School* (1983), edited by Tes Lyssiotis, Liz Jones and Noeleen Curry. Despite staff changes during the process, it finished on schedule. The students re-enacted the experiences of their parents, including why they left their homeland, their arrival in Australia, language difficulties, being caught between two worlds, and reconciliation of the difficulties. A Year 11 English teacher colleague wrote in his evaluation for the report:

> Of special value to me was the fact that outstanding performances (by unanimous agreement) were given by two students whom beforehand we had failed to involve productively in any activity (p. 23).
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English is their right

*English is their right: Strategies for teachers in the multilingual classroom* (edited by Elizabeth Aird and Davina Lippmann, published in 1983 and reprinted in 1986) was a valuable reference book for teachers and those in training. Its contributors were experienced in pre-school, school and adult education in different Australian states/territories. It aimed to assist classroom subject teachers with specific suggestions, since most help in the migrant education field was originally aimed at specialist ESL teachers, and there was a considerable gap in information available for subject teachers keen to assist their ESL students. It contained many ideas on language and culture, the classroom, whole-school organisation in a multicultural society, ESL program organisation, and a comprehensive list of resources. Also covered were withdrawal-group teaching, support and team teaching, the use of bilingual teachers and teachers’ aides.

Commonwealth Language Teaching Branch

The Language Teaching Branch of the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs set about working on the development of materials designed to fill the gap between initial ESL and greater participation in subject classes, especially for students described as ‘second-phase learners’. These students often had difficulty with more formal spoken and written language, and with comprehension of unfamiliar topics. They often had a limited range of English grammar, idiom and spelling, and a slow reading and note-taking speed. In the mid-1970s, work began on two series of materials: *Transit* and *Origins*. *Transit Green* was designed for upper primary students, and *Transit Red* for junior secondary students. The *Transit* materials included magazines, and many activities on a wide range of topics. *Transit Red* was very popular with teachers throughout Australia, and *Transit Green* was not far behind, as attested by a survey done in 1981 by Jonathan Anderson of the School of Education at Flinders University of South Australia.

*Origins*, an Australian history-based language program, was also designed for second-phase learners. It aimed to develop reading and writing skills, but also emphasised listening and speaking, and it sought to impart an understanding of early Australian history to the end of the nineteenth century. It consisted of reading cards in seven units, with seven charts, two cassette tapes, seven packs of follow-up activities, and an introduction for teachers. These materials were distributed free of charge to schools, so were very welcome.

The Commonwealth Education Department’s Language Teaching Branch also published a science mini-course developed by teachers at Telopea Park High School in Canberra, aimed at the special problems facing second language learners in the science classroom. It was initially designed as an introduction to the vocabulary of science (Wanda Hamilton and Robyn Hughes in *TESOL News*, vol. 6, no. 2, August, 1982). References cited at the end of the article were helpful. In the same year, Child Migrant Education had recruited a mathematics specialist to work as an ESL consultant, and she was in great demand (*Polycom*, no. 31, June 1982, p. 25). Slowly but surely resources were improving.

The *Learning English in Australia* materials, aimed at newly arrived students in the middle-to-upper primary years, were supplemented in the 1980s by materials especially designed for younger students, aged five to seven. The resource was
called *Smile* and was largely based around a set of fairy tales, such as the ‘Three Billy Goats Gruff’ and the ‘Three Little Pigs’. The teaching approach of these materials was more ‘communicative’ than the original *Learning English in Australia* materials, and made greater links with the kinds of teaching approaches being advocated in teaching reading and writing in mainstream classrooms. *Smile* was not a course, but was a ‘set of strategies, materials and activities for learning English’. These materials were very popular with teachers and with their students. They comprised alphabet cards, story books in ‘big-book’ format, worksheets and games. Particularly loved were the cut-out cardboard characters and scenes that could be used to help tell the stories. It was amazing to hear the structures and vocabulary from the stories being reused by students in the classroom; for instance, students would regularly threaten to ‘blow your house down’ when annoyed by another child.

**Teacher education and training**

Child Migrant Education Services offered as many pre-service and in-service education programs as possible for the teaching of English. In 1977 it also offered the first opportunity for teachers of Greek and Italian to upgrade their qualifications. In addition, the *Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1977–78* (p. 28) reported that:

> the supervisory and advisory staff of CMES provide support services to schools, including in-service programs for teachers and principals from Catholic and independent schools as well as the state system, advisory visits to schools relating to TESL, bilingual and multi-cultural programs, liaison with migrant parents and ethnic groups, information on the cultural and educational backgrounds of refugees and migrants, intensive English classes for newly arrived migrant students aged 15–18 years, and regular publications which aim to inform teachers of current developments in all areas of education for a multicultural society.

A monthly newsletter called *Communique* was issued by CMES to all schools with migrant education teaching programs for the information of all staff (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1979–80*, p. 37).

In 1979 the Modern Language Teachers’ Association of Victoria instigated a new segment in its important annual Congress on English as a Second Language. The following year, the Victorian Association for the Teaching of English (VATE) included ESL teachers in its program and sought contributions for its journal. Eight ESL teachers received Departmental assistance to attend the rewarding International English Conference, held in Sydney in 1980. These events were indications that ESL was at last gaining wider credibility, and that the needs of ESL students were being acknowledged more widely.

In 1982 the Secondary Division of the Education Department brought in a new policy to encourage the use of trained ESL teachers for permanent ESL teaching positions in high schools. New ESL teachers would have needed to have formally studied English as a sub-major or first year English and a Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) method. Although this policy was not fully implemented immediately, over time the policy increased the number of ESL teachers in secondary schools with ESL qualifications.

There was some variation in the type of ESL pre-service courses offered in Diploma of Education courses, but all included some theory and a practicum. While there was a growing need for all teachers to be prepared to deal as appropriately as possible with ESL students in their classes, efforts were made to broaden their knowledge in this area as part of their diploma introduction. Although this was criticised as tokenistic, in recognising the importance of as many teachers as possible having an understanding of ESL students’ needs, it was a step in the right direction.

A 1979 report of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Committee of Education for a Multicultural Society encouraged an increase in the number of teacher training
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New challenges requiring new responses 1977–83

Courses and activities available, in such areas as methodology for the teaching of English as a second language and the teaching of community languages. The need for refresher courses for those employed for some time, and courses giving background information on the language and culture of newly arrived groups, such as Indo-Chinese and other refugees, were also acknowledged as important. The courses ranged from minor electives on ethnic diversity to deeper research issues, and from single units as part of general diplomas to full graduate diplomas in ethnic or ESL studies offered by four colleges of advanced education. In 1978 La Trobe University offered a nine-unit Bachelor of Education (Specialist Studies Course in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), requiring a significant commitment of time and effort because it included a major practicum. Nonetheless, a report on those courses available in Victoria (*Polycom*, no. 28, June 1981, p. 7) found great differences in purpose, length and content.

Overseas students applying to do a diploma course were also offered a course at the same university which qualified them to teach their first language and ESL. Although these teachers had particular strengths to offer students sharing their first language, their style of English was often not appropriate to the teaching of new learners. Finding them suitable appointments was sometimes a challenge. Some were appointed to schools that had no students of their particular first language, and the schools with vacancies for ESL teachers were frequently unable to include the teaching of the other language these teachers offered.

The Victorian Secondary Teachers Association (VSTA) regularly pointed out what they considered to be shortcomings in the arrangements that existed in migrant and multicultural education, particularly those concerned with teacher training and staffing matters. They supported increased time release and study leave provision for those wanting to enrol in courses. In 1980 a comprehensive report was produced on ESL teaching in Victorian secondary schools, incorporating the results of a survey of VSTA school branches on ESL teaching. It argued for more efforts to overcome the significant unmet needs of students, and to increase staffing in schools with large numbers of newly arrived eligible students, especially where they were subject to a ceiling of ESL teachers no matter how many students had to be covered. The VSTA case was supported by the other unions – the Technical Teachers’ Union of Victoria (TTUV) and the Victorian Teachers’ Union (VTU).

A national conference on teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) teacher education was convened in Canberra in 1983 by the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs. The conference report pointed out that post-graduate TESOL level 1 courses had proliferated, but they lacked consistent and appropriate staffing:

> The number of tertiary institutions claiming to offer relevant ESL teacher training jumped from one in 1970 to 29 three years later ... however, only one of these 29 institutions ... recruited staff for their new programs by advertising for them. The overwhelming majority were apparently staffed by lecturers appointed for other purposes (1983 Report, p. 58).

The conference was concerned by the huge variation in what was considered a specialist TESOL qualification. Some states/territories had no specific requirements, while method courses of 30 hours or one-week courses offered by employing authorities were sometimes equated with a full 300-hour qualification. The balance between linguistic elements and ethnic studies elements also concerned the conference participants.

Some in-service training was offered to ethnic teacher aides during this period. Schools were also given a new set of guidelines for their employment, so that they could make the best use of the ethnic teacher aides’ time and talents.
4. The peak years 1984–89

Commonwealth government context

By the end of 1983 Commonwealth and state/territory government policy and practice in multicultural education and ESL education had expanded to include many examples of community or ethnic language development. Curriculum development was gaining ground. The newly established Language Reception Centres were added to the ESL programs of earlier years. All kinds of resources, human and material, were made available from government sources. The Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) was continued, aided by a favourable review (Campbell & McMeniman 1985). Immigrant multicultural education was ‘the centre of intense national focus and action’, and by the early 1980s it had become ‘more cohesive and professionalised’ (Cahill et al. 1996, p. 15).

Overall bipartisan political support ensured that ongoing funds were provided, and this continued until the 1986 federal budget. A Senate inquiry into language policy in 1984 was a step towards a national language policy. Cahill et al. (1996, pp. 16–18) described several reports and reviews attempting to assess the impact of the Multicultural Education Program, and concluded in a report to the Australian Schools Commission that, ‘while it had many achievements, it had not brought about substantial and lasting change in the Australian schooling system’ (p. 18). Problems identified included the requirement to obtain annual funding, competition for limited funds, the random nature of the process, the lack of both system involvement and objective assessment of progress and results. Research by Cahill (1984) of 50 case studies of school-based projects across Australia concluded that three-quarters of them could be regarded as successful. This review noted that the curriculum materials developed were a significant achievement and, even though their quality varied, many language projects were worthwhile.

Commonwealth expenditure increased during the early 1980s, when there had been steadily growing support for the improved settlement of immigrants. By 1983 the contribution from the Commonwealth to the two elements of the national ESL program, New Arrivals and General Support, was over $67 million. Funding of nearly $12 million for the former was provided on a per capita basis for the provision of intensive English language programs for newly arrived students of non-English-speaking background. The $55 million for General Support was provided for services specifically directed at improving the English language competence of non-English-speaking background students through their educational authorities (Campbell & McMeniman 1985, p. 17).

The years when Malcolm Fraser was prime minister were described (Kalantzis et al. 1990, p. 23) as a period of ‘extraordinary change, as a time when the rhetoric and programs of the Federal Government came to recognise fully Australia’s linguistic and cultural diversity’. The Hawke Government won power in early 1983 and continued most of the Fraser Government’s multicultural programs for the next three years. In addition, the Commonwealth Department of Education set up the Participation and Equity Program (PEP) to assist students who were judged to be ‘disadvantaged’, and the Disadvantaged Schools Supplementary Grants Program was continued.

