The Growth of an Emerging Field:

A history of ESL program development

at the University of Minnesota

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Abstract

This paper examines the history of ESL program development at the university level beginning with a broad view and then focusing on specific programs at the University of Minnesota - Twin Cities campus. In this project oral histories were gathered from ESL professionals at the University of Minnesota through 14 semi-structured interviews which focused on the topic of ESL programming and its development at the University of Minnesota. The information from these interviews was used to outline a general history of each program, including the Minnesota English Center, the Master's Program in ESL, the International Teaching Assistant Program, nonnative speaker sections of Freshman Composition, the Commanding English Program, various special language programs, and the Minnesota English Language Program. Two themes were also chosen based on their appearance in the literature and a preliminary interview conducted by the researcher. Challenges confronting each program as well as the two themes, adaptation and collaboration, are discussed, and conclusions are related to the greater population of ESL programs in the country.

ESL Finds a Home at the University of Minnesota

As the population of international students in the U.S. increases, the need for English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction cannot be denied. However, not all institutions meet the needs of these students in the same manner. Furthermore, ESL instruction serves a population that is more diverse than many realize. Since 1968, several ESL programs have been developed at the University of Minnesota to deliver appropriate instruction to the various groups at the Twin Cities campus. But how was each program formed and what factors influenced their development? This paper looks at a brief history of ESL beginning on a global level and finishing with a close look at the specific programs developed at the U of M.

Literature Review

English as a Second Language (ESL) programs have faced difficulty in establishing themselves as legitimate entities in academia regardless of the important role they play in internationalizing liberal arts campuses and assisting international students with their transition to university-level academic study in a foreign language and culture. Many factors which contribute to hardships facing ESL programs are beyond the control of program and university administrators as, for example, events in world politics and economics dramatically affect ESL program student populations which depend on the influx of international students. At the same time, there are many decisions made within institutions of higher education that significantly affect the opportunities, support, and success of the ESL programs they host.

While this paper is primarily interested in the development of ESL programs at the University of Minnesota - Twin Cities campus (further references to the University of Minnesota indicate solely the Twin Cities campus), it is beneficial to begin by discussing the development

of ESL in history as well as the situation of ESL programs in the United States including the challenges many programs typically face. This will be followed by a look into the development of ESL programs on the University of Minnesota Twin Cities campus through personal interviews with ESL professionals who have worked or are currently working in these programs. Brief history of the development of English instruction for foreigners

English language instruction for foreigners has a history much longer than its period of recognition as the field of ESL in the United States; it has been dated as far back as the mid-1500s when religious refugees from European countries on the continent fled to England and became the first students of English as a second language (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004).

In addition, the teaching of English in British colonies (Mauritius, Sierra Leone, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Belize, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong, for example) and the spread of English at trading posts has helped pave the way for the establishment of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL) as pedagogical fields in the 20th century. Howatt and Widdowson (2004) explain how British presence brought about differing uses of English:

> The role of English in the two types of colony was quite different. In the colonies of settlement English was the mother tongue from the beginning . . . In contrast, however, in non-settler colonies like India, British officials came and went, taking their English with them, but what they left behind was a 'new English' born from the long-term contact between the two groups, an offspring which only revealed itself fully after independence when 'at the stroke of midnight hour' what had previously been stigmatized as 'English with an Indian accent' was transformed into 'Indian English' (p. 129).

The type and aim of schooling provided also determined the extent to which the use of English developed in a particular location; while government-funded schools used English as the language of instruction, mission schools considered it necessary to utilize the native tongue in order to fully express the message of the gospel (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004).

Changes closer to "home" indirectly promoted the teaching of English as a foreign language as well. By the year 1800, Latin was no longer the language of instruction in European universities, and with the use of national languages for instruction, the study of foreign languages began to develop into something more than memorization of grammar rules (Celce-Murcia, 2001). While English was not a mandatory part of the curriculum, this shift away from Latin opened the door for the field of EFL and the study of language instruction which has gone through many reforms and seen the development of various methods, often moving back and forth between an analytical and a utilitarian perspective (Celce-Murica, 2001; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004).

After 1900, English instruction outside the U.S. occurred in four main contexts including secondary schools in Europe, adult education in Europe, basic schooling in British colonies, and adult education in the United Kingdom (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). Since this paper is concerned with academic ESL in the United States, we will now consider the rise of English instruction in the U.S.

English instruction in the United States

The instruction of the English language was part of the primary mission of the first public schools established for the offspring of settlers in American colonies. Due to the large population of Germans, it was suggested at first that schools teach both English and German, and Benjamin Franklin is well-known for issuing the warning that the area of Pennsylvania would be "Germanized" before the Germans would be "Anglified." Bilingual instruction was indeed authorized by several states, but by 1911, due to the concern that immigrants settling in

separate communities would never be "Americanized", seventeen states decided that English should be the only language used in schools (Glenn, n.d.).

During the early 1900s when immigration was at its heaviest, some schools offered special language courses for children of immigrants just arrived in the U.S. By the mid-1900s however, there was a new population that required ESL classes as well. This was a group of foreign students who came to the United States to pursue advanced degrees. *Open Doors* (Institute of International Education, 2011b) records of enrollment trends for international students begin in 1948 with a reported 25,464 students that year. This figure more than doubled within twelve years to 53,107 students in 1960. Only six years later the number of international students doubled again and has continued to increase at an astounding rate, until, in the 2010/2011 school year, 723,277 international students were counted (see Appendix B-1).

As the number of international students continued to rise, ESL began to develop from a non-professional practice to an academic field, ushered in originally as the playground, or laboratory, of the emerging field of Applied Linguistics. Charles C. Fries, an applied linguist, founded the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan in 1941. The Institute, established for the purposes of research and materials testing, became a model for other ESL programs in the nation. Many leaders who were trained at the University of Michigan ELI established programs at other leading universities, including Georgetown, UCLA, the University of Pittsburgh, and the University of Minnesota. Understandably, Intensive English Programs (IEPs) which serve the needs of international students preparing for academic study at an institution of higher education were not so well-developed or numerous when the field was new and programs to train ESL instructors were still being established.

Views toward ESL also began to change. While ESL courses offered to immigrants were once seen as a generous benevolence bestowed on the needy, some began to question whether it was not the right of school-aged children of non-native speakers of English residing in the U.S. to receive English instruction as they entered the public school system. Glenn (n.d.) explains:

> Special language support did not become a right until the Supreme Court's 1974 decision in *Lau v. Nichols.* This decision stated that San Francisco was violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by failing to provide programs that met the needs of several thousand pupils of Chinese ancestry who did not speak English. The implication of the decision was that no violation would have been found if all of the pupils in question had participated in supplemental English instruction (ESL), as did about a thousand others.

ESL today and its challenges

The majority of international students coming to the U.S. for study now are undergraduates, and the population has increased precipitously in the past five years. The 2010 *Open Doors* report (Institute of International Education, 2011b), (Appendix B-1) indicates that during the 2009-2010 school year 690,923 international students were enrolled in academic programs. However, according to the Office of Immigration Statistics report (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011), the number of academic students on an F-1 visa (required by the federal government for all academic students attending a university, college, high school, private elementary school, seminary, conservatory or other academic institution, including a language training program for more than 18 hours per week) in 2010 was 1,514,783. The number of academic students recorded by the Office of Immigration increased by a whopping 70% from 895,392 in 2009 to 1,514,783 in 2010. As the number of international students in the U.S. continues to climb, it is clear that institutions of higher education can no longer overlook

the needs of students from abroad, as Staczek and Carkin (1984) asserted: "Based on enrollment trends alone, there is a clear need for our institutions to decide how they will address these increasing numbers, to study how the education of these students is related to the central mission of the institution, and to determine the effect of these matriculated students on the academic and fiscal policies of the institutions" (p. 291). Despite their encouragement, leaders in education, now 25 years later, are decrying the lack of policy related to the needs of international students in higher education and emphasizing the necessity for intentionality and preparation in the effort to internationalize liberal arts campuses (Brewer, 2010).

