

IMPROVING LEARNER OUTCOMES IN EFL: DOES EARLY INSTRUCTION LEAD TO GREATER ACHIEVEMENT?*

Servet ÇELİK¹ & Bilal KARACA²

Abstract: Language education curricula and programs worldwide have begun emphasizing foreign language instruction for learners as young as 5-6 years, particularly in English. Yet, while studies have argued for the benefits of early language instruction, the results of this trend in terms of actual achievement are not clear. For this reason, the researchers designed this study to illustrate the connection between age of onset of English as a foreign language (EFL) instruction and learner achievement, examining international language curricula from countries where English is taught as a foreign language beginning at the pre-primary and primary level alongside the corresponding scores on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). The findings indicate that, although early onset of EFL instruction may be beneficial in many respects, it is not, in itself, a guarantee of success, and other elements, such as class size, number of hours dedicated to English instruction, and teacher qualifications, must also be considered.

Keywords: Early language learning, EFL, foreign language learning, TOEFL, young learners

Özet: Dünyadaki dil eğitimi müfredat ve programları yabancı dil öğretiminin, özellikle de İngilizce için, 5-6 kadar küçük yaştaki öğrenciler için önemini vurgulamaya başlamışlardır. Ancak, araştırmalar erken dil öğretiminin faydalarından bahsetseler de, bu eğilimin gerçek başarı açısından sonuçlarının ne olduğu net değildir. Bu sebeple, araştırmacılar, İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretiminin ilkokul öncesi ve ilkokul seviyesinde başladığı ülkelerden elde edilen uluslararası İngilizce müfredatlarını ve ilgili ülkelere ait Yabancı Dil Olarak İngilizce (TOEFL) sınavı sonuçlarını incelemek kaydıyla başarı ile yabancı dil olarak İngilizce eğitimine başlama yaşının ilişkisini ortaya koymak için bu çalışmayı tasarlamışlardır. Bulgular, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce eğitimine erken başlamanın, faydalı olsa da, tek başına başarının garantisi olmadığını: ve sınıftaki öğrenci sayısı, İngilizce eğitimine ayrılmış ders saati ve öğretmen yeterlilikleri gibi diğer unsurların da dikkate alınması gerektiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Erken dil öğrenimi, Yabancı Dil olarak İngilizce, yabancı dil öğrenimi, TOEFL, küçük yaştaki öğrenciler

1. Introduction

Amid the continuing push to extend and improve opportunities for language education worldwide, there has been a growing tendency to implement foreign language instruction for very young (pre-primary) and young (primary level) learners. Countries throughout the European Union, the Middle East, Asia and South America have begun encouraging, and in many cases even mandating, language lessons for learners as young as 5-6 years old (Duff, 2008; Eurydice, 2008; Kara, 2004; McCurry, 2011). English, with its status as a global contact language, has received prominent attention in this respect; more than 100 countries worldwide currently provide instruction in English as a foreign language (EFL) as part of the compulsory public education process (Crystal, 2003). For instance, France has instituted the

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¹ Asst. Prof. Dr., Department of Foreign Language Education, Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey, servet61@ktu.edu.tr

² Res. Asst., Department of Foreign Language Education, Karadeniz Technical University, Turkey, karaca.bilal@hotmail.com

teaching of modern foreign languages – with an emphasis on English - from the first grade of primary school onward (Ministère Éducation Nationale, 2008). English has been included in the Greek public school curriculum since 1961 (Giannikas, 2011), with instruction beginning at the primary level. Similarly, Japan has enacted an "access policy" (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2005, p. 1017) following the end of World War II that requires English language instruction to be made available to all Japanese schoolchildren. Many other nations, including Brazil (Rajagopalan & Rajagopalan, 2005), Germany (Gnutzmann, 2005) and Poland (Radwanska-Williams & Piasecka, 2005), have implemented progressive foreign language teaching policies, including mandatory English instruction, from the early years of education.

English language instruction has likewise been emphasized in Turkish education, particularly in the decades following the Second World War. During this time, numerous measures have been carried out in Turkey, including reviewing educational curricula and creating new course books in 1968; preparing foreign language curricula for Turkey's Anatolian high schools in the early 1980s; implementing intensive foreign language programs at the high school level in the early 1990s; adopting 8-year compulsory primary education and introducing language education at the 4th-grade level in 1997 (Akdoğan, 2004); and adopting the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)* and integrating its principles into the foreign language curriculum, teaching materials and assessment tools in the 2000s (MoNE, 2005). Most recently, a series of educational reforms has led to comprehensive revision of the English language teaching program. These changes have been enacted to reflect the guidelines and proficiency indicators suggested by the *CEFR*. This reform includes mandatory instruction in English from the 2nd grade of primary school, with learners aged 6-6 ½ years, until the completion of formal education (Bayyurt, 2012; Çelik, 2013; Republic of Turkey, Ministry of National Education, Board of Education, 2013).