However, there was growing disquiet in some quarters about aspects of what was understood by ‘multicultural education’, and about its cost overall. Some queried what they saw as a burgeoning ‘multicultural industry’.

In 1986 the Multicultural Education Program, which had funded languages other than English and sociocultural education, was discontinued. ESL Program funding was cut. The effect of this cut to ESL funding was partly offset by an increase in the per capita grant for the New Arrivals element of funding for newly arrived immigrant children. The cut in the ESL General Support funding threw responsibility back onto the states and territories for school provision of ESL programs, and significant rearrangements of
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funding models were required. The government school systems in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia largely replaced the Commonwealth funds from their own budgets (Cahill et al. 1996, p. 18), resulting in a more systemic approach towards ‘mainstreaming’ English language teaching and teachers being given more responsibility for catering for ESL students in their mainstream classrooms, with less assistance of specialist ESL teachers. The effect of the funding cuts in 1986 also led to the cessation of most state coordinating committees that had previously largely determined how funds should be spent.

Language policies

During this time, there were moves towards the development of a national language policy. This drive had begun as early as the late 1970s, supported by teachers in schools and ethnic communities. In 1982 the Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia convened a conference on the subject, and the Commonwealth Department of Education issued a comprehensive background paper ‘Towards a National Language Policy’. The Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts conducted an inquiry on the issue and in 1984 produced its report, A National Language Policy, with the objective of guaranteeing competence to all Australians in English, maintenance and development of languages other than English, provision of services in languages other than English, and opportunities for learning second languages.

Some state initiatives followed, and those in Victoria will be dealt with in the next section. Inaction after the Senate inquiry’s report combined with the severe budget cuts stirred the language interest groups to lobby the Government for action. In 1986 Joseph Lo Bianco was commissioned by the Commonwealth Minister for Education to develop a national policy. His report, National Policy on Languages, was released in 1987. This period was described by Uldis Ozolins (Ozolins, U 1991, ‘National Language Policy and Planning: Migrant Languages’, p. 347) as a period of intense political conflict, with a number of the decisions that had been announced in the 1986 budget, including budget cuts, later reversed. Four overall strategies were put forward to guide the language policy (Lo Bianco 1987, p. 70):

- conservation of Australia’s linguistic resources
- development and expansion of these resources
- integration of Australian language teaching and language use efforts with national economic, social and cultural policies
- provision of information and services in languages understood by clients.

Having called a federal election for May 1987, the Hawke Government undertook to implement the National Policy on Languages during the campaign, committing $15.1 million in the 1987 financial year and $28 million over 1988–89. The Government also set up the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME) in late 1987, with responsibility for five major programs: Australian Second Language Learning, National Aboriginal Languages, Adult Literacy, Multicultural and Cross-cultural Supplementation, and Asian Studies.

A new emphasis emerged in public statements from the Prime Minister and Education Minister Dawkins (responsible for AACLAME) in favour of Asian languages, which some felt led to less support for other languages. Part of AACLAME’s budget was allocated to create the Languages Institute of Australia in 1989, whose role was to collaborate with major tertiary institutions in language research, language testing and language technology. It was also to establish a central secretariat in Melbourne (Ozolins 1991, p. 348).

The Office of Multicultural Affairs was also set up in 1989 in the Prime Minister’s Department. Its functions involved research and public relations (Kalantzis et al. 1990, p. 24). There were many positive developments in policy and practice in multicultural education during this time. However, this in itself led to criticism of the ‘ever more frequent institutional chopping and changing – the bewildering succession of reports,'
committees, programs and changed funding arrangements that has characterised the field’ (Kalantzis et al. 1990, p. 27). This instability confused people on the edges of the field, and sometimes those within it.

**Victoria’s response**

The Victorian Government set about implementing the decisions made by the Commonwealth Government in the period 1984–89 as it had done previously, while following its own priorities in the field of multicultural education. In addition to the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Migrant and Multicultural Education (MACMME), the Victorian Government established the State Board of Education under legislation enacted in 1983. Set up as an advisory board to give information and advice to the Education Minister, it also provided advice on ‘instruction in the English language while respecting and sustaining cultural and lingual heritages’ (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1989–90, p. 47). The Board’s role meant that, in addition to its own priorities, it could collaborate in many ways with the priorities set up by MACMME, whose policy document, *Education in, and for, a multicultural Victoria: Policy guidelines for school communities* (published in 1986), became the new Victorian standard. Widely distributed, it explained Ministerial Papers 1–6 and other policy documents and provided the official view of ‘multicultural education’.

The Education Department’s Equal Educational Opportunities Branch had its name changed to Special Programs Branch in 1984, and the name of Child Migrant Education Services was changed to Multicultural Education Services (MES). MES was one of the Commonwealth-funded special purpose programs (with their associated state-funded activities) for which the Special Programs Branch provided an administrative and coordinating framework. Towards the end of 1984 staff positions were advertised again to align them with School Support Teaching Service employment scales and conditions. For staff, this meant that the uncertainty of working on annual secondment receded. Uncertainty for many ESL teachers in the field remained, as their employment often depended on the numbers of ESL students, which altered frequently as levels of migration rose and fell and settlement patterns changed.

**Materials development**

With Commonwealth and state policies still providing substantial funds to support innovation in ESL, languages other than English (LOTE), multicultural studies, and the development and publication of all kinds of teaching materials, there was plenty of enthusiasm and commitment from those involved. Hodja Publications at the Richmond Community Education Centre had built up a substantial reputation since its establishment under the Commonwealth Schools Commission ‘Programs of National Significance’ in 1981. It produced materials for multicultural education, and the Commonwealth Schools Commission had intended that it be a national distributing centre (Cahill et al. 1996, p. 24). However, it ceased functioning after the 1986 funding cuts. Fortunately, many other materials were produced with funds from MACMME, the Participation and Equity Program, the continuing Disadvantaged Schools Program and other departmental sources.
Community languages, bilingual education and LOTE

The joint Victoria–South Australia Greek Curriculum Project, begun in 1980 and the materials, launched officially in 1986, provided a model for other languages, and adaptations of the materials were planned using them as a base. The Victorian Education Department had begun its program in 1982 to introduce a range of languages in primary schools, having appointed 50 teachers in response to submissions (increased to 100 teachers in 1983) to work in community languages and bilingual programs. By 1984 the number had increased to 130, with 16 languages being taught. By 1987 these teachers were working in 94 schools, and community language grants to schools amounted to $48,142. A major Chinese curriculum project was set up in 1984, and pilot bilingual programs for post-primary students at Language Reception Centres in Khmer, Chinese, and Vietnamese with English. Community languages continued to maintain their increasingly strong position at primary level until the end of the 1980s.

A series of publications provided support and suggested guidelines for the development and implementation of language teaching programs. In 1985 *The Implementation of Bilingual and Community Language Programs in Primary Schools* was published by Child Migrant Education Services (CMES) and the Community Languages Implementation Committee. The booklet stated that MACMME could provide funds, and that the State Board of Education and the Commonwealth Schools Commission were responsible for long-term policies and strategies in language education.

In 1986 a joint policy paper was published by MACMME and the State Board of Education, called *The Place of Languages Other than English in Victorian Schools*. In the same year, the two bodies jointly issued *A Language Policy for Victorian Schools*, a very succinct explanation of the policy in English, including translations in 12 community languages within it. It was followed by an occasional paper entitled *Bilingual Education: Models for Program Development*, prepared by MACMME and published by the Ministry of Education in 1986. Designed to promote bilingual education as part of MACMME’s role, it presented five models for consideration, and a typology for identifying students’ language learning needs.

The Commonwealth had commissioned Joseph Lo Bianco to write the 1987 *National Policy on Languages*, previously mentioned. Subsequently, a *Languages Action Plan* for Victoria was developed in 1989 to cover the period 1988–92 for the guidance of government schools. The Victorian School of Languages, formerly the Saturday School of Modern Languages, offered an alternative for mother tongue maintenance where choices were limited.

English as a second language

There was a continuation of the pattern of wider community settlement of migrants and refugees during the mid-1980s, with attention drawn to students enrolling in schools when they only had minimal or interrupted schooling in their first language. Reasons for their disrupted schooling were varied (*Access to Literacy* 1988, p. v). In war-torn countries, schools closed and remained closed, while time spent in an overseas refugee camp often left students with little access to learning. On arrival in Australia, the need to find suitable accommodation often meant several moves and changes of school, adding to the disrupted nature of their learning. More schools were setting up their own initial English language learning programs, and making greater use of the language centres, although the change in Commonwealth policy of once-only per capita grants for the ESL On Arrivals Program meant that, even with additional state funding, all eligible students could not be included (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1985–86*, p. 95).

A special ESL Programs Committee was created in 1985 to oversee the allocation of ESL teachers to schools, and to establish appropriate ways for them to be used to provide proper accountability. After some years of uncertainty about the precise
numbers of ESL teaching positions, reliable figures were again available, and agreed formulae were worked out to make clear the allocations of teachers to schools.

By 1987–88 there was yet another new source of students arriving from western Africa, Somalia, Ethiopia and the Sudan. As with other new groups, special efforts were required to gather information about their language, cultural, educational and health backgrounds.

In 1987 the provision of ESL teachers in schools was held at the previous year’s level, at 667.5 equivalent full-time positions through the creation of resource agreements with the Commonwealth Government (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1986–87, p. 95). Those positions were assigned to 423 schools. In July 1988 an Executive Memorandum (no. 194) was issued to schools announcing that school-based teaching appointments could be made to schools with significant numbers of newly arrived ESL students who were permanent residents, within their first six months of date of arrival in Australia. These short-term appointments, additional to the school’s establishment, were made under the Commonwealth ESL Program New Arrivals Element, and were welcomed in schools receiving enrolments of eligible students. Clusters of schools could combine in applying, but the schools had to provide funds for materials. The teachers were appointed on an extended ‘emergency’ basis and were not all necessarily trained in ESL. These appointments were administered by the Statewide Multicultural Education Co-ordination Unit after the disbandment of MES at the end of 1987. In term 4 of 1988 the project resulted in 23 teachers being appointed to 47 schools to assist 364 newly arrived students. This ability to appoint teachers to cater for new arrivals as the need arose gave schools much needed flexibility, especially when the new arrivals were refugees.

Another ESL New Arrivals Program was established in Geelong in late 1988. Coordinated by the Geelong School Support Centre, it appointed five teachers and two ethnic teacher aides to travel between 15 locations, assisting more than 60 students (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1988–89, p. 37). This program built on an earlier one, in which two teachers at Geelong North High School had started a support program for ESL students. At the same time, work began on drawing up guidelines to explain to schools the purpose of the teacher allocations and to make suggestions for the best possible ESL programs. The trend for ESL teaching was now to move away from withdrawal or special tuition classes towards team teaching. Phrases such as ‘mainstreaming’ and ‘the whole-school approach’ began to be widely used as schools took up the responsibility for the education of ESL students in all the subject areas.