While change at the national level is slow, institutions have begun to make adjustments in order to deal with the presence of international students on campus. In her Washington Post blog *Campus Overload*, Jenna Johnson (2011) provides a survey of the different means some universities have begun to employ in an attempt to sufficiently "orient" international students to the American college campus. The revisions and/or additions to orientation programs mentioned include a workshop on sarcasm (a typically American style of humor), special transportation from the airport to student housing before classes begin, extended check-in hours for students arriving all times of the day and night from abroad, and long-term transition programs. While providing these types of cultural assistance is good, another barrier the university needs to consider in order to accommodate international students is language.

A 2010 survey of undergraduate international students conducted at the University of Minnesota Twin Cities campus shows that regardless of scores on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and admittance to an academic program, many international

students face difficulty due to their English ability, as one student expressed, "The main problem is speaking out in class. I seriously felt goose bumps even if I scored 105 in TOEFL. It's not about knowing English. It's about the anxious feeling that whether what you are speaking is important enough to ask in a class and whether the professor and other students can understand" (Anderson, et al., in press).

Perhaps the most systematic approach to making international students welcome and helping them prepare for academic study in the U.S. is the development of ESL programs, including IEPs. Among various websites dedicated to helping international students find an appropriate English program, the Institute of International Education's Intensive English USA website provides information on 624 IEPs in the United States (2011a).

Although it may seem that Intensive English Programs are similar due to their broad common goal of providing advanced English instruction for students from abroad, they are in fact diverse in their student populations, institutional placements, course offerings, pedagogical approaches, and so on (Stoller & Christison, 1994, p. 16). While this is in part a consequence of logistics and perceived needs, it is also related to the way the program is viewed by the leaders in the institution that houses it and how they decide to support it. It is important to note that ESL no longer refers to isolated courses, tutoring, or instruction from untrained volunteers as it might have when the field was emerging in the 1950s. Furthermore, ESL is not remedial, but academic, as Staczek and Carkin (1984) point out:

> A program is not a course or courses, is not an instructor or instructors, is not an unstructured curriculum without a mission, a set of goals or objectives. Nor is it a collection of textbooks, tapes and films. A program, as we define it, is an administrative and academic enterprise with a comprehensive mission to provide ESL training, using qualified professionals in a logical and developing sequence of courses to guide the student to a level of mastery of the English

language that will lead to eventual success in a degree or certificate program in an academic institution (p. 294).

Why is the definition of the term "program" so important? Perhaps it is because the difficulty ESL programs have had in proving their value to the institutions that host them. Several factors which impede the acceptance of ESL programs as comparable to academic programs and prevent them from receiving support and funding have been identified in the literature (Kurzet, 1997; Staczek & Carkin, 1984; Stoller & Christison, 1994). These include: separation of ESL from academic subjects and departments by the absence of an ESL major or academic department, the tendency of many ESL classes to be non-credit bearing courses, the view of ESL instructors as merely native speakers rather than qualified, trained, educated professionals, the view of ESL programs as remedial, and lack of voice for ESL instructors on policy and procedures that affect their work.

Program placement

Unfortunately, an ESL program is generally seen as altogether a different kind of animal than academic departments in the university. Where to place an IEP is an important decision which affects the program's relationship to the rest of the university. But as administrators ask themselves the question, "Where does this program belong?" they find that there is no clear answer. The rationale behind each placement comes down to each institution and administrator's understanding of what the program does and where it makes the most sense to place it given the administrative composition of a given institution, which is disconcerting given the fact that "these senior-level officials have little understanding of the nature of intensive English language instruction or the nature of second language acquisition. Too often these

individuals have little interest in the IEP, and if they are interested, it is not always for what we consider the right reasons" (Stoller & Christison, 1994, p. 17).

The result of this is that IEPs and other ESL programs are placed in a variety of locations at different universities: "We need only look around universities to marvel at the variety of placements of IEPs in academic and non-academic programs: IEPs tend to be found in departments of continuing education, departments of English or linguistics, foreign language departments, international programs or may even be established as units with autonomy, such as centers or institutes . . ." (Staczek & Carkin, 1984, p. 295). Different placements have their benefits as well as drawbacks for both the program and the institution that houses it. The decision, as Kurzet (1997) points out, often comes down to funding, "rather than through a strictly disciplinary rationale" (p. 54).

Professional qualification of ESL instructors

Academic ESL and Adult Basic Education (ABE; ESL serving immigrants and refugees) are very different from what they were at the beginning and middle of the century, both in terms of development and organization as well as qualification of professionals in the field. "Historically, ESL instruction was provided by volunteers, often through churches and civic organizations, to enable immigrants to work and participate in community life. The volunteer teachers were not professionally trained; indeed, there was no professional English as a second language discipline" (Kurzet, 1994, p. 54). While it is true that many programs and institutions still employ the services of volunteers, Master's programs in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) are now common at universities. There has also been a gradual tightening of regulations and requirements for teachers of English in foreign countries. Through experience,

many people have realized that merely being a native speaker does not qualify a person to teach English, not even to foreigners. Indeed, ". . . there is no question that the field of ESL/EFL is a professional field with standards for instructor training and in some areas, licensing at the state level. The acceptable terminal degree for practitioners is generally the M.A. or M.S. degree in ESL/EFL or applied linguistics" (Staczek & Carkin, p. 296). Unfortunately, although these words were written almost 30 years ago, ESL professionals still do not always seem to be acknowledged or esteemed in the same way that scholars and pedagogues of other academic fields are.

Controversy: remedial vs. academic

Another factor that has significantly affected the type and amount of support IEPs receive is the controversy over the instruction they provide. Many have argued that ESL programs are remedial in nature and university administrators likewise often have the wrong impression of their nature and purpose. As Stoller and Christison (1994) explain, "The noncredit status of most of our IEP courses often causes us to battle perceptions of remediation, deficiency, and disability. Little do these senior administrators realize that most of our students finish their IEP studies with a language proficiency that would exceed the language requirements for a bachelor's degree from a modern language department" (p. 17).

While it is safe to say that most ESL professionals in the higher education context do not conclude that they teach remedial subject matter, it doesn't seem to matter what they think since they are far removed from both direct and indirect positions of power in their universities. As Staczek and Carkin (1984) point out, "While professionals in English as a second language (ESL) are generally well-informed, they also find their opportunities to influence institutional

policy and to contribute to the welfare and development of colleagues, international students, and themselves limited by a number of factors. IEP faculties are often isolated from the operations of the institution, including those related to placement, reporting relationships, governance, and fiscal and academic responsibility" (p. 1).

Characterizing programs

While the discussion of challenges facing ESL programs and administrators is relevant, as the interviews conducted by the researcher reveal, it is also helpful to consider how programs grow and become established despite the obstacles they face. Through his experience in language education in developmental contexts, Savage (1997) found that language education tended to be "change-oriented, experiential, pro-autonomy, collaborative and communicative" (p. 283). As we look at the programs developed at the University of Minnesota, we will see that the characteristics "change-oriented" and "collaborative" do indeed apply, as the interviewees' oral histories demonstrate. To date, some work has been done to discuss the difficulties facing ESL programs, but there is not much in the literature that describes existing ESL programs and how they overcome challenges in the particular setting where they are located. By describing each program and considering it from the perspectives of collaboration and adaptability, this paper will attempt to answer these questions:

1) How did ESL programs develop at the University of Minnesota - Twin Cities campus?

