Xuesong Gao   *Editor*

Second Handbook of English Language Teaching

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Xuesong Gao
Editor

Second Handbook of English Language Teaching

With 51 Figures and 37 Tables

Springer

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Preface

The *Second Handbook of English Language Teaching* provides authoritative, current perspectives on controversial and critical issues from many of the field's leading researchers, theorists, and policy makers around the world. Like the first edition of the handbook, 58 chapters respond to a wide range of questions about policy, practice, research, and theory related to English language teaching (ELT) in international contexts. Most of the chapters have been completely revised and newly commissioned for this second edition. As a result of this, the chapters in the new edition of the handbook synthesize the most up-to-date interdisciplinary knowledge base for effective decision making and highlight directions for implementing appropriate language policies at both instructional and societal levels.

The editors and contributors in the first edition of the handbook recognized the problematic nature of various labels such as English as a second language (ESL) and English language learners (ELL) to describe the key players related to the learning and teaching of the English language. These labels may be replaced with terms that appear to be more positive (e.g., bilingual), but they do not necessarily redress the dominance of deficit framing of bilingual students in terms of their overall bilingual/ multilingual repertoire. Far more importantly, these labels tend to "create a single category" to represent diverse groups of individuals who are involved in the learning and teaching of the English language (Cummins and Davison 2007, p. xxii). With this critical awareness in mind, the editorial team for the current edition continue to call the field "English language teaching" and use it in the title of the handbook.

As was the situation when the first edition was published, English continues to replace other languages as the second or additional language taught most frequently and intensively in schools in many parts of the world. The perceived social and economic rewards associated with speaking English continue to motivate parents to demand earlier and more intensive teaching of English. The demand for English has also escalated among adult learners, including immigrants to English-speaking countries, business people involved in the global economy, students seeking English-medium education, and those who just want to travel as tourists. In many countries, large-scale ELT programs for adult learners continue to grow in communities and workplaces as a result of the globalization of workforces, the perceived need to increase economic competitiveness, and a move toward life long learning.

While these issues were critically addressed in the first edition, contributors in this edition continue to explore various aspects of the field and the varying concerns of different stakeholders. Like their counterparts in the first edition, many of the chapters in this edition focus on the ideological dimensions of English language teaching and discuss their implications for language education policies and pedagogical practice. In the meantime, the field has also witnessed the emergence of new constructs with significant implications for English language teaching. For instance, the rising interaction between speakers whose first languages are other than English has motivated efforts to explore, understand, and document particular varieties of English or semiotic processes emerging from such interaction, which have been captured by the term "English as lingua franca" (ELF) (e.g., Gu Patkin and Kirkpatrick 2014; Jenkins 2014). Questioning whether languages should be regarded as bounded units, researchers have increasingly argued that languages should be considered as semiotic resources that language learners use to fulfill cognitive operations, which facilitate their language use and task completion. For this reason, translanguaging or translingual approaches have been promoted to help language learners utilize multiple languages, in particular their first languages, as resources to support their learning of English (e.g., García and Li 2014; Li 2018). By considering these emerging constructs, like its predecessor, this edition of the handbook provides "a unique, updated resource for policy makers, educational administrators, teacher educators and researchers concerned with meeting the increasing demand for effective English language teaching while, at the same time, supporting institutions and communities concerned with the survival and development of languages other than English" (Cummins and Davison 2007, p. xxii).

The current edition follows the structural organization of the first edition and has two volumes and six parts with 9 to 11 chapters in each part. Volume 1 concerns the macro issues of English language teaching such as shifting language policies, curriculum and program development, as well as assessment and evaluation. Volume 2 focuses on key constructs in language teaching and key stakeholders including language learners and teachers.

Contributors in the first part (nine chapters) on the "Global Scope and Politics of English Language Teaching" present updated accounts of language education policies and curricula in countries such as Japan, Korea, and China. Efforts have been made to include diverse contexts when discussing the politics of English language teaching in North American schools and the development of teaching English as a third language in European contexts. New contributors have been asked to provide overviews of English language education policies and programs in contexts including Brazil, the Middle East, and Russia, which have been featured in this handbook for the first time. The escalating promotion of English as medium of instruction in many contexts has encouraged us to include a chapter that problematizes English medium instruction in higher education in light of recent advances in research on English as lingua franca.

Contributors in the second part (nine chapters) on "The Goals and Focus of English Language Teaching Programs" explain why and how English language teachers include intercultural competence and critical literacy as goals of English

language teaching. The linguistic goal of English language teaching has also been problematized in light of the multilingual turn in language education, which sees language learning as a process for learners to enrich their linguistic repertoire. This is in alignment with the development of translanguaging pedagogy to facilitate language learners' use of multiple languages as resources and promote linguistic equity in the process. Contributors note that a range of curricular and pedagogic responses has been developed to meet a variety of language learners in different educational sectors including secondary schools and tertiary institutions. In this edition, a new chapter on developing curricula for young language learners has also been commissioned to meet the need for supporting increasingly younger language learners worldwide. This part also includes one brand new chapter on the development of English language pedagogy to support language users with particular vocational and professional needs, while the chapter on workplace English has been updated to address the need to teach adult language learners.

The third part (nine chapters) on "Assessment and Evaluation in English Language Teaching" addresses the development of assessment tools and practice in a variety of contexts. Contributors explore pre-entry and post-entry language proficiency tests for universities, two important concerns for language educators and policy makers in many universities that use English as medium of instruction to attract international students. This edition also includes a major assessment development initiative in one of the most populous countries, China, which is likely to influence the largest number of English language learners in a profound way. Given the significant role of assessment in language education, contributors have also presented how feedback and different approaches to assessment, including dynamic assessment, can be used to promote language learners' learning and help them to construct the future to motivate their language learning efforts. In light of the rising number of young language learners, this part has a chapter devoted to the assessment of this group. To enable language teachers give effective feedback and undertake assessment for learning while teaching, it is also necessary to promote their assessment literacy so that they have the know-how to maximize the positive effect of feedback and assessment on language learners. Finally, it is also important for language educators to become critically aware of the issues of fairness and social justice in assessing language learners.

The second volume starts with Part 4 (10 chapters) on "The Learner and the Learning Environment." Contributions to this part highlight the variety of English language learners and their characteristics, as well as efforts to create conducive environments that enhance their learning. Like chapters in the previous parts, young language learners deserve special attention as the age of learning English has been lowered internationally, creating a necessity for language teachers to understand how young language learners learn and how they should be taught. However, adolescent language learners continue to be one of the most significant groups of language learners, whose identity development is highly likely to be mediated in the process of learning English. Some language learners' identity work may be found in their resistance to particular language norms, including pragmatic ones imposed upon them by language teachers. Language learners' resistance in certain areas also draws

attention to how language learners engage with the learning process and how they use strategies to achieve better control of language learning toward autonomy. Language learners' strategic and autonomous learning efforts have been understood with reference to their identity aspiration and pursuit, as mediated by the social, cultural, multilingual, and political contexts where they find themselves. As language learning is seen as a social process, it is important for language teachers to ensure that language learners are motivated to learn in classrooms. To create a motivating classroom, language teachers may use various feedback strategies to encourage language learners to reflect on their learning process and self-identify areas for further improvement. With the development of educational technology, it has become necessary for language teachers to create a technology-rich learning environment so that language learners can use online resources and technological devices to support their language learning efforts.

Part 5 on "The Constructs of Language" includes 10 chapters that address traditional topics of interest and issues of emerging significance for language teachers. In light of the rise of English as lingua franca, it has now been necessary to reconsider the learning and teaching of pronunciation, as language learners are no longer expected to achieve native-like pronunciation in learning English. Approaches to the teaching and learning of vocabulary have not changed much over the years, while vocabulary continues to be valued by language teachers and learners as key to understanding and comprehension. In contrast, it is increasingly necessary for language teachers to adopt a contextualized approach to grammar teaching that is meaning-oriented (rather than just teaching forms). This contextualized approach to grammar teaching reflects an awareness that language use is a context-dependent sociocultural practice. Language teachers are encouraged to promote language learners' understanding of speech genres and their academic writing for different disciplines in universities. To support language learners' learning efforts, they need to be enabled to self-regulate and metacognitively control their learning process. Contributors in this part also focus on teaching language learners about the use of technology in teaching digital literacy and helping language learners with disabilities to develop their English language skills. Finally, new pedagogical approaches, such as usage-based approaches to language teaching and integrating language into content teaching, have been promoted by the contributors in this part.

The final part on "Research and Teacher Education in English Language Teaching" contains 11 chapters. A variety of research approaches are discussed in this part in relation to English language teachers' professional learning, including action research, heuristic research, qualitative research, conversation analytic approaches, auto-ethnography, and ethnography, as well as critical research. Research on crucial topics with significant educational implications is also covered by the chapters in this part. For instance, issues such as teachers' emotional labor and the relevance of SLA to classroom pedagogy are discussed. Different perspectives are presented on language teacher cognition acknowledging teacher learning now takes place in a technology-enhanced environment and teachers' collective efficacy should be promoted in well-coordinated teacher education programs.

Despite all the efforts to achieve a comprehensive coverage of issues of great significance for English language educators, this handbook has some gaps due to the challenges in producing a handbook on English language teaching, which addresses various stakeholders' needs and explores significant professional issues in diverse contexts. Nevertheless, this handbook does provide an opportunity to synergize our efforts to further improve the effectiveness of English language teaching internationally and help to build a more equitable, multilingual world.

September 2019   Xuesong Gao

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Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, in particular my wife, for their support. This is one of the longest book editing projects I have ever undertaken. It lasted almost three years and caused many anxious nights as I realized that I really needed to speed up the process and maintain the momentum so that the handbook could be completed in time. The editing also took place during my transition to the University of New South Wales from the University of Hong Kong. It was no easy task to edit such a large handbook while also moving home between two continents. Without my wife's full support and understanding, the task would have simply been a mission impossible!

I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to interact with so many leading scholars and produce this comprehensive examination of important professional issues in the field of English language education. The project has been an eye-opening process for me as I engaged with the issues often critically presented by the contributors. I was almost overwhelmed with the complexity of our professional practice in an increasingly divided world. I am truly grateful for the new understandings of English language education that I have gained from the entire process of editing this handbook. Like my predecessors, I hope that the handbook provides a catalyst for further reflection and continuous dialogue, which will not only help to improve the educational quality of English language teaching but also build more equitable multilingual societies through English language education.

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About the Editor

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Dr. Xuesong Gao is an EAL teacher educator at the School of Education, University of New South Wales, Australia. He has been involved in language teacher education by directing teacher education programs and delivering professional development seminars on autonomous language learning, language learning strategy, and reading for language teachers in a variety of contexts such as Hong Kong, mainland China, and Taiwan. His research interests include language learner autonomy, language policy, and language teacher education. Over the years, Dr. Xuesong has been promoting sociocultural perspectives to understand language learners' strategy use and language teachers' professional development. His research has been funded by Research Grants Council (Hong Kong), Sumitomo Foundation (Japan), and the Standing Committee for Language Education and Research (Hong Kong). Relevant publications have appeared in the journals such as *English Language Teaching Journal*, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *Language Teaching Research*, *Studies in Higher Education*, *System*, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, and *TESOL Quarterly*. He coedits *System: An International Journal of Educational Technology and Applied Linguistics* for Elsevier and also the *English Language Education* book series (with Professor Chris Davison) for Springer. In addition, he serves on the editorial boards of journals

including *Applied Linguistics Review*, *Asia Pacific Education Researcher*, *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, and *Teacher Development.* Dr. Xuesong Gao was the Faculty's Outstanding Young Researcher (2015) at the Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, a corecipient of TESOL Award for an Outstanding Paper on NNEST issues (2012–2013), and has been named as one of 30 Up and Coming at TESOL International's 50th anniversary.

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Professor Chris Davison is a specialist in language education and school-based assessment, and Head of the School of Education, University of New South Wales (UNSW). Before her appointment to UNSW, Chris was Associate Dean (Research) in the Faculty of Education at University of Hong Kong, where she worked for 9 years. She has worked in teacher education for over 30 years and, before that, as an English and ESL teacher and consultant in primary and secondary schools, English language centers, and the adult and community education sector in Australia and overseas.

Chris has researched and published extensively on the interface between English as a mother tongue and ESL development, integrating language and content curriculum, and English language assessment, in leading international journals including *TESOL Quarterly*, *Applied Linguistics*, *Language Assessment Quarterly*, *Language Testing*, and *Linguistics and Education*. She is founding coeditor (with Andy Gao) of the Springer book series on English Language Education.

Chris has been actively involved in an extensive range professional associations and community organizations throughout her career, including undertaking stints as President of the Australian Council of TESOL Association, Chair of the Australian Literacy Federation, Chair of the TESOL International Research Committee, and, most recently, Chair of the NSW Board of Studies, Teaching and Educational Standards Initial Teacher Education Committee, and President of the

NSW Council of Deans of Education. She is currently a member of the Executive of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia and Editor in Chief of the *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*.

Chris is recipient of a number of awards, most recently for Outstanding Contributions to Teacher Education and to TESOL, awarded by the Australian Council of Deans of Education in 2016, the Ralph Rawlinson Award 2017 for Outstanding Contributions to the Education of Students with Disadvantage at the International Level, and the 2018 Faculty Award for Outstanding Research Leadership.

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Part I

Global Scope and Politics of ELT: Critiquing Current Policies and Programs

The Global Scope and Politics of English Language Teaching: Section Introduction

Xuesong Gao

Abstract

In this section, contributors outline policy and pedagogical development for English language education in major educational contexts such as Brazil, China, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, North America, and Russia. Relevant chapters problematize the teaching and learning of English on a variety of issues, including social equity (South Korea or English-medium universities), policy implementation (Japan), and the uniqueness of English as a third language (the Basque country and Tyrol). While some chapters in the section document efforts to promote the learning and teaching of English in major contexts including Brazil and China, others challenge the dominance of English monolingualism and contend that policy makers should make the linguistic resources that English language learners bring with them more relevant to their educational experiences.

Keywords

Language policy · Medium of instruction · Social equity · Diversity

The chapters in the first edition of this handbook made it clear that "language teaching cannot be reduced to a one-dimensional set of prescriptions" because our language use is mediated by various contextual factors and processes including particular physical space, communication purposes, linguistic resources, and human relationships (Cummins and Davison 2007, p. 3). The chapters in the current edition confirm that English language teaching is

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always subject to contextual mediation. While the English language often carries historical baggage in different colonial and postcolonial contexts, it has also acquired nuanced ideological meanings in these contexts, sustaining its wide appeal as the most important language in addition to official languages. For instance, access to quality English language education remains a strategically decisive factor in enabling individuals to realize upward social mobility in many of the contexts covered by the chapters in this section. While such access can be jealously guarded by key stakeholders, we have also seen different governments investing efforts and resources in promoting English competence in their societies. Even though English and its associated cultural imports are still likely to be questioned in some contexts (e.g., China, the Gulf countries), the language has assumed a much more consolidated position as the most popular "foreign" or even second language to be learned.

Most of the chapters in this section do not necessarily question why English should be promoted in particular contexts; such critiques can easily be found in the chapters of the first edition of this handbook. Instead, they either question the ways that English has been promoted in a given context or try to work out ways in which the promotion of English can be sustained to benefit the public (e.g., Oda's chapter on Japan and Jessner and Cenoz's chapter on English as a third language). Despite such acceptance, some contributors raise critical questions with regard to the learning and teaching of English as English language education contributes to the widening gaps between those who have and those who have not (e.g., Shin's chapter on the "English divide" in South Korea). The promotion of English language education is also problematized for its role in supporting the dominance of monolingualism in increasingly linguistic diverse university campuses in English-speaking countries (e.g., Jenkins' chapter on English as lingua franca).

The first chapter by Cummins, López-Gopar, and Sughrua reminds readers of the legacy of migrating settlers and their need for English language education in North America. The chapter focuses on education policies and English language teaching in schools in Mexico, the United States, and Canada. It describes the nature, trajectories, and outcomes of English language teaching in these contexts before presenting a variety of approaches to promoting English language learners' language and literacy skills, including content-based approaches, English language teaching within bilingual education programs, and more recently, multilingual and translingual approaches. The chapter stresses the importance of transformative pedagogy in promoting positive identities and enhancing literacy skills to support English language learners in their pursuit of academic and life goals. These considerations are particularly important in facilitating these learners to achieve success, as migrating English language learners often have to cope with increasingly unfavorable sociopolitical conditions.

The sociopolitical context for English language education in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries as presented by El-Kheir and McLeod in the second chapter echoes many of the chapters in the first edition of this handbook. Though English has become the regional lingua franca, there are clear concerns about identity, local language, and cultural tradition due to the fact that English is de facto a dominant language in education (e.g., Karmani 2005). Because English

language education has been given such importance in school and university education, society in general, including key stakeholders in education, are struggling to keep the balance between Arabic, the national language, and English, the global lingua franca, which will be critical in shaping the future of individuals and countries in the region.

In comparison with El-Kheir and McLeod's concerns for policy implications, Oda problematizes Japan's revision of English language policies as policy makers revise relevant policies without considering how language learning takes place in schools. Oda strengthens his critique of the failure of Japanese policy makers to appreciate school realities by outlining the implementation processes of relevant policies, highlighting the policy makers' lack of preparation when making major policy decisions. For this reason, he questions whether such policy decisions can lead to positive outcomes as envisaged by the policy makers in the first place.

Policy makers' neglect of school realities certainly contributes to implementation failures in many contexts, which in turn may sustain educational inequity. Shin focuses on the role of English in social reproduction which has led to the so-called English divide in South Korea, whereby English competence determines individuals' upward social mobility. She draws attention to the operation of neoliberalism, which transforms communicative English as symbolic capital for individuals and language learning into a strategic move to strengthen their competitiveness in the job market. Since language learners from rich families have more access to opportunities to practice and develop communicative English, the enshrinement of communicative English as the pedagogical goal in English language curricula further puts those with limited resources at a disadvantage and contributes to the widening gap between the achievements of these two groups of learners. Therefore, Shin reminds readers of the need to become critically aware of any English language policy and to promote practices to address equity issues in English language education.

In a similar vein, Jenkins raises critical questions with regard to the issue of justice as the kind of English promoted in classrooms is no longer compatible with the kind of English many language learners (users) need for interaction with other learners. She highlights this issue of injustice in the context of higher education, where many international students with diverse linguistic backgrounds are required to attend courses on campuses where only particular varieties of English (i.e., those of native speakers) are recognized as the legitimate language. She argues that language policy makers in these so-called "English-medium" universities need to make language policies more relevant to international students and the linguistic resources they bring with them.

Shifts from favoring particular varieties of English to enabling language users with appropriate linguistic resources can be also detected in changing English language policies in China, one of the most populous contexts for English language education. Wang and Luo's chapter documents changes in the national English curriculum since the 2000s in the Chinese context. The chapter provides details of different versions of English language curricula being implemented across the country and explains how and why different versions of the curriculum have different foci. For instance, the 2003 version emphasizes the development of

language learners' language skills, knowledge, affect and attitude, learning strategies, and cultural awareness. However, the most recent version focuses on key competences that students need to develop for the twenty-first century, including language competence, cultural awareness, thinking capacity, and learning ability. The chapter further elaborates how curriculum goals, course structure, content selection, teaching approaches, and assessment methods are updated to help teachers deliver the changing curriculum goals. Though these changes are certainly impressive, it remains to be seen how the new curriculum will impact the ways that English is learned and taught in China.

In this edition we also have a chapter on Russia, since the development of English language teaching in that country is relatively underreported outside the country. Davydova discusses language ideologies and language policies in relation to attitudes toward English in Russia. The chapter recounts how languages have been managed historically as the nation has struggled to promote the Russian language while maintaining multilingualism. Recent events such as the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula have made Russia increasingly isolated from the West. As with China, there have always been questions about the English language and its associated cultural imports in Russia, but it seems that English has become one of the most important foreign languages, if not the second language in the country.

The chapter by Jessner and Cenoz further confirms the status of English as an important third language, critical for wider communication in many contexts. Drawing on recent studies on third language acquisition, they note the differences and similarities between learning L3 and L2. In particular, language learners learn their third language at different times from their learning of L2, and they may achieve different proficiency levels in the end. This means that relevant English language policies and curricula need to be developed to reflect these differences. They reported studies on the learning and teaching of English as a third language in the Basque country and South Tyrol. Though the findings suggest that English as L3 learners may have some cognitive advantages, more research is needed to understand and appreciate how these learners use various linguistic resources in the learning process.

The last chapter by Menezes and Braga documents the efforts made by the Brazilian government and colleagues to integrate educational technology in language education, as a strategy to cope with a large number of language learners in a geographically dispersed and diverse context. The use of technology in language education was first associated with language learners in Brazilian universities when they needed to develop good reading skills in English. With the employment of digital tools, games, and mobile devices, language educators have been trying to enhance language learners' oral skills in both universities and secondary settings. As in many other contexts, the integration of educational technology in language education is undermined by a variety of challenges such as teachers' resistance to taking on new practice, poor infrastructure (i.e., unreliable Internet connectivity), and insufficient support for language teachers. These challenges require policy makers to invest more resources in initiatives to promote the use of technology to enhance language learning and make it more sustainable in Brazil. This is a lesson that educators and policy makers need to attend to in most contexts.

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English Language Teaching in North American Schools

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Contents

Abstract

The chapter focuses on the intersection of research and (K-12) educational policies in English language teaching (ELT) in Mexico, the United States, and Canada. Initially, current provision for ELT in public schools in these three contexts is summarized. Then six thematic lenses are identified through which current ELT provision and experience in these three contexts can be viewed. These thematic lenses are (1) nature, trajectories, and outcomes of ELT; (2) the emergence of

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content-based approaches to ELT; (3) ELT within bilingual programs; (4) multi-lingual and translanguaging approaches to ELT; (5) decolonization and identity negotiation in ELT; and (6) literacy engagement as fuel for English academic language development. The final section integrates these themes and the research evidence underlying them with broader policy directions for evidence-based ELT in North American schools.

Introduction

A common characteristic of all three North American countries is that their populations consist of *settlers*, the descendants of Europeans who settled in North America more than four centuries ago, and *Indigenous communities*, who lost most of their ancestral lands in the settlement/invasion by Europeans. The physical eradication of many Indigenous communities during the initial conquest and later territorial expansion by European settlers was compounded by what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) called "cultural genocide," which Indigenous children experienced in residential schools that operated in Canada and the United States for more than 150 years. These schools were explicitly designed to eradicate Indigenous languages and destroy children's Indigenous identities. In Canada, children were shamed and physically beaten for speaking their languages, and many experienced sexual abuse and torture at the hands of the religious orders which operated the schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015).

The legacy of residential schools and the racism that gave rise to them is large-scale underachievement among Indigenous students in Canada and the United States. Although most Indigenous students speak English (or a dialectal variety of English) as their home language (L1), many do not acquire sufficiently strong levels of English academic skills to pursue college and university qualification. Although sustained education decolonization projects have been undertaken in some North American Indigenous contexts (see, e.g., López-Gopar [2016] for Mexico, McCarty [2008] for the United States, and Walton and O'Leary [2015] for Nunavut in Canada), structural challenges such as the shortage of formally qualified Indigenous teachers have constrained the impact and scalability of these projects.

In Canada and the United States, most school-age learners of English are from immigrant backgrounds. From the beginnings of European settlement, both countries have sought and attracted large numbers of immigrants seeking new opportunities and a better life. For example, the province of Quebec in Canada was predominantly settled by French speakers, and French is the only official language in Quebec, although English is one of the two official languages at the federal level across Canada. Thus, English is taught as a second language (L2) to French-speaking

students in Quebec. There are also pockets of minority francophone communities across other Canadian provinces, and these students have the right to attend French-medium schools, where English is also taught as a second language. Within Quebec, with some very limited exceptions, immigrant students are required to attend the French school system, and thus there is minimal teaching of English as a second language in Quebec English-medium schools.

Over the past 20 years, annual immigration to Canada has been around 250,000, with an increase to more than 300,000 since 2015. This has resulted in large numbers of students who come to school from homes where languages other than English or French are spoken. In Ontario, about 20% of the school population has grown up speaking a language other than English or French, and in large cities such as Toronto and Vancouver (in British Columbia), more than 50% of the school population comes from multilingual homes.

In the United States, almost 5 million students, representing about 10% of the school population, are identified as "English language learners" (ELLs), and this number is considerably larger in major urban centers across the country (National Center for Educational Statistics 2018). The largest group (3.8 million) is comprised of Spanish speakers, but many other languages are also represented (e.g., Chinese varieties, Arabic, Vietnamese). According to Sanchez (2017), California has 29% of all ELLs nationwide followed by Texas (18%), Florida (5%), and New York (4%). A large majority of ELLs (also termed "emergent bilinguals" in this paper) are born in the United States and are US citizens (85% pre-K through grade 5; 62% grade 6 through 12).

English language teaching (ELT) in Mexico differs from ELT in Canada and the United States insofar as Spanish is the language of instruction in almost all schools, except for some English-Spanish bilingual programs mostly in private schools and some bilingual programs involving Indigenous languages. Thus, English is taught as an additional language to students whose L1 is predominantly Spanish or, in some cases, an Indigenous language.

Nature, Trajectories, and Outcomes of ELT

Nature of ELT

In order to understand students' English language learning trajectories and outcomes, it is necessary to distinguish between social and academic language or what Cummins (1981a) has labelled conversational fluency and academic language proficiency. Conversational fluency reflects our ability to carry on a conversation in familiar face-to-face situations where meaning is supported by facial expressions, gestures, eye contact, intonation, and the immediate environment. This dimension of language proficiency is developed by the vast majority of native speakers of any language by the time they enter school at age 5 or 6. Phonology and fluency, in particular, reach a plateau with minimal further development after age 5 or 6.

Conversational language use involves high-frequency words and expressions as well as relatively common grammatical constructions.

Academic language proficiency, by contrast, represents an individual's access to and command of the specialized vocabulary and functions of language that characterize formal schooling. It reflects the extent to which a student can comprehend and use the oral and written language that appears in the subject matter of academic disciplines and in discussions about these disciplines. It involves knowledge of less frequent vocabulary and more complex grammatical constructions, which are seldom used in face-to-face conversation. For example, the passive voice is a common feature of academic language, as is nominalization, where an abstract noun is created from a verb or adjective (e.g., acceleration). Unlike conversational fluency, students' proficiency in academic language continues to develop through the school years and beyond both among native speakers and learners of English.

Learning Trajectories

Newcomer immigrant students who arrive in the early years of schooling typically pick up L2 conversational fluency quite rapidly when there is exposure to the language in school and in the wider environment (e.g., on television). One to 2 years of exposure to and learning the school language are usually sufficient for young learners to acquire a comfortable degree of fluency in that language. Students who arrive at older ages (e.g., in their teenage years) may take longer to acquire L2 fluency and may retain traces of their L1 accent in the new language. By contrast, newcomer students typically require at least 5 years, on average, to catch up academically (Collier 1987; Cummins 1981b); this is because of the complexity of academic language (e.g., many more low-frequency words) and the fact that students are catching up to a moving target – native-speaking students who continue to make gains in vocabulary, reading, and writing skills every year.

Outcomes of ELT

United States. Sanchez (2017) summarizes the academic outcomes for ELLs in the United States as follows:

> Many ELLs remain stuck in academically segregated programs where they fall behind in basic subjects. Only 63 percent of ELLs graduate from high school, compared with the overall national rate of 82 percent. In New York State, for example, the overall high school graduation rate is about 78 percent. But for ELLs, it's 37 percent, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. Of those who do graduate, only 1.4 percent take college entrance exams. (p. 8)

Collier and Thomas (2007) similarly note that students taught English-as-a-second-language (ESL) as a subject at the secondary level or placed in ESL pullout programs

at the elementary level frequently fail to catch up academically: "Our research findings across numerous school districts in the USA indicate that the average achievement levels of high school graduates who were initially placed in ESL pullout programs is the 11th percentile" (p. 344).

The challenges facing immigrant-background students in US schools are also reflected in the findings of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA). PISA data regarding the academic performance of 15-year-old students from about 70 countries around the world have been reported since the year 2000, and supplementary analyses in some years have identified the performance of first- and second-generation immigrant-background students (e.g., Christensen and Segeritz 2008; Stanat and Christensen 2006). In the 2003 assessment of reading skills, first-generation immigrant-background students (born outside the United States) performed 50 points below the mean, while second-generation students (born in the United States) performed 22 points below the mean. The PISA mean for all countries is 500 points with a standard deviation of 100 points.

The PISA findings also highlight the role of socioeconomic status (SES) in determining educational outcomes in the United States. The United States is similar to many European countries insofar as the educational levels of immigrants and asylum seekers are significantly less, on average, compared to those of the "mainstream" population. Furthermore, the impact of socioeconomic variables on academic achievement is considerably greater than is the case for countries such as Canada where immigrant-background students perform relatively well in comparison to the non-immigrant background student population. Despite spending more per pupil, on average, than most other OECD countries, there are significant disparities among states in funding allocations to school districts serving students of different SES backgrounds due to the fact that funding predominantly relies on local taxes rather than on centralized federal allocations (e.g., Boykin and Noguera 2011). Consequently, many immigrant-background students who come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds attend schools that are under-resourced in comparison to schools attended by more affluent non-immigrant background students. The under-resourced nature of these schools includes not only per-pupil funding but also the experience and qualifications of teachers and school leaders.

In short, the OECD (e.g., OECD 2010a) has consistently emphasized that equity is a strong predictor of excellence. Indeed, countries that demonstrate greater equity across social groups also tend to perform more strongly on the PISA tests than those characterized by socioeconomic disparities (see also Darling-Hammond 2010). Thus, the underachievement of immigrant-background students in the United States can be attributed at least in part to the socioeconomic disparities that characterize its schools and society. Furthermore, the fact that immigration remains a volatile and divisive political issue in the United States reflects a social and educational climate that is less conducive to promoting both integration and equity in education.

Research focused specifically on the impact of ELT programs in the United States presents a complex picture. Callahan et al. (2010) analyzed nationally representative

data to assess the effects of student placement in English as a second language (ESL) programs at the high school level on academic achievement and placement in college preparatory courses. They reported a strong negative relationship between ESL placement and both academic achievement and placement in college preparation courses, even when controlling for prior achievement and multiple background variables. Callahan et al. (2010) suggest that "disparities in language minority student achievement may be due in part to schools' placement of students into ESL and policies regarding ESL students' access to academic content" (p. 24). They specifically point out that "students placed in ESL coursework exit high school with significantly less academic content, even when accounting for English proficiency, prior achievement, generational status, ethnicity, parental education, years in U.S. schools, and school level factors" (2010, p. 26).

Callahan et al. (2010) note that this seemingly counterintuitive finding is consistent with the descriptions of some high school ESL programs that have emerged from ethnographic research, which refer to the "ESL ghetto"; specifically, students identified as "ESL" often experience reduced access to grade-level academic content because their level of English is not deemed sufficient to master this content. The authors note that their findings do not address pedagogical approaches within ESL classes. The negative effect of ESL placement is largely due to the fact that language-focused ESL coursework takes up space in the student's schedule that might preclude students' access to more academically rigorous and engaging coursework. They argue for the need to expand academically challenging content-based language support services at the high school level.

The findings of Callahan and colleagues (2010) may not be generalizable to the classification of immigrant-background students as ELL in the early grades. Shin (2017) investigated the issue of whether an initial designation of students as ELL influences their later academic achievement. She reported that among students near the cutoff for designation as ELL or non-ELL, the classification had significant positive effects on ELLs' academic achievement in the elementary grades and, to a lesser extent, in the later grades.

Canada. A synthesis of research findings from Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver demonstrated that, in general, immigrant-background students tend to perform relatively well in Canadian schools (McAndrew et al. 2009). This study reported that the academic performance of students whose home language differed from that of the school exceeded what would be predicted based on various risk factors such as low SES:

> In some sites, the results of the target group are even slightly higher than that of the comparison group [native-speakers of the school language] with regard to graduation rates, performance in various subjects, and most of all, participation in selective or university-bound courses. (2009, p. 16)

This general pattern is also apparent in the OECD's PISA findings. The OECD (2010a) summarizes the performance of Canadian immigrant-background students in reading abilities as follows:

> PISA results suggest that within three years of arrival in Canada, immigrants score an average of 500 on the PISA exam, which is remarkably strong by international standards. For comparison's sake, in the 2006 PISA assessment of reading, Canadian first-generation immigrants scored an average of 520 points, as opposed to less than 490 in the United States and less than 430 in France. Canada is also one of very few countries where there is no gap between its immigrant and native students on the PISA. (By contrast in the United States the gap in reading is 22 points, and in France and Germany it is around 60 points). Second generation Canadians perform significantly better than first generation Canadians, suggesting that the pattern is of progress by all students over time. Finally, Canada is one of the few countries where there is no difference in performance between students who do not speak the language of instruction at home and those who do. (pp. 70–71)

The OECD (2010a) attributes the relative success of immigrant students as a group to the fact that their average socioeconomic status is equivalent to that of native-born students and they attend schools that are of equal quality to those attended by other Canadian students. The report also points to the fact that immigrants are welcomed as part of Canada's commitment to multiculturalism which "provides a distinct philosophy that seeks to both respect the importance of native cultures while also incorporating immigrants into a distinctively Canadian identity" (p. 71).

However, this apparent success masks considerable variation in students' academic outcomes. Studies in Alberta (Derwing et al. 1999; Watt and Roessingh 1994, 2001) revealed that large proportions of ELL students failed to graduate with a high school diploma (60% in the Derwing et al. (1999) study and 74% in the Watt and Roessingh (1994) study). More recent studies from British Columbia also show a high "disappearance" or non-completion rate among ELL high school students (Gunderson et al. 2012; Toohey and Derwing 2008). Immigrant students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds tended to perform considerably better than those from refugee and/or low socioeconomic backgrounds. In some contexts, the extremely strong performance of some groups of socially advantaged students masks the relatively weaker performance of students from less advantaged groups.

Some of the largely positive results for Australia and Canada can be attributed to selective immigration that favors immigrants with strong educational qualifications. In both countries, the educational attainments of adult immigrants are as high, on average, as those of the general population. In Canada, about 60% of immigrants fall into the "economic" category, selected for their potential to contribute to the Canadian economy, with the remainder distributed between refugee and family reunification categories. In addition, both Canada and Australia have encouraged immigration during the past 40 years and have a coherent infrastructure designed to integrate immigrants into the society (e.g., free adult language classes, language support services for students in schools, rapid qualification for full citizenship, etc.). Both countries have explicitly endorsed multicultural philosophies and policies at the national level aimed at promoting respect across communities and expediting the integration of newcomers into the broader society.

The impact of SES on school achievement differs significantly between Canada and the United States. Although there are significant SES disparities among the

student population in Canadian schools (albeit not nearly as large as in the United States), the impact of these disparities on academic achievement is among the lowest in OECD countries (OECD 2010a), whereas the association between SES and achievement in the United States is about average for OECD countries. Canada also ranks among the strongest performers on PISA with respect to the proportion of "resilient" students, those who perform well despite coming from disadvantaged backgrounds (OECD 2015).

Volante et al. (2017) note that there are significant regional disparities across Canadian provinces with respect to performance on PISA. In some provinces, immigrant-background students tend to perform better on the PISA tests than the non-immigrant population, but in others (e.g., Quebec), immigrant-background groups underachieve significantly. Volante and colleagues suggest that these variations reflect a complex array of intersecting factors including the countries of origin of immigrants in different provinces, integration policies in different provinces and their effects on the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of schools, and the fact that non-francophone immigrant students in Quebec attend French-medium schools and learn French in a North American context dominated by English in the broader social sphere. By contrast, in anglophone provinces, immigrant students are learning a school language that is widely reinforced by social media, cultural influences (e.g., movies), and its international status.

With respect to differences according to countries of origin, Canadian children of immigrants from East Asia (e.g., China) and South Asia (e.g., India) demonstrate higher educational attainment than those from Southeast Asia (e.g., Philippines), the Caribbean, Central and South America, and Southern Europe. The PISA findings from Canada and other countries also show that the concentration of socioeconomic disadvantage in schools plays a more significant role in school achievement than students' individual SES alone. In other words, when students from low-SES backgrounds attend schools with a socioeconomically disadvantaged intake, they tend to perform significantly worse than when they attend schools with a socioeconomically advantaged intake.

Mexico. As stated earlier, Mexico differs from the United States and Canada in terms of the role of English as a medium of instruction. In most schools, with the exception of elite bilingual schools (English and Spanish) and very few Indigenous-strand schools (Indigenous languages and Spanish), the main language of instruction is Spanish (Sayer and López-Gopar 2015). According to the PISA findings, Mexico is significantly below average compared to other OECD countries in terms of general educational results. Nevertheless, Márquez Jiménez (2017) argues that the PISA results have been used by the media and education officials to produce alarming discourses (e.g., Mexico shows no progress in math achievement during the last 10 years). These discourses result from reductionist interpretations of the successes or failures of the Mexican educational system as well as myopic perspectives masking the complexities of the national sociopolitical and economic situation underlying the Mexican educational system.

In Mexico, ELT as well as education in general is constrained by social inequality. López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014) state:

> Among the countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Mexico is the country with the widest gap between rich and poor people (González Amador 2013). Sixty million people, 50% of the country's population, live in poverty, and 51.5 million experience food shortage (Enciso 2013). Despite these statistics, Mexico is home to Carlos Slim, the richest man in the world. In addition, 43% of the country's wealth is controlled by 0.02% percent of the population. Only 20% of the population is considered neither nonpoor nor nonvulnerable (Olivares Alonso 2013), and 80% struggle financially on a daily basis. (p. 106)

López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014) go on to argue that economic inequalities are even more severe among the Indigenous population, especially in the southern states Chiapas and Oaxaca. For instance, in Oaxaca, more than 75% of the Indigenous groups live in poverty and suffer poor nutrition (Enciso 2013). Currently, "the [Mexican] national educational system is still showing wide inequalities in the distribution of educational opportunities . . . which mainly affect the lowest socioeconomic groups" (Márquez Jiménez 2017, pp. 4–5; our translation). Hence, the education of Indigenous groups has been reported to be in a critical state with alarmingly low alphabetic Spanish literacy rates and high dropout rates (López-Gopar 2016).

Despite social inequalities and nationalistic views that attempt to resist the "invasion" of the English language in Mexico (Hamel 1994), ELT is part of the Mexican education system both in private and public schools. In the private sector, English is present in elite bilingual schools. Sayer and López-Gopar (2015) argue that "nowadays the default meaning of a 'bilingual school' for most Mexicans is Spanish–English" (p. 576; quotations in original). Even though the term "bilingual" indexes prestige and hence is used as a marketing strategy in elite bilingual schools, the term "bilingual school" actually covers many types of private institutions, ranging from language centers offering 3- or 5 h-per week English courses to elite English-medium schools (Sayer and López-Gopar 2015). Due to this wide range of ELT programs in bilingual schools, it seems almost impossible to determine their degree of success in developing bilingual students. Lethaby (2003), who has years of experience working with elite bilingual schools in Mexico, identified major problems in these schools, such as unclear and unrealistic linguistic goals, shortage of ELT teachers who can teach both language and content, and lack of appropriate materials for elite bilingual schools in Mexico. Most importantly, Lethaby (2003), along with Sayer (2015) and Pennycook (2016), argues that ELT in elite bilingual schools is fueled by a neoliberal discourse, which falsely equates English with economic success. Lethaby (2003) raises the issue of the detrimental effect ELT may have on Mexico's Indigenous languages and even Spanish. Finally, elite bilingual schools are especially "elitist" in economically poor Mexican states such as Oaxaca where only 5% of the population can afford to attend these schools (López-Gopar and Sughrua 2014), leaving 95% of the population's English instruction in the hands of public schools.

ELT instruction begins for most Mexicans at the middle school or junior high school level within the public educational system. Without having a clearly spelled out language policy (Ramírez-Romero and Sayer 2016; Reyes Cruz et al. 2011), ELT

instruction began in Mexican middle or junior high schools in 1954 (Ramírez Romero et al. 2014). Moving from a grammatical and structuralist approach to the communicative approach in the mid-1990s (Terborg et al. 2007), this ELT instruction has yielded poor results (Davies 2007). In fact, Ramírez Romero et al. (2014) affirm that "even after six years of English [three years of secondary schools and three years of high school], most high school students (ages 15 to 18) have minimal communicative abilities in English" (p. 1022). López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014) explain that these poor results are caused by "limited hours of instruction, inadequately prepared teachers, and incongruous curricula" (p. 107). Consequently, following the younger-the-better language ideology, since the early 1990s, the Mexican government has developed five different, yet overlapping, ELT programs aiming to start at kindergarten age: (1) ELT state programs (from 1990 to 2009), (2) *English Enciclomedia* (from 2001 to 2006), (3) the National English Program in Basic Education (PNIEB) (starting in 2009), (4) the Program for Strengthening the Quality of Basic Education (PFCEB) (starting in 2013), and (5) the National English Program (PRONI) (starting in 2015). (See Ramírez Romero and Sayer 2016 for a detailed explanation of these programs.)

Focusing on the last three programs, which have exactly the same curricular structure, Ramírez Romero and Sayer (2016) have identified several main accomplishments: increase in number of students in ELT classes, solid design of new curriculum, status of ELT as part of the elementary curriculum, free books widely available, diversity of teacher training opportunities, and more positive attitudes toward ELT. Conversely, these authors have also pointed out remaining challenges such as uneven coverage of the program leaving out students in marginalized communities, the new curriculum not being used by many teachers, severe problems with the distribution of textbooks, insufficient number of qualified teachers, poor working conditions for ELT teachers, and the need of a more multilingual and intercultural approach in ELT in Mexico. Finally, Mexican ELT policies and planning have ignored the needs and challenges of thousands of *retornados* (migrants who return to their or their parents' home country Mexico after having lived outside of the country for a period of years). These *retornados* arrive in Mexico at different ages with English often as their dominant language and at different academic language proficiency levels (Kleyn 2017).

The Emergence of Content-Based Approaches to ELT

The seeds for the emergence of pedagogical approaches that attempt to integrate the teaching of academic content and second languages were sown in the evaluations of bilingual and L2 immersion programs that were initiated in North America in the 1960s and 1970s. These programs (e.g., Lambert and Tucker 1972) demonstrated that it was not only possible but highly effective to develop L2 skills while focusing instructionally on academic content (e.g., science) taught through that language. Krashen's (1981) concept of *comprehensible input* was highly influential in explaining how L2 acquisition required L2 input that learners could understand.

For example, Krashen's work was adopted by the California State Department of Education's (1981) theoretical framework for educating ELLs, and, in subsequent years, various "sheltered instruction" or scaffolding strategies were elaborated by educators and researchers to facilitate content-based instruction for ELLs in mainstream classes.

These instructional strategies typically include the use of visuals such as images and graphic organizers, concrete demonstrations, paraphrasing, and other strategies for developing conceptual knowledge while reducing the linguistic demands associated with that knowledge. In addition to scaffolding strategies designed to make instruction comprehensible to L2 learners, content-based instructional approaches also emphasize the importance for teachers to articulate language objectives together with content objectives in their lesson plans.

Following the publication of its 1981 theoretical framework, California became the first US state to institute formal certification requirements for teaching ELLs. The Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) certification authorized teachers to provide withdrawal or pullout ESL instruction as well as Specially Designed Academic Instruction Delivered in English (SDAIE) within mainstream or "sheltered" content-based classes for ELLs. A bilingual variant (BCLAD) intended for teachers in bilingual programs was also offered.

Several content-based instructional models for teaching ELLs were elaborated in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. Among these were the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (Chamot and O'Malley 1986), which incorporated three major components: high priority academic content, academic language development with a focus on literacy, and explicit learning strategy instruction. The Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) model was developed in the late 1990s (Echevarria et al. 2004) and continues to be widely used across the United States.

In Canada, the theoretical work of Bernard Mohan (1986) was highly influential in enabling teachers to think about the language demands of topics and tasks in content areas. Mohan's *Knowledge Framework* proposed six major knowledge structures that underlie the organization of concepts and meaning across the curriculum (description, sequence, choice, classification, principles, evaluation). Cummins and Early (2015) described the Knowledge Framework as follows:

> Each of these knowledge structures has distinct linguistic features that set it apart from the others. For example, Description requires the use of adjectives, usually the present tense, and verbs such as "to be" or "to have," while Sequence would more likely use past tense and action verbs, as in a narrative.... Mohan also argued that each of these distinct knowledge structures can be represented graphically by key visuals. Key visuals, or graphic organizers, as they are commonly termed, are visual displays of information that both organize and simplify content.... They also make visible the cognitive structures that underlie the content. Because these key visuals express the cognitive structures in a way that reduces the linguistic demands of linear text, they are highly effective in helping ELLs to understand content. (p. 38)

Despite the pioneering work of Mohan and his collaborators (e.g., Early and Hooper 2001), Canadian teacher education programs have been slow to incorporate insights

about scaffolding and effective teaching of ELLs into mainstream initial teacher education. For example, teacher education programs serving the urban centers of Toronto and Vancouver implemented mandatory courses on supporting English language learners only around 2015, about 30 years after similar requirements were established in California.

In summary, although content-based ELT programs are widely recognized in Canada and the United States as "best practice" by researchers and educators directly involved in teaching ELLs, current provision both within schools and initial teacher education programs is inconsistent and, in many cases, incoherent. This is partly due to the fact that different provinces (in Canada) and states (in the United States) pursue different policies with respect to curriculum and assessment. However, more fundamentally, the incoherence is due to the fact that despite progress in recent years, ELT in many contexts is still seen as marginal rather than mainstream within school policies and instructional practices. Particularly at the secondary level, there is no requirement or even expectation that school leaders should be familiar with the knowledge base regarding ELLs or with principles for effective teaching of these students. Classroom teachers, again particularly at the secondary level, still frequently view the development of ELLs' academic language proficiency as the job of the ESL teacher rather than as a whole-school concern.

ELT Within Bilingual Programs

The volatile debate since the 1970s within the United States about the legitimacy and effectiveness of bilingual programs has largely been resolved with respect to the empirical data, although the ideological divisions regarding immigration and social equality that fueled this debate have intensified in recent years. Different types of bilingual programs for ELLs have been implemented in the United States. The following three categories capture the range among these programs:

1. *Transitional bilingual programs* are intended as a relatively short-term bridge (typically 2–4 years) to enable students to continue learning subject matter content in their L1 while they are catching up academically in English.
2. *Developmental bilingual programs* provide L1-medium instruction together with English-medium instruction throughout the elementary school years (kindergarten through grade 5 or 6) with the goal of developing strong literacy skills in both L1 and English. These programs are sometimes referred to as (one-way) *dual language programs*.
3. *Dual language or dual immersion programs* involve both students dominant in the minority language and dominant in English. The goal is to enable both groups of students to develop strong oral and literate abilities in both languages. These programs are sometimes referred to as *two-way immersion or two-way bilingual programs*.

Comparisons of these three bilingual program types with English-only options have consistently shown that ELLs in bilingual programs who are at risk of academic underachievement perform at least as well, and frequently significantly better, compared to similar students in English-only options (e.g., Collier and Thomas 2007). Dual immersion programs consistently yield the best long-term outcomes for Spanish-speaking ELLs. For example, Valentino and Reardon (2015) investigated differences in academic achievement trajectories from grade 2 through middle school among English Learners (ELs) in one monolingual program option (English immersion) and three bilingual options (transitional bilingual, developmental bilingual, and dual immersion) offered by the San Francisco Unified School District. They reported that the English language arts (ELA) test scores of ELs in all bilingual programs grew at least as fast, and sometimes faster, than those in English immersion. Bilingual program options worked particularly well for Latino students (as compared to Chinese-speaking students): "The by-ethnicity results suggest that Latino ELs perform the best in both ELA and math in the long term when they are enrolled in any of the bilingual programs, but especially have the most optimal long-term outcomes in DI [Dual Immersion]" (p. 630). By seventh grade, Latino students in the dual immersion and transitional bilingual programs showed much higher ELA performance than those who had received all of their instruction through English.

The fact that less instruction through the majority language entails no adverse effects for students' academic development in that language has been attributed to the cross-linguistic interdependence of academic and conceptual knowledge and skills (Cummins 1981a). In other words, although the surface aspects of different languages (e.g., pronunciation, fluency, orthography, etc.) are clearly separate, there is an underlying conceptual and linguistic proficiency that is common across languages. This "common underlying proficiency" makes possible the transfer of knowledge and literacy-related skills across languages.

Despite the extensive evidence of cross-linguistic transfer, particularly between languages with many cognate relationships (e.g., Spanish and English), instructional practice in bilingual and dual language programs has tended to adopt a "two solitudes" model of bilingual proficiency where the two languages are kept rigidly separate from each other (Cummins 2007). These programs implicitly assume that cross-linguistic transfer will happen automatically without explicit teaching for transfer across languages. This instructional assumption is devoid of empirical support and operates to limit the potential effectiveness of bilingual programs (Escamilla et al. 2014).

In contrast to bilingual education models that implicitly adopt a "two solitudes" assumption, the *Literacy Squared* model developed for emergent bilingual students by Escamilla and colleagues (2014) explicitly sets out to develop literacy in both Spanish and English. Many Spanish-L1 students born in the United States enter kindergarten with varying degrees of proficiency in English and Spanish (e.g., as a result of attending an English-medium preschool program). Thus, a strong and equal instructional emphasis on both languages from the beginning of kindergarten makes more sense according to Escamilla and colleagues than focusing initially on one

language to the exclusion of the other. They point out that the paired literacy instruction implemented within this approach "is unique in that it intentionally and purposefully connects Spanish and English literacy environments" (p. 2). Their ongoing research demonstrates not only strong correlations between Spanish and English literacy skills that increase as students go through the grade levels but also "shows the potential of Literacy Squared for developing biliteracy [and] also for accelerating literacy achievement in English for emerging bilingual students" (p 14).

In summary, multiple models of bilingual education that include ELT have demonstrated evidence of effectiveness for ELLs within the United States. In general, these programs show greater evidence of effectiveness with respect to English literacy development than is the case for English-only programs. Programs that provide sustained instruction through the two languages (e.g., dual language programs) and that teach explicitly for cross-linguistic transfer of academic language and literacy skills (e.g., Literacy Squared) are most congruent with validated theoretical constructs (e.g., the interdependence hypothesis) and with the empirical data.

Multilingual and Translanguaging Approaches to ELT

The term *translanguaging* was originally proposed in the Welsh context by Cen Williams (1996) to refer to the alternation of input and output mode in bilingual instruction. Thus, students may receive information through the medium of one language (e.g., Welsh) and then talk or write about this information through the medium of the other language (e.g., English) (Lewis et al. 2012). García (2009) extended this notion to refer both to the everyday interactional practices of bi-/multilinguals that draw on their full linguistic repertoire and to pedagogical approaches that acknowledge the integrated nature of students' linguistic repertoire and the cognitive, academic, and personal affordances provided by students' multilingualism.

Although some aspects of García's conception of translanguaging have been critiqued, notably her assertion that discrete languages do not exist and thus there is no transfer across languages (e.g., Cummins 2017; MacSwan 2017), her analysis has stimulated a process of systematically documenting existing translanguaging instructional practices and also encouraging educators to explore the pedagogical possibilities opened up by this theoretical construct. With respect to existing pedagogical practice, many case studies (e.g., Cummins and Early 2011) demonstrating the effectiveness of multilingual instructional practices predated the emergence of the construct of translanguaging. For example, DeFazio's case study of the International High School in LaGuardia Community College, New York City, documented how students "use both English and their native language for all phases of learning and assessment" (1997, p. 103). Chow and Cummins' (2003) description of the "Dual Language Showcase" documented how multilingual elementary school students could create and digitally publish bilingual books in multiple languages (see http://schools.peelschools.org/1363/DualLanguage/Documents/index.htm). However, current attention to and controversies surrounding the construct of

translanguaging have brought these formerly isolated case studies into broader focus and encouraged educators to explore the pedagogical possibilities opened up by students' multilingual repertoires (e.g., García and Kleyn 2016).

In short, the translanguaging construct has acted as a catalyst for an intense dialogue between instructional practice and theory that has highlighted the legitimacy and benefits of drawing on students' multilingual repertoires to advance both their learning of English and their overall academic development. The fact that teachers in highly diverse classrooms do not speak the vast majority of the languages of their students is no longer seen as an impediment to implementing instruction that connects with students' lives and linguistic accomplishments.

Decolonization and Identity Negotiation in ELT

Within the field of applied linguistics, there is a large degree of consensus that the construct of "identity" is of central importance in understanding patterns of language learning and linguistic behavior generally (e.g., Norton 2013). Issues related to identity and societal power relations have also emerged as significant analytic constructs to account for patterns of academic success and failure among students from socially marginalized communities (e.g., Battiste 2013; López-Gopar 2016). Yet, within mainstream educational policy discourse, there is typically minimal focus on either societal power relations or the ways in which these power relations influence patterns of identity negotiation within schools. The focus of educational policy and classroom practice in most countries has been to increase the effectiveness with which national standardized curricula are transmitted to students. This "effectiveness paradigm" focuses on ensuring that students meet universal, one-size-fits-all standards, which are typically assessed by standardized or state-developed tests, all in the ultimate service of greater economic competitiveness.

Researchers have attributed the persistent achievement gaps between social groups to the fact that mainstream curricula and instruction typically ignore fundamental causal factors underlying the underachievement of groups that have been socially marginalized. Specifically, devaluation of identity associated with generations of racism, cultural genocide, and exclusionary colonial structures has operated within schools in the same way as in other societal institutions (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). If devaluation of identity, fueled by coercive relations of power, operates as a fundamental causal factor within schools, then affirmation of identity must clearly be infused within the structure and operation of schooling in order to reverse this process (Cummins and Early 2011; Cummins et al. 2015; López-Gopar 2016).

Cummins and colleagues (2015) have described a range of pedagogical strategies that challenge the devaluation of identities associated with coercive relations of power. They include connecting instruction to students' lives, decolonizing curriculum and instruction, and engaging students' multilingual repertoires. These instructional responses go beyond simply teaching the school language effectively through scaffolding and content-based teaching.

The construct of *identity texts* illustrates the fusion of identity affirmation and instructional scaffolding as key components of truly effective ELT. For example, scaffolding and identity affirmation are fused when newcomer students carry out creative writing tasks initially in their L1 and then work with various resources (e.g., teachers or other students who speak their L1) to translate this work into the school language. Cummins and Early (2011) described identity texts as follows:

> Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts – which can be written, spoken, signed, visual, musical, dramatic, or combinations in multimodal form. The identity text then holds a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media, etc.) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences. (p. 3)

Schools that engage in decolonization pedagogical strategies such as identity text work project a radically different image of the student in comparison to more typical schools that adopt a remedial orientation to students characterized as English language learners or disadvantaged. These latter terms implicitly define students by what they lack, and instruction often focuses on remediating presumed linguistic or academic deficits. By contrast, students' identity texts reflect an image of themselves as intellectually and academically competent, and this transformed identity fuels further academic engagement.

Literacy Engagement as Fuel for English Academic Language Development

There is extensive empirical evidence that print access and literacy engagement represent a powerful determinant of the development of reading comprehension for both native speakers of a language and second language learners (e.g., Krashen 2004; OECD 2004, 2010b). Large-scale data from the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) showed that "the level of a student's reading engagement is a better predictor of literacy performance than his or her socioeconomic background, indicating that cultivating a student's interest in reading can help overcome home disadvantages" (OECD 2004, p. 8). Subsequent PISA findings (OECD 2010b) confirmed these trends. Engagement in reading was assessed through measures of time spent reading various materials, enjoyment of reading, and use of various learning strategies. Across OECD countries, reading engagement was significantly related to reading performance, and approximately one-third of the association between reading performance and students' socioeconomic background was mediated by reading engagement.

This finding assumes relevance in light of the fact that a large proportion of ELLs in the United States come from lower-income communities with significantly less access to print in their schools and homes than is the case for students from middle-income communities (e.g., Duke 2000; Neuman and Celano 2001). The fact that

academic language (e.g., low-frequency grammatical constructions and vocabulary) is found predominantly in printed texts rather than in everyday conversation highlights the importance of ensuring that these students experience a literacy-rich school environment from the day they enter school. Unfortunately, the centrality of literacy engagement has not been incorporated into literacy and second language teaching policies in most North American educational contexts.

Conclusion

ELT in North American schools presents a mixed picture. In all three countries, considerable resources have been assigned to the teaching of English, but there are still significant gaps in the application of empirical research and emerging theory to ELT policies and instructional practices. For example, there is widespread agreement among ELT professionals and researchers about the pedagogical advantages of content-based ELT in comparison to teaching English as a second language in isolation from other academic content. Curricular packages such as CALLA and SIOP with credible evidence of effectiveness have been developed and extensively field-tested. However, across North American schools, English is taught as a separate subject far more frequently than as a vehicle for academic content. Integrated instructional practice where ESL teachers work together with mainstream content teachers is becoming more common at the elementary level but still very much the exception at the secondary level. There is little evidence, for example, that most science or mathematics or history teachers routinely generate language teaching objectives to accompany their content teaching objectives. There is also little evidence that schools have adopted policies to maximize ELLs' literacy engagement despite extensive research supporting the effectiveness of this strategy.

Similarly, bilingual and dual language programs have consistently demonstrated more positive outcomes for ELLs than English-only programs but still represent only a small fraction of instructional practice in a handful of US states. Translanguaging approaches that attempt to mobilize students' full multilingual repertoire draw on the same theoretical and empirical foundation as more formal bilingual programs (e.g., positive transfer between L1 and L2), but implementation of these approaches is still in its infancy.

The reluctance of many policy-makers to strongly promote bilingual and multilingual instructional approaches is rooted in unfounded sociopolitical concerns that maintenance of L1 might reduce emergent bilingual students' motivation to learn English and integrate into the society. The fact that these concerns are totally without empirical support highlights the continuing influence of societal power relations on educational policy and practice. The analysis we have presented in this paper suggests that educational equity and reversal of achievement gaps between social groups will advance only when schools explicitly set out to challenge coercive power relations by implementing instruction that affirms the identities of marginalized group students.

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The Struggle for Balance: Policy Borrowing and Continuous Reform in the Practice of English Language Teaching in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries

3

Amir Abou-El-Kheir and Paul MacLeod

Contents

Abstract

As Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries contend with issues of identity, language loss, and the attrition of local culture and tradition, English is a requirement in most educational settings. While Arabic is still the primary language of personal and social communication, English is the lingua franca in many educational, economic, and technical interactions in much of the Arab

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world, particularly in the GCC. Therefore, even though the region's native language is Arabic, English language education is a dominant feature in both the K-12 and tertiary education systems despite the noticeable differences in how education ministries articulate and implement English language education in curriculum and policy. This chapter examines the political, cultural, and social influence that English language education has had in the GCC by exploring the historical context of English language education in the region, current policy developments, and the role English language education plays, not only in the lives of students but also in shaping the future of the individual countries in the GCC and the region as a whole.

Introduction

The GCC countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) have a long history of both being strategically important and, until the middle of the twentieth century, extremely isolated. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese held portions of the coast of Bahrain and Muscat in order to secure access to important sea routes. The Ottoman Turks added the GCC to their empire and by 1568 controlled the holy cities of Mecca and Medina (Peters 2005). With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, British influence in the region increased. Between 1820 (the Trucial States, most of the modern UAE) and 1915 (Ibn Saud, founder of Saudi Arabia), the British signed treaties agreeing to protect all of the GCC countries, in order to secure its trading routes. When the GCC states gained independence, British influence and the importance of the English language remained. Although there are current political tensions between some of the GCC countries (Bahrain, UAE, and Saudi Arabia have cut off political and economic ties with Qatar), for the purposes of this chapter we will refer to them as "GCC" countries or states.

The oil embargo of 1973, which saw a 300% increase in oil prices, suddenly brought the GCC states to the world's attention, as Western and other industrialized economies realized how dependent they were on the petroleum resources of the GCC countries. The post-embargo surge in production played a key role in the spread of English in the GCC (Karmani 2005). The rapid increase in oil prices brought sudden wealth to the GCC states, transforming the region from one of the poorest in the world to one of the richest and most powerful. By 1975, Saudi Arabia had progressed from an obscure desert kingdom to a world financial power with its revenue increasing from $2.7 billion in 1972 to almost $25 billion in 1975. In a similar period, Dubai, UAE, was laying the groundwork for its transformation from a local trading center to an international commercial hub (Mansfield 2003).

Before they became wealthy oil exporting nations, education in the GCC was informal and based on religious instruction and an oral tradition. From these humble beginnings, GCC states have used their oil and gas revenues to fund an extremely rapid modernization agenda. Throughout the GCC, modern city states have developed using large numbers of expatriate workers to build the infrastructure and run their petroleum industries. With modernization has come the realization that diversification beyond petroleum is imperative for national sustainability once the petroleum inevitably runs out. As a result, all of the countries in this chapter have drafted national vision plans spanning decades, which focus on educating the local citizenry to replace expatriate workers in key industries and to prepare for a new diversified economy. One common response to the need for education is to reform the K-12 system and to import branch campuses of global education institutions (Bahrain, Oman, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia) and creating academic clusters and "knowledge" villages in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. Now, local students have multiple regional options for Western education predominately in English where they previously would have had to travel internationally (Ahmed 2010).

Historical Context of English Language Education in Gulf Cooperation Council

Bahrain

Bahrain is a constitutional monarchy and is the only island country in the GCC (Al Khater et al. 2016). The history of English language education in Bahrain goes back to the end of the 1800s when the first modern school opened. The school was established in 1892 with Arabic, English, Mathematics, and Christianity being the subjects taught. Ever since, the government of Bahrain has emphasized the importance of learning English.

In 1940, Bahrain established their first secondary school (Shirawi 1987). Arabic was the primary medium of instruction at the institution, but there was meaningful importance placed on English language skills and teaching, and although the government made English a significant component of the curriculum, there were some early struggles (Reilly 2012). Between the 1930s and 1970s, Bahrain encountered various complications due to their rapid school expansion. One of the issues the government confronted was a recruitment shortage of qualified local and expatriate teachers. The government also faced financial concerns. This resulted in a lack of facilities for students, as school infrastructure was either inadequate or developed at an unexpectedly slow rate (Shirawi 1987).

To help deal with the shortage of locally trained teachers, the government founded a teacher training college; one for men (1966) and one for women (1967) (Abou-El-Kheir and MacLeod 2017). English was a core requirement at the teaching colleges. The increase of oil prices in the 1970s helped accelerate and expand the construction of facilities. The oil boom also aided the recruitment of expatriate educators, from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region (Shirawi 1987)

and "native" speakers, as the remuneration and benefits were financially rewarding to English-speaking educators and organizations (Karmani 2005). These fixes, however, did not alleviate many of the struggles students had with learning English, as the majority of students graduated high school ill prepared and lacking the academic skills to be successful learners at the post-secondary level (Abou-El-Kheir and MacLeod 2017).