Meanwhile, the State Board of Education had signalled, following Ministerial Paper no. 6, the beginning of the preparation of the Curriculum Frameworks, which became its focus for several years. The Education Department had a number of official curriculum committees to which people were seconded from subject areas and the various teaching divisions. A Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) Committee was established in 1985,
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with Tony Ferguson, an experienced ESL teacher, seconded to it part time as Curriculum Programs Officer. His role was to support the committee by preparing agendas and papers for meetings and to produce minutes under the aegis of the English Curriculum Executive Officer. The work of the TESL Committee had centred on the writing of guidelines for schools, drawn up by a representative group of teachers from all divisions and from MES.

Two sets of guidelines were published and widely distributed by the Curriculum Branch of the Ministry of Education (Schools Division) in 1987. The first, *The Teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL): Guidelines for Primary and Post-primary Schools* was prepared by the TESL Committee of the English Language Centre. The second, *First Language and Second-Language Development: Guidelines for Primary and Post-primary Schools*, was prepared by the TESL Committee of the English Language Centre and published with assistance from MES. These guidelines were widely distributed and well used.

Through the Victorian Association for Multicultural Education (VAME), funds were applied for to provide a part-time position in TESL, similar to the Mathematics Association and the Victorian Association for the Teaching of English (VATE). The application was successful, and a position was made as Extension Education Officer attached to Curriculum Branch. The extension education officer was able to collaborate with consultants at the Languages and Multicultural Education Resources Centre (LMERC), established after the closure of MES at the end of 1987, in organising and running ESL professional development after other consultants had been devoted to the regions. In early 1989 the two TESL teacher associations amalgamated after co-existing for some years. The Victorian Association for the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (VATESOL), which had a membership of mostly adult migrant English teachers (with a few from schools), joined with the Victorian Association for Multicultural Education, to form the Victorian Association of TESOL and Multicultural Education (VATME).

**English language centres and intensive centres**

By 1984 clearer and broader criteria were established for admission to English language reception centres. Their name was changed to English language centres, and they now took in all new arrivals, not only refugees. Students eligible for funding in the New Arrivals Program (NAP) were those aged 5–18 years who had lived in Australia for less than six months, with a first language other than English and in need of instruction in English as a second language. The Commonwealth Schools Commission recommended a minimum of three months’ intensive tuition, which could frequently extend to six months. Extensions could be made for students with little or no schooling before arriving in Australia. By 1984 there were nine English Language Centres. Blackburn, Midway, Noble Park, and Victoria Park centres took primary and post-primary new arrivals; Maribyrnong (at Maribyrnong High School) took only post-primary new arrivals. Four post-primary intensive centres were located in Brunswick, Collingwood, Footscray and Kuranda.

Schools could refer students to an intensive centre if they would benefit from intensive instruction in English. Entry criteria were more flexible for intensive programs, with preference...
given to students due to leave an English language centre, but judged not yet ready for participation in secondary schooling. Occasionally, students who had been in Australia for several years were referred to the intensive centres by schools. Intensive centres were funded by the Victorian Government (Elley, October 1984, pp. 3–4), but most funding was spent on salaries and no money was allocated for capital works. Commonwealth Schools Commission guidelines specified the use of funds for employing teaching staff, support staff, providing teaching and learning materials, minor equipment, and assistance with some in-service activities.

A language centre for post-primary students was opened in September 1986 in a new building adjoining Broadmeadows High School. It provided four or five classes and was associated with a separate adult centre. It was carpeted and had pleasant surroundings, unlike so many language centres that had functioned in less than adequate teaching spaces in the early days. In the same month, Footscray Language Centre moved to improved accommodation at Tottenham Technical School after operating at various addresses (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1986–87, p. 95).

The intensive ESL classes established at Myer House in mid-1975 (see Chapter 2) had relocated to 184 Victoria Street Brunswick in February 1983, to a small 1930s brick villa, which was more like a small house than a group of classrooms. New centres were proposed when demand that was likely to persist arose in a new area, and when funds and buildings were available.

One experienced former language centre teacher writes of the problems of these early years, including ‘unclear funding, the employment of unqualified teachers and, most particularly, lack of a career structure which meant there was no security of employment’. Those problems spurred the creation of a strong union branch, which often held meetings at a nearby hotel for discussions, being joined by union members from other centres all over Melbourne. It was not until the beginning of 1984 that positions were made available for a teacher-in-charge at centres. This was also the year the teachers in language centres were able to apply for permanent employment within the Education Department. In mid-1985 an agreement on conditions and staffing in language centres was established between the Education Department of Victoria and the Teachers’ Federation of Victoria (TFV). It had been negotiated through 1984–85 and created more consistent arrangements for language centres’ administration, as well as better staffing conditions for teachers. It also formalised central monthly meetings for the language centre curriculum committee representatives from each centre. Curriculum development was a high priority for all who were involved in teaching in these centres (Agreement Between Education Department and TFV, February, 1985).

Steps towards school status for language centres

The supervisor of CMES was nominally the principal of all the language centres, with a deputy supervisor and a consultant organiser responsible for the organisational and administrative details of their operation, including funding, financial reports, staffing and statistical returns. Language centres existed in an uncertain legal situation. Without a school council, they were prevented from having a bank account. Language centres only received the Education Allowance for students living in hostels, but no funding for students already enrolled at a referring school. Moreover, they were ineligible for supplementary funds from other sources, such as the Disadvantaged Schools Program, since they did not have school status. Centres had no regular funding for extracurricular activities, such as excursions or camps, which parents were often unable to pay for. They were also dependent upon departmental regional support for building maintenance, which was at times hard to obtain for fluctuating numbers of students. Centres had difficulty in raising extra money. It was felt that the centres’ existence might be short-lived, as they depended fully on immigration policy and numbers.
In 1982 a Ministerial Working Party on language centres reported that they should become annexes of host mainstream schools. At the end of that year, a ministerial press release indicated endorsement for the report. As a result, 10 positions were advertised for teachers-in-charge, an upgrade from their acting positions in November 1983. Two years later, in 1985, a Steering Committee on Language Centres was established, which recommended the creation of five regional language centre schools. However, the move towards school status stalled. A Working Party on Language Centre Status was formed early in 1986 and, by the end of 1987, it recommended school status for Prep to Year 12 (P–12) language centres, and annexation to host schools for the remaining language centres. Its final report was sent to the Minister for ratification, and school status was ultimately achieved for three language centres at the beginning of 1989, after what had been a long campaign.

An Implementation Plan for each English language school and centre was signed and issued in December 1988, making detailed arrangements for their formal establishment and ordered functioning. Changing circumstances in several centres meant that it was also necessary to provide for review on many points. The result was the creation of three stand-alone P–12 English language schools in Blackburn, Collingwood and Noble Park, with English language centres annexed to existing schools in Kuranda, Broadmeadows, Maribyrnong, Tottenham, Footscray and Brunswick. Special arrangements were made for Midway English Language Centre because the hostel it had served was closed in 1988. Its primary students moved to various primary schools, while the secondary students went temporarily to Flemington High School. Schools and centres received a welcome establishment grant of $5000 each.

**Formative months for school status**

During the first few months of stand-alone school status the three new English language schools were busy setting up their own school councils. Once that was done, the schools could have their own bank accounts. A new feeling of independence in financial matters was felt by staff who, over many years, had become accustomed to having little direct control over the equipment and books purchased.

Developing a cohesive approach was a challenge for staff at one English language school (ELS) spread over three sites, as they had to travel between them. However, it had managed several years before to develop an innovative school exchange program with two country high schools, and with a country primary school for younger students. Another ELS, in poor physical condition, was supported by its regional managers with a grant of $3500 worth of cleaning one weekend, which transformed its internal environment. The third school was on a site containing only portable classrooms plus one old Bristol building, with very little space around it and no grass. There was an area of asphalt, but nowhere for the children to go on a rainy day except for their portable classrooms. The historical notes of all schools and centres contain evidence of many worthwhile results achieved with limited resources and in sometimes isolated surroundings. The three schools gained impetus from their school councils to build on the past and to consolidate for the future. For some, this was to mean relocation. Their insecure pasts began to give way to more lasting futures.

**Statistical information**

In July 1987, 1988 and 1989 the Statistics and Research Section of School Programs Branch and Regional Officers of the Ministry of Education, in conjunction with Multicultural Education Services, and then the Statewide Multicultural Education Co-ordination Unit, conducted censuses of all government schools in Victoria to gather base data on students from non-English speaking backgrounds. Valuable information was produced for planning and for the allocation of resources (*NESB Census 1987–1989*, March 1990). Almost 25 per cent of all government school students spoke a
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Language other than English at home. Ninety per cent of these students were concentrated in the metropolitan regions. Patterns could be seen in student settlement and dispersal, and the census was repeated annually. The data could also be used for Commonwealth and Victorian government accountability purposes, and to assist with more appropriate distribution of resources, including ESL teachers. In addition, language teachers and ethnic teacher aides could be more readily matched to appropriate areas.

Other multicultural activities

In 1986 MES published a set of standard school notices in 20 languages to welcome people to schools and to help them find their way around, which was launched by the Minister for Education. In that year, MES jointly published with the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs a comprehensive collection of curriculum materials entitled *Australia's People*, which was displayed around Victoria, and gave rise to associated in-service activities by MES, regional consultants and schools (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1986–87*, p. 95). A bibliography entitled *Parents and Schools* was also produced and distributed to help with parent participation in schools.

An Ethnic Schools Resource Centre was established to provide support and materials to the out-of-hours ethnic schools in 1987. Support continued to be given to ethnic teacher aides, whose numbers had increased to 154.5 by 1987 (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1986–87*, p. 95). Their contribution to teaching programs and to student welfare and school–parent liaison was invaluable.

In addition, there were increasing demands for the services of the Education Interpreter Service as the needs continued to diversify. By 1987–88 there were 33 full-time and sessional interpreters based in 13 locations covering 22 languages (*Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1987–88*, p. 191). The range of languages offered had increased to 32 by 1989.

Infrastructure support for ESL

A decision was made in 1989 to separate policy and operations in ESL, LOTE and Multicultural Education by creating the Statewide Multicultural Education Co-ordination Unit (SMECU), which was set up in a former primary school in Highett Street Richmond, under the auspices of the Western Metropolitan Region. It had a coordinator for each of ESL, Data and Statistics, and LOTE, but sat rather uneasily between the policy functions of the central location at School Programs Division and operations and consultants all located at school support centres in various regions. That arrangement lasted through 1989 and 1990 (Arkoudis, *The ESL Handbook*, 1990). Its role was to coordinate services to schools through regions and school support centres, and for allocations and accountability. It organised professional development programs for ESL, LOTE and multicultural education. The interpreting and translation services of the Department, projects for the National Policy on Languages, and the Ethnic Schools Resource Centre were also to be administered by the unit. A Multicultural Education Resource Centre was set up at the unit in 1989, developing into a most valuable service. In 1991 it amalgamated with the Ethnic Schools Resource Centre, still at the Richmond site. It was renamed the Languages and Multicultural Education Resources Centre (LMERC) the next year. After several years in Church Street Richmond, it moved to Palmerston Street Carlton in 2001, where it remains. In 1991 ESL, LOTE and multicultural education operational functions returned to School Programs Division.