2) How did global and institutional influences affect that development?

Method

Participants

Participants in this project were professionals who have played a role in the development of ESL programs at the University of Minnesota anytime from 1968 to the present. Participants were selected based on recommendation from current leaders in ESL programs at the University who are aware of the various programs that have served the needs of ESL students over the years. It was the researcher's intent to have at least one representative to provide an oral history for each program including the Minnesota English Center, the Commanding English Program (now College English Transitions in TRIO), Freshman Composition (nonnative speaker sections), the International Teaching Assistant (ITA) Program in the Center for Teaching and Learning, the Minnesota English Language Program, and special programs dedicated to English for specific purposes. A total of 15 ESL professionals from various leadership positions in ESL programs such as Program Director, Teaching Specialist, Student Advisor, and Office Administrator were invited to participate in the study; of the 15 invited, 14 individuals chose to participate.

Procedure

Data collection

This qualitative study was carried out by collecting oral histories through semi-structured interviews which lasted from 30 to 90 minutes and were conducted from June 20th, 2011 to July 12th, 2011. Participation in this study was completely voluntary. Participants' signed consent was not required as the study was determined exempt by the Institutional Review Board; however, participants were provided with a consent form (see Appendix A-1) to

describe the study, explain their role in the project, provide contact information, and clarify that the interview video files would not be kept confidential. Two interviews were not conducted orally due to schedule conflict or location. These participants received the interview questions as an email attachment and provided their responses in Word documents. The remaining participants who conducted interviews orally received the interview questions (see Appendix A-2) by email prior to being interviewed. Participants were asked to look at the questions in order to become familiar with the main topic treated in the project, but were not required to prepare answers. Interviews were videotaped using a Canon SD camera. The MOD extension video files were transferred to the researcher's personal computer. Due to the overwhelming amount of data collected, it was decided that rather than transcribing the complete interview for each participant, the researcher would instead transcribe only those parts that would be included in the paper.

Data analysis

The information gathered through the interviews was used to create a timeline by synthesizing the factual information from each interview as well as to describe in narrative form the various ESL programs of the past and present on the University of Minnesota campus in order to answer the question "How has ESL programming developed at the University of Minnesota - Twin Cities campus?" Oral histories are personal accounts and therefore subject to the limitations of human memory and the tendency of different types of people to pay attention to certain types of information (Ritchie, 1995, p. 11; Seldon & Pappworth, 1983, p. 17; Yow, 2005, p. 36). A natural result of this is that it is impossible to draw up a completely factual recounting of the events in each program unless the interviewees themselves have impeccable

memory or have documented dates, names, and other facts throughout their participation in the program, which is typically not the case. It was the researcher's intent, therefore, to provide as thorough an account as possible, depending on the oral histories provided by interviewees. To conduct a reliability check, after writing the Findings section, interviewees were asked to review the section pertaining to the program which they participated in as ESL professionals and provide the researcher with feedback as to the accuracy and relevancy of the information recorded.

The qualitative nature of the study also lent itself to a thematic analysis of the data. Savage's (1997) five characteristics of language programs include change-oriented, experiential, pro-autonomy, collaborative and communicative. With these in mind, the researcher chose two themes due to their salience in a preliminary interview: collaboration and adaptation. In the remaining interviews, sections were transcribed based on interpretation of relevance to the general history of an ESL program or to one of the themes. Relevance was often established by appearance of keywords in a section of the interview.

Findings

This section of the paper will be devoted to description of each program along with an account of perspectives and events that bring out the themes of adaptation and collaboration based on oral histories collected from ESL professionals at the University of Minnesota - Twin Cities campus. The programs will be discussed in a chronological manner according to the dates they were established.

Minnesota English Center

One of the first academic ESL programs in the nation, the Minnesota English Center was

established in 1968 by Dr. Betty Wallace Robinett in the Linguistics Department of the College

of Liberal Arts (CLA). Coming from the University of Michigan, Robinett was able to use the

model of the English Language Institute to build up the

program. The program was comprised of a non-credit

academic year program named the English Program for

International Students and a non-credit summer program

called the Summer Intensive English Language and

Orientation Program. Although the Center served full-time

ESL students with intent to study at the university level, the

student population also included groups of immigrants,

educated professionals, and Regents Scholars who are

University employees also enrolled in courses. Those Regents

Scholars enrolled in MEC courses were nonnative English

Minnesota English Center

Established: 1968

Closed: 2004

Located in: College of Liberal Arts, Linguistics Department

Directed by:
Betty Robinett (1968-1979)
Elaine Tarone (1979-2004)
Mark Landa (1975-1995)
Lynne Ackerberg (1995-2002)
Bill Hellriegel (2002-2004)

Population Served: academic ESL students, immigrants, professionals, Regents Scholars

speaking refugee or immigrants. In spite of its relationship to the College, the program was

mostly autonomous as it functioned separately from the university in fiscal matters. This gave

the program freedom, but also brought its own difficulties, as Mark Landa, coordinator of the

program until 1995, recalls:

> Funding was a constant problem during the 20 years that I served as coordinator
> and director. Money was always very tight. We met this challenge by gearing our
> hiring to actual enrollment figures. This required us to add teaching
> appointments for every new group of 12-15 students as they physically
> registered for classes in my office. Many students who applied from overseas
> each semester would arrive late or not come at all. For budget reasons, we could

not allow classes smaller than 8 or 10 students without losing income. For teachers, this meant that they often could not count on a set number of classes until all the students had registered. There was often little time for them to plan a course after being notified of an offer to teach it.

Abrupt drops in enrollments were a significant challenge in the life of the MEC, according to Lynne Ackerberg, director of the program from 1995 to 2002. The 1997 Asian currency crisis resulted in a huge drop in enrollment. This was followed by another drop after the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001. Changes in enrollments are most often caused by world events such as these that affect the mobility of international students, as White et.al (1991) explain:

> Indeed, a moment's reflection will reveal how tenuous is the assumption of stability in any organization, especially an educational one, given the volatility of personal relationships and the constantly changing wider environment (economic, political, demographic) in which schools exist. This is especially the case for language schools, whose clientele can change almost overnight according to economic and political changes. So, in reality, stability is a false assumption (p. 14).

If stability should not be assumed, it is logical to conclude that language program faculty and staff must be ready to adapt to constant change or become obsolete. The MEC's successful existence of more than 35 years might have proved that it would continue to thrive in spite of changing circumstances. However, CLA administrators had difficulty perceiving the benefit of a program for which the College was responsible but received no revenue. In this sense, the placement was precarious. Those affiliated with the MEC recall the long-term battle over the program's suitability and fit within the CLA mission. The dropping enrollments after 2001 likely presented an opportune moment and justification for cutting the MEC. Faculty and staff were disappointed, but not surprised when the MEC was closed in 2004.

Looking back on her time as director, particularly at the time of the closure, Ackerberg

remembers that one important thing she learned was how to manage change:

> I think managing change was really something very big. I made a lot of use of a
> University psychologist who was really helpful to me. So when we had big
> changes I would consult with him about how to proceed. He actually came to
> work with the staff and I think what I learned from him most was how important
> it is to communicate clearly and well and regularly, so people just know what's
> going on. And give people opportunities to talk about what they're feeling, about
> their confusion and anger and also to find assistance, to find employment. I
> learned a lot about managing change from doing it and also from this
> psychologist at the University.