2. Is Early Instruction Really Better? What the Research Says

The growing trend of including the study of foreign languages from the early years of education has been carried out in line with a considerable body of scholarship. For instance, Cameron (2001) explores the issues involved in teaching young learners in detail, describing the theories of Piaget and Vygotsky in relation to child language learning. She portrays young language learners as enthusiastic and as less inhibited than adults, pointing out that children may learn to use the language more naturally. In her view, a learner-centered environment and a curriculum that is designed to address the age-related learning needs of students are key factors in successful foreign language instruction. Scheffler (2013) supports the argument that very young children may demonstrate more spontaneous and creative use of the language when they are exposed in an informal environment (e.g., watching animated videos in the target language at home). However, according to Rokita (2007), children exposed in this manner may not develop an understanding of the grammatical rules of the language unless they are also taught in a more formalized manner. Expanding on the issue of formal instruction with young children in minimal-exposure (e.g., English as a foreign language) settings, Larsen-Hall (2008) contends that the increased input related to earlier and longer EFL instruction may lead to higher achievement, even in learning environments where exposure to the target language is mainly limited to the classroom. On the other hand, researchers such as Copland, Garton, and Burns (2013) and DeKeyser (2013) point out that simply beginning instruction at an early age does not ensure success, particularly in settings where regular classroom teachers, rather than specialists, are responsible for classroom instruction, and where the curriculum and materials are not sufficient to meet the needs of young learners.

3. Purpose of the Study

Although considerable attention has been given to the issue of foreign language education and young learners, Aslan (2008) points out that the results of this trend in terms of long-term achievement have not yet been clearly defined, and ongoing investigation is needed in order to determine whether this popular practice is having the desired effect. In light of the recent reform of the Turkish educational system, the researchers designed this study to examine the link between early onset of EFL instruction and learner outcomes as evidenced by international scores on a standardized achievement test. The results may help us move closer to answering the question, "Does early instruction in EFL lead to greater achievement?" A clearer understanding of this issue may be useful in developing language education policy going forward.

4. Methodology

Due to the complexity of the factors affecting achievement in foreign language learning, developing a precise comparison of learner outcomes in relation to a single variable, such as age at the onset of instruction, is highly problematic. However, the researchers, in line with Igawa and Yagi (2011) and Pitoniak, Young, Martiniello, King, Buteux, and Ginsburgh (2009), believed that it may be possible to create a general picture of the tendencies across a range of learning contexts by relating learner outcomes on a single, internationally-implemented standardized test to early language instruction. Accordingly, the investigation was carried out through document analysis (Creswell, 2012). In the first phase of the study, the researchers reviewed a large number of documents, including English language learning curricula from numerous countries, research-based literature concerning language education policy, and educational statistics related to foreign language learning. The main purpose at this stage was to identify the countries which begin English language instruction at the preprimary or primary level, before students reach the 6th grade or the age of 12. Because many other factors may also account for learner outcomes, any other available information on the features of EFL instruction in these countries was also noted, including:

- hours of English instruction;
- attention to modern instructional practices and materials;
- class size;
- teacher qualifications;
- opportunities to use English beyond the classroom.

In the second phase of the study, the mean scores from the year 2012 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) for the corresponding countries of interest were analyzed. Only the scores from countries that were identified as including pre-primary or primary learners in EFL instruction for 10 years or more were considered in order to limit the analysis to scores that were more likely to have been affected by early language learning. While the researchers recognized that standardized test scores are not necessarily descriptive of learner success in terms of language proficiency and communicative competence, they believed that a comparison of scores on such exams may be used as a means to loosely compare learner outcomes across international borders (Igawa & Yagi, 2011; Pitoniak et al., 2009).

5. Results

5. 1. EFL Instruction in Europe

According to the curricula and official educational statistics that were examined, EFL education in European countries is almost universally implemented at the primary level (Aslan, 2008; European Commission, 2012). In Sweden, for example, children may begin learning English as young as age 7, and all students are required to undergo English

instruction by the 4th grade, or age 10 (Igawa & Yagi, 2011). English instruction in Norway has been compulsory for over 50 years and has been required at the primary level starting in grade 1 since 1997 (CoE, 2004). In Dutch schools, children learn English beginning at 9-10 years of age, and English is highly emphasized throughout secondary education and beyond. In countries such as Belgium, Greece, Italy and Portugal, children begin learning English at age 6. France and Poland require English instruction for young children starting at age 7, and in Lithuania, students begin English instruction at 8 years of age (Eurydice, 2008). In Turkey, the current age for beginning English instruction is 6 years, in the 2nd grade; however, this policy has only been in effect since 2013. Prior to this, children began learning English in the 4th grade, at 9-10 years of age (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of National Education, Board of Education, 2013); therefore, the previous policy has been taken into account for the purposes of this study. The related mean TOEFL scores for these countries are provided below, in Table 1.