Ministry of Education restructure

At the end of 1987 Multicultural Education Services was disbanded, as was MACMME, as part of a restructure of the Ministry. The operational functions of MES, such as consultancy, professional development and resource allocation, became the
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responsibility of school support centres in the regions. Policy functions of MES and MACMME were vested in the Social Justice Section of the new School Programs Branch (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1987–88, p. 88), set up in the Rialto in Collins Street Melbourne when it became the Victorian Education Department’s head office.

The Languages Action Plan had advocated an increase in ESL teaching positions in primary and post-primary schools, and in consultancy and special project provision. There was concern about the needs of particular groups, such as pre-literate adolescents and younger students. It was argued that the relocation of ESL policy officers would lead to their interaction:

more directly with mainstream English and other curriculum officers. This interaction should be conducive to bringing about a system-wide, whole school approach to ESL. This approach is now further supported by professional development activities aimed at achieving a ‘whole-school’ responsibility for attending to students’ English language learning needs, funded under a Commonwealth Resource Agreement on ESL (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1987–88, p. 81).

By 1989 there were 26 consultants in ESL and LOTE in school support centres, with nine vacant positions remaining to be filled.

Teaching materials and curriculum

So much resource support was available for the publication of teaching materials and the development of curriculum between 1984 and 1989 that it is only possible to mention some of it here. The Language Teaching Branch in Canberra published a Resource Book in 1984, a collection of ideas and materials for teachers of second-phase learners of ESL in primary and post-primary schools. Distributed free, it contained information about a selection of materials developed in various states/territories and descriptions of the earlier Origin history series and an index for Transit. The Language Teaching Branch gave way to the Curriculum Development Centre, which in 1988 released Access to Literacy, compiled and edited by Katharine Hoy, who was seconded from MES to the Department of Education to work on its production. The book was designed to assist the many adolescent students with extensive interruptions to their education prior to arriving in Australia, through war or after periods overseas in refugee camps. Some of these students were not literate or only semi-literate in their first language because of lack of opportunity to attend a school. Post-primary teachers were in need of help to teach these students basic literacy skills, and the book was a great asset to both ESL and subject teachers with this ‘small but significant group of students’ (1988, p. v).

In 1984 the Ecumenical Migration Centre and the Richmond Community Education Centre initiated a publication to tackle the problem of racism in schools. Combating Prejudice in Schools – An In-Service Guide for Schools and Teacher Training Institutions was written and compiled by Kathy Skelton and Gillian Kerr and funded by MACMME in 1984 and 1985, and by the Commonwealth Schools Commission Projects of National Significance from late 1985 to 1987. It was republished by the Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra in 1989. Its target audience was providers of in-service education or teacher development programs in tertiary institutions, at regional and central locations, or in schools wishing to encourage understanding and change. In a later article, Skelton wrote of three essential sets of characteristics she thought were required to combat racism: an open school atmosphere, staff cohesion and sense of purpose; teachers actively working together in the practice of their teaching; combined with curriculum leadership from the administration (1993, p. 19).

A series of three books on the topic approach by Bill Cleland and Ruth Evans was published in 1984, 1985, 1988 by Longman Cheshire in Melbourne. Materials were scarce for secondary students in science and the humanities in the middle and upper years, where specialist language was required, as was interpretation of non-verbal
materials, such as graphs, maps, diagrams and statistics. They showed that the topic approach provided a meaningful context for the development of English language skills. They also showed that working with topics drawn from the school curriculum resulted in rapid acquisition of English and increased motivation. The topics were organised systematically in four main stages, and were able to be adapted where required. Stage 1 involved visual presentation; stage 2 building a reading passage; stage 3 analysing and extending the reading passage; while in stage 4 students created a text by writing a draft, correcting it and then completing it. Two video-tape programs of the approach, entitled *Teaching Language in Context: The Topic Approach to ESL*, were produced by the Ministry of Education and La Trobe University in 1989 and used in teacher training.

The approach seemed to be most useful in intensive-teaching settings where it was developed, since working through a topic of such length required long blocks of teaching time, sometimes limited by curriculum and timetable pressures in schools. Teachers were accustomed to developing their own topics, so that those who were aware of the approach were influenced by exposure to the practitioners, books and videotapes to use those insights of value to them.

The *Curriculum Frameworks* P–10 project, which arose from Ministerial Paper Number 6 (on curriculum), had as its goal the publication of draft discussion documents by June 1987. Ten were completed, including English and LOTE. An ESL document, *Teaching English as a Second Language* was produced in 1988, as *Support material for the English Language Framework*. This sent a strong signal about the importance of ESL teaching. In particular its description of ESL student ‘types’, was especially helpful for teachers as they worked out the educational needs of a range of ESL students. The final documents were distributed to schools, regional offices and school support centres in 1988.

A new edition of *English is Their Right* (Aird & Lippmann 1983) was published in 1986. Other publications from earlier years that still suited teachers’ requirements were reprinted. Primary school examples included *Literacy for ESL Students* and *A Day at School* (a product of a materials development workshop). The bookshop TESL Books carried an ever-increasing stock of specialist books for primary and secondary teachers and students, and school budgets generally allowed for purchasing some resources. Teachers had a good choice of reference books as the range increased, but much of it was developed for countries overseas, or for the Teaching English as a foreign language market. Although much of it was adaptable to the Australian context, there was still a shortage of materials speaking directly to teachers here about their own students and linking clearly and comprehensively with mainstream curriculum materials.

**Teacher training**

The National Conference on Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), convened in Canberra in 1983 by the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs, was followed in June 1984 by a second National Follow-Up Conference On TESOL Teacher Education in Australia, also held in Canberra. The first conference was largely concerned with fact-finding and information exchange.
Lessons learned among those from each state/territory in Australia with an interest in TESOL from all educational sectors. It was clear from this that there was enormous variation in content and practice. The second conference focused on the content of teacher training programs for both specialist ESL teachers throughout Australia and for all teachers, considering ways in which the existing situation in TESOL training could be improved. It was a larger and longer conference, with a spread of participants from more states/territories and sectors. Although it was directed at TESOL, many of its recommendations and deliberations applied equally to bilingual and community language areas (Denham 1985, pp. 39–40). Papers presented dealt with course content; what TESOL teachers should know; appropriate content for teacher education; and developing a policy on TESOL training for generalist teachers in Australia (Conference Report, June 1984).

The recommendations of the national conference in 1984 had been quite widely disseminated through an elected spokesperson who visited education authorities, tertiary institutions and other relevant organisations in Victoria to discuss the findings. Almost one year later, in May 1985, Child Migrant Education Services sponsored a state conference on teacher education for ESL, Community Languages and Bilingual Education, which was hosted by La Trobe University and funded by the Victorian In-Service Education Committee (VISEC). It was the first teacher education conference to include the teaching of languages other than English as well as ESL.

More than 100 participants attended, a very representative group, almost all from Victoria, from all sectors of education: school, tertiary, public, private, subject and ethnic associations, and adult and pre-school. Papers were presented on Community Language teaching; on basic issues in teacher education for a multilingual society; and the implications of bilingual education for teacher education. The many recommendations urged an upgrading of content and the lengthening of training courses, and some compulsory cultural awareness component for all teachers, as well as provision for higher degree study for teacher educators themselves, and the setting of some minimum qualifications. A follow-up working party was charged with disseminating the recommendations, and appointed two spokespersons, one in Community Languages and one in TESOL, to promote the work of the conference and discuss possible implementation.

In March 1988 the Commonwealth Department of Education sponsored a Third National TESOL Teacher Training Conference in Adelaide. It provided an update and overview of professional development in ESL throughout Australia, including how the states/territories were using their Resource Agreement money, and other developments.

Resource agreements

In Victoria, in 1988, the Department’s School Programs Branch received funding to run in-service programs under Commonwealth Resource Agreements. Participating schools in the ESL resource agreement project were asked to identify and develop ways for ensuring that ESL needs were taken up as the responsibility of the whole school (Victorian Education Department Report 1988–89, p. 37). Schools with significant numbers of non-English speaking background students were identified in each region through their regional School Support Centres, and they were invited through expressions of interest to take part in a four-day in-service program spread over three months. Teachers were encouraged to apply as school teams, with administrative or coordinating staff and teachers from other subject areas to work with ESL teachers. One-hundred-and-five participants from metropolitan and two country regions took part, and expressed very positive responses afterwards. This was their first opportunity to identify successes and issues with colleagues from other groups within their schools, and work on them without day-to-day pressures. Schools were able to produce appropriate solutions and new ideas, as their evaluations showed. One of the key factors in the success of the program was the provision of replacement staff as part of the concept. Part of the follow-up included an appraisal group to
consider what ideas and materials should be reproduced, and these were disseminated through the government printer to participants and to school support centres, where teachers could go and copy them for their own use.

In-service programs continued to be offered for ESL, community languages and bilingual education, through School Support Centres and SMECU. The program *Two Languages are Better than One* dealt with bilingual education and pointed out the need for substantial community support to establish a successful bilingual program, followed by information to encourage discussion and community involvement. It also covered bilingual program types, organisational models, appropriate languages, evaluation and available resources.

Commonwealth government context

The Commonwealth Government introduced the National Equity Program for Schools (NEPS) in 1993, comprising two funding components for ESL students: ESL New Arrivals and ESL General Support. The program secured funding to states and territories to assist with the additional needs of newly arrived students who were new to English, and for ongoing ESL support for those beyond the new arrival stage. In 1997 the General Support component of ESL became part of funding provided under a new literacy program. Included in the total funding was a component based on the existing formula for ESL general support, but not separately identified.

The establishment of NEPS aimed to rationalise the provision of resources to schools over and above that provided through Recurrent Grants and Capital Grants, which had been continuous for many years. Commonwealth reviews and revisions of special purpose programs had been conducted to improve the use of resources and produce better student outcomes. Victoria therefore received two sources of ESL funding from the Commonwealth Government during this period. ESL New Arrivals funding was based on data collected twice a year on dates determined by the Commonwealth with a per capita amount payable for newly arrived students who met the Commonwealth eligibility criteria. In addition, funding generated by the state’s ‘language background other than English’ profile, established and adjusted after each census, was also provided.

The lack of nationally agreed definitions of ESL and NESB students resulted in 1995 in the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training funding a project entitled Definition of Non-English Speaking Background. It aimed to develop an agreed national definition or definitions of non-English-speaking background students that would:

- be acceptable to educational authorities in all states and territories
- be appropriate for the range of purposes in schools and school systems across Australia
- enable the collection and reporting of nationally consistent data on the performance of students from both English-speaking and non-English-speaking backgrounds

It was undertaken by the Victorian Directorate of School Education as a sample study for the 1994 annual National Report on Schooling in Australia. After consideration, discussion and consultation, three levels of definition were identified (p. 29). As national benchmarking for a whole range of educational initiatives became more widespread, the lack of common and workable definitions for ESL or language background other than English students hampered efforts to report nationally in a meaningful way on this student cohort. Each state and territory had developed slightly differing definitions to suit different purposes, such as for funding or reporting on student progress.

The Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training issued an annual publication called Commonwealth Programs for Schools: Administrative Guidelines in the period 1989–96, which clearly stated ESL objectives as being to improve the educational opportunities, outcomes and participation in Australian society of ESL students, by
developing their English language competence and facilitating their participation in mainstream educational activities.