Collaboration among instructors and many of the programs described in this paper

(which were originally all housed in one unit in CLA) was key to maintaining excellence in

teaching and upholding the reputation of each program as well as that of the university. Mark

Landa describes the collaborative environment of the MEC:

> The challenge of teachers' professional development was met by the TAs'
> increasingly relevant graduate coursework in applied linguistics, education, and
> compositions studies (Dept. of English); by the mentoring provided by
> experienced teachers in MEC; and by a cooperative process of sharing expertise,
> peer teaching, and mutual support. MEC became recognized as a national leader
> among Intensive English Programs and TA training programs.

MEC teachers shared their expertise through shared notebooks as the instructors, often

MA ESL students, developed materials for their courses. As the MEC grew in numbers and

instructors grew in expertise, they realized that they could save time and energy, and also grow

together as teachers, by sharing their ideas and experience. Instructors also co-taught courses

and this allowed them to learn from each other through sharing ideas and experimenting with

new methods. Furthermore, formative evaluations gave instructors an opportunity to observe

what their peers were doing in the classroom and both learn from them as well as provide

thoughtful feedback to strive for best practices.

Ackerberg recalls that this collaboration was a very gratifying part of working in the MEC: "I really enjoyed the work with the young teachers. I loved learning from them. I loved their creativity and energy, not only teachers that I mentored, but also team-teaching."

Successful change is brought about by the collaboration of faculty and staff within a program as well as between programs. Most instructors in the MEC, indeed, all at first, were Master's students in the ESL program. Later, as the field of ESL developed and MEC faculty grew in expertise, a mentoring component provided the opportunity for collaboration between students in the M.A. ESL program and instructors in the MEC. Mike Anderson, director of the Minnesota English Language Program, also taught in the MEC as an M.A. ESL student and recalls the environment of the MEC with appreciation: "MEC was probably the best teaching environment I've ever worked in. It was a very supportive environment where mentoring future teachers was a very strong component of the program." Robin Murie, director of the ESL program at the University of Minnesota – Duluth, also recalls the environment at the MEC positively: "It was a wonderful culture of all of us TA's . . . dozens of us and we shared each other's desks, and we shared each other's files, and we taught each other how to teach, and it was just a great spirit . . . We had lots of passion and we sure shared a lot with each other."

Lynne Ackerberg recalls a "culture of appreciation" as an important part of the collaboration at the MEC:

> Related to the collaboration was a culture of appreciation which preceded me, but I think we strengthened it, and were more intentional about it. We had a teacher evaluation process which was very elaborate. It involved the teachers doing portfolios occasionally and also setting goals and reflecting on previous goals. The effort behind it was to encourage growth. While I was directing, we established an MEC Council which was a governing board. People on the governing board did the evaluations, and so we had an opportunity to talk to each teacher face to face for quite a long time where they talked about their

accomplishments and their goals. It was a time to talk about teaching and a time to be recognized. That's a really important part of the place. Efforts to appreciate the staff really matter. So that's another piece that contributes to the collaboration, I think.

When the MEC was closed in 2004, ESL instruction continued in a different way under the direction of Elaine Tarone, and the leadership of Lynne Ackerberg who taught credit-bearing, academic English courses with Eric Nelson, and was assisted by Annie Marrin and Bethany Peters (née Maupin) who took on much of the administrative work. After one year, the courses were moved from the CLA to the College of Continuing Education in 2005 and this ultimately opened the door for the new IEP, the Minnesota English Language Program, to come into being. During this time also, Bethany Peters completed her M.A. ESL Plan B paper examining the needs of international students at the University of Minnesota and how they were or were not being met, and made suggestions about what kind of action should take place to accommodate international students (Maupin, 2005).

Although the closure of the MEC was a sorrowful experience for those who dedicated their time, energy, and even their hearts to serving their students, there were some benefits that came from the change. As Bethany Peters points out, the closure helped to create more awareness of the need for ESL on campus and led to the formation of the ESL Council (a board dedicated to the success of international students with representatives from several programs and departments on campus), provided the opportunity to collaborate with the Continuing College of Education which many consider a better home for the IEP, and allowed instructors to re-evaluate and refine the curricula to better meet students' needs.

Master's Program in English as a Second Language

The M.A. ESL teacher training program was also one of the first of its kind to be established in the United States. Like the Minnesota English Center, the M.A. program was instituted by Dr. Betty Wallace Robinett in 1968. It continued under her leadership until 1979 when Elaine Tarone came to the University of Minnesota to direct the program; finally, when Tarone left to become director of the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, Anne Lazaraton became director of the program in 2009. The M.A. program has always worked closely with the ESL programs on campus to train professionals and scholars, many of whom have taken leadership positions in other campus departments and programs as well as in the greater Twin Cities and Minnesota.

> **M.A. ESL Program**
>
> http://sls.umn.edu/
>
> Established: 1968
>
> Closed: 2011
>
> Located in: College of Liberal Arts, Linguistics Department (1968-1992); Institute of Linguistics and Asian and Slavic Languages and Literature (1993-2007); Writing Studies Department (2008-present)
>
> Directed by:
> Betty Robinett, (1968-1978)
> Elaine Tarone (1979-2008)
> Anne Lazaraton (2009-present)

The program remained in the Linguistics Department until the latter was closed in 1992, and was then placed as an independent program into the Institute of Linguistics with Asian and Slavic Languages and Literature (ILASLL), and then placed as an independent program from 2000 to 2008 in the Institute of Linguistics, ESL, and Slavic Languages and Literatures (ILES). The matter of the program's placement was always a source of contention, on both theoretical and practical grounds. Some questioned whether the program really belonged in Linguistics, maintaining that much of the focus of the M.A. program is on application and pedagogy rather

than theory. According to Elaine Tarone, many M.A. students interested in pursuing subsequent Ph.D. study were pointed to the College of Education, the Linguistics program, or other universities. Furthermore, the M.A. program at the University of Minnesota has a reputation of greater focus on scholarly research than other teacher training programs of high repute. Regardless, many still did not see second-language instruction as a part of linguistics. Finally, in 2008 when ILES was disbanded, the M.A. program was affiliated with the Department of Writing Studies.

One thing that has set this program apart from similar programs in the country is its semester-long practicum with an experienced mentor teacher in the Intensive English Program on campus (the MEC before 2004, MELP after 2007). A graduate program professor and an experienced teacher work with the student-teacher during an entire semester, video recording an entire lesson twice, to pass on knowledge and skills of teaching. But the relationship is never one-sided; mentors often agree that they learn from their practicum students as well. For this reason, instructors at the Minnesota English Language Program (MELP) have appreciated the M.A. ESL program's contribution to MELP and to their own teaching.

In October of 2011, the dean of the College of Liberal Arts announced that admissions to the M.A. program would be closed. Faculty, staff, alumni, and students in related fields lamented the loss of a fruitful program which was unique in its focus on training college-level ESL instructors. Many expressed their regrets to Elaine Tarone, who worked hard during her directorship to help the program gain a reputation as equally balanced between practice and scholarly research. The TESLAlumni LISTSERV was the medium for delivering the news to program alumni, now leaders and scholars in the field of ESL, who discussed in the ensuing

weeks what type of response they should make and whether there was any hope of saving the

program. Many elected to send letters to the dean, and the *Minnesota Daily* picked up the

story, stating: "While it is understandable that all colleges are currently looking to make cuts

given the difficult financial times, it makes little sense to cut a program that is both nationally

and internationally recognized. This is especially true when it is the only program in the state

that serves its function" (Minnesota Daily Editorial Board, 2011). At the time of this writing, the

dean has made no indication that he will rescind his decision to cut the program.