To overcome these academic struggles, the Bahraini Ministry of Education (MOE) carried out various English language initiatives in order to better prepare their students for higher education. Starting in 2000, the Directorate of Curricula, a department within the MOE, devised an English language program to start teaching English from the third grade. This was an expansion of a policy implemented in 1996 where students studied English starting in grade four (Al-Sulaiti and Ghani 2001). In spite of this policy change, language standards were still not acceptable, as expected outcomes were not met. Therefore, beginning in 2004, English language teaching was introduced from the first-grade. The new curriculum was phased in over several years and by 2009 the program was fully implemented (Al Saleh 2008). The outcomes of this policy are not yet clear as students who studied English beginning in first-grade are now starting to enter into higher education.

At the post-secondary level, many institutions of higher learning in Bahrain use Arabic as their official language (Abou-El-Kheir and MacLeod 2017). Even so, Bahrain places great importance on English language education. For example, the University of Bahrain offers classes in Arabic, but for most technical subjects, English is the language of instruction. Students will use English as the primary medium of instruction throughout their studies if they are majoring in a technical or scientific field. Another reason for the prominence of English in higher education in Bahrain is due to the large percentage (21% as of 2012) of international students (David et al. 2017).

In spite of this, a majority of students who graduate from high school do not have the required English language skills to be successful at the post-secondary level. Incoming students who do not have the required English scores must study and pass an English foundation course prior to being admitted into their chosen program. However, faculty members at various institutes believe that many of these foundation language courses do not prepare students sufficiently enough. This results in many students, who do not have the necessary English skills, deciding on humanities majors, which are mainly taught in Arabic (Abou-El-Kheir and MacLeod 2017).

Kuwait

Unlike most of its GCC neighbors, Kuwait has existed as a nation in its modern form since the 1800s. Until the 1900s, like in other GCC states, education consisted of private, Quranic education. Private citizens established the first schools in 1912 (Safwat 1993).

From the earliest private schools, English was part of the curriculum possibly due to Kuwait's status as a British Protectorate. As oil revenues increased, the

government took over the education systems with a basic curriculum focused on Arabic, Islamic studies, math, and English. In 1956, the government established the basis of the system that persists to this day. For higher education, Kuwait University was established in 1966 and for many years was the only domestic option for higher education within the country. Now, there are more than 12 higher education institutions. The vast majority is English medium (MOE Kuwait n.d.).

Kuwait introduced English language classes in a primary school in 1993. A major curriculum revision was completed in 2002, and the entire Kuwaiti curriculum, including English, was revised again in 2011 with emphasis on competencies and what students would be able to do when they completed their studies, while teachers rank the curriculum as well-organized problems persist. Nearly 80% of the students who took the Public Authority of Applied Education and Training (PAAET) English Placement Test in 2013 were unable to pass (Alotaibi et al. 2014).

The new curriculum in Kuwait seems to be well received at the moment and many students and teachers see it as an improvement (Alotaibi et al. 2014). However, the curricular changes on their own are not producing secondary school graduates who are prepared for tertiary education in English or to communicate effectively in English in the workplace. The main challenge seems to be for Kuwaiti authorities to preserve the positive aspects of the current reform while implementing additional changes in the ways that English is taught.

Oman

In 1970, the government of Sultan Qaboos, the leader of the Sultanate of Oman, took decisive steps to reform the national curriculum. The Ministry of Education was established and a rapid school building agenda implemented (Khan 2013). As part of this reform English language education was introduced into the classrooms. Due to English's growing importance to the country, the government recognized the significance of focusing on English teaching in classrooms as an essential component in the development and success of education in Oman (Al-Issa 2002). However, as in the rest of the GCC countries, the governing council was cautious about introducing English into the education system, as they wanted to preserve the important role that schools played in forming Omani values, culture, and national pride (Al-Sulaiti and Ghani 2001). The acceptance of, and importance of the English language for the country's advancement, not only at the education and scientific level, but also for the job market, is acknowledged. This is evident from the curricular changes that have been implemented regarding ELT, and from the substantial funding of English language education in the country.

In 1986 Sultan Qaboos University (SQU) was founded in Muscat (the capital), with English being the medium of instruction (EMI), in order to prepare Omani students to become as competent as students in developed nations (Fahmu 1992). Additionally, since most academic research is accessible in English, the introduction of EMI at SQU was so that students could be current with the latest research in science and technology. English is not only the dominant language of science and

technology in the twenty-first century, but it is also the language of engagement with the international academic community, and for this reason it was deemed essential to make English the language of instruction at SQU (Al-Mahrooqi 2012). Since the establishment of SQU, Oman has seen an increase of new public and private universities.

However, even with significant government support, three decades after ELT was added to the curriculum in Oman, there were still significant areas that needed to be developed as students still had considerable issues with their English language usage (Al-Issa 2007). This had negative implications on the national development of education in Oman. An analysis of facts and figures revealed that students graduating from high school still lacked fundamental English language skills. This in turn adversely affected local students seeking admissions not only to foreign universities where English is the medium of instruction (Al-Jardani 2012), but also to local universities such as SQU, without first passing through a relatively long foundational English program. It also had a negative effect on students' future job prospects. For these reasons, as well as the system being outdated, the Omani government felt the need to significantly transform the education system in order to modernize it according to the needs of the twenty-first century.

Consequently, in 1999, the government introduced the Basic Education System (BES). Part of the BES reforms includes introducing English language teaching from the primary level starting in Grade 1. One of the significant features of BES was the incorporation of language learning technology (multimedia, audiovisual aids, PowerPoint presentations, etc.) in order to generate student interest in learning English (Al-Issa 2005). With the introduction of BES, the General Education System (GES) was phased out. At first, there was strong resistance from many teachers and administrators, who were not only financially benefitting from the former system, but were also "comfortable" with the old one (Al-Issa and Al-Bulushi 2012). Gradually though, and as the GES was gradually replaced resistance started to wane. The BES is still relatively in its early stages, so it is difficult to assess the success of the program at this stage, but initial results appear to show English language education in Oman moving in the right direction.

Qatar

Qatar has a brief history of foreign language teaching, and as a relatively new country, Qatar's education system as a whole is comparatively new. Before oil exports transformed the economy, beginning in the 1950s, Qatar had no formal education system. Some children learned basic literacy in kuttabs, informal schools located in mosques or private homes, taught by literate men and women in the community. The first official school, for boys, opened in 1949 with one teacher and 50 students. The Qatari government began supporting the school starting in 1951 and by 1954 three additional boy's schools were opened featuring a curriculum of Islamic studies, Arabic, arithmetic, English, and geography (MacLeod and Abou-El-Kheir 2017).

In 1956, the Department of Education was formed and the first school for girls was formally established. By the time Qatar achieved independence in 1971, the number of girls and boys in formal education were approximately equal (MacLeod and Abou-El-Kheir 2017). The government system grew to 66,159 students in 207 schools by 1995–96. By 2001, there were over 100,000 students in the K-12 system in Qatar (Rostron 2009). By 2016, this had increased 2.5 times to over 260,000 students (UNESCO Institute for Statistics n.d.). Similarly, post-secondary institutions have increased from 1 in 1971 – Qatar University – to over 20 in 2018. All except Hamad Bin Khalifa University use English as the medium of instruction.

Qatar launched the English for a new era reform with the Rand Corporation as the lead consultant in 2002 and established the Supreme Education Council (SEC) to oversee a rapid and highly ambitious reform project, which established English as the medium of instruction in SEC schools and promised parents school choice. The EFNE was initially popular, but their initial enthusiasm declined quickly under harsh criticism for its failure to increase Qatari students' scores on international tests of achievement like the PISA and TIMSS. It was also seen as privileging English over Arabic and thereby contributing to the erosion of traditional Qatari culture. Rand Corporation's contract with Qatar was not renewed in 2013 and Arabic once more became the medium of instruction (Khatri 2013). In 2016, the Supreme Education Council was abolished with a new Ministry of Education and Higher Education taking its place. While much of the former curriculum and standards remain in place, Qatar is in the midst of another large-scale educational reform (Nasser 2017).

The issues are evident: a highly ambitious reform was mostly unsuccessful due to its rapid implementation and inadequate preparation of the new system for teachers, students, and families. It is not yet apparent if the new reforms will be more successful. Qatar's primary strength remains its willingness to invest in education and adhere to their 2030 National Vision plan to move away from a fossil fuel-based economy. Only time will tell if this latest educational reform will be successful. The challenge, as it is with most of the GCC, is reconciling the education system, modeled largely on Western examples – particularly in higher education – with the countries traditional Islamic heritage. Qatari tradition values adherence to cultural, religious, and societal norms, while Western education models emphasize questioning authority and developing the creative solutions needed for technologically advanced economies (Rostron 2009; MacLeod and Abou-El-Kheir 2017). In a country where the natives only make up a very small minority of the country's population (Qataris make up only around 12% of the inhabitants) (Hillman and Eibenschutz 2018), this balance is critical for the country's education success.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

English language teaching (ELT) in Saudi Arabia can be traced back to the 1920s. Although researchers differ on the exact date, the literature generally agrees that ELT was introduced in 1927 when the Directorate of Education was established (Al-Seghayer 2005). In the early years, ELT in Saudi Arabia did not have immediate

objectives. Rather, English was taught as an elective subject, and was not given the importance it is today. It was not until the late 1950s that English became part of the education curriculum in schools. Over the years, ELT has become more integrated into the education system, and other subjects have started being taught in English. In the early 1970s, in large part due to the vast oil revenues generated, the government was able to introduce a series of large-scale education reform programs (Al-Seghayer 2005).

The introduction of English into the education system was fuelled by the need to educate the population for jobs in which English communication was necessary. As with much change, however, there was initial resistance by many segments of the population who questioned the validity and importance of the English language. There was also a fear that the introduction of English would negatively affect cultural practices and religious beliefs. Today though, English is highly valued, not only for employment and educational purposes, but also as a lingua franca for everyday communication within the Kingdom (Mahboob and Elyas 2014). The high esteem of English, and western education overall, in Saudi Arabia is not only evident by the development of English education inside the Kingdom, Saudi Arabia also sends the highest percentage of students to study abroad among GCC countries and supports one of the biggest national scholarship programs in the world (David et al. 2017).

Like other subjects in the sciences and humanities, ELT in the Kingdom has become a core curriculum subject at the primary, intermediate, and secondary levels of education, as well as in higher education (Elyas and Picard 2010). Initially, English was only compulsory starting in middle school. In the early stages, the Saudi government was strictly against teaching English at the primary school level, as they were concerned that teaching English at the lower levels would negatively impact students' abilities and desire to learn Arabic. However, in 2010 the education system underwent significant reforms and it was decided that English language teaching would start as early as primary school (Alrashidi and Phan 2015). At the university level, even non-English (or scientific) major students, who will not study any of their content courses in English, are required to enroll in English language courses as part of their degree requirements. Some universities, such as King Fahad University, use English as a medium of instruction for all their taught programs (Mahboob and Elyas 2014). Many vocational and technical institutes, as well as military academia, have also included English in their programs of study (Elyas and Picard 2010).

The English language curriculum is centralized and is controlled by the Ministry of Education (ME) and General Presidency of Girls Education (GPGE). The ME and the GPGE also assign and distribute ELT textbooks to intermediate and secondary students throughout the country (Al-Seghayer 2005). English language education at private schools is also carried out under the supervision of the government. The English curriculum, syllabus, and books chosen for use in Saudi are heavily influenced by local traditions, customs, and beliefs (Al-Seghayer 2005).

One of the main issues that exist in the Kingdom is the lack of trained teachers to carry out curricular objectives, which requires that educators and professors have a

good command of both spoken and written English. This coupled with inadequate assessment tools to measure the deliverables and student outcomes at a national level remain to be topics of concern (Faruk 2013).

United Arab Emirates

The Emirates of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Fuijarah, Umm Al Quain, and Ras Al Khaimah (formerly part of the Trucial States) have a long individual history, but the United Arab Emirates is a young country, which was formed on December 2, 1971 when the British withdrew. A hereditary Sheikdom or ruling family rules each of the Emirates. They are semi-autonomous and with the exception of Dubai, which primarily relies on trade and tourism, rely on oil revenue; most of which comes from the federal government in Abu Dhabi. Although the UAE generates a huge amount of wealth through oil exports, it faces a number of inter-related educational challenges in its K-12 system as it attempts to position itself for success after the oil is no longer its primary economic catalyst. In 1971, at independence, the UAE had few schools. The people were mostly tribal people, nomadic Bedouins, and the rates of illiteracy were high (Alwraikat and Simadi 2001, p. 52).

The Ministry of Education was formed in 1972 and established a four-tier, primary, and secondary education system. However, schools continued to use a wide variety of approaches and methods mainly imported from other countries. It was not until 1985, when the first National Curriculum Project expanded nationwide, that a unified Emirati public school system emerged (Ridge et al. 2017). In the 1990s, the MOE and UAE University developed a new English curriculum for all grade levels.

This was followed in 2007 by the "Madares Al Ghad" (MAG, Schools of Tomorrow) initiative that introduced English as the medium of instruction for science and mathematics with additional hours of English. In 2010, the Abu Dhabi New School model was introduced with bilingual Arabic and English instruction. In 2012, the Mohammed Bin Rashid Smart Learning Program (MBRSLP) was launched in Dubai with the goal of enhancing education with technology by providing all students and teachers with tablets/laptops by 2019. However, in a decision similar to Qatar and for similar reasons (backlash from parents and others; lack of qualified teachers) the MAG was rescinded and the MOE returned to an Arabic medium of instruction curriculum with revised streams and courses (Ridge et al. 2017).

While the K-12 system was undergoing continuous cycles of reform, the higher education sector was also undergoing tremendous growth and development. From the establishment of UAE University in 1977, followed by the Higher Colleges of Technology in 1988 and Zayed University in 1998, there are now dozens of public and private, local, and international branch campuses in the UAE. Most of these institutions use English medium of instruction to prepare graduates both to work with a largely expatriate workforce and for a post-petroleum future (GovUAE n.d.).

English Language Education Policy and Foreign Policy Borrowing in the Gulf Cooperation Council

As noted, the development of the GCC states since the discovery of oil took place with incredible rapidity. Within a generation, the population boomed and the cities were transformed into modern metropolises. As a result, as discussed in the Historical Context section, the K-12 school systems in the GCC expanded from the kuttab system to limited schools to national systems within a 10- to 20-year period. As Kuwait was the first of the GCC countries to experience oil wealth, it was the first to undergo the growing pains of trying to quickly develop an educational system from scratch; however, all of the GCC states share similar characteristics and have experienced similar growing pains and issues in their K-12 and tertiary systems. These commonalities are:

1. Until the mid-1990s, the emphasis was the K-12 system. Today, the emphasis has shifted to higher education. In K-12 systems, the English language training is required and English is the official language of the vast majority of higher education institutions in the region (Wilkins 2011; Khoury 2017).
2. GCC countries spend a great deal of money on education. In 2017, they spent approximately $150 billion on education (Arabian Business 2017).
3. That spending has not yielded a strong return on investment as their individual K-12 systems have been in a nearly constant cycle of rapidly implemented reform followed by underperformance, followed by a rapidly implemented new reform initiative. Additionally, all of the GCC states struggle to attract their citizens into the teaching profession and therefore, heavily rely on expatriate teachers to educate their young people (Abou-El-Kheir 2017).
4. A large percentage of students are graduating from the K-12 system without the skills and abilities, particularly in English, to undertake tertiary education. This results in many students spending up to 2 years in foundation programs to develop their language, critical thinking, and study skills (Cooper 2015).
5. The GCC countries in general remain conflicted about the primacy of the English language for education and business. While employers indicate that they want innovative, creative employees, there is a detachment between the borrowing of policy and importation of international branch campuses and how to contextualize them to support the region's traditional Islamic and Arabic cultural values (Romanowski et al. 2018; Rostron 2009).
6. Despite the cultural conflicts inherent in importing foreign education systems and institutions, the GCC host more foreign branch campuses than any other region. This originated as a way to give young GCC students, particularly women, the opportunity to have a high quality of education without going abroad, but evolved into strategies to become regional education hubs (Coffman 2003; Al Tamimi 2017).
7. These branch campuses are an integral part of the GCCs' education plans to diversify their economies to prepare for the inevitable end of oil. Every state has a multi-year plan that emphasizes education reform and a national plan that accentuates the role of education in shaping the national future [Bahrain, Vision 2030; Kuwait, New Kuwait 2035; Oman, Vision 2040: Qatar, National Vision, 2030; Saudi Arabia, Saudi Vision 2030; United Arab Emirates, Vision 2021] (Koch 2017).

Importing Foreign Education Institutions and Their Policies

The rapid modernization in GCC states includes a focus on female education. At the beginning of the new millennium, in line with local traditions in the region, GCC national females rarely had the opportunity to pursue higher education abroad. Hence, local study was the only viable option for the vast majority of the rapidly growing female student population. The growing demand for better quality locally based higher education intensified after the events of 9/11 due to students not feeling as safe to travel to the United States to study and so there was an urgent need for higher-quality tertiary education in the region (Coffman 2003). Over time, the emphasis on foreign branch campuses changed from having high-quality education for the local population to using branch campuses and importing education providers in order to diversify the economy and become knowledge hubs.

Today, no other region in the world is comparable to the GCC area in terms of the number of higher education branch campuses. In 2015, there were around 300 branch campuses operating globally. The two largest exporters of branch campuses are English-speaking countries, the United States and the United Kingdom, respectively. Of the 75 countries importing branch campuses, the largest single importer is the UAE. The fourth largest importing country in the world is Qatar. As of 2009, the UAE accounted for 25% of the world's branch campuses, while 6% were located in Qatar (Larsen 2016).

In the UAE and Qatar, the governments have set up free trade education zone clusters such as the Dubai International Academic City and Dubai Knowledge Village in the UAE; and Education City, part of Qatar Foundation, in Qatar. These education zones were set up to attract the best universities and colleges to the GCC region (Barnawi 2017). The attraction of free zones to foreign education institutions located within the zones is that they do not have to pay taxes or duties, and they are able to keep and remit their profits freely. In the early years, in order to attract foreign institutions to set up in these newly set up free zones, colleges and universities were not even obligated to comply with local accreditation standards (Noori 2016).

Today, leading institutions such as New York University, the Sorbonne Paris, and Michigan State University, among many others, have branch campuses in the UAE. Branch campuses of Texas A&M, Georgetown, Cornell, and Northwestern have a presence in Qatar. Other similar cases are mirrored in Kuwait, Oman, and Bahrain (Barnawi 2017). There have been several initiatives in Saudi Arabia as well, where modern college buildings, with a capacity to house up to 3000 students, have been newly built. Under their initiative named "College of Excellence" (CoE), the Saudi government has extended invitations to several leading international education institutions to open branch campuses in KSA. Institutions such as Niagara College and Algonquin College, both Canadian institutions, now have campuses in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia (Barnawi 2017). In the case of Oman, as of 2014 there were 26 private colleges and universities operating across the Sultanate. They were all associated with British, Australian, or American institutions, which is a Ministry of Higher Education prerequisite in an effort to maintain control of course quality (Al-Mahrooqi and Tuzlukova 2014).

Romanowski et al. (2018, p. 23) argue that educational policy makers and those who implement reforms must "understand the role culture and context play in educational reform and begin to adapt rather than adopt educational policies and practices." By engaging in policy learning, they conclude that instead of the culture fitting into the system, the system should fit the culture.

Challenges in English Language Education in the Gulf Cooperation Council

In most of the GCC states, the leadership views Western-style education as a formula to follow in order to develop the necessary critical, analytical, and creative skills that employers seek in their workforce (Romanowski et al. 2018). The large investment in education regionally has not yet yielded the improvements that GCC leaders have expected, as students continue to graduate with low English proficiency and lacking the communication skills needed to find jobs in a multi-national workforce (Al-Mahrooqi and Tuzlukova 2014). On average in the GCC, 22% of all employees work for the government. Governments in the GCC are trying to get more of their citizens employed in the private sector both to replace a portion of the expatriate workforce and to get more of their citizens off of the public payroll. In Kuwait for example, public sector salaries take up nearly 50% of the countries' annual budget (Fattah 2018).

To date, GCC countries' reliance on Western policies and models and instruction in English has not increased educational achievement to desired levels, but it has stirred controversy based on fear of diminishing the importance of Arabic language, the loss of cultural identity, and the undermining of religious and traditional values (Romanowski et al. 2018). The two main challenges that GCC states are now facing in their education systems are:

1. How to boost student achievement, English language proficiency, and other necessary skills to succeed in the workplace.
2. How to preserve their traditional culture while merging traditional values with foreign education and modernization.

The view of those who oppose the adoption of unexamined and unmodified Western educational approaches in the GCC was well articulated by Dr. Khalifa AlSuwaidi who compared Western education to a penguin in the desert:

> If penguins were able to live in the desert, then the borrowed Western educational systems would fit naturally in the GCC landscape, our children would coexist with it and it would be compatible with the nature and patterns of our region's social life. (quoted in Romanowski et al. 2018, p. 20)

Large-scale social and economic change and educational reform requires long-term planning, pre-implementation, training and testing followed by pilot projects,

evaluation, and improvements. Then, it takes time for the system to develop and to be fine-tuned with restrained, data-driven improvements over time. Traditionally, GCC national leaders have not often accorded reforms sufficient time and patience before making changes, nor has policy development often been based on sound evidence from evaluations (AlKhater 2016). The challenge regionally is that there is major political and social eagerness to see fast educational improvements but the rapid changes often cause social strife. As a consequence, educational reforms have often been influenced or interrupted by ideological divisions, impatience, or societal pressure. Instead of regular on-going and participative evaluation, GCC countries tend to take the approach of punitive inspection. With peer review and knowledge sharing, education policy development would be evidenced based through every phase of the process, leading to more sustainable change (AlKhater 2016).

In short, the GCC states have attempted to accelerate the process of developing modern education systems, by spending a great deal of money to import foreign curricula, institutes, and educators. Unfortunately, through rapid and continuous reform, they have created K-12 systems which are in a near constant state of flux and which do not adequately prepare graduates for tertiary education or employment. Ironically, the use of education hubs to diversify the economy strategy appears to be working in the UAE and Qatar (UNESCO Institute for Statistics n.d.). At the same time, local students strive for years after graduating high school to achieve the English language skills that they need to thrive in the institutions their governments imported for them.

The Political, Cultural, and Social Influence Resulting from English Language

Many voices throughout the GCC countries are worried about the cultural transmission and linguistic concerns that are taking place with the "Englishizing" and transfer of education. This has created a controversy vis-à-vis protecting local culture, identity, and tradition (Ahmed 2010). GCC states today are experiencing a gradual loss of the use of Arabic.

Learning English and attracting world-class foreign academic institutions and campuses regionally is a big part of the GCC states' strategies and educational reform initiatives. With time, English language education, to which GCC nationals are exposed to varying degrees from kindergarten through tertiary levels, has left a marked social and cultural imprint, as waves of local students who completed their education in this new era of reform reach adulthood. At Qatari universities for example, journalism students now need Arabic language classes, classes that are similar to what a heritage learner would undertake in order to elevate their Arabic linguistic abilities to a more acceptable professional level. Socially, younger GCC Arabs now also converse with each other using a mix of both Arabic and English, and predominantly in English when it comes to the more educated and wealthy national youth (Kirkpatrick and Barnawi 2017). They are often self-conscious of their lack of correct Arabic grammar, and while they usually take pride in their

English language skills, they often do not show that same pride in communicating skillfully in their own native Arabic (Abou-El-Kheir and MacLeod 2017). Another outcome is that as the majority of the populations are expatriate foreign workers, the need to communicate with them in English has left Arabic on its way to becoming a second language in the GCC region.

Some segments of society in GCC states see English as a threat that is over-shadowing life in their countries and sidelining the Arabic language and national identities. This has triggered impassioned debates and controversy that has played out in society and politics (Ahmed 2010). On the other hand, Clive Holes (2011) details that English penetrated the Arabic spoken in the GCC region as early as the 1930s, since the discovery of oil in the region, and that GCC Arabs who knew little to no English decades ago did not know that some of the words they were using were borrowed from English. Today, this has evolved to code switching; the to-and-fro-ing between English and Arabic, with the English being spoken fluently and idiomatically, often with an American accent (Holes 2011). Holes rejects the notion that Arabic culture and identity are in crisis but rather claims that they are shifting.

Student Identity and Attitudes Toward Learning English in the Gulf Cooperation Council

As discussed earlier, language plays a key role in shaping a culture's identity. Accordingly, there are strong indications that identity and language are interconnected (Abou-El-Kheir 2016). In a study on the effects of English on Emirati cultural identity, Hopkyns (2016) found that Arabic and English were seen by the participants (students and teachers) "to represent two very different worlds, with Arabic being connected to home life and religion, and English being connected to education and the wider world." Abou-El-Kheir (2016) found that students in Qatar prefer to study in English, not because they believe that English, in contrast to Arabic, is associated with academia, but because many students find it easier to study in English and they also believe that the instruction they received in English is of higher quality.

There are many in Qatar who believe that Arabic as a language is associated with "familial and religious identity; the cornerstones of Qatari identity" (Abou-El-Kheir 2016). This is similar to Hopkyns' (2016) findings in the UAE where only 27.5% of the students surveyed used English at home or with friends. In the same study, Hopkyns (2016) asked Emirati students to name five words they associated with Arabic and five words they associated with English and what each language represented to them. The words that students most frequently associated with English were education (75%), entertainment (57.5%), communication (50%), global (42.5%), and job (20%). For Arabic, the words were Islam/religion (100%), first/mine (95%), tradition/history (67.5%), culture (37.5%), and family (32.5%). The Emirati student responses presented two very different worlds – one linked to modern themes (future), education, communication, and the greater world. The other, Arabic, is connected to the past and in a way to nostalgia, tradition, religion, and culture.

This theme is reflected in an experience Holes (2011) had when he met an Emirati student studying abroad in the United Kingdom. Holes asked whether "he ever read or wrote anything in Modern Standard Arabic" (academic Arabic), to which the student replied, "Never." Since international business (and education) is often carried out in English, university graduates in Bahrain and other GCC states often find that they do not use Arabic regularly in professional or academic settings. This indicates that students in Bahrain and other GCC states are indeed "moving away from using Arabic as a normal means of academic communication, unless it is in a familial or local context." (Abou-El-Kheir and MacLeod 2017, p. 25). They put forth that cultivating Arabic language studies and highlighting the importance of maintaining excellent Arabic communication skills could offset the prevalence of English over Arabic.

However, it is the link to tradition, familial, and religious identity that lead Qatari students, as well as other students and youth in the GCC, to believe that the present supremacy of English does not erode local culture nor the use of the Arabic language (Abou-El-Kheir 2016). This echoes Holes (2011) who maintains that the current dominance of the English language in the region does not signal the death of the Arabic language as a means of communication, but rather that the landscape of the use of Arabic is fluid.

Conclusion

The countries that form the GCC vary in size, resources, and approaches to reform and modernization. In each country, however, foreign expatriate workers make up the majority of their populations, with English being the common language of business transactions, education, and work. The region's leadership see English as a key factor in their agendas to diversify their economies away from oil and increase the employability of their graduating national students. The rise in oil prices in the 1970s enabled the GCC monarchies to invest in various education initiatives to that end. GCC national students, products of a traditional educational system that values the acceptance of knowledge from authority without questioning and dependence on the teacher, need to learn more than just the English language. Traditional teaching and learning styles need to adapt as well in order to develop the critical skills required in a global workforce.

Leaders across the GCC acknowledge that traditional learning and teaching styles do not develop the critical, analytical, and creative skills that employers search for. A desire to see quick results has led to the rapid implementation of borrowed western education policies and models where the majority involved the adoption of the English language as a medium of instruction. Further policy developments led GCC governments, such as the UAE and Qatar, to set up knowledge and education free zone clusters to attract world-class education institutions to the region. The UAE today is the largest single importer of branch campuses in the world. Numerous prestigious universities from Australia, Europe, and the United States have branch campuses within its borders. These branch campuses aim to attract not only national

and local expat students, but also regional and international students. They market the opportunity to enjoy the vibrant lifestyle of the UAE while getting a quality Western education.

These initiatives to raise the level of education have come with negative social consequences, namely the fear of losing cultural identity and religious values through the weakening of the Arabic language, as traditional values and modernization struggle to strike a balance (Romanowski et al. 2018). GCC countries need to move away from uncritical educational borrowing and more effectively adapt borrowed approaches to incorporate important cultural elements in order to improve education and learning. Traditional approaches have not worked, and policy and curriculum borrowing has been largely inefficient. The GCC states need to find a middle ground and the patience to allow new reforms to develop and be improved rather than replaced.

Cross-References

▶ EALD Students at University Level: Strengthening the Evidence Base for Programmatic Initiatives
▶ English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: The Role of English as Lingua Franca
▶ Imagined Communities, Identity, and English Language Learning in a Multilingual World
▶ Languaging and Translanguaging for English Language Teaching
▶ Postentry English Language Assessment in Universities
▶ Understanding English Language Learners' Pragmatic Resistance

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Behind the Sand Castle: Implementing English Language Teaching Policies in Japan

4

Masaki Oda

Contents

Abstract

In the past decades, English language teaching (ELT) policies in Japan have gone through several major revisions. Each time a policy is revised, policy-makers make their best effort to legitimize the new policies and convince general public to accept them. Very often, however, the foreign language teaching (FLT) policies are made and revised without considering actual learning which takes place at schools. The biggest problem is that the policy-makers often jump to a hasty conclusion when a new policy has been proposed.

This chapter discusses several key educational policies related to ELT, established or modified in recent years as examples, and discusses the reactions of academics, mass media, as well as general public in the process of their implementations. Special attention will be paid to the processes and strategies the Japanese policy-makers utilize in order to legitimize policies and the degree of access to information available to each party involved.

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The author stresses that policy-makers often attempt to implement policies without careful preparation as though they were building a sand castle at the beach which would easily be washed away soon. Therefore, some suggestions will be made on new policies in order to serve as a solid foundation of ELT in Japan.

Introduction

For many years, foreign language teaching (FLT), especially English language teaching, has been among the most discussed subjects in Japanese daily life. In Japan, students normally learn a foreign language as a school subject starting from grade 7 (12 years old) for 3 years in lower secondary schools and another 3 years in upper secondary schools, and if they decided to go to universities, they would continue to study it for a few more years. In both lower and upper secondary schools, English is taught as a subject called "foreign language." In other words, it is supposed to be just one of the many languages, and the learners are supposed to be given a choice of which language to learn. However, only 23 lower secondary schools (out of 10,557) offer languages other than English as a subject (MEXT 2016). This illustrates the reality of FLT in Japan which is actually perceived as ELT, despite the fact the name of the subject still remains as "foreign language." In the past years ELT under the name of FLT has been expanded to primary education.

There is a prevailing discourse not only among the FLT professionals but also the general public that English is highlighted as something very important for our life. Many people seem to accept the discourse without any criticism, despite the fact that they cannot confirm its validity in their individual lives. One of the reasons why such discourses are accepted is that they are often reinforced by more "official" statements such as various policies issued by the authority. Hatano (2017: 218–223) employs Bakhtin's notions of "authoritative discourse" and "personally persuasive discourse" to discuss the discourse of English language teaching in Japan. In his paper, he points out that there are many Japanese people who believe that learning English is important "to survive in the globalized society." At the same time, they often cite "pass exams" or "earn credits" as their own reason for learning English. This means that there is little connection between what people believe English is good for and why they are actually learning the language. Hatano (Ibid.) continues that this happens due to the lack of dialogue between "authoritative discourse" and "personally persuasive discourse."

Similar phenomena are discussed in Oda (2007) who uses Dyrberg's (1997) notion of power in political discourses. Oda (Ibid.) points out that the Japanese general public has been deceived by misleading discourses on learning English. Very often, policy-makers and the general public "influence each other and be influenced without knowing it" (Dyrberg 1997: 39). In other words, the lack of interaction between the stakeholders of foreign language teaching is apparent.

The two examples above illustrate the major problem in implementing FLT policies in Japan. The policy is issued by the authority, and the schools are required to implement the policies without enough time to even understand the rationales behind them and interact with the policy-makers for the mutual benefits. In the same manner, the schools often implement the policies in the classrooms relying on their own interpretation. Again, they are not given enough time for getting ready. The general public, as discussed in Oda (2017), is also often confused by the prevailing discourses of teaching/learning English as if it were the only foreign language, particularly those of mass media. For many of us, mass media is the major and often the only source of information concerning English language teaching. To make the matter worse, many people are constantly exposed to the discourses without being given any alternatives. Consequently, their beliefs about learning English are formulated even though they are not necessarily aware of what is going on as Dyrberg (1997) discussed.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall focus on the lack of dialogue between FLT policies proposed by the Japanese authority and the F(E)LT profession including classroom teachers who need to face their students directly through their day-to-day teaching. Special attention will be paid to the three major proposals: the new *Course of Study* (COS), teaching English as a school subject at primary level, and the new "core" standard for university teacher training curriculum that is recently made by the Japanese government and their ongoing impact to the F(E)LT profession in the process of preparation.

In so doing, I shall begin with a discussion of historical and political backgrounds of the FLT policies as well as the debates on the related issues in the past decades, followed by a critical review of the three major issues in F(E)LT in Japan: the new Course of Study (COS), English language teaching at primary schools, and the "core" standard for university teacher training curriculum. I shall conclude the chapter by suggesting what F(E)LT profession in Japan can do to benefit from the policies rather than denying them without providing alternatives.

Public Demands and Language Teaching Policy

Whether it is confirmed true, or not, we often see the cases in which new language teaching policies are put forward citing "public demands" as a legitimate reason to persuade FLT professionals including teachers and school administrators. To start our discussion, it is important for the author to state here that foreign language teaching (FLT) in Japan often only means ELT exclusively. Consequently, the discussion in this chapter is largely limited to ELT. The author realizes this is the problem and thus he will discuss it in the later parts of the chapter.

F(E)LT professionals are often required to study the policies and implement them in their classroom under the time constraints. Whether the new policies are eventually beneficial to the public, or not, this practice often becomes a major obstacle of F(E)LT profession in Japan. The F(E)LT professionals are forced to make a series of

important decisions without being given sufficient background information and/or in a very limited time.

What are, then, public demands anyway? A typical discourse for supporting the objective of English language teaching nowadays is "to communicate with people around the world." This may be partly true; however, it does neither give a special status to English nor exclude many other languages. For example, we rarely hear someone say "Let's learn Chinese in order to communicate with people around the world," despite the fact that Chinese is the largest language in the world in terms of the number of its users (cf. Graddol 2006). The problem, therefore, is that, with exceptions of those who are in a position of having access to sufficient information on the issues, the Japanese general public has to rely on the discourses prevailed, no matter whether or not these discourses are reliable. The survival in the globalized society is often used as the reason for the authority to encourage the Japanese people to learn a foreign language. However, English is often regarded as if it were a synonym of "the" foreign language. Moreover, many people are not even aware of the fact that there are many foreign languages other than English which can be taught at schools. As a result, English enjoys its status of being the only foreign language as a school subject.

Given the fact that there is no choice other than English available at Japanese schools, it is natural that the Japanese people need to learn English, the only foreign language available at many schools, in order to survive in a globalized world. Needless to say, those in general public would focus on ELT if they were interested in developing communication skills necessary in the globalized society as though English would solve all the problems. Therefore, ELT will be regarded as if it were on the top of the agenda for the authorities in Japan.

For the policy-makers, this would facilitate their jobs, because they can take advantage of the fact that the general public only talks about English, and thus there is a legitimate reason for them to concentrate on English, even though they also need to cover other foreign languages. In other words, the policy-makers can save their faces for a while, as they appear to be doing what they are supposed to do. This is the biggest chronic problem of ELT in Japan. In the rest of the section, I shall discuss this problem in relation to the three new proposals in ELT in Japan: the new *Course of Study* (COS), English language teaching at primary schools, and the "core" standard for university teacher training curriculum. The author argues that no matter how promising the new policies look to the general public, we need to examine them carefully in order to optimally implement the policies for the maximum benefits of the Japanese general public. Otherwise, the new policies may end up as a large sand castle, which will be wiped away in a second when a new wave approaches.

Globalization and ELT Policies

In recent years, the term "globalization" is used as a buzzword associated with various new proposals to promote ELT at various sectors in Japan. This phenomenon has been discussed by many scholars (e.g., Seargeant 2009; Kubota 2011) who

critically examine the discourse globalization in relation to the promotion of English as an international language in Japan; however, the connection between globalization and the needs for English is not clear.

The beliefs about "ideal" ELT among the ELT professionals have also been shifted over the years. Consequently, the goal of ELT in Japan has gradually been changed. As illustrated in Oda and Takada (2005: 94–95), we saw a boom in the learning of English in connection with the growth of the Japanese economy in 1980. During that period, the attainment of native speaker proficiency was regarded as the goal of learning English, and thus many native speakers of English came to Japan to teach English regardless of their qualifications. Then there was a significant turnaround after 1990 when the rapid growth of the Japanese economy since the 1960s came to an end. The government has issued several policies corresponding to the discourse of "globalization-as-opportunity," highlighting the importance of English for the Japanese people, despite the fact that there has never been any clear explanation on the connection between globalization and the needs of English as opposed to other languages. According to Stewart and Miyahara (2011), these policies prioritize English "in the name of globalization, the shift to more communicative language teaching reflected in school teaching and testing" (p. 62). Stewart and Miyahara (Ibid.) continue that these policies have been reflected on further emphasis on English in exchange of "cut in provision of other languages" (Ibid.) and an emergence of departments and/or programs which emphasize communication and culture.

Many universities as well as private schools stress how their English program leads the students to the right pathway to success by emphasizing advantages in career building. In other words, their English language programs are expected to contribute to the developments of "global human resources." The discourse of "globalization-as-opportunity" was intact among many educational institutions, and thus many of them have attempted to distinguish their programs from others by describing their programs with colorful adjectives such as "global," "innovative," and/or "multicultural" which coincides with the examples presented in Yamagami and Tollefson (2011).

The institutions align the position of their foreign language programs to the discourse of "globalization-as-opportunity" (Yamagami and Tollefson 2011) not necessarily because they have solid philosophical beliefs, but to give their potential applicant an impression as though the institutions are working seriously in order to meet the demands of the society. In other words, the institutions themselves do not have a convincing reason why they associate globalization with the aggressive or even frenzy promotion of English in their educational programs.

More recently, Terasawa (2017a) attempted to illustrate the complex relationships among globalization, the global spread of English, and the growing enthusiasm for ELT, by providing some counter-evidence to deny the commonly held beliefs including "Globalization increases the demand for English language use" and "People's enthusiasm for ELT is direct outcome of perceptible global changes such as the increased and more widespread use of English" (3). He analyzed the datasets from the Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) conducted to determine "what

behaviours, attitudes, and experiences are prevalent among the Japanese" (Ibid.). Terasawa (Ibid.) used the 2006 and 2010 versions of the surveys. What is noteworthy is that he is among the first scholars who have used the statistical database of nationally representative surveys as evidence against the prevailing discourse of ELT in Japan which often assumes a strong connection among globalization, the global spread of English, and the necessity for ELT.

From his study, it was found that there was no connection between globalization and the need of English. Instead, he found that "the decline of English use resulted from the 'globalized' recession in the late 2000s" and the "enthusiasm for an ELT reform was prompted by enhanced images of global communication" (Terasawa 2017a: 8–9). The results can explain the oversimplified association between globalization and the needs of English by the Japanese general public discussed in the previous section.

Terasawa's study (2017a) above made a significant contribution to the discussion on ELT policy as it was among the first studies on the topic using quantitative database of nationally representative surveys as evidence against the prevailing discourse of ELT. In other words, it is evident that we need to review the mechanism of the prevailing oversimplified connection between globalization and an aggressive promotion of English as if it were the only foreign language for global communication. While the author sees that teaching English is not necessarily a problem, it does not mean that English takes care of global communication. At this point, we need to reflect on the role of English in the Japanese society including its potential and limitation in global communication. It is important for us to identify the chronic problem underlying the discourses of ELT policies in Japan. Therefore, the next step for the scholars is to take steps to raise awareness among the Japanese general public by engaging more actively in this very important issue.

Language Policy, Learner Beliefs, and the Role of Mass Media

In the previous section, the author has argued that there is little connection between globalization and the needs for English. It seems that the Japanese society has repeated the same routine whenever a new language teaching policy has been proposed. As discussed in Oda (2017), a new language teaching policy is often proposed and presented to the public without context. While there are always some discussions between those for and against the new policy, the discussions tend to be superficial because of the limited access to relevant information (cf. van Dijk 1996). The general public including the learners themselves accept whatever is proposed realizing that these policies come from the authority. In addition, most of the learners do not even attempt to analyze the new polies and, thus, they never have any clear idea of why they are learning English as discussed in Hatano (2017). This phenomenon is illustrated in Hatano's model (2017: 224) of the patterns of learners' reaction to authoritative discourse concerning English and ELT including the policies issued by the authority as well as prevailing discourse among the general public. Hatano (ibid) stresses that we need to pay attention to the fact that there are

substantial numbers of learners who believe English is important not because they have concrete idea of why learning English is beneficial to them but because of the authority of the prevailing discourse. Hatano (2017:222–223) continues that the majority of the respondents of his survey cited "globalization" as the major reason why the Japanese people should learn English. When he asked the same group why they learn English, only 37.5% cited "globalization" as at least one of the reasons. On the contrary, 83.3% cited "entrance exams" and 58.5% cited "pass the course (requirement)" as primary reasons. This indicates that there is a lack of dialogue between the "authoritative discourse" and "personally persuasive discourse" as Hatano (Ibid.) states.

Oda (2014) discusses the formulation of learner beliefs through in-depth interviews with three Japanese university students. He analyzed the narratives of the students who had been asked to talk about their encounter with languages including English and how they ended up continuing to study the language in the university. From the study, he found that, in early stages, they had been constantly told by their parents that English would be beneficial for their future. In addition, until they became old enough to find out that English is just one of the many languages, they had believed as though English had been the only language they could use in order to communicate with the people outside Japan. In relation to Hatano's (2017) discussion above, the students must not have even been given any information but "learning English is beneficial for them" so that they had not been aware of the reality until much later. In other words, they had not been given any choice between whether or not to learn a foreign language and which language(s) to learn.

The ELT policies, including the decision for making English as "the" foreign language, are an "authoritative" discourse by default. It is often reinforced by mass media and affect the beliefs of the general public particularly of those without sufficient background information as discussed in Oda (2017). The phenomenon is particularly significant when the general public is given a limited time to make a decision. Because the information accessible by the general public is limited, people only rely on the pieces of information which have been exposed to them, for example, the discourses produced by mass media. They are not given enough time to check the reliability and the validity of the information nor they think if there is any alternative. This would prevent them to engage in dialogue between their "personally persuasive discourse" which contributes to the formation of their beliefs and the "authoritative discourse."

To the general public, any recent new ELT policy in Japan appears to be solid and authoritative regardless of whether one agrees with it or not. The new policy certainly looks as if it would change ELT, hopefully in a positive way. In reality, however, ELT professionals, with an exception of those involved in policy-making themselves, are not necessarily convinced by the policy-makers.

Widdowson (1994: 384) argues that, "[r]eal proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to your advantage, and make it real for you." Even though the learners believe English is important because of "globalization" no matter how they define it, it is important for each of them to make their learning of English real for him/her. Therefore, to help increase dialogues between the

policy-makers and the learners is certainly an important goal of ELT professionals. In the next sections, I shall present how the discussion on the three new proposals in ELT in Japan, the new Course of Study (COS) with a special attention to the status of English as a school subject, English language teaching at primary schools, and the "core" standard for university teacher education curriculum focusing on how each issue, corresponds with the discussion in this section.

The New Course of Study (COS)

The *Course of Study* (COS) is a national guideline revised and published approximately every 10 years. It is usually available in Japanese. However, English translations of some key documents are occasionally available as well through the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology's (MEXT) website (http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/elsec/title02/detail02/1373859.htm). It has four different editions: kindergarten, primary schools, lower secondary schools, and upper secondary schools. In each edition, the requirements for completion include the list of required and elective subjects as well as detailed descriptions of items to be covered in each of the subjects are listed. Teachers teaching at educational institutions are required to have a valid license for each level which is usually issued after a completion of an appropriate teacher training program at higher education institutions whose teacher training courses have been authorized by MEXT which will be discussed later.

Although English has been taught at almost all the lower and upper secondary schools all over Japan for a long time, it is not a required subject. According to the *Course of Study* (COS), a curriculum guideline issued by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) almost every 10 years, English itself has never been a required subject of secondary schools. Instead, it is "foreign language" which is a required subject for secondary schools now, and the schools have to choose which language(s) their students are required to take. In most cases, however, English is the de facto required language (see Oda and Takada 2005), and most schools offer English as the only foreign language their students can take.

The problem is that many students as well as the general public do not realize the fact that English is *not* a required subject, unless they were closely engaged in ELT. In many of the official policy documents including COS, policy-makers carefully select the term "foreign languages" as the name of the subject, but the description is always based on the assumption that English is "the" foreign language. Very often, we encounter a description "refer to English" when we are trying to find information about teaching a foreign language like Chinese.

The proposal for introducing English in the primary school curriculum was originally made by a special committee to the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in 2007 as a part of its mid-term statement concerning the school curriculum. The MEXT accepted it in 2008, with a slight modification as far as English was concerned. Instead of making English as a school

subject, the MEXT decided to add foreign language activity. There are two issues in this proposal to consider. First, the term "foreign languages" was used as was the case of secondary schools. Second, "foreign languages" at the primary level was not defined as a subject but an activity. The former left a possibility of teaching languages other than English, and thus it appeared "politically correct," while the latter made it possible for anyone to teach as far as the school approves. This was the first step of introducing English to primary schools. As expected, English was the de facto language for foreign language activities. The MEXT also published English textbooks *Hi Friends!* 1 and 2 in 2012 for foreign language activities but not in other languages. Strictly speaking, these are not considered as authorized textbooks, but as "suggested teaching materials."

The new COS will be in effect in 2020 for primary schools, 2021 for lower secondary schools, and 2022 for upper secondary schools after 2 or 3 years of transition periods prior to these dates. The introduction of foreign languages (English) as a subject of the primary school curriculum is certainly a highlight of the new COS. However, there are also numerous changes concerning foreign language teaching both at lower and upper secondary schools. Naka (2017), in his publication in Japanese, points out several important issues and gives his critical reflection on the new COS. To begin with, Naka (Ibid.) commented that he had thought that the new COS would be promising for several reasons. When the outline of the upcoming revision was announced in an interim report by a subcommittee on school curricula in August 2016, this report was a summary of the discussions at previous committee meetings. Naka (2017: 102–106) pointed out that it was possible to assume the committee's serious commitments to the upcoming revision in several areas. First, the committee had reflected on the gap between the objective of foreign language teaching which had been set for the current COS and what is actually taking place in the classroom.

Then, the committee recognized the fact that many foreign language classes had only focused on how much knowledge of grammar and vocabulary the learners had gained (Kyouiku Katei Bukai 2016: 253) and suggested that we need to integrate the learners' knowledge with their ability to think, decide, and express as all of them are important elements for communication. The committee also indicated that it would be necessary to reconsider the traditional for skills in language teaching, including reading, writing, speaking, and listening, which had often been referred by language teaching professionals. They suggested that speaking skill should be divided into two: speaking (interaction) and speaking (production) as with the case of CEFR. The five skills, according to the report, would be used as a framework, and the learning objectives would be set in each of the five skills. This was a positive indication as the committee has apparently been aware of the gap in interpretation of the term "communication" between the descriptions in the current COS and what is actually happening in the real world. By revisiting how we define "communication," we should be able to reflect it to what we should teach in the classroom. From this report, along with the proposal for revising policies regarding teacher training programs discussed later, it was possible to assume that the policy-makers were more serious and organized than ever as Naka (Ibid.) also suggested.

Secondly, it was apparent from the report that the committee had been trying to clarify that English is just one of the foreign languages, and thus it would be important to emphasize the importance of teaching/learning foreign languages other than English (Kyouiku Katei Bukai 2016: 257), probably with an influence of the notion of plurilingualism discussed in Europe in relation to CEFR. Naka (2017: 104) stated that he had expected at that point that the discussion in the report would reflect on the new COS. In other words, there was a hope at that point that the policy-makers would officially clarify the validity of the prevailing false assumption as though English being a synonym of foreign language.

What actually came up as the new COS which was published in 2017 by MEXT was disappointing. In other words, MEXT has missed an opportunity to realign one of the major gaps between its foreign language policy and reality, some of which had been discussed in the interim report (2016).

First of all, the traditional "four skills" are still intact. The author would like to point out that, despite the discussion appeared on the interim report, the traditional four-skill framework remains in the new COS, even though the validity of "four skills" as an ideological framework of foreign language teaching has been criticized as it is "a culture icon in English-speaking Western TESOL" (Holliday 2005: 42). Holiday (Ibid.) continues that the discourse of "four skills" reflects "how 'we' (the Westerners) are and how 'we' see things in 'our' culture and how 'we' intend to see , and indeed construct students and TESOL people from other cultures" (Holliday 2005: 43). Toh (2016) in the context of ELT in Japanese higher education also points out that English language courses are "invariably broken down into Reading, Writing, Speaking, and Listening components" (141), which would affect time tabling, staff development, and textbook adoption. It would also affect the construction of various English language tests including entrance examinations at different levels and the framework for teacher trainings. The prefabricated framework continues to give a potential threat to foreign language teaching including ELT as it still leaves each of the skills discretely without any clear guideline for teachers and learners to positively attempt to integrate them for communication. In the lower secondary edition of the new COS (MEXT 2017a), for example, the primary and overall objective of learning foreign languages is stated. While the official English translation has yet to be published, "Understanding the sounds, expressions, vocabulary, grammar and use of foreign languages and acquire skills to apply the knowledge to actual communication including reading, writing, speaking and listening" (129) is listed as one of the overall objectives of the subject "foreign language," even though speaking skills are subdivided into presentation and interaction under the section for English (129–130). In other words, while the new COS shows some good signs as it attempts to narrow the gap in interpretation of the term "communication" between the descriptions in the previous COS and what is actually happening in the real world as discussed above, the policy-makers seem to have published the new COS prematurely without firmly agreeing on what they mean by communication and what they expect the learners to learn from foreign language lessons at schools.

Second, despite the fact that the importance of learning other languages was mentioned in the interim report (2016), the new COS does not even provide much

information about teaching foreign languages other than English. The foreign language section of the new COS for lower secondary level (MEXT 2017a: ▶ Chap. 2, "English Language Teaching in North American Schools", Sect. 9, 127–138) provides detailed guidelines including, the objectives specific to the language, the items to be covered, and the planning of instruction. This section will also serve as a guideline for the publishers of authorized textbooks which will be used at schools when the new COS has been put in effect. Contrary to the description on the interim report (2016), it is apparent that English is still "the only" foreign language for the school subject. In the section of the new COS for lower secondary schools (MEXT 2017a), nine out of ten pages are spent for English, while there is only a three-line paragraph with a heading "Other foreign languages" which basically ask the readers to refer to the English section (and figure out what are the requirements yourselves) (138). Furthermore, there is a statement under the heading of the planning of instruction saying that, in principle, English should be selected as "the" language for the subject (Ibid.). Although it appears that the students in Japan have a choice of learning any language provided that there are sufficient resources available to them, this statement on COS is strong enough to discourage us to believe that there is an option other than English. In other words, these descriptions contradict the interim report (2016) mentioned above, even though the name of the subject is "foreign language," and thus have totally ruined the discussion of promoting languages other than English in Japanese schools for at least next 10 years.

English at Primary Schools

In Japan, primary school teachers are expected to teach all the subjects by themselves, and thus teacher training programs at universities are organized accordingly.

Therefore, teacher training in teaching foreign languages including English was not included in these programs. At that time, Oda (2009) warned that it would be difficult to train as many as 416,000 primary school teachers at that time (MEXT 2018) to be ready for the foreign language which was due to start in 3 years. The reality was that the policy-makers did not have any intention to make many of these teachers to be ready for foreign language activities at that point, because what they were proposing was not a "subject" but an "activity." The difference between English as a school subject and English as an activity is as follows. First, the former needs to be taught by licensed teachers for primary schools. The teachers need to use authorized textbooks and give grades to their students. This means that MEXT had to train enough primary school teachers, including those who are active and those who are new. Second, MEXT needed to have authorized textbooks ready. It was apparent that neither of them could be achieved within the given timeframe. While there was no official explanation for the decision of introducing an "activity" instead of a "subject" in relation to the timeframe, it is apparent that the time was too short for the policy-makers to begin foreign language classes at primary schools in a short time.

Since the introduction of foreign language activities at primary schools in 2012, MEXT has not issued any nationwide reflection of the effectiveness of the activities

(see Terasawa 2017b). Instead they are about to move a step further at the time of writing. In March 2017, MEXT announced the details of the next revision of COS including the introduction of foreign language as a subject for fifth and sixth grades at primary schools. This will replace the existing foreign language activity for fifth and sixth grades. Instead, foreign language activities will be required in third and fourth grades in primary schools nationwide. The new COS for primary schools will be in effect from 2020 academic year after 2 years of transition period starting April 2018.

As with the case, many primary teachers are anxious about the proposed change, as it would all of a sudden add one more subject to teach. A majority of primary teachers had never been trained to teach English or other foreign languages when they were licensed. It is, therefore, natural for anyone to assume that teachers are needed to be given a clear guideline for how they should prepare themselves to be ready for the implementation of the new policy. MEXT has issued various documents and supplement materials in a section dedicated to foreign language teaching/ activities on their official website (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/kokusai/ gaikokugo/index.htm). To this date, however, very few comprehensive document is available to primary classroom teachers.

In a recent issue of local commercial journal of English language teaching, *Eigo Kyoiku* (English Language Education, June 2017), Naoyama (2017), a subject inspector in charge of English at MEXT, addresses the issue in her article. She acknowledged primary school teachers' concerns and described what MEXT is trying to do before the new policy is put in effect in 2018 when the transition period is due to start. She focused on the two main issues: teaching/learning materials and teacher training. As for teaching/learning materials, Naoyama (Ibid.) listed the list of materials, both printed and digital, MEXT would provide along with the schedule as of November 2016. This was followed by a rationale as well as a brief history behind the developments of these materials. Throughout the article, which is written in Japanese, Naoyama (Ibid.: 14–15) consistently uses the term *Gaikokugo* (foreign languages) emphasizing that she is talking about foreign languages in accordance with COS. Nevertheless, the main policy document she cites is *English Education Reform Plan corresponding to Globalization* (2014), which, as its title suggests, only talks about English. There has never been any explanation of why only English is given a special status among the many foreign languages.

A more serious concern, however, is the second section of the article in which Naoyama talks about teacher training (2017: 16–18). According to the plan described in the article, MEXT has a master plan called *Eigo Kyoiku Suishin Riidaa* (English language education promotion leaders) program and forms an in-service teacher training program based on the above master plan. It is important to stress that this program is not to aim at training foreign language teachers but English teachers, even though the subject which will be added is foreign languages, not English.

Naoyama (Ibid.) continues that MEXT provides intensive training programs for around 200 primary school teachers nominated by boards of education of different regions in Japan. They are called "English language education promotion leaders" who are expected to implement what they have learned in the national training

program to their own classrooms. Then they will undergo another phase of training at the national level to be certified as a leader and will be expected to train teachers in their region. MEXT expects to train at least one leader per school, although they are not certain when the goal has been completed. In other words, MEXT leaves its responsibility for training teachers in a limited period of time to these leaders most of whom are teaching full time. The details of the training program are yet to be decided, and, thus, at the time of writing, we only know that the leaders are supposed to teach what they have learned in the intensive trainings to the colleagues in their schools; however, it seems apparent that it would take a few years to complete training for nearly 312,131 school teachers teaching full time in primary schools nationwide, excluding administrators such as principals and vice-principals, in 2017 school year (see MEXT 2018).

Terasawa (2017b) provides a critical review of the plan. Among the many points discussed in his paper, he stresses that English should not be added to the primary school curriculum, unless sufficient budget has been secured. As discussed above (Naoyama 2017), MEXT has presented a plan to train primary school teachers to be ready for the new subject. Yet, as Terasawa (2017b) points out, it is not clear how to provide the teachers with the opportunity to participate in the training programs. If the teachers were to attend the training programs, their teaching assignments should be reduced in order to guarantee enough time to participate in the programs. While some local authorities have already established a system to do so, there is no national policy on this matter. As a result, some teachers would have to participate in the programs while teaching full time, even if they were selected as English language education promotion leaders. Terasawa (Ibid.: 16–27) believes this problem is largely attributed to the issue of budget and thus stresses the importance of securing financial resources. This is necessary not only to cover expenses for trainings but also to provide sufficient financial resources to hire extra teachers for replacements when teachers are attending training programs.

Another point Terasawa (Ibid.) makes in his article is the rationale of the new policy of transforming foreign language activity in fifth and sixth grades to a subject and introducing foreign language activity to third and fourth grades. More specifically, he argues (2–7) that no official reflection on the effectiveness of the current foreign language activity in fifth and sixth grades had been published before the new policy was proposed. In addition, there was no convincing explanation regarding the reason why only English was spotlighted among many foreign languages, even though MEXT keeps utilizing the term foreign languages as the name of the activity/subject. This corresponds with the points the author has made earlier.

ELT at primary school has always been supported by the particular set of discourses prevailed among the general public as pointed out by Butler-Goto (2005). These are as follows:

1. The earlier we start, the better the results.
2. Oral skills (listening, speaking) should be given a priority.
3. Native speakers are the best teachers.
4. No evaluation is necessary for ELT for children in early stages.

These discourses are often disseminated to the general public through mass media and more recently through social media as discussed in Oda (2017). He continues that people in the general public often encounter with these discourses without being given sufficient background information and thus "it is often the case that the discourses are accepted without any criticism" (Oda 2017: 104). Butler-Goto (2005) has done extensive review on the discourses above and concluded that none of the above is convincing. First, the "earlier the better" argument. Despite the recent advancement of neuroscience, it is still too early to conclude if puberty exists in language acquisition and/or what the mechanism of language acquisition actually is (125); therefore, we cannot say that the earlier we start, the better the results.Next, "the oral skills" argument. While we understand that it is important to teach oral skills, particularly because they are not taught sufficiently at secondary schools, it does not mean that we should exclude teaching written skills. MEXT has kept emphasizing that teaching English at primary schools should be restricted to oral skills, as teaching written skills would give too much burden on children, which would result in them losing motivation to learn the language, without any evidence (155). This is derived from the prevailing discourse formulated by the oversimplified association between communication and oral skills, even though we depend a lot on written communication in our daily life. Third, the "native speaker" argument. This often goes with the discourse of "English should be taught in English only," both of which correspond with the fallacies of ELT discussed in Phillipson (1992). The discourses appear to legitimize teaching English in English only and thus enable monolingual native English speakers to qualify themselves to teach English to children. Yet, there has been no scientific research to claim that learning English in English only by native English speakers would give pupils better results. Butler-Goto (2005) presents various counter-evidence (e.g., Auerbach 1993; Cook 1999) and suggests that using the learners' native language would help children learn English more effectively as it would reduce anxiety, provide meaningful interaction, and reduce drop-outs (161). Again, an oversimplified dichotomy on whether to conduct a class in English only or not, or whether or not native English-speaking teachers are better, contributes the formulation of the discourse. Finally, the "no-evaluation" discourse. This was an idea originally related to the establishment of foreign language activity, and we will not have to worry about it at this point, as foreign languages (English) will become a school subject at primary schools. Nevertheless, the discourse illustrates the problem exists behind foreign language activity. As discussed earlier, it is possible that the policy-makers have disseminated this discourse in order to legitimize the rationale of adding foreign languages as an activity, not as a subject. They must have known they would not be able to provide a sufficient number of trained teachers by the time they were going to introduce foreign languages (English) at primary schools.

The problem of the shortage of qualified teachers, however, has been inherited to the upcoming policy change. As with the cases of other recent foreign language policies, MEXT and its advising body, including the special committee who had originally proposed the plan to the Ministry, do not seem to have studied the impact of the addition of the new subject to primary schools well enough. It is unrealistic to

expect that they can train more than 300,000 primary school teachers (MEXT 2018) to be capable of teaching an additional subject while expecting most of them to continue to work full time as discussed earlier. In the document titled *English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (2014) issued by MEXT, which has served as a base for the new policy of introducing foreign languages from third grade, we can find the following statement: "Timed with the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, in order for the full-scale development of new English education in Japan, MEXT will incrementally promote educational reform from FY2014 including constructing the necessary frameworks based on this plan" (MEXT 2014, **Underlined in the original**). The supporters of the plan often cite "globalization" as a reason for teaching English and the 2020 Olympics as a reason for implementing the new policy in a short time. However, it is hard to believe that fifth graders who learn English for the first time become able to function in English by the Olympics (when they will be in seventh grade), especially because it is unlikely that we do not have enough time for universities to establish programs to produce new primary school teachers who can teach English either.

For current primary school teachers, the rapid implementation of the new policy will not necessarily do any good either. It is hard to imagine for someone who has been working hard as a primary school teacher for a long time to be asked to teach an additional subject of which she/he has never been trained to teach. Even though she/he is willing to take a teacher training program, a majority of teachers have to wait until the 200 selected "leaders" have been trained and qualified to train local teachers. On the contrary, the discourse of the necessity of English prevails among the general public and is further reinforced by its oversimplified association with the discourse of the 2020 Olympics. It would give tremendous pressures on primary school teachers, as the society may regard them as incompetent if they were not ready to teach English by the time the new policy is implemented. In reality, it is hard to expect that primary teachers receive sufficient help either directly or indirectly from MEXT before they start teaching a foreign language, in most of the cases, English.

The "Core" Standard for University Teacher Training Curriculum

The third example discussed in this chapter is related to preservice teacher training at universities. In order to obtain a license to teach at schools in Japan, one has to complete a teacher education program called *Kyosyoku Katei* at an accredited institution while complying with the requirements of their own majors. While there are some variations, the students are normally required to take a certain number of courses both from *the subject matter group* and *the teaching profession group*. In the case of teacher training programs for secondary school English, the former includes courses in English linguistics, literature, or intercultural communication, while the latter refers to pedagogical principles, educational psychology, lesson planning, educational law, and/or the Constitution of Japan. The latter group also applies to teacher training programs for all the subjects and levels. It should be noted that this "core" standard is not proposed

exclusively for foreign languages or English. It is a part of the reform involving both preservice and in-service trainings for primary and secondary school teachers.

