Abstract
The purpose of this essay is to assist early childhood EFL teachers in China to evaluate and reflect their teaching practices. There are an increasing number of children in China who are exposed to English before the school age, which arouses a debate whose key point is whether it is effective to teach English to children in their early childhood. This essay reviews and analyses the supportive and opposing opinions in the debate and draws a conclusion that EFL in Chinese early childhood education should be successful theoretically but it is ineffective because of some problems in the implementation. The problems pointed out by the opponents, including unreasonable teaching purpose, contents and methods are exactly the reasons for its ineffectiveness. The causes of the unsuccessful EFL teaching in Chinese early childhood education will be discussed in detail.

Keywords: English as a foreign language; Early childhood education; China
1. Introduction

EFL (English as a foreign language) teaching in early childhood education is a topic in China. Early childhood education refers to any educational program before children attend the formal school ("What is Early Childhood Education", n.d.). There are an increasing number of children in China who are exposed to English before the school age. This trend has made EFL in early childhood education in dispute. The key point of debate is whether it is effective to teach English to young children. It could be concluded from the debate that EFL in early childhood education should be successful theoretically. Nevertheless, in fact, it is ineffective in China because of the lack of reasonable purpose, teaching contents and methods. These reflect teachers’ confusion. They do not know what they are teaching for; they do not know what they should teach; they even do not know how to teach EFL to young children. In order to help teachers to evaluate their practices and find solutions to resolve their problems, the causes of the ineffectiveness of EFL in Chinese early childhood education will be investigated in this paper. At first, the background will be introduced, followed by the summary of the controversy in China. Then, the causes will be explored based on the analysis of the debate. Finally, a conclusion will be made.

2. Background

The tendency of exposing younger children in English could be seen from the dimensions of age and range. On the one hand, the beginning age is increasingly lower. In 2001, English was required officially for the first time to be learnt from primary school (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2001). However, the school age is not the actual starting age. Jin et al. (2014) state the starting age is lowered further in China by expanding English to private schools, kindergartens and parents, just to name a few. Beijing is a typical case at this point. According to Sun (2006), over 90% kindergartens in Beijing offer the English course. It means most children already know English before they enrol in school. On the other hand, the trend exists not only in Beijing but across the country. Bolton and Graddol (2012) claim “the expectation that children should become familiar with English before ever attending formal school has spread beyond areas such as Hong Kong, first to the main cities of China, and now to the tier two cities and beyond” (p.5). The spectacular tendency leads to the huge demands for teachers, materials and educational institutions who provide English classes for young children. Notwithstanding, the demands could not be met for the industry of English teaching in early childhood education is in a muddle. The chaotic situation is related to the lengthy but complicated history of EFL teaching in China.

EFL teaching in Chinese early childhood education is a new industry and still in the exploration stage. China has a long history of EFL teaching while English has been introduced to young learners for mere decades. Adamson (2002) has made a table to summarise the historical situations of EFL in China. It could be seen from the table that EFL teaching started from 1861 but it had been limited on the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions (Adamson, 2002). Until 2001, English became a compulsory subject in primary schools (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2001). However, it has never been involved in early childhood education officially and there is no official policy or
industry codes for the institutions and teachers. They have to seek the ways and materials for young children by themselves. Consequently, the lack of instruction and supervision makes the industry immaturity.

Other than that, as a branch of EFL teaching, EFL in early childhood education is affected by the clutter of EFL teaching in China. The chaos is caused by the frequently reversed governmental policies before the 1980s (Bolton & Graddol, 2012), which leads to the shortage of professional teachers, materials and studies. This impedes the development of Chinese EFL education. Until the “Open Door” policy, people started to recognise the importance of English language but few of them know how to teach and learn English (Adamson, 2002). Under this circumstance, EFL teaching is chaotic and its effect is questioned. EFL in early childhood education, as a new branch of EFL teaching, is also in chaos. In short, EFL teaching in early childhood education is a significant tendency without a mature and regulated environment. People might suspect whether it is effective to teach English to young children, and then the dispute is provoked.

3. The Debate about English Teaching in Early Childhood Education

Teaching English to children in early childhood is a controversial issue not only in China but worldwide. In this part, various opinions around the world will be briefly reviewed first. Next, the arguments for and against the issue in China will be summarised respectively.

Numerous educators and teachers around the world investigate this issue and their arguments are conflictive. Harmer (2015) suggests that children have a facility for pronunciation. Cameron (2003) states that children can “reproduce the accent of their teachers with deadly accuracy” (p.111). However, Lightbown and Spada (2013, as cited in Harmer, 2015) argue that language skills, apart from pronunciation skills, of children over 12 years old are better than the skills of young children. Farzaneh and Movahed (2015) have researched the issue in Iran and assert that children learning second language will cause four main negative effects to their native language: the language interference, foreign accent, additional effort for children and cultural discrepancies. On the contrary, in the research of Kersten (2014), no negative effect is found according to the results of ELIAS (Early Language and Intercultural Acquisition Studies) project conducted in Europe. Both studies are well-documented while their outcomes are in conflict with each other. There are many factors might influence the outcomes and context might be one of the key factors. This essay, hence, will focus on the context of China.