Before the closure of the M.A. program was announced, Lynne Ackerberg stated, "I

think the M.A. program has had a huge impact on the state, not just on the [IEP], because

people in leadership positions in ESL programs around the state are [graduates of the MA

program.]" We can conclude then, that the closure of the program will result in a loss, not only

for the University, but also for the state of Minnesota.

International Teaching Assistant Program

Complaints about the poor English skills of International Teaching Assistants (ITAs)

prompted Mark Landa, then director of the MEC, to offer one of the first ITA courses in the

country in 1977. The course offerings expanded into a program which Landa oversaw for

several years; in 1984, Jan Smith took over the leadership and the program eventually became

a campus-wide training program for ITAs.

Originally housed in the MEC, the ITA program was moved to the Office of Human

Resources in 1995, where it is located today in the Center for Teaching and Learning. Perhaps a

more urgent concern than its location was the source of funding for the program. In 1978, the

development of ITA training materials was supported by a NAFSA grant awarded to Joe

Mestenhauser and Michael Paige; during the next few years, Mark Landa and Bill Perry

experimented to find adequate funding for the ITA

program but failed to develop a successful model.

Finally, in 1985, the Minnesota state legislature's

mandate requiring the University to guarantee that

teaching assistants demonstrate oral proficiency in the

English language forced funding, which came from

Central Administration.

Since the idea of training ITAs was new, there

was no curriculum and very few materials, as Colleen

Meyers, a veteran instructor in the ITA program, recalls:

> We started putting together materials we could
> use and, as far as I can remember, there were no
> other programs in the country at the time that
> we could go to. In fact, we are one of the
> programs that is looked up to the most. We have
> one of the major programs, thanks in large part
> to Jan Smith . . . she was our fearless leader, so to speak.

Meyers also recalls a few milestones in the development of the ITA program. For

example, in 1990 a publisher approached Jan Smith, Colleen Meyers and Amy Burkhalter with

the possibility of publishing some materials. The work they began in 1987, which they carried

out on weekends and after work on weekdays, was finally published in 1992 as *Communicate:*

Strategies for Teaching Assistants. Also, after presenting a number of times at TESOL, a

conference an ITA interest section was born. Another important event was a program review

ITA Program

http://www1.umn.edu/ohr/teachlearn/graduate/itap/

Established: 1977

Located in: College of Liberal Arts, Linguistics Department, Minnesota English Center (1977-1994); Office of Human Resources, Center for Teaching and Learning (1995-present)

Directed by:
Mark Landa (1977-1983)
Jan Smith (1984-1992)
Karin Smith (1992-2000)
Jane O'Brien (2001-2009)
Jeff Lindgren (2010 -present)

Population Served: International Teaching Assistants

conducted by visitors from the University of California at Berkeley and Georgia Tech who were quite impressed with the program.

Like other programs, the ITA program has faced its challenges and changed with time. Collaboration has often played a role in helping the program adapt to changing times and needs. For example, from 1986 to 1989 the ITA program worked in collaboration with the Institute of Technology (now the College of Science and Engineering) to design a special intensive three-week summer program called the ITA Pre-Academic Program. In this intensive program, students are divided up according to fields and provided with instruction developed by an ITA instructor trained in ESL who worked with a graduate student in that field called a resource TA. The result is curricula and materials which are very specifically tailored for the students in each field, because, as Meyers explains: "we know for example the way that you teach Chemistry, . . . and the amount of English and the type of English that you use for Chemistry is different from what you would use in teaching an Anthropology discussion class for example . . . So we have tried as much as possible to tailor the work that we do to that department."

Meyers also remembers dealing with the growth of the Chinese student population in a unique way while the university was closed during the winter break of 2010:

> Even though we've done as much as possible to understand our Chinese students, one of our instructors Mary Jetter suggested that we all read this book called *Dreaming in Chinese*. So the program bought the book and we all read it, and then we had an online discussion from home in order to take advantage of the situation and to learn more about our students.

The ITA program is currently adapting to meet students' instructional training needs by focusing on signature pedagogies, which are distinct approaches to teaching different academic disciplines. Meyers explains:

> Everybody in the Center [for Teaching and Learning] (not only the people that are in the ITA program) divided into four different areas – the applied sciences, the hard sciences, the humanities and the social sciences. Then we read articles, and we went and talked to people and tried to figure out what, if any, the instructional differences between disciplines were, and how that might impact how we work with students from those various disciplines.

Another change being made in the ITA program is establishing connection with the undergraduate population. ITAs can benefit from meeting with undergraduates, particularly students who are not in the ITA's major, to get the perspectives of students who may be very challenged by the course and material the ITA is covering.

Meyers concludes that the faculty and staff of the ITA program are fortunate to have each other. The size of the program in terms of faculty and staff fosters development which keeps the program at the U of M at the top among other ITA programs in the nation. She also appreciates the balanced management style which allows instructors to express their thoughts and work together to find solutions which really work.

Nonnative Speaker Sections of Freshman Composition

In the late 1970s, the College of Liberal Arts began to offer special sections of Freshman Composition for nonnative speakers under the leadership of Jean Peterson in the English Department. Robin Murie, who took over the position of coordinator in 1980, began her career as a TA in the MEC while she was a student in the M.A. ESL program. She remembers analyzing how Freshman Composition was teaching writing and comparing it to how writing was taught in ESL, and soon found herself in charge of the nonnative speaker sections of Freshman

Composition. Sheryl Holt took over as coordinator in 1990 and still holds that position today. This was one of the first university writing programs to have fully integrated nonnative speaker sections. The system gives international students with a range of TOEFL scores freedom to choose the section for nonnative speakers voluntarily. It also protects them from any stigma that some students feel related to being an ESL student since the nature of the courses was not marked on student records but only on course materials.

Freshman Composition for NNSs

http://writingstudies.umn.edu/

Established: 1980

Located in: Freshman Composition; English Department; Department of Writing Studies

Directed by:
Robin Murie (1980-1989)
Sheryl Holt (1990-present)

Population Served: college freshman who elect to take a nonnative speaker section of Freshman Composition

In the beginning, the program was autonomous from the MEC but hired from the pool of instructors who applied to the MEC, so teachers in the nonnative speaker composition sections have often been professionals with a Master's degree in ESL. Eventually this arrangement was no longer viable since the MEC wanted to keep the instructors it hired and hiring for the nonnative speaker sections had to go through the Composition program . Finally, in 2007, Freshman Composition was merged with the Department of Rhetoric and the General College writing program into the Department of Writing Studies where it is today.

This change has led to meaningful collaboration, as Sheryl Holt expresses:

After the merge we suddenly had the GC [General College] faculty who knew quite a bit about the whole realm of minority students and other diverse students. So it felt to me like we had some camaraderie with other instructors. And it's been a really nice combination. Now we have immigrant students . . . we have a lot more knowledge of diversity among the instructors, because

nonnative speakers can be in any section. Now with the growth of the Chinese students - the huge growth - they're all across the composition curriculum.