Although MEXT still uses the term foreign languages for the subject, it is apparent that their focus is exclusively on English. This move shows how enthusiastic policy-makers in Japan have been on the promotion of English. In August 2017, MEXT held its first orientation to higher education institutions with teacher training programs. In one of the materials distributed at the orientation (MEXT 2017b: 10), it was clearly stated that the core curriculum for English (not foreign language) training programs would be available in August 2017. This is strongly related to the report of a major project discussed below. In fact, a majority part of the recommendations made in the report (Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku 2017) has been integrated to the new standard for MEXT to approve English teacher training programs at higher education institutions nationwide.

Compared to the cases of other subjects, English is the first and the only subject with concrete plan for teacher training programs as of November 2017. In comparison with the case of ELT at primary schools discussed earlier, this is a completely different approach. According to MEXT, they secured a budget of 581.13 million Japanese yen in 2015 (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/kokusai/gaikokugo/1362173.htm) for this project in order to investigate various issues related to the classroom teachers' English language proficiency and preservice and in-service teacher training programs for both primary and secondary levels. As a result of the comprehensive survey involving researchers, classroom teachers, as well as administrators from different parts of Japan, the report *Eigo Kyouin no Eigo ryoku·Shidou ryoku kyouka no tameno chousa Kenku Jigyo Heisei 28 nenndo hokokusyo* (The 2016 report on the Research Project on Improving Proficiency of English and Instruction by Teachers of English) was made available to the public in March 2017 (Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku 2017).

The book length document starts with a series of surveys, and then concrete proposals for teacher training programs based on the outcomes of the surveys are presented. The proposals include preservice teacher training programs for primary schools and lower and upper secondary schools and in-service teacher training programs for the both levels. The project timely considers the changes in various aspects of foreign language teaching policy in Japan over the past few years. In this section, the author focuses on the three proposed teacher training curricula. As with the cases of other policies, the term "foreign language" is carefully selected throughout the report, even though it is apparent that the authors of the report talk only about English. This is consistent with the case of the new COS discussed in the previous section. One chapter (chapter 3) is devoted to the overall structure of the "core" curriculum of teacher training programs, while detailed explanations for specific areas to be covered at different levels appear on another chapter (chapter 4). This is followed by various examples of syllabi (chapter 5).

It has been many years since MEXT began talking about introducing foreign languages to primary schools; however, the Ministry has kept the status of foreign languages ambiguous. Besides the issue of English being the only language many schools can choose to teach, which has been discussed throughout this chapter, it seems that MEXT has tried to avoid being criticized for the shortage of qualified

teachers. This was done by making foreign languages as an activity, not as a full subject. However, this tentative strategy became a further obstacle for introducing English as a school subject a few years later. Many of us who are involved in ELT in Japan, including the author himself, have been against the adding of English as a school subject named "foreign languages." Now we are facing shortage of qualified teachers of English at primary schools in addition to those of foreign languages other than English both at primary and secondary levels. In other words, MEXT had failed to establish a firm policy to train English teachers at primary schools since the introduction of foreign language activities in 2011, while other foreign languages are not even in the option at both primary and secondary levels.

This proposal, therefore, should have been presented and implemented when foreign language activity was added about a decade ago, so that the institutions with preservice training programs for primary schools were able to add the subjects: a course on foreign language instruction (two credits) and that on background knowledge such as classroom English, second language acquisition, literature in English, or intercultural communication (one credit). Consequently the institutions could have produced more primary school teachers with some preservice training in the past few years (65–69). It is also possible to say that the reform of primary school teacher training curriculum at universities should have been more effective than the proposed "English language education promotion leaders" training program mentioned earlier.

As for secondary school teacher training programs, both upper and lower, the biggest change is the lineup and the categorizations of the courses the students are required to take. In addition, the credits required for foreign language instruction has been doubled (a total of eight credits) in order to add components of second language acquisition and evaluation, both of which are offered as electives at many institutions. What is noteworthy is that English as an international language (EIL) or English as a lingua franca (ELF) is listed as an item to be covered as a part of English linguistic category (77). In addition, while both literature in English-speaking world and intercultural understanding remain as required subjects and the latter includes communication using English, the importance of English as a lingua franca to understand cultural diversity through reading and/or interaction is stressed (115–116).

As stated in the beginning of this section, the recommendations made in the two parts of the report discussed above have been integrated to the new standard for MEXT to approve English teacher training programs at higher education institutions nationwide. In other words, the institutions must make sure all the items recommended in the report be covered in their programs.

Finally, there are proposals for in-service teacher training programs which have been a weakness in Japanese educational system for many years, as there is no systematic structure of in-service training programs for school teachers with an exception of the series of courses required for the renewal of license every 10 years. A large part of these courses focuses on the teaching profession in general, and a very few choices can be made for courses related to teaching English and/or foreign languages, if any, to fulfill the requirements. The proposed in-service training

programs are not aimed at replacing the programs for license renewals. They are provided as models for teachers both in primary and secondary schools with different lengths of experience. For example, the programs for novice teachers include more components on understanding COS and/or material preparation, while the programs for those with more teaching experience involve courses on networking with other levels and mentoring novice teachers (80–91). We still need to find a way to guarantee all the teachers to participate in appropriate in-service training programs, and school administrators must work out how to make it possible in their contexts. However, this is a major step to encourage dialogue among the policy-makers, administrators at different levels, and school teachers.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the author has highlighted the three major proposals concerning ELT recently made by the Japanese government: the new Course of Study (COS), teaching English as a school subject at primary level, and the new "core" standard for university teacher training curriculum and its ongoing impact to the ELT profession. The author attempted to focus on the lack of dialogue between these ELT-related policies proposed by the Japanese authority and the ELT profession including classroom teachers who need to face their students directly through their day-to-day teaching. By reviewing the three proposals, the new Course of Study (COS), English language teaching at primary schools, and the "core" standard for university teacher training curriculum, it was found that there were both positive and negative issues.

In the past years, the policy-makers, notably MEXT, have come up with numerous brilliant proposals. To the Japanese general public, many of them look like a big, gorgeous castle which appears to be very solid and strong. With the help of mass media as well as public discourses formulated often without firm principles, the castle looks as though it gets stronger and stronger every day. In reality, however, there is a potential danger that the castle falls down in a moment without warning.

For example, we have heard a lot of debates between those for and against teaching English at primary schools. These debates are not simple: some are against teaching English at primary schools, but only for children learning English, while others may have problem about selecting English as "the" language. Nevertheless the general public is often exposed to the oversimplified yes–no dichotomy of the issue through mass media, and thus very few are aware of the complex issues behind. As a matter of fact, this must have been the reason why many ELT professionals were hesitant to make a move. As for teacher training, things are moving in the right direction. We wish the core standard for teacher training programs had been proposed a long time ago, so that we would have had more primary school English teachers by now. Therefore, we need to wait patiently until a sufficient number of primary school teachers have been trained.

The issues discussed in this chapter could be applicable to the contexts outside of Japan as well. For example, the gap between what policy-makers consider as "ideal" for various aspects of ELT and what is practiced in the actual teaching at schools is

observed in other countries. Wang (2014: 195–201), for example, talks about the relationship among the national curriculum requirement, textbooks, and the nationally unified tests to illustrate the gap between the "ideal" and the "real" in China.

Regardless of where we are, more active dialogues between the policy-makers and foreign language teaching professionals are necessary. The learners should be given access to all the necessary information available in order for them to make right decisions about their language learning. The topics of dialogue include various issues, but the priority should be given to the dialogue of the validity of the prevailing discourses in relation to foreign language teaching, for example, the connection between English and globalization and/or the relevance of learning languages in addition to or instead of English. In other words, it is the responsibility of both the policy-makers and foreign language teaching professionals to help the learners with opportunity to encourage the learners to engage in dialogues between "authoritative discourse" and "personally persuasive discourse" themselves (Hatano 2017). This will certainly reinforce the castle and, consequently, be beneficial to all of those involved. We cannot afford spending time to just say "yes" or "no" to particular issues nor seeing the debate as bystanders. All of us should engage in dialogues for the solid foundation of foreign language teaching in our communities.

Cross-References

▶ Assessment of Young English Learners in Instructional Settings
▶ "English Divide" and ELT in Korea: Towards Critical ELT Policy and Practices
▶ Language Ideologies, Language Policies, and English-Language Teaching in Russia
▶ Problematizing the Linguistic Goal in English Language Curricula

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"English Divide" and ELT in Korea: Towards Critical ELT Policy and Practices

5

Hyunjung Shin and Byungmin Lee

Contents

Abstract

This chapter presents a critical examination of current issues and controversies in English language teaching in South Korea (henceforth Korea), focusing on the crucial role of English in social reproduction as represented in the term "English Divide," referring to a widening social polarization based on English competence. The chapter situates the discussion in the context of the global political economy and explores how neoliberal celebration of English has led to exacerbating inequalities among social classes in relation to rapid neoliberal globalization of the Korean society. Emphasis is placed on the emergence of communicative English as new symbolic capital regarding neoliberal construction of language

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learning as an entrepreneurial self-development project to boost the individual's competitiveness in the job market. Highlighting differential access to "good" English by "Early Study Abroad" students and "English Abandoners (or English Underachievers),'" the analysis examines how a series of ELT policy initiatives designed to enhance communicative English language teaching and intended to address the "English Divide" contributed to further exacerbating widening English achievement gap along social class lines. The chapter concludes with suggestions for critical ELT policy and practices needed for more inclusive education for Korea and other parts of the globe.

Introduction

This chapter presents a critical examination of current issues and controversies in English language teaching (ELT) in South Korea (henceforth Korea). It uses the Korean context to illustrate how neoliberal celebration of English has led to exacerbating inequalities among social classes, as represented in the term "English Divide." Referring to a widening social polarization based on English competence, English Divide serves as the analytical focus of how communicative English functions as symbolic capital in Korean class distinction. The discussion highlights shifting ideologies of language and education in Korea regarding neoliberal construction of language as commodified "skills" (Heller 2010; Urciuoli 2008) and restructuring of English language learning as an entrepreneurial self-development project to boost the individual's competitiveness in the global labor market (Shin 2016; Urciuoli 2010). In this context, "authentic English" or communicative English obtained in Western English-speaking countries emerged as new legitimate English in Korea (Shin 2012).

The chapter begins with a brief discussion of neoliberalism and ELT as the backdrop to examine the Korean context. This is followed by an overview of politics of ELT in Korea in relation to neoliberal education reforms implemented during rapid globalization of the society. Highlighting differential access to legitimate English, or communicative English, by "Early Study Abroad" (ESA, or pre-college-aged study abroad) students and "English Abandoners" (*yeongpoja*, acronym for yeongeo [English] pogija [abandoner], literally meaning those who have given up on learning English, or "English Underachievers"), the following section examines why and how "English Divide" emerged as a buzzword in neoliberal Korea. The next section offers critical evaluation of language education policies of the Korean government that intended to enhance communicative English teaching in public schools and address the English Divide that remains due to the failed attempts to accomplish that goal. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications for critical ELT policy and practices for more inclusive education in Korea and around the world.

Neoliberalism and ELT: Language Skills and Entrepreneurial Self-Development

> It is evident that linguistic skills can be economic resources, and even if some skills are merely status markers, their acquisition may be the focus of economic activity (Irvine 1989, p. 256).

As Block's (2017) call for a "political economy turn" in applied linguistics indicates, recent scholarship in second language education began to examine new challenges and opportunities in ELT resulting from the political economic transformation into late capitalism (e.g., Bernstein et al. 2015; Block et al. 2012; Holborow 2015; Kanno and Vandrick 2014; Piller and Cho 2013; Shin and Park 2016; Tan and Rubdy 2008). As Block (2017) notes, given the growing inequality across the globe since the 2007 economic crisis, adopting a political economy perspective in ELT research is timely to better understand how ELT policy and practices interrelate with capitalism:

> we have moved from the heady times of celebratory globalisation of the 1990s and the early part of this century, to the hard-core realities that globalisation, at least in part, has bequeathed. In doing so, we have moved from what might be called a culture-dominant way of understanding events going on around us to a move economics-based one. (p. 36)

Neoliberalism, as the form of dominant capitalism in recent decades and as a theory of political economic practices, highlights individual entrepreneurial freedom, free market economy, and privatization and profit maximization (Bourdieu 1998; Harvey 2005). Extension of market-based principles to multiple domains in life under neoliberalism has further transformed notions of self, language, and education. For example, an ideal neoliberal subject is an autonomous, flexible, and self-regulating human being, or human capital made up of bundles of skills, who is well-prepared for global competition. Language constitutes a key set of "soft skills" of this neoliberal subject to enhance the value of his/her human capital. Education is a key site for human-capital development and is thus transformed into an economic resource both for the nation-state and the corporate sector as a tool to keep up with the globalized new economy (Hyslop-Margison and Sears 2006). Therefore, language learning becomes skill production, or project of entrepreneurial self-development to increase the individual's employability in the job market (Block et al. 2012; Cameron 2000; Shin and Park 2016; Urciuoli 2008, 2010).

One problem with this pragmatic view of language where language is valued as commodifiable resource (Heller 2010) or in terms of its usefulness in achieving economic development or social mobility (Wee 2008 calls linguistic instrumentalism), is that it turns language learning into an individual responsibility detached from the social context. That is, English language learners, as ideal neoliberal subjects, are expected to be able to acquire necessary linguistic skills as long as they work hard through endless self-improvement projects regardless of structural inequality related to their language learning (Park 2010; Shin and Park 2016). In this sense, ideologies about language and neoliberal competition which equate language as a set of flexible

skills and English language learning with individual effort of self-development, disconnected from external social structures, resonates with the ideology of meritocracy. That is, they both rationalize an individual's hard work as a source of academic success in schooling and/or in language learning in order to mask the unequal structure and power that mediate one's access to "good" English, and subsequently construct the image of English as equally accessible to all (Kubota 2011; Park 2010; Shin 2016).

ELT scholars across the globe have begun to explore neoliberalism in relation to language policy (Piller and Cho 2013), ELT teacher education (Block and Gray 2016), language testing (Kubota 2011), and classroom interaction (Chun 2009), among others. In the East Asian context, English language ability is a much sought-after resource for survival in the increasingly bleak job market, not only in Korea, but also in China (e.g., Gao 2014), Hong Kong (e.g., Lin and Man 2010), Japan (e.g., Kubota 2011), and Taiwan (e.g., Price 2014). The Korean case is particularly interesting, however, to examine how and why ELT is closely bound up in the social selection process within a political economy framework focusing on neoliberalism. Indeed, much of the emerging research in ELT examined South Korea as a key locus of exploring the intersection of English and neoliberalism, notably through the case of *jogi yuhak* (Early Study Abroad) students in multiple destinations across the globe (e.g., Lo et al. 2015; Park and Lo 2012; Shin 2012, 2014; Shin and Park 2016). The next section further expounds upon the impact of neoliberalism on ELT in Korea.

Neoliberal Globalization and Politics of ELT in Korea

Since English was initially brought into Korea with Christianity in the late Choson dynasty (1392–1910) (Sung 2002), English has long held key symbolic capital in Korea (Shin 2007). Key to understanding the modern context is the military tension between communist North and capitalist South (and between the USA and North Korea), which was often discursively and politically constructed as a means of rationalizing oppressive regimes since the Korean War (1950–1953). Also, due to the hegemonic role of the USA in political, economical, and cultural domains in Korea, English (American English in particular) has long maintained its status as the most popular and important foreign language, at least in the South (Kim 2011; Kim-Rivera 2002; Shin 2007).

During the rapid neoliberal globalization of the society since the 1990s, English has become even more important as symbolic capital in Korean class distinction. The 1995 presidential "Globalization Declaration" (*segyehwa seoneon*) during the Kim Yeong-sam government (1993–1998) highlighted enhancing the nation's global competitiveness. To this end, educating Koreans to develop as competitive global citizens has become important and the government has highly emphasized English education. Korea's entry to the globalized market economy, as evidenced by its joining the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD),

accelerated the economic neoliberalization of the society. In 1997, the "Asian financial crisis" (or the "IMF [International Monetary Fund] crisis") severely affected Korea and rapid IMF-prescribed economic restructuring to pay back the IMF bailout packages was implemented by the two succeeding regimes of Kim Dae-jung (1998–2003) and Roh Moo-hyeon (2003–2008). This had resulted in fast-paced economic neoliberalization under the supposedly most democratic governments in modern Korean history (Shin 2016; Song 2009). Numerous media portrayals of Korean government officials unable to speak "good" English with foreign negotiation partners in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis further strengthened Koreans' belief in the importance of "authentic" English for Korea to survive severe competition in international markets.

With the rapid globalization of the Korean society, the perception of who counts as an ideal elite worker (or good citizen) and what counts as "good" English has changed. The construction of "global *injae* (human resources)" as the new type of ideal Korean who will advance the nation to meet global standards, is represented in the following media interview with Kim Jong Heon, a leading corporate Human Resources (HR) personnel:

> The *injae* required by Samsung Electronics are those who combine *creativity*, (field-specific) *professionalism and global competence*….*global competence* is *global communication skills, openness, and global experience*. The *global communication ability* to express their thoughts and communicate with others from anywhere in the world is an important *competitiveness* in the IT field that needs to compete all over the world. Openness and global experience can be understood in a similar way. ('Global *Injae*' by Corporate HR Personnel Kim Jong Heon, Samsung Electronics Human Resources Development Center, *JoongAng Ilbo, September 19, 2012,* Hyunjung's translation, emphasis added, http://news.joins.com/article/9365275).

As illustrated above, the increased labor market demand (or the ideological rationalization of such demand) for oral communication skills in the neoliberal economy (Cameron 2000; Heller 2010) has constructed English, or *global communication skills*, as an essential part of a skill set of global *injae* as an ideal neoliberal subject (see also Shin 2018). In addition to the context added from the excerpt above, what counts as "good" English (or legitimate English) in Korea is English ability combined with *openness* (to diverse culture and people) and *global experience*, that is, English learned in (Western) English-speaking countries. Research on educational migration of Korean students and families continue to report that preferred destinations for their study abroad are clearly stratified based on expenses; in this hierarchical structure, other modes of English language competence such as "fluent, but non-Western ways of speaking English," are not recognized as legitimate English (e.g., Shin 2013). For example, English-speaking countries within Asia such as Singapore and the Philippines are often constructed as illegitimate locations for their English learning or merely as a springboard to study at universities in Western English speaking countries, and students have anxiety over the value of the "kind" of English learned in those countries (e.g., Jang 2018; Park and Bae 2009). Consequently, communicative English learned in Western English-speaking countries has

become a new form of legitimate English and a key source of symbolic capital in building elite credentials in neoliberal Korea.

To produce such global *injae* to boost the nation's competitiveness in the global market, a radical shift in educational values and goals from egalitarianism to elite education has occurred (Shin 2016). For example, in 1995, an extensive neoliberal education reform package, "the education reform plan for establishment of new education system" (shin gyoyuk cheje surip eul uihan gyoyuk gaehyeok bangan), or "the May 31 Reform" (which was announced on May 31, 1995), was proposed by the Presidential Commission on Education Reform under the Kim Yeong-sam regime. The May 31 Reform was one of the most fundamental reform policies in the history of education in Korea and highlighted such rhetoric as "individual consumer needs (choice)," "diversity," and "autonomy and accountability" (Kim 2004). As such, the reform plan emphasized increasing *autonomy* of universities and diversifying their admission process as well as increasing *diversity* in school types and (student) choice. Various types of high schools for elite education opened in the 2000s with the stated aim of cultivating students who would be competent citizens in a globalized world. Many of these elite high schools offer English-medium education. Average tuition is about eight times as high as that of regular public high schools (Eum and Kim 2014). In the higher education sector, neoliberal emphasis on *competitiveness* brought about the spread of English as a medium of instruction through various internationalization movements by universities (Piller and Cho 2013). As such, an applicant's communicative English competence has become increasingly central to access elite secondary schools and universities linked with the image of the global *inja*e.

Therefore, recent ELT policies created within such discourse of neoliberal globalization emphasized communicative English teaching. While grammar-translation was traditionally the dominant method in English teaching in Korea, since mid-1990s, the government has come to emphasize the functional English proficiency of students as global citizens. Therefore, the national curriculum introduced a dramatic shift in focus from accuracy to fluency and communicative competence, which was believed to boost the nation's competitive edge in the global market. Subsequently, the English section of the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT), the national college entrance examination introduced in 1993, emphasized reading and listening comprehension skills, instead of phonological, lexical, and grammatical knowledge emphasized in the previous college entrance exam. Since communicative ability is believed to better develop when one starts to learn English at an earlier age, English was also introduced as a regular subject in elementary schools in 1997 (Jung and Norton 2002). Moreover, expensive private English kindergartens sprang up for children's early exposure to English.

To sum up, this section elucidated the impact of neoliberalism on ELT in Korea focusing on the emergence of "global *injae*" as an ideal neoliberal subject as well as new forms of legitimate English as indispensable resource for survival in the global market. The following section explores how the subsequent "English frenzy," or heated pursuit of English at all levels of society (Park 2009), has led to debates around the increasing inequality in English learning according to social class (Block 2014; Shin 2014), or otherwise known as the English Divide.

"Early Study Abroad" and "English Abandoners": English Divide in Neoliberal Korea

> The English divide deepens when it comes to recruitment of fresh graduates. Average English proficiency is not enough in a generation where many have been educated abroad or gone through intensive courses from an early age, a human resources manager at *Shinsegae* Group said. A 27-year-old jobseeker added, "It seems that Korea is going the same way as India, where totally different jobs are available for those who can speak English and those who can't." (English Deciding Factor in Success of Office Workers, *Chosun Ilbo*, May 01, 2010, http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2010/05/01/2010050100315.html).

> Employees who outscore their colleagues by 100 points on the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) earn an average 1.7 million won ($1400) more a year, according to the report by Korea Development Institute, a state-run think tank. It also showed a one million won increase in parents' income leads to raising their child's TOEIC score by an average 21 points....The gap in spending on private English education widens to as much as ten-fold between households with monthly earnings above seven million won and those below one million won.... Scoring discrepancy between students from different income families in the college scholastic ability test is wider in English than in other subjects like math and Korean, according to the KDI study. (Editorial, *Korea Herald*, June 7, 2012, http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20120607000793).

This section illustrates how and why social reproduction through English education, or the English Divide, became a buzzword in neoliberal Korea. The discussion highlights differential access to "legitimate" English along social class lines focusing on two social groups: (1) "Early Study Abroad" (ESA, *jogi yuhak)* students, including returnees from ESA and (2) "English Abandoners" or "English Underachievers" (yeongeo hakseup bujina, which refers to low-achieving students in nationwide standardized exams).

As illustrated in the previous section, a "good" command of communicative English is constructed as essential skills for Koreans to access quality employment in the neoliberal labor market and/or to be considered as successful global citizens in Korea. Yet, the kind of English valued in the job market, namely, communicative English learned as part of the speaker's global experience, is often construed as unobtainable through regular public education alone, even if that is not always the case. Moreover, with the revival of elite education and diversified school choice, students with overseas English learning experiences or costly private education have better access to elite schools/universities which value English communication skills. Besides, as Park (2010) notes, the prevalence of narratives on successful upward mobility through the "self-management" project of English learning has further exacerbated middle class parents' and students' anxiety at a time when social mobility seems to be unlikely. Therefore, the *sagyoyuk* (private after-school English education) market, including ESA, has thrived even more due to middle class families' investment in English private education to mitigate the risk of downward social mobility. It is remarkable that although the middle class shrank by 20–30% during the Asian Financial crisis, family expenditures on private English education still increased (Park and Abelmann 2004). According to Kim et al. (2012),

households with highest expenditure on English private tutoring have the following common characteristics: location in the affluent Gangnam area in Seoul, having test scores in the top 10% of students in their school, parents with postgraduate education, and an average monthly income of more than seven million won.

Subsequently, unequal access to "good" English (or English communication skills) by different social groups has become a topic of heated public debate in Korea (see also similar discussions in Japan [Kanno 2008] and Taiwan [Price 2014]). In the mid-2000s, the term "English Divide" appeared in numerous media reports and policy descriptions to refer to increasing social polarization based on English: that is, students' English ability is presumably determined by the wealth of their parents and the difference in their English skills in turn contributes to their class reproduction. Media debates around "English Divide" thus demanded that public English education transformed to provide access to communicative English for all students and, in response, the government had to frame ELT policies supposedly to alleviate the English Divide (see the next section). In this sense, the emergence of the term "English Divide" and subsequent debates around it indicate increasing public awareness of the role of English in class reproduction in post-financial crisis Korea.

In this context, Early Study Abroad (ESA), or access to "good" English through transnational mobility, has become an important strategy for the Korean middle class to enhance their children's global competitiveness (Park and Lo 2012; Shin 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016). ESA typically involves sending pre-college-aged students to Western English-speaking countries or international schools in Asian countries, to acquire "good" English competence so they can access better educational or employment opportunities in the future. ESA often goes beyond simple acquisition of linguistic competence and constitutes part of an entrepreneurial project to nurture them as competent cosmopolitans with transnational identities (Shin and Park 2016).

Given that access to ESA is primarily determined by one's family's financial stability, ESA is a phenomenon constrained by class relations. For example, Shin (2016) exemplifies how various services and packaged products available at study abroad agencies further accelerate individual access to different ESA destinations based on their purchasing power. Namely, students from wealthy families tend to choose Britain and the USA for ESA, while less affluent students may go to the Philippines. Such hierarchy within the ESA market contributes to reproducing the dominant order of the global linguistic market, which privileges "standard" British or American English over English learned in the Philippines or within Korea. Likewise, "native-like" English from the West is construed as more valuable than English spoken by non-native Koreans in the Korean market (Park 2009), thereby creating a hierarchy between Koreans who have been on ESA and those who have not, and among the ESA returnees from Western English speaking countries versus the Asian periphery nations. For this reason, what matters in the Korean market is not mere proficiency in English, but English, often coupled with other cultural capital such as educational qualifications from Western countries, that serves as a symbolic capital, or capital of distinction (Bourdieu 1984).

Whereas ESA students represent the image of aspiring global elites who seek English as a global commodity for university entrance and quality jobs, at the other end of the English Divide are *English Abandoners* or *English Underachievers*. While the term *English Underachievers* is more commonly used in the K-12 education context, *English Abandoners* may refer to a larger social group including university students and some young adults who have fallen behind, voluntarily or involuntarily, within the social hierarchy according to one's English language competence.

The term *English Abandoners* (*yeongpoja*) began to widely circulate in media reports during Lee Myung-bak's regime (2008–2012) when the neoliberalization of education escalated. A related neologism is *Sampo Generation* (samposedae, a generation that has given up three things), referring to a rising young generation who has given up having romantic relationships, marriage, and children due to financial difficulties resulting from their economic conditions. The term first appeared in the publication *Talking about the Welfare State* (Bokji gukga reul malhada) and the special reports of *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, a representative liberal newspaper in Korea. The financial burden of starting a family is particularly heavy in Korea because family members are mainly responsible for the duties for each others' welfare due to the lack of government welfare support. For the *Sampo Generation*, the burden has reached its limit given increasing living expenses, high tuition (and student loan) payments, and the precarious job market (Yoo and Park 2011). The term has since widely spread in media reports and everyday conversation, producing related new terms such as *Opo Generation* (Opo sedae, a generation who has given up five things including employment and housing) and *Npo Generation* (Npo sedae, a generation who has given up unspecified number of things in life). These terms are often adopted by young Koreans to refer to themselves as well.

Similarly, the term English Abandoners (*yeongpoja*) began to circulate in online communities and media reports referring to students who have (strategically) given up on studying English to secure time preparing for other subjects in college entrance examinations or on job applications, which often involved exams for open recruitment, or who have difficulty with academic studies in general and have thus abandoned English. English, particularly English communicative competence, supposedly takes long time for one to catch up with his/her peers without expensive *sagyoyuk* (private after-school English tutoring) once falling behind. In this sense, the category of *yeongpoja* has class implications because it will be relatively difficult for an (upper) middle-class student to become *yeongpoja*. As represented in phrases such as "*yeongpoja* TOEFL class (TOEFL class for *yeongpoja*)" or "how to escape from *yeongpoja* (*yeongpoja* tal chul beop)," however, *yeongpoja* is both an identity category (to refer to a group of people either as a self- or other-reference term) and a term to describe a social phenomenon (to capture the fact that more people are giving up on English believing that they will never be able to cross the English Divide).

In the K-12 education context, the term English Underachievers (yeongeo hakseup bujina) appeared after the nation-wide standardized exam (iljegosa) was reinstated in 2008. According to Yang (2018), the stated purpose of the National Assessment of Educational Achievement (NAEA, iljegosa) was to build a

comprehensive student service mechanism and to provide additional supports for schools with a large number of English Underachievers. By releasing the results of the test to the public, however, the government actually used NAEA as a way to stratify school districts, schools, teachers, and students (Byean 2017). While not all English Underachievers may be English Abandoners, this chapter uses both terms interchangeably given its focus on school English education policy.

The emergence of *English Abandoners* is significant for recognizing how the broken promise of social mobility in post-IMF crisis Korea has led to differing educational aspirations among students from different social class backgrounds. Koreans' excessive investment in English (or English frenzy) is sustained by their belief in the promise of English (Park 2011), that is, English communicative skills will guarantee access to good universities and middle-class jobs. Neoliberal discourse of endless self-development and emphasis on competition may be attractive to middle-class families such as those of ESA students because adopting such an entrepreneurial stance toward their English language learning may work for their class-based interest (De Costa et al. 2016). However, it does not attend to the interests of *English Underachievers* or those from working class families who do not anticipate any rewards brought by English in their future trajectories.

Furthermore, while the unequal economic and social structure deprived the young generation of the opportunity to pursue important goals in life, by using the word "pogi (giving up)," discourses around terms such as Sampo Sedae and English Abandoners (*yeongpoja*) construct the issue as a matter of individual choice instead of structural inequality. At the same time, discourses around English Abandoners (*yeongpoja*) and English Divide indicate that there is a heightened awareness of unequal access to the acquisition of "good" English among Koreans as the perceived value of English communicative skills as desirable human capital in the neoliberal market has significantly increased through the active promotion of English by the government. In this sense, English Divide and the Korean government's pursuit of English is reflective of the neoliberal transformation of Korean society as a whole.

ELT Policy and the English Divide

> Given that the shadow of polarization between the haves and the have-nots looms over English education, the government should come up with fundamental measures to narrow the English divide. Specifically, the government should expand free after-school English classes and English camps during vacations for students from low-income families and remote rural regions. (Editorial, English Divide, The Korea Times, June 6, 2012, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/08/202_112506.html).

Due to a highly standardized and competitive public education system in Korea (Kim 2004), it is now essential for many Korean students to seek additional assistance in the *sagyoyuk* (private after-school education) market to catch up with their schoolwork or to improve their academic achievement to enter elite schools/universities. As such, differential access to quality *sagyoyuk* according to one's social class further contributes to the reproduction of their social position. Given

the central role of *sagyoyuk* in English education in Korea (Shin 2014) and subsequent anxiety over a lack of access to "good" English in public schools for Korean students and their parents, there is an increasing pressure for the government to provide a more equitable access to "good" English through public education (i.e., without *sagyoyuk*).

This section provides a critical examination of ELT policy initiatives intended to enhance English education in public schools and thereby level the English Divide. Focusing on policy around English-medium of instruction and tracking, the analysis highlights how the Korean government's claimed efforts to provide access to communicative English for all students have only further exacerbated the English Divide in schools.

Medium of Instruction: English Immersion and Teaching English in English (TEE)

As examined earlier, in recent neoliberal education reform in Korea, communicative English competence is constructed as a key skill for global human capital development. Therefore, ELT policy placed an enhanced focus on fostering communicative language teaching (CLT). For example, adopting English as the medium of instruction and improving teachers' communicative English competence received a significant attention in policy and public debates.

In January 2008, the new regime of Lee Myung-bak announced "Plans for Enhancing English Education in Public Schools." The claimed purpose of this educational reform package was to improve communicative English teaching in public schools in order to reduce *sagyoyuk* (private after-school English education) expenses and to alleviate the English Divide. The proposal included planned introduction of an "English Immersion Program" or English-medium courses in upper elementary grades and secondary schools in order to improve communicative English teaching in public schools. Heated public debates and criticism around the proposal immediately arose. Contrary to the government's claim, many Koreans believed that the planned implementation of the policy would radically increase private English education expenses and thus further intensify the English Divide.

Although Lee Myung-bak's transition team officially reversed their plan to expand English immersion to all subjects in schools in response to public criticism, English medium instruction has expanded through other policies such as Teaching English in English (TEE) and recruiting native-speaking English teachers (Jeon 2012; Shin 2007). In addition, English immersion education continues to expand in some elite private schools. Besides, government-funded English camp programs and "English villages," or a simulated English-speaking community in an immersion environment, were created to provide alternative access to communicative English learning space for all students, particularly working-class children who cannot afford ESA (Jeon 2012; Park 2009; Shin 2006).

The TEE policy requires that English be taught without L1 support in Korean EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classrooms in order to facilitate students' communicative competence and to enhance communicative English teaching

(for details, see Shin 2007). To this end, improving English teachers' oral English proficiency or communicative ability became important in teacher education. In 1996, curricular innovation in preservice English teacher education programs emphasized teachers' linguistic and pedagogical competence, instead of knowledge of theoretical linguistics and literature in the old curricula (Kwon 2000). EPIK (English Program in Korea) was launched in 1995 to recruit "native speakers" of English to strengthen teaching communicative abilities in Korean schools. TEE policy was first announced in 2001 but was further strengthened in 2008. For example, it was proposed that teachers who possess high English language proficiency and demonstrated CLT practices be granted a TEE certificate along with extra credits for promotion and financial support (Choi and Andon 2013; Lee 2014).

Yet, macrolevel discourse represented in national ELT policy which construct English communicative competence as a key element of global competitiveness for Koreans is often in conflict with local practices in schools. For example, Shin's (2007) interview with Korean English teachers reports that there was conflict between the government's goal for English education, as represented in TEE policy (influenced by the discourse of globalization), and English teachers' goals for English education (constructed through daily interactions with the students in the local classrooms). That is, the goal for English education implied in TEE policy (i.e., improving students' oral conversational abilities to foster national competitiveness in a global market) was not congruent with the English teachers' immediate goals for English education (i.e., understanding and supporting students and facilitating a broader scope of learning experiences for them). Furthermore, a lack of proper preparation to implement the policy into actual classroom settings caused confusion and conflicts in the classrooms.

Similarly, Byean (2017) argues that most students and teachers in her school ethnography reported that they found TEE incompatible with their classroom practice given the test-oriented education system which values linguistic knowledge over communicative ability. As one of the teacher participants in her study claimed, CLT or TEE may "only works for affluent school districts in which students have already acquired basic linguistic knowledge" (p. 129). For English underachievers in her research, TEE further demotivated them to invest in English learning because English-only instruction did not help their comprehension or helped them to enhance test scores, which was valued in school English education. Yang (2018) also reports that it was through grammar-oriented English teaching, instead of TEE and communicative English teaching, that some students from working-class families who participated in her study were able to position themselves as good English learners and challenge the English Divide at the school.

Tracking (sujunbyeol sueop)

Tracking, or streaming, refers to the educational practice of placing students according to their academic abilities within their schools (Oakes 1985). The tracking policy was banned in the Korean public educational system during the school

equalization policy under the military regime in the 1970s and 1980s (Byean 2017; Yang 2018). With the neoliberal emphasis on excellence over equity in education since mid-1990s, tracking has been promoted by the government as a way to promote excellence in education to boost the global competitiveness of the nation and the people. The following excerpt in Chosun Ilbo, the representative conservative newspaper, is illustrative of this:

> Conducting education according to the characteristics of a student is the basic principle of education. Tracking enables educational *excellence* and thereby promotes national *competitiveness.* (Kim Hong-Won 2006, Head of School Innovation Research Division, Korea Education Development Institute, Chosun Ilbo, Hyunjung's translation, Emphasis added. Retrieved June 2, 2018 from http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2006/01/01/2006010170241.html).

The government claimed that tracking would maximize the diversity and the choices of education consumers as well as increase the pedagogical effectiveness of English classes, and thereby reduce *sagyoyuk* expenses by offering level-appropriate instruction for all students in schools. Opponents of tracking, such as the national teachers' union, argued that tracking would stratify students and further aggravate the English Divide because (wealthy) parents would invest more in English *sagyoyuk* to move their children to upper-track classes. While supporters of the tracking policy often justify it as a way to adapt instruction to better meet students' diverse needs, numerous researchers both in and outside of Korea show how tracking in fact exacerbates educational inequalities (e.g., Baek 2011; Gamoran 2010; Oakes 1985). In the Korean context, for example, Yoo (2013) argues that inexperienced teachers tend to be assigned to lower-track classes; educational opportunities and quality may differ among different tracks. After several decades of debates, tracking was officially reinstated in 2008. About 80% of Korean secondary schools adopted tracking as school policy as of 2009 (Hwang 2014).

Yang's (2018) ethnography on the English learning experiences of ESA returnees and English Underachievers in a Korean school illustrates how tracking, presumably intended to reduce the English achievement gap among students, instead strengthened students' differential achievement in English. At the school where Yang conducted her research, the school exam focused on the production of grammar skills instead of communicative English competence. As such, while communicative English is perceived as the key in the national policy and curriculum, preparing for school English tests is the most important goal of English education at the local school level. The students in the General English course (where most ESA returnee students were taught) were engaged with decontextualized, production-oriented grammar activities. They were encouraged to participate in class activities through an IRE format (teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation), which helped them to achieve high marks in school English exam. In the basic English course that targeted *English Underachievers*, however, "fun and easy" vocabulary games and comprehension-oriented activities were offered. These activities did not help to prepare low-track students for school exams. Furthermore, Yang (2018) observed that school language ideology which values "native-like" English and

teachers' emphasis on "correct" English marginalized Underachievers in school English-only spaces while privileging ESA returnees as legitimate English speakers. Subsequently, *English Underachievers* experienced further marginalization through tracking because the school curriculum did not prepare them for English test and their academic advancement or address their linguistic needs to improve communicative competence.

Furthermore, Byean's (2017) school ethnography on tracking at a Korean middle school explicates how students in the low-track of English class were constructed as unmotivated *yeongpoja*, with little or no desire to move up in their English learning, both by the teachers and the high-achieving students. Subsequently, students' socialization into tracking led low-track students to position themselves as *yeongpoja*. In this sense, students' unequal access to English learning is manifested in tracking through its effect on student's identity construction as well as educational opportunities regarding curriculum and assessment (Byean 2017).

At the same time, middle-class students in the higher track and their parents also felt pressure not to fall down to the lower track and thus having to invest even more in English *sagyoyuk* (Hwang 2014). In addition, the neoliberal marketization of education and subsequent increase in competition among schools and students have led teachers to exercise more control over classroom behaviors for test preparation in the high-track classroom as illustrated in Byean's (2017) research. Therefore, despite the government's claim to reduce the English Divide by offering more tailored instruction for students through tracking, the systemic inconsistency between curriculum and assessment in tracking practices contributed to reinforcing the English gap between the higher and lower track students (Yang 2018).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored ways in which ELT increasingly becomes a site for reproducing social inequalities in neoliberal Korea. As illustrated in differential access to "good" English by ESA students and *English Abandoners*, ELT policies that have focused on enhancing communicative English in public schools have little impact on alleviating English Divide. A critical examination of the Korean case will shed light on understanding how we may envision a more inclusive English language education across the globe under the neoliberal economy.

First, ELT research will need to pay attention to a more critical analysis of language ideologies (Irvine and Gal 2000; Woolard 1998; see also Darvin and Norton 2015) that guide ELT policy and practices under neoliberalism. As Shin (2016) explicates, the rise of the global language education industry and marketization of ELT not only reflects but also reinforces neoliberal social transformations. For example, as represented in the co-production of *yeongpoja* identity for low-track students in Byean's (2017) study, ELT is mobilized in the formation of neoliberal subjectivities and functions as an essential part of the mechanism that perpetuates neoliberal ideologies. For this reason, critical ELT research, policy, and practice from a political economy perspective will need to adopt a view of language which

highlights the social conditions of English language learning with a focus on social class as a central unit of analysis (Block 2014; Kanno and Vandrick 2014; Shin 2014, Shin and Park 2016).

Furthermore, a critical analysis of how school-level policies and programs interact with the broader social selection processes will provide insights into the processes of the social reproduction as well as possible ELT policy and pedagogical intervention to interrupt the process. With ever more increasing social polarization and subsequent conflicts prevalent across the globe at this time, the key issue around public English education in many nations is how the government may view the role of public education to ensure that all students have equal access to the acquisition of legitimate English. The problem is that in today's neoliberal world, the functioning of the government is also guided by the market principles of accountability which highlights efficiency and competitiveness rather than equity. In the Korean context, active neoliberalization of the economy and the society was paradoxically accelerated by the reform under democratic governments. Therefore, while public education in Korea continues to mask class-based inequality through the ideology of meritocracy, resistance is scarce because neoliberal market-friendly jargons, such as individual freedom and choice, are often conflated with signs of democracy and tend to be uncritically accepted as inevitable and beneficial to everyone (see e.g., Holborow 2015).

The current government of Moon Jae-in (2018 – current) politically emphasizes inclusive education and proposed multiple policy initiatives to reduce the excessive amount of English *sagyoyuk*, such as banning early English-immersion in elementary schools (Lee 2018). The effects of such policies on actually reducing the English achievement gap among the students remain dubious, however, because the rich can still access to the kind of English which remains as powerful symbolic capital in the labor market outside of school system. What would be more helpful is to provide increased amount of state-funded quality English education in public schools where students from marginalized backgrounds can access legitimate English. For public education still remains the only space where poor students may have access to "good" English.

Of course, the inherent contradiction here is that what counts as legitimate English in the job market is already imbued with relations of power. So even if a student from a marginalized background learns to speak English like a student from a more privileged background, his/her status as an illegitimate English learner will still somehow follow him/her without changing the linguistic hierarchy among different forms of English within the larger social structure. This is precisely what the Korean government failed to see in its attempts to address the English Divide: social reproduction through English happens because what matters in social reproduction is the symbolic power of English or English as capital of distinction, not just English language proficiency. Without such critical understanding, language policy ends up serving the interests of the dominant group (Tollefson 1991). ELT in Korea remains a contested terrain to resolve the tension between increasing class-based inequality resulting from neoliberal emphasis on competitiveness and excellence, and ensuring equal access to English learning for equity.

Cross-References

► Autoethnography and Ethnography in English Language Teaching
► Behind the Sand Castle: Implementing English Language Teaching Policies in Japan
► Critical Research in English Language Teaching
► English Language Teaching in North American Schools
► English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: The Role of English as Lingua Franca

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English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: The Role of English as Lingua Franca

6

Jennifer Jenkins

Contents

Abstract

It is a well-established fact that English has become the primary lingua franca of choice around the world among speakers of whom the majority are not native English speakers. And as research into the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been demonstrating for over 20 years, the kinds of English used in lingua franca communication often differ from those used among native English speakers and that are (still) taught to "foreign" learners in EFL classrooms. The domain of higher education (HE) is a notable example of the spread and use of ELF: in their drive to internationalize, many universities have switched to teaching in English medium so as to recruit more students and staff from outside their national borders. The internationalization of universities is thus going hand-in-hand with "Englishization," with university campuses paradoxically becoming increasingly linguaculturally diverse on the one hand and increasingly focused on English on the other. However, not only is English being used in myriad ways on campus, but other languages are also present, regardless of whether the setting is an Anglophone or non-Anglophone country. English medium instruction (EMI) is thus a complex phenomenon, but its (multi)lingua

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franca nature is as yet poorly understood and largely ignored outside ELF-oriented research into EMI. In order to address the gap, this chapter explores the research findings and their implications for making current HE language policies, both overt and covert, more relevant to the diverse uses of English and other languages on university campuses around the world.

Keywords

English as a lingua franca (ELF) · English as a multilingua franca · English medium instruction (EMI) · Linguistic diversity · Higher education (HE) · International students

Introduction

While it would be a gross exaggeration to claim that all universities which claim international status use English as their only, or even main, working language, it is fair to say that HE is "a prototypical ELF scenario" (Smit 2018, p. 387). For although there are undoubtedly universities that continue to operate at a purely national level using their local language(s) rather than English, those claiming national status are a diminishing breed. And while there are still other HE institutions that claim international status but eschew English and operate in other lingua francas entirely, these represent a relatively small number of the totality of international universities (see Jenkins 2017). By contrast, there were almost 8000 courses being taught in English medium in non-Anglophone countries in 2016 (Mitchell 2016), and that number is likely to have grown substantially since then. Meanwhile, *Times Higher Education*, a British-based HE magazine, reported in September 2017 that in the 8 years until then, there had been a 50-fold growth in the number of English-taught bachelor's courses in continental European universities, from just 55 in 2009 to 2,900 in 2017 (Bothwell 2017). Likewise, Walkinshaw et al. (2017) provide a raft of statistics in respect of the Asia-Pacific HE sector. These demonstrate the exponential growth of EMI in the region's universities over the past 10 years in order to increase staff and student mobility, both inward and outward.

This fast-increasing activity has led to a proliferation of research publications on EMI over the past few years. Wilkinson (2017), for example, reports a Google Scholar search that he had carried out over the previous 6 years for "English medium instruction (EMI)" in "higher education/university," which yielded 550 books and articles. This number was increased by only a further 50 items if his search was expanded to 10 years and 72 if it was widened to any time. As Wilkinson points out, a substantial amount of this growth in research interest has focused on East and Southeast Asia, most notably China, Japan, Malaysia, and South Korea. Evidently, then, although the current surge of EMI was initially triggered in Europe by the Erasmus programme and subsequently strengthened by the Bologna Declaration (see Murata and Iino 2018), it is now spreading far beyond its European beginnings.

The question, therefore, is what does this recent rapid rise in EMI universities entail, and what does it mean for those who are involved? At a basic level, the answer

to the first part of the question is that it entails bringing together on any university campus students (and to a lesser, but growing extent, staff) from a wide range of nationalities, and thus a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, who carry out their daily activities primarily in English. Universities tend to welcome the resulting diversity on their campuses in terms of their students' and staffs' nationalities and can be found boasting online and in other promotional material of their own institution's international make-up, with their students, especially, coming from a large number of countries. My own institution, the University of Southampton, for example, highlights in the "Global" section of its website that it currently educates students from over 135 countries. In respect of these students' lingua cultural backgrounds, however, the situation vis-à-vis diversity is rather different. In particular, there appears to be an assumption, albeit often tacit, among many international university managements and staffs, that despite the linguistic diversity before their eyes (or, more often, in their ears), not only should the kind of language to be promoted on campus as acceptable be *English only*, but it should also aim to be *only native English*, by which they generally mean certain so-called standard kinds of British and/or North American English (though rarely both within the same institution). Thus, like the vast majority of Anglophone universities particularly in the UK and USA, as well as a relatively large number of EMI HE institutions in non-Anglophone countries, the University of Southampton fits in, at least in terms of language expectations, with Foskett's (2010) "imperialist universities" category, according to which universities "have strong international recruitment activities to draw students from overseas, but have done relatively little to change their organization, facilities or services 'at home'" (p. 44) (see also Baker and Hüttner 2016; and the chapters in Jenkins and Mauranen 2019). Foskett ((2010, pp. 43–45) presents a model of internationalization according to which universities fit into one of five categories depending on their orientation to internationalization abroad and at home. The five categories, ranging from "low engagement" to "high engagement," are domestic universities, imperialist universities, internationally aware universities, internationally engage universities, and internationally focused universities).

To put this another way, the global spread of English in HE, that is, the spread of the phenomenon of ELF, is often (mis)interpreted to mean the spread of *native* English. The many who subscribe to this (mis)interpretation are thus talking about something we could label "native English as a lingua franca" (NELF?), a phantom, uniform phenomenon, one that does not (and could not) exist, even if its subscribers think it should do. There is rarely any evidence of an awareness, let alone an acknowledgement, of the findings of ELF research and of corpus descriptions such as the Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings, or ELFA Corpus (see Mauranen 2003, 2012). Nor is there much evidence of an understanding of the implications of large numbers of students on campus having first languages other than English or of the ways in which they communicate with each other.

And as I will discuss later in the chapter, the misplaced assumption of the need for linguistic *non-diversity* on campus is causing problems for many international students from their English language entry tests (see Jenkins and Leung 2017; Jenkins and Leung in press), right through to graduation.

The worst problems are generally to be found in HE in Anglophone countries, partly because attachment to native varieties of English is inevitably strongest in these countries, especially the USA and UK, and partly because these countries currently recruit higher numbers of international students than non-Anglophone countries do. But this is not to suggest that similar problems have not been documented elsewhere. In fact it is a not-infrequent finding that NNESs may be less tolerant than NESs of nonstandard nonnative uses of English. This was observed, for instance, in the qualitative questionnaire findings of Jenkins (2014), where the British respondents tended to be more tolerant of NNES students' English language "mistakes" than their nonnative counterparts. It should not be forgotten, however, that NNES students' use which differed from native English was considered "incorrect" regardless of whether it was "tolerated." Nevertheless, it should also be noted that when the local language is something other than English, the language dynamic between home and international students is generally of a different order, with both groups often seeing themselves as "in the same (nonnative English) boat." The native-English-only problem may thus be diminished in non-Anglophone settings, if not resolved entirely, although the extent to which this is so remains for now an empirical question.

Because this chapter is about the role of ELF in EMI, this is not the place to discuss at length the fact that the spread of ELF in global HE has not been uncontested. Several scholars have argued that EMI is leading to domain loss as well as inequities for students and staff (see, e.g., Hamel 2007; Hültgren 2013; Phillipson 2015, for a range of positions). The fears of domain loss are well made, although as this chapter will demonstrate, if university managements promoted an ELF rather than native English approach to EMI on their campuses, the scope for multilingualism and translanguaging (e.g., García and Li 2014) would reduce the problem of domain loss substantially. For not only is ELF per se a multilingual phenomenon; it has also been found to promote rather than diminish interest in, and the learning of, other languages, by bringing together people from different first languages whose paths would most likely not have crossed if they did not have the English language in common. Palfreyman and Van der Walt (2017) concur, observing that "[t]he movement by policy-makers, students and academics *toward* English has, paradoxically, resulted in increased multilingualism on campuses, as increasing numbers of students from different language backgrounds use the lingua franca to access and develop knowledge and competencies in a variety of languages" (pp. 2–3; italics in original).

On the other hand, as regards the claim of inequities stemming from the spread of EMI, research to date suggests that this is undoubtedly true, and ELF researchers would be among the first to make the same argument. Nevertheless, as with the issue of domain loss, we ELF researchers would argue that if university managements had greater awareness of ELF and were less concerned to promote native-like English in their institutions, many of the inequities relating to EMI would be speedily resolved. Again, we will return to this topic later in the chapter. For the moment, it will suffice to observe that "the meaning of "EMI" is a long way from being settled" and that it is, rather, "a contested term and far from value-neutral" (Walkinshaw et al. 2017, p. 7). In the following section, we will explore this point in more detail by

considering the meaning of the "E" of EMI in respect of the lingua franca role of English in HE. In the third section of the chapter, we will then examine the difficulties that arise from current orientations to the "E" of EMI and their implications for EMI policies and practices. And in the final section, we will draw conclusions about the role of ELF in EMI and the future challenges that adopting an ELF perspective will entail.

The "E" of "EMI"

Clearly, the way we interpret the meaning of the "E" of "EMI" is critical. As was observed in the Introduction, the kind of English used in international university settings, where students and staff come from a wide variety of different language backgrounds, in practice is not primarily native (or even native-like) English, but the phenomenon known as English as a lingua franca, usually ELF for short. However, among those outside ELF research (including more conventionally minded linguists such as mainstream SLA scholars), there is an assumption that the only truly acceptable way to use any language is the way in which it is used by its native speakers, and this assumption is then extended to EMI settings. Dearden's (2015) large survey, supported by the British Council, is a case in point. For as Murata and Lino 2018 observe, "[her] research on EMI has nothing to do with ELF, her 'E' in EMI being solidly and without any doubt based on native speakers' 'E' "(2018, p. 403). For critical multilingualism scholars (e.g., the contributors to Cenoz and Gorter 2015; Coffey and Wingate 2018; May 2015), the "native-like assumption" and "monolingual target" are inappropriate even in respect of second languages learned in order to communicate primarily with their native users. But they are deeply flawed when it comes to languages used as lingua francas, where it is often the case that few, if any, participants in an interaction are themselves native speakers of the respective language. And this is particularly so in relation to English when it is being used as a lingua franca.

ELF researchers who explore EMI settings, by contrast, start from the position that these are, by definition, ELF settings. The first to make the link explicitly was Smit (2010b), who argued that the "E" of "EMI" should be taken to mean "ELF," not "English." This begs the question for those not already familiar with ELF research: what, exactly, is ELF? From what has been said so far in this chapter, it should at least be evident that it refers to communication among people who do not share a first language. This is stated clearly in probably the most cited definition of ELF over the past few years: "any use of *English* among speakers of different first languages for whom *English* is the communicative medium of choice and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 7; my italics). Like the latter, other recent definitions of ELF have also put the emphasis on ELF's Englishness, leaving the role of its multilingualism implicit. However, more recently, there has been a "more multilingual turn" in ELF research, with the emphasis on the word "more" signifying that ELF was already seen by ELF scholars as a multilingual phenomenon (Jenkins 2015, p. 61; emphasis in the original). The point was that up to then, the English of ELF had tended to be foregrounded and its multilingualism to be backgrounded, whereas

the opposite should have been the case. This led, in turn, to my redefinition of ELF as "multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen" (op.cit, p. 73). In other words, despite the availability of English to all present by default in an ELF interaction, another language or languages of those present may be preferred on any specific occasion, or interlocutors may choose to translanguage among their various languages. This also fits in well with Mauranen's (2012) conceptualization of ELF communication as consisting of each speaker's L1-influenced English (their "similect") and the influence on each other's language use when their various similects are in contact ("second order contact"), as well as the role played by the local, or "host," language, which is rarely English. In HE settings in particular, as Baker (2016) points out, this leads to a linguacultural situation of considerable complexity, for which he proposes the term "transcultural university."

Because of the relative proportion of NNESs to NESs (widely claimed to be at least 4:1), the majority and, very often all, those involved in any one ELF interaction are NNESs. As noted above, this situation is particularly prevalent in international HE and takes us straight to the main focus of this chapter, the role of ELF in EMI settings. These are ELF settings par excellence, even though, as I observed earlier, the fact is generally not recognized by EMI scholars working outside ELF research. To be more precise, this is the domain of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. The first scholar to engage with ELFA was Mauranen, who established her ELFA Corpus in 2003. The findings of the research that she and her Tampere and Helsinki teams conducted on the ELFA corpus over the decade that followed led Mauranen to an understanding that not only is ELF the most prevalent use of English in HE EMI settings but that native English is of limited relevance:

> international research is a site of activity and communication where accuracy and effectiveness in reporting findings and constructing arguments is crucial – whereas the 'native-likeness' of a text, accent, or turn of phrase has scarcely any relevance. It is not a realm where nationality or national standards and practices take first priority. (Mauranen 2012, p. 68)

This was in fact written over 5 years ago, and I suspect that in line with more recent thinking about ELF, including her own, Mauranen would probably replace the words "scarcely any" with "no," and the word "first" with "any."

One further point could usefully be clarified at this point: the distinction between EMI and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and their respective relationships with ELF. Although CLIL refers to the learning of any second language along with academic content, in practice, the language learned in this way is most often English, which led one ELF scholar to comment that it should be renamed "CEIL" (personal communication). In order to distinguish CLIL from EMI, Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013, p. 546) describe the parameters of CLIL as follows:

- It [CLIL] is about using a foreign language or a lingua franca, not a second language . . .. It is not regularly used in the wider society they live in.
- It is usually implemented once learners have already acquired literacy skills in their mother tongue.

- CLIL teachers are normally non-native speakers of the target language and are typically content rather than foreign language specialists.
- CLIL lessons are usually timetabled as content lessons . . . while the target language normally continues as a subject in its own right . . . taught by language specialists.

Some of these parameters may also apply to EMI, while others do not. And although CLIL is most commonly found in school-level education, it is also sometimes practiced in HE as well. But the major difference between CLIL and "classical" EMI is that whereas CLIL *always* involves an explicit language component to support the content teaching, EMI *never* does. This does not mean that EMI students are not expected to develop their subject language and disciplinary/discursive practices during their content courses (Sonia Morán Panero, personal communication). It is also not to suggest that those studying content in English medium never access language support. The point is simply that any language support is independent of the course in question and thus taken up by students on an individual basis, whether from personal choice or because a tutor recommends them to "improve" their English. It is seen, in other words, as a remedial activity rather than a language development one; see, for example, Turner (2011, p. 3), who describes it as the "relentlessly remedial representation of language issues."

A further difference between EMI and CLIL, although not such a stark one, is that EMI takes place most often at tertiary level, whereas CLIL is more often to be found at secondary and, increasingly, also primary level. And finally, as Hüttner (2018) points out, it is often the case that in CLIL classrooms, there are only two languages, the local first language and the target one. This makes CLIL a bilingual situation as contrasted with the typical multilingual nature of many ELF situations, including many EMI classrooms. Having said this, EMI courses are not necessarily "English-only" courses. Outside Anglophone HE, EMI may, for instance, take place alongside the national language on bilingual programs, as often happens in the Nordic region, or it may be part of a trilingual policy involving the regional and national languages as well as English, as is the case in the Basque Country (see Smit 2018 for further details). EMI may also be the language policy of an entire institution, or only of particular disciplines or programs within an institution, or simply on certain specific courses.

However, it should be noted that although an EMI university/discipline/program/course may be "English only" in theory, this is not necessarily what happens in practice. As Costa and Coleman point out, administrations may in fact be "ignorant about what is taking place in the classroom" and of "the teaching habits of their academic staff" (2012, p. 14). Their point is that as with the Italian teachers they observed, teachers may choose to translanguage in class by using a combination of the local language and English, a phenomenon that has been found in a range of other settings (see, e.g., Hu 2015 on EMI university classes in China), and which in some respects brings them closer to the bilingual CLIL situations discussed by Hüttner (2018). Meanwhile, even if the teacher uses only English, the students themselves may choose to use other languages, for instance, in classroom group

work, regardless of the teacher's wishes for them to "talk in English." This phenomenon also resonates with Spolsky's (e.g., 2004) distinction between language practices (what people choose to do) and language management (what those in authority try to make them do). And of course, outside the classroom, in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone settings, there will be a range of languages in use: the national language(s) in non-Anglophone settings, and the languages of the diverse student population in both non-Anglophone and Anglophone ones (see, for instance, Ra's 2018 study of the social use of language by EMI students in a Korean university setting). Even when NNES students (and staff) are discussing EMI course-related issues rather than engaging in social conversation outside the classroom, they will either do so in languages other than English or by using ELF. These (sometimes covert) practices thus fit precisely with the most up-to-date conceptualization of ELF, according to which English is available to all present, but not necessarily used, and where translanguaging therefore has a key role.

Despite the fact that the recent growth of EMI is intrinsically bound up with the phenomenon of ELF, as Murata and Lino (2018) observe, ELF has scarcely been considered at all in publications on EMI outside the ELF-related EMI literature. Even now, with so much empirical evidence available, it is still ignored and/or misrepresented in some major studies of EMI. As an example, in a 40-page "state-of-the-art" article on research into EMI, Macaro et al. (2018, p. 38) mention ELF only once: when they discuss the need for "a consensus about what kind of English will be/should be used in EMI HE." They ask:

> . . . are we talking about a 'native speaker English' or other nativised varieties of English, or indeed of English as a lingua franca (ELF)? If it is ELF, then how does this affect international students from different geo-linguistic areas, including English-dominant ones?

Revealingly, they go on in the next breath to ask: "[f]urthermore, might the *richness* of the language be *reduced* when *proficiency levels* in English, on the part of both teachers and students, are *not particularly high*?" (ibid; my italics). The juxtaposition of this apparently rhetorical question with the previous one implies that they are still talking about ELF. And if so, their suggestion that ELF use reduces the richness of English and involves a low level of proficiency demonstrates a complete lack of understanding of the ELF phenomenon. Their characterization of ELF, or perhaps "caricature" would be a better word, will be completely unrecognizable to anyone familiar with the ELF literature. Meanwhile, their presentation of ELF as one of three candidates for the "E" of EMI reveals a lack of awareness of the fact that apart from a small minority of EMI classes held exclusively for home students (e.g., in some Chinese and Japanese institutions), EMI settings are, by definition, ELF settings. Even the majority of the contributions to Doiz et al. (2013), the first major edited volume to take a critical look at EMI in a range of contexts around the world, have little to say about ELF, despite discussing settings that are, in the main, prime examples of ELF communication. Of the 11 chapters, just 4 refer, and then only briefly, to any ELF-related publications and research (Cots; Saarinen and Nikula; Ball and Lindsay; and Wilkinson).

By contrast, ELF researchers have been making explicit links between EMI and ELF for several years. As mentioned above, the first ELF scholar to engage with academic ELF, if not specifically with EMI, was Mauranen (2003). In the years that followed, several other ELF scholars, myself included (Jenkins 2008) began delivering conference papers on a range of language policy matters related to international universities. Then followed both Smit's (2010a) book-length longitudinal study of ELF in a university EMI tourism program in Vienna and Kirkpatrick's (2010) discussion of appropriate models of English in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) education policy and pedagogy. The next major contribution was that of Mauranen (2012), an in-depth study of academic ELF drawing on her ELFA Corpus and demonstrating in comprehensive detail how English is typically used on international university settings among students and staff from diverse language backgrounds. This was followed by another linguistic study of ELF in an EMI setting in Sweden, Björkman (2013). Focusing on form and pragmatic issues, she demonstrates how communicative effectiveness is achieved in ELF communication in HE. A year later came two further book-length treatments of ELF in HE contexts: first, Kalocsai (2014), a study of the social practices of a group of Erasmus students from a range of first languages in an EMI university setting in Hungary, and second, my own book (Jenkins 2014), which explores ELF in international universities from a critical language policy perspective. And in the years since then, there has been a steady increase in ELF-oriented studies of EMI settings including a number of doctoral theses, alongside a continuing stream of uncritical EMI-related publications that do not consider the role of ELF (and sometimes any language issues) at all. A particularly noteworthy feature of many of the more recent ELF-oriented EMI publications including, for instance, Galloway et al. (2017), several of the contributions to Fenton-Smith et al. (2017) and a number of doctoral studies such as Hu (2015), Ishikawa (2016), Karakas (2016), Cavanagh (2017), and Ra (2018) is that they focus on Asian EMI contexts rather than the more frequent European settings of most of the earlier EMI research.

In the next section, we go on to explore the key issues that have been brought to light in these and other ELF-related EMI studies and consider what kinds of challenges they raise for language policies and practices in EMI institutions.