Table 1
Mean TOEFL Scores in Europe for 2012

Country	Average Age of Onset of English Instruction	Mean TOEFL Scores (out of 120) (ETS, 2013)
The Netherlands	9-10	100
Belgium	6	98
Portugal	6	95
Sweden	7	93
Norway	6	93
Greece	6	92
Italy	6	90
Poland	7	89
France	7	88
Lithuania	8	88
Turkey	9-10	75

In countries such as France, Lithuania and Poland, where children begin learning English between 7 and 8 years of age, it can be observed that TOEFL scores are relatively low in comparison with Sweden, where English instruction also begins at age 7, as well as the Netherlands, where students begin to learn English slightly later, at about 9-10 years. In Turkey, it can be expected that the majority of TOEFL examinees in 2012 began learning English between the ages of 9 and 10; Turkey's mean score of 75 was the lowest of all European countries in 2012.

5. 2. EFL Instruction in Southeast Asia

In Japan, compulsory English instruction begins at age 10. Instruction includes one 45-minute class per week, or 35 classes per year. Classes are taught by general classroom teachers who do not necessarily have any English language training, although an effort is currently underway to provide assistant language teachers from English-speaking countries in each classroom. With respect to teaching materials, a standardized Education Ministry text is used (McCurry, 2011). English is taught from the 3rd grade (age 8) onward in China. As in Japan, the main source of language input for Chinese students is textbooks (Silver, Hu, & Masakazu, 2002). Instruction is by the classroom teacher, usually with no specialized training, and a standardized curriculum set by the government is followed (Language

Learning and Age, n. d.). Likewise, in Thailand, where English instruction begins in the 1st grade, the language is taught by general classroom teachers; and large class sizes of 45-60 students (Wiriyachitra, 2002) may also affect the quality of instruction. On the other hand, in the Republic of Korea (South Korea), English instruction is carried out from the 3rd grade onward according to a student-centered approach, and the focus is on the development of communicative skills (NCIC, 2009). The mean TOEFL scores for these countries are presented below, in Table 2.

Table 2
Mean TOEFL Scores in Southeast Asia for 2012

Country	Average Age of Onset of English Instruction	Mean TOEFL Scores (out of 120) (ETS, 2013)
Republic of Korea	8	84
China	8	77
Thailand	6	76
Japan	10	70

Although Thailand incorporates English language instruction from the very early stages of education, at age 6, the TOEFL scores for Thai learners are considerably lower than those for students in the Republic of Korea, at 76 and 84 respectively. The mean scores for Japan (70) and China (77) are also considerably lower than Korea's, without any clear connection to the age of onset of instruction.

5. 3. EFL Instruction in the Middle East

Of the Middle Eastern countries surveyed, Egypt begins EFL instruction at the earliest age, in the 1st grade. On the other hand, in Morocco, children learn French as their first foreign language beginning in the 1st grade; mandatory English instruction does not take place until the 5th grade (Duff, 2008). Between 2004 and 2008, Iraqi students received 4 weekly hours of English instruction starting in the 5th grade (Republic of Iraq Ministry of Education, 2004); while the age for mandatory English instruction was reduced to 8 years in 2008 (Abbas, 2012), we will assume a starting age of 11-12 years for the purposes of this study. In Algeria, English instruction has been required as a second foreign language, in addition to French, beginning in the 4th year of primary school, since 1992. The mean TOEFL scores for 2012 for the Middle East are presented below, in Table 3.

Table 3
Mean TOEFL Scores in the Middle East and India for 2012

Country	Average Age of Onset of English Instruction	Mean TOEFL Scores (out of 120) (ETS, 2013)
Egypt	6	82
Morocco	11-12	79
Iraq	11-12	70
Algeria	9-10	69

In Egypt, where EFL instruction is carried out from the age of 6, the mean TOEFL score of 82 is slightly higher than that of the other Middle Eastern countries reviewed in this study. In Morocco, for instance, EFL instruction begins several years later and is taught as a second

foreign language after French; these factors may be indicated in the relatively lower TOEFL performance (with a mean score of 79) of Moroccan learners.