Commanding English

The Commanding English Program was established by Dr. Sandra Dylla Flake in 1980 to help refugees and immigrants transition from high school to college-level study by supporting the development of their academic skills. Following Dr. Flake as director, Susan Bosher conducted a curriculum evaluation and developed a model with a content-based focus. During its 28 years, the Commanding English Program served between 50 to 70 students a year who were admitted based on the length of time they had lived in the U.S., their TOEFL or MELAB scores, and whether or not they used English in the home. Students would work together as a cohort while completing a year in the Commanding English Program earning credits as college freshman. The program provided opportunity for these students who needed more English assistance but did not have the funds to attend ESL courses in the Intensive English Program on campus which international students typically attend if their TOEFL scores do not meet the university requirement. The Commanding English student population further differed from international students in that immigrants and refugees have an interrupted, or sometimes even nonexistent, educational background

Commanding English

http://www.cehd.umn.edu/trio/cet/default.html

Established: 1970s

Changed to College English Transitions: 2008

Located in: General College

Directed by:
Sandra Flake (1978-1988)
Susan Bosher (1989)
Robin Murie (1990-2008)

Population Served: immigrant and refugee students admitted to the University

which significantly affects their academic skills as well as their ability to develop those skills once matriculated. Robin Murie, director of the program from 1990 to 2008, says of the student population and its needs:

> We had a population that had done ESL in grade school or high school, and to be put back in ESL was disturbing to them. They didn't need to learn English - they needed to learn how to read and write at the college level using college vocabulary. And so, if you take Sociology and you put a reading course next to it that uses the reading material of Sociology and works on how to study Sociology, how to read about Sociology, how to take notes, how to write about it, and how to take tests using the Sociology material, the students are less resistant because they see a direct buy-in. The students were being pushed much, much harder this way, and we had tremendous success with that model.

Murie was teaching in the MEC when the position in the Commanding English Program opened and, since she had always been interested in the beginning writer, she felt it was a perfect fit. She is attributed with the work of expanding the program through Post-Secondary Education Options (PSEO) programs at Edison High School, Roosevelt High School, and Washburn High School. She says about the PSEO program, and its impact on the University and the students they worked with:

> I inherited the first year of a high school PSEO program where we took some of our Commanding English courses and gave them to high school juniors and seniors through the Post-Secondary Options Act where the state pays for them to take college courses. So we picked a cohort of high school refugee kids and really pushed them with our college courses. And that program, of all the things I've ever done in ESL, has the most meaning for me. I encouraged six or seven of the first group of Somali high school seniors that we worked with at Roosevelt to come into the University that next year as freshman. So we had them again their freshman year which really made that bridge nice. And then I watched them turn around and reach out to the Somali high school kids behind them, and they're still doing that. The Somali Student Association which they founded has hundreds and hundreds of students now at the U. Just watching this kind of thing blossom is profound.

Murie recalls the recurring question as to the necessity of the Commanding English Program since the English Department had been offering sections of Freshman Composition for nonnative speakers since the 1980s. Although the two programs served different student populations with distinct student needs, the University was in a period of transition and the administration changed the program to College English Transitions and merged it into the TRiO Student Support Services in the College of Education and Human Development at the same time it decided to close the General College.

Higbee et. al (2001) highlighted the collaborative nature of the program, saying,

One of the strengths of Commanding English is the collaboration that a small, integrated program allows among teachers, advisors, and students. The small class size of 15 to 17 students provides opportunities for individual attention from the instructor, closer relationships and bonds with fellow students, and an easier environment in which to ask questions and voice opinions. The connected courses in the curriculum and the close work with program advisors all contribute to the success of the program (p. 169).

Special Language Programs

Beyond the many ESL programs at the University of Minnesota, there is also a significant amount of English instruction dedicated to specific groups on campus which are usually matriculated students or professionals who attend the U of M for more training during their careers in their home countries. In other words, while many ESL programs focus on lower-level ESL students, several ESP programs exist to serve advanced ESL students who have passed the necessary TOEFL score but still require help in some areas of language such as advanced writing or specific pronunciation training, as well as groups of students who come to the university for a short program and return to their home countries.

Special language programs began as early as the 1980s and were hosted by the MEC. Jenise Rowekamp recalls a unique program established for a group of Saudi Arabian millers, for example. The MEC also welcomed a group of Japanese teachers through the JET (Japanese English Teachers) Program, which ran every summer for 19 years.

Sheryl Holt has been a leader in special programs at the Twin Cities campus and has often developed materials for the short-term workshops and orientation programs she conducts. For example, at one time about 30% of the MBA student population at Carlson School of Management was international students. At that time Holt was invited to work with the students on a number of skills including presentations, business writing, and so on. She also assists Humphrey Fellows (mid-career professionals in the area of public service studying at the Humphrey School participating in cultural exchange and development of leadership skills) with presentation skills, resume writing, grammar, APA style, etc. Another campus institution that has requested Holt's help is the China Center which manages the university's relationship with Chinese researchers and scholars. Recently, the dental program also asked Holt to assist their international students with their writing skills during a six-week summer session. ESP is one area of English instruction which demonstrates that English instruction for foreigners is not remedial. Even very advanced students benefit from help in their language skills.

Minnesota English Language Program

During the interim after the closing of the MEC in 2004, faculty and staff worked together to create a new program, dubbed by Jenise Rowekamp, an M.A. ESL alumni and a teaching specialist at MELP, "a phoenix rising from the ashes." The College of Continuing Education, where the credit-bearing academic English courses were housed, welcomed the idea

of an Intensive English Program and so, with much hard

work, the Minnesota English Language Program (MELP)

was established in 2007.

> Bethany Peters remembers the collaboration

between the College of Continuing Education and the

staff who developed MELP with a positive outlook:

> I think CCE was just a great place to land for the program. They definitely had a spirit of openness and welcoming. They were ready to try and make this program successful. For our institution it's a good fit, it's a good home. A lot of my Master's paper looked at all the different placements that you find ESL programs in in a university and there's really no formula because every university culture is different. But here I got to see first-hand how we were able to begin to thrive in a place where our host was helping us build the program. For example, we had the resources of their marketing department, of their IT . . . I think it was really cool to see that as a positive outcome of transitioning.

> Mike Anderson, director of the program since its opening in 2007, also considers the

new home for the IEP a good fit, helping it to adapt more quickly to global changes, in a

structure that allows it to be as agile as possible to react to needs of differing student

populations. Anderson recalls spending much of his time during the first semester meeting with

other departments and programs who mourned the absence of an IEP on campus since the

MEC was closed in 2004:

> The Intensive English Program was missed very much by admissions offices, as well as colleges, and programs, and different units on campus that wanted to bring in students or scholars that needed some support with their language skills. So something that impressed me was that, in my first semester in the position, I had a meeting almost every week with someone who wanted to learn about what our new program was going to do and tell me about their program.

MELP

http://cce.umn.edu/esl

Established: 2007

Located in: College of Continuing Education

Directed by:
Mike Anderson (2007-present)

Population served: international students preparing for academic study in an institution of higher education in the U.S.

> Sometimes you don't realize what you have until it's gone. And units recognized that this was something that could leave, and that if they didn't have it they would be at a loss, and that they were happy to have a place on campus where they could send international students to work on their language.
>
> The interest expressed in MELP by programs and departments across campus was

strongly supported by numbers - the student population doubled within a year. While he had

been assigned to teach one course a year, at this point, Anderson explains, it was necessary for

him to give up teaching and devote himself completely to administration of the three aspects of

the program (non-credit courses in the Intensive English Program, credit-bearing courses in the

Academic English Program, and other special programs) as well as to find more instructional

staff. As an administrator, in the past four years, Anderson has placed great emphasis on

recreating the collaborative atmosphere of the MEC and has admired the way the instructors

adapt to changes that affect the program:

> I think I strive to create a collaborative environment much like MEC was. So I don't feel I'm alone in building this program and certainly I cannot take all the credit for the success of this program. I think most of the credit falls to the staff of great instructors that we have that work tirelessly to create better curriculum, changing curriculum to better serve the changing needs of the students that we see. So even from term to term the population of students that comes to study with us changes, so we may have more Chinese students one year, and the next year we may have more Saudi students. And students coming from different language backgrounds bring different needs to the program. So our instructors change curriculum to address the needs of those specific students. At the same time, what just blows me away is how our instructors are constantly changing their instruction to use the newest technology, to better prepare students to use technology in the classroom.