The debate revolves around the effectiveness of EFL teaching in early childhood education of China. The voices in the debate will be categorised in the following paragraphs. There are some opinions of advocates in China:

a. Some educators believe in the critical period hypothesis. The critical period hypothesis is first proposed by Penfield and Roberts (1959, as cited in Harmer, 2015). The Chinese educators believe the children under six years old can acquire languages most effectively. When children become older, it will not be as efficient as in the early childhood (Geng, 2015; Wu, 2014). Hence, it is the best opportunity to learn English.
b. Children have the advantage of learning English pronunciation in contrast with older learners. Learning pronunciation depends on the imitation which older learners sometimes lack (Ma, 2010). In these ages, children’s speech organs are limber. It is easy for children to imitate others. This gives children an excellent advantage.

c. Because of the low level of children’s native language (L1), the L1 interference to them is much less than to the older learners. Young children can “acquire” English without any interference from their mother language (Li, 2007). The L1 level of young learners grows with age and the language interference also grows. If they begin to learn English after they have obtained L1, they have to learn English through the medium of L1 (Geng, 2015). In this case, their native language may create the obstacles to learn English.

d. Children are fearless when learning English. Older learners may have a subconscious retention of their self-identity (Ma, 2010). They have high expectations for themselves and worry about their “面子” (face, the word of reputation in Chinese Mandarin) if they fail (J. Zhao, 2009). However, children do not care about it. They know nothing so they have nothing to worry about. This becomes a superiority of children to learn English.

e. Learning English is viewed as a task for both national advancement and personal advancement. The Chinese government has paid much attention to English education. Since China has come to the international stage from the 1980s, especially after China’s joining World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001, there has been a nationwide mania of learning English (M. Zhao, 2008). At present, English is one of the three compulsory subjects in Gaokao (Chinese College Entrance Examination), driving millions of students to learn it (Bolton & Graddol, 2012). Furthermore, the mania would influence personal learning motivation. Harmer (2015) contends the learners will be more pleased to learn foreign languages if they are in the country where speaking a different language is seen as a positive thing. In light of the importance of English, parents tend to make their children start learning English as young as possible, which is a consequence of the English learning mania in China (Bolton & Graddol, 2012).

The Chinese opponents also present their perspectives:

a. The age is not the vital factor in learning English. He (2009) challenges the validity of the critical period hypothesis. Her argument is based on the experiment conducted by Perani et al. (1998) which investigates the effect of the early and late acquisition of the second language in highly proficient bilinguals. The result suggests that there is no significant difference between them (Perani et al., 1998). Therefore, He (2009) asserts that the key to successful English education is the authentic and consistent language environment. Without the environment, the English education is ineffective in early childhood education.

b. It is not necessary to speak English in China. Living in such a non-English-speaking country, people can live well without English. Most people are monolinguals and they communicate in Chinese completely. Children may forget fast what they have learnt in
the kindergartens or other institutions because they never use it in daily life (Gui, 2012). It is hard for children to understand why they have to learn a language which they never use in daily life. This has caused the low motivation of children to learn English (Gui, 2012). Hence, the necessity of learning English in such a young age is questioned.

c. There are numerous improper materials which could not assist children’s learning. Some teachers use the materials for older learners to teach young children. Most of those materials are about linguistic knowledge, including phonetic symbols, syntax, lexical rule, tense just to name a few (Sun, 2006). Nevertheless, these are incomprehensible to young children. They live in a world of fantasy and there is no linguistics in their world (Bourke, 2006). The linguistic knowledge makes no sense to children so they might feel bored. If children find what they are learning is tedious and useless, their interest in English might be reduced.

d. Teaching method is another problem emerging in the implementation of EFL in early childhood education. Most teachers teach children in which way they have been taught (Gui, 2012). For instance, rote memory is a common method used by old learners. However, if the teacher requires children to memorise vocabulary in this way, children will find it boring then they will have an aversion to English. The methods such as rote memory lack attraction to children, which cannot motivate children to learn English (Sun, 2006).