Issues Arising and Implications for HE Language Policies and Practices

An observation that has been often been made in respect of the recent massive global rise of EMI is that the motivation seems to be primarily financial and reputational and that little thought is given to practicalities, in particular, its potential impact on those who will be most affected, i.e., students and staff. Walkinshaw et al. (2017, p. 7) note, for example, that "in many cases, macro- and meso-level stakeholders seem to have adopted EMI policies uncritically, attracted by the opportunity for marketing, internationalisation and/or financial benefit." They go on to argue that

this has led to "a policy-level short-sightedness" (ibid.) in respect of the difficulties that implementing EMI poses at both institutional and classroom levels. They point out, for instance, that staff not only need expertise in their discipline but also the ability to communicate their knowledge effectively in English medium to their students.

However, it should also not be forgotten that NES lecturers do not have a monopoly on communicating effectively in EMI settings. Indeed, my own interview study with 34 international students in a UK university (Jenkins 2014) revealed that it was the NES lecturers who caused the greatest communicative problems for the international students in a UK university, because of their lack of intercultural awareness. This led, for instance, to their speaking fast, using local idiomatic language, telling culture-specific jokes, making local references that would be unfamiliar to those from elsewhere, and being unable to respond spontaneously to students' questions in an internationally intelligible manner. In general, these students found their NNES lecturers easier to understand. The problem was found to be even more extreme when it came to the international student participants' peer groups, with NNES students from other L1s being found easy to communicate with, but home students often being reported as failing to make any allowances for them. Typically, in seminar discussions, the home students were found to speak very fast among themselves, and consequently, whether intentionally or not, to exclude the international students from the conversation. As one Thai student put it, by the time an international student was ready to contribute, the home students were moving on to "another topic" (Jenkins 2014, p. 179).

Having said that, NNES staff are by no means uniformly appreciated by international students and are not necessarily comfortable teaching in English medium. Research into EMI has demonstrated that lecturing in English is a problem for many NNES teachers for a range of reasons including doubts about both their own and their students' English capability and the availability of relevant teaching materials. In these respects, Galloway reports in an interview with the British Council on the findings of her study of EMI in five Chinese and seven Japanese universities as follows:

> The faculty were worried that they didn't have enough suitable teaching materials, although students seem to think the materials were fine. Although they mentioned some benefits, both staff and students were more focused on the challenges of implementing EMI. Students were critical of teachers' English competence and use of their mother tongue, and teachers were worried about the students' low English competence. Students also complained about a lack of collaboration between departments, and between the content teachers and English for academic purposes (EAP) teachers. The teachers had conflicting views on whether there was enough English language support (2017; see also Galloway et al. (2017) for a full report of the study).

The issues raised in Galloway's and other previous research into EMI, including various of the studies mentioned above, link closely with the complex, not to mention controversial, subject of linguistic proficiency. The key issue is what proficiency means – or should mean – in a setting that is, by definition, an ELF rather than native English setting and therefore also, by definition, a multilingual

setting. For on the one hand, the ELF HE setting (including in Anglophone countries) implies that native English should not be expected, while the multilingualism of ELF users implies that other languages than English should have a role. This, however, is far from the reality of most, if not all, EMI institutions.

A major problem in this respect relates to the idea that there is an identifiable phenomenon called "standard English." As Seidlhofer (2018, p. 89) notes, there is nothing of the kind: it is merely "an ideological construct," one aspect of which is "the odd, clearly counterfactual assumption widely held among both linguistics experts and laypersons that StE [standard English] constitutes English in its entirety, *the* English language" (ibid; italics in original). However, as Seidlhofer goes on to observe, this kind of English, represents only "a tiny portion" of the world's English, the kind used among NESs in so far as we can talk of NESs using "one kind" of English, which would be a gross simplification of *all* NESs' use of English (i.e., just over 378 million L1 English users according to Ethnologue 2018; see ethnologue.com). And even here, the notion of "standard English" is slippery to the extent that NESs are not often able to explain what they mean by it. The claim is sometimes made, for example, that "standard English" is the version used by "educated NESs," but then in something of a circular argument, it is also claimed that educated NESs can be identified because they speak "standard English" (see, e.g., Honey 1997). In a UK focus group study with a group of international students (Maringe and Jenkins 2015), the participants reported being told by their PhD supervisors that they should use standard English in their writing, but that the supervisors could not tell them what standard English was. When one participant, a doctoral student from the Czech Republic, was asked where she thought she could find it, she shrugged and said "I don't know – just in the air." In general, the international student participants in both these focus group discussions and the interviews in Jenkins (2014) noted that their NES supervisors were only able to identify what they thought "standard English" *was not*, and not what it *was*.

As Macaro et al. (2018) argue, there is a need for a debate about how proficiency is defined "in the context of EMI" (p. 52). The conclusions reached in any such debate, however, would depend to a great extent on whether they came from a "standard English" ideological perspective or from an ELF one. In the former, which represents a deficit approach to nonnative English, it would likely come down to a question of how much "inaccuracy" could be tolerated. In the latter, by contrast, it would be a question of demonstrating from the wealth of empirical ELF evidence what kinds of language are effective in academic ELF settings, with NNESs divergences from native English (or from English entirely) not being assumed to be problematic in EMI. This would mean that the many NNES students studying in English medium who feel negative about their English abilities would come to understand that the English they use as a tool of communication does not need to be the same as the English used by NESs among themselves (see Macaro et al. 2018 pp. 52–53 for a range of studies of NNES students' perceptions of their English). It would also mean that NESs could not be assumed to be proficient communicators in EMI settings and would indicate the need for their proficiency to be evaluated vis-à-vis their linguacultural awareness and skills.

A further issue arising from the spread of EMI is that of fairness and justice. This relates in turn to the diversity of English when it serves as a lingua franca among speakers from a wide range of different first languages. Piller (2016) argues on the basis of her investigation into a possible link between linguistic diversity and social injustice that there is a "collective failure of imagination when it comes to linguistic diversity: the failure to recognize that linguistic diversity undergirds inequality too frequently and the failure to imagine that we can change our social and linguistic arrangements in ways that make them more equitable and just" (p. 222). If we relate Piller's argument to international HE, we find an environment that penalizes international students for their linguistic diversity in respect of both their use of English and their multilingualism, while rewarding those whose English is more "native-like" and native, including *monolingual* (and therefore less internationally oriented) NESs. Piller observes that "schools have maintained their traditional monolingual institutional habitus in the face of students' (and, increasingly, teachers') multilingualism," and thus that there is an "entrenched mismatch between schools with a monolingual habitus serving linguistically diverse societies" (pp. 120, 127). The same can equally be said of international universities – which are often far from "international" in terms of their language ethos.

Fairness was a topic that was volunteered regularly by the 34 international students in my own interview study (Jenkins 2014). The issue that concerned them most was their perceived linguistic disadvantage in relation to the NES home students. In particular, they found the assessment system to be unfair, above all in respect of the time element. One participant, a Korean student, noted that in order to receive the same mark for his work that a home student receives, he has to spend four times longer on the preparatory reading for and writing of the assignment. He described this as "a big advantage for native speakers" (p. 192). I mentioned his comment to all the subsequent participants in the interview study, and all were in complete agreement. Meanwhile, others argued that international students should not only be allowed longer for assignments but also that they should be allocated more tutorial time. This was both because their fees were considerably higher, and because it is so much more difficult to work in a second language – something that they felt the (mostly monolingual NES) staff did not appreciate. Many of them noted that the requirement to use "native-like" English added considerably to their time and difficulty.

Several participants also mentioned the perceived lack of effort and empathy towards international students from staff which, again, they saw as unfair. They believed that staff were not willing to make an effort to understand their use of English and simply resorted to describing it as "unintelligible." A Chinese participant observed "sometimes I feel they just want our money" (p. 197). They also spoke of being told that staff were too busy to help them, and of the staffs' expectations that international students should make an effort to fit in with and be understood in the Anglophone university environment rather than expecting the staff to make efforts too. As one put it, "it's a paradox, isn't it? You want to get the money for all the international students but don't want to accommodate them" (ibid.).

This study relates specifically to an Anglophone HE context, whereas for various reasons, unfairness has been found to be far less marked in non-Anglophone settings (see the chapters in Jenkins and Mauranen 2019). Part of the difference undoubtedly relates to the "in the same boat" syndrome mentioned above; that is, the home students in non-Anglophone settings are by definition also NNESs, and so the native English ethos (to the extent that an institution is not overrun with NES staff) is likely to be less stringent. In addition, the home students do not present constant reminders of how (native) English "should" be spoken. Nevertheless, it is important to consider fairness and justice in Anglophone settings as, for now at least, the USA has the highest number of international students of any country, while the UK has the highest ratio of international to home students of any country.

Finally, an issue that I had not originally planned to include in this chapter is that of the demise of EMI. For just as I reached the end of this section of the chapter, the latest issue of *University World News* landed in my inbox, and the title of the leading article caught my attention: "The challenge to higher education internationalization." In the article, Altbach and de Wit (2018) argue:

> The global landscape for higher education internationalisation is changing dramatically. What one might call "the era of higher education internationalisation" over the past 25 years (1990–2015) that has characterised university thinking and action might either be finished or, at least, be on life support.

One of the main aspects of HE interationalization the authors consider to be under threat is "the use of English as a language for teaching and research worldwide." They note, for instance, that the rector of the University of Amsterdam has argued that "English-taught academic programmes are too widespread and should be cut back," with greater emphasis being put on "internationalization at home" ("the embedding of international/intercultural perspectives into local educational settings," Turner and Robson 2008, p. 15). They also refer to current debates in countries including Denmark and Germany "about the negative impact of English on the quality of teaching," and cite "an intense fight at the Polytechnic University of Milan about the use of English in graduate education [which] resulted in a recent court ruling that might limit the use of English in Italian higher education drastically on constitutional grounds." Overall, they consider, "it is possible that the halcyon days of . . . transnational education are over."

Altbach and de Wit (op.cit.) also express concerns about ethics in respect to HE internationalization. While they do not refer to the English language specifically, one of the areas of ethics that they mention concerns that of "international students cheating in examinations." English language entry tests are not singled out but are implicit given that cheating is known to occur in major university entry tests such as IELTS and TOEFL. This takes us back to the issue of fairness and justice concerning the English language that I discussed just above. For if entry tests continue to be predicated on a "standard" native English that is both irrelevant to communication in current international HE and mythical in the sense of being idealized, then international students will continue to be rejected by EMI institutions on grounds that

cannot be justified, and entire careers ruined on the basis of an inappropriate native English ideology. Not surprisingly, then, some of those at risk will cheat if they can (see Jenkins and Leung in press for suggestions of alternatives to current standardized English language entry tests).

Given the fact that both Altbach and de Wit have been key authorities on developments in the internationalization of HE for many years, their comments need to be taken very seriously. Having said that, one point they do not make is that the current concerns about English appear to be coming, in the main, from European institutions. Meanwhile, as was observed in the chapter Introduction, East and Southeast Asian universities are expanding their use of EMI apace. And perhaps, with English as the unproblematized lingua franca of ASEAN (contrasted with the negative orientations toward English as the primary working language of the EU), expansion of the use of English in academic settings will continue in that part of the world, just as it heads in the opposite direction in continental Europe. If so, mobility will remain a key feature of HE in the countries of the east at the same time as it diminishes in the countries of the west. On the other hand, we cannot dismiss the possibility that with very few NESs (Irish and Maltese) remaining in the EU after the UK has left, English will start to be seen by EU members as a neutral working language, as it is in ASEAN, and that it will retain its primary role (see Jenkins 2018). If this were to happen, it could follow that European HE would not abandon EMI after all. At the present time, however, the various scenarios remain hypothetical.

Conclusion

Despite Altbach and de Wit's (2018) prognostications, I will assume for now that EMI is here to stay in global HE for at least some time to come and discuss the ELF-related challenge it faces.

As Walkinshaw et al. (2017, p. 16) note, "[o]n a practical level at least, it is the manner in which EMI is implemented, and the policy communications and processes underlying that implementation, which determine the success or otherwise of the eventual outcome." As far as language is concerned, the key point in terms of implementation is that for all who are studying *not English*, but *through English* (and this means the vast majority of students in international HE), the language is simply a tool of communication. And in an international HE world as linguistically diverse as ours, this tool cannot realistically be aligned to any one way of using English, including that of the tiny minority of NESs, wherever in the world a particular university is situated. On the one hand, the majority of English users in HE are NNESs who use English (or, more accurately, ELF) in a wide range of variable ways, and employ accommodation skills to ensure mutual understanding. On the other hand, by definition NNESs speak at least two (and often more) languages. This means that multilingualism is their norm, and thus it is abnormal for them to be restricted to English only rather than accessing their full multilingual repertoires as and when appropriate.

The crucial linguistic challenge for EMI, therefore, is to find a way for these facts of HE linguistic real life to filter through to the mindsets of ministries of education, university managements, university staff, and students, both NNES and NES. In other words, university personnel at all levels need to be helped to engage critically with the fact of linguistic diversity in HE and to understand its implications. To date, this level of criticality has been largely lacking, particularly among university managements, including those in western HE who, paradoxically, tend to regard themselves as bastions of critical thinking.

And finally, to return to my title and sum up, an understanding of the role of ELF in EMI HE education contexts involves recognizing that English is used by far more NNESs than NESs, that the communication in which they engage is different from NES-NES communication, that good English in ELF contexts is not related to its native-likeness, and that no one user's way of using English is intrinsically better than another user's: it all depends on how effective they are as communicators in their specific ELF interaction contexts. And this, in turn, involves good accommodation skills as well as the ability to translanguage (and therefore to speak other languages than English).

It is time for the consequences of this ELF reality to be recognized, and for the unquestioned assumption by all except ELF scholars, that "good English" equals that of the "educated native speaker" to be abandoned in HE. Innumerable native speakers have been recruited to help nonnative scientists and scholars in their struggle with native English, and it is standard practice in publishers' style sheets to require nonnative writers to have their text checked by a native speaker of English prior to publication. And yet it is many (if not all) NESs who are most in need of help in global HE: help to develop their intercultural communication and accommodation skills, help to escape their monolingualism, and help to understand that they do not own English, whether in HE or any other international domain.

Cross-References

▶ Fairness and Social Justice in English Language Assessment
▶ Student Writing in Higher Education

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Shifting from Teaching the Subject to Developing Core Competencies Through the Subject: The Revised Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 Edition) in China

7

Qiang Wang and Shaoqian Luo

Contents

Abstract

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the background regarding the national English curriculum reform in China since the beginning of the century with the experimentation and implementation of three major English curricula for primary and secondary education. It then introduces the Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 edition), a revised edition to the Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (Experimental Edition) issued in 2003. While the experimental edition stressed on the development of students' overall language ability including language skills, language knowledge, affect and attitude, learning strategies, and cultural awareness, the new edition moves

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beyond a focus on language abilities to a focus on developing students' core competencies through the English subject (hereafter referred as the English Subject Core Competencies). These changes not only reflect the international trend in curriculum development, but they also accommodate local practices and social values in China. In the new edition of the curriculum standards, the English subject core competencies has four components including language ability, cultural awareness, thinking skills, and learning capacity, all considered to be the core qualities that should be developed through English education when preparing students for the twenty-first century. Based on the introduction and interpretation of the revised and updated curriculum including curriculum goals, course structure, content selection, teaching approaches, and assessment methods, the chapter continues to discuss the reasons behind these changes and implications for future implementation.

Introduction

To help improve Chinese students' learning of English, one of the indispensable "global literacy skills" (Tsui and Tollefson 2007), the Chinese government has undertaken a series of efforts since the beginning of the twenty-first century to reform the school curricula for both nine-year compulsory education and senior middle schools across all subjects, known as the eighth national curriculum reform since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. As far as the English subject is concerned, three curricula had been developed, implemented, or revised since 2001 before the recent issue of the Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 Edition) by the Chinese Ministry of Education (MOE) (see MOE 2018; the 2017 edition hereafter). The three English curricula are National English Curriculum Standards for Full-time Nine-Year Compulsory Education and Senior Middle Schools (Experimental Version) (MOE 2001; the 2001 edition hereafter), Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (For Experiment) (MOE 2003; the 2003 edition hereafter), and English Curriculum Standards for Nine-Year Compulsory Education (2011 Edition) (MOE 2012; the 2011 edition hereafter).

The 2001, 2003, and 2011 editions were designed and implemented over a period of ten years. The 2001 edition functioned as an experimental curriculum for nine-year compulsory education and the 2003 edition for senior middle schools. The 2011 edition is then a revised version to the 2001 edition for compulsory education, and, correspondingly, the 2017 edition is a revised version to the 2003 edition for senior middle schools.

The three curricula before the 2017 edition share the same curriculum goals as they all aim at developing students' overall language ability, consisting of five

elements: language skills, language knowledge, affect and attitude, learning strategy, and cultural awareness (MOE 2001, 2003, 2012; see also Wang 2007, Wang and Chen 2012). Compared with previous English Syllabi for both junior and senior middle schools in the early 1990s (MOE 1992, 1993), the curricula shift from teacher-centered teaching with more attention to vocabulary and grammar to a more learner-centered language ability-based teaching, reflecting a care for whole person development and quality-oriented education.

Different from the 2001, 2003, and 2011 editions, the 2017 edition (MOE 2018) was revised and issued in 2017 to further deepen the curriculum reform. It signals a shift from a focus on developing the students' overall language ability to a focus on students' English subject core competencies. The change of the focus reflects not only the recent international trend in educational innovation and curriculum design, but also accommodates the national and social values of the country in educating future citizens of a globalized world. There are four essential components in the English subject core competencies, including language ability, cultural awareness, thinking skills, and learning capacity, which need to be fostered among students through English language education.

In this chapter, we attempt to interpret the newly revised 2017 edition (MOE 2018) which is to be incrementally implemented from 2019 throughout 2022 provincially across the country. To understand the significance of the 2017 edition, we will provide a brief review over three precedent English curricular standards and their respective implementation along with a discussion of the impetus for the launch of the 2017 edition. Then we will explain the key competency framework for Chinese students' development and specifically examines the English subject core competencies. Furthermore, by comparing the 2017 edition with its predecessor, the 2003 edition, we will detail out the changes in curriculum goals, course structure, course content, teaching approaches, and assessment methods. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion of implications and challenges facing the future implementation of the 2017 edition.

Background to the Revision of the 2017 Edition

Three English Curricula Before the 2017 Edition Since the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

As noted in the introduction, all the three curriculum standards, the 2001, 2003, and 2011 editions, advocate quality-oriented education and share the same curriculum goals, manifesting a change in curriculum goals from a teacher-centered, knowledge-based to a more student-centered, ability-based orientation (see Fig. 1). The three curricula also have the same content frame based on the same five elements as those in the curriculum goals. They are presented in competence standards in five sections on language knowledge, language skills, affect and attitude, learning strategies, and cultural awareness. The standards requirements are described in two levels (Levels 1 and 2) for the primary grades, three levels (Levels 3, 4, and 5) for

Fig. 1 English curriculum goals (MOE 2001, 2003, 2012)
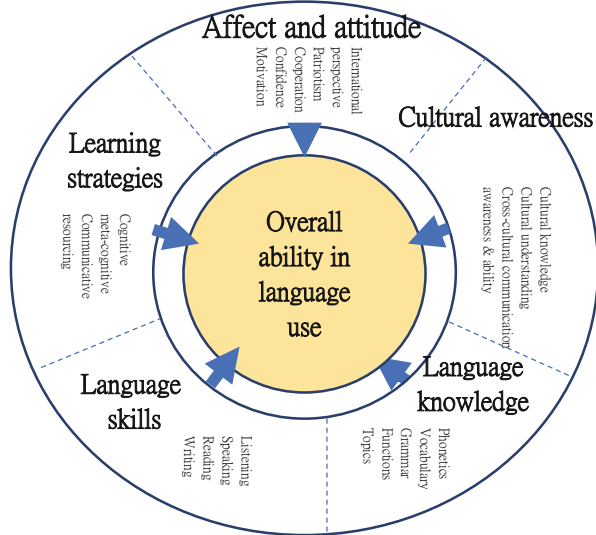
grade 7 to 9 at the junior middle school sector, and four levels (Levels 6, 7, 8, and 9) for senior middle schools, making a total of nine levels. Students who are certified to graduate from senior middle schools must satisfy the standards requirements specified in Level 7. Level 8 is required for entry into tertiary education and students are expected to make their own decisions whether to take the courses leading to Level 8. Level 9 stands for excellence in the English subject and the courses related are optional. As far as language skills are concerned, the standards used "can do" statements. For teaching approaches, the three curricular, to some degree, all advocate task-based language teaching, stressing that teaching should enable students to use English to do things. They also encourage experiential, participatory, cooperative, and exploratory ways of learning. In addition, teachers are encouraged to help students develop language learning strategies, cultural awareness, as well as positive attitudes and values along with their English language ability. In addition, the three curricula stress the importance of formative assessment and expect it to be integrated with summative assessment.

Despite a number of similarities, there are noticeable differences among the three curricula, particularly the revised 2011 edition, which has the following updates: It (1) states explicitly the value of English education not only for social, technological, and economic benefits but also for students' personal growth regarding their educational opportunities, career prospects, cross-cultural understanding, and positive attitude formation; (2) emphasizes explicitly the dual nature of English education in schools with both a instrumental and a humanistic function. In other words, English education should not only aim for students' language ability but also prepare students to be well-beings; (3) weakens its voice in promoting task-based language teaching, emphasizing the use of various teaching methods that encourage both a positive learning process and a good learning achievement; (4) reduces the student

workload by adjusting the content requirement; (5) improves the practicality and feasibility of teaching suggestions and added practical examples for instructional design and assessment; (6) stresses further the use of formative assessment for promoting student learning and development; and (7) proposes a clearer direction for teachers' professional development. The 2011 edition is currently the most important document for guiding teaching, learning, and assessment for primary and junior middle schools.

Apparently, the curriculum reform since the beginning of the twenty-first century has departed drastically from the traditional way of language teaching. The past 16 years (2001–2017) have witnessed significant changes in English education with the implementation of the three curricula. Teachers were found supportive of the curriculum goals and they made great efforts to change from a focus on teaching vocabulary and grammar to develop students' overall language ability, and this has considerably changed the long-standing situation of deaf and numb English in China (Wang 2010, 2013, 2018). That is to say, many more students, from primary to middle schools, are now able to understand and speak some English. In addition, ways of testing and assessment have also been gradually improved, giving more attention to assessing students' ability to understand and express meaning. In addition, teachers have also become much more aware of using assessment results appropriately to enhance students' learning (Luo and Huang 2014).

In the next section, we shall discuss issues that arise from the previous curricula before moving to the interpretation and discussion of the 2017 edition.

Issues and Challenges

Despite what has been achieved, a number of issues and challenges were identified in the process of implementation, driving further reforms to be undertaken. Six key issues and challenges are identified below (Wang 2016, 2018): First, many classrooms in middle schools are still found to be largely teacher-centered due to lack of practical methods for effective teaching and the pressure of tests. Second, although there were elective courses in the 2003 edition, few schools were interested in offering them except for only those required for taking the college entrance examinations. Third, the five elements in the content frame seemed to lack a logical connection as it was not clear how language skills were interrelated with language knowledge, and how the two further relate to affect and attitudes, cultural awareness, and learning strategies. Consequently, these contents are taught separately in practice resulting in the students' mastering of fragmented knowledge and superficial understanding of texts based on fixed teaching models with mechanical teaching procedures. It was also found that students' logical, critical, and creative thinking performances were much behind their ability to remember information (Wang and Hu 2017). Teaching focusing on fragmented language knowledge is by no means helpful for developing students' moral values or positive attitudes. Fourth, summative assessment remains prevalent (Luo et al. 2015). Many teachers teach for the tests and many students are overly concerned with test scores (Luo 2009). Last but not least, there are quite a few practical

problems that need to be addressed through teachers' professional development, such as shortage of high-quality English teachers, a contrast between teachers' espoused beliefs and their actual classroom practices, lack of effective teacher training models and methods, heavy workloads, large class sizes, and testing and assessment pressures. Besides, there are quite a number of teachers whose language proficiency and teaching skills need to be improved to meet the requirements of the new curriculum (Wang 2010, 2013). In addition, with an increasing number of students entering senior middle schools from 2006, there has been a large disparity in students' English proficiency levels between developed and less developed regions according to quality assessment results (Fig. 2; National Innovation Center of Assessment for Basic Education Quality (NICABEQ) 2018; Mei and Wang 2018a).

Figure 2 compares students' performance in 11different regions in city Z. The y-axis indicates the normalized scores that students obtained in a proficiency test in 2018, while the x-axis shows the district code. Figure 2 shows that there exists significant disparity between districts: While there is the "super" district, District 430201 with a median score of 660, which is above the 25 percentile of all the rest of the district and also could mean that the students' achievement in the region is two to three years ahead of other regions.

The problems mentioned above had presented a wide range of challenges for the revision of the 2017 edition. Questions that needed to be answered include the following: Have the curriculum goals reflected the fundamental objectives of language education? What constitutes the core content of language learning? What methods are needed for achieving the curriculum goals under the Chinese context? What do teachers need or how can teachers be supported for the effective implementation of the curriculum? How can the new curriculum help minimize the discrepancies between teachers' beliefs and practices? What kind of assessment forms are needed to facilitate students' development of core competencies through the English subject? Considering the above challenges, China needs an innovative curriculum that would meet the needs of developing citizens with twenty-first-century skills in an increasingly globalized world.
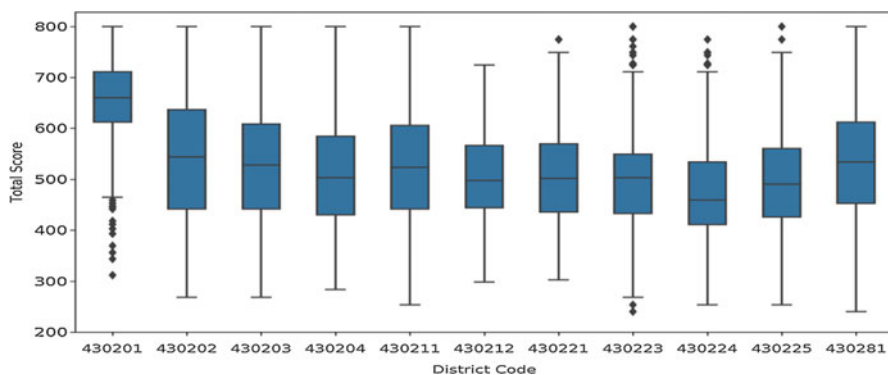
Fig. 2 Student performances across regions in city Z

Building on Previous Curricula: Toward a Framework of Core Competencies

Since the late twentieth century, the study of core competencies for future citizens has drawn the attention of many international organizations, governments, and regions. Many have started to plan, enact, and evaluate teaching and learning in order to implement whole person education with core competencies for the twenty-first century (e.g., Posner 2004; OECD 2005; the European Commission 2006). Although different organizations used different terms, they all point to some common values, such as creativity, critical thinking, cross-cultural communication, and information technology skills.

The task of developing the Core Competencies and Values for Chinese Students' Development was first proposed by China's Ministry of Education in 2014 in its official document *Suggestions on deepening the curriculum reform to endorse the mission of moral education* (MOE 2014, Department 2, Basic Education: Document No 4). The central concern is around issues such as how we can educate citizens who love their country, their people, and themselves for the benefits of all mankind and who should have the knowledge and skills as well as the right attitude to solve complex problems in various situations in the future. Following the call of the government, a national research team, designated by MOE, was formed to carry out a research project led by Prof Lin Chongde from Beijing Normal University to develop a competency framework for Chinese students. After two years of intensive study, the Framework of Core Competencies and Values for Chinese Students' Development was released on September 16, 2016 (Lin 2016). The framework becomes the important basis for the revision of senior middle school curricula across all subjects as curriculum goals for each school subject are reconceptualized and revised by the curriculum revision teams designated by MOE to reflect the Core competencies.

The overall aim of the framework named as Core Competencies and Values for Chinese Students' Development is for whole-person education. The framework consists of three dimensions: cultural foundation, self-development, and social involvement. To become a person with rich cultural understanding and lofty spiritual goals, a student needs to acquire humanistic and scientific knowledge and skills, to nurture their spirit with the human beings' outstanding intellectual achievements, and to persist in searching truth, virtue, and beauty. The dimension of cultural foundation refers to the basic competence, emotions, and attitudes, moral values that a student acquires through learning, understanding, and using humanistic and scientific knowledge and skills.

Secondly, considering human's autonomous nature, a student needs to possess qualities for self-development, with which they self-regulate their learning, adapt themselves to different situations, and undertake lifelong learning with healthy mind and body. This is because self-regulation stresses on the effective management of one's own life and study, recognition of one's personal values and potentials, being able to meet complex and unstable situations and to live a successful life with clear goals.

Apart from the dimensions of cultural foundation and self-development, a student also needs to have a sense of social responsibility and participated in practical innovations to meet the needs of societal development. Humans are social beings who need to learn to deal with self and social relations following moral rules and social conventions. A student should realize their own values while promoting societal development. Being aware of their national identity and developing international understanding. A student should be able to face challenges and solve problems using knowledge, skills, and technology acquired through education.

To promote the formation and development of students' English subject core competencies, the 2017 edition sets its general goals as to fully apply the government's guidelines for whole-person education, to practice the socialist core values, to implement the mission of fostering virtue through education, to help students become responsible citizens with cross-cultural competence, global vision along with passion for the local, and to enable all students to become qualified socialist builders and successors (MOE 2018). To make them applicable in practice, the general goals are further transformed into specific ones that are set around English subject core competencies consisting of four components, language ability, cultural awareness, thinking skills, and learning capacity. The following details out the four components in the English subject core competencies as stated in the document (see MOE 2018).

1. **Language ability**

   Language ability refers to the ability to understand and express meaning in social contexts by way of listening, speaking, reading, viewing and writing. It also includes language awareness and and a feel for language developed in the course of learning and using English. The English language ability constitutes a foundation for developing the English subject core competencies. The development of language ability entails the improvement in cultural awareness, thinking skills and learning capacity, which will help students to broaden their international horizons, enrich their ways of thinking, and participate in cross-cultural communication.

2. **Cultural awareness**

   Cultural awareness Cultural awareness consists of an understanding of Chinese and foreign cultures, recognition of cultures of excellence. It also includes their cross-cultural cognition, attitudes and behaviors which students demonstrate in the globalized world. Cultural awareness reflects value orientation of the English subject core competencies. The development of cultural awareness helps students to enhance their national identity and patriotism, increase their cultural confidence, cultivate a sense of a community with shared future for mankind, learn to enhance self-cultivation and function properly in society, and thus become educated and responsible persons.

3. **Thinking skills**

   Thinking skills/critical thinking refers to the ability to think logically, critically, and creatively. Thinking skills represent the cognitive aspect of the English subject core competencies. It not only helps students reason, analyze, and solve problems, but also enables them to observe and understand the world from a cross-culture perspective and thus to make sound value judgements accordingly.

4. **Learning capacity**

Learning capacity refers to students' awareness and ability to use and adjust English learning strategies actively, and expand English learning channels so as to increase the efficacy of English learning. Learning capacity paves the way for students to develop the English subject core competencies. Developing learning capacity helps students to manage their English learning autonomously, develop good learning habits, acquire learning resources through multiple channels, and increase learning efficacy.

The four subject core competencies are integrated and intertwined with one another: Language ability constitutes a foundation for developing the core competencies; cultural awareness reflects value orientation; thinking skills represents cognitive performance; and learning capacity paves the way for developing the English subject core competencies (MOE 2018).

The newly proposed core competencies framework led to other changes in the 2017 edition. The curriculum structure, content, the standards for academic achievement, and the performance levels in specific areas have been revised corresponding to the English suject core competencies. A new approach to English learning, the activity-based approach, has also been proposed with updated suggestions for teaching, assessment, and test design for college entrance examination. In the next section, we shall elaborate on the details of the 2017 edition by looking at the changes made to its predecessor, the 2003 edition.

Changes of the 2017 Edition Compared with the 2003 Edition and Reasons Behind

To be consistent with the Core Competencies for Chinese Students' Development, the 2017 edition needs to construct a system of specific goals based on English subject core competencies (Mei and Wang 2018a). Guided by the curriculum goals, it is also necessary to update the relevant course structures, course contents, teaching approaches, and assessment criteria to accommodate the curriculum goals in the 2017 edition.

In the following sections, we will focus on the changes made in the 2017 edition in comparison with its predecessors including the 2001 and 2011 editions, and in particular, the 2003 edition. Reasons behind those changes are also discussed. We shall examine aspects with respect to curriculum goals, course structure, course content, teaching approaches, and assessment methods as articulated in the 2017 edition.

Curriculum Goals

As discussed earlier, the 2003, 2001, and the 2011 editions focus on developing a student's overall language ability, which comprises language skills, language knowledge, affect and attitudes, learning strategies, and cultural awareness (see Fig. 1), as

the central concern of the English subject. Different from the 2003 edition, the specific goals of the 2017 edition are set around the core competencies that every student is expected to develop through learning the subject: language ability, cultural awareness, thinking skills, and learning capacity. The main concern here is to teach the "person" instead of the "subject."

The curriculum goal in the 2003 edition is presented as five components with dotted lines connecting one with another and each contributes to the central goal of overall language ability. However, it is not clear how the five elements interact, integrate, facilitate, or contribute to one another. Consequently, teachers in class-rooms are found to teach these elements separately with little attention paid to help students explore them together meaningfully involving the use of logical, critical, and creative thinking for cultural understating. Character or moral education is also treated separately from subject content teaching (Wang 2016, 2018).

The four components in the English subject core competencies are hooked up together as one system shown in Fig. 2. Within the four components, language ability can be found in the middle, functioning as the foundation as well as the medium for developing the other three components. Through language, cultural knowledge is acquired, understood, interpreted, critically analyzed, and evaluated, leading to the progress of language ability, improvement of cross-cultural awareness, and development of thinking skills. In other words, during the process of language learning, new knowledge structures are formed, cross cultural awareness are devel-oped, attitudes and moral value are generalized through language learning and language use within thematic contexts. Learning capacity facilitates both the process of language learning and the process of acquiring cultural knowledge (Fig. 3).

As presented above, although both sets of goals claim for whole person educa-tion, they have reflected different levels of understanding of language education. The 2003 edition treats language education as teaching the subject following a simple add-up approach, putting the five elements (language knowledge and skills, culture awareness, affect and attitude, and learning strategies) next to each other to be dealt with separately. As a result, teaching focuses on the observable elements which are taught in fragments. The 2017 edition, on the other hand, treats language education as teaching the person through the subject with an integrated approach. It treats

Fig. 3 The four components of core competencies for English (Mei and Wang 2018b: 44)

language ability as the basis for meaning exploration, which drives the development of cultural understanding, promotes the development of thinking skills, and facilitates the learning capacity under thematic contexts. The four components are closely connected with meaning exploration during the process of language learning, through logical, critical, and creative thinking aided by learning strategies. Thus, if language ability is improved, cultural understanding and value building will also be achieved.

Course Structure

To be consistent with the goals of the 2017 edition, courses need to be redesigned to accommodate the current situation of English language education and help solve the problems encountered during the experimentation of the 2003 edition as discussed earlier. Two major problems were identified that may have to do with the course structure. The first is the fast expansion in the scale of senior middle school education. "By 2016, an average of 87.5% students have entered senior middle schools nationwide, and the percentage exceeded over 90% in 9 provinces" (Mei and Wang 2018b: 87), leading to a drastic increase in the number of senior middle school students. The increasing number has an obvious effect on the course design and requirements. Due to lack of qualified teachers, the teaching quality of English has been polarized between economically well-developed and less-developed regions, between large cities and small towns or counties. For these reasons, the credits for required courses are reduced from 10 credits to 6 credits (decreasing 40%), lowering the requirement for all senior middle school students upon graduation. However, 2 credits are added to the Required Elective Courses making a total of 8 credits to be qualified for taking the college entrance examination. Thus, a relatively higher level of English for university candidates is ensured. The elective courses open for all have more suggested options available. The following table illustrates the main changes in course headings and credits (see Table 1).

As shown in Table 1, both 2017 and 2003 editions organize their courses in three categories, but differences in the names and credits allocated are different. The three categories of courses in the 2017 edition are named as Required Courses (6 credits),

Table 1 A comparison of course structures between 2003 edition and 2017 edition

	2003 edition		2017 edition	
	Course names and credits		Course names and credits	
Required for all	Required courses	10 credits	Required courses	6 credits
Required for those who decide to take the university entrance examination	Elective Series1	0–6 credits	Required elective courses	0–8 credits
Open for all who have the interest or needs	Elective Series 2	0–6 credits	Elective courses	0–6 credits

Required Elective Courses (0–8 credits), and Elective Courses (0–6), while in the 2003 edition, they are named as Required Course (10 credits), Elective Courses Series 1 (0–6 credits), and Elective Courses Series 2 (0–6 credits). We can also see the changes in credits. The three categories of courses have similar functions in both curricula. The Required Courses are designed for preparing all senior middle school students with a foundation for developing core competencies of the English subject. Required Elective Courses in the 2017 edition or Elective Series 1 in the 2003 edition are designed for those who, after completing the required courses, plan to continue learning English either for personal interests or for taking the national college entrance examination. Both Elective courses in the 2017 edition or Elective Series 2 in the 2003 edition include several strands. For example, in the 2017 edition, there are advanced courses, basic courses, vocational courses, expanded courses, and second foreign languages. Advanced courses are designed for those with an intention to reach a higher level after completing the Major Elective Courses. Basis courses allow students with special needs to take compensation lessons. Practical courses help students who plan to work after graduation and prepare for their future careers through courses such as English for Tourism, Business English, English for science and technology, etc. Expanded courses are designed for those who have a special interest or potentials for English. They may include *English newspapers and magazines reading*; *British culture and society*; *English literature appreciation*; *English drama*; *English speech and debate*; etc. Second Foreign Language Courses offer more choices as a way to prepare the students for an increasingly globalized world. In the 2017 edition, three more second foreign languages, French, German, and Spanish, are added to Japanese and Russian.

As can be seen, the modified course structure in the 2017 edition seems more practical, scientific, and tailored more to students' needs compared with that in the 2003 edition.

Course Content

In order to enact the overall curriculum goal of core competencies in the English subject, curriculum content becomes vital. As mentioned in 2.1, the course content in the 2003 edition consists of five elements, they are: (1) language skills; (2) language knowledge; (3) affect and attitude; (4) learning strategies; and (5) cultural awareness, while for the 2017 edition, the course content include six elements, they are: (1) theme contexts; (2) text types; (3) language knowledge; (4) cultural knowledge; (5) language skills; (6) learning strategies (For a comparison of the two lists of course contents and their respective details, see Table 2). As shown in Table 2, the two lists are very different despite a few overlapping elements. In fact, even for the two overlapping elements, language knowledge and language skills, some differences can be identified in their corresponding subitems. For example, the 2017 edition added viewing as an additional skill to the element of language skills. For language knowledge, functional and topical knowledge in the 2003 edition are replaced by textual and pragmatic knowledge in the 2017 edition.

Table 2 Comparison of course contents between 2003 edition and 2017 edition

Content components 2003 edition		Content components 2017 edition	
Language knowledge	Phonetics, vocabulary, grammar, functions, topics	**Thematic contexts**	Man and self Man and society Man and nature
Language skills	Listening, speaking, reading, writing	**Text types**	Oral or written (description, narration, exposition, argumentation, etc.), and multimodal
Affect and attitude	Motivation and interest, confidence and efforts, love for the country, and international visions	**Language knowledge**	Phonological, lexical, syntactical, textual, and pragmatic
Cultural awareness	Cultural knowledge, cultural understanding, cross-cultural awareness, and communication skills	**Cultural knowledge and values**	Cultural knowledge and values from both home and abroad: humanistic and scientific
Learning strategies	Cognitive, self-regulation, communicative, resources management	**Language skills**	Listening, speaking, reading, viewing, writing
		Learning strategies	Metacognitive, cognitive, communicative, affective

What needs to be noted is how these content elements are related to one another in the two curricula. In the 2003 edition, each of the five elements is to contribute to the development of students' overall language ability but it is hard to see how they work together to facilitate language learning. It is often found in the classroom that the five elements are taught in a manner without a logical connection resulting in low efficiency in teaching and learning (Mei and Wang 2018b). Students are often told to repeat, remember, retell, or recite what is learned, but it is difficult for them to use what they learn to express meaning in real contexts, separating knowing with doing. As a result, deep learning rarely takes place due to the neglect of theme exploration which should unify other elements to ensure that all content elements are integrated to contribute to meaning-making (Wang 2018). The diagram below shows their relations (Fig 4; MOE 2018).

The six elements are closely bound together. Themes reside in different text types, spoken, written, or multimodal. Texts in various forms present a wide range of themes to be exploited by learners, which entail the language knowledge and cultural knowledge. They in turn convey cultural images, connotations, values, and ways of thinking. The process to explore themes through texts is carried out by the effective use of language skills, facilitated by language strategies. By comparing, synthesizing, critically analyzing, evaluating meaning communicated through the texts, learners attempt to construct new knowledge or concepts about themes that the texts may have conveyed. They may then try to generate deep meaning beyond the text and discuss how the theme or meaning is related to their own lives and contexts. They also draw moral values and form the right attitude gained through theme exploration to inform their future behaviors, achieving the unity of knowing
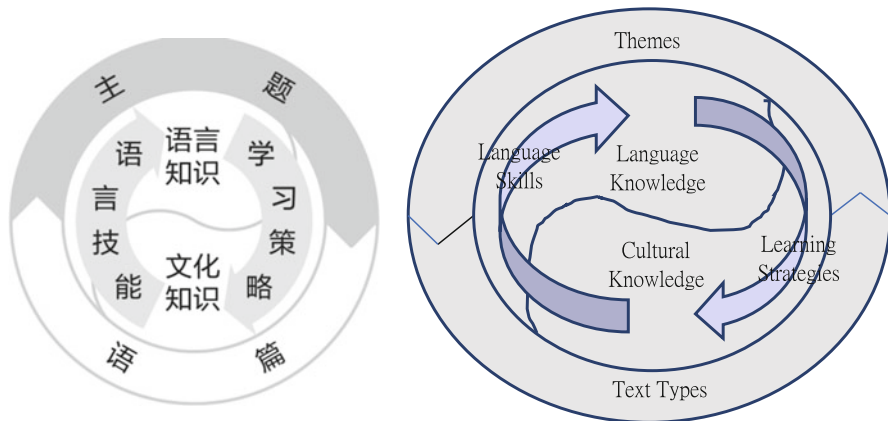
Fig. 4 Integrated Course Content Structure in the 2017 edition (MOE 2018: 13)

and doing. The following elaborates more on the six content elements (For more details, see MOE 2018).

Themes refer to the knowledge of the thematic contexts related to different fields of life presented through texts of various types, involving man and self, man and society, and man and nature. Subthemes include life, learning, emotions, society, technology, literature, arts, sports, history, environment, and so on and so forth.

Text types refer to multimodal text forms both spoken and written in the form of language, pictures, music, songs, audio, video, etc., and in different styles (formal or informal) or genres (description, narration, argumentation, exposition, and writing for practical purposes). Different types of texts can expose senior middle school students to various text forms in real life and offer teachers materials to organize diverse classroom learning activities. Learning about discourse styles and genres also helps students express themselves properly and effectively.

Language knowledge includes phonological, lexical, syntactic, textual, and pragmatic knowledge. The mastering of language knowledge underlies the ability to use language, and to create contexts for students to become aware that appropriate use of language is important in language learning.

Language skills include receptive or comprehension skills (listening, reading, and viewing) and expressive or productive skills (speaking and writing). Viewing, as a medium for understanding and expressing meaning, is added as a new skill to listening, speaking, reading, and writing. It is also known as *visual literacy* in other curricula, such as *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 to 12 English as a Second Language and English Literacy Development* (Ontario MOE 2007). The purpose of including viewing in the new curriculum is to ensure that students are able to understand and use graphs and tables, cartoons, videos, and other visual media for communicative purposes.

Cultural knowledge refers to the material and spiritual aspects of different cultures, including also wisdoms and values both at home and abroad. To acquire cultural knowledge, students need not only to obtain the knowledge but also to

understand its cultural connotations, compare cultural differences while exploring cultural origins and contexts in one's own culture and in other cultures. Cultural knowledge fosters a better sense of identity and helps students develop cultural understandings in the process of language learning. Cultural knowledge covers both material and nonmaterial aspects. The material aspect includes food, clothes, architecture, infrastructure, and technological inventions, while the nonmaterial aspect includes philosophy, science, education, history, literature, art, values, morality, aesthetic taste, social conventions, and customs. A good understanding of different cultures is a core competence that enables students to spread Chinese culture and promote intercultural communication. The aim of cultural knowledge learning is to strengthen the understanding of Chinese culture, to foster virtue and correct values, and help students become well-cultured citizens with knowledge and social responsibility.

Learning strategies include metacognitive strategies, cognitive strategies, communicative strategies, and affective strategies. Effective selection of strategies is a means to help improve learning efficiency, and to develop students' self-monitoring, self-management, and autonomous learning, leading to the development of learning capacity.

The six elements in the course content of the 2017 edition are closely linked to one another with theme exploration as the guide, supported by various text types which present the knowledge of language through which the knowledge of culture is conveyed. To understand the cultural or thematic meaning, the six elements should be employed to compare, analyze, question, and evaluate what is understood and this process is facilitated by the use of learning strategies. The six elements are thus unified into one whole process of meaning-making. This reflects a deeper understanding of language learning, which changes the focus to learning discrete language items or specific skills to a focus to using language knowledge and skills to understand cultural meaning and interpret cultural values.

Teaching Approaches

Once the curriculum goals, course structures, and course content are in place, the next question is how the goals can be achieved. The 2003 edition advocated task-based language teaching (TBLT) for promoting the students' overall language development. Although it enkindled many teachers' enthusiasm to learn about TBLT, not many classrooms are found putting tasks into real practice due to mandated curriculum, prescribed course books, teaching progression requirement, and the pressure of tests. TBLT also sets higher language requirement on the part of the teacher (Luo and Gong 2015; Luo and Xing 2015). The 2017 edition which promotes students' language ability, cultural awareness, thinking skills, and learning capacity advocates a theme-oriented, activity-based teaching approach. In a theme-oriented English class, meaning negotiation and exploration are the priority. Thus, the teaching goals are integrated to support the exploration of meaning within a particular thematic context. And teaching and learning activities are designed to

promote meaning-making, instead of simply attending to a text, a paragraph, a new word, or a particular structure. The teacher's role is to help students use what they have learned to solve problems based on their own judgments. The learning of the language, in terms of a new word or a particular structure, is no longer for language sake, but for better understanding of the theme presented through a particular text. The teacher must provide students with opportunities to learn and use the language to obtain information, to form a new knowledge construct about the theme along with the language, to internalize the construct with language through various contextualized activities, and to think critically and creatively about what is acquired before applying what is learned to solve new problems in new contexts. The activity-based approach adopts activities that promote understanding, application, and critical and creative thinking. It aims for the shaping of character and the education of well-cultured future citizens so as to prepare students with the core competencies needed for the future world.

The 2017 edition promotes an activity-based approach instead of TBLT because the approach is more suitable for the Chinese context. According to the literature on TBLT, a task is often described as an activity (Nunan 2004) or activities (Wills 1996), or a set of differentiated, sequenceble, problem-posing activities (Candlin 1987), or a piece of work (Crookes 1986; Long 1985), or a range of workplans (Breen 1987), for an overall purpose of facilitating language learning (Breen 1987), which results in language use (Ellis 2003). TBLT involves some process of thought (Prabhu 1987) and engage various cognitive processes (Ellis 2003), including a range of varied cognitive and communicative procedures (Candlin 1987), such as group problem-solving or simulations and decision-making (Breen 1987). TBLT also aims to achieve or arrive at an outcome (Willis 1996; Prabhu 1987; Ellis 2003) or to achieve an objective (Ur 1996). Some examples include taking brief notes or lists, rearrangement of jumbled items, a drawing, a spoken summary (Ur 1996). The outcome often has a sense of completeness (Nunan 2004) or as Skehan (2001) states that task completion has some priority. Finally, tasks are comparable to real-world activities (Skehan 2001) such as collective exploration and pursuance of foreseen or emergent goals within a social milieu (Candlin 1987). It is the hundred and one things people do in everyday life (Long 1985).

The activity-based approach (MOE 2018) shares some common features with TBLT. The approach stresses on meaning and aims to facilitate language learning. It involves the use of language in real-world contexts as Dewey (1897, Article II, para. 3; cited in Zhang 2008) emphasized more than a century ago that the teaching "must represent present life – life as real and vital to the child." It intends to solve problems.

However, there are differences between the two approaches. First of all, the activity-based approach emphasizes the exploration of meaning within thematic contexts consisting of various forms of texts, oral, written, or multimodal. Students need not only work out buying tickets or ordering food, but they also need to examine further why and who are doing what they are doing in particular thematic contexts, which drives learning of a language to a deeper level of understanding rather than at the functional level. The activity-based approach also situates the learning of vocabulary and structures within the process of thematic exploration and

meaning making. It highlights in particular the cognitive processes involved in language learning. It proposes three interrelated processes of learning that integrate language, culture, and thought together. The first process is perceiving and understanding, which includes activities such as extracting, reorganizing, summarizing, and synthesizing information from the text to form a new knowledge structure or a new concept under a particular thematic context. The second process focuses on applying and practicing, which involves using the knowledge structure or concept formed to describe, interpret, analyze, and internalize both the language and the cultural knowledge learned in familiar contexts. The third process moves to transferring and creating. Activities at this stage include inferring and justifying, questioning and evaluating, imagining and creating. At this stage, based on the newly formed and internalized knowledge structureor concept, learners try to explore meaning beyond the text, making inferences about what is said literarily and give reasons for any conclusions they draw. Then, they raise critical questions and evaluate what is said or written about the theme. Finally, students try to solve problems in a new context by creatively using what has been learned. The three processes of the activity-based approach are summarized in Fig. 5 below.

In the activity-based approach, the purpose of learning a language is for a better understanding of oneself, of other people, and of the world around. Learning is a process that entails naturally the integration of language, culture, and cognition into one unit of meaning-making. The approach explicitly stresses on knowledge construction and the role of internalization, promoting higher-order thinking and encouraging transformation and creativity. Social and cultural values are no longer taught or told to students but derived or interpreted and generalized by the students themselves during the process of using the language for theme exploration and problem-solving in new, real-life contexts, leading to the students' whole-person development through subject learning. Figure 6 is a comparison of TBLT and the activity-based approach.
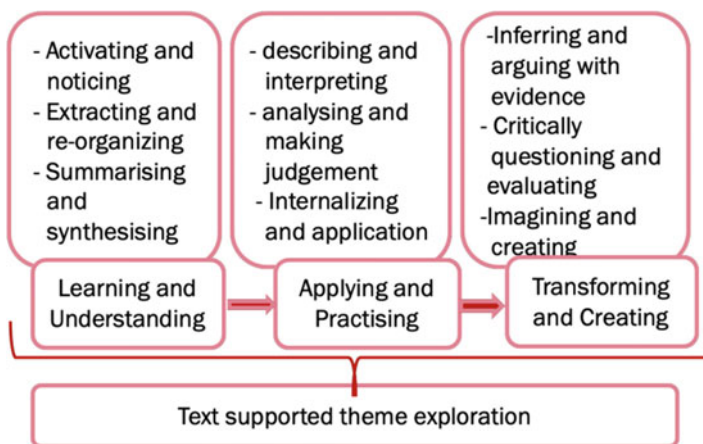
Fig. 5 Three interrelated processes of the activity-based approach
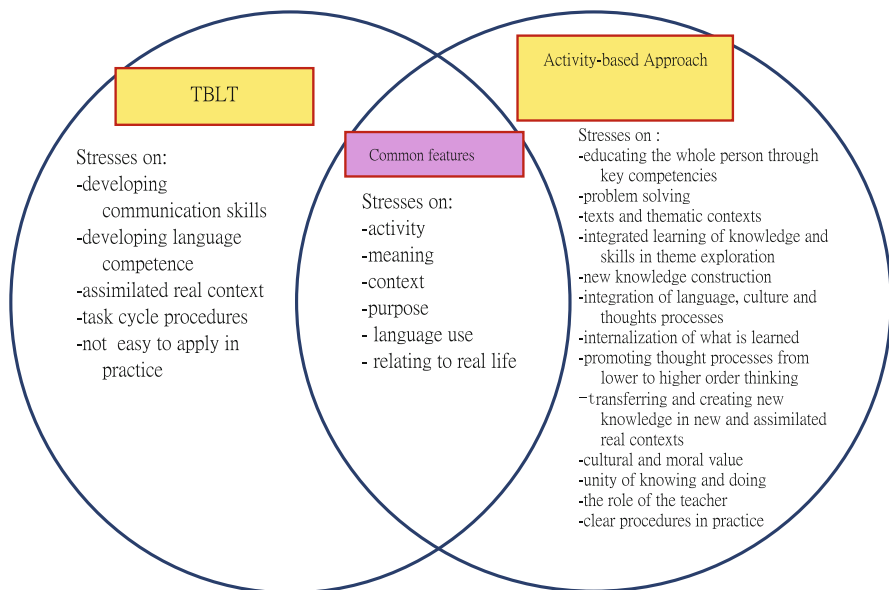
Fig. 6 A comparison between TBLT and the activity-based approach

In short, the 2017 edition promotes students' development of logical, critical, and creative thinking. Through such character education in subject learning, students are expected to become accountable and responsible citizens in the society.

Since 2015, the practice of activity-based approach has been experimented in classrooms where teachers' instructional strategies gradually shifted from focusing on language knowledge and skills in a separate manner to a holistic approach to meaning exploration based on texts under thematic contexts (see Wang et al. 2018). With some support from teacher educators, teachers were able to implement the activity-based approach into practice with prescribed texts. The activity-based approach made their classroom teaching more engaging as students actively participated in the process of meaning exploration with other students, independent thinking, and using what is learned creatively. The approach also integrated the process of meaning exploration and the process of knowledge and skills acquisition into one learning process for students. As a result, teaching leads to a less observable inward change or mental reconstruction on the side of students rather than at the outward level, which should undoubtedly be the ultimate goal of education (Ye 2013).

Apart from the activity-based approach, the 2017 edition also contains other teaching suggestions. For example, it suggests that teachers should plan their instructions around a whole unit so that a logical connection can be established among different forms of texts under the same theme. Teachers are also advised to do a careful text analysis themselves so that they can guide students for better theme and textual exploration. As an example, a guideline for text analysis is presented in the form of three questions:

(1) What is the text about (including the main theme and specific content details)? (2) How is the text organized to communicate its meaning (such as structural organization and genres or language features)? (3) Why is the text written or what can students learn from it both morally and culturally? In addition, the 2017 edition suggests that teachers should integrate assessment into teaching and learning to ensure the effectiveness of teaching and learning. Teachers are also encouraged to employ information technology to facilitating teaching and enhance learning. Finally, teachers need to undertake continuous professional development throughout their careers.

Assessment Suggestions

In order for the curricular change to be successful, current assessment practices in schools need to be reformed so as to exercise positive washback effects on the learning and teaching of English (Clarke and Gallagher 2008). The new curriculum emphasizes such a design so that teaching, learning, and assessment are seen as a whole. It has also provided teachers with sample instructional designs as well as achievement assessment criteria and suggestions for college entrance examinations (see MOE 2018). The 2017 edition advocates promoting learning, teaching through assessment, and assessing what is taught (Mei and Wang 2018a). Considering the current test-driven status quo, such an assessment mentality, raises three relationships of particular importance: the relationship between core competencies and student growth; the relationship between formative assessment and teaching; and the relationship among classroom assessment, effective teaching, and learning; such an assessment system is flexible and open for student growth, and aims to inspire both teachers and students to grow and develop in a healthy way (Luo et al. 2015).

To make the assessment development- and goal-oriented and benefit student learning, the 2017 edition requires teachers to conduct both formative and summative assessment so to realize assessment for, as and of learning by designing core competencies-based assessment activities and by diagnosing and evaluating teaching and learning. In so doing, Mei and Wang (2018a) suggest that teaching and assessment target on subject core competencies, for which teachers need to develop assessment awareness and design assessment activities in teaching. To be more specific, it is desirable that teachers shift focus from teaching to learning, from test results to learning process, from test scores to competence growth, from one single answer to a question/problem to diversities, encouraging students to think critically and creatively. In designing assessment activities, goals are to meet both class and individual needs and activities are to be close to real life language use so to realize goals.

From the above and previous sections, it can be inferred that the 2017 edition emphasizes subject key competencies be integrated into goals setting, teaching, and assessment throughout, testing is no exception. Assessment becomes an issue not only in formative assessment but also in issues such as situations, contexts, test tasks, and problem-solving are testers' and teachers' concerns. Many researchers have also been making efforts, for example, applying reading circle tasks to assessing core

competencies (Luo and Zhang 2018) and developing English language tests based on problem situations (Cheng 2017). The trends for writing test tasks in *GaoKao* (college entrance examination) are: (1) providing a context as real as possible; (2) designing test tasks close to real life; (3) test formats are close to real language use by using prototypical integrated tasks such as listening to speak or write, reading to write, watching to writing or speak. In so doing, test takers are given opportunities to exercise and exhibit their language abilities and potentials (see Cheng 2017).

Following the implementation of the 2017 edition, English test developers in China are expected to reform high stakes English tests. Considering the concerns about *GaoKao*, Cheng (2017) suggests that the followings need to be done for test development:

1. Reexamine current testing system under the key competence-based education to decide what task types to be retained or removed
2. Conduct research on competence-based testing and use authentic and problem-solving tasks in English tests (see also Luo 2009; Luo and Skehan forthcoming)
3. Make English tests more problem-oriented like their counterparts abroad and ensure that relevant tests are appropriate for the Chinese context, including test administration system, logistics, and manpower allocation
4. Explore the use of technologies such as virtual reality and artificial intelligence (e.g., computer-based assessment of problem-solving, scenario-based assessment (Purpura 2018, July) in language testing to meet the needs of the twenty-first century

Language testing and assessment is essential in implementing curriculum reforms. In an idealized world, we assess and test what we have taught according to the curriculum; in reality, doing that (teaching to testing) takes a long time because many parties play a part in that process, in particular, the practitioners of the curriculum, the teachers. To assess learning, a balance must be achieved between between teaching, learning, and assessment, and assessment should be used both for learning and as learning.

Challenges Facing Senior-Middle School English Teachers and Teacher Educators

To realize the goals in the 2017 edition, it is necessary to focus on the process of change. Fullan (2001) warns that we must not underestimate the time and effort needed for meaningful preparation and implementation of curricular change. In other words, if changing from old to new is to be successful, "teachers need to change their beliefs and take some degree of ownership of change" (Clarke and Gallagher 2008: 22). Therefore, to guarantee the implementation of the education reform, teachers ought to continuously improve their professional knowledge and skills in accordance with the new curriculum.

In any educational change, teachers are the crucial factors as they are the implementers of the new ideas (Wang 2007). Without their willingness, understanding, cooperation, and participation, there can be no changes (Brown 1980).

However, to many teachers, change is a rather slow and stressful experience as during this transitional period, they are bound to "cope with both the mental and emotional demands of relearning aspects of their professional culture in order to be recognized as a competent professional using the new approach" (Wedell 2001: 3).

Against this background of education reform, teacher education has become a site where tensions and struggles between the old and new pedagogical cultures get played out (Gao 2017). How teachers, both preservice and in-service teachers who are located at the lowest hierarchical point (in relation to school mentors and university supervisors), negotiate such tensions and construct their professional identities between the demands of the old and new ideological systems has thus become an extremely important question in ELT (English language teaching) teacher education in China (Gao 2008).

With the implementation of the new curriculum, English teachers in China are expected to change in many ways (Wang 2003). We need to be fully aware of the fact that conceptual change is a difficult and lengthy process (Karavas-Doukas 1998), and needs supports from all levels. As for teachers, the new beliefs or ideas will have to be gradually incorporated into the teachers' own belief structures through continuous practice and reflections so that adjustments can be made in their own thinking (Lamb 1995). To be more specific, the following three issues need to be noted.

First, in English teaching, teachers tend to focus on forms and neglect the meaning of discourse, which will cause teaching to become fragmented and separate knowledge and skills from content, and label teaching without really considering the cultivation of students' emotion, attitude, and value (Cortazzi and Jin 1996). This is not good for students' development of language ability and culture awareness. Second, there is the phenomenon of teacher control due to traditional Chinese epistemic model of teaching that a teacher is expected to be a virtuoso of learning (Cortazzi and Jin 1996). It is believed that a teacher should assume a directive role, have the sole prerogative in deciding what to teach, and exert complete control over the class all the time (Tang and Absalom 1998). Under such conditions, students may learn without autonomy, cooperation, and inquiry, which inhibit the development of students' thinking skills and leaning capacity. Third, EFL teaching, learning, and assessment usually do not match each other in senior middle schools, especially in the case of communicative language teaching (Hu 2002). Some teachers mainly focus on the completion of teaching plans in class, but neglect what students need to learn in real contexts, fail to know what and to what degree students have learned due to their underdeveloped assessment literacy (Luo and Huang 2014).

Something else worth noting is that the 2017 edition proposes autonomous, cooperative and inquiry-based. To foster autonomous learning, teachers need to learn to trust students and encourage them to explore their own learning styles and methods. Cooperative learning is important in that many English learning activities such as project-based or problem solving tasks requires students to work in groups. Inquiry-based learning can be understood as an educational activity in which students individually or collectively investigate a set of virtual or real phenomena and draw conclusions about it (Kuhn et al. 2000). In language teaching and learning, the skills and strategies developed through inquiry-based learning allow the students

to explore the features of the English language, the characteristics of a particular culture, and the similarities and differences between different cultures.

Conclusion

To conclude the chapter, we would like to highlight the major changes in the English curriculum that are or will be taking place in China now and in the coming few years.

1. With regard to conceptualization, subject core competencies are constructed based on the overall language ability for use in the previous curriculum and they are meant to change from subject teaching with a focus on language to subject education with a focus on whole-person development.
2. As for pedagogical content, teachers need to change from focus on forms to focus on meaning and engage themselves with content teaching and thematic exploration so that the delivery of pedagogical content can help develop students' key competencies.
3. At the level of pedagogical activity, both teachers and students need to practice English teaching and learning through three interrelated groups of activities which unifies language learning, culture understanding, and thought development into one process facilitated by the effective use of learning strategies. By doing so, the effectiveness of English teaching and learning will be improved to promote the formation of key competencies,
4. With regard to learning, teaching, and assessment, there is a need to find a balance between teaching, learning, and assessment. Teachers need to practice assessment for learning.
5. To balance the distribution among regions in teacher personnel and educational resources and to narrow the gap between regions, new course structures are proposed to lower down the overall requirement for all senior middle school graduates. At the same time, to ensure the quality of teaching at all levels, information technology should be used in supporting core competencies-based education and enabling students to develop English ability as required in different learning stages and contexts.
6. To realize all of the above, teachers are required to continuously improve themselves and their language proficiency. For this reason, it is vital to have professional development programs for teachers.