Many collaborative aspects of the MEC have been carried over into MELP by both

faculty and staff. For example, the shared notebooks of the MEC became shared files (uploaded

electronically to a database) in MELP. M.A. ESL student mentoring, as well as team-teaching,

continue in MELP. Anderson considers the relationship between the M.A. ESL program and MELP one of great value to both parties:

> That program provides us with great new teachers and teaching assistants, and I think our program allows students in that program a place to practice teaching and also a place to do research that can help impact international education at the University of Minnesota. So I feel very strongly that we want to work together closely with the MA in ESL program . . . and I think that we have a pretty good relationship there.

Unfortunately, the large population of Regents Scholars that used to seek help with English in the MEC dwindled in MELP since 2009 when the University changed its policy which previously offered 100% tuition coverage for University employees taking courses through the Regents Scholarship Program. In 2008, 22 Regents Scholars enrolled in MELP courses; this number dropped to 2 in 2009 after the policy change. While some Regents Scholars have different learning needs because of their interrupted schooling compared to most MELP students, according to MELP instructors interviewed, the Scholars bring a wisdom, maturity and attitude to the classroom that the younger international students do not have (Gerend, 2011).

Many changes, however, are for the better. While the MEC originally only offered non-credit courses, MELP now offers both non-credit courses for students who have not yet been admitted to the University because of their TOEFL scores, and also credit-bearing courses for students who are admitted to the University but need some language support as they transition into the University. This allows MELP to meet a greater variety of student needs, to bring more international students to the University, which has become a high priority at the University (eighth on the list of thirteen essential areas on which the University plans to focus its resources according to the *Planning Toolkit* of 2010/2011), and furthermore, to assist those students in succeeding in their academic studies.

Another change in process is the implementation of conditional admission, which allows students with satisfactory academic work but undeveloped English skills to be admitted on the condition that they may enter their academic program only after reaching the necessary level of English proficiency through ESL courses. Anderson reminds that "anything at the University is collaborative. We need to work with units across the University, across campuses. We're part of the whole University. And that takes time, but I think that's something that will have a positive impact on international students coming to the University, because I think they'll be better prepared once they start their degree program."

In the four years since MELP opened, the student population has steadily increased. Anderson recognizes the difficulty of striking a balance in the MELP student population growth and wants to keep the program small enough that instruction will always be high-quality and tailored to the students' needs. One challenge he faces is finding out how the growing program fits into the University and how it can better serve the University. Another goal of the University is to diversify the international student body, and Anderson sees MELP as one unit on campus that plays a significant role in assisting the University in that endeavor.

Discussion

Making a place for ESL programs in academia is no small task. In spite of this, the undeniable, growing need for ESL programs, and the flexible, dedicated leadership of faculty and administrators of these programs sustain their development. ESL program development at the University of Minnesota, then, coincides with what we find in the literature. The story of ESL program development at the University of Minnesota laid out here through the description of each program individually reflects that the many challenges facing ESL programs mentioned

in the literature are realities that must be dealt with. Now, through the research questions, the

history of ESL programs can be considered on a broader scale.

How did ESL programs develop at the University of Minnesota - Twin Cities campus?

The development of ESL programs at the University of Minnesota began with the

foresight of Dr. Harold B. Allen, professor of Linguistics, who invited Betty Robinett to establish

the first ESL program, the Minnesota English Center. Likewise, in following years, the various

ESL programs were prompted by the growing recognition of a need that was not being met by

any other program. Acknowledgement of students' needs was naturally followed by a search

for qualified professionals, many of whom were trained in the M.A. ESL program at the

University of Minnesota, to pioneer new ESL programs to fit those specific needs. The

pioneering stage usually involved a decision related to the program's placement, a factor which

has been extremely significant in the development of each program since it has often

determined the levels of stability and flexibility each one experiences.

Progress and adaptation have arisen in the ESL program history from an environment of

collaboration built by the proliferation of ESL professionals, programs, and students on campus.

Collaboration occurs at multiple levels. First, it occurs among individuals within a program. As

mentioned in the findings, the MEC and MELP demonstrate this through sharing ideas and work

among faculty. It can also be seen how faculty in the ITA program worked together to better

understand their students by reading a cultural book and participating in online discussion.

Sheryl Holt referred to the benefit of working with others in Writing Studies who share

knowledge about diversity within student populations and how that supports better instruction

in sections of Freshman Composition for nonnative speakers. Collaboration also occurs through

relationships between programs. Both the MEC and MELP collaborated with the M.A. ESL

Program through the Practicum course, which allowed apprentice teachers to work with an

experienced mentor teacher to learn teaching skills first-hand through practice, observation,

and reflection. The formation of the ESL Council with representatives from several programs on

campus is also a good example of collaboration between programs on our campus. Finally,

collaboration takes place between universities and institutions. For example, Robin Murie,

coordinator of the ESL program at the University of Minnesota – Duluth where she is the only

staff member, keeps in touch with Mike Anderson of the Minnesota English Language Program

as she oversees the development and growth of that newly established program. Colleen

Meyers also mentioned the program review conducted by the University of California, Berkeley

and Georgia Institute of Technology on the ITA program at the University of Minnesota.

It may be that ESL, because of its relatively young age as an academic field, has

prompted such collaboration in order to answer the question "How do we teach ESL?" As this

paper has shown, the matter of how to teach ESL is not so simple. The various programs

developed at the University of Minnesota indicate that the issue of ESL instruction is

multifaceted, raising other questions such as, "How do we teach with limited resources?"

"What materials do we need to teach this student population, and do appropriate materials

already exist, or do we need to create them?" "How do we teach ESL to refugees?" "What kind

of ESL instruction do ITAs need?" and so on. It is obvious that ESL programs at the University of

Minnesota would have developed quite differently if this environment of collaboration had not

existed.

How did global and institutional influences affect the development of ESL programs at the University of Minnesota?

As mentioned above, one of the institutional influences that has had a large influence on each program is placement in a host department. In the case of the MEC, placement in the College of Liberal Arts (CLA) worked as long as those who placed it there continued in leadership. However, when the MEC did not seem to be beneficial to the CLA, and opportunity arose, it was cut off. Placement also eventually resulted in closure in the case of Commanding English since its host, the General College, was discontinued. It seems that smaller host colleges or departments provide more support for ESL programs which tend to be of a smaller size. However, regardless of the size of the host department, an ESL program serves the entire university and needs to be placed in a home that recognizes and values programs that do so.

The most significant result of global influences mentioned by interviewees was changes in enrollment, including both increases and decreases in enrollment figures. Both create challenges for programs to deal with. On the one hand, decreases in enrollment make it difficult for programs to continue. More importantly though, drops in enrollment make administrators of host departments nervous since they cannot predict how long the period of decrease will last. This was most likely one of the factors that helped lead to the termination of the MEC as it had gone through some periods of declining enrollments as described in the Findings section. On the other hand, increases in enrollment create different problems related to availability of faculty, room space, and so on. These problems are much better received by administrators, naturally.

Limitations of the study

One limitation of this study was the manner in which themes were selected. While the researcher finds the themes of collaboration and adaptation salient in the interviews, the method of data analysis was not true to scientific methods of analyzing qualitative data. A more orthodox method of analysis, like coding for example, could uncover other significant themes.

Another limitation of the study, though not as serious as the first, was the amount of data. Even if the researcher had been trained in coding, it would have taken an enormous amount of time to code each interview. This prevented a thorough look at the perspectives and information shared by the interviewees.