Although a number of scholars have given their opinions on English education in early childhood, few of them focus on the context. Most educators merely discuss the theory without a specific context (e.g. Ma, 2010; Wu, 2014; J. Zhao, 2009). Only a few scholars collect the data from China and analyse them (e.g. Geng, 2015; Li, 2007). Some use the study in another context as the evidence for their argumentation without consideration of the difference of contexts. For example, Gui (2012) cites the research of Hakuta, Bialystok and Wiley (2003) to prove that EFL in early childhood education should be resisted in China. However, the participants in the research of Hakuta, Bialystok and Wiley (2003) are the Chinese-speaking immigrants who live in a bilingual environment in the United States while China is a monolingual country. The contexts are totally different but Gui (2012) does not consider it. The ignorance of the context is a critical problem in the debate. It is necessary to take the context of China into consideration if the educators do want to resolve this issue.

4. Exploring the Causes Resulting in the Ineffectiveness

In this section, the causes for the ineffectiveness of EFL teaching in Chinese early childhood education will be identified on the basis of the debate in China. In theory, teaching English to Chinese young children should be successful, but in reality, it is ineffective as a result of the problems in the implementation. These problems are exactly the causes for its ineffectiveness and they will be discussed in the remainder of this section.

It can be concluded from the debate that EFL should be effective in early childhood education theoretically. The advocates give the reasons for the feasibility from a theoretical
point of view: the children are in the critical period of language acquisition (Geng, 2015; Wu, 2014); they have the facility to obtain accurate pronunciation (Ma, 2010); the interference from their native language is relatively low at these ages (Geng, 2015; Li, 2007); they are fearless when learning a new language (Ma, 2010; J. Zhao, 2009); the supportive attitudes of Chinese society to learning English has a strong impact on children’s learning desire (Bolton & Graddol, 2012). In this case, English teaching should be effective for young children.

Notwithstanding, from the counter views, EFL is not successful in Chinese early childhood education. They give four reasons. The first one is the doubtful validity of the critical period hypothesis (He, 2009). Considering there is no research investigating its validity in the context of China, this problem will not be discussed in this essay. Second, English is believed to be unnecessary for Chinese children (Gui, 2012). It reflects the confusion of the teachers and learners. At present, the purpose of most English classes offered by the child care services are not reasonable and explicit enough (He, 2009). The teachers do not know what they are teaching for and whether it is necessary. Third, some teachers teach young children with the materials for older learners, which have aroused children’s repugnance (Sun, 2006). It refers to the problem of content. The teachers need to consider carefully what they should deliver to the children. Lastly, the inappropriate teaching methods have not motivated children to learn English, even led to the aversion. Many teachers adopt the traditional way, such as rote-learning, to teach young children (Gui, 2012), which shows their uncertainty of teaching methods. Except the question to the validity of the critical period hypothesis, the other three reasons are connected with the problems of teaching purpose, content and methods which impede the implementation of EFL in early childhood education. These problems are what cause the ineffectiveness of English teaching. In next paragraphs, these three causes will be discussed in detail.

The first cause is the ambiguous teaching goal. The goal of teaching EFL to young learners should be enhancing children’s learning motivation while many institutions and teachers do not realise it. There are two explanations for why the teaching goal should be raising motivation. On the one side, motivation is critical for English learning but the children in China are not motivated enough. Williams and Burden (1997, as cited in Harmer, 2015) have defined motivation as “a state of cognitive arousal which provokes a decision to act, as a result of which there is sustained intellectual and/or physical effort so that the person can achieve some previously set goal” (p. 89). It has an imperative impact on English learning because it determines how ready and eager the learners are to get more information and to increase their second language competence (Engin, 2009). Nevertheless, unlike immigrants’ children who need to grasp English to be involved in their local community, it is not necessary for Chinese children to acquire English since they live in a Chinese-speaking community. Being involved is a strong extrinsic and long-term motivation which Chinese children do not have (Gui, 2012). They might have curiosity initially motivating them to learn, but it is not enough to maintain their enthusiasm. With their growth, the curiosity may be eroded by the learning experiences (Harmer, 2015). In short, the children lack enough motivation, so it is crucial to raise their motivation in the beginning stage. On the other side, what the teachers can do is motivating the children rather than teaching linguistic knowledge.
It is difficult to convey the knowledge to the children in early childhood because it makes no sense to them. As Bourke (2006) suggests, they live in a world of fantasy without linguistics. Discussing what is incomprehensible to them might reduce their interest in English. However, the teachers could make English interesting for attracting children to acquire it spontaneously. It is easier for the learners to gain knowledge if they are highly motivated (Harmer, 2015), and it is also easier for teachers to teach the learners who have the motivation. Therefore, the goal of EFL in early childhood education should be enhancing children’s motivation. Unfortunately, it has not been recognised by many teachers. Many institutions and teachers do not have a reasonable long-sighted goal. Sun (2006) points out some institutions only focus on the short-term effect, which is not beneficial for children’s future learning. Other than that, some teachers merely copy the purpose of the English class in primary and secondary schools rather than tailor the goal for the young children (Li, 2007). The goals for learners of different ages are different. When the purpose of teaching is not suitable for the targeted learners, the education has to be ineffective.