Curriculum reforms in China has been following a gradual shift of paradigm from grammar translation to audio-lingual approaches, then to a more functional-structural-based communication-oriented approach, and now moving toward a global approach to core competencies through language education. In response to the continued top-down efforts in ELT innovations, English teachers and researchers have begun to explore and understand the English subject core competencies advocated in the 2017 edition. At the time of writing, new textbooks are being developed and teacher education programs are being funded by both national and

local governments. Teachers have also begun to realize that they need to change their beliefs about language, language learning, and language teaching so that they can adapt themselves to the new requirements of the curriculum and address students' shifting learning needs. The 2017 edition creates "a system that is at once stable, rooted in what has gone before, and evolving as it responds to change, to new ideas, and to the people involved" (Graves 2008: vi).

As committed teacher educators in China, we hope that the new, core competencies-based curriculum not only provides a way to promote students' all-round development and educate them to be moral and cultured, but also will lead to a fundamental transformation of mindset on the part of the teachers. Classrooms will be no longer filled with fragmented language items to be learned but they will be enlightened with expressions of ideas, understanding of new concepts, or generating new solutions to problems leading to a healthy growth of the core competencies on the part of the students, gradually achieving whole person education. In our ongoing engagement with English teachers in China, many of them have shown unprecedented enthusiasms for understanding core competencies and practicing activity-based approach so that they can promote students' core competencies through English language teaching. It is expected that more significant changes will take place in the next decade with improved quality of English education after overcoming challenges such as teacher quality and exam pressures.

Curricula innovation "is a managed process of development whose principal products are teaching (and/or testing) materials, methodological skills, and pedagogical values that are perceived as new by potential adopters" (Markee 1997: 46). The 2017 edition is contains many new initiatives and hopefully it will play a vital role in enhancing a quality-oriented and responsible citizenship education in the twenty-first century in China. However, there is still a long way to go in order to make the educational aspirations a classroom reality.

Cross-References

▶ Behind the Sand Castle: Implementing English Language Teaching Policies in Japan
▶ English Language Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice
▶ English Language Teaching in China: Developing Language Proficiency Frameworks
▶ Promoting Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching: a Productive Bilingualism Perspective

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Language Ideologies, Language Policies, and English-Language Teaching in Russia

8

Julia Davydova

Contents

Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of the language ideologies and language policies in Russia, while attempting to ascertain the impact these may have had on the attitudes towards English, a major foreign language taught in Russian schools today. The chapter is structured as follows. First, I review the language policies pursued by the Russian government in prerevolutionary Russia. Second, I explain how linguistic diversity was managed during the Soviet era. In the next step, I highlight the most recent developments in the domain of language planning and language management, while considering the most recent sociopolitical events, namely the annexation of the Crimean peninsula. Finally, I discuss how language policies traditionally implemented in Russia have impacted English-language teaching, as well as the teaching of other foreign languages. Throughout the chapter, I will attempt to expand the scope of my descriptive analysis to include some of Russia's neighboring states (e.g., the Ukraine, Byelorussia, etc.).

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In so doing, I will attempt to demonstrate how the linguistic legacy of the Soviet period has affected language ideologies and policies in those satellite states.

Introduction

This chapter considers Russian language policies from a historical perspective and in so doing, seeks to ascertain how these have affected the strategies of foreign-language teaching, notably with regard to English. At first sight, Russia may seem like a monolithic nation speaking one language – Russian. Yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, the overall picture is far more complex and rich in detail than the above statement suggests. Ever since the formation of the Russian Empire at the outset of the eighteenth century, Russia has been a home to a wide variety of indigenous folks and nations, many of which have now become independent and quite a few remain under the Russian sovereignty. I argue here that throughout Russian history, two fundamentally different intentions have marked language policy making. On the one hand, the analyst can clearly discern the consistent willingness to promote Russian as a language of the Russian state in Tsarist Russia, Soviet Russia or in modern Russia (often inevitably at the cost of other, less socially prestigious languages; see also Bragina 2002). This ideological stance has been implemented in equal measures into appropriate language policies by the statesmen preaching radically different political affiliations and more general world views. Conversely, Russian language policies have also been shaped by the idea that maintaining multilingualism is a prerequisite for the sustainable development of a nation. This chapter will demonstrate that this ideological stance has remained a recurrent topic throughout the turbulent Russian history which has seen several social upheavals and changes of political regimes. In this chapter, I maintain that (foreign) language teaching in Russia has been shaped by these two ideological stances, while arguing that (foreign) language education is best understood against the historical backdrop of language ideologies and language-planning policies of a given country.

The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I elaborate on language-planning policies in prerevolutionary Russia and then proceed to describe how languages were managed during the Soviet times and in post-Soviet Russia, while also commenting on the sociolinguistic situation of the neighboring, formerly Soviet states. I then discuss the history of foreign-language teaching in Russia, while emphasizing English. I conclude this chapter with an observation that the politics underlying (foreign) language education can only be fully understood if it is embedded within the context of general ideological stances and nation-building language policies.

Language Policies and Language Management in Prerevolutionary Russia

Language policies in the Russian Empire, a state that existed from 1721 to 1917, are traditionally reconstructed as aiming at establishing Russian as a major language in the main domains of communication (Bragina 2002: 511). This assumption is true, to a certain extent. Throughout the history of prerevolutionary Russia, Russian was the major link language of the multilingual empire (Alpatov 2005). As a result, other (ethnic) languages "suffered reduction in certain communicatively important functions, hence some linguistic deterioration and, more importantly, a loss of prestige" (Gulida 2010: 387).

At the same time, historiographic studies (e.g., Dowler 2001; Suny 2001; Thaden 1981 cited in Pavlenko 2013a) inform us that the language-planning strategies varied from region to region and were frequently influenced by ethnic and religious issues. No language was recognized as official and no unified national policy was pursued by the Russian tsars (Pavlenko 2013a: 652). Relying on careful ethnohistorical analyses reported in previous literature, Pavlenko (2013a) singles out four major periods in the history of language planning in the Russian Empire: (1) autonomy (1721–1830); (2) selective Russification (1830–1863); (3) expanding Russification (1863–1905); and (4) retrenchment of Russification (1905–1917). In subsequent sections, I describe briefly the major sociopolitical events associated with each period.

A turning point in the Russian history emerged in 1721, not only because this year marked the transformation of Russia into an empire but also because before that time no language policies had been devised or executed by the Russian tsars. Peter the Great provided official provisions allowing for German as the language of administration in the Baltic provinces. In a similar vein, Swedish and Polish were granted an autonomous status in Finland and Poland, respectively (Pavlenko 2013a: 652). The promotion of education in the Russian language was encouraged (see also Bragina 2002: 514) although back in those times, Russian could not compete as a medium of instruction at schools with any of the languages just mentioned.

In the 1830s, following an uprising in Poland, Tsar Nicholas I, well known for his conservative policies, introduced Russian as a language of administration and a medium of instruction in schools (Thaden 1981, cited in Pavlenko 2013a: 652). Similar policies were pursued in Georgia where Russian replaced Georgian in state schools (Hewitt 1985, cited in Pavlenko 2013a: 655). Baltic provinces and Finland, as well as Congress Poland, retained their linguistic autonomies.

The third period is primarily associated with Tsars Alexander II and Alexander III, who both sought to consolidate the Russian state inter alia through intensified Russification of the population of the entire empire (Bragina 2002: 515). To this end, Alexander II prohibited the written use of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian languages in the Western provinces of Congress Poland, whereas Alexander III, in turn, started a vigorous campaign which imposed Russian in the Baltic provinces (Pavlenko 2013a: 655). Minor ethnic groups professing

non-Christian religions, the so-called *inorodtsy* (Russian: инородцы), were granted the permission to receive primary instruction in their native language as these were socially and economically weak population groups. In the 1870s, bilingual schools were introduced throughout the Volga region, Siberia, and Central Asia. Following the teaching method developed by a Turkologist Il'minskij, these schools offered instruction in the native (ethnic) language during the primary years of education. Russian was introduced at a later stage following a bilingual phase where children received instruction in both languages. At a more advanced stage, the native language was replaced by Russian as a dominant means of instruction but continued to be taught as one of the school subject (Pavlenko 2013a: 655).

The Revolution of 1905 was another important event which brought about several changes in language policies pursued by the Russian government at the time. Notably, "the government adopted a more tolerant policy of linguistic accommodation, allowing for limited native language education among other non-Russians and for publications in a variety of languages, including the previously banned Ukrainian and Belorussian" (Pavlenko 2013a: 655).

In summary, we can conclude that the language policies in prerevolutionary Russia are perhaps best described as fragmented attempts to establish Russian dominance at the expense of other, less powerful languages (see also Bragina 2002: 514–516). Systematic Russification began only during the second half of the nineteenth century and, as such, it remained confined to the urban elites, while ordinary people retained their major linguistic capital and cultural roots (Pavlenko 2013a).

Language Policies and Language Management During the Soviet Times

The October Revolution of 1917 was followed by the creation of a new political unit that evolved gradually into a global superpower. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Russian: Союз Советских Социалистиических Республик (CCCP), Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (SSSR)) is a socialist republic that existed from 1922 to 1991. It comprised 15 states that became state members at different periods. These included Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (SFSR), Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. The Soviet republics were ethnically based states under direct control of the Central Government of the Soviet Union, as illustrated in Fig. 1.

During the early Soviet era, the ideological doctrine dictated that considerable attention was to be afforded to local languages and cultures (see also Bragina 2002: 518). Such a major ideological thrust of the initial Soviet thinking was reflected in the language policies implemented in the 1920s and 1930s. Lenin opposed the idea of a single national language and envisaged a state that "not only passively tolerated but actively institutionalized the existence of multiple nations and nationalities as fundamental constituents of the states and its citizenry" (Brubaker 1996: 23).

Fig. 1 The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Note: 1 – Armenia, 2 – Azerbaijan, 3 – Byelorussia, 4 – Estonia, 5 – Georgia, 6 – Kazakhstan, 7 – Kirghizia, 8 – Latvia, 9 – Lithuania, 10 – Moldavia, 11 – Russian SFSR, 12 – Tajikistan, 13 – Turkmenia, 14 – Ukraine, 15 – Uzbekistan. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republics_of_the_Soviet_Union#/media/File:USSRRepublics_Numbered_Alphabetically.png)

Known as nativization (Russian: коренизация, korenizaziya), large-scale language-planning projects, promoting ethnic minority cultures and languages, were conducted by sociolinguists in the early Soviet era (Brandist 2003; Guliga 2010). As an illustration, educational facilities ensuring education in more than one hundred local dialects were created from 1918 to 1938 (Pavlenko 2013a: 657). Attempts were made to standardize more than 40 ethnic languages through codification, transferring their writing systems from the Arabic and Cyrillic alphabets to the Latin alphabet, and translating literary masterpieces from all over the world into these linguistic varieties (Alpatov 2017). Moreover, the right of every ethnic minority to use their native language as a means of instruction in schools was secured in Article 121 of the Constitution of the USSR adopted in 1936 (Stalin 1936). The result of this legislation and implemented language policies promoting multilingualism was that by 1960, Soviet schools used 50–70 ethnic languages as a medium of instruction, the basic idea being that all children were to be educated in their native language (Pavlenko 2013a: 658; Zamyatin 2012: 19). Crucially, these measures were instrumental in eradicating illiteracy. Pavlenko (2013a) reports a dramatic rise in literacy (to 81.2%) in the USSR by 1939.

In the long term, however, the Soviet policies strove to forge a unified Soviet identity with the Russian language having a privileged status of a national identity marker (Bragina 2002: 516). This is evident in the decree "On the obligatory study of

the Russian language in national republic and regional schools" issued by Josef Stalin in 1938 (Smith 1998: 159). Following provisions contained in this document centralized the curriculum, increased the amount of Russian teaching, and made publication of Russian textbooks a priority (Blitstein 2001, cited in Pavlenko 2013a). The centralization educational policies were implemented primarily by the renowned Soviet educator Anton S. Makarenko (Russian: Антон Семёнович Макаренко). McCaughey (2005: 456) makes an eloquent observation that "there was a time when the same page of the textbook covered in Moscow was taught on the very same day across the 11 time-zones of the Soviet Union." Simultaneously, languages of the Soviet republics, called "titular languages," continued to thrive since "titular children continued to be educated in titular-medium schools, in many of which the teaching of Russian was in dire straits due to teacher and textbook shortages" (Pavlenko 2013a: 659).

In the late 1950s, the Soviet language policies began to undergo a dramatic transformation, "setting the catastrophic shift in motion" (Guliga 2010: 392), thereby jeopardizing the future of many local languages. The Soviet education reform of 1958 played a key role in this process. The introduction of the education reform entailed that "parents were to choose their children's language of instruction and even decide whether they be taught their native language at all" (Kreindler 1989: 49). In other words, the parents could choose between Russian and a titular language as a medium of instruction. All Russian-medium schools offered titular languages as a subject. Subsequently, all titular-medium schools offered compulsory instruction in Russian. Education in the mother tongue, however, was no longer obligatory and similar to foreign languages, minority languages began to be taught as separate subjects in schools. The major consequence of this situation was that by the 1970s, the number of schools employing indigenous languages had plummeted, especially Finno-Ugric languages and the languages of the Caucasus (Zamyatin 2012: 19). Furthermore, between 1955–1956 and 1980–1981, the enrolment in Russian-medium schools tripled in Byelorussia and doubled in the Ukraine (Pavlenko 2013a: 660–661). Significant increases were likewise experienced in Estonia and Latvia, although these were accompanied by in-migration of Russians (Pavlenko 2013a: 659).

Crucially, Russian was firmly established in "administrative, legal, political and cultural areas as well as in the media and urban communication. Its associations with world culture, great literature and advanced technology made it highly prestigious and advantageous for social mobility. Indeed, Russian constituted an important personality aspect of individuals with social aspirations" (Gulida 2010: 387).

Overall, the regional languages such as Ukrainian, Belarusian, Kazakh, etc. were subordinate to Russian (see also Bragina 2002: 519). In other words, they were state languages of respective Soviet republics and were fairly actively promoted in the system of education and other social domains. However, Russian was a major linguistic vehicle through which the Soviet identity was expressed and promoted in the wider geopolitical space. Moreover, the Russian language continued to be viewed as a lingua franca of a multination and multilingual state superior to other mother tongues in the domain of education, government, administration, and mass

media. Going back to the mid-1930s, the "Russification" policy (Alpatov 2005) reached its apogee under the rule of Leonid I. Brezhnev in the 1970s as "Russian became endowed with high morality and non-Russians were encouraged to abandon their native languages because doing so was touted as progressive and mature" (Garipov and Faller 2003: 168).

The last years of the Soviet regime were marked by increased concerns about consistently low levels of Russian proficiency in the Soviet republics, notably those located in Central Asia (Dickens 2017). The decree "On measures for further improving the study and teaching of the Russian language in the Union Republics" was issued in 1978. It documented the increased amount of the Russian language and Russian literature as school subjects prescribing earlier starting dates for the study of Russian in titular-medium schools so that Russian could be used at a later stage to teach specialized disciplines (Solchanyk 1982: 30). In addition, the decree stipulated introduction of improved Russian teaching materials and lessons of Russian in non-Russian kindergartens (Pavlenko 2013a: 661). Simultaneously, Russian did not replace the titular and minority languages completely in the domain of education. Statistics provided in Pavlenko (2013a: 660–661) indicate that by 1990–1991, titular languages remained the dominant medium of instruction in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Kirgizia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine, Russian became the language of instruction for a considerable majority of titular schoolchildren.

We can now draw the following conclusions. Firstly, the analyses presented in this section indicate that despite the decades of Russification policies, the USSR remained a multilingual state till the final days of its existence. Secondly, since the mid-1930s, languages were not treated equally and, as we have observed, this was particularly evident in the education sector (beginning with Stalin's 1938 decree introducing Russian as an obligatory subject at schools). Within the language hierarchy, Russian had a politically superior status followed by titular languages and minority languages (see also Bragina 2002: 521–522). The latter received very limited attention in publishing and media appearing only as subjects in education (Alpatov 2000). This resulted in the gradual decline and ultimate loss of many indigenous dialects on the territory of the Soviet Union (Gulida 2010; Pavlenko 2013a).

Post-Soviet Developments

In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed into 15 independent states following the resolution contained in the declaration 142-H pronounced by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union (Russian: Верховный Совет СССР, Verkhovnyj Sovet SSSR). The dissolution of the world's leading superpower effectively entailed an abrupt transition from planned to market-oriented economies within most new territories. The major linguistic consequence of that historical event was that from then on, the newly emerged geopolitical units were confronted with the task of developing and putting into practice their language policies, including the regulation of the

relationship between the national and the minority languages (Gulida 2010: 385). With the exception of Belarus and, to some extent, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Alpatov 2005; Pavlenko 2013a), the language policies pursued in the successor states have striven primarily for the total expulsion of the Russian language from all vital domains of communication (see also Bragina 2002: 519). Moreover, it has aimed to propagate the respective titular language as a national language of the independent state (see Pavlenko 2013a: 665–673 for more details). In many cases, Russian has been demoted to the status of a foreign language taught in schools. The policies were implemented through the introduction of the titular language as a language of government, administration, education, and the media; de-Russification of the titular vocabulary stock; and renaming of the Soviet place names (Pavlenko 2013a: 655). Importantly, many former Soviet republics introduced measures to enhance proficiency in English by establishing an alternative lingua franca on their territories. For instance, Pavlenko (2013a: 672) notices that "[t]he goal of language education in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is trilingual competence in the titular language, Russian, and English." Furthermore, Russian competes with English as a foreign language in secondary education in Armenia, Lithuania, and Turkmenistan, and as a language of instruction in higher education in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan.

Within Russia, the task of selecting a national language was straightforward. Russia is a home to many ethnic groups. The Russians represent the biggest ethnicity followed by the Tatars, the Ukrainians, the Bashkirs, the Chuvashs, the Chechens, the Armenians, the Avars, the Mordvins, the Kazakhs, and others (Demoskop Weekly 2017; Surinov 2011). Despite this conspicuous ethnolinguistic diversity, Russian remains a native tongue of the 85% of the entire population and is used as a lingua franca by speakers of further 122 languages (Guliga 2010: 391).

Issued in 1991, the Language Law granted the Russian language the status of the "state language" (Russian: государственный язык, gosudarstvennyi yazyk). The term highlights the role of Russian as a symbol of its national identity (Zamyatin 2012: 23). The languages of other ethnicities are referred to as "titular languages" in the Russian legislation. Importantly, republics constituting the Russian Federation obtained the right to designate their own (state) languages at the local level, alongside Russian, and to develop the norms for implementing the right to receive instruction in the minority language.

The 1990s were marked by decentralization policies seeking to revive ethnic languages throughout Russia. The overarching goal pursued by these policies was to make both majority and minority members of multinational communities mutually bilingual (Zamyatin 2012: 23). However, as noted in Zamyatin (2012), the 1991 legislation was not appropriately enforced or lacked sufficient funding. Indeed, only some republics officially introduced compulsory study of the titular languages through their legislation. Nevertheless, the revival policies pursued throughout the 1990s were eventually crowned by some moderate success. By the end of the 2000s, 39 titular languages were employed as a medium of instruction in secondary schools and the total of 50 languages are taught as subjects (State Council Report 2011: 11, cited in Zamyatin 2012: 20). These numbers do not strike as particularly dramatic, especially when one considers the number of languages used in education

before the 1958 reform (50 in total). Secondly, these numbers can tell us very little about the actual use of the ethnic languages in everyday life. Nor do they reveal anything about the actual amount of teaching in these languages. Thus, some of these languages are used as a method of instruction in primary education (Udmurt), some in basic secondary education (Mari), and some (Altaic, Bashkir, Mari, Tatar, Udmurt, Chuvash, Evenki, Yukagir, Yakut) in the senior years of secondary schooling (Tishkov et al. 2009).

In 2005, the Russian Parliament called Duma (Russian: Дума) adopted a federal law reenforcing the status of Russian as the official language of the entire state at the federal level, and a federal program for the Russian language was approved (Gulida 2010; Zamyatin 2012). The law clearly emphasizes the superordinate status of the Russian language in comparison to the other mother tongues spoken on the territory of the Russian Federation (see also Zamyatin 2012: 28–29). Simultaneously, it is important to notice that the Russian legislation continues to protect language rights of the non-Russian member states of the Russian Federation. Similar to countries such as India, where 22 regional languages (called scheduled languages) are protected by the Indian constitution (Mohanty 2013: 313), as many as 35 ethnic languages are recognized as official (state) languages, in addition to Russian, in the constitutions of the individual republics. Although the Russian state is promoting the policy of multilingualism, minority languages are not supported effectively by a proper implementation of the official language ideologies. A recent conflict between the federal persecution office and the local authorities of Tatarstan over the status of the Tatar language as the obligatory school subject may well serve as an illustration of this claim (Source: https://meduza.io/feature/2017/11/03/razdelenie-detey-na-tatar-i-russkih, accessed 18 June 2018).

One of the reasons explaining why local authorities have consistently failed to implement the policy of multilingualism licensed at the federal level lies in the continued shift towards Russian over the course of several generations and highly stigmatized status of the local linguistic varieties. Indeed, many young adults of the ethnic minorities (up to half of the Karels; over one-third of Bashkir, Komi, Mordva, and Udmurt; as well as one quarter of Mari and Chuvash) consider themselves to be native speakers of Russian (Gulida 2010: 391). Ethnic languages are associated with low social prestige and, consequently, are increasingly abandoned. Enormous social power attributed to Russian and resulting language shift account for the failed attempt to introduce indigenous languages into all relevant domains including education. For instance, the Kalmyk education authorities initially intended to introduce Kalmyk as a language of instruction in schools. However, the level of linguistic proficiency and communicative competence was not sufficient for children to receive instruction in their heritage language (Alpatov 2005).

A recent development in the domain of Russian language policies and planning relates to the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula as part of the Russian Federation in March 2014. Having provoked much disturbance in the countries of Western Europe, this geopolitical event is rooted in relatively complex history. This can be traced back as far as 1783 when Crimea became part of the Russian Empire following Catherine's II victory in the Russo-Turkish War, 1768–1774 (Davies 2016). In 1954, the

Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev (Russian: Никита Сергеевич Хрущёв) relegated Crimea to the authority of the Ukrainian republic. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union 1991, Ukraine became independent, and Crimea was recognized as the autonomous republic of Ukraine.

Given this brief historical overview indicating inter alia that Crimea remained the dominion of the Russian state for 171 years, it is not entirely surprising that there are three main languages spoken on the peninsula. Of these, Russian is the dominant language (spoken by 67.90% of the ethnic Russians) followed by Ukrainian (spoken by 15.68% of the ethnic Ukrainians) and a Turkic language (10.57%). The latter is an important identity marker for the population minority of the Crimean Tatars (Bocale 2016: 5–6). Consequently, this language situation explains why there are far more Russian-medium schools in Crimea. Bocale (2016) reports that the number of Russian schools amounted to 368 in 2013–2014, whereas the number Ukrainian- and Tatar-language schools paled in comparison. In all, 7 Ukrainian-medium and 15 Tatar-medium schools are documented for that period. Against this backdrop, the number of bilingual schools is, indeed, remarkable. The figures reported for the years 2013–2014 tell us that there were as many as 175 bilingual (Russian-Ukrainian) or trilingual (Russian-Ukrainian-Tatar) schools in Crimea (Bocale 2016: 6).

The 18th of March 2014 marks a historical moment in the Russian history. On that day, a treaty was signed according to which Crimea was once again Russian. Upon signing the treaty, the Russian President Vladimir V. Putin (Russian: Владимир Владимирович Путин) made an official statement declaring the equal status of the three languages: Russian, Ukrainian, and Crimean Tatar. The statement was subsequently supported by the new constitution's recognition of the official status of the three languages.

The previous discussion pinpoints two diametrically opposed motivations that have shaped language policies pursued by the Russian state during different historical period. On the one hand, one can discern a very clear intention to establish Russian as a national language, as a uniting lingua franca and as a common identity marker at various stages of the Russian history. Conversely, this overarching goal has been competing with the idea of promoting multilingualism which has been a recurrent topic in the development of the Russian nation, thereby acknowledging the fact that its emergence and subsequent evolution is fundamentally rooted in ethnolinguistic diversity. Against this backdrop, the relevant question is, "How have language-planning policies traditionally implemented in Russia impacted on the teaching of English and other foreign languages?"

Foreign- and English-Language Teaching in Russia

English-language teaching in Russia has a long-standing tradition that can be traced back to the era of the Russian Empire. However, at that time, English was not a dominant foreign language. In the eighteenth century, German was the language of the educated elite and an academic lingua franca. Founded in 1755, Moscow State University (Russian: Московский государственный университет, Moskovskij

gosudarstvennyj universitet) hired only Germans for professorial positions at early stages. Mikhail V. Lomonosov (Russian: Михаил Васильевич Ломоносов, Mikhail Vasil'jevich Lomonosov), the founder of the first Russian university, was the only exception to this otherwise pervasive pattern. Nevertheless, it should be noted in brackets that he had received his higher education in Marburg and Freiberg, Germany (see also Ter-Minasova 2005: 445–446). French was dominant throughout the nineteenth century resulting in extensive French-Russian bilingualism of the Russian aristocracy (Offord et al. 2015). To give one highly notable example, Aleksandr S. Pushkin (Russian: Александр Сергеевич Пушкин), the great Russian poet, also known as the "Sun of the Russian literature," was praised for his impeccable mastery of the French language, in which he made fewer mistakes than in Russian, as suggested in anecdotal evidence.

The first contacts between Russian and English speakers were attested as early as the second half of the sixteenth century (Proshina and Ettkin 2005: 439). The Russian Czar Ivan IV, also known as Ivan the Terrible (Russian: Иван Грозный, Ivan Groznyj), allowed British merchant to carry out tax-free trade in Russian territory. Peter the Great (Russian: Пётр Великий, Pyotr Velikij) further strengthened the Russian-British contacts by hiring professionals to work for his government. In the eighteenth century, English-speaking plays were staged at St. Petersburg's theatres, and this was also the time during which the first Russian-American contacts occurred. In the nineteenth century, English established itself as a language second only to French in popularity among the educated, which resulted in the emergence of several English magazines (Proshina and Ettkin 2005: 441). Well-off Russian families, as well as the aristocracy, invited English and French tutors for teaching their offspring the language. The tutors were usually hired from abroad, thus ensuring that the child gets exposed to the native model of the language. In the early twentieth century, the English-Russian contacts were disrupted following the event of the Great October Revolution of 1917. In the 1930s, many English words were borrowed into Russian due to industrialization and English was introduced as a foreign language in Soviet schools. Proshina and Ettkin (2005: 442) note that "English studied at school and English texts published for readership abroad reflected Soviet reality and were full of politicized clichés (the dictatorship of proletariat, [. . .] alien element, socialist competition)." During this period, the study of English, or any other foreign language, was treated with suspicion and language students were treated disdainfully as potential spies or emigrants lacking in loyalty and patriotism (Ter-Minasova 2005: 446). Furthermore, rare individuals who had direct access to foreigners were "mistrusted by the mainstream population" (Pavlenko 2003: 325).

In contrast to the current situation, foreign languages were highly stigmatized during the Soviet regime and their study was often considered a risky enterprise. Svetlana G. Terminasova (Russian: Светлана Григорьевна Тер-Минасова), a Russian linguist, recalls in one of her papers that her father was very worried upon learning about her decision to study English philology at the English Department of Moscow State University as English was considered to be the "language of the enemy" (Ter-Minasova 2005: 446), even though its knowledge was recognized

as a resource instrumental to the struggle against the values of the capitalist world (Pavlenko 2003: 322).

By and large, the teaching of foreign languages in the Soviet Union can be perceived as a big "experiment," to use Ter-Minasova's words (see also Bragina 2002: 522–527 for the description of teaching Russian as a foreign language). Its hallmark was that foreign languages, including English, were taught in complete isolation from the target cultures. Indeed, access to the English language was assured through the study of the classics of the world literature including William Shakespeare and Charles Dickens. The *Forsyte Saga* by John Galsworthy represented modern English and was traditionally offered as compulsory reading material by the English departments of the Soviet institutions of higher education High school textbooks were written by the Soviet authors, who, despite their competence and good didactic understanding of the foreign language learning process, lacked first-hand experience of the target language. Because of severely restricted access to the outside world during the Soviet times, English teachers and their students had no opportunity for contact with native speakers of English.

Similarly, educators and curriculum developers were cut off from all the curricular innovations introduced worldwide and, as a result, were forced to develop their own methods of teaching foreign languages. In so doing, they relied heavily (and perhaps inevitably) on the grammar translation method. The method finds its roots in the antiquity but it was during the Renaissance period that its modern version was developed (Fotos 2005: 661). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the method attracted criticism from the proponents of more communicatively oriented approaches (Fotos 2005: 662), a trend that continued well into the twentieth century (Pavlenko 2003: 317). Revived and popularized in the 1960s and 1970s, the grammar translation method "capitalized on the formal operational abilities of older children and adults to think and act in a rule-governed way" (Ellis 2015: 2). As a first step, the morphosyntactic and word-formation rules of the target language were elaborated through the L1. Students were then encouraged to apply this knowledge while translating texts into their native language. At a later stage, L1 passages were translated into the target language. This explicit method of language teaching was grounded in the belief that the knowledge of foreign language rules necessarily precedes its proper use. Though a methodologically valid approach boasting a 4000-year-old history (Fotos 2005: 654), the grammar translation method did not evoke much more than scant interest on the part of an average Soviet pupil but was vigorously embraced by the Soviet educators and is still held in high regard by many teachers in modern Russia (Aydarova 2015a: 336–338). Most (if not all) of the Soviet textbooks of English as well as other foreign languages drew heavily on the grammar translation method. One of these, however, deserves a special notice. First published in 1974, the five-volume textbook for (pedagogical) universities edited by Vladimir D. Arakin (Russian: Владимир Дмитриевич Аракин) has undergone several revisions, the latest of which dates 2012, and is now regarded as an epitome of the Russian tradition in foreign-language teaching, while being given top priority in official curricula (see also Aydarova 2015a: 336). Furthermore, most Soviet textbooks were used as a "unique propaganda tool" (Pavlenko 2003: 324)

"permeated by texts, vocabulary and exercise of ideological value" (Pavlenko 2003: 323). Pavlenko (2003) provides a thorough description illustrating how this was the case.

The Soviet system of secondary and tertiary education offered as many as four foreign languages as part of its curriculum (English, German, French, and, in some cases, Spanish), which is, indeed, a very generous offering for a state living behind the Iron Curtain. To be sure, not all Soviet schools could teach these languages but some highly reputable schools in big cities (Moscow, Leningrad) did have this assortment on their syllabus. Moreover, there were specialized schools offering the study of foreign languages beginning in the second grade. "Not only did the students learn the language more intensively, the schools also used foreign languages as a medium of instruction, offering a number of subjects in the target language" (Pavlenko 2003: 322). This was a result of the two-track system introduced by a Soviet linguist Lev V. Shcherba (Russian: Лев Владимирович Щерба) in 1944 aiming at fostering children with a particular ability for language learning.

Crucially, foreign languages associated with the Western world and cultures, English clearly on the list, were constantly subject to negative evaluation because they represented the languages of the "ideological enemy." Though scarce in educational settings, languages such as Polish, Bulgarian, and Yugoslavian were portrayed in a more positive light since these were the idioms of the neighboring countries to which the Soviets had established fraternal relationships (see also Pavlenko 2013b: 4).

The grossly unpopular connotations remained attached to English and other modern languages associated with the Western culture well until the perestroika (Russian: Перестройка) times in the late 1980s. A radical shift in the ideological Soviet doctrine entailed a change in attitudes to a variety of different phenomena including the study of foreign languages. Slowly but surely, the country and its people became more open towards foreign influences and, therefore, to the languages that come with them. When I, a 13-year-old child, announced to my family in 1991 that I was going to pursue English as my profession, they were immensely proud and supported my decision unanimously. Indeed, this contrasts remarkably with the reaction expressed by Svetlana G. Ter-Minasova's father. Crucially, my family was not the only institution that supported my undertaking. A new type of secondary schools called lyceums (Russian: лицей) began to become established nationwide. Bryansk (Russian: Брянск), my home city, was no exception to this rapidly spreading trend. At our lyceum (Russian: Брянский городской лицей №1 имени Пушкина, Bryanskij gorodzkoj lizej imeni Pushkina), enrolled students had an opportunity to emphasize the study of several subjects. Those who opted for foreign languages received a load of eight academic hours per week for the first foreign language and two academic hours for the second foreign language (Larisa M. Khokhlova, personal communication July 3 2018). Since we did not have a chance to spend at least some time in an English-speaking country (stay-abroad trips were a rarity back than), my classmates and I spent hours cramming the English vocabulary and honing our pronunciation skills through endless drills with a tape recorder. As time-consuming and taxing as it was, this teaching strategy paid well off

at a later stage. My good command of English is sometimes (mistakenly) attributed to extensive encounters with L1 speakers. Yet, this accomplishment is largely a result of the continued and internally inspired labor during my teen years back in Russia supported by the proper educational policies. These qualitative observations echo those of middle-aged and older teachers at two Russian pedagogical universities reported in Aydarova (2015b: 157; 2016: 12) and highlight the importance of intrinsic motivation as a crucial determinant underlying much of foreign language learning success (see Noels et al. 2000) in the Soviet Russia as well as in Russia of the early post-Soviet period.

In educational psychology, intrinsic motivation is understood as the most self-determined type of attitudinal orientation chosen freely by an individual (Noels 2003: 101). Intrinsically oriented people engage with a particular activity, such as, for instance, language learning, because they derive pleasure from it. In other words, intrinsic motivation occurs by and large on purely aesthetic grounds because it is competence building and exciting. This type of attitudinal orientation is in contrast to extrinsic (Noels et al. 1999), also known as instrumental (Gardner and Lambert 1959, 1972) motivation and integrative (Gardner 1985, 2010; Gardner and Lambert 1959, 1972) motivation. The former describes the type of motivational orientation in which the trigger is located outside the activity and is usually represented by some external source such as, for instance, a punishment or some very tangible reward, financial or otherwise. The latter is defined through the amount of interaction and the degree of self-identification with the target speech community. Relevant empirical research (Noels 2003) suggests that both intrinsic and integrative motivations are more likely to result in higher levels of language learning success than extrinsic orientations because even though language learners may work very hard toward their goal, they are not very likely to persist with the activity once an external contingency has been removed. Within the context of Soviet and early post-Soviet Russia, the value of intrinsic motivation is enhanced by the fact that the contacts with native English speakers were virtually nonexistent and the opportunities of socioeconomic advancement linked to the knowledge of English were not immediately obvious. These circumstances resulted in the lack of both integrative and extrinsic motivations for language learning during those times.

Adopted in the early 1990s, the curriculum assigning a highly elevated number of academic hours to the study of foreign languages was abandoned with time because school authorities decided that the learning of foreign languages should accompany rather than lead secondary school education. Their point is well taken. The hard fact of life is that trained doctors, lawyers, and economists are admittedly more in demand than trained linguists. It is remarkable to note that there was a period, however brief, in the newest history of Russian education policies when foreign languages played a relatively important role in the overall secondary school curriculum, at least, in certain types of institutions of secondary education.

In 2003, Russia joined the Bologna process in an attempt to become integral part of the global flows in education. In so doing, it also sought to contextualize itself within the educational framework based on the Anglo-American model. This decision was accompanied by "multiple protests within the nation" (Aydarova 2015b:

147) because many Russian educators feel that pro-Western reforms fail to acknowledge the value and achievements of the socialist system of education (see Aydarova 2015b for extensive discussion), while contributing to the brain drain depleting Russian intellectual resources (Aydarova 2014: 72). Crucially, this event marks a watershed indicating an incremental shift in motivations underlying young people's decisions to embark upon the task of appropriating a foreign language. In her ethnographic analysis of two English departments at two different pedagogical universities in Russia, Aydarova (2016) pinpoints an attitudinal divide between faculty members and their students. Complying with overall thrust of the Soviet foreign-language teaching tradition, teachers highlight the importance of English language learning on purely intrinsic grounds. In contrast to their academic mentors, students view the activity of learning English as a vehicle of socioeconomic and geographic mobility (Aydarova 2016: 18) and are thus largely extrinsically (and to some degree integratively) motivated. To this younger generation, the ability to speak English is a form of sociocultural capital (Bourdieu 1991) that increases their chances of success in the pursuit of a better life abroad. "Trumping faculty members' aesthetic and students' instrumental orientations, [authorities] pushed to close pedagogical universities because they no longer fulfilled the function of preparing teachers for work in schools" (Aydarova 2016: 25), an intention that has not been put into practice as yet.

The introduction of the neoliberal policies brought about by the Bologna process has furthermore been argued to incur potentially long-lasting negative effects on the teacher education system in Russia (Aydarova 2014). More specifically, these policies have been argued to have "re-conceptualised the teacher's role from a public intellectual to a technocrat" (Aydarova 2014: 64), to have "reduce[d] the quality of teacher preparation by fragmenting and diminishing the significance of the subject matter preparation" and to have "undermined [. . .] Russian cultural values of collectivity and group solidarity (Nikandronov 2009) by promoting the individualism of the new capitalism" (Aydarova 2014: 65).

Currently, the teaching of foreign languages is introduced from the second, and in some regions the first, grade of the elementary school, with English being the most commonly learned language in Russia (Ivanova and Tivyaeva 2015: 310; see also Bragina 2002: 527). The teaching load is circumscribed to two academic hours per week in primary school and increases to 4 h on average in secondary school. Thus implemented, this foreign-language teaching policy has yielded quite palpable results. According to the statistics provided in the Russian Federation Census 2010, out of 143 million Russian citizens, around 7.5 million indicated they were proficient in English, although most of them are located in big cities, notably Moscow. Similar to other countries of the Expanding Circle (Kachru 1985), English is the main foreign language taught to 80% of all school children (Levada Centre 2008, 2014) followed by German (16%), French (4%), and Turkish (2%). Two native-speaker variants, British English and American English, are recognized as teaching models in Russian schools and relatively little attention is paid to other native Englishes as educating models (McCaughey 2005: 455). In that regard, Russian educators conform to the trend set out by other countries promoting English

as an international lingua franca. These include the countries of Western Europe and China. In 2015, the Russian Ministry of Education introduced a second foreign language as part of mandatory curriculum in Russian schools.

As for the methods employed in foreign-language teaching *in the Post-Soviet Russia, relevant research* (Aydarova 2015b; Ivanova and Tivyaeva 2015) *suggests that the* grammar translation method continues to be very much *en vogue* and the more communicatively oriented methods continue to be essentially ignored both in secondary and tertiary foreign language education (see also Zabotkina 2002). To this end, Ivanova and Tivyaeva (2015: 311) report a survey conducted among postgraduate students at a Russian university documenting their good grammar and reading skills but only very modest reading and writing skills in English.

The most recent development in the domain of (foreign) language education policies concerns the intention announced in September 2017 by the current Minister of Education Olga Y. Vasiljeva (Russian: Ольга Юрьевна Васильева) to reduce the number of foreign languages taught in Russian secondary schools. Vasiljeva explains her decision as, "Не можем мы сейчас позволить себе во всех школах два языка, не выучим мы их! Нам нужно хорошо знать русский язык, который мы знаем не очень хорошо. Нам нужно хорошо знать иностранный язык, желательно английский — это язык международного общения на сегодняшний день [We cannot afford to teach two foreign languages at all schools, we will never learn them! We need to make sure we have a good command of the Russian language which we do not know that well. We need to have a good command of one foreign language, preferably English as it is the language of international communication]" (Source: https://news.mail.ru/society/31148278/?social=fb, accessed 18 September 2017). The Ministry intends to introduce English as the sole foreign language taught as part of the mandatory curriculum at Russian schools by the year 2022. The hours previously allotted to a second foreign language are planned to be reallocated to the study of astronomy. What is also interesting in the context of the present investigation is that Vasiljeva was very careful to make certain amendments to her claims regarding the second foreign language soon to be removed from the obligatory education program. In her own words, "Если школа может это взять на себя [второй язык], в этом ничего страшного, это только приветствуется, если ребенок может учить второй язык: есть на это время, есть на это методики, есть на это педагоги, есть на это возможности. Но я считаю, что лучше знать один иностранный язык, не занимаясь в данном случае очковтирательством и шапкозакидательством [There is perfectly fine if the school is capable of assuming such a responsibility (teaching a second foreign language). We should encourage children wishing to gain knowledge of a second (foreign) language providing them with the time, the methods, the teachers, and the resources to do so. However, I honestly believe that a student would be much better off having learned comprehensively one foreign language at school]" (Source: https://news.mail.ru/society/31148278/?social=fb, accessed 18 September 2017).

Careful consideration makes clear that the statements on foreign language education outlined in the previous paragraph echo language-planning policies

implemented throughout Russian history. The Minister of Education makes a very clear emphasis on the amelioration of the knowledge of Russian, the language of the state. This stance is aligned with the overall thrust of the Russian language-planning policies highlighting the importance of Russian as the language uniting the nation. Care is taken to reinforce and secure even further the superior position of Russian in the domain of education. In the educational context, English is being recognized as the major foreign language to be taught at schools. Practical necessity is dictating the superior position of English in relation to other foreign languages. Russian educators recognize that the younger generation needs to know English by way of keeping abreast of the latest developments underlying sociocultural transformation of the global society we live in today. Of interest is the fact that within a period of 7 years (2015–2022) the second foreign language was introduced, yet will be removed very soon from the curriculum as an obligatory school subject. This development in the domain of foreign language education is informative in that it suggests that multilingualism in the domain of nation building and multilingualism in the domain of secondary education have been treated along fairly similar lines. Authorities appear to acknowledge (at least in theory) that multilingualism has an additive impact on the sustainable development of a multiethnic and multicultural society (see also Lawson and Sachdev 2004). Meanwhile, they seemingly recognize that multilingual individuals have a cognitive advantage (see Bialystok et al. 2010; Dong and Li 2015; Schweizer et al. 2012 for the empirical support for this claim). However, the practical implementation of this ideological stance is far from being consistent. The idea of multiple languages being an indisputable asset for an individual is being vigorously embraced by Russian policy-makers at one point but is quickly dispensed with in favor of other goals such as promoting the Russian language as the language of the state. Thus, multilingualism has remained a recurrent topic in the ideological landscape shaping Russian nation-building and educational politics. However, this appears to be only to the extent to which it allows state prelates to project a positive image of the policies that they pursue.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the implementation of language-planning policies throughout the history of Russia. In so doing, it has attempted to assess the role that language ideologies and language-planning policies have played in foreign- and English-language teaching. I conclude this chapter with an observation that in the Russian system of secondary school education, two languages have secured their place as obligatory subjects: Russian as a native language and English as a foreign language taught in all Russian schools. The fate of all other languages, including those other than English in the secondary school system, fall under the jurisdiction of local authorities, who often lack the funding and the proper motivation to promote those both in the domain of nation building and in the domain of education. This is all despite the fact that Russia remains a multilingual state with a rich multicultural history.

Cross-References

▶ Behind the Sand Castle: Implementing English Language Teaching Policies in Japan
▶ English Language Teaching in Brazil: An Overview of Educational Policies and Innovative Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL)-Related Projects
▶ Shifting from Teaching the Subject to Developing Core Competencies Through the Subject: The Revised Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 Edition) in China

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Teaching English as a Third Language

9

Ulrike Jessner and Jasone Cenoz

Contents

Abstract

In many countries in the world, English is identified as a foreign language with no official status but is increasingly used as the language of wider communication. In a number of these countries, it is common that English is learned as a third language. Recent psycholinguistic research on third language acquisition and trilingualism has made clear that the acquisition of an L3 shares many characteristics with the acquisition of an L2 but it also presents differences. Accordingly, the educational aspects of teaching English as an L3 differ from those of teaching English as an L2 and have more implications concerning the starting age and level of proficiency in

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each of the languages. The teaching of English as a third language will be described in two European minority language contexts. In the Basque Country, there are two official languages, Basque and Spanish, and English is taught as a third language. In South Tyrol, English is taught as a third language with Italian and German.

Introduction

Whereas teaching English as a second language has become a very common part of language education in many countries, as the chapters in this handbook clearly show, teaching English as a third language (henceforth ETL; in contrast to teaching English as a second language or ESL) presents a rather young, albeit growing area of interest that shares many characteristics with the former but also shows important differences that will be highlighted in this chapter. These differences are linked to the differences between second and third language acquisition (TLA) and the changing nature of English in the world, in particular on the European continent. In this chapter we would like to focus on the Basque Country and South Tyrol where there are two official languages, Basque and Spanish, and English is taught as a third language. In South Tyrol, English is taught as a third language with Italian and German.

An important issue in studies of TLA is related to terminology. When we use L1 and L2 to describe the relationship of the two languages involved in a bilingual system, L1 is usually interpreted not just as the first language learned but also as the dominant language. It is implicitly assumed that the level of proficiency in L2 must necessarily be lower than in L1. When acquiring a third language, the chronological order of languages learned does not necessarily correspond to the frequency of use of these languages or the levels of competence in the languages used by the trilingual speaker. For example, language proficiency in the individual languages usually changes over time and, in addition, skills within the languages can vary from one time to another according to sociolinguistic contexts (Hufeisen 1998, 169–70). For the future, it is has to be noted that we need to readdress this issue to find a terminological basis for discussions of multilingualism. However, in this chapter, E3 corresponds to chronological ordering because English is the third language that a speaker comes in contact with in her/his schooling biography.

The Spread of English as a Third Language

In many countries in the world, English is identified as a foreign language with no official status. However, English is increasingly used as the language of wider communication as a result of the British colonial legacy and the emergence of the

USA as a major power in the twentieth century. In multilingual countries that already have two or more national languages, English is increasingly being learned as a third language.

According to Kachru (1992), the spread of English can be visualized in terms of three circles:

The inner circle includes those countries where English is the L1 for the majority of the population such as the UK, the USA, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. However, in these countries, English is in contact with heritage languages or languages of the immigrant population and is thus not the only language spoken.

The outer circle includes those countries where English is used as a second language at the institutional level as the result of colonization (India, Nigeria, the Philippines, etc.).

The expanding circle includes those countries where English has no official status and is taught as a foreign language (Continental Europe, Japan, China, South America, etc.).

The contact between English and other languages in the three circles and the spread of English in the outer and expanding circles carries important sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic implications. Sociolinguistically, the spread of English has important implications regarding the ownership of English and the varieties of English. For example, the spread of English as a lingua franca threatens the traditional ownership of English as a property of native speakers (Widdowson 1997). Now non-native varieties of English, such as Nigerian English, have been developed as the result of the contact between English and other languages in different parts of the world. English is acquired by many individuals not only as a second language but also as a third or fourth language, and in many cases English is one of the languages in the multilingual's linguistic repertoire. This is very often the case in Continental Europe, where the spread of the English language certainly shares some characteristics with the spread of English in other parts of the world. Most European countries are located in the expanding circle where English is a foreign language with no official status but it is increasingly used as a language of wider communication. With the exception of the UK and Ireland, English is generally the first foreign language, and German, French, or Spanish tends to be the most popular second foreign languages. It is important to emphasize that the spread of English in Europe cannot be considered a uniform phenomenon. While English has a long tradition in most Northern European countries, its importance is growing steadily in Southern and Eastern European countries where other languages such as French and German have been traditionally learned as foreign languages. Within the European Union, English is becoming a second rather than a foreign language as a result of the fact that it is the main language of communication among European citizens (see, e.g., Gerritsen et al. 2016 on English in the Netherlands).

Third and fourth language acquisition is common in bilingual and multilingual communities all over the world. For example, learning E3 is common in the bilingual communities of Catalonia, the Basque Country, Friesland, Brittany, and Wasa, and

languages such as German and French are commonly learned as third languages in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland (Cenoz and Jessner 2000). Outside Europe, English and French are learned as third languages by many immigrant and some aboriginal communities in Canada or in many areas of Latin America where speakers of Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, and many other languages also learn Spanish and English at school (De Mejia 2017; López and Sichra 2017; Baker and Wright 2017). TLA and the acquisition of additional languages are also common in multi-lingual communities in Africa and Asia where children speak one or more languages at home and in the community and use a different language as the language of instruction at school (Panda and Mohanty 2015; Adamson and Feng 2014; Heugh 2015). An increasingly common situation in countries where immigration has increased in recent years is that children's home language is different from the major societal language(s) and children learn both the societal language and additional languages at school (Hélot and Ó Laoire 2011; Jessner and Allgaeuer-Hackl 2015; Van Der Wildt et al. 2017).

English is learned as a third language in a number of typical situations in the European context:

1. Native speakers of minority indigenous languages who are also proficient in the majority language and study E3. This is the case of native speakers of languages such as Basque, Breton, Sardinian, Catalan, Frisian, and Sami.
2. Native speakers of a majority language who learn a minority indigenous language at school and study E3. This is the case of native speakers of Spanish who learn Catalan or Basque at school or native speakers of Dutch who learn Frisian at school and also study English as a foreign language.
3. Native speakers of less widespread European languages who acquire a second and a third language, for example, native speakers of Dutch in Belgium who learn French as a second language and E3 or native speakers of Swedish in Wasa who learn Finnish and English.
4. Native speakers of widespread European languages whose first language is a minority language at the national level and also learn E3, for example, speakers of German in Italy, France, or Belgium.
5. Immigrants from non-European and European countries who learn the official language of the new country and study E3, for example, Turkish immigrants in Germany or the Netherlands or Polish immigrants in Norway.
6. Other Europeans who learn E3, for example, an Italian who learns French and English or German and English.

The Characteristics of Third Language Acquisition

As already mentioned in the introduction, the acquisition of English as L3 shares many characteristics with the acquisition of English as L2, but it also presents differences. TLA is a more complex phenomenon than second language acquisition (SLA) because, apart from all the individual and social factors that affect SLA, the

process and product of acquiring a second language can potentially influence TLA. In particular, learners of a third language have prior language learning knowledge and in this respect develop metalinguistic skills and metacognitive strategies that a monolingual learner lacks.

The study of third languages and trilingualism represents a recent focus within applied linguistics but one that has been gaining interest in the last 20 years (see Cenoz et al. 2001a, b; De Angelis 2007; Aronin and Hufeisen 2009 for an overview). Although the number of studies on third or multiple language acquisition is still limited, this research area has already established itself as a distinct field where the main focus is on the differences and similarities between TLA and SLA. In second language acquisition, the two linguistic systems can influence each other in a bidirectional way. However, the contact between three language systems in a multilingual speaker is more complex. In addition to the bidirectional relationship between L1 and L2, L3 can influence L1 and vice versa, and L2 and L3 can influence each other. Thus within studies of TLA and trilingualism, the crosslinguistic aspects of TLA and trilingualism represent an important focus (e.g., Cenoz et al. 2001a, b; De Angelis et al. 2015).

The role of L2 in TLA has turned out to be of greater importance than originally suggested (Cenoz et al. 2001b). In a number of studies, it turned out that in L3 production, the speakers did not, as expected, automatically rely on their L1, but on their L2. In several studies of learning an L3 of Indo-European origin, it could be shown that L3 learners whose L1 is typologically unrelated to the L2 and/or the L3 tend to transfer knowledge from their L2 or in the case of bilinguals from the related L1. The activation of prior language knowledge is influenced by factors such as psychotypology (perceived linguistic distance between languages), recency of use, the level of proficiency in the target language, the foreign language effect, the tendency in language learners to activate an earlier second language in L3 performance, and the learner's perception of correctness of a target word (for a recent overview, see also De Angelis et al. 2015).

Suggestions of a Multilingual Norm in Learning and Teaching

Recent theorizing regarding the trilingual speaker has clearly been influenced by Grosjean's (1985) and Cook's (1993) ideas on the bilingual speaker. Based on his criticism of the widespread use of a monolingual norm in language proficiency measures commonly employed in language contact studies, Grosjean (1985) characterized the bilingual speaker as a competent speaker-hearer with a specific linguistic configuration. Cook (1993) proposed the construct of multicompetence on the basis of Grosjean's work. He argued that in contrast to monolinguals, bilinguals and multilinguals have a different knowledge of both their first language and their second language as well as a different kind of language awareness and language processing system. Cook (1999) also drew on the construct of multicompetence to critique the use of the native speaker as the norm in language teaching.

Herdina and Jessner (2002) adopted Grosjean's and Cook's critique of double monolingualism but also emphasized the dynamics of multilingual proficiency. They argued that the stages of development in a multilingual system have to be taken into account in multilingualism research. Their research is based on dynamic systems theory which is necessarily linked to a holistic approach and thus stresses emergent properties in multilingual systems. They emphasize in their dynamic model of multilingualism that the conditions of language learning undergo a change of quality in the multilingual speaker that is related to the development of an enhanced multilingual monitor. Whereas a second language learner's prior experience of learning a language can be related only to a monolingual norm, a third language learner can relate to a bilingual norm (Herdina and Jessner 2000, p. 94).

In short, the dynamic concept of "multilingual proficiency" proposed by Herdina and Jessner (2002) clearly distinguishes the cognitive and linguistic systems of multilingual speakers from those of monolingual speakers. Multilingual proficiency is conceptualized as composed of the individual language systems, the crosslinguistic interaction between the language systems, and other components such as an enhanced multilingual monitor that are developed as a result of the interdependence between the systems involved in the language learning process (see De Angelis et al. 2015).

Learning a third language in the school context is a common experience for many children all over the world. In European countries, there are specific multilingual schools, such as the European schools, in which several languages are used as languages of instruction (Baetens Beardsmore 1993; Rydenvald 2015). Up to recently, it has been much more common around the world to study two or more foreign languages as school subjects, but nowadays, there is a trend toward content-based instruction (CBI) or content and language integrated learning (CLIL).

In sum, TLA in the school context and trilingual education are not new phenomena but are becoming more widespread because of the increasing use of minority languages in education in many parts of the world and the trend to teach additional languages both at the elementary and secondary levels of education. In the following section, we describe in more detail different aspects of the acquisition of E3 in two bilingual communities, the Basque Country and South Tyrol.

Teaching English as a Third Language

When English forms part of a multilingual teaching approach, it can either function as a valuable starting point for the promotion of multilingualism, or it can be opened to other languages in the classroom in terms of differences and similarities. In both cases, an etymological teaching approach, as discussed by Jessner (2006), can be employed to facilitate multilingual learning within the English classroom. Such an approach is based on the assumption that English can best be learned and understood with the necessary awareness of its history. In particular, a large part of today's English is constituted by Romance elements deriving from Latin and French which

can be linked to other Romance languages in the classroom setting. But learning L3 English with the support of similarities can also be approached from other linguistic, or rather typologically related, perspectives such as English after Roumanian and Hungarian (Iactu 2000).

Apart from those opportunities of transfer, pupils can be taught how to profit from other links between their languages which should certainly not exclude heritage languages in multilingual awareness teaching. As clearly evidenced by Allgaeuer-Hackl (2017), students have to be trained in order to benefit from multilingual approaches in the classroom. As indicated in Jessner et al. (2016), "emergent qualities, such as enhanced meta- and crosslinguistic awareness and abilities, and metacognitive skills (including use of appropriate and effective language learning strategies) develop to a higher degree in trained multilingual learners than in untrained students." Cummins (2017) refers to this kind of teaching methodology as "teaching for transfer." Thus a re-orientation from monolingual norms to multi-competence requires that we accredit a less prominent role to the linguistic deficits of language learners and users in exchange for the cognitive benefits offered by multilingualism (Jessner 2017).

In the context of the Council of Europe, incentive pedagogic approaches and projects have been developed on the basis of multilingual European perspectives, ranging from tertiary language learning with a focus on learning English after German (Hufeisen and Neuner 2003) to the development of a framework for multilingual descriptors, "FREPA" (Candelier 2012), and multilingual activities for the classroom, to multilingual whole school curricula.

Teaching English as a Third Language in the Basque Country

The Basque Country covers an area of approximately 20,742 km^2 bordering the Pyrenees and the Bay of Biscay, between France and Spain. The total Basque population is approximately three million with 92% being Spanish citizens. In this section we focus on the acquisition of E3 in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in Spain where 73% of the Basque population live. Basque (Euskara) is a unique non-Indo-European language in Western Europe and, as such, is typologically distant from Spanish.

Although Basque and Spanish are both official languages of the BAC, Basque is really a minority language spoken by approximately 33% of the population. Spanish continues to be the dominant language in most regions of the Basque Country, and virtually all Basque-speakers also speak Spanish and therefore are bilingual.

Bilingual Education

Even though Basque was banned from education during the Franco regime, a number of Basque-medium schools (or ikastolak) were opened in the 1960s. These schools were not officially recognized in the beginning, but as the number of students increased, they had to be eventually accepted. In 1979, with the new political situation, Basque, along with Spanish, was recognized as an official

language in the BAC. The law on the Normalization of the Basque Language (1982) made Basque and Spanish compulsory subjects in all schools in the BAC, and there are different bilingual programs that differ with respect to the language or languages of instruction, their linguistic aims, and their intended student population (see Gorter et al. 2014).

In recent years, an increasing number of students have enrolled in programs that use Basque as an instructional medium, and currently most schoolchildren have Basque as the language of instruction for some or all subjects both in elementary and secondary school. When the bilingual models were established, approximately 25% of the students in the BAC attended Basque-medium schools; at present, approximately 95% of elementary schoolchildren and approximately 91% of children in compulsory secondary education have Basque as a language of instruction.

The Teaching of English as a Third Language

Apart from the two official languages, English is studied as a foreign language by over 95% of schoolchildren. Schoolchildren in the Basque Autonomous Community usually have exposure to English from kindergarten. In primary school (6–12 years of age), they usually have 4 h of Basque per week, 4 h of Spanish, and 2 or 3 h of English. In compulsory secondary education (12–16 years old), students have between 3 and 4 h of each of the three languages, and they can learn a fourth language as an option for 2–3 h per week. The official curriculum in the Basque Autonomous Community pays specific attention to the role of languages, and it proposes the following principles for the teaching of Basque, Spanish, and foreign languages (Heziberri 2020 2014: 35):

– Language teaching should be based on inclusion so that all schoolchildren develop multilingual competence.
– Language teaching should be based on language use.
– Language teaching should be based on the communicative approach.
– Language teaching should aim at developing positive attitudes toward languages and speakers.
– The integration of language and content should be fostered.

The Basque curriculum also considers the need to integrate the languages in the curriculum and the collaboration between teachers of the different languages.

The Early Introduction of English

Traditionally, English was not taught until grade 6 (11–12-year-olds), but the Spanish Educational Reform instituted in 1993 made a foreign language compulsory in grade 3 (8–9-year-olds). The early introduction of English in the 2nd year of kindergarten (4–5-year-olds) was initiated on an experimental basis in several Basque-medium schools, or ikastola, in 1991. In this project English is taught in kindergarten for 2 h a week in four 30 min sessions. The teacher of English only uses English in the classroom and all the activities are oral. The method is based on storytelling and requires the children's active participation by means of collective

dramatization and playing. Enthusiasm for these experimental schools has spawned similar initiatives in many other schools.

Studies indicate that younger learners show significantly better attitudes toward learning English than older learners (Cenoz 2002). These differences could be linked to psychological and educational factors. Psychological factors associated with age could explain a rejection of the school system on the part of older learners, and educational factors include the use of more traditional and less active methods with older learners. The early introduction of English in kindergarten and primary schools has no negative effects on the acquisition of Basque or Spanish or on overall cognitive development (Cenoz 2008). Nevertheless, the results of research comparing different areas of English language achievement by different age groups who have received the same number of hours of instruction indicate that older learners obtain significantly higher results than younger learners (Cenoz 2009). These findings could be due to several reasons. Cognitive maturity can explain the higher linguistic development of the older group and their more highly developed test-taking strategies, but the differences could also be related to the type of input. An alternative interpretation is that younger learners do not present advantages because they are still in the first stages of third language acquisition. It could be that third language learners need to acquire a higher degree of cognitive academic language proficiency (Cummins 2000) in the two languages they already know in order to benefit from the positive effects of bilingualism on third language acquisition. The early introduction of English does not necessarily result in higher proficiency in English in other contexts either (Muñoz 2014).

English as an Additional Language of Instruction

So far we have referred to bilingual schools in which two languages (Basque and Spanish) are used as media of instruction and English is used as a subject. However, some schools have gone one step further and are using Basque and English or Basque, Spanish, and English as media of instruction. These programs can be regarded as language and content-based instruction (CBI) or content and language integrated learning (CLIL). Using a second language (Basque) as the language of instruction for non-language subjects has a long tradition in the Basque Autonomous Community and in other European and Canadian bilingual programs (Cenoz 2013, 2015). In recent years the use of English as the language of instruction for some academic subjects has had an important development (see, e.g., Genesee and Hamayan 2016; Nikula et al. 2016; Llinares and Morton 2017). In many cases, the Basque educational system combines the use of a second (Basque) and a third language (English) as languages of instruction for schoolchildren whose first language is Spanish. Schoolchildren with Basque as their first language usually have Basque as the main language of instruction but often have English as an additional language of instruction for some academic subjects. Students with languages other than Basque or Spanish as home languages have either Basque, Spanish, or both as languages of instruction and can also have English as an additional language.

The use of English as an additional language of instruction in a bilingual educational system is challenging in different ways. Teachers need to have a high

level of proficiency both in English and in the subject matter. It is not always clear whether it is better for the subject teacher or the language teacher to teach a subject in English or whether content teachers have to be trained in English or teachers of English trained in specific subjects. As there has been an increasing demand for Basque-medium instruction, some teachers who had Spanish as a first language already had to learn Basque, and now they face the need to improve their competence in English as well. An additional challenge is that students have to achieve the same level of knowledge in subjects taught in English as students who receive this instruction in Basque or Spanish. Another challenge is that the use of English as the language of instruction implies the development of specific materials in accordance with the Basque curriculum.

In spite of these difficulties, the use of English as an additional language of instruction provides the opportunity to increase the extremely limited time typically devoted to English. This approach is also being used as a follow-up to the early introduction of English when children who started learning English in kindergarten go to secondary school.

Pedagogical Translanguaging in Basque Schools

A new perspective that is being implemented in Basque schools is pedagogical translanguaging. Pedagogical translanguaging refers to planned strategies based on the use of students' resources from the whole linguistic repertoire so that languages reinforce each other (Cenoz and Gorter 2015, 2017). Pedagogical translanguaging can be distinguished from spontaneous translanguaging, which refers to fluid discursive practices that can take place inside and outside the classroom because it is planned by the teacher inside the classroom. The idea of relating the teaching of the three languages is put forward in the Basque curriculum and has already started to be implemented in some schools. Some schools are working on the development of metalinguistic awareness by focusing on cognates in Basque, Spanish, and English so that students realize that they can use their own linguistic repertoire across languages. Some schools are also focusing on the similarities and differences when writing the same type of text (an informative text, a letter, a personal note) in the three languages. Pedagogical translanguaging activities are quite different from the traditional language separation practices Basque teachers usually do in their classes. It implies using the three languages in situations in which only one language was used at the time. This integration of languages through pedagogical translanguaging implies a truly multilingual approach that takes crosslinguistic interaction as part of the development of multilingual competence.

