

Testing the Untestable in Language Education

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

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Testing the Untestable in Language Education

Edited by

Amos Paran and Lies Sercu

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Contributors

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Chapter 1

More than Language: The Additional Faces of Testing and Assessment in Language Learning and Teaching

AMOS PARAN

Testing and Assessment: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon

‘Teaching involves assessment’ (Rea-Dickins, 2004: 249). This simple, three-word sentence hides what is in fact a whole world, a world where ‘young people in many countries... are now faced with an unprecedented number of exams and tests as they go through school and higher education’ (Broadfoot, 2005: 125). It is a world which has been developed into a testing society (Broadfoot, 2005), where standardised testing is a major part of the assessment regime, which in some countries, e.g. the UK, starts as early as the age of seven (for an overview, see Leung & Scott, 2009).

Unsurprisingly, such a ubiquitous phenomenon as testing exerts an extremely powerful influence on its environment; it is now recognised that tests have powerful washback effects, what Cheng and Curtis (2004: 7) call, ‘a set of relationships, planned and unplanned, positive and negative, between teaching and testing’. These effects extend throughout the educational system and, indeed, throughout society, becoming, as Shohamy (2007: 120) has argued, *de facto* instruments of language policy: ‘since tests are often more powerful than any written policy document, they lead to the elimination and suppression of certain languages in societies... Tests can also be used as tools to privilege certain forms and levels of language knowledge... Thus, language tests, given their power and influence in societies, play a major role in the implementation and introduction of language policies’.

In language teaching, the field of testing and assessment has an additional effect: a number of important models of language competence,

such as Bachman's (1990) model or the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) originate in the need to specify language competences for testing and, in the case of the CEFR, finding a way 'to compare the objective and achievement standards of learners in different national (and local) contexts' (Morrow, 2004: 6; see also Alderson, 2004). Thus, our view of language learning and language competence is strongly influenced by our understanding of language testing and assessment.

An additional issue is reflected in the title of this book: the assumption that everything we teach in the language classroom can in fact be tested. Within language education, since often more is taught than only language (see below for a discussion of this point), the case can be made that not only language should be tested.

This volume brings together 12 chapters in which educators from around the globe grapple with issues that arise from these points. In this introductory chapter, I start by looking at some of the recent critiques of policy and practice in language testing, and at some of the responses to the current situation. I then present the four areas in language education on which the present volume focuses, and provide an overview of the different chapters. I end with a discussion of the themes emerging from the different chapters in the book.

Language Tests: A Narrowing Agenda?

In spite of the ubiquity of testing, there is nevertheless 'a widespread perception that the needs of teachers and learners are not currently well served by assessment practice and by assessment research' (McNamara, 2001: 340). The reason for this becomes clear when we consider the way language testing has developed over the last half-century. Spolsky (2008) charts the major trends in language testing, highlighting the dominance of the psychometric approach and the industrialisation of tests. McNamara and Roever (2006: 1) suggest that in language testing, 'psychometrics became the substrate discipline... and language was virtually poured into these preexisting psychometric forms'. Leung and Lewkowicz (2006: 212) voice a similar view, suggesting that 'the form that has been most prevalent in ELT all over the world in the past 50 or more years has been standardised, psychometrically oriented testing'. Leung and Lewkowicz (2006) attribute the tendency towards standardisation in a wish (or requirement) for fairness, but make it clear that a commitment to standardisation will come at the expense of acknowledging differences between test takers.

The drive for achieving standardisation, alignment and conformity has another important consequence: it will almost always come at the expense of broadness of vision. Wall (1997) provides a history of the worry about the narrowing of education as the result of tests, tracing it back to the beginning of the 19th century. In language testing, this trajectory in the history of tests is exemplified in Weir's (2003) fascinating account of the development of the Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE) during the 20th century. What emerges from Weir's account is how the examination, through its numerous revisions, increasingly focused on language and on language only. With each revision and expansion of the construct of language proficiency, the examination shed aspects that did not reflect this construct, reflecting 'a gradual but critical change of the examination to one of language as against language, literature and culture' (Weir, 2003: 18). This process may well be underway in other countries as well – Eckes *et al.* (2005: 373) seem to imply a criticism of language tests that 'assess far more than language proficiency proper (e.g. they also tap knowledge of German literature, history, and civilisation)'; elsewhere they mention the importance of increasing reliability in the marking of essays on a literary theme in Slovenia. It seems logical to assume that this will be accompanied by a narrowing of the scope of the examination. Thus, 'the psychometric, the industrial and the scaling trends' (Spolsky, 2008: 450) continue to dominate, and they often entail a more focused – and hence narrower – approach to what is tested and how this is done. This development receives an added dimension in Broadfoot's (2005: 135) discussion of 'the inseparability of the affective and cognitive domains in learning', and the resulting implications for testing.