The mean score of 70 for Iraqi examinees is considerably lower than these countries; however, low attendance rates during the period of armed conflict and the consequent reconstruction in 2003-2004 (Republic of Iraq Ministry of Education, 2004) may have had an impact on learner success. Algeria's mean TOEFL score is slightly lower than that of Iraq, at 69. In the case of Algeria, as with Morocco, the status of English as a 2nd foreign language may affect learner achievement in English.

5. 4. EFL Instruction in Sub-Saharan Africa

In many Sub-Saharan African countries, such as Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe, English is given official status and taught as a second, rather than as a foreign language. While South Africa does provide instruction in English as a foreign language at the primary level in some parts of the country, there is no universal mandate; individual schools and/or school districts have the authority to offer either English or another foreign language (Barry, 2009), and instruction is not consistent. Therefore, aside from the countries of Algeria, Egypt and Morocco, which are designated as Middle Eastern countries according to the TOEFL and discussed in the preceding section, African countries were excluded from the analysis.

5. 5. EFL Instruction in Central/South America

In Central and South America, English language education is typically emphasized at the secondary level, although a small number of countries include EFL instruction from the early stages. Venezuela, for example, implements English instruction from age 6 (Language Learning and Age, n.d.), while in Costa Rica, English is generally included from the preprimary (age 3-4) level. By high school, Costa Rican students study English for approximately 80 minutes a day (Costa Rica – Preprimary and Primary Education, n.d.). On the other hand, while English enjoys a prominent place in Argentinian society, EFL education in Argentina begins somewhat later, in the 4th grade of primary school (Nielsen, 2003). The mean TOEFL scores for Central and South American countries are provided in Table 5.

Table 5
Mean TOEFL Scores in the Central/South America for 2012

Country	Average Age of Onset of English Instruction	Mean TOEFL Scores (out of 120) (ETS, 2013)
Costa Rica	3-4	93
Argentina	9	93
Venezuela	6	82

According to these figures, Costa Rican learners of EFL, with a mean TOEFL score of 93, performed considerably better than those from Venezuela, where a mean score of 82 was achieved in 2012. Costa Rican students begin studying English when they are 2-3 years younger than those from Venezuela; however, the intensive level of instruction may also account for their higher scores. Argentinian learners likewise achieved a mean score of 93, although English instruction begins several years later than in Costa Rica. On the other hand, Argentinian students have frequent opportunities to encounter English in their daily lives (Nielsen, 2003), which may explain their level of success on the TOEFL. Aside from these countries, the majority of the curricula surveyed in Central and South America do not include English language learning until the secondary level of education.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Due to factors such as the availability of information concerning international English language educational policies and statistics, only a limited number of countries was surveyed in this study; therefore, the data represented here are by no means all-encompassing in terms of English language learning outcomes on a global level. Furthermore, comparing the communicative competence of learners across a wide range of learning contexts is nearly impossible, and TOEFL scores cannot provide a comprehensive evaluation of learner ability. However, for the purpose of developing a preliminary view of the effect of early English instruction on long-term learner outcomes, the above analysis can be reasonably interpreted as follows:

- 1. In addition to implementing EFL instruction beginning at the pre-primary or primary level, the countries whose mean TOEFL scores were high for 2012 often emphasize features such as:
 - more hours of language instruction;
 - inclusion of EFL instruction as a core subject;
 - communicative language teaching methods;
 - smaller class sizes.
- 2. The countries included in this study whose average TOEFL scores are generally lower also frequently begin EFL instruction with young learners. However, in general:
 - fewer hours are allotted to instruction;
 - teachers are often not qualified in language instruction and lack English skills themselves;
 - courses are taught based on a standardized teaching curriculum established by a government agency;
 - exposure to English outside the classroom is highly limited.

From these results, it can be argued that early instruction in English as a foreign language may be beneficial in terms of learner achievement, as supported by Cameron (2001), Larsen-Hall (2008) and Scheffler (2013). On the other hand, it appears that, as Aslan (2008) and Igawa and Yagi (2011) contend, early onset of instruction is not in itself a guarantee of success, especially in cases where teaching staff and materials are insufficient (Copland, Garton, & Burns, 2013; DeKeyser, 2013). Therefore, while offering English language instruction for younger learners in Turkey may have a positive effect, this effort in itself is not likely to provide a final solution; and ongoing attention to other aspects of language education is necessary in order to improve learner outcomes and bring English proficiency in line with international standards. In this respect, it may be advantageous to review the educational models of high-achieving countries, particularly those noted for high levels of communicative competence in addition to outstanding test scores, and consider whether these may be implemented in the Turkish context. In addition, long-term research, with attention to a wide range of factors related to the language learning process, will need to be carried out in order to determine whether earlier instruction can be definitively linked to increased EFL proficiency.

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