Teaching English as a Third Language in South Tyrol

The autonomous province of South Tyrol is a predominantly German-speaking region in the north-eastern part of Italy. The majority language in South Tyrol is German. Sixty-nine percent of the local population, i.e., about 290,000 people, are speakers of German. German is the language spoken in the smaller towns and

villages. Twenty-six percent of the population are speakers of Italian (mainly spoken in the capital Bolzano and in the larger towns), and the third official language is Ladin which is spoken by about 18,000 speakers. Prior to 1919, South Tyrol was part of Austria, and during the Fascist years (1922–1945), the German language was banned from all public offices and educational institutions (Alcock 2001).

Multilingual Education

Multilingual education in the predominantly German-speaking province of South Tyrol, Italy, is still widely seen as posing a threat to its autochthonous German minority and their personal and linguistic identity. German mother tongue instruction at all levels of schooling is widely conceived as an inalienable right which is not to be given up carelessly and replaced by tuition in the second or foreign language. In spite of Europe-wide trends to promote bi- and multilingual education, most political representatives and educational authorities in South Tyrol have been fiercely resisting the implementation of multilingual educational programs in German-language schools, warning against severe negative effects of multilingual instruction on German students' linguistic growth and academic achievement.

While German school policy in South Tyrol has traditionally emphasized the importance of promoting and safeguarding mother tongue instruction for its linguistic minority (German is the majority language in South Tyrol but a minority language in Italy), Italian-language schools have, for several years, been experimenting with various multilingual instruction programs (see, e.g., Scochi 2011).

Due to parental initiatives, however, Italian elementary schools in South Tyrol are free to teach up to 50% of the total curricular hours in L2 German. German schools, by contrast, have until very recently not been allowed to provide subject matter instruction in L2 Italian (Hofer 2015: 143; Scochi 2011: 54). Apart from the multilingual school model such as the primary school in Bruneck (Brugger and Primucci 2018), there are very few schools working from a multilingual perspective, as suggested by the very recently implemented whole language school curriculum by the German school board (see also below).

For some years several Italian primary schools in South Tyrol have offered trilingual programs (in Italian, German, and English) with a minimum of 11 and a maximum of 14 h of German L2 instruction per week. A handful of schools have recently extended the trilingual model to the lower secondary level (see Stopfner and Engel 2018). In multilingual programs pupils receive subject matter instruction in L1 Italian and L2 German to approximately equal degrees. But schools can differ with regard to the subjects they deliver through the medium of the L1 and L2. For instance, in one primary school, mathematics, environmental sciences, physical education, and music are taught in two languages. Mathematics is mainly taught through the medium of L2 German, but an Italian teacher is also present during the mathematics lesson and helps with language- and/or concept-related problems. Religious education is delivered through L1 Italian. In traditional Italian primary schools, pupils receive traditional Italian-medium instruction and are exposed to only 6 h of L2 German per week.

In both types of programs, L2 German and English are taught from first grade onward as is L3 English which is taught for 3 h a week. All participants are therefore to be considered emergent trilingual.

In contrast, the trilingual Ladin school system, which is offered from kindergarten on, has a long multilingual tradition in which all three official languages are represented. English is taught as a fourth language, if we do not take the language background of migrant children into consideration.

Multilingual Awareness Raising Classes

In the multilingual school programs, special language awareness raising classes are considered crucial for the development of multilingual proficiency. The Riflessione Lingua (Reflection on language) class is held by the Italian and German teacher together, each using their own language and each being addressed by the pupils in that language.

The aim of the Riflessione Lingua Class is to provide special opportunities for reflection on all languages in the classroom and to encourage pupils to reflect on language use and functions across language boundaries. This goal is achieved through the focused analysis of structural, phonological, and orthographical idiosyncrasies and through the systematic juxtaposition of linguistic forms and functions, particularly in the two main languages Italian and German. L3 English comes into play whenever similarities or differences call for an explicit reference to the L3.

In the Riflessione Lingua Class, pupils are explicitly encouraged to generate hypotheses and informed guesses about how languages work and how they are used. Pupils are typically occupied with tasks which require them to reflect upon, contrast, or manipulate word order, adverbs and articles, the sequence of tenses, etc. in their first and second language.

Teachers in the language reflection class routinely ask their pupils metalinguistic questions concerning structural comparisons between the languages. Regular and systematic reference to structural phenomena and language forms in all three languages serves to reinforce the pupils' meta- and crosslinguistic sensitivity and to enable them to perceive and exploit potential synergies (see also Jessner et al. 2016; Hofer and Jessner 2016).

There is no strict separation of languages in the multilingual classrooms described above. Though strongly encouraged to always use the target language, pupils are not reprimanded if they code-switch in order to compensate for an obvious lack of lexical knowledge. In other words, switching is accepted if it benefits the general understanding and formation of concepts and the acquisition of lexical items in any one of the three languages. But unlike in Allgaeuer-Hackl's (2017) study with young adult learners' code-switching, it is not specifically trained (see also Jessner et al. 2016).

Whole Language School Curricula

As already mentioned above, if we want to further develop multilingual and multi-disciplinary education, however, we have to develop concepts at the institutional level and make sure that the school as such, and not just individual teachers in their

classrooms, aims at multilingualism and multiliteracy (compare Cenoz 2009). Recently the German schoolboard in South Tyrol has introduced the so-called *Gesamtsprachencurriculum* which is based on the dynamic model of multilingualism and thus promotes a wholistic approach to language learning (Schwiebacher et al. 2016). The curriculum is based on the PlurCur project at the ECML (Hufeisen 2011; Allgäuer et al. 2015; English translation https://www.ecml.at/ECML-Programme/Programme2012-2015/PlurCur/tabid/1750/language/en-GB/Default.aspx) whose goal is for schools to adopt whole school curricula where language teaching and learning is connected and learners' individual language repertoires are taken into account and valued. The project additionally aims at combining content learning with multilingual approaches to language teaching so that subjects and languages are treated as interconnected entities rather than isolated and compartmentalized. In the minority context of German in Italy, the introduction of such a curriculum presents a revolutionary step toward the integration of other languages than German as medium languages in German-speaking schools, as discussed above.

Research findings on the acquisition of E3 in the BAC and in South Tyrol indicate that higher levels of bilingualism are positively related with higher levels of proficiency in English (Cenoz and Valencia 1994; Lasagabaster 1997; Sagasta 2001; Hofer 2015). The first of these studies (Cenoz and Valencia 1994) analyzed the level of proficiency in English of 321 students in the last year of secondary school. The results indicated that bilingual students outperformed monolingual students once the effect of other variables (intelligence, motivation, or exposure to English) had been controlled. Lasagabaster (1997) compared proficiency in English in different programs in primary school and confirmed that proficiency in English was influenced by the degree of bilingualism in Basque and Spanish. Sagasta (2001) examined writing skills in English as related to the degree of bilingualism in Basque and Spanish and found that a higher level of bilingualism is associated with higher scores in general writing proficiency and specific areas such as syntactic complexity, lexical complexity, fluency, or error production.

In her South Tyrol study, Hofer (2015) found that the Italian primary school pupils who received instruction in both Italian and German to the same extent significantly outperformed the control group in all proficiency tests, that is, German, Italian, and English, and also in tests on metalinguistic awareness. These findings are in agreement with the study by De Angelis and Jessner (2012) on a writing assessment project carried out in the South Tyrolean context. The focus was on the written compositions of eight grade students written in Italian L1, German L2, and English L3 which were analyzed to examine the interaction between all the languages known by participants and how such interactions may influence writing development over time. Overall results showed a clear pattern of interaction between the speakers' languages and proficiency level in the non-native languages.

These results are compatible with the folk wisdom belief that the more languages you know, the easier it is to learn an additional language. They are also compatible with the threshold and interdependence hypotheses proposed by Cummins (1976, 1981) and also with research reporting higher levels of metalinguistic awareness

associated with bilingualism and more highly developed learning strategies associated with L3 acquisition (Cenoz and Genesee 1998; Missler 1999; Grenfell and Harris 2015; Jessner 2006; Jessner and Török 2017).

Conclusion

TLA in the school context shares many characteristics with SLA, but it also builds on SLA and is influenced by the degree of bilingualism already attained by the individual. SLA in the school context usually refers to the teaching of L2 as a subject, while bilingual education usually refers to the use of two languages as languages of instruction. Nevertheless, this distinction cannot be taken as a dichotomy but rather as a continuum because there are approaches such as content-based teaching that use the L2 as the medium of instruction for different types of content both in the language classes and for other subjects (Met 1998). The great variety of models of bilingual education and particularly the so-called weak forms of bilingual education bring SLA and bilingual education together (see Baker and Wright 2017).

The distinction between TLA and trilingual education is also blurred. Basically, as we have seen in the Basque example, TLA in the school context refers to learning L3 as a subject, and trilingual education refers to the use of three languages as languages of instruction. Nevertheless, the boundaries between these two poles of a continuum are necessarily soft, and there are different possibilities according to the methodological approach used for the different languages, the educational aims for the different languages, and their relative weight in the curriculum. For example, a double immersion program for speakers of the majority language can use two languages as languages of instruction and the students' mother tongue as a subject rather than three languages of instruction and can still be regarded as a trilingual program.

In spite of being a common phenomenon, TLA and trilingualism at school have received relatively little research attention in comparison to the extensive literature on bilingual education and SLA in the school context. The results of research studies on SLA and bilingualism and their educational implications are certainly relevant for the study of both TLA and trilingual education. However, in order to follow up on the studies reported in this chapter, it is necessary to conduct additional research to answer some basic questions such as the following: What is the influence of bilingualism on TLA? Do children mix languages when they learn more than one foreign language? How does the status of the L1 affect the acquisition of additional languages? What is the most desirable pedagogical approach when several languages are taught at school? What specific strategies do learners use in L3 acquisition? Is there an optimal age to introduce different languages in the curriculum? What attitudes do children develop in relation to the different languages? Are there specific aspects of English that should be emphasized in order to teach E3? Which norms should be used in ETL if not native speaker norms? As ETL is increasingly acknowledged as a common phenomenon in the world, research will undoubtedly contribute answers to these questions.

Cross-References

▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment
▶ EALD Students at University Level: Strengthening the Evidence Base for Programmatic Initiatives
▶ The Goals and Focus of the English Language Teaching Program: Section Introduction
▶ Understanding English Language Learners' Pragmatic Resistance

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English Language Teaching in Brazil: An Overview of Educational Policies and Innovative Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL)-Related Projects

10

Vera Lúcia Menezes de Oliveira e Paiva and
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Contents

Abstract

This chapter presents information about Brazil's educational policies, followed by a historical discussion about the promotion and implementation of computer-assisted language learning ("CALL") and CALL-related projects, including mobile learning initiatives, and the use of games for English language teaching and learning. The arrival of the Internet has made it possible to expand and integrate CALL in ELT in Brazil. At first, efforts were primarily directed toward using technologies to develop reading skills, mainly in higher education, where the demand for improvement in reading skills has been typically high. With the proliferation of digital resources, as well as mobile devices and apps, the English language teaching context now relies on teaching initiatives that seek to promote opportunities for the development of speaking skills, both in synchronous and asynchronous online modes, through digital tools, games, and continuous education via mobile devices. The current stage of CALL in Brazil focuses on using

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digital tools to develop skills in an integrated manner. However, an emphasis can be seen in the promotion of speaking skills opportunities in both higher education and secondary school settings. This stage is also characterized by (1) a tension between the availability of better textbooks and some teachers' resistance to change their practices; (2) innovative CALL and CALL-related projects all over the country in the face of poor infrastructure in terms of equipment and Internet connectivity; and (3) political decisions urging the implementation of technology in education without offering support to the teachers.

Introduction

Brazil is a continental country with a national educational policy that highlights the importance of English teaching in junior and high school curricula as well as the inclusion of digital technologies in social practices (including educational ones) for communication and information. Digital technologies are seen as tools that can help students to solve problems, interact with diverse cultural productions, and act as empowered citizens.

This chapter presents an overview of some of the CALL initiatives that have contributed to increasing English learning opportunities integrated to digital cultural practices.

Brazil and Its Educational Policies

Brazil is a huge country (covering 8.516 million km^2 and possessing a 7491-kilometer coastline along the Atlantic Ocean) with a population of around 207 million inhabitants, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in a report published on Aug. 30, 2017.

The Brazilian territory is divided into 26 states plus the federal district, the site of the country's capital, Brasilia. The official language is Portuguese, but there are minority languages all over the country: indigenous languages, immigrant languages from different parts of the world, and sign language.

Around 17% of this population are enrolled in primary and secondary schools and 3.7% in universities, as reported by the Ministry of Education. Data from 2014 informed that 7.8 million students were enrolled in universities. In 2016, enrolments in primary and secondary schools reached 35.6 million in private and public schools: 12.2 million students were enrolled in primary school and 8.1 million students in secondary school. So, around 27.8 million students had the opportunity to learn English in one or more years of their school experience.

According to the Anísio Teixeira National Institute for Educational Studies and Research, there are 186,100 primary and secondary schools in Brazil: 61.7% are

under the responsibility of the municipalities, 16.5% are funded by the states, and 0.4% are funded by the federal government. There are also private schools, a growing sector that has reached 21.5% of the schools in the country (Notas estatísticas – Censo Escolar 2016, available at http://download.inep.gov.br/educacao_basica/censo_escolar/notas_estatisticas/2017/notas_estatisticas_censo_escolar_da_educacao_basica_2016.pdf).

Brazil's 1988 Federal Constitution states that education is a universal right, and a 1996 federal law (*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação*) sets forth a core base and guidelines for education in Brazil. Under this law, at least one foreign language must be taught in primary and secondary schools. A second foreign language should be taught in secondary school, and the institution is free to choose which language to teach, according to its context and possibilities.

English is the most frequently taught foreign language in our schools, although there was an attempt to make Spanish mandatory in secondary school, in 2005. As a result, some schools decreased the number of hours dedicated to teaching English and increased the number of Spanish-teaching hours. However, that law was repealed in 2017, and a new law made English language teaching compulsory for a period of 7 years, 4 in primary school and 3 in secondary school.

In Brazilian universities, English has always been of paramount importance for undergraduate students because of the number of required readings in most courses. With that in mind, from the 1980s until recently, official documents and influential ELT researchers defended that English language teaching should focus on reading skills.

The Ministry of Education is responsible for the general educational guidelines, but each state has its own initiatives and some states such as São Paulo and Paraná have put more effort on teacher education and support to language teachers. In addition, some individual initiatives have become national projects as reported in the next sections.

Focus on Reading

A good example of a national project is the Brazilian National ESP Project, coordinated by Antonieta Alba Celani, which involved teachers/researchers from Brazilian Universities and Technical Schools, with the support of the British Council, to develop research and teacher education on English for Special Purposes (ESP).

This academic network prepared materials, set up a national resource center, and developed research and teacher education all over the country. In the words of its coordinator:

> The Brazilian National ESP Project was carried out from 1980 to 1990, having as its aims to improve the use of English of Brazilian researchers, science teachers and technicians especially with regard to reading specialist and technical publications. The enabling objectives set for the Project were to achieve that aim by improving the professional abilities of Brazilian ESP teachers working in Brazilian Universities and Technical High Schools. (Celani 1998, p. 234)

Since then, ESP in Brazil has been synonymous with teaching reading strategies, and that project has had an impact on all the levels of English language teaching in Brazil. The favoring of reading skills at the expense of oral and writing skills was also present in an important document issued by the Ministry of Education, called National Curricular Parameters (Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais), written by two of the ESP advocates (Brasil 1998), for the teaching of foreign languages in primary school.

Nevertheless, that does not mean that all teachers followed those parameters. Some did, but most went on teaching grammar for grammar's sake, and a few tried out the communicative approach and focused on reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

Focus on New Literacies

A second project is the National Project for Teacher Education aiming at critical education, new literacies, and multimodalities in teacher education, coordinated by Walkyria Monte Mór and Lynn Mario Trindade Menezes de Souza at the University of São Paulo. The project is associated with the Centre for Globalization and Cultural Studies, coordinated by Diana Brydon. In the words of Brydon (2011):

> Walkyria's project as an associate of the Centre aims at investigating and reviewing the educational fundaments and practices in universities and schools, from the perspectives of the new literacies and multiliteracies theories (Muspratt et al. 1997; Lankshear and Knobel 2003; Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Gee 2003; Giroux 2005; Snyder 2003, Snyder and Beavis, 2004). Its objective is to propose a critical and participative cultural and social practice (Giroux 2005; Castells 1999) according to new epistemological views defended by Morin (2000) which aim to enable the students [and citizens] to know how to proceed in the absence of existing models and exemplars, as advocated by Lankshear and Knobel (2003, p. 173). (Available at https://dianabrydon.com/2011/04/11/language-new-literacies-and-multiliteracies-teacher-and-student-education-in-digital-and-globalized-societies-2/)

The project includes researchers from 23 universities, together with a huge team of researchers under Monte Mór and Souza's supervision. This group is doing research and giving support to teachers who want to develop critical teaching of foreign languages, mainly English.

Monte Mór (2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2015), Souza (2005, 2006, 2016), and partners (Monte Mór and Morgan 2014; Monte Mór et al. 2010; Andreotti and Souza 2001) have advocated that due to the changes in communication in a digital society, the teaching of foreign languages, under the perspective of the new literacies and multiliteracies theories, should contribute to developing critical citizens in a contemporary global society. They assert that language learners should be taught to read the world and be aware of social inequalities, diversity, and social tensions.

The concern over globalization and internationalization has also impacted English language teaching in higher education. In 2011, an important government project, Science without Borders, was launched as "a joint effort of the Ministry of

Education (MEC) and the Ministry of Science and Technology (MCT) through their respective funding agencies – CAPES and CNPq." In the frequently asked questions (FAQ) of the project, one finds the following explanation:

> Science without Borders is a large scale nationwide scholarship program primarily funded by the Brazilian federal government. The program seeks to strengthen and expand the initiatives of science and technology, innovation and competitiveness through international mobility of undergraduate and graduate students and researchers. (Available at http://www.cienciasemfronteiras.gov.br/web/csf-eng/faq)

This project was responsible for raising the awareness of those involved in language education that the focus on reading was no longer enough because students' needs had changed and that teachers should prepare students to apply for a 6-month experience in a foreign country. As a consequence, a national language teaching project – Languages without Borders – was created. This project will be described in one of the sections of this chapter.

In 2011, there was another important political decision concerning English language teaching as described in the next section.

Textbooks and Language Teaching

In 2011, English was included for the first time in the national textbook program (*Programa Nacional do Livro Didático – PNLD*) which has been responsible for the selection, purchase, and distribution of textbooks for public education since 1985.

The Ministry of Education offers some guidelines for the production of textbooks, and the selected books are bought by the government and then distributed to public schools all over the country. After the selection of the best books, teachers in all public schools decide on which book to use, and the government buys the books according to their choices.

The National Educational Development Fund (FNDE), a federal agency with the Brazilian Ministry of Education, is responsible for the PNLD program. According to the statistics, in 2017, 17,068,550 textbooks were sent to 69,930 public schools all over the country and distributed to 10,238,539 students in primary school and 6,830,011 in secondary school benefitted from the program. In addition, their teachers also got the teacher's book with guidelines and suggestions on how to use the material.

The guidelines for the production of English textbooks and audio CDs make it clear that the books should focus on all four skills, i.e., reading, writing, listening, and speaking. This has been a breakthrough in public education because it has led the quality of teaching materials to improve significantly year after year. Nevertheless, some teachers do not use the books, and some schools are reported to have thrown the books away. Some teachers still resist the change, ignoring the textbooks they have chosen, and carry on with their old grammar-teaching and grammar-translation practices.

In 2017, a new national curricular core was approved. In addition to prescribing that the four skills must be taught, it underscores the importance of technology. The document states that the English-as-a-Foreign-Language curriculum should ensure the development of specific skills, and among the listed competencies, it includes: "To use new technologies, with new language and interaction modes, to research, select, share, position oneself and produce meanings in English literacy practices, in an ethical, critical, and responsible way." The Internet has been positively affecting language teaching since the 1990s. The next section presents the role of the Internet in English language teaching.

English Language Teaching and the Internet

Brazil was connected to the Internet in 1991 when a national research network – *Rede Nacional de Pesquisa* (*RNP*) – was created by our main national research agency, *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* (*CNPq*). This network interconnected several universities, and university teachers started interacting with their peers abroad by means of BBS (*Bulletin Board System*). Nevertheless, public access was only possible in 1994, and, 3 years later, the World Wide Web (WWW) as we know it today was available in Brazil.

Computers only began to be integrated into language learning in the late 1990s, with the arrival of the Internet. The new technology was received with great suspicion and even resistance from teachers and school administrators alike. It was easily integrated into administrations and libraries, but it caused fear and strangeness to most educators and teachers. There were even cases of prohibition on the part of school coordinators when someone dared to use digital technology.

These days, technology has been slowly finding its ways into the classrooms in Brazil in spite of the resistance of some administrators. According to *Centro Regional de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento da Sociedade da Informação* (*Cetic. br*), data from 2016 indicate that 96% of Brazilian urban schools and 64% of the residences are connected to the Internet, and 93% of them have cell phones. These are optmistic features considering the social and eonomic diversity of the country.

Pioneers

CALL pioneer in Brazil, Heloisa Collins, from the *Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo* (*PUC-SP*), used the *Bulletin Board System* through a telephone connection to develop a distance-learning ESP reading course in 1995 which was recorded in Ferreira (1998), the first research report on CALL in Brazil. Another English language teaching course, *Surfing & Learning*, was prepared by a group coordinated by Collins, and it was offered from 1997 to 2002. From 1999 to 2000 *Surfing & Learning* became a joint project of *PUC-SP* and a commercial Internet provider. It was an 8-week basic English course for adults who wanted to

communicate with other Internet users through chat, email, and forum. Collins was also responsible for other courses involving not only reading skills but also oral skills. Most of these courses were part of a large teacher-training program, *Teachers' Links*, supported by the state government.

In 1997, our research group started the first experience with CALL at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), teaching English to undergraduate students. A course entitled *Reading and Writing on the Web* was the first inclusion of CALL as part of the curriculum activities. The tasks were developed with the support of webpages where material was freely available. The students were also supposed to engage in free discussion groups, in addition to exchanging emails and chatting with other English speakers. Classes were first taught in a lab, but since 1999, different courses have been designed and taught by means of asynchronous online activities, in spite of the expected resistance voiced by more traditional teachers.

With the new interaction tools and the EFL material published on the web, students at UFMG were for the first time able to do language activities other than those in their textbooks. They were also able to interact with other speakers by email or chat. The new technology finally allowed students to be agents rather than mere repeaters, as language could be used for real social practices.

In the south of Brazil, another pioneer was Vilson Leffa. In the early 1990s, he wrote a microcomputer program to create an electronic glossary. He tested students' reading with the aid of the glossary and concluded that "the results show that students read the passages faster and understood them better when they used an electronic glossary instead of a traditional bilingual dictionary" (Leffa 1992). Since the beginning of this century, he has been dedicating his time to learning objects (see Leffa 2005, 2013, 2015, 2016).

Leffa developed **ELO** (Electronic Learning Organizer), an authoring system for producing learning activities, with emphasis on language teaching. With **ELO**, one can create different kinds of teaching activities, including reading activities with a built-in dictionary, open-ended questions, and so on. Leffa (2016) explains:

> Using this authoring system, based on open source code, teachers, within the massive collaboration approach supported by the system, can disassemble OERs into their basic components, reassemble them with modifications and redistribute them to other teachers. These other teachers, in turn, using the elastic modularity principle embedded in the system, may repeat the process and introduce new modifications, creating a large repository, without practical limits in terms of access, storing space and modification possibilities. The results, according to examples produced and modified by the teachers, show, on the positive side, the capability of the system to produce different OERs adapted to different learning contexts. (p. 353)

His project is available at http://www.elo.pro.br/cloud/ and no download is required. So far, the project has included 2899 activities, and anyone can contribute and/or use the activities available on the project's webpage.

Many studies about students' and teachers' perceptions on the use of technology always show that technology is well accepted and that teachers want to integrate it into their classrooms, but they also point out some problems, such as teachers'

anxiety (Mattos 2003); lack of pedagogical support (Dias and Bocorny 2014; Pereira and Sabota 2016); need to improve Internet connection in schools; and unavailability of computers to teachers and students (Pereira and Sabota 2016; Martins and Moreira 2017).

Teachers' isolated initiatives can be found everywhere. In our interactions with school teachers, they report the use of different digital tools: slides, remix and mashups, bulletin boards, blogs, avatars, twitter, skype, Google hangout, Edmodo, Google classroom, wikis and Google docs for collaborative writing, digital story-telling webquests, podcasts, email and postcard exchanges, YouTube videos, and e-pal projects.

A noteworthy secondary school project is coordinated by Giselda Costa, in the northeastern state of Piauí. She has created a mobile English language learning lab relying on cell phones and their language-learning apps. Some information and photographs can be seen at https://giseldacostas.wordpress.com/2014/11/09/celular-um-laboratorio-movel-de-ensino-de-lingua-estrangeira/. Her objective is to develop oral comprehension, reading, speaking, writing, and visual literacy with the support of smartphones. Santos Costa (2013) believes that students working with mobile technology can develop English proficiency more autonomously.

Successful experiences have been shared on social media, but there are still complaints about schools which do not understand how technology can be helpful. But, little by little, digital technology is conquering its space in educational environments.

Teletandem

In 2006, a group of teachers from *UNESP – Paulista State University –* in the state of São Paulo, implemented a new version of Teletandem for undergraduate students in Brazil. This project, *Teletandem Brasil*: *foreign languages for all*, coordinated by João Antônio Telles, aims at providing university students from Brazil and from around the world with free and democratic access to online cooperative processes of learning and teaching foreign languages. See Teletandem Brasil (n.d.).

Teletandem, as the name suggests, involves pairing up individuals of different native languages to work in tandem, helping each other improve their foreign language skills and exchanging information. Brazilian university students looking to learn a foreign language are paired up with students in other countries who want to learn Portuguese. With tandem language learning, each partner is a student for 1 h, learning the language from the other partner. Then they switch roles and languages. The interactions between these pairs take place through Skype or Zoom, tools that allow communication through voice, video, text, and screen-sharing.

Teletandem Brasil establishes an internal network by offering sessions with the project's instructors. Through these instructor-mediated sessions, students discuss what they have learned in terms of language, culture, and relationship from their partners. In addition, the project offers learning opportunities in two different modes, namely, institutionally integrated and non-institutionally integrated modes. During the institutionally integrated mode, the sessions are mandatory and part of the regular foreign language course curriculum. Students are evaluated before, during, and after the Teletandem sessions. They are graded and then assigned additional activities for

their level (post-session writing activities in blogs, forum, essays, Facebook, etc.). In this mode, the sessions are carried out during the students' regular foreign language classes. In the project's institutionally non-integrated mode, the sessions are carried out as extra-curricular activities, outside of classroom time, and students receive a Teletandem Certificate from the Language Center or Institutional Language Lab. The project expands its external nodes by making partnerships with universities in the United States. For more information, see Teletandem Brasil (n.d.).

The project plays an important role in providing access to international learning environments through new technologies. It also provides access to young students and novice foreign language teachers alike to new technologies allowing them to learn and practice a foreign language and to communicate with native (or proficient) speakers of these languages. Another aim of the project is to promote transformative practices for the professional development of novice foreign language teachers (Teletandem Brasil, n.d.).

In addition to expanding its network both inside and outside *UNESP*, Teletandem has reaped benefits in terms of research. These include contributing toward maintaining and expanding the project as well as promoting opportunities for academic discussions on the following topics: (i) assessment (Consolo and Furtoso 2015), (ii) teacher education (Salomão 2011; Garcia 2011), and (iii) technology integration and mediation in EFL (Cavalari, 2012; Cavalari and Aranha, 2016; Silva and Figueiredo 2015; Funo et al. 2015).

Teletandem Brasil is the main Teletandem experience in Brazil, but other experiences can be found, such as the Projeto ÍCONE, which aims to establish connections with teachers and students at Duke University and Federal University of Pará.

Projeto ÍCONE is coordinated by Magda Silva, who teaches Portuguese at Duke University, and Cíntia Costa, who teaches English at Federal University of Pará. According to Silva, M (2012), the objective of the project is:

> to establish a live online connection with professors and students at Duke University and two prestigious Brazilian universities: Universidade Federal do Pará and Centro Universitário do Pará. This project provides cultural exchange and enrichment through a means of technology that allows students to grow in the target language. (Available at https://scholars.duke.edu/display/service_to_prof300000014964)

Cíntia Costa (personal communication) says that "learning to speak a foreign language can become more enjoyable with interactions with foreigners" and adds that "however, when face-to-face meetings between our students and foreigners become difficult, how about using videoconferencing tools like Skype and Google Hangout to provide these interactions among our students?"

Silva and Costa's students use Portuguese and English to talk about several topics (the Amazon forest, the United States, politics, economics, relationships, personal interests, and studies, among others) mediated by Skype and other communication tools. In spite of some technical problems, Costa concludes that students are happy with the opportunity to interact with and learn from their partners at Duke and that the experience has helped them to develop fluency in English.

The next section describes some online teaching experiences.

Online Teaching

Online teaching turned out to be the best solution to offer reading courses to big groups of students at the Brazilian universities. In 2008, *IngRede* (NetEnglish), an educational and research project designed to foster the development of reading skills in English, was implemented fully online through the Moodle platform by the authors of this chapter and then offered to undergraduate students of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG).

NetEnglish was jointly created by teachers from government-funded universities to meet the demand of reading in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) courses in those universities. The course was developed by teachers from seven universities – Federal University of Minas Gerais, Federal University of Ouro Preto, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Federal University of Santa Maria, Federal University of São Carlos, Federal University of Pelotas, and Federal Center for Technological Education in Januária, Minas Gerais.

The teachers developed the learning material with automatic feedback, which was published in two CD-ROMs, and each teacher adapted the project to his/her context. At the School of Languages of the UFMG, two regular disciplines – Reading Skills I and II – stemmed from the project and have been offered every semester since 2008. Around 2000 students enroll in these disciplines every semester. Both undergraduate and graduate students from all knowledge areas are gathered together in the open-source platform Moodle.

Reading Skills I includes topics such as (i) formulation of hypotheses on the general ideas of the text and confirmation of these hypotheses; (ii) identification of specific information, whether expressly stated or capable of being inferred through cognates, numbers, names, and non-verbal information; (iii) identification of specific information expressed by noun phrases; (iv) identification of specific information, the recognition of which involves comprehending the relationship between the structural elements of the sentence; and (v) comprehension of non-verbal information and its relationship with verbal information expressed in the text, among other themes.

As for Reading Skills II, the topics comprise (i) development of reading skills; (ii) function of adjectives, suffixes, passive voice, imperatives, and modal verbs in context; (iii) function of affixes, verb tenses, perfect aspect, and discourse markers in context, (iv) word formation and review of modal verbs and simple present and perfect aspect in context; and (v) function of compound adjectives in context, among other topics.

The lessons in these disciplines focus on developing the skills through the use of reading strategies and providing opportunities for higher education students to become proficient, critical, self-sufficient, and capable of taking the lead in their own learning process. The lessons were included in the platform. The students receive automatic feedback on their activities, but they have the opportunity to clarify any of their questions with the help of daytime tutors.

A summary of the project was published by Paiva et al. (2012), and studies on different aspects of the project were presented in conferences in Brazil and abroad. One example is Braga et al. (2011) at TESOL in New Orleans. In addition, the

project was made available to graduate students who developed research with data from the courses. One of them, Mendes (2015), analyzed the construction of collective knowledge in online forums in which students discussed academic readings related to their respective areas of studies. Lima's (2014) study also contributed to discussions on CALL as it investigated whether the insertion of a chatbot tool in the Moodle of the discipline helped students solve some of the questions they had about the course. Ferreira's (2012) study, too, contributed to the discussions on CALL by describing the nature of the online experiences reported in the narratives of 83 learners enrolled in the Reading Skills disciplines. Other studies counted on the participation of the students enrolled in the reading disciplines to contribute to the discussions on other issues in applied linguistics. This was the case of Gomes Junior (2011), who identified metaphors about the English learning process generated by undergraduate students of various courses at UFMG, as well as Silva, ACO (2012), who ascertained the influence of technological mediation on the contact with the English language in two groups of university students from different socioeconomic realities.

The project's positive result has drawn the attention of other federal institutions, culminating in the expansion of our network to other institutions, as was the case with the Federal University of Uberlândia (UFU) and the Federal Institute of Alagoas (IFAL), which adapted, remixed, and built on the project's resources to meet their needs. Likewise, reading strategy courses have been offered to students at public institutions from all over the state of Minas Gerais, by way of the Extension Center (CENEX) of the School of Letters of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. Recently, we were invited by the Federal Institute in Northern Minas Gerais to help them implement the project. This institute caters to a vast economically impoverished region. This implementation will bring more online learning opportunities to mostly rural areas and will certainly contribute to bridge the technological gap between urban and rural regions.

The project's expansion also takes place through interaction with research, considering that its disciplines have characteristics that naturally lend themselves to investigations, as is the case with interactions with nonhuman agents and automatic feedback in online classes for large groups. The project has been the subject of master's theses, a PhD research, and publications in journals and book chapters alike.

NetEnglish is in constant reformulation, as feedback from its collaborators (researchers, teachers, and students) is always taken into account. For instance, all the course units have been uploaded onto the Moodle platform and the inclusion of a feature that enables recording students' answers (both right and wrong ones) for future consultations are two examples of improvements that have been demanded by students. Changes regarding course mediation have also been implemented following suggestions made by undergraduate and graduate student team members.

A similar project – *Read in Web* – for graduate students was coordinated by Denise Braga at Campinas University (Unicamp). It started in 2000 and offers 25 virtual lessons for autonomous learning. Each lesson is made up of a text and comprehension questions. For supporting materials, students rely on an online

dictionary, a grammar booklet, and a tutorial with reflections about learning strategies and grammar exercises. In 2008, *Read in Web* became a regular webcourse for undergraduates.

Further projects have emerged to meet different needs, one of which has been required by the Brazilian government and will be described in the next section.

Languages Without Borders

Languages without Borders (LwB) (*Programa Idiomas sem Fronteiras – IsF*) is a relevant project in the context of higher education. According to the program's website, IsF was created in 2012 by a group of language specialists at the request of the Secretariat of Higher Education of the Ministry of Education (MEC) to provide undergraduate students with access to the federal government's mobility programs, e.g., Science without Borders. From its inception, the LwB program has had the support of a management board coordinated by Denise de Abreu Lima. The program has become an important initiative toward the internationalization of Brazilian higher education institutions and the development of linguistic policies in these institutions. In addition, it provides teaching practice opportunities for future foreign language teachers (IsF, 2017).

Underpinning the LwB are the core objectives for teaching for academic purposes recommended by Della Rosa et al. (2016), Finardi and Porcino (2014), and Jordan (2012). These objectives comprise (i) developing skills that enable scientific comprehension and production by means of the oral and written genres used by academic communities, (ii) familiarizing students and teachers alike with different study and research contexts to foster mobility, (iii) raising the awareness of students and teachers alike regarding the cultural issues embedded in the communication of study and research practices in situated contexts, and (iv) incentivizing the meaningful use of the foreign language in domestic and international academic communication settings.

So far, LwB has relied on the support of 58 federal universities, 20 state universities from across the country, and 1 municipal university. To place undergraduate students, LwB also relies on an international test, and on the results of a basic online English course, the latter used as one of the gatekeepers to the program's face-to-face courses.

Although the courses are taught face-to-face, they also rely on CALL as they use a platform that provides activities geared toward the development of reading and listening comprehension, as well as other activities involving voice recognition and recording for pronunciation development. Videos are one of the platform's most popular resources and are shot in several countries. These videos make it possible to exploit linguistic varieties, in addition to cultural diversity. In 2017, greater emphasis was placed on integrating the platform's resources to face-to-face classes, and LwB maximized the use of the platform by using its videos and activities in a flipped-classroom perspective.

Notably, in addition to fostering the internationalization of the participating institutions, LwB also places an emphasis on teacher development. The program offers webinars with synchronous discussions and through forums after the webinars. Some institutions also rely on the support of synchronous online pedagogical guidance.

In addition to institutional projects, some local initiatives are equally noteworthy, as is the case of the use of digital tools for the development of oral skills.

Using Digital Tools to Develop Oral Skills

A project sponsored by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), and coordinated by the first author of this chapter, aimed at evaluating the impact of digital tools to develop oral skills in English and promoting opportunities for less proficient students to improve their oral comprehension and production.

A course designed by the first author of this chapter and a colleague, Ronaldo Gomes Junior (Menezes and Gomes Junior 2017), in 2016, included a syllabus for beginners, although it served to foster language practice among the higher proficiency level students who enrolled in the discipline. Some of the students had low proficiency in English, but many of them had teaching experience. Still the course designers, who also taught the course, received positive feedback from the students, who demonstrated improvement throughout the semester, especially the less proficient ones.

The course was fully online using Moodle and included a variety of tools for the oral skill tasks. Some of these tools were already incorporated to Moodle and were familiar to students, such as the glossary, the forums, as well as the task and the message-sending tools. Web tools were also selected by the teachers, such as Voki, to create avatars; Vocaroo, to record audio; UTellStory, to create narrated slide presentations; Fotobabble, to add narrations to pictures; Audioboom, to record podcasts; PowToon, to make animated videos; and VoiceThread to create discussions on digital files – in this case, videos. Variations of this first course have been offered since then.

Throughout the semester, the teachers also suggested the use of online dictionaries and text-to-speech tools. Although not all the extra tools were designed for developing oral language skill, the teachers perceived the potential of these tools for such pedagogical purposes. The tasks were designed to practice the following language functions in English: introducing oneself, introducing one's family, describing physical characteristics, describing personalities, instructing how to prepare food, giving directions, talking about routines, talking about likes and dislikes, talking about the past, talking about the future, and asking and giving information.

Using digital tools to develop their oral production helped students to notice that they could improve their pronunciation and make their speaking more natural. The course designers (personal information) pointed out that students revealed that the absence of visual contact made them more comfortable and relaxed, which contributed toward improving their confidence to speak. Another point worth mentioning is that students were pleasantly surprised when listened to their own recordings and realized they could produce English orally.

The course designers also indicated that if on the one hand students can rehearse when using digital tools for producing language, on the other hand they miss the opportunity of interacting with their peers in real conversations. Another limitation pointed by them is that some tools are only partly free such as Powtoon and Voki.

Another experience associated with this project was the pedagogical design created by Faria (2016) to expand the EFL classroom context in the development of oral skills. The activities developed for the second year of secondary school were based on the perspective that learning is a decentralized phenomenon that takes place anywhere, not only in instructional settings. Furthermore, these activities were planned to contemplate the students' social practices. The proposed tasks involved (a) creating a digital avatar with a tool called Voki and attaching an audio recording with personal information, (b) recording a tutorial video on a subject that interests the students, (c) creating a review of a movie//cartoon/game/book on either YouTube or Vocaroo, and (d) creating a video containing the narration of a parody of a fairytale, among other tasks to develop the group's oral skills. From this experience, the teacher carried out research to investigate the interconnection of the pedagogical practices and learners' social practices to develop oral skills in face-to-face and virtual contexts alike. In the research findings, Faria (2016) claims to have evidence of students overcoming learning-teaching challenges associated with oral skills, in addition to greater student engagement – as the students identified more closely with the tasks carried out – and development of students' oral skills.

In addition to the projects that foster the development of English language skills mediated by computer, there are also initiatives in teacher education.

CALL and Teacher Education

CALL projects rely on the use of computers and mobile devices. This section presents a brief view of an itinerant project in CALL, Taba Eletrônica, two initiatives on teacher education via mobile device and two others on the use of games.

Inspired by the Electronic Village CALL-IS TESOL, Taba, the Tupi-Guarani word for village, is a space inhabited by all the individuals of a given community, who share their knowledge and practices. The project has an itinerant nature, i.e., it is not geographically confined, but is rather a venue for integrating digital technologies and sharing knowledge and practices in symbolic villages.

Taba Eletrônica is an extension project from the School of Letters of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). In tandem with research, the project seeks to familiarize teachers with digital tools to be integrated into the language classroom, and is managed by teachers from UFMG and from other universities, who are assisted by undergraduate and graduate students alike.

From its inception in 2010, the project has featured workshops on digital tools and pedagogical discussions, during which over 1000 teachers have exchanged experiences with their peers, creating a collective repertoire of possibilities for integrating CALL in their practice. The group of educators that plan and create materials for workshops and courses assist groups of teachers that wish to participate in teacher development in the context of CALL all over Minas Gerais state. Usually the coordinator for Taba Eletrônica is contacted by representatives of the Board of Educational of the State of Minas Gerais, who usually make the necessary arrangements (airfare and accommodation for educators and teachers) for the event to take place in the designated location.

As for the use of mobile devices, one of the pioneering projects in Brazil is "iPads for Access," a Casa Jefferson initiative funded by the US Embassy/US Department of State. The aim of this project coordinated by Carla Arena is twofold: to provide English language learning and digital literacy opportunities to low-income students and train 250 teachers to use mobile apps and to integrate them in their practice. According to Pegrum (2014), this 2-year project proved that "language, literacy and 21st century skills can be taught simultaneously to great effect" (p. 35).

The program is not without its share of challenges, among which are infrastructure issues, notably the need to provide adequate Wi-Fi bandwidth and safe storage for the tablets. In addition, some teachers were wary of integrating new mobile technologies in their classes, while others tended to use only drills and quizzes and needed to be encouraged to fully explore the potentiality of mobile devices.

As mobile devices are everywhere, they were also incorporated into *Taba Eletrônica.* In 2015, a teacher education project regarding mobile applications branched out *Taba Eletrônica* under the name *of Taba Móvel* (Mobile Taba). This initiative promotes teacher development opportunities anywhere and anytime via mobile devices. Its pillars include (i) teachers' familiarization with different mobile applications; (ii) materials development based on the features of mobile devices, e.g., cameras and GPS, among others; and (iii) discussions on approaches to m-learning. The *Taba Móvel* initiatives run on WhatsApp, making it possible for EFL teachers from across the country to participate and practice their language skills. A Facebook page is used to announce these courses, which take place twice a year. Once registered, participants are placed within WhatsApp groups to interact and do the required tasks. Some of these tasks include creating and using memes for language learning, locating commercial establishments via GPS to write up an assessment of these places, creating collages to present interdisciplinary projects, and discussing flipped classes, to mention a few.

The surveys conducted with teachers who participated in the *Taba Móvel* indicate that these participants use mobile devices for teacher development (Braga et al. 2017) and perceive mobile devices and apps as tools that can be used in their education and practice. Furthermore, as Braga et al. (2017) point out, the teachers acquire the input produced during group interactions, especially the audio recordings produced while tasks are developed, to improve their oral skills.

To further explore games and their peripheral resources, a newly created *Taba Eletrônica* spin-off, *Taba Games*, aims to familiarize teachers with the principles of tangential learning and with resources to be exploited both in and out of the language classroom, as is the case with game trailers, narratives, to mention a few. This course was also advertised in a Facebook page and its first edition received 150 registrations which attest to teachers' interest in discussions on games in the area of language learning.

Also in 2015, the research and implementation project entitled "Production of Interdisciplinary Educational Digital Games" for language teaching at the university was created by Suzana Reis, a teacher with the Federal University of Santa Maria. The project seeks to foster experimental learning and the situated language practice by developing prototypes of games and minigames to be used in the English-as-a-foreign-language classroom, considering the principles of interaction, meaningful

learning, the practice of multiliteracies, and other game design elements with a view to producing fun educational games.

Teachers' increasing interest in projects such as the ones described in this section is a proof that technology has been recognized as a relevant aid for English language teaching.

Conclusion

The development of English language teaching in Brazil is highly influenced by the Ministry of Education's policies. As presented above, its history can be divided into two phases: before and after the arrival of the Internet. The present stage is characterized by (1) a tension between the availability of better textbooks and some teachers' resistance to change their practices; (2) innovative CALL and CALL-related projects all over the country in contrast with poor infrastructure in terms of equipment and Internet connectivity in underprivileged contexts; and (3) political decisions urging the implementation of technology in education without offering support to the teachers.

Nevertheless, with the ever-growing access to mobile equipment, both teachers and students are increasingly less dependent on their schools' technology infrastructure. Another point worth mentioning is that the trajectory of CALL in Brazil, which focused mainly on reading skills for over two decades, now relies on initiatives created to develop speaking skills. This trend appears to point to not only an advancement of the language learning possibilities afforded by CALL but also a change in teachers' mindset toward a more student-centered approach.

Cross-References

▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment
▶ Digital Literacies for English Language Learners
▶ Teacher Learning and Technology-Enhanced Teacher Education

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Part II

Goals and Focus of the ELT Program: Problematizing Content and Pedagogy

The Goals and Focus of the English Language Teaching Program: Section Introduction

11

Xuesong Gao

Abstract

Contributors in this section discuss what English language curricula need to encompass in response to increasingly complex and challenging teaching contexts. Language curricula need to build on emerging theorizations of English language, which are influenced by a multilingual, translingual turn, to appreciate the significance of making use of multiple linguistic resources in the language learning process. On this view, tailor-made curricula need to be prepared and developed for teaching young language learners. Language curricula should recognize language learners' multilingual resources and encourage the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy. Language curricula should also promote intercultural competence and critical literacy, while they are expected to provide pedagogical framing and content orientation for English as an additional language/dialect students with the linguistic resources for academic studies in secondary schools and tertiary settings. In addition, language curricula need to be developed to foster workplace-related language skills and competence.

Keywords

Translanguaging · World Englishes · Intercultural competence · Critical literacy · ESP

Chapters in the first edition of this handbook questioned the assumption that many people have about the goal of English language teaching programs. They drew attention to the role of context in mediating English language development and

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causing English language educators to shift their pedagogical foci. Some of the chapters highlighted the significance of interaction as a means for language learners to develop their language, while others drew on theorizations of identity and agency to construct the kind of language pedagogy needed to empower language learners. These chapters presented increasingly sophisticated understandings of what language learners would like to pursue in learning English, and how language pedagogy can help these learners achieve these. They confirm that the goals of English language teaching are often shifting and dynamic in response to emerging contextual needs.

The chapters in this section side-step any simplistic assumptions about what needs to be achieved in English language teaching. Like those in the first edition, these chapters look into what English language curricula need to encompass in response to increasingly complex situations for communication. As language use is closely tied to particular social functions, language teachers need to prepare English language learners and equip them with the linguistic resources and skills for competent performance in specific communicative events. Further to what was covered in the first edition of this handbook, language teachers are also urged to consider other important pedagogical goals, as proposed by the contributors in this section.

In the first chapter, Zheng and Gao contend the need to recontextualize models of intercultural competence for promotion in English language teaching in a Chinese context. Considering the fact that intercultural competence is a complex, fluid, and elusive construct, researchers and teachers have yet to agree about how intercultural competence should be promoted in English language teaching. It has been widely acknowledged that it is problematic to assume "native speakers" as the model intercultural communicators for English language learners to imitate. Zheng and Gao advocate a model of intercultural competence built on the notion of "productive bilingualism," in which English language learners strengthen their own cultural identities and develop additional cultural identities through learning English (e.g., Gao 2014). The pedagogical efforts as described in the chapter may be of interest to those who have concerns similar to those of Zheng and Gao, but who nevertheless wish to promote intercultural competence in English language teaching.

As with Zheng and Gao, the chapter by Saraceni is a critique of the idea that learning English means imitating "native speakers" and learning to use English like them. He elaborates his critique in three historical waves, including the World Englishes paradigm, the advancement of English as a lingua franca, and a multilingual turn. The first two paradigms question the dominance of "native speaker" varieties in English language teaching. To contest this dominance, the World Englishes paradigm celebrates the emergence of regional or local varieties of English as possible alternatives to the "native speaker" varieties, while English as lingua franca scholars would like to see English language learners prepared for interaction with other non-native speakers and native speakers (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2007). The recent "multilingual turn" in language learning research highlights the full range of linguistic resources that language learners have in their multilingual repertoire. It questions the boundaries that are often assumed to differentiate languages and draws attention to the possibility of facilitating language learners to utilize these linguistic

resources in pursuing effective communication. All these paradigm shifts call for language teachers to reconceptualize what is to be taught in classrooms. In the light of the multilingual turn in language, Saraceni forcefully argues the need to reconsider the boundaries of languages and affirm the significance of the linguistic resources that language learners bring with them in learning English.

The chapter by Hardigree and Ronan presents an approach that views multilingual language learners not as individuals with multiple, bounded linguistic skills, but as individuals with an expanding repertoire of linguistic resources and skills. Drawing on a "translanguaging" approach (Li 2018), they contend that traditional language pedagogy should be questioned for failing to use all of the language learners' linguistic resources and suggest that pedagogical shifts need to take place to give language learners opportunities to use their linguistic resources in achieving their goals. In the chapter they document such a pedagogical attempt to illustrate how translanguaging pedagogies can be effectively implemented and how they can promote linguistic equity in different contexts.

Aside from the kind of language that should be taught in English language teaching, Abedina and Crookes promote the integration of critical literacy in language teaching. They present a historical narrative of critical literacy, including its penetration into the field of applied linguistics and its emergence as a major pedagogical goal. They also review relevant practices of critical literacy in different contexts and document how they implement the promotion of critical literacy. The chapter outlines a set of clear pedagogical procedures and steps that individual teachers can take, but it also critically reflects on the challenges that teachers may encounter when implementing critical literacy in teaching. Fully aware of challenges English language teachers may face, Abedina and Crookes encourage all teachers to make an effort because teachers have to use their initiatives to try different versions of critical literacy in places where language teachers are highly controlled by schools and government institutions.

In response to the rising need to teach English to young language learners (Butler et al. 2018), Rixon suggests how curricula for teaching English to young language learners can be developed and how different curricula can be devised to cater for young language learners' needs in specific settings. Teaching young language learners requires different curricula from that for adult learners as the curricula for young language learners need to be "child-friendly," but they should be also easier for teachers to communicate with parents and other stakeholders in a given community. In addition, learning activities as promoted by these curricula need to have sufficient cognitive, educational, and cultural value, so that young language learners can learn and develop. Rixon emphasizes that the success of these curricula partly depends on how English language teachers, parents, and other stakeholders in education interact with each other effectively to build up an effective education system. Successful implementation also relies on continuous teacher education and resource allocation in the education system.

The chapters by Leung and Arkoudis and Harris address the critical issue of integrating learners of English as an additional language (EAL) or dialect (EAD) into the mainstream secondary and tertiary curriculum in English-speaking contexts such

as California, England, and Australia. Leung highlights the multidimensionality of the EAL label in EAL curricula and practice, as it evokes linguistic, educational, social, and even political connotations. Drawing on recent studies in California and England, Leung argues that EAL learners are yet to be properly understood because of the complexity of their experiences. It is necessary to further develop relevant EAL curricula and pedagogies in response to the multidimensionality of EAL learners in mainstream schooling.

Likewise, Arkoudis and Harris address the concerns of English as an additional language or dialect (EALD) learners in Australia's English-medium universities. Despite the variety of program support that these learners receive in universities, it is uncertain whether they graduate from Australian universities with sufficient English language skills and competence for employment. For this reason, there is a need for universities to identify, monitor, and evaluate best practices for such language support programs. The chapter provides a framework that helps universities adopt and strengthen evidence for best practice, so that EAL/D graduates can achieve satisfactory English language standards and put themselves in a more favorable position in the increasingly competitive market.

To help English language learners develop the required linguistic skills for academic studies and employment, English for specific purposes (ESP) has emerged as a specialist domain of enquiry. The chapter by Hyland elucidates the ideas and research inputs foundational to the development of ESP as a specialism. It recounts major practices that are highly influential in ESP development, including needs analysis, intercultural rhetoric, and discourse analysis. The chapter notes that language teachers working in ESP are encouraged to pay more attention to discourse than to language, to become much more informed about relevant research in teaching, and to adopt collaborative pedagogies (with teachers in other disciplines). Language teachers are also made much more aware of variations in discourses and the implications of their teaching. Hyland contends convincingly that ESP teaching promotes a situated view of literacy practice that language learners need to develop for professional and academic purposes. This situated view of literacy practice can be illustrated by Lockwood's chapter on language use in workplaces in Hong Kong and the Philippines. The chapter remains largely unchanged from the previous edition, highlighting how research on workplace language use can contribute significantly to the planning and development of ESP programs that prepare language learners for the increasingly globalized business operations.

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Promoting Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching: A Productive Bilingualism Perspective

12

Xuan Zheng and Yihong Gao

Contents

Abstract

Over the past 50 years, scholars studying intercultural competence generally agree on the complexity and fluidity of this construct, but tensions still remain regarding what it is, how to develop it, and especially the role English language teaching plays in its development. While the goal of English language teaching has undergone changes from imitating "native speakers" to becoming an intercultural communicator, pedagogical implementations have not been fully realized in classrooms, especially the ones that enable students to communicate globally while at the same time help them maintaining their native/traditional languages and cultures. This chapter first reviews some major approaches to promoting intercultural competence in English language teaching. These

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approaches have been proposed from different theoretical perspectives, situated in different contexts, and thus have different emphases in promoting "intercultural competence." However, we feel that the dominant models of intercultural competence from Western contexts are inadequate to guide students in contexts such as China, where a firm identification with one's "home cultures" is particularly important while becoming global. Therefore, we advocate for an updated model of "productive bilingualism," which is particularly concerned with simultaneous and mutual enrichment of "native" and "additional" linguistic and cultural identities. Then, we describe a four-step pedagogy that cultivates the "productiveness" of intercultural competence and their effects. The four steps are (1) learning about cultural differences, (2) deconstructing cultural differences, (3) reconstructing knowledge and attitudes, and (4) seeking creative solutions to communication problems. In the end, we provide suggestions for English language teachers to utilize their own expertise and interests to develop courses that promote intercultural competence.

Introduction

For half a century, the concept of intercultural (communicative) competence has been studied widely in different fields where interacting with other cultures is a central concern. Although more than 20 definitions and models of intercultural competence have been developed, these models generally agree that intercultural competence refers to "the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioral orientations to the world" (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009: 7). Although some scholars differentiate "intercultural communicative competence" and "intercultural competence," this distinction is not relevant to this chapter. Thus we used the terms interchangeably.

To construct the earlier models, scholars drew on research in anthropology, sociology, and cultural and political studies to propose a long list of concepts, such as cognitive complexity, openness, awareness, creativity, and communication effectiveness (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009: 36–43). However, in these models language proficiency or linguistic competence was not always emphasized or even included (Byram 2012: 89). Only in recent empirical studies were the relationship between intercultural competence and linguistic competence investigated. The findings suggested a reciprocal relationship between the two (e.g., Jackson 2014; Taguchi et al. 2016).

Meanwhile, in the field of English language teaching, the cultural dimension of language teaching has always been a concern for teachers and scholars. However, for several decades "culture" in the English language classroom remained the cultural

facts of "native English speakers." With joint efforts from scholars in TESOL, applied linguistics and intercultural communication research, the myth of "native speaker" was deconstructed. The proposal of "intercultural competence" has shifted the goal of English language teaching from imitating the communicative competence of a native speaker to negotiating the differences between different linguistic and cultural communities. Various models of intercultural competence have been proposed for language teaching, especially in Western contexts, and are then spread and adopted in other parts of the world such as China. Some of the models, however, may not be adequate to address the most urgent needs of non-Western contexts.

In this chapter, we first review several well-known approaches to promoting intercultural competence in English language teaching developed in North America and the Europe. In light of the changes in promoting intercultural competence in English language teaching in mainland China for the past 40 years, we propose an updated model of "productive bilingualism" and discuss its particular contextual pertinence. We then describe a four-step pedagogy that cultivates the "productiveness" of intercultural competence. Based on empirical data, we finally examine the effects of the pedagogy and provide suggestions for English language teachers.

Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching

Since the 1980s, in the field of English language teaching, researchers and practitioners have been engaged with discussions on the cultural dimension of language teaching, drawing on language and language learning theories from Hymes, Gumperz, Fairclough, Scollon and Scollon, Kasper, Lakoff, Vygotsky, Wertsch, and Lier (for a comprehensive review, see Risager 2011).

The explicit theorization of intercultural communicative competence can be traced to Michael Byram's publication of his monograph *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence* in 1997. Building on an earlier proposal related to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* of the Council of Europe (Byram and Zarate 1996), Byram (1997) developed an intercultural communicative competence model that consists of five *savoirs* for language teaching and assessment. The five *savoirs* are knowledge of self and other (*savoirs*), skills of interpreting and relating (*savoir comprendre*), attitudes (*savoir etre*) of curiosity and openness, skills of discovery and interaction (*savoir apprendre/faire*), and critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*) (Byram 1997: 48). Byram's model was also built on the "communicative approach" that had been accepted in theory but not necessarily applied in classroom practice in the mid-1990s (Byram 2009: 322). He coined the phrase *intercultural speaker*, in a deliberate attempt to distance intercultural competence away from the cultural competence of a native speaker that had often dominated the field of language teaching. An "intercultural speaker" is a foreign language speaker who possesses "some or all of the five savoirs of intercultural competence to some degree" (Byram 2009: 327). He or she is neither an imitation of a native speaker who only identifies with one language/group nor simply a bilingual/multilingual speaker who often keep their

languages and identification with two groups separate. He/she is someone who is able to "see the relationships between the learner's and the native-speaker's languages and cultures, to perceive and cope with difference" (Byram and Risager 1999: 2), and to mediate between languages and cultures (Byram 2012: 86).

In his model, Byram (2009: 323) emphasized the central role critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*) played, that is, "an ability to evaluate critically and, on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries." The recent developments of this critical cultural awareness are linked to the concept of intercultural citizenship (Byram 2012: 92), which includes both the competences of citizenship and competences of intercultural communication. That is to say, intercultural citizenship is not confined to dialogue and action with other groups within a state, but also includes "competences which would enable an individual to engage in political activity – 'community involvement and service'…with people of another state and a different language from their own" (Byram 2011). The political dimension of his model with promotion of an active citizenship is situated in the European context, and is important to bring changes to Western democratic societies, but may have contextual constraints in other parts of the world.

In North America, culture has always been an issue of concern in English language teaching. The interest in culture had inspired research areas such as Contrastive Rhetoric in Second Language Writing studies (Kaplan 1966; Connor 2002). However, many studies addressing the cultural dimension of language teaching have been criticized for essentializing national cultures and reinforcing stereotypes since 2000 (e.g., Kubota and Lehner 2004). In response to the criticism, culture has almost been replaced by other concepts such as identity and power in the mainstream TESOL literature (e.g., Norton 2000, 2013). Because of globalization and intercultural flows, linguistic and cultural diversity has created more challenges than ever before for language educators to respond to. Standards of communicative competence in English were questioned, as in the movement of English as an international language (Smith 1976), World Englishes (Kachru 1982), and English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins 2006, 2015). In these discussions, cultural and linguistic boundaries become blurred. In the last 5 years, in theorizing a post-modern "translingual" competence (Canagarajah 2013) or "translanguaging" competence (Li 2017), language learners are encouraged to use all of their multimodal semiotic resources such as different languages, styles, pictures, emojis, and colors strategically to meet the needs of diverse contexts. Such efforts in re-theorizing the linguistic competence of minority speakers in English-dominant societies help challenge linguistic, ethnic, and racial stereotypes. However, whether and how such competence manifests itself outside of Europe and North America is not yet clear. Moreover, the theoretical discussions remain largely ideological, whereas classroom teachers are still confused about what to teach in language classes (Kramsch 2015).

Perhaps partly due to its grounding in the European context, Byram's concept of intercultural competence has not been incorporated in the central concern for applied linguistics and TESOL in North America until fairly recently. It was during the international convention of TESOL in 2015 that Michael Byram was invited on a

keynote panel to discuss under the topic of "Redefining Communicative Competence and Redesigning English Language Teaching in the 21st Century" that intercultural competence had come to the spotlight. In the teaching of foreign languages and the larger field of applied linguistics, however, the cultural dimension had been addressed long before and discussed more fully. For instance, Kramsch (1993, 1998), drawing on her experience working in language classrooms in the USA where students came from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, took a non-essentialist approach to culture. Addressing the experiences and needs of her students who may not share the same "mother tongue," she described a "broker between cultures" (1998) who resided in a "third place" or "third culture, made of a common memory beyond time and place among people with similar experiences" (Kramsch 1993: 34). The third place is not confined within clear boundaries; it is a new and dynamic space created through intercultural interactions. More recently, based on ecological analyses of multilingual interactions in the USA, Kramsch and Whiteside (2008: 664) described a "symbolic competence" of multilingual immigrants. The symbolic competence is a competence that enables speakers to choose the language or language varieties that give them power or advantages in intercultural transactions. The fluid, dynamic view of culture and the emphasis on power inequalities implied in intercultural communication is particularly empowering to minority speakers who move constantly between multiple boundaries. However, ignoring boundaries also runs the risk of dissolving the shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of groups that are still prevalent in less heterogeneous, more traditional societies.

To sum up, the models of intercultural competence developed in the contexts of Europe and North America serve the needs of their acknowledgedly democratic, heterogeneous, and developed societies. Nevertheless, the political, ethical dimension of an intercultural speaker which sees beyond national boundaries to emphasize the commonality of humankind may be problematic for less heterogeneous, less developed societies whose most urgent needs are different. A great portion of intercultural communication events not only happen between cultures or in "third places" but also in specific cultural contexts. Many people still spend most of their lives in societies where traditional values remain very powerful, including holding up to a unified national, regional, or ethnic identity, whether real or imagined. For people who live in these cultural contexts, it can be dangerous for them to directly transcend cultural boundaries when they have not yet developed a strong confidence in their "native culture" and local identities – national, ethnic, regional, religious, etc.

The danger lies in two aspects. First, overemphasis on deconstruction of cultural boundaries may lead to the opposite side of stereotyping where cultural sensitivity is erased altogether. Fear of making stereotypes may result in superficial openness where students resist recognizing the shared cultural features of a group, thus missing the chance of reaching a more complex understanding of a culture. Stereotyping to some extent is inevitable in the process of developing intercultural competence. For example, in China, many university students are still at the early stages of developing intercultural competence. In an action research on language attitudes we conducted in a content-based College English course, we found that some of the

students were not able to distinguish different English varieties and had not formed "stereotypes" of speakers of these varieties or "stereotypes" of themselves who speak "China English" (Zheng and Gao 2017). Although they easily supported the idea of respecting different Englishes, they may believe so because they were afraid of being politically incorrect. As a result, they may be well satisfied with their "openness" while still ignorant of what the different English varieties and the characteristic of the people who speak the language were actually like.