Agreements between the Commonwealth and the states/territories meant that those who used them had definite information on which to base their activities and commitments. The purposes for which the funds were made available were listed in detail, although the financial aspects were mostly dealt with centrally by the state authority until, in Victoria’s case, the advent of school global budgets in the mid-1990s. During 1990–2006, the basic formula for determining the allocations of resources remained much the same. The new arrivals element continued as a separate funding allocation based on the number of eligible new students enrolling in schools each year. The ESL General Support element was not as clearly defined as previously, as it was linked to a broader literacy category. A formula was applied to national census data to determine the amount of funding available for each sector. It included an index of relative socioeconomic disadvantage, phased in to take account of the demise of the longstanding Disadvantaged Schools Program portion of funds, while the ESL mechanism was applied to the former ESL General Support Program portion of funds (Commonwealth Programs for Schools 1997–2000, App.2.3.A, p. 58).

In 1997 the ESL General Support and the Disadvantaged Schools Programs were no longer identified separately, but were absorbed into the single literacy program.

**Commonwealth curriculum initiatives**

In 1988 the Australian Language Levels (ALL) Guidelines was published. It comprised four titles: Language Learning in Australia; Syllabus Development and Programming; Method, Resources and Assessment; Evaluation, Curriculum Renewal, and Teacher Development. (ALL Guidelines CDC Canberra). It gave important insight into planning for and teaching all languages learners, including ESL students. *Pocket ALL: A User’s Guide to the Teaching of Languages and ESL* followed in 1991, published by the Curriculum Corporation. It included a foreword by then Prime Minister Robert Hawke, in which he described it as ‘one of the most important examples of national collaborative curriculum development’ (p. 3).

This innovative framework was followed in 1991 by the publication by the Curriculum Corporation of the *ESL Framework of Stages: An Approach to ESL Learning in Schools, K–12* (McKay & Scarino) It provided all teachers with a framework to help them better understand the complexity of the ESL student cohort, and to develop teaching programs and monitoring tools no matter what the students’ English language learning starting points. By showing how students might progress through the key stages until reaching a transition point with mainstream assessment, the *ESL Framework of Stages* gave teachers a better understanding of the pathways their ESL learners were following. It also gave ESL teachers for the first time a shared language for talking about their students’ proficiency in English. Until then, teachers had talked about their ESL learners as ‘beginning’, ‘intermediate’ and ‘advanced’, or as ‘first phase’ or ‘second phase’ learners, but without being sure if their assessments matched the assessments of other teachers.

The *ESL Bandscales*, were developed in the early 1990s. They were developed by the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA) to provide descriptions of proficiency in ESL. In 1994 the *ESL Scales* were published as part of the *National Profiles and Statements* project, based on both the *Victorian ESL Scales* (1993, unpublished), and the *ESL Bandscales*. The national project, covering the eight broad learning areas of the arts, health and physical education, mathematics, studies of society and environment, English, languages other than English, science and technology, had been published over the previous few years, by the Curriculum Corporation. The *ESL Scales* took an ‘outcomes based’ approach to assessing ESL learning. The publication of the *ESL Scales* filled what many had seen as a gap in the *National Profiles and Statements* project. The ESL Scales had a two-fold purpose: to improve ESL teaching and learning, and to provide a framework for reporting ESL
student achievement. It became the basis of many state-based ESL curriculum and assessment materials, including work done in Victoria.

**Immigration policy**

In addition to the migration stream, the refugee and humanitarian programs continued through 1990–2006. Students in need arrived from a variety of countries according to often rapidly changing world events. Source countries included the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea), other parts of Africa (Sierra Leone, Burundi and Sudan), Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and East Timor.

The refugees had fled their homes through persecution and were living in a transit country, sometimes in refugee camps, and required resettlement. They were usually referred by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Special humanitarian visas were granted to those who were in refugee-like situations, but they needed sponsorship from people already in Australia.

The decision by the Commonwealth Government in 1999 to create safe havens on a short-term basis for refugees resulting from turmoil in Kosovo and then from East Timor was a new approach to supporting the UNHCR. The Victorian response to the education of school-aged students in the Victorian safe havens will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Victoria’s response**

In accord with the Commonwealth policies, the state/territory educational authorities continued their efforts to increase educational opportunities for ESL students to improve their participation in Australian society, and to measure the outcomes produced from the provision of growing resources.

**Funding arrangements**

A Victorian Equity Program was established to develop an education resources index, to be quite separate from the National Equity Program previously discussed. Its aim was to link a funding formula for schools to their level of disadvantage. Provision for new arrival students was now in the hands of the English language schools and centres, and mainstream primary schools received additional teachers as part of their special needs allocation.

**Schools of the Future**

A change of government at the 1992 state election from Labor to Liberal resulted in significant changes to education, particularly to the way in which school funding was provided. Funding for some ‘special needs’ programs was reduced, including ESL funding to schools.

The vision for the future of schooling in government schools in Victoria was embodied in the ‘Schools of the Future’ initiative introduced at the end of 1992. Its aim was to improve educational outcomes achieved by locating responsibility, authority and accountability at the school level within the guidelines provided by the Department.

Schools were to be provided with a ‘global budget’, covering salaries, operating costs and the costs of works and maintenance. They would have the freedom to select staff according to their needs and priorities. This required the production of a school charter involving planning for school improvement and accountability for school performance (Bill Griffiths, *Principal Matters*, September 1993).
School Global Budget

The School Global Budget in Victoria: Final Report, Education Committee Research Project was published in 1996. The research project’s aim was to consider the best way to match funding to student learning needs. In its second stage its task was to undertake a review of funding for students from language backgrounds other than English (formerly called students from non-English-speaking backgrounds) and to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the 1996 School Global Budget. Students with special learning needs constituted the non-core part, and included ESL students.

The Ministers for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs had proposed that the term non-English speaking background (NESB) would be replaced by the term language background other than English (LBOTE). The new definition was that either the student, or one parent was born in a non-English speaking country, and it was used in Victoria within the Victorian education system.

English language schools and centres

Like other schools, English language schools received a School Global Budget, but it was based on a target enrolment rather than an actual enrolment. English language centres were annexed to host schools and received a discrete budget as a component of the host school’s global budget (School Global Budget Report, p. 4). A resource agreement between the centre and the host school was developed and provided the guidelines for their joint operation (pp. 86–9).

ESL Index funding

The annual Language Background Other Than English Census continued to provide information on the linguistic and cultural diversity of each school. Funding for ESL support was allocated on a formula based on the length of time students from language backgrounds other than English had been enrolled in a school in Australia and their year level.

The use of an integrated index to replace separate indexes for primary and secondary students was introduced in 1995.

The ESL index arrangements meant that students could only be enrolled and funded in one location. Students could no longer be enrolled both in a mainstream school and an English language school or centre for an intensive program.

Structural developments

The Department of Education’s restructuring continued. The LOTE, ESL and multicultural education areas joined to become one branch of the School Programs Division in 1994, in recognition of the links between them and their importance. The ESL section of the branch had overall responsibility for all aspects of new arrival and post-new arrival provision. In the same year, a Statewide ESL Planning Group was established as a forum for discussion and planning for ESL across all schools, enabling regions and the central office to work together in the interests of ESL learners.

A Joint Education Systems and Tertiary Institutions ESL forum (JESTIESL) was established in 1990 and provided the opportunity to discuss ESL issues among representatives of all sectors of education and representatives from the Deans of Education at all Victorian universities (Department of Education Annual Report 1995–96, p. 81). This forum continues today and has played a major role in establishing strong links between the educational jurisdictions and those directly involved in ESL teacher training.

The New Arrivals Program Principals and Coordinators Organisation (NAPPCO) was also an important forum for discussion and policy implementation concerning the New Arrivals Program.

Lessons learned
Provision for new arrivals

This was a period marked by innovation as the traditional program and approaches to catering for newly arrived students broadened to meet the needs of students not readily able to access a school or centre. It brought greater stability around the governance of English language schools and centres, which continued to be the backbone of the new arrivals program. Changes were introduced in response to shifting settlement patterns and to program delivery to broaden access to an intensive program to students who could not access the English language schools and centres.

English language schools and centres provided newly arrived students with a firm beginning in learning English. Most students undertook an intensive program of usually two terms, but a program of up to four terms was available to those who had had little or no schooling before coming to Australia. Numbers of students attending these sites fluctuated during this period, reflecting changing immigration numbers and settlement patterns. In 1997 English language schools and centres had 377 primary students and 884 secondary students enrolled (The ESL Report, 1997, p. 22). By 2006, 614 primary students were enrolled in English Language Schools and Centres with an additional 386 receiving an outpost program, and 1106 secondary students were enrolled in secondary English language schools or centres. (The ESL Report 2006 p 16-18)

Western English Language School

In 2000 Western English Language School (WELS) came into being. It is a P to 10 school, created by an amalgamation of several English language centres which had been operating at sites in the Western suburbs of Melbourne – Tottenham, Maribyrnong, Flemington, Footscray, and Debney Meadows. The establishment of WELS meant each metropolitan region had a P–10 English language school.

Other changes

Other changes during this period included the relocation of Prahran English Language Centre to Glen Eira Secondary College in 1997, changing its name to Glen Eira English Language Centre. In 1999 Flemington English Language Centre merged with Maribyrnong English Language Centre, but in 2000 became part of WELS.

During this period, in addition to the three P–10 schools, Broadmeadows English Language Centre and Brunswick English Language Centre continued to provide new arrival programs for secondary students in the Northern Metropolitan Region, and Westall English Language Centre and Springvale English Language Centre provided programs to secondary and primary students in Southern Metropolitan Region respectively.

The Geelong English language program was originally run by Geelong school support centre. It was based on a visiting teacher model, given the geographical distances between schools and the relatively small number of new arrival enrolments in the Geelong area. In 1993 it became an annex of Bell Park North Primary School.

As newly arrived families moved to rural and regional Victoria, a more coordinated approach to support was required for other areas as well. In Shepparton, new arrivals program funding commenced in 1997. It was provided to a banker school to be distributed according to need across those schools with newly arrived students. Funding was subsequently provided to schools in Mildura and Warrnambool to enable them to consolidate new arrivals provision in response to growing student numbers. Some schools in rural areas received ESL index funding in their own right. Where schools did not meet the threshold for eligibility in their own right, their data was aggregated with other schools in the same geographical area, and they were funded as clusters.
Extensions of the New Arrivals Program provision

**Primary Outposting Program**

Difficulties of transport and personal safety prevented some young primary students from travelling long distances from the school where they were enrolled to English language schools and centres.

An outposting program for these students was piloted in Term 4, 1993, and continued in 1994. It involved the assignment of primary teachers from an English language school or centre to a mainstream primary school, or cluster of nearby schools, to offer an intensive new arrivals program to eligible students in their host school. The new arrivals support was provided for up to four days per week, and students participated in classes at the school in which they were enrolled during the rest of the week. As many as 361 eligible students in 16 schools received this assistance in its first year, 1995 (The ESL Report 1995, p. 17).