Together, the points that have been presented here – the ubiquity of tests, their powerful washback effect, which can ultimately dictate what is taught in the language classroom, and the narrowing vision of language tests – have meant that one consequence of large-scale language tests has been to circumscribe the content that is taught in the language classroom. The way in which language tests have developed has meant that language education, in many countries, is now concerned with teaching only language. True, developments in our view of language, of communication and of language learning mean that we have a more nuanced and more complex view of the language classroom than it would have been half a century ago. McNamara and Roever (2006), for example, provide an extensive discussion of assessing second language (L2) pragmatics, and Spolsky (2008: 450) does note 'the broadening of the content to include sociolinguistically influenced

aspects of language'. However, the focus is still on language, with an artificial separation between language and content.

At the same time, our understanding of language, language teaching and language learning has moved away from this separation, and includes resistance to a reductionist view of language education where all that is taught is what can be easily tested. This volume is therefore an attempt to bring together and record the endeavours of language educators in the global arena (the 15 contributors to this volume work in 10 different countries) to incorporate assessment and integrate it into four different areas of language and language development: intercultural competence; autonomy; literature; and content teaching.

Current Critiques of Language Testing

For some time now, views of language testing have recognised many of the problems that beset this field. There has been a focus on the social consequences of tests as well as on their use as instruments of power and control, as the passage from Shohamy (2007) quoted above suggests. The critique of language testing has focused on critical views of the uses of testing (Shohamy, 1996, 2005, 2007); there has been a move to use-oriented testing (Shohamy, 2005) and critiques of many of the uses of language tests (McNamara, 2005; McNamara & Roever, 2006). This is linked to ethical issues in testing (see, e.g. Lynch, 2001, for a discussion of ethical issues in different approaches to language testing).

One approach has been alternative assessment (Huerta-Macías, 2002; Fox, 2008), sometimes conceptualised as 'alternatives in assessment' (Brown & Hudson, 1998). Indeed, Shohamy (1996: 144) has suggested that we are now in an 'alternative era'. Birenbaum (1996) views alternative assessment as being grounded in an alternative approach to instruction, and as integrating assessment and instruction. She then lists a number of what she calls 'alternative assessment devices', such as 'authentic performance tasks, simulations, portfolios, journals' and many others (Birenbaum, 1996: 8). There is much talk of the 'ethical dimension in so far as (testing) affects people's lives' (Weir, 2005: 1).

However, the critique of testing and of language tests normally focuses on the teaching and learning activities that are being affected, rather than the content of what is being taught. Shohamy (1996: 150) points out that even Bachman's (1990) elaborate model of communicative competence 'does not account for the domain knowledge in performance testing'. In Weir's (2005: 212) discussion of washback, it is clear that what is at stake (and to some extent, rightly so) is success on the test, and the

washback effects considered are, for example, 'training teachers in the new content and methodology required for the test' and 'support in the forms of appropriate teaching materials'. Even where washback is conceived in a wider context than the traditional sense, what Weir (2005: 213) calls 'the wider impact of the test, its effects on other systems in the administrative and academic contexts of the tests, and on the attitudes and behaviour of the stakeholders in these', we are still talking about the *test* as the main factor.

More than Language

This volume is a response to what I have described above, and presents the reactions of educators to the challenges that testing raises, through a focus on additional aspects of language testing, either the content of what is being tested, or additional skills that are related to language learning. The educators in the chapters that follow all realise that in the language classroom, more can and should be taught than language. What is taught in addition to language can either be conceptualised as content (e.g. literature or science) or as transferable skill (e.g. intercultural competence, creative writing, literary competence, autonomy). What this volume implicitly does is to call for an end, at least in some contexts, to the attempt to isolate linguistic competence and test it without reference to other competencies and other areas of knowledge.

Cumming (2009: 91) discusses three approaches to the question of 'how integrally language tests, curricula and pedagogical practices should be aligned and what benefits or consequences may arise when they are'. One of the approaches he discusses is 'to adapt assessment policies and practices for particular populations, such as test accommodations for certain learner groups or setting performance standards for occupational purposes' (Cumming, 2009: 91). The chapters in this collection may be interpreted as taking this approach, in that each section looks at the way in which testing practices have been developed and adapted, though not for particular populations, but for particular modifications and viewpoints of the curriculum/construct.

However, it is not only in terms of format and procedures that alternative assessment is important. Fox (2008: 97) points out that 'alternative assessment represents a conception of language that is diametrically opposed to that of traditional tests'. In terms of this volume, this opposition is presented in terms of what is actually being tested, assessed or evaluated, in addition to language.