Second, members of a less dominant culture in the world such as "Chinese culture" often have a reversed form of ethnocentrism (Byram et al. 2009); that is, students judge their own culture from the standards of others and see themselves as inferior to the "English-speaking cultures." Weakening cultural boundaries seems to help members of minority cultures to identify with a global identity; however, paradoxically it also erases the identification with one's "home cultures," be it a national culture, a regional culture, a school culture, or a family culture. Maintenance of less powerful cultures is actually essential to keep the diversity of cultures in the world. To this end, describing and reviving the traditions of such cultures is actually necessary to help the cultural members to strengthen their local identities. For them, such local identities need to be affirmed before acquiring a global identity.

Lastly, other than Byram's model (1997), most of the discussions on intercultural competence and the cultural dimension of language teaching remain theoretical. Practical guidance on how classroom teachers should do in the classroom to cultivate students' intercultural competence through language teaching is urgently needed.

Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching in China

In the field of English language teaching in China, the integration of English language teaching and intercultural competence (sometimes under different names, but with similar meaning) went through three stages in the last three decades. The first is the *beginning* stage. From the end of the 1980s to the 1990s, intercultural communication as a field of research and practice emerged, prominently among English language educators. Classical intercultural competence works were introduced to Chinese readers (Hu 1990), and monographs and articles regarding intercultural competence and English language teaching (e.g., Hu and Gao 1997; Hu 1999; Jia 1997; Lin 1996) appeared, proceeded by and together with works introducing English-speaking cultures and comparing them with Chinese culture (e.g., Deng and Liu 1989). In 1995, the establishment of the China Association for Intercultural Communication (CAFIC), an academic association comprised of mostly English language teachers around China, marked the official beginning of the field. Universities started to offer courses of intercultural communication, but rather sporadically.

This stage was characterized by the centrality and imitation of "native English speakers." Although English language teachers began to pay attention to "culture" in their teaching, "culture" meant primarily that of the UK or the USA where "native English speakers" are. The purpose of teaching and learning was to adopt linguistic

and extralinguistic behaviors that were appropriate in the given "target cultures" of native English speakers, i.e., "going across" (Gao 2002) cultural boundaries to meet the native English speaker communities.

The second is the *broadening* stage. Since the beginning of the new millennium, there was a gradual loosening of the bound between English language teaching and "native English speaker" cultures. The focus on using "native English speakers" as linguistic and cultural models of imitation has shifted to "going beyond" specific languages and cultures, aiming at general cultivation of humanistic qualities (Gao 2002). In the construction of intercultural English language teaching models, theoretical resources became varied and interdisciplinary. "Intercultural competence" or "intercultural communicative competence" was increasingly used as an explicit term of conceptualization (e.g., Zhang 2007). In practice, English language teaching was less tied with cultures of native English speakers and increasingly associated with a broader objective of intercultural awareness raising. Moreover, critical attention was paid to "Chinese cultural aphasia" (Xiao et al. 2010), and pedagogical attempts were made to integrate Chinese culture teaching into English language teaching.

The third is the *institutionalizing* stage. In the recent 5 years, there has been a further move toward conceptualizing intercultural competence and adding it to China's foreign language education curriculum. Scholars have discussed explicitly, at least in theory, to disassociate English language teaching with American and British cultures and associate it with globalization (Xu and Sun 2013) and English as a Lingua Franca (Wen 2016). Wen (2012, 2016) encouraged English language learners to become familiar with different cultures, including but not limited to the cultures of the English-speaking countries, and addressed the importance of learning how to introduce Chinese culture to people of other countries.

More recently, there was a call of shift at the national policy level from skill-oriented language teaching to "intercultural language teaching," that is, to cultivate intercultural communicative competence through language teaching (Sun 2016, 2017). In the new National Standards of Teaching Quality for Undergraduate English Majors (《英语类专业本科教学质量国家标准》, Ministry of Education 2018) and the new Guidelines for College English Teaching (《大学英语教学指南》, Ministry of Education 2017) promoted by the Ministry of Education of China, intercultural competence was included as one of the core competencies, thus a clear pedagogical objective. This move highlighted the intercultural dimension of language teaching and the nature of "liberal English education" (Sun 2017) that tended to be neglected in previous skill-oriented teaching approach.

The new national policy of language teaching stated clearly a shift from the assimilation model, that is, simply imitating the communicative competence of "native speakers" as the learning target, to becoming an intercultural communicator. Citing Byram (2014) and Liddicoat et al. (1999), Sun defined an intercultural communicator in China as someone who has a global vision and a confidence in the Chinese culture, a "bridge between English (including English as a Lingua Franca) language-and-culture and Chinese language-and-culture" (2017: 860) (for a more theory-focused literature review on the development of intercultural competence in China, see Fu and Kulich 2015). The advocation on intercultural language

teaching has also led to an emerging interest in developing new assessment tools. A nationwide English test for assessing international communication competence "English Test for International Communication (ETIC)" was developed by China Language Assessment. Since its first launch in 2016, the test results have already been used by almost a hundred companies and organizations in China for hiring purposes (Luo and Han 2018), and the numbers of the test-takers are growing fast. The washback effects of such large-scale tests on language teaching in China in the future cannot be underestimated.

While cultivating intercultural competence in English language teaching is already formally included in the national curriculum, language teachers interpret and practice the policy in different ways. A review of studies on intercultural competence in foreign language classrooms in China revealed that most pedagogical practices still focused on knowledge and skill-oriented training (Wang and Kulich 2015: 41). Furthermore, the "knowledge and skills" were still centered on English "native speakers." Surveying 1000 English teachers from 39 universities in China on their intercultural competence perceptions and practices, Gu (2016: 264) found that although most teachers were willing to assess intercultural competence in their English classes, they still perceived it as "merely specific knowledge and socio-pragmatic norms of mainstream English-speaking countries, which are seen as the standard to conform to and the means to facilitate the development of language skills and interactive abilities."

Practices that assumed the link between English and cultures of "English-speaking" countries, without problematizing the values and worldviews transmitted through, may lead to the reversed form of ethnocentrism (Byram et al. 2009); that is, members of a group of lower social status often hold positive attitudes toward members of a group of higher social status than toward their own. This highlights again the need of maintenance and strengthening of one's own "frame of references" or native language/culture for cultural contexts that enjoy less power. On the other hand, classes with the aim of exporting supposedly superior, but simplified and stereotypical, "cultural" practices, products, and values run the risk of a narrow-minded nationalism. On the whole, classroom innovations that go beyond either imitating cultures of the target language or exporting one's home cultural values still need to be fully realized in English language teaching.

Productive Bilingualism

Among the new language learning and education models that promote the development of intercultural competence, the proposed "productive bilingualism" is grounded in the Chinese context, highlighting the mutual enhancement between one's native language/culture and the ones acquired later. It is distinct from earlier models of "subtractive bilingualism" and "addictive bilingualism" (e.g., Lambert 1974). Gao (2001, 2002) illustrated this concept by discussing the pattern of interaction between one's native language (L1) and native culture (C1) and one's target language (L2) and target culture (C2), by drawing on Fromm's (1948) theory

of "productive orientation" and interview data from 52 recognized "best foreign language learners" in the mainland Chinese foreign language teaching circle. Different from "subtractive bilingualism" in which one's L1/C1 is replaced by L2/C2 (symbolized as $1-1 = 1$) or "additive bilingualism" where one's L2/C2 is simply added to one's L1/C1 which share separate communicative functions $(1 + 1 = ½ + ½)$, in "productive bilingualism," L1/C1 and L2/C2 benefit and enhance each other $(1 + 1 > 2)$. For a productive bilingual (Gao 2002: 159), "the command of the target language and that of the native language positively reinforce each other; deeper understanding and appreciation of the target culture goes hand in hand with deeper understanding and appreciation of the native culture. In the process of learning another language and related culture, the learner's personality becomes more open and integrated at the same time."

On the basis of acknowledging the existence of "C1" and "C2" cultures, productive bilingualism is characterized by the following characteristics: (1) openness, an increased open attitude toward both L2/C2 and L1/C1; (2) criticalness, being able to critically appreciate and reflect on aspects of both C1 and C2; and (3) incorporation, integrating or relating L1/C1 and L2/C2 in meaningful ways, often with creative outcome (e.g., translation of ancient Chinese poems into foreign languages, with a distinct style). Moreover, productive bilingualism is a concept capturing that may refer to a stable orientation, a state, a moment, or an experience (Gao 2002). In Gao's original empirical data for the model, the "best foreign language learners" in China were mostly born during the period of the 1930s–1950s, their "C1" primarily "Chinese culture" and "C2" in most cases cultures of "native English speakers."

Taking into consideration of accelerated globalization, increased transcultural flow (Pennycook 2007), and mobility of languages (Blommaert 2010), especially the continuing spread of English and its deterritorialization from "native speaking" countries, Gao (2014) made some revision of the model: the "C2" is explicitly conceptualized as the learners' chosen L2 "communities of practice" (Wenger 1998), which included cultures of "native English speakers" and other possibilities, such as an international professional community. Drawing upon Bakhtinian dialogism, the new "productive bilingual" in the context of intercultural communication, in the form of a "dialogical communicator" (Gao 2014: 68), is one who "has transcended various dichotomies such as listening vs. speaking, native culture vs. C2, and instrumental vs. integrative motivation" and who "enjoys mutual enhancement of L1/C1 on the one hand, and competence in the chosen L2 target discourse and identification with the chosen imagined community on the other." The expanded version of productive bilingualism is in line with existing social constructivist approaches to L2 identities that stress individual agency in selecting learning "targets" (e.g., Norton 2013) or "C2."

The model of productive bilingualism acknowledges the existence of bounded cultures, while it also recognizes that cultures are dynamic, mixed, multi-leveled, and multi-dimensional. It highlights the desirability of the L2 learners' rootedness in their native culture. Such a seemingly "essentialist" view might be explained or justified by the following reasons. First, there is a greater disparity between English and Chinese languages and cultures than the differences among European languages

and cultures. The linguistic and culture boundaries appear to be more prominent and cannot be easily ignored. Second, due to a traumatic history of foreign power invasion and semi-colonization, learning a foreign language (especially of the powerful) often brings identity threat to Chinese learners, though such threats might not be necessarily obvious for language learners situated in other types of sociohistorical contexts. The rootedness in the native language and culture in the process of L2 learning is a good way to cope with this barrier. Another characteristic of the model is it highlights the equal, reciprocal, and dialogical relation between the two languages/cultures. In agreement with the Chinese tradition of Yin-Yang and Tao-Qi dialectic (Gao 2000), such dialogicality deepens rather than dilutes cultural identification, which serves to anchor learners' selves.

Empirical evidence showed that productive bilingualism was not limited to a small group of elites. A 4-year longitudinal study on about 1300 Chinese undergraduate students showed that with the learning of English, productive change ranked the third highest among 6 types of identity changes, the first and second being self-confidence increase and additive change and the lower 3 being self-confidence decrease, split change, and subtractive change (Gao et al. 2015). Qualitative data revealed specifically how some individual students developed their productiveness in their English learning process (Gao et al. 2016). Productive change was found particularly evident among a group of student volunteers for the Olympic Games, around the change of a slogan on the wall of their office (Gao 2010). These volunteers started their service primarily with the identity of a "patriotic speaker" marked by the slogan "We speak and the world will listen," but they ended up with productive interaction between national and global identities, marked by signs of multiple languages and nations. However, it remains to be examined how such productive attitude change might be facilitated in daily classrooms.

Pedagogy of Productive Bilingualism

Taking an action research approach (Burns 2011), we explored pedagogical practices that cultivate productive bilingualism in one of our content-based English language class "Language, Culture and Communication" (LCC) at a comprehensive university in Beijing during 2014–2016. The class belongs to the C-level courses in the College English curriculum, which means the students have passed the highest level of English proficiency test designed and administered by the university. The teacher/primary researcher is a female foreign returnee in her early 30s, with a PhD degree in English applied linguistics from a US university. At the time of this research, she had taught LCC five times for five consecutive semesters. Every semester she teaches 2 classes with a total of around 60 non-English major students, aged between 18 and 23. We observed and evaluated the effects of the pedagogy of productive bilingualism and further developed methods and techniques that prompted criticalness in order to achieve openness (for a detailed report, see Zheng and Gao 2017).

Similar to what many scholars described on the development of intercultural competence (e.g., Bennett et al. 2003), we identified a key stage in the process of becoming a productive bilingual: a frame-of-reference shift from ethnocentric to ethnorelative worldviews. When one is able to change from a self-only or other-only perspective to an integration of multiple perspectives, he or she will become more open and at the same time integrated rather than split as he/she learns another language. How does this change happen? Some scholars pointed out certain crises in our lives such as moving into a new country have the potential to place people out of their comfort zones. Through reflection on these often difficult, unpleasant experiences, one may be able to question their habitual ways of thinking and doing and start to change from an ethnocentric orientation to an ethnorelative orientation (Mezirow 1994, 2000; Taylor 2008). This process has the potential to lead to identity expansion in some individuals (Jackson 2014).

In order to facilitate this change, the authors of this chapter believe the key to transformation is first to create a crisis in a learner's mind, that is, to problematize students' current beliefs and attitudes. Then the teacher needs to guide learners to reflect and come out of the crisis. Guided by the theory and reflection explained above, we designed four teaching steps in the second round of our action research, applied them, and have achieved some success in cultivating productive bilingualism, especially the "problematizing" move (Zheng and Gao 2017). These four steps are as follows:

1. **Learning about cultural differences**

In this step, like in the current practice in most language classes, the teacher lectures or guides students to discover cultural knowledge behind the language being taught. The teacher also introduces theories and taxonomies that describe and categorize the "typical" patterns of linguistic and cultural groups (e.g., high and low context cultures). The teacher guides students to compare and contrast cultures of the target language with students' native cultures.

2. **Deconstructing cultural "differences"**

After students have learned the comfortable knowledge of cultural patterns and differences, the teacher needs to deconstruct this knowledge, that is, to remind students that cultural "differences" are cultural constructs instead of facts. That is to say, a seemingly objective description of cultural "differences" can be a reflection of people's ethnocentric bias. This step involves several components:

(a) **Problematizing**

The first component is to reveal that the seemly objective cultural "facts" are actually subjective observations, thus problematizing the comfortable knowledge about cultural differences learned previously. For example, the teacher asks students to observe an "unfamiliar" group, takes some observation notes, and discusses those in class. Often students' descriptions of the group imply their attitudes toward them.

For example, some of them will write "unlike the Chinese students, the European students often used too much body language and exaggerated facial impressions while talking" and "I found it quite strange that they touched each other very often, which was different from us Chinese students." The teacher directs students' attention to the implied attitudes by underlining the words such as "too much," "unlike," "different," and "strange."

(b) **Examining frame of references**

When students realize descriptions of cultural differences are often not as neutral as they thought, the teacher asks: are those "descriptions" often positive or negative? If often negative, why? In this way the students can start to think about their ethnocentrism tendency: that is, people tend to judge others based on their own familiar cultural framework. Then the teacher gives them more explanations on how people make quick judgments on others from academic research (e.g., Snow 2015).

(c) **Tracing sources of stereotypes**

The teacher guides students to trace the sources of their previous values, beliefs and worldviews, and the consequences of stereotypes. Students can become aware of the long-lasting influences their parents, peers, teachers, and public media had on them.

3. **Reconstructing knowledge and attitudes**

In this step, the teacher asks students to think about alternative interpretations of "cultural differences" and to cultivate open attitudes. For example, instead of simply interpreting silence in the classroom as Chinese students being passive learners, asking questions such as "Are all Chinese students quiet in class? Are they quiet in all classes? What are the possible reasons that they don't speak up? Is silence always bad in this cultural context? Can it be good?" can lead to alternative answers.

4. **Seeking creative solutions to communication problems**

After students have learned to postpone judgments and start to seek alternative answers, the teacher gives them scenarios of conflicts in which they need to come up with creative solutions.

Effects of the Pedagogy of Productive Bilingualism

Through three cycles of planning, acting, observing, and reflecting, we found that the most obvious effect of the course was an opener attitude. The openness was two-sided: students became opener to both themselves and others. They became more aware of their own prejudice and biases. Lastly, they also improved significantly in providing creative solutions to conflict situations, a sign of incorporating different cultures and perspectives.

Criticalness

The teaching steps of deconstructing and reconstructing, that is, revealing the ethnocentric tendency of ourselves and guided reflections on real-life examples, had helped the students become aware and critical of their own frame of references. Many students experienced an awakening moment in the class where they recognized their own prejudice and examined the sources of their prejudice. For example, out of 81 reflection papers on what they have learned of the language attitudes class collected in Fall semester 2015 and Spring semester 2017, 72 (89%) have described how the class had challenged their previous stereotype. A student wrote:

> I was surprised that we had quite different opinions on these people. Some of these opinions, which I also had, are obviously prejudice [sic]. I have to admit that I don't like it when I heard the Indian accent. It makes me laugh though because it's funny, but if I am asked whether I want him/her to be my teacher, I wouldn't prefer that. I think the main reason is that I've seen too much news on rape in India, and from movies I also learn that Indian people are overactive and like to sing and dance. All these help me form the stereotype that Indians are not trustworthy. When I check others' answers, I found my classmates rate Indians much higher than I expected. This indeed gave me a lesson. Indians are not that bad in reality, and not even in others' impression. It is only my prejudice. (Student zz, after-class reflection paper, fall semester, 2015)

The student was describing his reactions to a "verbal guise test" (Garrett 2010) the teacher used in a class. In the test, students listened to audio recordings (10 seconds each) of five different varieties of Englishes. They were asked to identify the varieties and wrote judgments of the speakers, responding to questions such as "What kind of job do you think this person does?" This student was made aware of his original attitudes toward the Indian English ("don't like it," "makes me laugh," "funny," "wouldn't prefer") and was able to trace where this attitude came from ("news" and "movies"). What's surprising to him was that when comparing his reactions to other students, he found that people actually held quite different attitudes. Most preciously, he realized his previous opinions about Indian people were "prejudiced." Just as theorized in previous literature on transformative learning (Mezirow 1994, 2000; Taylor 2008), this student was an example of someone who started to question his habitual thinking, prompted by a "crisis" experience – in this case, realizing his attitude toward the Indian people was a prejudice. To resolve this cognitive dissonance – that is, he should not have prejudice on others – it's very likely that he will question his judgment in the future in similar situations.

The teaching steps that prompted critical reflection left deep impression on the students. For example, a student said in the final reflection paper:

> What impressed me most is that before our judgment, we need to do self-questioning again and again, to think whether the judgments are reasonable to some extent, and to put ourselves into others' shoes so that 'we' and 'they' can understand each other. After this, do reinterpret from a brand-new level. (Student grh, final reflection paper, spring semester, 2015)

Just as pointed out in the previous literature (Snow 2015), the student realized that the interpretation process was important in intercultural communication, which

without questioning can be problematic and one-sided. She learned to become more empathetic ("put ourselves into others' shoes") and was able to postpone judgment on others. She knew by self-questioning and gaining more information she could interpret others at a deeper level and thus was more likely to change from an ethnocentric mindset to an ethnorelative one (Bennett et al. 2003).

Compared to the definition of "criticalness" as theorized in "productive bilingualism," that is, "being able to critically appreciate and reflect on aspects of both L1/C1 and L2/C2" (Gao 2002, 2014), the criticalness the students learned in the class was mostly an ability to question their habitual ways of thinking toward languages and people. The criticalness served as the first step toward openness.

Openness

The data revealed that through being critical, most students experienced a change from an ethnocentric perspective to an ethnorelative perspective and thus an increased open attitude. Just as in the definition of "openness" in productive bilingualism (Gao 2002, 2014), the openness identified among the students was also a two-way openness for both themselves and others. They not only learned to tolerate, understand, and accept others; some also mentioned they learned to accept their own uniqueness.

For example, in the final reflection papers, students described in detail their changes in attitudes toward differences: from negative or passive reactions such as complaining or hiding to trying to understand each other's cultures. A student wrote:

> In my hometown, I hardly had chances to communicate with people from diversity [sic] culture. When I came to college, I have been considered as minority [sic] (Korean) and I had the tendency of exclusion [sic] at the very start. I even did not try to understand others. At that time, it felt like if you accept other's culture, you will lose yours. But as time goes by, I realized how silly I was. Culture does not disappear so easily, because culture changes and develops, and this usually happens during the interaction with another culture. The principle is well-applied to personal communication. As I learn more about various aspects of differences I feel like I am being more opening. I am trying to understand others instead of judging others by standard of my culture. I find life is more joyous with the attitude of 'understanding'. (Student jql, final reflection paper, spring semester, 2015)

The student was made aware of her Korean minority identity upon entering college and had been avoiding communicating with others due to the fear that "if you accept other's culture, you will lose yours." The fear was similar to the idea of "subtractive bilingualism" (Lambert 1974) where learning a new language/culture will replace the old ones. Fortunately, after the semester, the student learned culture "does not disappear so easily," but "changes and develops" when "interacting with another culture." This first implied that the student had gained some confidence in her own culture before she started to open up to others' cultures. She also pointed out that it was through learning more about various aspects of differences that she became more open. The realization again

resonated with previous literature that when people have a deeper understanding and awareness of cultural differences, they may change their attitudes and perspectives (Bennett et al. 2003). Openness and understanding thus formed a reciprocal relationship: openness will lead to more opportunities of understanding, while more understanding will lead to further openness.

The finding that students not only gained an increased open attitude toward others but also themselves was important. In the literature reviewed previously, minority cultures or groups of lower social status are likely to develop an "outgroup favoritism" (Byram et al. 2009) where they prefer others' cultures to their own. In China, a manifestation of this may be "Chinese culture aphasia" (Xiao et al. 2010) in English education. However, teaching practices that can alleviate this problem were rarely documented. This study addressed this gap: students learned an important lesson that their own difference was not a deficiency, and this led to an increased confidence in themselves, which prompted them to change from a passive, fearful, and submissive interlocutor to an active explainer of themselves. For example, a student wrote in the final reflection paper:

> As I have said in mid-term cultural identity paper, I am a little introvert [sic] person. I always feel a kind of inferiority when l sense that I can't talk with others freely. At this class, I can participate in a lots [sic] of funny games and lively discussions. I think the class atmosphere is pretty good. It helps me overcome my weakness in a way. Besides that, I can accept myself confidently. Cultural diversity told me there are many different kind [sic] of people, some people tend to be outgoing, and others tend to be opposite. It's unnecessary for excessive self-blame. Just be myself. (Student dft, final reflection paper, spring semester, 2015)

This student was very shy in the beginning of the semester, but gradually became more and more outspoken in class discussions, despite his red face and nervousness. His reflections showed an increased acceptance of himself as who he was, and he further explained that it was the various class activities and relaxed class atmosphere that helped him to participate more confidently in English. The class helped him perhaps because it had created a new imagined identity for him: an introverted person like him can also be a successful intercultural communicator. Such confidence in one's self is essential in developing intercultural competence because arguably, only after fully accepting one's self can one truly opens up to others (Zheng and Lee 2016).

Incorporation

When the first few teaching steps were enacted more successfully, the last teaching step "seeking creative solutions" also facilitated incorporation of needs from different parties. Students' creative solutions to simulated conflict situations can be seen as a sign of incorporation (Gao 2002, 2014). They no longer withdrew or avoided problems but actively sought help from different parties. They were willing to consider multiple parties involved and potential in solving conflicts in a win-win manner.

In their final reflection papers, some students described an incorporation tendency of different cultures, be it cultures of a nation, an ethnicity, or a regional group. For example, a student reflected on her experience growing up in a family with mixed Han and Hui ethnicity. In the mid-term paper, she described a conflict with her mother's family who were Muslims when she and her Han friend secretly had a pork hamburger for lunch. At a young age, she could not understand why she couldn't eat pork while her friends could, and her attitudes had made her mother angry. In the final paper, she seemed to have a deepened understanding of her multicultural family. She wrote:

> Recalling some conflicts and confusion again, I don't feel angry or sad anymore, but have deeper understanding of the influence of this cross-ethnicity family culture on me…Some unhappy experience taught me a lesson that although you don't belong to a specific cultural group, when you are in this specific situation, it's better not to do things going against its rules. Everyone has his right to keep his own belief but it is also our responsibility to respect others' and try not to bother them…I now understand this cultural difference between ethnicities more and have found the proper way to handle this. The transition from one culture to another is not easy, but I believe I am doing better and better. (Student lyc, final reflection paper, spring semester, 2015)

By understanding and respecting others' beliefs, she knew how to handle conflict properly and was "doing better" transitioning from one culture to another. Instead of feeling torn between two cultures, she now self-identified as a mixed Han and Hui person, showing that she was better at integrating her multicultural identities, a sign of incorporation (Gao 2002, 2014).

Another example of incorporation is an integration of different personalities. A student who was rather introspective in the beginning of the course seemed to become more well-rounded after a semester. He wrote in the final reflection paper:

> I have become a more complete person, and I regard this word to be more beautiful and graceful than any other word in this world. Through this course, I become a better extrovert: I learn to observe, respect, communicate, and love different people around me, I learn to maintain an open heart always ready to connect, listen and share. Through this course, I also become a better introvert: understanding and handling the difference taking places every day and everywhere through the means of self-reflection...When difference and similarity are one, when conflict and unity are one, then grace is within us. (Student yf, final reflection paper, spring semester, 2015)

This student seemed to have developed a productive orientation by transcending polarities and integrating the strengths of "extroverts" and "introverts," thus a "more complete person." He further attributed this change to both the course content and the diversity of his classmates who were from different departments and were of different gender and personal values. Although compared with the "best foreign language learners" in Gao's study (2001, 2002), the students' "incorporation" still lacked depth, their progress during a single semester was still remarkable given the short-term nature of the teaching intervention.

Conclusion and Implications

In this chapter, we review different approaches to intercultural communication in English language teaching in Europe, North America, and China before we present a theoretical model of "productive bilingualism" and discuss related pedagogy with empirical data from the classroom. The recent non-essentialist trend in studying culture and language has addressed the fluidity and complexity of people's identities in intercultural communication. By complicating the concept of "culture," it has revealed the power inequalities between the majority and minority groups. The new trend is empowering to those who move constantly between multiple boundaries and are otherwise stereotyped by the essentialist approaches. However, these intercultural competence models developed in the Western contexts are not sufficient in societies where boundaries are still relevant and rooting in the native, home, and/or traditional identities is important. To address particularly needs of the latter contexts, "productive bilingualism" is concerned with simultaneous and mutual enrichment of "native" and "additional" linguistic and cultural identities. Assuming existence of cultural and identity boundaries, the model identifies features of productive bilinguals, i.e., *criticalness* and *openness* toward both L1/C1 and the chosen L2 discourse and imagined L2 community at the same time and *incorporation* of the two in a creative manner. Pedagogy for cultivating productive bilinguals in the classroom is proposed, with four steps: (1) *learning* about cultural differences, (2) *deconstructing* cultural "differences," (3) *reconstructing* knowledge and attitudes, and (4) seeking *creative solutions* to communication problems. Effects of the pedagogy are presented, based on empirical studies in an English language classroom in China. To extend from the Chinese context where our empirical study was carried out, the model of productive bilingualism may have implications for contexts where the "native" or "local" linguistic and cultural identity is of important concern. These might include other "English as a foreign language" contexts, "English as a second language" contexts, and "heritage language" contexts.

To develop effective teaching strategies to cultivate intercultural competence in English language teaching requires a great deal of time and efforts from the teachers, especially if the teachers are used to skill-oriented language teaching. To help them change, it is important to first inform them the differences between native-speaker-oriented communicative competence and intercultural competence and then convince them the importance of intercultural competence in English language teaching today (Sun 2017). Then, it is also necessary for them to identify the key components of intercultural competence for their language teaching, especially the ones that fit their local contexts.

The chapter provides an example of developing a content-based English language course that promotes productive bilingualism. It intends to provide inspiration for English teachers whose academic training or interests include but are not limited to applied linguistics/intercultural communication. For example, teachers who study literature can also develop teaching materials and methods that draw on their expertise: literature written by authors from different cultures can serve as

a great way to provide an unfamiliar frame of reference, thus problematizing students' cultural assumptions. Comparing translated literature with its original version can also serve as an excellent discussion topic on intercultural communication. As language and culture cannot be separated, teachers should be aware that integrating "culture" was not an extra burden adding to their current workload in teaching English language. Still, teachers need to learn to reflect on their experiences and expertise and use their creativity to transform these into resources for teaching.

Future theoretical and pedagogical adaptations and innovations are expected for better integrating intercultural competence in English language teaching. First, what counts as one's "native culture" or "tradition" in specific contexts remains to be explored. Second, further research is needed to develop practices that enable students to reach a deeper level of productiveness. Lastly, the current research reported in this chapter has not specifically addressed the language goals, relying on the assumption that students will automatically develop their language competence through a content-based curriculum. In the future, some scaffolding with the forms of the English language is still needed. To truly integrate the cultivation of intercultural competence within a language curriculum requires creativity and reflections from teachers and/as researchers. As the development of intercultural competence is a lifelong process (Deardorff 2009), a reflective practitioner will also be able to grow along with her students. As the Chinese phrase shēn tǐ lì xíng (身体力行) summarizes nicely, to truly implement the change of goals in language teaching, one must practice what one preaches.

Cross-References

▶ English Language Teaching in China: Developing Language Proficiency Frameworks
▶ Problematizing the Linguistic Goal in English Language Curricula
▶ Shifting from Teaching the Subject to Developing Core Competencies Through the Subject: The Revised Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 Edition) in China

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Problematizing the Linguistic Goal in English Language Curricula

13

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Contents

Abstract

The linguistic goal in English language curricula has been debated in the last 50 years. In particular, the idea that learning English means approximating the linguistic behavior of the "native speakers" of the language, a central point in mainstream research in second language acquisition, has been repeatedly and forcefully challenged in sociolinguistics. This critique has taken place in three interrelated "waves." First, in the 1980s and the 1990s, the World Englishes paradigm highlighted the importance of local varieties of English as legitimate pedagogic goals. Subsequently, and as a development of the World Englishes school of thought, a number of scholars underlined the significant role that English plays as a lingua franca in international communication among people for whom it is an additional language. More recently, a multilingual "turn" in sociolinguistics has challenged traditional boundaries between languages and has reframed language learning as a process of enriching one's existing linguistic repertoire.

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This chapter provides an overview of these developments, all of which call for a paradigm shift in the teaching of English in the world.

Introduction

The linguistic goal in English language curricula has been one of the most frequently debated issues in the literature in the field of English language teaching. In this regard, a range of questions have been discussed, such as the advantages and disadvantages of explicit grammar instruction, the inclusion of "culture" in the language classroom, the possible benefits of exploiting the learners' mother tongues, and so on. One aspect that has also received much attention, especially since the mid-1980s, concerns the "model" of English that should be adopted for teaching purposes, with particular reference to the forms and functions of English in its global context. In particular, the question is which models of English are most suitable for the classroom, taking into account the worldwide spread of the language, the many national varieties that exist, the role of English as an international lingua franca, and the fact that it is predominantly used by multilingual speakers. In this chapter I review four approaches to this question: (a) English as a native language, (b) world Englishes, (c) English as a lingua franca, and (d) translanguaging.

English as a Native Language

By far the most traditional and common goal in English language curricula around the world is the imitation of what is believed to be English as spoken by its native speakers, particularly British, but sometimes American, too. In fact, this approach is not just common, but it is also the unquestioned default situation in the vast majority of cases. Here, the teaching and learning of English are seen as identical to the teaching and learning of any other foreign languages. The fundamental principle here comes from the field of second-language acquisition (SLA), according to which language learning means "to internalize the linguistic system of another language" (VanPatten and Benati 2010, p. 2), with the ultimate goal of getting as close as possible to being "nativelike."

This rests on the following two assumptions:

Monolingualism is the norm Everyone acquires one language natively – their mother tongue – and this is the language that they are naturally most proficient in.

The native speaker is the ideal speaker Consequently, the ideal speaker of any language is someone who has acquired it natively.

Therefore learning a language other than one's mother tongue is a special cognitive process, whereby one acquires skills that enable them to get progressively closer to, but rarely fully reaching, "nativelike" proficiency in the "target" language. From this point of view, the linguistic goal in English language curricula is entirely obvious: it is the language as spoken by native speakers of English: "Knowing a second language well means knowing information similar to that of a native speaker of a language" (Gass and Behney 2013, p. 11).

The other assumption underpinning this principle concerns who exactly the native speaker is. In SLA, the concept is almost entirely unproblematic, to the point that it is rarely defined (Han 2004). In *The Cambridge Handbook of Second Language Acquisition* (Herschensohn and Young-Scholten 2013), for example, none of the 31 chapters define "native speaker," nor is the concept included in the glossary, where we however learn that *nativelike* means "conforming to or within the range of the performance or intuitions of native speakers" (p. 722). "Native speaker" is therefore largely taken to refer simply to a "person who has spoken a certain language since early childhood" (McArthur 1992, p. 682) and, correspondingly, somebody's "native language" is "any language acquired since birth" (VanPatten and Benati 2010, p. 112).

While SLA research largely glosses over, or takes for granted, the definition of the term that more than any other defines the very essence of this field of research, it also leaves an important aspect of this concept equally excluded from rigorous scrutiny: the *social context* within which one acquires a certain language since birth. This, of course, involves a complex intersection of variables, all having significant impact not only on the ways in which linguistic resources become available to an individual (i.e., how they acquire a language) but also, and more importantly, on how they actually make use of such resources as part of the social practices with which they engage. The way SLA research deals with social context is by avoiding to deal with it altogether, focusing instead on "more narrow, quantitative studies of the acquisition of selected morphosyntactic features" (Savignon 1991, p. 271). And, even when its importance is timidly admitted, "universal grammar" (whose validity has never been proven) is invoked as a guarantor of a scientific approach, the study of how people acquire languages (see, e.g., VanPatten and Benati 2010, p. 112).

As Davies (2008) has explained very clearly, the one characteristic of "native speakers" that can be said to have factual validity and is not subject to change is their having spoken a language since early childhood. But this is also arguably the least important variable as far as actual use of language as social practice is concerned. Consequently, this rather inconsequential (especially if taken in isolation) single variable is paradoxically invested with the capacity to reliably determine at least some aspects of language ability (such as syntax and morphology) that are considered uniform in all the people for which it applies. Not only that, but this is also the yardstick against which non-native speakers' language use is judged. So, at the intersection of SLA research and language teaching practices, nativeness, so loosely defined, is at the core of what constitutes the linguistic model in the language classroom.

This brief critique of SLA research (see, e.g., Davies 2003; Cook 2016, pp. 175–230, among many others) is, primarily, a comment on how social context is excluded from consideration, and the question of *who* the native speaker is, is largely approached from the perspective of popular understandings of language. These are based on the essentialist assumption that binds *a* language to a particular nation and a particular territory (e.g., Japanese to Japan, German to Germany, and so on). Therefore, as each language is seen as naturally and indissolubly connected to a nation, the logical consequence is that its best and the purest model is taken to be the way in which it is used by the members of the nation it belongs to: its native speakers. Seen through this lens, learning, say, Italian, means acquiring cognitive skills that will enable one to behave linguistically as much as possible like an idealized version of Italian people. Crude as it may sound, this is the guiding principle of much foreign/second language teaching, very much endorsed in SLA research.

When it comes to the teaching and the learning of English, the existence of its many varieties and its role as an international lingua franca may appear to complicate things considerably. One could question, for example, whether the way English is spoken in, say, Sri Lanka might constitute a valid pedagogic model, at least for Sri Lankan learners. Or whether the acquisition of effective meaning negotiation skills might be more important and useful than being able to reproduce the sounds of an accent, received pronunciation, that "tends to be considered remote from the speech of most Britons" (Upton 2008, p. 238). However, another deep-rooted layperson's notion allows this not to be a particular problem. Namely, the idea that every language, even when it has international currency (e.g., English, Arabic, French), has its own place of origin, where the truest and purest version can be found (Watts 2011). Language, that is, is reified and treated almost as if it was a recipe for a famous dish, whereby one must find the original and most authentic version in order to guarantee the best results.

And so the end result of these popular understandings of language is that in the vast majority of cases, British English (occasionally American English, e.g., in South Korea) is considered to be the best model of the language and the goal in the curriculum.

As Kirkpatrick and Sussex (2012b, p. 2) remark in relation to the Asian context, for example, "Asian Englishes are not an accepted part of syllabuses or curricula." Where other varieties are taken into account, this tends to be in terms of acknowledging their existence, and even then, this acknowledgement does not go beyond the boundaries of the "Inner Circle," i.e., countries where the majority of inhabitants are monolingual speakers of English or "native speakers." In curricula based on British English, American English is the obvious "other" variety. Where its use is admitted, this tends to be in the form of recommendations that learners select one of the two major varieties and consistently stick with it, without mixing them. Other varieties (e.g., AusE) are sometimes just mentioned, without specific advice. As Kaplan, Baldauf and Kamwangamalu (2011, p. 114) note, "The English that is taught in schools tends to be exonormative in the sense that users – teachers and policymakers – look to British or North American models for linguistic norms."

Evidence for the preference of native speaker models (British or American English) in language curricula abounds in the literature. With reference to Botswana, for example, Alimi (2011) observes how "StBrE is the preferred variety stipulated by the official documents for educational purposes" (2011, p. 314), as a consequence of "the attachment to the colonial legacy" (p. 318). The same factor is the reason why British English continues to be held as the ideal target in many other post-colonial educational settings, such as Malaysia, where the guidelines published by the Ministry of Education recommend that "Teachers should use Standard British English as a reference and model for spelling, grammar and pronunciation" (Ministry of Education, Malaysia 2016), or Brunei, where "the English variety that acts as the theoretical model for education is Standard British English (SBE)" (Omarali 2017, p. 162), just to name a few. Even in a context such as the Indian subcontinent, where English has deep roots, important intranational roles and a rich and well-established literature, and where local varieties of English are generally viewed favorably on the social level, British English still continues to be considered the "best" form of English (Bernaisch and Koch 2016). As Parakrama (2012, p. 122) remarks, "[i]t took us 40-odd years to uncouple the English language from England and the old colonial bandwagon, but the jolly old umbilical cord is still in place, it seems."

In countries with different or no colonial history, the dominance of "native speaker" varieties (again, British and/or American English) is overwhelming. Evidence can be gained both from language education policy, such as in Thailand (Snodin and Young 2015), Cameroon (Atechi and Angwah 2016), Finland (Ranta 2010), and Japan (Toh 2014) and from an examination of ELT textbooks, a domain where research

> has repeatedly shown that materials have traditionally tended to focus on 'established' and standard representations of language, most often presenting British – and to a certain extent American – Standard varieties as the sole valid exemplifications of the English language. (Lopriore and Vettorel 2016, p. 13)

So, as A. Matsuda (2012b, pp. 170–171) observes, "the 'standard' varieties from the UK and the US [. . .] have dominated the ELT profession for a long time, and thus seem 'natural' to most teachers and students" (see also Ali 2014; Su 2016; Tévar 2014, for some country-specific accounts).

The normalization and the naturalization of the "native speaker" model are so strong that the majority of the numerous studies investigating attitudes toward models for pedagogic purposes have shown a clear preference for the same two dominant varieties of English. For example, a study carried out in mainland China and in Taiwan investigating university students' views on phonological and lexicogrammatical norms found that the majority of the participants held the "native speaker" as the ideal model to aspire to (Ren et al. 2016). Similar findings were reported by Snodin and Young (2015) in Thailand, where American English was found to be the preferred model to learn, followed by British English; by Hundt et al. (2015) in Fiji, where participants expressed preference for the same two varieties

(albeit with British English being the favorite), significantly more so than Australian or New Zealand English, despite the relative geographical vicinity of these; by Buckingham (2014) in Oman, where her study found "preference for speakers and accents students understand to be from the UK" (p. 50); and by Csizér and Kontra (2012) in Hungary, where the researchers reported "students' positive disposition toward native speakers as well as their personal aspiration to speak and behave like native speakers of English" (p. 6).

The predilection for British and American English is evident even when research participants show awareness of other varieties and/or of the role of English as an international lingua franca. In a study investigating Taiwanese teachers' attitudes, for example, Luo (2017) found that "while the participant teachers are aware of the notion of ELF, they emphasize the importance of teaching English that conforms to NS norms" (p. 9). Similarly, most of the participants in a research involving EFL teachers studying at a British university, for example, expressed the view that a "standard" form of English was to be preferred to local varieties or to ELF-based models and, tellingly, "[. . .] [t]his perspective was upheld even when participants acknowledged that it does not really correspond to the reality of Englishes which are in use worldwide" (Young and Walsh 2010, p. 135).

Localized forms of English tend to be seen as "non-native" and hence inappropriate. In Spain, for example, Cutillas Espinosa (2017, p. 29) found that "[t]he general public [. . .] is not willing to accept a non-native English standard [and] Spanish-accented English [. . .] is regarded as embarrassing." Another study carried out in South Korea revealed that the participants (teachers of English) expressed "strong rejection and ignorance of [. . .] Asian Englishes, [which were] stigmatised as 'wrong English'" (Ahn 2015, p. 132). In China, Wang's (2015) research revealed that both teachers and students were reluctant to accept "China English" as a viable goal in the language classroom. Significantly, all these studies involved participants from the Expanding Circle, where English does not play intranational roles and is very much treated like any other foreign language.

What is particularly remarkable about the dominance of the "native speaker" model in ELT, with its narrow focus on the idealized varieties pertaining to one or two specific countries, is that it ignores, and is in stark contrast to, three very important facts about English in the world:

1. Many varieties of English exist in the world besides British and American English.
2. Within a worldwide context, the prevailing role of English is that of an international lingua franca, used in a broad range of domains (e.g., education, science and technology, tourism, literature, etc.).
3. English is more often used in multilingual environments than it is in monolingual ones.

And yet, learners of English "are still being encouraged to aim for the kind of English that British or North American English speakers use among themselves"

(Jenkins 2012, p. 487). The rest of the chapter, therefore, examines the ways in which the "native speaker" model has been problematized, primarily in sociolinguistics.

Problematizing the "Native Speaker" Model

The idea that learning English means becoming as much as possible like a native speaker of the language has been challenged for at least half a century now. Criticism has stemmed particularly from the consideration that the forms and functions of English extend well beyond the shores of Britain or the USA. In particular, the validity and the relevance of the "native speaker" model have been questioned on the basis that:

(a) There are many varieties of English in the world, outside Britain and the USA, which have emerged as a consequence of the spread of the language that took place during British colonialism.
(b) The use of English as an international language by people for whom it is not necessarily their main language is numerically far greater than its use a national language in places such as Britain, the USA, or Australia.
(c) English is not the exclusive "property" of its "native speakers."
(d) "Native speakers" are not necessarily expert users of the language or ideal teachers of it.
(e) "Native speakers" represent a minority of English-using people in the world, and a significant proportion of communication in English does not involve them.

From this perspective, learning English is very different from learning, say, Japanese, Italian, or even a more international language like Arabic. While in these cases the links between these languages and the countries where they are spoken is generally very clear, no such exclusive connection can be said to exist between English and one cultural and/or geographical country or region.

All of this has been discussed extensively in three interrelated academic fields: World Englishes (WE), English as a lingua franca (ELF), and translanguaging.

World Englishes

The central principle in WE is that each one of the varieties of English that developed in different parts of the world as a consequence of the spread of the language that came with the British Empire deserves systematic sociolinguistic description and is also potentially a legitimate goal in English language curricula. The monolithic "native speaker" model is inadequate with regard to the plurality of Englishes in the world and the diverse cultures that they represent. It is irrelevant outside its own cultural base (i.e., the Inner Circle) and should be replaced by the varieties of English used where teaching and learning take place: Indian English in India, Malaysian English in Malaysia, and so on.

The origins of this idea can be traced back to a publication in the mid-1960s, where Halliday et al. (1964, p. 293) observed:

> Where the choice used to be between American (in a few marginal cases) and British English, now it is between American, British, Australian or other regional variants. English is no longer the possession of the British, or even of the British and the Americans, but an international language which increasingly large numbers of people adopt for at least some of their purposes . . . and this one language, English, exists in an increasingly large number of different varieties.

This comment, especially within the context of English language teaching, was rather controversial at the time. So much so that American sociolinguist Clifford Prator felt that this position was altogether flawed and, in a famous paper, called it a "heresy" (Prator 1968). In his view, the main problem with the suggestion that varieties other than the British or the American could be seen as valid teaching models was that it would produce "a tongue caught up in a process that tends to transform [English] swiftly and quite predictably into an utterly dissimilar tongue" (Prator 1968, p. 464). He particularly dissented with the notion that postcolonial varieties of English could be pedagogically viable. With reference to Indian English, for example, he remarked that it was "the most unintelligible educated variety" (p. 473).

Braj Kachru's response to Prator's paper might be considered the location of the roots of WE. In his own paper, Kachru (1976) forcefully criticized the kind of language purism displayed by Prator's critique as originating from ignorance of the fact that postcolonial varieties of English had their own validity as expressions of the sociocultural environments in which English had spread:

> It will [. . .] be appropriate that the native speakers of English abandon the attitude of linguistic chauvinism and replace it with an attitude of linguistic tolerance. The strength of the English language is in presenting the Americanness in its American variety, and the Englishness in its British variety. Let us, therefore, appreciate and encourage the Third World varieties of English too. The individuality of the Third World varieties, such as the Indianness of its Indian variety, is contributing to the linguistic mosaic which the speakers of the English language have created in the English speaking world. The attitude toward these varieties ought to be one of appreciation and understanding. (Kachru 1976, p. 236)

Kachru's paper contained notions that would soon become core in WE: (a) that postcolonial varieties of English were capable of expressing different cultures; (b) that linguistic differences had developed as a result of different cultural milieus (and not as a consequence of imperfect acquisition); and (c) that, therefore, such varieties deserved the same appreciation as British and American Englishes. The essence of the WE paradigm is perhaps best encapsulated in the following citation, from a paper by Kachru's colleague Larry Smith:

> It is important to note that there is a single English language but many varieties. The language of the United States is American English. Certainly speakers of American English are identifiable by their pronunciation, intonation, stress, rhythm, and some vocabulary items but the language (the general orthography, lexicology, semantics, syntax – the grammar, if

you will), is English. It is the same English that is spoken in Singapore, however; Singapore English speakers are also identifiable by their pronunciation, intonation, stress, rhythm, and some vocabulary items. (Smith 1976, p. 38)

Again, these were soon to become central points in the World Englishes. As Bolton (2004, p. 368) observes, there was "an evident concern with monocentrism versus pluricentrism, i.e. one English (with all its geographical and social varieties), or multifarious Englishes (deserving consideration and recognition as autonomous or semi-autonomous varieties of the language)." This remained a debated idea for a long time. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the most eminent critic of it was Randolph Quirk, who was of the belief that outside the Inner Circle, "the relatively narrow range of purposes for which the non-native needs to use English (even in ESL countries) is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome standard form that looks as good on paper as it sounds in speech" (Quirk 1985, p. 6) and so the tolerant attitudes toward varieties of English was a "half-baked quackery" (Quirk 1990, p. 6).

The pedagogical focus in WE has however remained strong over the years, and a paradigm shift in ELT has continued to be advocated, generally the lines in Table 1 (see also Matsuda and Matsuda 2018, pp. 66–69). A plethora of publications have been dedicated to the subject of the teaching of English as an international language, such as Alsagoff et al. (2012), Gagliardi and Maley (2010), Galloway (2017), Holliday (2005), Kirkpatrick (2007), Kirkpatrick and Sussex (2012a), Mahboob and Barratt (2014), Marlina (2017), Marlina and Giri (2014), Martin (2018), A. Matsuda (2012a, 2017), McKay (2002), McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2017), Sharifian (2009), and Zacharias and Manara (2013). And yet, actual implementation on the ground, i.e., in curricula and in the classroom, has struggled to materialize. In one of the latest publications, A. Matsuda and P. K. Matsuda (2018) comment that a truly WE-informed paradigm shift has not yet taken place "although it has gained some recognition in the professional discourse of ELT" (p. 70).

This has been because of three main reasons. One is the presence of the deep-rooted beliefs about language and language learning discussed above, which still dominate ELT practice. Secondly, the TESOL industry exercises its own influence, given that a one-size-fits-all approach is clearly more advantageous, from a marketing point of view, than a situation where curricula were to take into account different varieties of English and sociocultural settings. The third factor is the lack of recognition of local varieties of English in their respective countries. In Singapore,

Table 1 A paradigm shift in ELT

From	To
Exclusive focus on one variety of English	Exposure to different varieties of English
Focus on the imitation of "native speaker" norms	Focus on communication strategies
Cultural content based on Britain or the US	Cultural content from different contexts
Global English as ideologically unproblematic	Sensitivity to connections between English (and its varieties) and power

for example, the local variety of English has attracted a great deal of attention in sociolinguistics but does not enjoy the same degree of recognition outside academia. Indeed, the government launched the "Speak Good English Movement" (SGEM) in 2000, actively seeking to eradicate "Singlish." Tellingly, representatives of the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Education explained the government position by stating that "While Singlish may be a fascinating academic topic for linguists to write papers about, Singapore has no interest in becoming a curious zoo specimen to be dissected and described by scholars" (Liew and Ho 2008). Even without explicit governmental interventions, local varieties of English don't tend to be considered suitable for teaching purposes, even if they may be regarded favorably in terms of solidarity and other social purposes. Whether this is due to purely pragmatic reasons (the adoption of the same standard English ensures better communication) or a colonial mentality that doesn't seem to wane (Kumaravadivelu 2012; Parakrama 2012), the fact remains that

> Specific proposals addressing the question as to just what might constitute learning goals instead of the increasingly questioned native-speaker model are scarce indeed. When we look at curricula, textbooks, and reference materials to draw conclusions as to what constitutes actual course content, we see that native-speaker models remain firmly entrenched. (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 13)

According to Kumaravadivelu (2012, 2016), what is needed is a decisive break from what he calls the "native speaker episteme":

> Breaking the dependency on Western knowledge production will open up avenues for breaking other lateral dependencies pertaining to teaching methods, the teaching of culture, and instructional materials – three of the pedagogic domains where the native-speaker episteme has a direct bearing on what shapes classroom climate and classroom discourse. (Kumaravadivelu 2012, p. 18)

Kumaravadivelu's perspective is therefore that the entire ELT profession needs to decolonize itself in order to truly have a WE-informed approach to the teaching and learning of English worldwide. Indeed, the decolonization of ELT is at the heart of the WE paradigm, where many of the cultural referents are found in postcolonial writers' taking possession of the English language by remodeling it into different forms that would enable them to express local (e.g., African, Asian, Caribbean) sentiments:

> The old colonies are not wholly free. The British, as every schoolboy knows, gave the world cricket, parliaments, sun hats, boundary commissions, legal systems, roads, mission schools and the English language. But they also left us, disguised as freedom, this dominion of spoons. The English language, like many of the other bequests, is tainted by history as a result. [...] The language, like much else in the newly independent societies, needs to be decolonized, to be remade in other images, if those of us who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon culture are to be more than Uncle Toms. (Rushdie 1982)

Rushdie's words echoed those of Chinua Achebe, who, back in the 1960s, had famously stated that in order to "carry the weight of [his] African experience,"

the English language needed to be "a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings" (Achebe 1965, p. 30).

To conclude this section, it seems appropriate to cite again A. Matsuda and P. K. Matsuda, who point out that "[t]he next generation of WE scholars need to develop new theoretical and methodological perspectives to update the understanding of the complexity of English in the world" (p. 72). In other words, the decolonization of ELT, and the break from the "native speaker" episteme, needs to go hand in hand with a re-conceptualization of English in the world (Saraceni 2015, 2018).

Very far removed from the postcolonial frame, the other related academic field from which criticism of the "native speaker" model has been expressed is that of English as a lingua franca (ELF).

English as a Lingua Franca

Like World Englishes, the field of English as a lingua franca began with pedagogical concerns as its primary drive (see Bayyurt and Akcan 2015, for an overview). This area of research, specifically focusing on the forms and the uses of English in communication among people for whom English is not their main language, began toward in the early 2000s, as a kind of "spin-off" of WE and rapidly developed into a full-fledged field. It shares the WE principle that linguistic variations that depart from "native speaker" norms are legitimate manifestations of language use "resulting in the emergence of innovative linguistic and pragmatic forms" (Cogo and Dewey 2012, p. 19). It also shares the preoccupation that the "native speaker" model emanating from Britain and/or the USA is irrelevant to learners of English around the world:

> [i]n place of the traditional second language acquisition target of native-like competence and adherence to so-called native speaker norms, the goal of the lingua franca curriculum is for students to be able to use English successfully in regional (and international) settings. Learners no longer need to sound like native speakers when speaking English. [. . .] Rather, they need to be able to communicate successfully in multilingual settings. (Kirkpatrick 2012, p. 39)

However, these general principles in ELF are based not so much on the recognition of the existence of different national varieties of English, as on the consideration that native speakers constitute a small minority of users of English in the world, where the language is instead employed more often than not as a means of international communication among people who use it *not* as their main language. Indeed, from this point of view, Outer Circle varieties such as Indian English or Nigerian English may be as inappropriate as British English for students in the Expanding Circle, where English is primarily used for international communication, and where, therefore, the most suitable model would be one which reflects this specific function of English used as an international lingua franca.

Barbara Seidlhofer's (2001) paper calling for the closing of a "conceptual gap" between descriptions of varieties of English in postcolonial settings and a focus on the uses of English as an international lingua franca can be considered, perhaps, the

start of this particular branch of sociolinguistics. This was partly inspired by Jennifer Jenkins's (2000) pioneering work on the phonology of English as an international language, which had identified certain phonological features of English that were "core" and affected intelligibility if pronounced differently and others that were "non-core" and their mispronunciation wasn't problematic (since meaning was easily recoverable from the context). It had pedagogical implications since it demonstrated that learners didn't have to focus their attention excessively (or not at all) on "core" features and it wasn't necessary for them to make efforts to try and follow models such as RP or General American. It was thus important to describe the "common core" of English as a lingua franca to be able to arrive at a full model that would include phonological, lexical, and grammatical norms that could be a "feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL [English as a Native Language] in appropriate contexts of use" (Seidlhofer 2001, p. 150) and would equip speakers of English in international settings with the necessary linguistic knowledge:

> anyone participating in international communication needs to be familiar with, and have in their linguistic repertoire for use, as and when appropriate, certain forms (phonological, lexicogrammatical, etc.) that are widely used and widely intelligible across groups of English speakers from different first language backgrounds. (Jenkins 2006, p. 161)

In the early days of ELF research, therefore, the focus was very much on the identification and description of formal linguistic features of English used in lingua franca situations. However, within a few years, increasingly greater attention began to be placed to the linguistic *behavior* of ELF speakers in terms of meaning negotiation and communication strategies (Seidlhofer 2009, p. 240). "This has largely come about with the greater realization that ELF communication is by nature especially fluid, and that speakers' use of linguistic forms [is] especially variable" (Cogo and Dewey 2012, p. 3). As Canagarajah (2007) observed:

> Because of the diversity at the heart of this communicative medium, LFE [Lingua Franca English] is intersubjectively constructed in each specific context of interaction. The form of this English is negotiated by each set of speakers for their purposes. The speakers are able to monitor each other's language proficiency to determine mutually the appropriate grammar, phonology, lexical range, and pragmatic conventions that would ensure intelligibility. Therefore, it is difficult to describe this language a priori. (Canagarajah 2007, p. 925)

This was an important development both, in general, in terms of a more modern understanding of language and, more specifically, in terms of pedagogical implications. On the one hand, "ELF is not a variety of English with clearly demarcated formal linguistic properties to be set against some institutionalized norm of the so-called standard language, but as the variable exploitation of linguistic resources." (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 110) On the other hand, and as a consequence, "no single set of linguistic and other communicative norms can be put forward as the most suitable for all ELT contexts. Again the implication is that instead of norms, learners need to be taught about adaptation and negotiation" (Baker 2015, p. 201).

As part of the move away from form and an increased emphasis on language practice operated within the EFL paradigm, there is also the realization that

boundaries between languages are more fluid than was traditionally thought: "ELF is [...] marked by a degree of hybridity not found in other kinds of language use, as speakers from diverse languages introduce a range of non-English forms into their ELF use" (Jenkins 2013, p. 31). And so, ultimately,

> What we are looking at in ELF, then, is an entirely new, communication-focused way of approaching the notion of 'language' that is far more relevant to twenty-first century uses of English (and probably other global languages) than traditional bounded-variety approaches, and one that has far more in common with post-modern approaches to language. (Jenkins 2013, p. 37)

Indeed, in a later paper Jenkins identifies three phases of ELF research, whereby in the third one:

> the focus moves again, this time away from ELF as the framework to ELF within a framework of multilingualism. English, while always in the (potential) mix, is now conceived as one among many other languages, one resource among many, available but not necessarily used, with ELF defined not merely by its variability but by its complexity and emergent nature. (Jenkins 2015, p. 77)

Jenkins's observations direct our attention the third aspect of the reconceptualization of English that has – or, better, *should* have – an impact on ELT theory and practice: the coexistence and co-*use* of English and other languages (see, e.g., Cogo 2012; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Kirkpatrick 2010; Klimpfinger 2009; Schaller-Schwaner 2011).

Translanguaging

Besides the existence of many distinct varieties and the role of the language as an international lingua franca, another striking fact about English in the world is the multilingual environments in which it is used. The often-cited piece of linguistic statistics showing that people for whom English is an additional language far outnumber those for whom is their only language should be considered within the broader context, whereby multilingualism is more common than monolingualism. Or, to put it in another way: multilingualism (not necessarily involving English, of course) is "the normal mode of communication that, with some exceptions in some monolingual enclaves, characterizes communities throughout the world" (García 2009, p. 44), while monolingualism is the exception. This is possibly the fact that most obviously contrasts with the accepted wisdom that still dominates both mainstream SLA and in TESOL, where monolingualism is seen as "normal" and nativeness as the yardstick against which language proficiency is measured (May 2014). The evident paradox here is that the goal of language instruction is taken to be that of turning linguistically normal individuals, i.e., speakers of *one* language, into special, extraordinary, unusual ones, i.e., speakers of *more than one* language. But the paradox is dealt with by disregarding the learner's pre-existing linguistic repertoire as productive and/or by treating it as an obstacle to the efficiency with which

one acquires a second language. The concepts of *interlanguage* and *fossilization* are based on this principle.

In recent years, this has come under renewed criticism in sociolinguistics, where, following on from Williams's (1994) pioneering work on bilingual education, a considerable amount of attention has been dedicated to the fluid interplay of languages that multilingual speakers employ (Pennycook 2016), accompanied by the "increasing recognition of the need to account for plurilingual repertoires becoming the *zeitgeist*" (Taylor and Snoddon 2013, p. 440). The proliferation of terms to describe this phenomenon is indicative of the volume of scholarly activity that has developed about it: *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen et al. 2011), *metrolingualism* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), *translingual practice* (Canagarajah 2013), *heteroglossia* (Blackledge and Creese 2014), and *translanguaging* (García and Li 2014), the latter being the one that has caught on more than any other, especially in the context of education. Part of a general reorientation toward language as fluid, dynamic, local social practice as opposed to a universal, static system, translanguaging can be understood as "using one's idiolect, that is one's linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language names and labels" (Li 2017, p. 11), and so this means that the "boundaries between languages, between languages and other communicative means, and the relationship between language and the nation-state are being constantly reassessed, broken, or adjusted by speakers on the ground" (p. 7). In turn, this also presupposes challenging the concept of what *a* language is and, at the same time, what learning *a* language means.

From a translanguaging viewpoint, the "native speaker" model is called into question even more profoundly than in WE or ELF. The primacy of linguistic repertoires over discrete, separable languages implies that "the goals of language learning involve *expanding* the meaning-making repertoires of individuals" (Leung and Scarino 2016, p. 88, my emphasis), which is the exact opposite to the idea of progressively approximating an idealized (but never defined) monolingual "native speaker" status by reducing or eliminating the negative interference of one's "mother tongue."

Concluding Remarks

The linguistic goal in the English language curriculum has been problematized for the last half a century. The combination of (a) deep-rooted layperson's beliefs about language, corroborated by (b) prevailing notions in mainstream SLA research, and exploited by (c) the TESOL industry to its own advantage has meant that a real paradigm shift in English language teaching has not yet fully taken place. In recent years, however, there has also been a call for great *impact* of research outside the confines of academia. While this notion has sometimes been criticized for expecting a too direct and immediate link between research activity and change in social practices, the principle of humanities research engaging with society is certainly a valid one. The way forward then is to establish a fruitful dialogue between, one the one hand, a better and more sophisticated understanding of what language in general and English in particular are and, on the other hand, language teaching practices that

are sensitive to both the global roles of English and local sociocultural realities. Volumes such as A. Matsuda (2017), Marlina (2017), Galloway (2017), McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2017), and Martin (2018) describe how this dialogue is beginning to take place in different parts of the world.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Literacy as a Pedagogical Goal in English Language Teaching
▶ Imagined Communities, Identity, and English Language Learning in a Multilingual World
▶ Promoting Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching: A Productive Bilingualism Perspective
▶ Pronunciation in English as Lingua Franca

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Languaging and Translanguaging for English Language Teaching

14

Christine Hardigree and Briana Ronan

Contents

Abstract

Translanguaging has swiftly developed as a major paradigm in language acquisition research. Translanguaging has challenged language educators and researchers to explore language learning from the perspective of viewing multilingualism not as a capacity for multiple, separate linguistic codes, but as an expanded single linguistic repertoire. This shift has called into question traditional language theory and pedagogy and raised new possibilities. This chapter outlines the emergence of

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the term "translanguaging" from its initiation in Welsh education policy to its subsequent adoption in language minority education research in the United States. Specifically, this chapter describes a research project that employed translanguaging as a site for examining theoretical and pedagogical shifts in language learning. Also discussed are future directions for translanguaging pedagogies to promote linguistic equity in a variety of educational contexts.

Introduction

Education policy and instructional practice in many English-speaking countries have historically kept languages separate from one another. This pedagogical and political stance originated from the misconception that separation of languages helps students develop the target language without the interference of their home language. Language separatism has been a dominant ideology in bilingual pedagogy, stemming from erroneous belief that the bilingual individual is the sum of two monolinguals (Grosjean 1989). Creese and Blackledge (2010) note that scholars have developed a variety of terms that describe bilingualism from this dual-monolingual perspective, including terms such as "parallel monolingualism" (Heller 1999), "bilingualism through monolingualism" (Swain 1983), and "separate bilingualism" (Creese and Blackledge 2008). This nomenclature reflects the monolingual paradigm of language acquisition that positions languages as discrete mental silos of information, which more recent research rejects.