Despite some initial concerns about the impact on the existing provision in the English language schools and centres, the outposting program developed into an integral part of new arrivals programs in Victoria, with about 20 locations funded each year. In addition, a new form of provision, the visiting outpost program, was started to reach primary-aged new arrivals who were unable to travel to an outpost. Primary teachers from each English language school visited primary schools in a manageable geographical area where new arrivals had enrolled, dividing their time between the schools. In 2002, 151 students in 80 schools received help through this program (The ESL Report 2002, p. 13). In 2006, 460 primary newly arrived students (9.2 per cent of total primary new arrivals) received an intensive ESL program through outposting in a total of 29 locations. In addition, 368 primary newly arrived students (7.3 per cent of total primary new arrivals) received a visiting outposting program in a total of 96 locations (The ESL Report 2006, p. 18).

**Outreach coordinator positions**

In mid-2002 yet another extension of service was made, due to changing settlement patterns. More and more newly arrived students were enrolling in schools not accustomed to catering for them. Each of the four English language schools appointed an outreach services coordinator to provide outreach services to schools within their region. Their role was to assist in the assessment of English language learning needs; recommend the most suitable New Arrivals Program; provide information to schools and parents about the New Arrivals Program; and ensure that schools were aware of all available options to support the students. Where students were not able to take part in an outpost or visiting outpost program, the outreach officers provided support to classroom teachers to develop a suitable program for them in their school. Outreach officers also provided schools with some ESL teaching resources; put schools in touch with professional development opportunities; and made sure that they were aware of the Languages and Multicultural Education Resource Centre (LMERC) and interpreting and translating services. By the end of 2002, 262 students had been assessed by coordinators and, of those, 167 were enrolled in English language schools or centres, or involved in outposting programs, visiting outposting or isolated student programs. The remaining 95 students received support in the school in which they were enrolled (The ESL Report 2002, pp. 15–16). The number of students assessed in this way increased to 368 in 2003 (The ESL Report 2003, p. 17). By 2006 a total of 506 students were assessed in their schools by outreach services coordinators (The ESL Report 2006, p. 19).

**Isolated ESL Student Program**

Newly arrived students were not only settling in the more outlying areas of the metropolitan regions, but increasingly in rural regions. The Isolated ESL Student Support Program was set up for schools in non-metropolitan regions in 2002, with funding sent directly to these schools for a teacher to run a program within the school.
Lessons learned

Consolidated policy and practice 1990–2006

Rural school principals and teachers enrolling new arrivals for the first time often commented on how rewarding the program had been. A New Arrivals Kit, consisting of ESL teaching resources and materials, had also been available to these schools since 1997. In 1997 kits were distributed to 35 primary schools for 80 students, and eight secondary colleges for 19 students. These kits were an instant success with schools eager to have appropriate resources. In 2006 approximately 70 kits were made available to schools. (The ESL Report 2006, p. 21) The Isolated program continued to grow and, in 2006, it catered for 113 students.

Provision for post-new arrival ESL students in schools

Schools with significant numbers of ESL students continued to receive additional funding to provide ongoing programs following students participation in the new arrivals program. The level of funding and the support provided depended upon a school’s population and its particular needs. Funding was largely weighted towards recent arrivals in secondary schools, on the assumption that the language demands of these students, particularly those in upper secondary classrooms, was greater than those of ESL students generally. These students also had less time to become sufficiently proficient in English to satisfactorily complete their secondary schooling.

Until 2005 ESL students were funded for up to seven years after the time of enrolment in a school, in line with research on the length of time it takes to become proficient in a second language. Funding eligibility was reduced to five years in 2006, following a review of the weightings and levels to better reflect the needs of recently arrived primary students. A weighting was applied to support ESL students with additional learning needs, based on the Student Family Occupation measure. This saw additional ESL funds going to many schools. ESL contingency funding was also made available to schools whose ESL student enrolments increased after their initial funding was calculated.

The ESL Survey

Those schools receiving ESL index funding or ESL contingency funding completed an ESL survey to monitor the provision of ESL programs in schools. Schools provided information on staffing, including qualifications, programs and students. The surveys indicated that schools employed a range of strategies to support ESL learners, ranging from joint planning with classroom teachers to parallel withdrawal classes. The importance of continuing to provide a structured ESL program, while ensuring students could continue with their academic development in all subject areas, was a key consideration in program delivery in many schools.

ESL reports

An annual report on ESL programs has been published for many years, and since 1997, they have been available on the ESL website, at www.education.vic.gov.au/studentlearning/programs/esl/resources/onlineeslreports. The reports provide summaries of student data, program delivery and new initiatives. The annual ESL report also shows which schools receive funding for ESL programs and multicultural education aides; how long students had been in Australia; their main language backgrounds; and how many primary and secondary ESL teachers were qualified in ESL, are currently studying, or were unqualified.

Provision for refugees

The refugee and humanitarian component of Australia’s immigration policy resulted in schools enrolling students whose families had been forced to leave their countries of origin. In the last 21-year period covered by this history (1985–2006), the needs of many refugee students placed considerable pressure on schools and the system, as they sometimes struggled to meet the welfare and educational needs of students whose backgrounds and experiences were so tragically different to those arriving as migrants. Part of the response from the Department of Education was to broaden whole-school understanding and awareness of refugee and humanitarian entrants.
The celebration of refugee week, along with a close association with AUSTCARE, resulted in a number of activities being available, which helped all involved in the education of these students to understand what they had been through, and the likely effects of this on their education. Activities also assisted mainstream students to understand the refugee experiences of fellow students.

Two videos were developed by the ESL Unit that provided information for schools and teachers on refugees to ensure that the best available assistance was given to them. *Not a Matter of Choice*, published by the Department of Education and Training in 2000, had associated support materials to assist teachers and facilitators to provide professional development. *Moving in New Directions* (2003) suggested literacy strategies for ESL learners with disrupted schooling.

The Commonwealth Government provided a framework for the settlement needs of refugee and humanitarian entrants, and the Immigration Department convened the Victorian Settlement Planning Committee (VSPC), which provided a forum for all state/territory and Commonwealth government departments to share information and undertake initiatives to support the settlement of migrants and refugees and humanitarian entrants. An Integrated Settlement Plan was developed for Victoria to guide the work of government departments and encourage a coordinated response. The Department of Education and Training was well represented on a number of committees, and contributed to information for publications such as the *Welcome to Victoria Kit* and *Understanding the Victorian Education System*. Both were made available in a number of languages. The Department also contributed to working parties identified in the Integrated Settlement Plan, such as those addressing pathways for older recently arrived adolescents and the provision of language services.

Closer links were fostered with the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture (VFST), including provision of training for teachers and other educational personnel. The ESL unit was represented on committees and participated in the development of resources.

The enrolment of students on bridging visas created some initial difficulties. These students were not funded for a new arrivals program by the Commonwealth Government, as their applications for refugee status could be refused and the families sent home. After some negotiation, students on bridging visas seeking asylum were able to join existing ESL new arrivals programs, and those who had disrupted schooling in their home countries or in refugee camps had access to special literacy classes. Students on some temporary visas could also join an intensive program if they were eligible to enrol in government schools (*The ESL Report 2002*, p. 9).

Through the 1990s, many refugees arrived from Iraq, the Former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Sudan and Somalia. The Somalis had endured war between clans, complicated by other insurgent forces, and followed by anarchy. There was no alternative to life in a refugee camp for many of them. Australia accepted 3000 Somalis in 1996. In 2003 Sudanese refugee numbers had increased, with Victoria taking 400 students from the Sudan who were suffering deprivation and persecution (*The ESL Report 2003*). The educational needs of many of these students, due to their lack of previous formal schooling, or significantly interrupted schooling, required teachers to think differently about the programs they offered. The need to provide early literacy teaching to older students was a particular issue for many secondary schools. Although these students could stay at an English language school for up to 12 months, this was, of course, not long enough to make up for years of missed schooling. Many students were still at early stages of literacy development when they enrolled in mainstream schools. Many of these schools began to run special literacy classes to help these students to make the transition to mainstream classes.

In addition to those arriving as refugees, visas were granted to people in refugee-like situations under the Special Humanitarian Program, often family members who wanted to join those already in Australia. They usually needed somebody already in
Australia to help pay for their travel. Australia also had a ‘Woman at Risk Program’ for women and girls who were in danger without the protection of a male relative.

Safe havens

In 1999 the Australian Government responded to two international crises, in Kosovo and in Timor, by creating temporary safe havens for 5850 people requiring humanitarian relief. Of the 4000 Kosovo Albanians displaced from their homeland and accepted by Australia, approximately 1500 were placed in Victoria, of whom 600 (40 per cent) were school-aged children. The refugees were initially housed at the Puckapunyal Army Base. A great deal of preparation was undertaken to provide them with accommodation, health care, food, education, language services and trauma counselling. Adult Multicultural Education Services (AMES) were responsible for organising educational programs in partnership with other organisations, including the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Department of Defence, Red Cross, Salvation Army, Translating and Interpreting Services, YMCA and the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture. The Department of Education in Victoria was called upon to provide for the education of the school-aged children. Although AMES and Education Department staff had extensive experience in teaching traumatised refugees with permanent residency, it was the first time they had to teach groups of evacuees expecting to return to their homeland (Keeping the Good Things in Our Hearts, Preface, AMES, 1999).

Shortly after the arrival of the Kosovars at Puckapunyal, the Minister for Immigration announced that Portsea and Bandiana centres would also become safe havens. Educational programs were established within days of the arrival of the residents. Four months later, the Government announced the offer of three-month visas and the same safe haven arrangements for approximately 1800 East Timorese, with 850 to be housed at Puckapunyal Army Base. They had been airlifted to Darwin by the Australian Government, and arrived two days after the Kosovars left (Keeping the Good Things in Our Hearts, AMES, 2000, p. 2).

As the educational programs were developed for the Kosovars, and later for the East Timorese groups, it was acknowledged that the refugees’ temporary stay required a very different approach. More prominence than usual was given to first language and curriculum maintenance. Applications to teach at the safe havens were invited from primary and secondary ESL teachers in English language schools and centres. Nineteen Albanian teachers and 10 teacher aides were involved in supporting classroom activities. There were few Albanian resources in Australia, although some were created by the Albanian teachers and aides, and some were sent by the Albanian Department of Education (Education in Safe Havens, Ros Beaton & Tony Juhanson 1999, p. 10). One Kosovar secondary teacher of 20 years’ experience taught the curriculum before the Albanian course books arrived, because, as he said, ‘the curriculum is in our heads’. LMERc assembled New Arrival Kits appropriate to different age levels, and made available extensive loans of books and other materials. Timetabling was often difficult because of a shortage of teaching spaces, so offers of special activities from organisations and the general community were welcome, and provided variety for the residents, in addition to relieving space for other classes to use.

There were particular challenges and rewards for teachers in the safe havens. The residents were traumatised and dislocated and in need of care for an indefinite time. Because the refugees were staying for a short time, the basis of the teaching was English as a foreign rather than a second language. There was great cooperation between the Albanian and local teachers. The Kosovar teachers and parents proposed that young preparatory students should not learn English, but all their learning ought to be done in Albanian (Beaton & Juhanson, p. 11). When the United Nations announced that it was safe for the Kosovars to start returning home, those involved naturally became preoccupied with repatriation, and the educational program was constantly adjusted. The remaining Kosovars were moved from the Puckapunyal
safe haven to Army camps at Portsea and Bandiana in mid-September, and two days later the first group of East Timorese arrived.