The second cause is the inappropriate content. The class content should be fascinating and meaningful to children, but unfortunately, most of English classes could not attract children. If they cannot understand and be impressed by the content, they can hardly obtain the knowledge. Considering that the children are still in the pre-operational stage of cognitive development, the content should be concrete and relative to children’s world (Bourke, 2006), such as the nouns of fruits, the adjectives of colours and the sentences of greeting, to name a few. Children can use these in everyday life and in this way, what the teachers teach in class is connected with their lives. The connection could make the content meaningful and comprehensible. Moreover, the content might affect children’s learning motivation. As mentioned before, the previous learning experience can influence children’s motivation when they get older (Harmer, 2015). The positive learning experiences are exactly based on the hands-on activities which are meaningful and interesting (Hudelson, 1991, as cited in Bourke, 2006). Thus, the substantial and attractive content has a significant effect on children’s long-term motivation for English learning. Notwithstanding, present content is heavily criticised. Li (2007) lists the problems of the English class content in early childhood education: first, the contents are restricted to the textbook; second, the teachers have paid too much attention to the language skills, ignoring other aspects; third, the contents of previous and next classes are not interlinked. These problems lead to the narrowness, imbalance and fragmentation of content. Other than that, He (2009) points out the content of some English classes are excessive for children. They need enough time to understand and grasp what they have learnt. Some completely deviate from children’s life (M. Zhao, 2008), which makes the class meaningless and boring to children. Those improper contents impede the effective EFL teaching and learning in early childhood education.

The third cause is the dull and unreciprocated teaching method. English teaching should be lively and interactive for young learners, but the English classes in child care services are mainly traditional teacher-centred class. The young children have to sit and listen to their teachers for a long time, but this is not efficient actually because children can barely comprehend the linguistic knowledge merely with explanation. According to Piaget (2003),
to receive an information via language, the children must have a structure to assimilate this information. However, in the early childhood, children stay in the pre-operational stage where their language structure just begins to form (Boyle, 1969; Piaget, 2003). There is no completed structure for them to absorb the knowledge. Therefore, they cannot understand the knowledge unless they grasp how it is used in specific contexts. It requires teacher to demonstrate the use of English language in an active way. In addition to the vivid demonstration, children need to learn by doing. The interaction between learners as well as between teachers and learners enable the students to acquire the language by using it. Bourke (2006) claims language acquisition occurs in the social interaction. During interaction, children can exchange messages and discover how the language works by negotiating with each other (Bourke, 2006). Teachers could also show the right language use and correct students’ mistakes naturally by interacting with children. The lively and interactive methods are essential for teaching English to children before formal school. In spite of that, it is not uncommon in China that young children can only sit and listen to their teachers. M. Zhao (2008) indicates that early childhood education teachers tend to imitate the way in which primary school teachers teach English. Whereas, the teaching methods designed for pupils are not suitable for the children in early childhood. The pupils are at the concrete operational stage of cognitive development (Boyle, 1969). They start to obtain the fundamental operation of elementary logic in this stage (Piaget, 2003). Pupils can process the relatively complicated information which is taught by their teacher via language. Nonetheless, this kind of method lacks interaction and is boring for young children. Gui (2012) points out that children are demotivated by the traditional passive teaching method. It could not help children’s language learning and hinder their acquisition instead.

In brief, these three causes are twisted with each other and result in the ineffectiveness of EFL in Chinese early childhood education. They have to be consistent since teaching goal decides the selection of contents and methods and the use of the contents and methods need to achieve the goal. In the context of Chinese early childhood education, teaching purpose should be raising children’s motivation to learn English because the children in China lack sufficient motivation and it is difficult for teachers to deliver linguistic information to young children. Learning motivation has a vital influence on learners’ long-term learning (Engin, 2009), but many institutions and teachers do not include motivation in their goals. Correspondingly, the contents and methods they choose are unable to attract and stimulate children but demotivate children to learn English. These three factors impact mutually and finally leads to the ineffectiveness.

5. Conclusion

In recent years, the trend of teaching English to the children in early childhood has provoked dispute because of its chaotic situation in China. In this essay, the supportive and opponent opinions in the debate are reviewed and the problems of current EFL teaching in early childhood education of China are identified. In theory, it could be successful, but it is ineffective because the teachers do not have the rational and explicit purpose, contents and
methods. These are the main causes of the ineffectiveness of EFL in Chinese early childhood education. Only when these problems are solved, English teaching could be efficient. Few studies of this issue collect and analyse data from Chinese early childhood education services. Future research needs to investigate more on the basis of adequate evidence in the Chinese context.

References


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