Conclusion

The University of Minnesota's ESL programming history reveals that the ESL population is diverse and sometimes warrants the implementation of distinct ESL programs to meet differing needs. The University of Minnesota provides several core programs for ESL students including an Intensive English Program for international students, a bridge program for immigrant and refugee high school graduates, a training program for International Teaching Assistants, and special Freshman Composition sections for nonnative speakers. These programs vary not only in their student population and how they meet those students' needs, but also in their placements within the host-institution. This is typical as Staczek and Carkin (1984) point out, and can be attributed partially to the fact that ESL traditionally has not been included in the canon of general subjects offered at institutions of higher education in the United States. This indirectly produced some conflict as administrators at the University battled with the question of how well ESL programs fit into the mission of a particular host college. This suggests

that an important part of ESL program administrators' work is to be able to express how the program benefits the university and what goals the program helps the university to achieve.

As described in this paper, ESL programs at the University of Minnesota have undergone many changes. Some of these changes are typical to all programs, such as changes in administration. Changes in student population demographics and enrollment figures, on the other hand, are more characteristic of language programs which are so easily affected by political and economic events on a much larger scale. This being the case, faculty and staff of ESL programs must be ready to adapt as necessary and work together with creativity to deal with situations that have never been confronted before. Many quotes from interviewees shared in this paper reveal that collaboration and adaptation have played a role in the success of ESL programs at the University of Minnesota. These are likely to be instrumental qualities in any ESL program anywhere.

With the increasing number of students who need ESL support, it is now common to find ESL programs at major universities as well as community colleges. As we move forward in this international age, it is important that administrators consider if and how well their institution provides much needed assistance for these students. We cannot welcome students in order to serve the purpose of internationalizing our campuses and creating diversity in the student body, and then leave them to fend for themselves as they attempt to adjust to academic culture and language in the U.S., as Brewer (2010) explained. Failure to adequately support international students reduces efforts at internationalization to mere statistics, as the perspectives of students surveyed in Anderson et al.'s (in press) research demonstrate. It will be helpful to consider what universities across the country are doing to accommodate their ESL

student populations. Ideas like those Jenna Johnson (2011) shared in her blog can easily be

borrowed and adapted to fit different situations. Certainly, we need to work together at all

levels of higher education to develop ESL programs that will help students succeed and help

universities and colleges achieve their goals.

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Appendix A

CONSENT FORM
A History of ESL at the U of M

Participation

Your participation is requested in a study of the history of ESL at the U of M due to your position and experience as an ESL professional. Please ask any questions you have any time before consenting to participate.

This study is being conducted by Zoe Canestorp, a candidate in the MA ESL program. You can contact her at 715.520.7678 or canes003@umn.edu with questions or concerns. Mike Anderson is the supervisor for this project and he can be contacted at 612.624.1183 or ande1819@umn.edu.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and your decision of whether or not to participate will not affect your relations at the U of M. If you choose to participate, you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without risk of harm to yourself.

Procedures

Participation in this study includes a videotaped interview at a location and time to be arranged between you and the researcher. The interview questions will be related to your professional experience in ESL programs, not your personal life. You may be quoted and identified by name in the body of the paper and the transcripts of the interviews may be included in an appendix. If you request, the transcript will be submitted to you for examination. Parts of the interview may be included in a video about the history of ESL at the U of M.

Confidentiality

By agreeing to participate, you also agree that the interview, including the video and transcript, and information shared in the interview are public and do not need to be kept confidential.

Interview Questions

1) What can you tell me about the development of ESL programs at the U of M?

2) What role did you play in the development of ESL programming at the U of M?

3) Was there anything about the program you worked in that stood out to you as unique?

4) What do you think contributed most to the success of the program?

5) While you were there, what challenges did the program face, and how were they overcome?

Appendix B

Open Doors Data

International Students: Enrollment Trends

International Student Enrollment and U.S. Higher Education Enrollment, 1948/49 - 2010/11

Year	Int'l Students	Annual % Change	Total Enrollment1	% Int'l
1948/49	25,464 -		2,403,400	1.1
1949/50	26,433	3.8	2,445,000	1.1
1950/51	29,813	12.8	2,281,000	1.3
1951/52	30,462	2.2	2,102,000	1.4
1952/53	33,675	10.5	2,134,000	1.6
1953/54	33,833	0.5	2,231,000	1.5
1954/55	34,232	1.2	2,447,000	1.4
1955/56	36,494	6.6	2,653,000	1.4
1956/57	40,666	11.4	2,918,000	1.4
1957/58	43,391	6.7	3,324,000	1.3
1958/59	47,245	8.9	no data	-
1959/60	48,486	2.6	3,640,000	1.3
1960/61	53,107	9.5	no data	-
1961/62	58,086	9.4	4,146,000	1.4
1962/63	64,705	11.4	no data	-
1963/64	74,814	5.6	4,780,000	1.6
1964/65	82,045	9.7	5,280,000	1.6
1965/66	82,709	0.8	5,921,000	1.4
1966/67	100,262	21.2	6,390,000	1.6
1967/68	110,315	10.0	6,912,000	1.6
1968/69	121,362	10.0	7,513,000	1.6

1969/70	134,959	11.2	8,005,000	1.7
1970/71	144,708	7.2	8,581,000	1.7
1971/72	140,126	-3.2	8,949,000	1.6
1972/73	146,097	4.3	9,215,000	1.6
1973/74	151,066	3.4	9,602,000	1.6
1974/752	154,580	2.3	10,224,000	1.5
1975/76	179,344	16.0	11,185,000	1.6
1976/77	203,068	13.2	11,012,000	1.8
1977/78	235,509	16.0	11,286,000	2.1
1978/79	263,938	12.1	11,260,000	2.3
1979/80	286,343	8.5	11,570,000	2.5
1980/81	311,882	8.9	12,097,000	2.6
1981/82	326,299	4.6	12,372,000	2.6
1982/83	336,985	3.3	12,426,000	2.7
1983/84	338,894	0.6	12,465,000	2.7
1984/85	342,113	0.9	12,242,000	2.8
1985/86	343,777	0.5	12,247,000	2.8
1986/87	349,609	1.7	12,504,000	2.8
1987/88	356,187	1.9	12,767,000	2.8
1988/89	366,354	2.9	13,055,000	2.8
1989/90	386,851	5.6	13,539,000	2.9
1990/91	407,529	5.3	13,819,000	2.9
1991/92	419,585	3.0	14,359,000	2.9
1992/93	438,618	4.5	14,487,000	3.0
1993/94	449,749	2.5	14,305,000	3.1

1994/95	452,635	0.6	14,279,000	3.2
1995/96	453,787	0.3	14,262,000	3.2
1996/97	457,984	0.9	14,368,000	3.2
1997/98	481,280	5.1	14,502,000	3.3
1998/99	490,933	2.0	14,507,000	3.4
1999/00	514,723	4.8	14,791,000	3.5
2000/01	547,867	6.4	15,312,000	3.6
2001/02	582,996	6.4	15,928,000	3.7
2002/03	586,323	0.6	16,612,000	3.5
2003/04	572,509	-2.4	16,911,000	3.4
2004/05	565,039	-1.3	17,272,000	3.3
2005/06	564,766	-0.05	17,487,000	3.2
2006/07	582,984	3.2	17,759,000	3.3
2007/08	623,805	7.0	18,248,000	3.4
2008/09	671,616	7.7	19,103,000	3.5
2009/10	690,923	2.9	20,428,000	3.4
2010/11	723,277	4.7	20,550,000	3.5