Many East Timorese students had interrupted schooling at home, so they needed orientation to school structures and procedures. In the Indonesian school system they received only two hours per week of instruction in their Tetum language, delivered in a rote-learning manner. Some secondary students liked the Victorian teaching style, and wanted their maths and science classes to be conducted only in English. Many found the learning experience in Australia very appealing, with one student saying, ‘In the haven, our teachers are kind and patient and use lots of explanation, until they are sure everyone understands. We want to take our Australian teachers back to East Timor with us’ (Keeping the Good Things in our Hearts, AMES, 2000, p. 21). The Mother Superior of the Canossian community in Dili was a trained teacher. She said of the Indonesian system that ‘schools have taught the children to memorise but not analyse; the schools have not taught our children to become clever’ (p. 40).

Emphasis was also given to practical activities such as art and craft and, when it was known that mosquito nets were required in East Timor, sewing machines were provided, and the textile coordinator organised the donation of netting and the students turned out 30 mosquito nets every day. Every family returned to East Timor with an appropriately sized net (p. 24). Regular sessions were held in classes at all levels by the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, using bilingual assistance where possible. There were few teachers among the East Timorese residents, but two did help in primary classes, as did parents from time to time. In the secondary program, a separate literacy class was held for teenagers who had little or no prior schooling. Computer training was very popular and information technology classes ran every afternoon and evening. Some residents saw these classes as providing vital skills for the rebuilding of their country (p. 33).

Opportunities for older adolescents

Among the newly arrived students settling in Australia were students in their late teens who could not readily be provided for in either school or adult programs. These older students fell roughly into two groups: those who had received full-time education in their country of origin and wished to learn English in order to complete secondary school and go onto tertiary study; and those with little or no previous schooling or severely interrupted education, which made them unlikely to succeed at school without considerable ongoing assistance.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s schools realised the need to provide special educational arrangements for these students, linking with Adult Multicultural Education centres and Technical and Further Education (TAFE) centres to create programs. They included Footscray Technical School, Collingwood Education Centre and Richmond High School. In some parts of Melbourne, this period will be remembered as one where collaboration, cooperation and initiative resulted in program options for some older ESL learners where previously there had been little to offer. The Collingwood Refugee Youth Program (CRYP), run by Collingwood AMES and linking to appropriate Migrant Access programs at Collingwood TAFE and later linked to programs at Collingwood Education Centre, was a good example of how an appropriate pathway could be provided for older students with little or no previous formal education when there was cooperation between providers. The LINK program was another example of a special program, this time targeting older students with sound previous education, but little or no English, who wanted to complete a secondary education rather than move through the adult programs. Bridging programs and transition coordinators in English language schools and centres have provided support for older ESL learners with little or no previous schooling, as they move into mainstream schooling.
Language services

As mentioned in previous chapters, schools had long used interpreting and translating services to enable effective communication with their constantly changing parent communities. As the need for new languages emerged, there were changes to the way in which language services were delivered. In 1996 a tender process, which continues to operate, was used to select a company with the capacity to deliver services in the languages required by schools. This was in line with Victorian government initiatives to ensure that all citizens could access government services, regardless of their preferred language. In 2005 a support package for the use of interpreters in schools called Talking in Tune was developed by the Department’s ESL unit, with funding provided by the then Victorian Office for Multicultural Affairs. This resource helped teachers to understand the interpreter’s role and how to work successfully with one.

Full fee-paying overseas students

In 1872 the Victorian Parliament decreed that education should be free, secular and compulsory for all Victorian children between six and fifteen years of age, offering courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, drill and needlework. Fees could not be charged, and so requests from the parents of overseas students or the students themselves to study in Victorian government schools were refused. Legislative changes were required before fees could be charged. From December 1994 Section 13 of the Education Amendment Act 1993 permitted the payment of fees to government schools for the attendance of overseas students, and in 1995 a pilot program was begun.

The Directorate of Education gradually developed a process for recruiting overseas students to government schools, and ensured administration of the scheme by setting up an International Division in 1993, and an International Student Program Unit in 1996. English language schools and centres had the facilities and expertise to provide an intensive English language program for fee-paying students who needed it, and they began to enrol students. Initially two sites, Blackburn English Language School and Prahran English Language Centre, provided pilot programs for fee-paying students, without reducing their provision for local newly arrived students.

Central office administered an accreditation process for schools wishing to enrol fee-paying students. In time, all English language schools and centres were able to enrol full fee-paying overseas students, including into some out posting locations.

At the start of 1998 there were 520 full fee-paying overseas students in Victorian government schools (Annual Report 1997–98, p. 67). In 2000, 70 per cent of participating students came from China, Japan and Indonesia. By 2003 they mostly arrived from China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia and Hong Kong and, by then, 200 government schools were registered to enrol them (Victorian Department of Education and Training Annual Report 2002–03, p. 79).

The New Arrivals Program, in particular English language schools and centres, provided a sound basis in English language instruction for students going on to enrol in Victorian government schools.

Teaching materials and curriculum development

Building on the strong foundations already established to support ESL learners in Victorian government schools, this period was characterised by an increased focus on recognising the ESL learning pathway, and the need for materials to support teachers to identify needs and monitor student progress.

In 1990 The ESL Handbook was published. It was a compendium containing notes on the development of school ESL programs and a list of available resources. It provided
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a useful start for the schools and teachers new to ESL programs or wishing to evaluate programs already in action.

The publication of the ESL Framework of Stages, in and later the ESL Scales and the ESL Bandscales, gave Victorian teachers and curriculum developers a common starting point to begin to describe both the stages of ESL development and the curriculum that would best assist students to learn English.

In 1991 three curriculum writers were appointed to the ESL unit of the LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch to begin the task of providing a comprehensive ESL curriculum for teachers, both in new arrivals and post-new arrivals settings. Along the way, they enlisted the expertise of many ESL specialists working in school support centres, English language schools and centres and mainstream schools.

The first document to be published was No English Don’t Panic—A handbook for classroom teachers of non-English-speaking primary age students in their first few weeks at school in Australia (1991). Aimed at primary mainstream teachers with newly arrived students, it was written in an accessible style and illustrated with cartoons. It has been updated many times and today remains a key resource, particularly for schools in isolated areas.

No English, don’t panic was followed by ESL Essentials in 1992, providing detailed advice to primary teachers teaching new arrivals in Years P–2 and a course planning model based on the ALL Guidelines model. 1993 saw No English 2: Questions and Answers produced as a companion to No English, don’t panic, answering many questions that teachers of primary new arrivals often asked after they had their students for some time.

ESL Literacy Links (1993) gave course advice to ESL teachers of secondary students with little or no prior schooling; while Bridges to VCE (1993) provided advice to schools on how to help ESL learners access the mainstream curriculum in the VCE.

The team also undertook an ESL profiles project and in 1993 The Victorian ESL Scales appeared in draft form.

Many ESL teachers participated in the item collection that was undertaken to develop it. Although never formally published, it formed the basis of the ESL Scales released in 1994, with two writers from the ESL team becoming writers for the national ESL Scales project.

In 1995 the Victorian Board of Studies (VBOS) developed the National Statements and Profiles in all the key learning areas into the Victorian Curriculum and Standards Framework. The following year saw the release of ESL Companion to the English Curriculum and Standards Framework (CSF), based on the ESL Scales, written by the ESL unit for the VBOS. It gave teachers a comprehensive curriculum focus and outcomes and indicators for each of
the ESL stages. For the first time, Victorian teachers had a common framework on which to base assessment of the development of their ESL students, and a common language for reporting their progress to other teachers and to parents. It was written principally for teachers in ESL programs in primary and secondary schools, but was also designed to assist mainstream teachers with guidance on the types of curriculum and learning appropriate for ESL students (p. 5). It also emphasised the importance of each particular teaching context, and of the systematic and explicit teaching of English as students moved towards the point when the outcomes of the English CSF would be appropriate for them.

Following the successful publication of Models of LOTE Provision in schools in Victoria in 1995, a similar project was undertaken in the same year to produce Case Studies of ESL Provision in Schools in Victoria. Managed by the ESL unit of the LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch of School Programs Division, it was designed as a resource for administrators, teachers and others in the community with an interest in ESL programs in all schools, including the Catholic and Independent school systems.

The period was an important one for the recognition and development of ESL as a curriculum area. The ESL Companion to the English CSF became the framework for the development of a series of core ESL curriculum documents for Victorian teachers, based on the stages in the ESL Companion which described ESL students' English language development. These stages were illustrated by the ‘rainbow diagram’ showing how the ESL stages aligned with the levels of the English CSF. Published as ESL Course Advice, the books appeared over the next few years. The BL and B1 ESL Course Advice covered newly arrived primary students in Years 3–6; while BL and B1 ESL Course Advice, the A2, B2 and B3 documents covered students in the post-new arrivals phase. Secondary students were catered for with two resources, the S1 and S2 ESL Course Advice and the S3 and S4 ESL Course Advice. Teachers now had a comprehensive ESL curriculum, based on a recognised statewide framework.

ESL ‘annotations’ to the course advice in other key learning areas were also provided for key learning areas, such as science, mathematics and studies of society and environment. The annotations provided assistance to teachers to make their planning and teaching more appropriate to ESL learners. The ESL Course Advice was a collaborative project with the Catholic Education Office and the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria Incorporated, and both systems provided additional writers and support to the project. It was made possible through Commonwealth funding provided to the states/territories for curriculum development.

When the new parent-reporting process based on the Curriculum Standards Framework (CSF) was developed in 1997, ESL students: Assessment and reporting materials was published outlining how the ESL Companion to the English CSF should be used to report ESL student progress.
The Board of Studies reviewed the CSF in 1999, publishing a second edition in 2000, together with a new edition of the *ESL Companion to the English CSF*. A revamp of the *ESL Course Advice* was undertaken to incorporate changes to the second edition, and this was published in 2000, as *ESL Teacher Support Materials* on the CD-ROM *curriculum@work*.

*First Language Assessment Tasks* was developed in 2000 to help to assess students’ reading and writing skills in the languages of Arabic, Khmer, Somali, Turkish and Vietnamese. First written by teachers at Collingwood English Language School, it was developed for publication by the ESL unit. The tasks were designed for newly arrived students entering Australian schools at the upper-primary and secondary levels, in sets of photocopiable assessment tasks and recording sheets.

In 2004 the *Victorian Essential Learning Standards* (VELS) was created to replace the CSF. The Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA) developed this new framework of essential learning to ‘reinforce standards and promote flexibility at the school level’ (*Victorian Essential Learning Standards*, overview and foreword). VELS were ‘to provide the basis for developing whole school curriculum planning, effectively monitoring student achievement, and reporting to parents and the community’.

VELS did not include an ESL document initially, so in early 2005 the ESL unit wrote *The ESL Companion to the Victorian Essential Learning Standards* which was published by the VCAA as part of VELS. It aimed to assist teachers to cater for ESL students at all stages of English acquisition, and set out a learning pathway for each stage. This resource outlined how assessments of their progress in all subjects needed to be made in the context of their development as learners of English. By aligning itself with the whole of VELS, rather than just to the English domain, it helped to get this important message across. The ESL standards in the document described the stages preceding the English standards for students learning English. When these students started to approximate the English standards of their peers, they would move on to the English standards.

To further support newly arrived students in more isolated settings, the ESL unit undertook the development of *Where’s English?*, a multimedia resource to develop the English language skills of students at the beginning stages of learning English as a second language.

*Word study for new arrivals: Practical word-study materials for teachers of primary and secondary ESL students beginning their English language learning* was published in 2005. Again, this document was written by teachers at Collingwood English Language School and prepared for publication by the ESL Unit. These materials were designed to assist ESL students to develop early literacy skills in English through a focus on the vocabulary and grammatical features that early learners of English are most likely to use.

In 2004 *Beginning ESL secondary: Support material for newly arrived secondary students learning English as a second language* was published as a downloadable resource from the ESL website. It contains four units of work covering time, personal identification, body and health, and the classroom.

*Language games for ESL students – Classroom activities for students learning English as a second language* (2004) was another resource developed by teachers at Collingwood English Language School, and prepared for publication by the Department’s ESL unit. It comprised photocopiable materials that could be used to make language games for ESL students across all year levels to consolidate and
reinforce skills in speaking, listening, reading and writing; and to use a range of language functions important for working and playing with others. These documents were followed in 2006 by a new ESL Handbook. This guide offered advice to schools on programs for supporting students learning English as a second language; and the creation and development of appropriate ESL programs, by providing information on policy and funding, advice on planning and implementing effective programs for ESL students, and links to resources and services. It also included information on the role of multicultural education aides; support available through regions; advice on specialist ESL programs and ESL students in mainstream schools; suggested roles for all staff; as well listing useful links and resources. Case studies of two primary schools and of a secondary school were included to assist teachers in the setting up of appropriate programs.

Teacher training and professional development

At the beginning of this period, ESL professional development was mostly in the hands of ESL consultants in school support centres. They provided training and advice on request, and ran in-service programs for teachers. Newly appointed ESL teachers were also offered training.

In 1994 six tutors were trained in the South Australian professional development course, ESL in the mainstream, and 15 more the next year. The course was designed to be conducted by trained tutors over a 10-week period, comprising 25 hours in total (Annual Report 1994–95, p. 68). This course comprised nine modules focusing on the importance of English in all learning areas, with emphasis on a range of practical teaching and learning strategies for ESL learners. It also supported understanding and implementation of whole-school inclusive practice and student wellbeing. The course was at its most effective for schools when it involved teams of ESL and non-ESL teachers. As the name suggests, it aimed to improve the ways teachers worked with ESL students in mainstream classrooms.

In 1994 an ESL project officer was appointed to the Languages and Multicultural Education Resource Centre (LMERC), followed by a second one in 1995. Their focus was on organising the ESL in the Mainstream courses and the training of tutors, and to conduct other professional development activities (The ESL Report 2002, p. 25). These project officers helped to fill a training void that had been created when school support centres closed in 1992 and most ESL consultants returned to schools. These courses continued for several years, supplying many teachers with the insights and strategies needed to increase the effectiveness of their ESL teaching.

The English language schools and centres had usually organised most of their own curriculum and in-service development programs for their teachers, sometimes extending this to teachers from mainstream schools in which their students were enrolling. Grants were provided to a number of English language schools and centres for curriculum development initiatives for newly arrived students in 1995.

In 1998 when the ESL Course Advice was completed, a series of professional development opportunities was offered to teachers by the ESL unit. A support document was written so that other teachers and consultants could also spread the message about these new ESL resources.
In 1995, 43 primary teachers were supported by the Directorate of Education to undertake 100 hours of credit-bearing ESL method courses offered by three universities. Most of them also received assistance to fulfil the associated teaching practicum requirement for a full ESL qualification (Annual Report 1994–95, p. 68). Another group of teachers was also supported in 1996 to gain ESL qualifications.

A major ESL conference was held in November 1999, entitled The Bridge to Learning: The critical role of English as a second language in schooling within a culturally diverse society. It was hosted by the Department of Education, Employment and Training, Victoria and co-sponsored by the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria, the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria and the Victorian Multicultural Commission. Conference objectives were to celebrate 30 years of ESL programs in schools; provide a forum for educators to meet and exchange ideas; promote high-quality ESL practice, and publicise developments and achievements in teaching ESL and curriculum development in Victorian schools. The conference helped to highlight how the original Child Migrant Education Program had developed and grown in response to changing policy and funding directions, new waves of immigration and changing settlement patterns. It was a major cooperative professional development activity between the sponsoring organisations and the Victorian Association of TESOL and Multicultural Education (VATME). This was acknowledged in the welcome speech by the General Manager of School Programs Division (Conference Program, 1999, p. 3). The conference program gave details of a broad coverage of subjects from which those attending could choose.

Two years later a second ESL conference was held, entitled Promoting Partnerships – The ESL Learner and Schools. The Victorian Department of Education, Employment and Training again initiated this conference, and the same groups as in 1999 assisted with the sponsorship. The second conference was planned to build on the first and to ‘support the range of professionals working in the ESL field at the state, national and international levels’ (Conference Program, p. 4).

A major focus for professional development during this time was to assist teachers to better understand and meet the needs of the increasing number of refugee students entering schools, many of whom were suffering the effects of trauma, and usually had significantly interrupted schooling, or no previous schooling at all. Strong links were established with the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture (also known as Foundation House), which provided targeted services and support for refugees settling in Victoria. Recognising the importance of school in the lives of these families and children, the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture were keen to establish strong relationships with schools and regional and central offices. After-hours workshops were held by staff of the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, focusing on working with children and adolescents affected by trauma and torture (The ESL Report 2002, p. 24; & 2003, p. 25).

Ethnic Teacher Aides were renamed Multicultural Education Aides in 1991, after a review of the guidelines defining their role as supporting ESL and LOTE students and teachers in the classroom, and assisting with communication within and between schools and their non-English speaking communities (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1990–91, p. 155). It was also recognised that they were receiving little opportunity for professional development, yet they were playing a major role in supporting ESL learners. Consequently, in 2002 a professional development day was organised at LMERC for 143 multicultural education aides, followed by a similar one in 2003.

A major focus of the professional development program in 2003 was to assist teachers of ESL learners with disrupted schooling (The ESL Report 2003, p. 26). This need emerged each time students came from war-torn areas, centres of civil conflict, natural disasters, or from refugee camps in many parts of the world. Professional development modules were produced over an extended period involving groups of teachers on whole-school planning days.
The staff at the Department's Multicultural Programs Unit, Learning Programs Branch launched an ESL website in 2000, which has been continuously developing into a substantial source of information about ESL programs. It provides information about the significant range of resources and materials developed by the ESL unit. As teachers have become accustomed to going to the website for ESL information, more and more downloadable resources have been made available through it. This includes curriculum materials, as well as information about interpreting and translating services, and about the range of ESL programs.

MACLOTE and ESL

The strong commitment of the Victorian Government and of the then Minister for Education to LOTE programs was demonstrated when, in March 1993, the Minister requested the establishment of a Ministerial Advisory Council on Languages Other Than English (MACLOTE), to provide a major source of advice to him on all aspects of LOTE policy and implementation (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1992–93, p. 69). In March 1995 it was expanded to include the provision of advice on English as a second language (ESL), and was renamed MACLOTE and ESL.

A key initiative of MACLOTE and ESL was the development of a multicultural policy in 1997. Launched in November 1997, it brought together policies in LOTE, ethnic schools, ESL and cross-cultural awareness, as well as multicultural policies and directions under one overarching policy (Victorian Education Department Annual Report 1996–97, p. 60).

Conclusion

This was a period of consolidation for ESL in Victoria. The development of key curriculum resources, such as The ESL companion to the CSF and The ESL companion to the VELS, gave teachers a sound framework for developing programs and established ESL curriculum as an integral part of curriculum planning and delivery in Victorian government schools. Partnerships and collaborative working relationships between central and regional department officers, schools, other state/territory and Commonwealth departments and community organisations resulted in an expansion of program delivery.

This time also saw an innovative expansion of the Department’s new arrivals program, which enabled it to better meet the needs of newly arrived ESL students across Victoria. The uncertainty of previous years in English language schools and centres around funding, status and employment issues were to a large extent resolved. Four English language schools and five English language centres in the metropolitan area, along with programs in rural and regional Victoria, provided a service to newly arrived students that was both responsive and of high quality.

Funding for ESL support in mainstream schools continued, calculated on the basis of their language background other than English populations.
6. Epilogue

Work for the education of new settlers continues in Victoria. What has been written here is a record of some of what happened during the first 46 years of the programs for ESL students in government schools in Victoria. The more recent years not covered by this history have continued to see innovative responses and expansion of programs to meet the needs of students as they settle across Victoria.

What was achieved took much initiative, knowledge, effort, perseverance and persistence by dedicated teachers, principals, public servants and politicians, as well as by the many others working in the background to bring issues to the forefront. Considerable expenditure of public money on personnel and other resources has occurred over the years, and the results can be seen as those children who arrived as migrants and refugees took their place in the full range of life and work in Australia. Many became ESL teachers themselves.

ESL teaching, with its strong focus on English language learning across all curriculum areas, often incorporated new educational methodologies and practices long before they became common in mainstream teaching. Given the ever-changing nature of the ESL student population, with its new languages, cultures and educational needs, the Victorian education system has responded in a lively, timely way wherever it has been able to do so. It is hoped that this record will help those involved over the years in ESL teaching to see their role and place in a program that has a proud history. It can also help those who will in the future participate in ESL education to acknowledge and understand what has gone before, and to build on the experiences of the past.

There has been a need for constant review and reassessment of the program throughout this period, due to political changes and new ideas in education, as well as, at times, budgetary restraints. For all the moments when programs could have been more responsive, ESL teaching and provision still has a proud record of responding favourably to new ideas and adaptations. These were to the benefit of the students, who have always been at the heart of ESL provision. Where changes at times resulted in a reduction of resources, dedicated teachers ‘tied a knot’ and kept on teaching, because the students were still there, and watching students progress in their English language learning and learning through English has always been the most rewarding part of ESL teaching.

Under the title ‘Asking the Impossible of Schools’ in an article in Melbourne University Magazine, 2005, Professor Lyn Yates wrote:

Schooling can do terrific things – it can open your eyes to ideas and creative endeavours, make you think you are worth something, develop people who can competently and confidently go about their work and their lives as citizens, produce future citizens who treat others with respect. And it can do very negative things – convince you that you are worthless and don’t know anything, produce future citizens who don’t have good foundations for operating in the modern world or who don’t care if others get trampled as long as they are OK.

Despite the ups and downs of resourcing over the years, those involved in ESL education have always encouraged ESL students to recognise the advantages they bring to their education as a result of the cultural and linguistic diversity from their countries of origin. As well, ESL teachers have striven to make sure that their students felt that the educational possibilities for them were aimed towards the positive outcomes of schooling, not the negatives.
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