In recent decades, linguists and education scholars have challenged these monolingual assumptions that have long dominated language education policy and pedagogy. Their work centers on the concepts of *languaging* (Swain 2006; Wei 2011) and *translanguaging* (Williams 1996; García 2009; Baker 2011), which view language as a communicative practice rather than a code or system of rules and structures. This chapter traces the historical foundations of languaging and translanguaging, noting their emergence from the field of linguistics and entrance into educational research. Translanguaging, specifically, is examined first as a theory of multilingual communication, second as a practice for employing linguistic resources, and finally as a pedagogical strategy for teaching language learners in a variety of educational contexts.

Historical and Theoretical Foundations of Languaging and Translanguaging

Contemporary research on translanguaging and languaging stands on the shoulders of work by linguist John Gumperz. Gumperz (1977, 1982) was one of the first scholars to dispute the perception that alternation of languages represented linguistic

deficiency. Gumperz's landmark research on "code-switching" examined how naturally occurring talk in different bilingual communities revealed how individuals alternate languages strategically to effectively communicate social and pragmatic meanings. Gumperz (1982) defined conversational code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p. 59). Through his examination of bilingual conversations, Gumperz (1982) found that code-switching interlocutors have no difficulty understanding one another, and "[a]part from the alternation itself, the [codeswitching] passages have all the earmarks of ordinary conversations in a single language" (Gumperz 1982, p. 60). His work on code-switching in bilingual communities challenged the structuralist conceptualization of language as a closed system of rules enacted independently of an interlocutor's behavior. By demonstrating how bilingual speakers alternate between codes depending on particular needs and contexts, he helped shape the view of language as socially defined and contextually based *practice*.

Building on Gumperz's early work in code-switching, scholars in the field of sociolinguistics and education have since refined their approach to analyzing communication, and as a result, they have adopted the term *languaging* in an attempt to more accurately capture linguistic practices from a socially situated, interactional perspective. This social turn in linguistics rejects the objectification of language as a code or system in favor of languaging as a process that occurs when humans "interact lingually with the world" (García and Li 2014, p. 8). Languaging focuses not on the product or rules of communication, but rather the action of it. As Swain (2006) notes, "...it is too simplistic to think of language as being only the conveyor of meaning. Rather we need to think of language as also being an agent in the meaning making" (p. 96). While some scholars like Swain (2006) frame languaging as a cognitive mediator for individual speakers, others have examined languaging from a poststructuralist perspective. These scholars view languaging as actions and practices by speakers within specific sociopolitical contexts (Pennycook 2010; Block 2003; Blommaert 2010; Canagarajah 2013a). In their research, language is comprised of a set of tools or resources that is wielded by the speaker to meet his or her needs, and languaging is the result of this appropriation. Scholars studying bilingualism noted that bilingual speakers' languaging practices were even more dynamic given that they draw from a complex, multilingual set of linguistic resources. This attention given to the perspective of the bilingual speaker resulted in the coining of the term *translanguaging*.

From Languaging to Translanguaging

Cen Williams, a Welsh language scholar, is credited with introducing the term *translanguaging* to the field of bilingual education (Lewis et al. 2012). Williams originated the Welsh term *trawsieithu* to describe a particular pedagogic practice in bilingual schools in Wales. In this practice, the English and Welsh languages occupy different receptive (reading, listening) and productive (speaking, writing) functions. As Williams (1996) explains, "translanguaging means that you receive information

through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh)" (p. 64). This strategic and systematic differentiation of language use allows for students' stronger language to reinforce their weaker language, consequently supporting their reception and comprehension of the instructional content. As a result, translanguaging requires a deep understanding of the material in order to internalize, process, and relay the information in another language and through another mode (Lewis et al. 2012).

While translanguaging was promoted by Williams and other Welsh academics, educators, and government in the 1980s, it did not achieve significant academic recognition outside the country until the early 2000s, when bilingual education scholars García (2009) and Baker (2011) popularized the term in North American and British education scholarship (Lewis et al. 2012). Baker, who first translated the Welsh term to the English *translanguaging*, defines the term as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences and gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (Baker 2011, p. 288). Unlike languaging, which focuses on general language practices, translanguaging emphasizes the competence of bilingual speakers as they shuttle or alternate between codes within an integrated system. Translanguaging further differentiates itself from its predecessor through the added prefix "trans," which denotes the transgression of previous categorical distinctions of language use and reveals a liberating approach to understanding language use that transcends systems and spaces, transforms language practices, and represents a transcultural and transdisciplinary orientation (García and Li 2014).

García and Li (2014) point out that early definitions of translanguaging refer to bilinguals' shifting between different language systems. In their writing of the term, they argue for a unified perspective: ". . .for us translanguaging does not refer to two separate languages nor to a synthesis of different language practices or to a hybrid mixture. Rather translanguaging refers to new language practices. . ." (p. 21). They argue that translanguaging entails use of a unified languaging repertoire from which speakers strategically select features for communication. Canagarajah (2011a) further expands this definition to include the mixing of other communicative modes and diverse symbol systems in text, using a term he calls, "codemeshing" (p. 403).

For most translanguaging scholars, there is a clear distinction between code-switching and translanguaging. Code-switching refers to the alternation between two or more different languages or systems of communication, whereas translanguaging refers to how bilingual individuals deploy their entire semiotic repertoire, independent of the constraints of specific languages. As García (2009) explains, the "concept of translanguaging makes obvious that there are no clear-cut boundaries between the languages of bilinguals" (p. 47). Translanguaging is more than a pedagogic resource for teachers, as it is also the dominant communicative practice through which bilingual communities "make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García 2009, p. 45). Viewed from this emic perspective, translanguaging describes not the alternating of two autonomous linguistic codes, but the employment of a bilingual resource for meaning-making.

Pedagogical Approaches to Translanguaging and Languaging

Translanguaging as originally described by Williams is a pedagogic tool for developing students' bilingualism/biliteracy and therefore was originally thought to be less compatible with students who had not already developed competencies in both languages (Lewis et al. 2012). However, the extension of translanguaging pedagogy with English language learners in North America has since challenged this notion. Baker (2011) suggests that in order to support the development of a fuller bilingualism, teachers can design translanguaging activities so that receptive and productive skills are balanced across the two languages and students have ample opportunities to undertake challenging tasks in both languages. By providing opportunities for reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills across the two languages, a translanguaging pedagogy avoids an issue common among language learners in monolingual contexts: students reproducing content without processing information. Since translanguaging across modes requires students to receive information from one language and reproduce it another, it is unlikely that they will reproduce information directly from one source to another without processing it.

Additionally, Baker (2011) argues that translanguaging can provide at least four specific pedagogical advantages for the language learner. Translanguaging (1) allows students to develop a deeper understanding of the content being taught, (2) helps students develop literacy and oral proficiency in their weaker language, (3) facilitates home-school connections by providing opportunities for language minority parent involvement, and (4) allows for integration of beginning learners and more fluent speakers of a language. These four advantages have been studied in a variety of learning contexts, including bilingual programs, English as a second language classrooms, and nonconventional, complementary schools.

Bilingual and Dual Immersion Classroom Contexts

In the United States, significant advances in translanguaging pedagogy and research have been made by Ofelia García and a group of educators and linguists based in New York City (García and Kleyn 2016). Their work, carried out through the support of the New York State Education Department, seeks to transform the educational opportunities for language minority students. Through this partnership, researchers plan and implement translanguaging pedagogical practices alongside local teachers from early childhood to high school classrooms.

Many (but not all) of these interventions take place in bilingual programs, where the use of translanguaging practices expands student access to the curriculum. In one study in a second-grade transitional bilingual classroom, students were previously provided English language arts instruction with a monolingual, English scripted curriculum (Kleyn and Yau 2016). During the intervention, however, students were encouraged to use their home language, Spanish, in addition to English to engage in structured and spontaneous conversations and writing assignments. As a result of the

change, the researcher and teacher saw an increase in oral participation by Spanish-dominant students. Students' writing also included multiple instances of English and Spanish usage, revealing a fuller understanding of the topic than had previously been observed in students' English-only texts (Kleyn and Yau 2016).

In the United States, dual immersion and two-way immersion programs are designed to meet the needs of both minority language students who are learning English as a new language as well as fluent English speakers. These two groups are often taught together in the same classroom with language activities designed to alternate between the two languages. Despite having goals of bilingualism and biliteracy, many dual immersion programs have historically maintained a practice of language separation with certain hours of the day, teachers, and subjects assigned to each language. In these settings, language mixing is discouraged in an attempt to eliminate linguistic confusion or negative transfer. Efforts to incorporate translanguaging practices in dual immersion classrooms are first often met with skepticism on the part of administrators and teachers (García and Kleyn 2016). However, when teachers and students in dual immersion settings reject a language separatist ideology and use their full linguistic repertoires, minority language learners "reclaim" their bilingualism through dynamic language interactions while engaging in rigorous academic content (Espinoza et al. 2016).

English as a Second Language and Linguistically Diverse Classroom Contexts

In addition to bilingual settings, translanguaging pedagogies have been adopted in English as a second/new language (ESL/ENL) classroom. In the United States, the inclusion of translanguaging practices in the ESL/ENL classroom challenges the hegemonic role of English and promotes a multilingual learning environment (García and Kleyn 2016). In linguistically diverse ESL/ENL classes with students representing a variety of language backgrounds, teachers employ translanguaging pedagogies by providing students with translations of essential questions and key texts in their home languages, encouraging students to engage in home language conversations with peers and utilize their home language and English in their writing (Woodley and Brown 2016).

Similar translanguaging studies have been conducted in international settings, where immigration and globalization have resulted in super-diverse linguistic communities. Belgium-based researcher Rosier (2017) investigated the use of translanguaging pedagogies in two Flemish schools that included immigrant students from a variety of immigrant language backgrounds, including Turkish, Spanish, Arabic, and Pakistani. Rosier (2017) found that the use of translanguaging differed in the two schools due to opposing school policies. One school had an existing policy that encouraged the use of students' home language in the classroom, while the other school's existing policy discouraged the use of home languages. Students and teachers from the school with a multilingual policy found translanguaging to be a useful scaffold for learning. They were more comfortable speaking in their home

languages and readily translated materials for their peers. Translanguaging at the school with the more restrictive language policy was more covert and at times resisted by both the teacher and the students. Rosier (2017) concludes that the effectiveness of translanguaging pedagogies is not only dependent on teacher and student attitudes but larger issues related to school culture and institutional policies.

Nonconventional School Contexts

Translanguaging research has not been limited to formal education contexts. In their research on complementary/heritage language schools in the United Kingdom, Creese and Blackledge (2010) explore how translanguaging practices can be endorsed and supported in the contexts of nontraditional learning curricula. The primary focus of complementary schools is on the teaching of heritage languages, values, and culture. Complementary schools typically serve language minority students who attend classes over the weekend. Since they are organized by local communities rather than governmental education authorities, complementary schools' pedagogy and language policies can differ significantly from those of state-sponsored schools. Creese and Blackledge (2010) found that students and teachers in complementary schools engaged in flexible languaging practices. In their observations of a Gujarati heritage language class, the teacher mixed English words with Gujarati suffixes to coin new heteroglossic vocabulary that allowed her to accomplish the work of teaching. Teachers and students alike drew upon their shared heritage language and English to make meaning, transmit information, and perform identity work. Such examples demonstrate how a flexible bilingual pedagogy can "make links for classroom participants between the social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains of their lives" (2010, p. 112).

Critiques of Translanguaging

Throughout the past decade, as studies employing translanguaging have further developed and defined the concept, key divisions have arisen in the research regarding the underlying linguistic and political premises of translanguaging, practical concerns over classroom management of languages, and critical questions about the role of translanguaging specifically within heritage and bilingual programs.

Most recently, MacSwan (2017) has called to reconcile the poststructuralist assertion that languages are fluid and connected social constructs with the existing cognitive research about code-switching. Specifically, he strongly cautioned against García et al.'s claim that multilingualism at the individual level is not "psychologically real" (MacSwan 2017, p. 187). That is, the cognitive nature of translanguaging remains disputed: Does the brain catalog linguistic information according to separate language "systems" and share overlapping resources (MacSwan 2017)? Or does the brain eschew language storage according to "fenced off" cognitive regions in favor of the unitary view of a single language repertoire of varying resources (Otheguy

et al. 2018)? The answer to this question reflects the divide among researchers regarding how languages ought to be conceptualized overall.

While MacSwan agrees that translanguaging as a pedagogical practice is a benefit to students for its liberation from previous rigid language separation, he argues that the current paradigm of translanguaging should build upon previous linguistic work that conceptualizes internal mental grammars that reflect externally (i.e., socio-politically) named languages. He proffers an "integrated multilingual model" of separate, but overlapping, mental grammars in contrast to the single-repertoire model (or as he terms, "the unitary model of multilingualism") (p. 180). In this manner, languages retain their unique mental grammars, in line with Chomskian theory of universal grammar, but overlap where resources across languages are shared. He specifically cautions against the practical and political implications of dissolving language identification.

In contrast, critical and poststructuralist research conceives language as socially real, that is, defined through human-created sociopolitical systems, whose separations are not necessarily reflected cognitively (Otheguy et al. 2018). While a call for continued refinement of the cognitive nature of translanguaging appears reasonable at this juncture, it is not at all clear that Chomskian theories should be the default mental model. Translanguaging is claimed and continues to be developed by researchers of theoretically divergent backgrounds who conceive of and prioritize neurolinguistic models differently. How these differences will be bridged or resolved is a question for future translanguaging research.

The question of who owns translanguaging has prompted criticism from researchers working from critical theories who caution that the term, translanguaging, has become too diluted (Canagarajah 2011b) or too far removed from its political, counterhegemonic origins (Flores 2014; Poza 2017). Flores (2014) describes his concerns with how the application of the term has grown from its rejection of colonialist, hegemonic, and monolingual ideologies to a merely being synonymous with code-switching. In his review of over 53 published texts on translanguaging, Poza (2017) found that while some studies position translanguaging as merely an academic scaffold that reinforces monoglossic stances, the majority position translanguaging either within a sociolinguistic or critical pedagogy stance. Poza, thus, tempers his concerns regarding the dilution of the term for the time being, but he calls on scholars to remain vigilant so that translanguaging pedagogies sustain their "transformative aims" (p. 120).

Of course, however, one uneasy question arises from these transformative aims: Whom or what is being transformed – and is transformation always a positive development? Cenoz and Gorter (2017) considered whether minoritized languages, such as Basque, Irish, and Hawaiian, that have been protected through separation practices within bilingual and heritage language programs may be threatened by translanguaging. Should translanguaging enter into spaces specifically reserved for minority languages if that means the regionally dominant languages also must enter? What would keep the minoritized language protected in this scenario? Cenoz and Gorter (2017) propose five principles to make translanguaging "sustainable" within these contexts, including (1) creating space where only the minoritized language is

solely used; (2) creating real needs for the use of the minoritized language; (3) using classroom strategies that engage the speakers' entire linguistic repertoire; (4) building upon students' awareness of social issues, such as power dynamics, surrounding language use; and (5) building upon students' existing forms of spontaneous translanguaging practices to inform pedagogical translanguaging practice.

The Synergistic Literacy Project: A Case Study in Translanguaging Pedagogy

Theoretical critiques notwithstanding, translanguaging as a pedagogical practice has begun to take root in classrooms. For example, in the New York City public schools, teachers are trained in the theory and encouraged to promote translanguaging practices in the classroom (García and Kleyn 2016). Still, classroom implementation remains an area for further research (Canagarajah 2013b), particularly among adolescent students within diverse linguistic contexts. To that end, this section presents a detailed examination of a case study on translanguaging, conducted by this chapter's first author, Christine Hardigree.

The Synergistic Literacy Project (SLP) was a collaborative unit designed and implemented through a university-school partnership to examine translanguaging practices among students within a highly diverse classroom. The SLP was conducted within a high school reading elective course. As is common in many schools, students who struggled with grade-level decoding and comprehension were assigned to the "reading" course to gain specialized remediation. This course consisted of individualized decoding practice, comprehension skills, and independent and guided reading. However, due to a confluence of factors, including the location of a nearby refugee settlement organization, as well as the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy that encouraged undocumented students to return to school, the demographics of the school had begun shifting, and more students from linguistically diverse backgrounds enrolled into the course than previous years.

In total, members of the class brought with them nine languages, as well as a wide diversity of experiences with migration, schooling, and learning. Some students were recent refugees who experienced education of various quality and content in refugee camps; others left their home countries as small children and spent their entire academic careers in US schools. Interviews conducted with students at the beginning of the project revealed that the students rarely used their non-English languages during school hours, and if they did, the non-English languages were typically used outside of class time, such as lunchtime when talking with same-language peers. However, this lack of non-English language usage in school did not seem to be a signal of their lack of interest in it, and indeed findings from the project revealed new opportunities for non-English languaging practices in the classroom.

The SLP was designed to build upon the model of translanguaging as a means of bringing students' linguistic strengths into the classroom and assist them in academic reading and writing. Students selected a topic of study from an upcoming unit in one

of their other academic courses (including history, English, and science). Then, they drafted a brief research question and engaged in short reading workshops using resources, including leveled books, Internet resources in English as well as students' other languages when possible, and translation references and applications. As students researched, they created an informational pamphlet about their topic to be used for future language minority students studying these topics. During the writing workshops, students engaged in peer discussion about their topics, presented their topics orally, and talked with each other in English and their other languages when appropriate.

Shifting to Full Repertoire

On the first day of the SLP, the classroom teacher distributed the assignment sheet for the unit, which listed the unit theme, the word "change" in several languages, including some the students mentioned during their pre-project interview, Nepali, Arabic, Thai, and Hindi, among others. After the classroom teacher read through the assignment, the students immediately engaged in a lively discussion with each other about which languages they recognized, asking each other "Can you read that?" and explaining whether they could read, write, speak, or understand the words and languages represented (Field notes, November 9). Although the students spent much of the day together, they seemed to have never spoken to each other about them before and had little knowledge about the others' backgrounds. Thus, the unit created an entrée for students to discuss their home cultures and languages in ways that had not previously occurred in the classroom.

   In spite of the official invitation for students to draw upon their non-English language resources, students seldom spoke or wrote in their other languages in class during the SLP without repeated and explicit invitations to do so. For example, during a writing workshop session, a Nepali-speaking student asked the teacher for assistance in writing about volcanic processes, asking "How do you say that...I don't know how to start..."; the classroom teacher turned to a same-language peer and requested, "You can tell her in your language," and added to the other student that "He could explain it better" (Field notes, November 30). The two students then began speaking in Nepali, using their shared language to support each other by explaining a process in order to complete the task.

Ensuring Linguistic Equity

Perhaps the greatest challenge of the SLP was ensuring equitable and appropriate linguistic supports for students with highly diverse language profiles who did not have peers who spoke the same language in the classroom. The multifaceted nature of the SLP, which incorporated an array of activities, such as structured oral presentations and peer review, allowed students without same-language peers to engage with others in meaningful ways in English and guarded against the class merely

separating into same-language factions. Still, equal instructional resources were certainly not available in all of the students' languages (such as textbooks that might be translated into Spanish, but not Hindi). Balancing instructional supports to ensure all students were able to access their full linguistic repertoires remained an ongoing, although not unwelcome, challenge.

Translanguaging as Bridge to Prior Knowledge

As is common in many classrooms, students in the SLP varied in their language proficiency across language domains: reading, writing, speaking, and listening. In response to students' lack of print literacy in their home languages, the SLP supplied opportunities for students to engage their non-English resources and prior knowledge as a means of scaffolding academic writing in English. The project encouraged oral non-English use with peers and in private speech and encouraged students to identify images from the web as a means of relating information. Additionally, as students wrote in English, they were encouraged to share personal anecdotes related to their topics to access prior knowledge to better grasp the content. For example, as one student studied the concept of westward expansion for an American History course, he related to his own experience as an immigrant moving west. In his journal entry, Kyaw wrote and noted that immigration could be hard and that even "some time I hate the change." Later in the entry, he notes that the first European immigrants also didn't necessarily want to move and they are "sad because the miss they friend."

Overall, findings from the study indicated that the translanguaging model of instruction in the SLP created opportunities for students to access their full linguistic repertoire in ways they had not done previously and, in doing so, access more resources to study their content area topics, as well as build upon their metalinguistic skills and social networks. The use of translanguaging also helped raise challenging questions about ensuring equity in access to linguistic supports, as well as how to help students bridge their knowledge across language domains.

Implications of the study suggest practical strategies for teachers and students to engage in transpedagogies. To engage in translanguaging in many classrooms is to explicitly *transcend* and *transgress* against hierarchical structures of language classifications and English-only norms. While state and national policy should be revised to encompass more of the range of language resources, other than narrow English-only skills, students bring to the classroom, schools must review their official language policies, as well as the school culture and climate regarding non-English languages. In order for students to build upon their first languages and use them as learning tools, students must be made comfortable doing so. Teachers must make asserted, repeated, and concrete invitations and avenues for students to connect to non-dominant languages in the classroom.

Further, to engage in *transformative* learning, teachers must allow for opportunities for students to work across nontraditional language domains for tasks. Students should be allowed to collaborate by talking with and listening to same- and

different-language peers, engaging in meaningful oral language activities that are perceived as equally important as written language tasks.

To support *transdisciplinary* orientations of learning, revisions of curricula must occur to ensure more integrated learning across content areas, skills, and languages. To do so, teachers must have access to cross-disciplinary development so that they are prepared to synthesize practices from research from second language acquisition, reading instruction, and content area instruction that may benefit their students. In order to coordinate collaborative instruction across content areas, teachers must also have access to each other, as well as to material resources, such as quality level-appropriate books and technology. For example, the SLP unit was made possible through collaboration that allowed educators with different specialties (reading, ESL, content) to bring their expertise and resources to the SLP.

Future Directions

In summary, translanguaging has been studied in a striking variety of fields from education to linguistics, including subfields such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, semiotics, and linguistic anthropology. Other mentions of translanguaging occur in fields of research evaluation and film study (Duncan 2016). Studies on the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical practice in schools have spanned the academic continuum from preschool to tertiary and professional settings, in school settings that included traditional government institutions as well as independent heritage language and complementary schools. Languages studied have ranged from English, Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, Nordic languages, Italian, and Cherokee and have included participants across urban and rural settings.

Another promising area of research in translanguaging comes from the field of technology-mediated learning, where the use of multiple languages is viewed as part of a larger repertoire of multiple modes available for meaning-making in digital spaces. In their study, Smith et al. (2017) document how three bilingual adolescent students use English alongside their heritage languages during multimodal composition, which required mixing image, text, and audio files. The authors referred to this compositional process as "multimodal codemeshing" (Smith et al. 2017, p. 7). As students in the study developed familiarity with the digital tools and began to think about various audiences for their compositions, they became more comfortable using more of their heritage languages and engaging in translanguaging practices. Thus, the inclusion of digital composition tools in literacy activities can open up spaces for the mixing of a variety of multimodal resources, including languages.

The *STEPS to Literacy* project by Kleifgen et al. (2014) describes the development of a multimodal, bilingual online platform to support adolescent emergent bilingual students' academic writing. Students study a content area topic through the examination of a variety of multimodal artifacts, including images, videos, written texts, and infographics in both English and students' home languages. Students then draft notes and essays, drawing on information from these multimodal resources. In a separate study, the second author of this chapter, Ronan (2015), analyzed student

behaviors within the *STEPS to Literacy* platform. She traced the construction of students' written notes across spoken, gestural, visual, and physical modes. Her findings revealed that translanguaging was not limited to spoken modes but crossed modal boundaries, as students drew on ensembles of videos, images, written texts, and talk. Ronan argues for a view of translanguaging that not only eschews linguistic boundaries but modal ones as well. She states that, "[i]t is only through an examination of the entire semiotic landscape that one gains a clear understanding of how the students accomplish [a given academic task]" (2015, p. 246).

Much has been studied regarding teacher ideology and school policy regarding the employment of translanguaging within a classroom setting. Areas that remain to be studied are the roles of administrators, not as agents of policy or ideology, but as active languaging participants. Additionally, while some research has focused on deaf and hard of hearing communities (Swanwick et al. 2016; Allard and Wedin 2017), the ways in which students with other special needs engage translanguaging practices remain an under-researched area.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the relatively rapid development of translanguaging, beginning as an instructional tool within Welsh schools, and burgeoning into an often contested theory of transformative multilingualism, as well as a communicative practice and increasingly popular pedagogy. As translanguaging continues to become a standard theory within linguistics and education, it must continue to refine and further redefine itself, anchored to a unified cognitive and social theory. Future researchers can explore where translanguaging sits within sociolinguistic and systems theory research regarding the psychological aspects of multilingualism at the individual level and how this theory relates to larger linguistic debates about the conceptions of language. As it becomes established practice within schools, further research may also consider longitudinal studies as translanguaging takes hold in school contexts. In what ways will translanguaging pedagogies succeed in liberating ideologies of language and multilingual communication within previously English-only or other dominant language-only contexts? What beliefs, skills, and competencies will graduates of programs that incorporate translanguaging-based pedagogy have, compared with graduates of traditional programs? How will translanguaging practices change across evolving technology platforms that may not yet exist? Ultimately, will the promises of translanguaging be kept and for whom?

Cross-References

▶ English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: the Role of English as Lingua Franca
▶ Teaching English as a Third Language
▶ Understanding English Language Learners' Pragmatic Resistance

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Critical Literacy as a Pedagogical Goal in English Language Teaching

15

Arman Abednia and Graham V. Crookes

Contents

Abstract

In this chapter, the authors provide an overview of the area of critical literacy as it pertains to second language pedagogy (curriculum and instruction). After considering the historical origins of critical literacy (from antiquity and including in first language education), they consider how it began to penetrate the field of applied linguistics. They note the geographical and institutional spread of critical literacy practice as documented by published accounts. They then sketch the main features of L2 critical literacy practice. To do this, they acknowledge how practitioners have reported on their practices regarding classroom content and process. The authors also draw attention to the outcomes of these practices as well as challenges that practitioners have encountered in incorporating critical literacy into their second language classrooms.

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Introduction and Historical Background

The ability to exercise one's critical faculties or engage in a sustained analysis using forms of speech or writing is a general human capability. Thus, there has been critical literacy as long as there has been literacy. Early indications of critical literacy can be identified in the dialogues of Plato and Socrates, particularly Plato's writing against the traditions of Homer (Yoon and Sharif 2015; Morrell 2008). Caizzi (1999) points out how some pre-Socratic Greek philosophers observed that their fellow Greeks had not read Homer and Hesiod in a critical way. They "denounce the fact that the ancient poets have not been examined critically" (Caizzi 1999, pp. 337–338). Dispute and dialogue in philosophical and religious contexts was part of the traditions appearing at almost the same time (Jaspers' [1953] "axial age"), historically, as the pre-Socratics, in the not-too-distant area of India. Subsequently, text-based and text-oriented traditions of careful, challenging, and disputational scholarship are to be found in Jewish and Islamic traditions. The former are well-known for layers of textual exegesis and dispute, the latter for (among many other things) careful inspection of the elements of oral report that were to be included, or excluded, from the hadith tradition of the Quran (e.g., Abdullah 2012). Challenge and dispute also shaped the development of Chinese intellectual traditions, as neo-Confucianism replaced earlier lines of thinking around 1300 CE. The somewhat critical "Silhak" scholars disputing neo-Confucianism in Korea (for the good of the people and good government, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century) often found their critique responded to with exile if not death (Crookes 2017).

Criticality is very difficult without intertextuality (in the sense of being able to compare different perspectives and texts). The eventual critical analysis of the established texts of the Christian church was only made possible by the gradual recovery of the writings of early Greece and Rome by Renaissance humanists drawing particularly on points of contact between the Muslim and Christian worlds (Nakosteen 1964). It was Islamic (specifically Persian) scholarship which preserved critical traditions of scholarship and translation when they were elsewhere extinct in the West. "The ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly between 850 and 1000 (the golden age of Islamic scholarship), were a period of interpretation of classical thought, chiefly Neoplatonic and Aristotelian life and world views, *criticism of this thought*, and adaptation of it to Muslim theology and philosophy" (Nakosteen 1965, p. 192; emphasis added). This is subsequently visible in the personal careers of individuals such as Abelard, Aquinas, and Luther. Morrell (2008) extends this into the social critique of Marx, for which the theorizing of a critical view by Kant (e.g., 1781) was also important. As the rise of the West from the seventeenth century on eclipsed (temporarily) Asian traditions of thought, "critical reading" was enshrined in European studies of the classics, modern literature, and the liberal education traditions.

A view of the story in the twentieth century is provided by Luke (2012, p. 6): "Early 20th century exemplars of working class and African American community education were established in many cities.…. There are significant European treatises on language and literature as potential modes of political and social action. These range from Voloshinov's (1929/1986) analysis of speech genres as political acts, to Brecht's experiments with political drama (Weber and Heinen 2010). Work in postwar British cultural studies… set the directions for approaches to critical literacy: (a) the expansion of education beyond canonical and literary texts to include works of popular culture; (b) a focus on critical analysis as counter-hegemonic critique that might, in turn, (c) encourage recognition of marginalized communities' histories and experiences."

Second, the term "critical reading" had been in play for much of the twentieth century (to mean, at least, a careful and close reading of especially literary texts). It was also to be found in forms critical literacy specialists would recognize in some of the material used by progressive educators in the 1930s. (Rugg's [1931] social studies textbooks explicitly put students in the position of reading several newspaper reports of the same event, printed by newspapers with different editorial positions, for analytic purposes.) This curricular perspective gained renewed emphasis just after World War Two (e.g., Altick 1946; cf. Robinson 1966, on a century of critical reading) when curricula in the English-speaking world were adjusted so that students would never again be left unprepared against the likes of Nazi propaganda, and also should be prepared to resist Communist propaganda as well as that of commercial materialism in the age of the advertising man (e.g., Wright Mills 1951). In addition, as Luke points out (ibid.),

> Current models of critical reading also draw from postwar literary theory. Many 1960s university and secondary school English classrooms focused readers on the close reading of textual features and literary devices (e.g., Wellek and Warren 1949). In US English education, the shift from New Criticism to reader response theory (Rosenblatt 1978) set the grounds for an increased emphasis on personal response to literature. The assumption was that literary texts produce diverse meanings, depending upon readers' affective responses. In more general terms, literature becomes a means for the moral and intellectual construction of the self.

However, while doing honor to the way critique and being critical as manifestations of human capacity appear repeatedly across cultures and time (and are certainly not the preserve of the West, as stereotypical discussions of E. Asian or Islamic educational traditions has repeatedly suggested in the recent past), there is also distance to be put between, for example, critical reading and what in the last 40 years or so has come to be called critical literacy (cf. Cervetti et al. 2001). What comes to mind as the most obvious difference is in the presence of an action orientation in critical literacy. In the repeatedly quoted formulation of Freire, critical literacy is reading "the word" in order to *change* "the world."

In continuing our exploration of the development of critical literacy, it is now time to focus on a central figure, Paulo Freire, regarded as a father figure in this area.

Though again, some aspects of his immediate antecedents should be noted. There had been radical education ever since the time of the French Revolution and the Romantic movement. There had already been progressive education, increasingly visible in the American tradition that Dewey is associated with. But Freire was an educator of the grass-roots. Although trained as a lawyer, and with doctoral work in the philosophy of education, early in his career he became involved in adult education (in Brazil) in a discriminatory sociocultural and political context in which there was a literacy test for political participation. In short, without the ability to write, men and women were denied the right to vote. The provincial government in Freire's region sponsored adult education programs, and as he developed experience in this area, he eventually designed and administered large-scale adult literacy programs that appeared to be highly effective—so effective that during a coup he was seen as a danger to the established elites and became an exile. So literacy, and its elements, as the basis for social change actions, are absolutely central to Freire's understanding of education.

The term "critical," in "critical theory," "critical pedagogy," and "critical literacy," was not a term that Freire initially made much of on its own, except in the phrase "critical consciousness" (e.g., Freire 1965; though even this is a translation from a single term, *concientizaçao,* that transliterates as "conscientization" and does not contain the word *critical*). While he was influenced by the neo-Marxist tradition of "critical theory" (as defined by Horkheimer (1937), which Freire accessed particularly through its reworking by Kosik (1976)) he did not make the connection explicit initially. So one may ask, "At what point did Freirean approaches to literacy become signaled by the term 'critical literacy'?"

Freire himself in earlier work (e.g., 1972) simply refers to "literacy" (as in *literacy campaigns*) but clearly he had in mind his own preferred kind of literacy, which is critical in nature. The term "critical pedagogy" only really began to be used in English after Giroux's (1983) work recuperating critical theory for Freirean purposes (about fifteen years after the first appearances of Freire's work in the English-speaking world). The term "critical literacy" appears initially in English with Ira Shor (1980). Scholars and teachers even close to Shor and familiar, early, with Freire's work, were not at that point using the term, apart from Shor himself. It also appears in Shor's 1987 dialogue book with Freire (but in Shor's contributions, not Freire's). A 1987 work of Freire's, simply entitled *Literacy*, consists mostly of dialogues with his co-author Macedo (with a theoretical introduction by Giroux); in it, despite the topic of the book, Freire rarely uses the term *critical literacy*. When he is concrete about literacy instruction in this volume, it is through an account of materials he developed for L1 literacy in São Tomé after it gained independence in the mid-1970s (to which he does not apply the term critical literacy directly). These are simple didactic materials with a focus on dialogic education for active citizenship and learning to read in an environment with almost no reading materials or resources.

With this focus on the term itself and its appearance, it seems natural then to ask "What were key features of this perspective?"

Features of Critical Literacy and the Transition from L1 to L2

When he developed his ideas and instructional practices in the mid-1970s, Shor was a teacher of writing at a US community college. He was teaching working-class students. He operated in a standard part of the US post-secondary curriculum (sometimes called "freshman composition")—mostly, required courses that introduce young adults to basic conceptions and practices of academic writing. At that time these courses tended to have a personal focus with some use of literary material as well as other readings that would be of interest to students. A process-based approach to pedagogy, emphasizing idea generation, "free writing" (Shor 1980, p. 129) and peer feedback on several drafts of writing, with a concern for form less of a priority, was in place. Looking back on his early work, Shor (1987) refers to the Open Admissions policy that had been operating at his university in the mid-1970s, which allowed the poor to enter the university to an extent previously unknown. (It also placed him in the position of being able to work with underprepared students who nevertheless might be sympathetic to, and certainly in need of, a critical pedagogy.) Other conditions had been favorable. Shor refers to the extensive cultural shifts of the immediately preceding decade that had altered people's attitudes, and also made, for a while, the larger political climate one in which a critical pedagogy, and critical literacy, could flourish. However, conditions deteriorated and by the 1980s Shor was referring to a decade of conservative reaction.

Modern critical literacy did not start from nothing. Besides cultural changes (or as part of them) the 1960s had also seen the growth of alternative approaches in schools and universities. In the USA, the "open classroom" movement had followed on from humanistic approaches to education which emphasized personal growth and small group work. This was derived from or consistent with the "encounter groups" and "consciousness-raising groups" (Shor 1980, p. 121) that themselves reflected postwar developments in psychotherapy and American existentialism. More generally, there were "progressive educational practices" (Shor 1980, p. 94) and the more radical educational ideas that Shor references as having been tried and recorded "in the last ten years" (Shor 1980, p. 146 fn. 2). So, conditions for the developments of Freire's ideas that Shor and others worked with were briefly favorable. Against them, to an extent that is hard to imagine these days, was the isolated nature of teachers like Shor, who found it difficult to share ideas (as Shor 1987 mentions: ideas travelled less easily and there were, of course, no social media pages or ways to easily find writings, informal accounts of practice, and so on).

In Shor (1980), after initial background he presents a comprehensive list of key features of his teaching, as follows (1980, p. 94):

> Social life in dialogue; self-regulation of process; withering away of the teacher; symbolic separation; contextual skill-development; conceptual exercises; self-created media and texts; ego-restoration; character-structure awareness; integrative study formats; organic evaluation; comedy as a learning resource; the convertible classroom.

Let us briefly explain these, as indicating an initial specification of critical literacy. Many of them are not directly reflective of reading and writing but refer more to a critique of the alienated and alienating aspects of conventional education. By "social life in dialogue," Shor means that the lives of students and the issues and problems they face form core content of the curriculum; and they are not to be taken as they might appear on the surface, but subjected to inquiry through challenging dialogue that the teacher may stimulate. "Self-regulation of process" is a way to say that it is the students together with the teacher who have control of the processes of the class, which includes selection of content and determination of the trajectory of the course and what might arise out of it. Relatedly, the "withering away of the teacher" is a slightly exaggerated way to emphasize that in any critical pedagogy, the teacher does not have a solitary and authoritarian role, but steps back so that students can step up. "Symbolic separation" refers to the importance of students and teacher distancing themselves from content so as to inspect and analyze it critically. "Contextual skill development" means that the basic skills of literacy, from spelling and grammar to the command of form (or genre) and composition processes are not neglected, not separated out, nor practiced only through drill, but all develop together under the teacher's guidance through the students' focus on issues and topics that are real and of concern. "Self-created media and texts" (many samples of which Shor provides: 1980, pp. 181–194) suggests that not only do students contribute to producing the materials that are studied in their course, but also those materials may be carried over and used by successive groups of students in later courses. "Ego-restoration" is Shor indicating his recognition that many of his students have had their egos badly damaged by the processes of education, or schooling, that they have already suffered through. They arrived in his classroom often lacking confidence in their ability to benefit from formal education or the appropriacy of a university or even a community college for them, given their negative self-image. They need, from a sensitive, supportive, and critically minded teacher, a curriculum and process that validates their existence and their concerns and puts them (back) in the driving seat assured that they can contribute to their own improvement and the betterment of society. "Organic evaluation" indicates that the students together with the teacher determine how they are to be assessed in completing the course and will contribute collectively to an evaluation of the course itself. The convertible classroom is one with chairs that move to circles, or to work-groups.

Shor notes (p. 108) "the critical study of printed works and mass media which habitually fill school and daily life" as something that he is taking for granted as part of a critical literacy. And then he goes on to explain in more detail how "self-creation of media and texts," that is, students' own writings, form part of the content and output of the class. This becomes clearer when Shor summarizes a more literary segment of the class: ". . . which studied dramatic writing, both literacy skills and awareness grew through the self-design of scripts based on their lives. The study of literary form was also a study of their lives" (ibid.).

This is also a step beyond the kind of literacy that was focused on in Freire's mass literacy campaigns for peasants and workers. Freire's reports (e.g., Freire and

Macedo 1987) of his work with these students (not themselves part of conventional educational systems at all) do not refer to their lives or institutions as habitually being filled with written material. As Shor says (1980, p. 127), "The specifics of this pedagogy cannot be mechanically lifted from Brazil or Guinea-Bissau to North America, but need to be evolved right here." Shor extended Freire's ideas to a richer and more intensively literacy-dominated and infused environment.

In Shor's account, various progressive and process-based writing activities and techniques precede a move towards reading (1980, p. 140). He uses pre-reading, so that "the students' own thoughts and words on the reading topic are the starting points for the coordinated material." He wants his students not to be "ruled" by text. He wants to "demystify" print, so that it is no longer something distant from students' lives, and both authoritative and dull. And in a point that is doubly relevant today, he notes that his students are "over-stimulated" by non-print media and not accustomed to "the careful examination of a 'slow' medium like the printed word."

Another significant feature of Shor's critical literacy (that would not have been available to Freire) is technology (and resource availability). Shor reports "scour [ing] the mass media, books, etc., for articles" and selects readings "in a reasonably colloquial idiom," and he then produces a large collection tailored to the specific class and themes, which may or may not be repeated on subsequent occasions. "Each class does not get to read all the articles" (pp. 142–143). Obviously that is even easier these days with digital resources (Shor refers to using a "xerox machine" for his efforts here), but it is a point that critical literacy programs will run better to the extent that their teachers and students can work together to accumulate a flexible and diverse range of course, class, and student-specific literacy resources.

More detail still could easily be extracted from Shor's comprehensive and detailed lesson plans and other accounts in this early work of critical literacy. And his follow-on works (e.g., 1992) also are still fresh and deserve study. But it is time for us to consider how some of these ideas began to show up in second language oriented pedagogical advice. By the time Shor's book was re-published (1987), the L2 literature was beginning to grow. Crawford's early reworking of Freire's ideas for world language teaching had appeared (Crawford 1978; Crawford-Lange 1981). Auerbach and Wallerstein had developed these ideas in a number of publications including two influential textbooks (Wallerstein 1983; Auerbach and Wallerstein 1987). But particularly as Auerbach and Wallerstein were working with adult immigrants, they were in some ways closer to Freire's original target and not, like Shor, in a more literacy-oriented mode and environment.

One of the earlier attempts to manifest critical literacy in L2 contexts was the UK-based, ESL-oriented work of Catherine Wallace (1986, 1992, 1999, 2001, 2003) who variously referred to her work as critical reading, critical language awareness, and critical literacy. In her first published (1986) work, she does not cite Shor (though Holt 1969 appears) but she is explicit that "literacy is political" (p. 14), directly describing the work of Freire (1972). In her (1992) simple introductory book for L2 teachers, she goes into some detail on Freire (citing his 1976 work), and reproduces and discusses sections of Auerbach and Wallerstein (1987) materials.

As interpreted by Luke (2012, cited earlier), her work is a valuable parallel development to the Freirean tradition, because "while Freirian models provide a pedagogical approach and a political stance, they lack specificity on how teachers and students can engage with the complex structures of texts, both traditional and multimodal. The acquisition of language, text and discourse requires the developmental engagement with levels of linguistic and discourse complexity and access to multiple discourses and affiliated linguistic registers." Luke refers at this point to Gee's (1991) influential study of "social literacies," also noted by Wallace as important to her theoretical approach. While consistent with this emphasis, Wallace took her main theoretical lead from Critical Discourse Analysis and the UK-based work of Fairclough, building this onto aspects of communicative language teaching (with its emphasis on genre and authentic texts) and language arts pedagogy as it had developed in the "class-conscious" (Wallace 1986, p. 2) and increasingly multiracial Britain of the early 1980s (thus also sensitive to race, not to mention gender). She developed courses in this area beginning in 1989; her published work derived particularly from a course she ran for international students temporarily resident at a London university in 1993. Students were volunteers of at least intermediate, perhaps advanced levels, who were interested in improving their English while engaging with reading. Carefully selected texts were analyzed using basic concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics, concerning their social functions and genre characteristics. This lead to "critical framing," where students indeed develop a critical perspective on the texts, with a view to transforming their own reading practices and developing a new active understanding of language.

Suffice it to say, by the turn of the 1990s, critical literacy was spreading in L1 contexts, had been tested out in ESL contexts (including South Africa in the latter group: Pierce 1989; Janks 1989), and was poised to enter the world of EFL. Through the influence of Simon (1992) in Canada, critical ideas were to be found in influential applied linguistic discussions (Pennycook 1990). The authors turn now to a consideration of that spread across geographical and institutional contexts. A question continues to be asked, "Can L2 critical literacy be done in such and such a place?" Reviewing the literature assiduously, one can often come up with a small report, a proof of concept, or limited trial, from locations outside the developed world. Much depends on the specific teacher, students, and the institutional context. Certainly just as Shor built on Freire without reproducing him (Weiler 1996), L2 specialists must make their own judgment about what is possible. But a consideration of the subsequent published literature should be encouraging.

Critical Literacy Within Second Language Education

This section starts with a brief focus on the geographical and institutional contexts of the studies and then discusses different ways in which critical literacy practitioners have approached classroom content and process. Finally, a summary of the reported outcomes of critical literacy practice and the challenges involved is presented.

Geographical and Institutional Contexts

As mentioned earlier, critical literacy has a long history in English (subject) education in English-speaking countries like the USA, Canada, and Australia. In the context of teaching L2, many empirical and conceptual pieces on critical literacy still come from these countries. However, an increasing number of published reports, with most having appeared over the last 10 years, have been emerging from EFL regions. These include different parts of Asia: In the Middle East, most of the reports appear to come from Iran, with several recent contributions from Israel. In East Asia, accounts of critical literacy practice have emerged in several countries like Taiwan and South Korea. A few studies have been published in South Asia (Nepal & Sri Lanka) and Southeast Asia (Vietnam & Singapore). Teacher-researchers in a few European (e.g., Poland & Spain) and South American countries (e.g., Brazil & Colombia) have also reported on how they teach critical literacy. This spread shows that critical literacy is being increasingly adopted as an approach to ESL/EFL education around the world, including countries which are currently understood to be conservative societies, with democracy considered as more of an area of improvement than a defining feature of their educational systems and political structures.

Regarding the institutional contexts of L2 critical literacy research, most of the publications report on critical literacy practice within university settings, several studies are situated in secondary education, and only a handful come from primary education. This is an unsurprising observation, given that engaging adult learners in critical practice tends to be cognitively less challenging in comparison with adolescents and especially children. A similar pattern is reflected in the studies regarding how linguistically prepared learners are for critical engagement with content.

Classroom Content

Critical literacy puts a major emphasis on L2 learners' engagement with social issues, and appropriate media constitute the main source of classroom material. Advertisements (e.g., Grigoryan and King 2008; Hobbs et al. 2014), magazines and newspapers (e.g., Ko and Wang 2013), and the alternative press (e.g., Michell 2006; Morgan 2009) have been widely used in critical classrooms. Content with political themes is popular in critical literacy practice (e.g., Alford and Jetnikoff 2016; Alford and Kettle 2017). Works of literature are used to engage students of different age groups in critical reading of the word and the world. These include popular canonical literature books (e.g., Zubair 2003), literature related to students' cultural backgrounds (Albers and Fredrick 2013), children's literature (e.g., Hayik 2011; Lau 2012; Lee 2017), and poems (e.g., Michell 2006).

To address the dynamic relationships of visual images to text, practitioners have also used works with strong visual elements in their teaching. Many have recognized a great potential in picture books for critical engagement with important social issues. Addressing stereotypical views of women, for example, Hayik (2016) used *Piggybook* (Browne 1986) and *Cinder Edna* (Jackson 1998), which is an

empowering version of *Cinderella*, with middle school students in Israel, and Kuo (2009) incorporated *The Story of Ruby Bridges* (Coles 1995) and *A Picture Book of Anne Frank* (Adler 1993) in a tertiary communicative course in Taiwan. These picture books characterize women as strong, active, and in charge of their own lives. Roy (2017) reports a teacher using *Grandfather's Journey* (Say 1993) for a lesson on migration in her class with Somali Bantu refugee students in the USA, and Hayik (2015b) reports using *I am Rosa Parks* (Parks and Haskins 1997) and her own book, *This is My Land* (Hayik 2009), to facilitate her students' focus on minority issues. As learners' engagement with multiple perspectives is a major goal of critical literacy education, Kuo's (2014) use of Browne's (1998) *Voices in the Park*, in which the story is told from four different perspectives, is worth noting.

While Kuo (2009, 2014) reports on university classes, picture books are conventionally, but by no means solely, created and used for young learners. Critical practitioners who are interested in using stories with visual elements for more mature students have sometimes opted for graphic novels, which often feature a relatively higher level of sophistication than picture books. In a high school in Canada, for example, Chun (2009) describes his colleague's use of *Maus* (Spiegelman 1986) featuring a Holocaust survivor which resulted in her ESL students' deep engagement with history.

Taking a step further forward in multimodality, many critical literacy practitioners and researchers have shared accounts of effective use of videos, such as documentaries (e.g., Alford and Jetnikoff 2016; Alford and Kettle 2017; Roy 2017) and movies (e.g., Ajayi 2012), and combinations of a wider range of content types, like videos, newspapers, pictures, and online resources (Bui 2016) or essays, poems, and paintings (Michell 2006) in their teaching of critical literacy. Depending on the nature of the classroom, this combination has taken other forms as well. Huh (2016), for instance, integrated texts from different genres, such as argumentative essays, literary texts, newspaper articles, and scientific reports in a reading class. Huang (2011), in a reading and writing course, presented students with two texts on each topic which reflected opposing perspectives.

The practitioners in the abovementioned studies selected materials whose relevance they established to their students' concerns and lived experiences. Others worked toward creating this connection through inviting learners to have a share in content selection through, for example, contributing readings (e.g., Abednia and Izadinia 2013; Ghahremani Ghajar and Kafshgarsouteh 2011) or advertisements (e.g., Hobbs et al. 2014) to the classroom content.

Classroom Process

Preliminary Steps in Critical Literacy Practice

Critical engagement with the word and the world necessitates an adequate knowledge of both. A command of English and mainstream literacy practices necessary to make enough sense of a given text or a video and a proper understanding of the topic serve as catalysts or rather prerequisites for critical analysis.

Learners' background knowledge. In the interest of acknowledging and using the background knowledge that learners already have and bring to the classroom, activating and eliciting this knowledge would be an appropriate starting point. As an example, in a unit of work on human reproduction in a secondary science/literacy program in Australia, Hammond and Macken-Horarik (1999) observed a teacher start with engaging students in discussing and writing about stages of egg development in the female. Such work helped the students to develop the necessary prior knowledge to be able to understand "in vitro fertilization," the focus of the unit, and critically engage with it. To prepare her students to do a project on cyberbullying in a university course of General English in Taiwan, Chen (2018) first elicited their background knowledge and experiences related to the topic by asking them to write what they knew about it and if anyone they knew had been affected by it, followed by a group discussion.

Teacher-researchers have also reported encouraging students to take on the role of researchers and proactively search for information about the topics of focus (e.g., Bui 2016; Morgan 2009). In a university writing course in Japan, Stillar (2013) tasked the students with writing three journal entries from the perspective of someone who belongs to a marginalized or vilified community in their culture. He encouraged the students to research the assigned topics before writing their entries "in order to enhance the verisimilitude of their new identity" (p. 166).

Another, convenient, way in which critical literacy educators have enhanced learners' topical knowledge is through presenting them with relevant reading passages. Texts inevitably become a source of topical knowledge in classes where reading is the skill of focus and, thus, facilitating and gauging learners' comprehension of them is a step commonly taken before critical literacy practice. Comprehension work may take a variety of forms. While teachers like Huang (2011) discussed the main ideas and important details in texts with their students, Kuo (2014) asked his students to develop character web posters for characters in the picture books.

Learners' linguistic knowledge. In addition to gaining background knowledge, and, indeed, to effectively do so, learners' linguistic knowledge should also receive due attention in critical L2 literacy education. In fact, such education would ideally integrate a focus on critical literacy development with an emphasis on language improvement. Many of the published accounts of critical literacy practice include an explicit mention of the teachers' conscious attempts to maintain such a dual focus (e.g., Hobbs et al. 2014; Huang 2012; Huh 2016; Ko 2013; Roy 2017; Sharma and Phyak 2017). To start with, comprehension exercises mentioned in the previous paragraph essentially involved a focus on the linguistic aspects of the classroom readings. Critical literacy practitioners have also reported other ways of enhancing their students' language knowledge. Before critical engagement with the movie of *Cinderella*, Ajayi (2012) showed photos which reflected salient events of the movie to his students and elicited related vocabulary. A teacher in Alford and Jetnikoff (2016), while encouraging her students to question the dominating power of representation in media texts, elicited relevant vocabulary items, such as "marginalized" and "invisible," from the learners, who were to use such terms in a subsequent report assignment. In her critical lesson on in vitro fertilization, the teacher in Hammond

and Macken-Horarik (1999) started with discussing the related terminology and how to apply it in diagrams, flowcharts, and cloze exercises. In Park's (2011) critical media literacy class at a South Korean university, selected students presented key words to the class as a pre-reading activity.

Learners' metalinguistic awareness. A few accounts of critical literacy practice showcase practitioners' attempts to go beyond a linguistic focus in facilitating learners' critical engagement with text and raise learners' metalinguistic awareness. Most of these studies have documented a focus on genre. Alford and Jetnikoff (2016) reported a teacher's facilitating learners' deconstruction of the generic structures of analytical essays and investigative reports. Chun's (2009) teacher participant showed her students "how to read the graphic novel visually, so that the students would be able to follow the sequential but nonlinear paneling of the story" (p. 151). This genre scaffolding had helped the learners understand the sophisticated visual metaphors in the novel. Another example of such scaffolding is an explicit focus on the genre of explanation by the science/literacy teacher reported in Hammond and Macken-Horarik (1999). In both cases, the students had effectively applied their generic/rhetorical awareness in their writing assignments. Finally, approaching metalinguistic knowledge as translingual experience, Qu (2011) facilitated his students' comparisons between words conventionally considered as equivalents in English and Chinese.

Engaging in Critical Literacy Practice

How teachers prepare learners for critical literacy work was discussed above. This section focuses on how they foster learners' involvement within critical practice. Specifically, it discusses the ways in which teachers incorporate learners' life experiences into the classroom process, equip them with critical literacy tools and resources, foster their critical reflection, involve them in taking action, and engage different content modes and the Internet in the teaching-learning process.

Including learners' life experiences. The "Classroom Content" section mainly focused on critical practitioners' conscious attempts to choose content in light of significant social issues and concerns experienced by learners and, when possible, invite learners to contribute to the content. The previous section also reported different ways in which educators acknowledge and incorporate learners' past into early stages of a critical lesson through eliciting their world knowledge and experiences. These discussions reflect the enormous significance critical literacy education attaches to learners' life experiences. Educators, the literature suggests, maintain an inclusive approach to students' life experiences throughout their critical lessons in different ways. Adopting a feminist pedagogical approach in her English literature course in Pakistan, Zubair (2003) established connections between the literary works of focus and her female students' personal and social lives by provoking classroom discussions through questions like "How much say do they have in decision-making in their own homes?" and "Are there any popular Pakistani movies, songs, soaps that depict similar themes?" (p. 168). In an Israeli context where a sense of rivalry would hinder Muslims' and Christians' peaceful coexistence, Hayik (2015a) attempted to promote her middle school students' understanding of religious diversity through inviting them to bring photographs of their own religious practices to the class and

write short descriptions. In a workplace literacy program for immigrant and refugee factory workers in the US, Gallo (2002) gave students disposable cameras and asked them to take photographs of important aspects of their lives. They similarly wrote descriptions of their photographs, which were then made into booklets, discussed in the class, and displayed on the company notice board. Since learners' prior literacy practices constitute an important aspect of their life experiences, a few critical teachers reported stimulating students' reflection on themselves as readers and writers (Huang 2011) and how well they thought their previous literacy experiences had prepared them for the university literacy requirements (Kramer-Dahl 2001).

Providing learners with critical literacy toolkits. A few accounts of critical literacy practice report teachers giving their students resources which, together with the ongoing scaffolding during the educational process, facilitate their critical literacy development. A teacher in Alford and Kettle (2017) deliberately taught complex critical literacy terms to her students (e.g., invited readings & resistant readings) and their parts of speech. Repeated use of them in classroom exchanges resulted in them becoming the everyday language of the class. Morgan (2009) introduced video and reading resources on critical literacy for his EAP students to get help from in their assignments (e.g., *With these words I can sell you anything* (Lutz 1995)). Abednia (Abednia and Izadinia 2013) provided his university students with a list of critical literacy questions from an online resource to draw upon when engaging with the course readings.

Enhancing learners' critical reflection. A core aspect of critical literacy education is facilitating students' critical reflection on the word and the world during the classroom process. Perhaps the most common way in which teachers do so is through classroom discussions based on critical questions. Chun (2016) observed how his colleague's posing a question about the lexical framing of an immigrant in a passage prompted her university students to problematize the implications of such a framing for that immigrant's identity in an extended dialog. Hayik (2016) described how her critical questions about Cinderella's change agency provoked a discussion where her middle school students shifted away from simply adoring Cinderella and toward problematizing how women are presented in their favorite fairy tale.

A popular activity to maintain learners' engagement in critical reflection beyond classroom discussions is writing. Writing can take a variety of forms such as reflective journals, dialog journals, analytical reports, and response papers (these types sometimes overlap). After analyzing advertisements in the class, the teacher in Hobbs et al. (2014) tasked his students with analyzing further advertisements in groups and write their analyses on their own wiki pages. Following a classroom discussion about misrepresentation in media, a teacher in Alford and Kettle (2017) asked the students to research and create analytical reports on how minority groups were misrepresented in the Australian media. In a high school EFL class (Ghahremani-Ghajar and Mirhosseini 2005), dialogue journal writing was practiced through students writing journal entries every week and the teacher, Mirhosseini, reading and responding to them. The teacher mainly focused on the content through commenting on the points made by the students, answering their questions, and asking questions to prompt critical thinking.

Encouraging learners to consider multiple perspectives on a given topic fosters their criticality. Discussions in a critical classroom typically entail consideration of diverse perspectives as they involve participants' sharing their views and understandings. Reading and writing activities provide a similar space. In a university reading class in the USA, Benesch (2006) had her students read and compare two articles published in *The New York Times* on an anti-war demonstration, written by two different authors. Huang (2011) facilitated her Taiwanese university students' comparative analysis of two articles on each selected theme which were written from two opposing positions. Through a writing task in a similar context, Chen (2018) asked her students to write a letter to an advice columnist asking about how to address a cyberbullying incident and then read and respond to another group's letter from the columnist's perspective. Stillar's (2013) students' assignment to write from the perspective of a marginalized or vilified person is another relevant example. And peer feedback on students' essays is yet another way in which teachers have fostered learners' engagement with diverse perspectives (e.g., Abednia and Karrabi 2010; Ghahremani Ghajar and Kafshgarsouteh 2011).

Involving learners in taking action. As mentioned early in the chapter, a defining feature of critical literacy is its emphasis on coupling critical reflection with transformative action, or, in Freire's (1970) terms, *praxis*. The literature shows writing to be the predominant tool for learners' experience with transformative action. In several cases, this experience has taken the form of writing letters to imagined and real people. In her lesson on online shopping and mobile phones, a teacher in Mattos (2012) asked students to imagine having bought a mobile phone on the Internet which had been delivered faulty and write a complaint to the company. The students in Hayik's (2016) unit of work on gender biases decided to write a letter to the author of the Disney version of the Cinderella fairy tale, *A Dream for a Princess* (Lagonegro 2005). Their letters involved critically examining hidden messages in the story. In Hayik's (2015b) unit of work on minority issues, after reading a story about an Arab immigrant girl in the USA and her letter of critique to the American president, two Arab students wrote a letter voicing their own concerns as a minority in Israel. Yet they addressed it to the American president who, they believed, "dictated how things should proceed in the Middle East" (p. 102). Although Hayik's students' letters in both studies involved real addressees, the teacher's failure to find the author's contact information in the former and the students' fear of sending their letter to the American president in the latter made it impossible for the letters to take a form of action beyond classroom boundaries. Other studies, however, have reported learners' experience of writing as taking action in wider social contexts.

Mattos (2012) reported a class where students produced posters on a disease afflicting their local community at the time and put them in the school corridors to raise public awareness. The students in Lau's (2012) study designed posters for an anti-bullying campaign and presented their bullying-related experiences as immigrants in a professional development session for the staff. These measures raised the teachers' consciousness about the need to adjust their teaching styles. Gallo (2002) scaffolded factory workers in her workplace literacy program to develop ideas for

improving production and safety and submit them to the company suggestion box. They also wrote a letter about their concerns to management which immediately addressed them. As part of a lesson on the relationships between people and place, the literacy teacher in Comber and Nixon (2011) engaged her primary students in a discussion about the loss of their drama space in the proposed new school building. Their subsequent letter to the principal and the project manager asking them for a drama space came to fruition. Hayik's (2015a) students proactively prepared slogans encouraging peaceful relationships between Christians and Muslims in their village and staged a peaceful street demonstration holding the slogans in their hands.

Another type of writing practice as taking action is rewriting a piece from a critical/ transformative perspective. Lee (2017) asked the students to reconstruct a story on the theme of bullying which they had analyzed. A student's rewriting reflected her awareness of the impact of sociocultural factors on children. In Lau (2013), first students wrote about bullying incidents they had encountered or witnessed. Then, they analyzed their accounts in groups and brainstormed alternative responses. Finally, they rewrote the stories adopting a more proactive approach to the incident. The students in Lau (2012) rewrote *Cinderella* where they challenged the stereotypes embedded in the original fairy tale and gave the character a more agentive role.

Multimodal engagement and the Internet. The "Classroom Content" section focused on teachers incorporating content of various modes in their teaching. The current section draws attention to how teachers maintain learners' multimodal engagement throughout the educational process and draw upon resources afforded by the Internet to enrich their learning opportunities. Some teachers reported encouraging students to respond to the content in modes other than textual. Ajayi (2012) asked his students to draw pictures of their understanding of the video of *Cinderella* after a critical examination of it. After reading aloud a story to her students, Hayik (2011) similarly asked them to draw sketches to show what they made sense of it. To examine how an event is treated by the mainstream and alternative media, Michell's (2006) students did a role-play in which they acted as media critics and consultants. To encourage people to combat cyberbullying, Chen's students (2018) worked in groups to make short videos.

The Internet has also been promoted as a useful tool for critical literacy practice in different studies. Researchers like Bui (2016), Hobbs et al. (2014), and Stillar (2013) have briefly mentioned guiding their students to conduct Internet search for their classroom assignments. A more detailed account comes from Morgan (2009) who asked his EAP students to examine how the media treat a particular issue or current event in a major research essay assignment. Cognizant of the concentration of ownership of the mainstream media, Morgan encouraged the students to use internet-based critical media resources in their assignments and also provided the students with a list of them he had compiled. Some of the benefits of the Internet-based nature of these resources for critical media literacy practice that Morgan refers to are their hypertext environment which provides access to a wide range of authentic texts and enables learners to conduct textual comparisons and analyses, and multimodality of some pages which increases exposure to visual and oral evidence not available in the mainstream media.

Conclusion: Outcomes and Challenges

The above selective presentation of published accounts of critical literacy practice shows how second language teachers use available resources to transform the classroom into a rich space for students' critical reflection and agentive action. This section provides a brief summary of the outcomes of this critical practice, some also explained in earlier sections, followed by a focus on the reported challenges.

Several studies have reported students' deep engagement with different aspects of their critical literacy experience, such as instructional materials (Chun 2009; Kuo 2014), classroom discussions (Chun 2016; Mattos 2012), writing activities (Huang 2011; Stillar 2013), and collaboration with peers (Chen 2018). Learners have also been reported to develop as critically literate individuals. Specifically, they developed a deeper understanding of significant social issues, such as racial discrimination (Hammond 2006) and cyberbullying (Chen 2018), adopted a questioning approach to the media (Morgan 2009), came to take account of multiple perspectives more actively (Hayik 2016), and became more critically aware of their own attitudes and assumptions (Lau 2013; Michell 2006). Furthermore, they developed a stronger sense of agency as they found and expressed their voices (Ghahremani Ghajar and Kafshgarsouteh 2011; Morgan 2009; Zubair 2003) and took action to raise awareness and promote social justice (Comber and Nixon 2011; Gallo 2002). Critical literacy practice fostered learners' language development as well, as reported by students themselves (Izadinia and Abednia 2010) and their teachers (Bui 2016; Lau 2012). Finally, learners appreciated the relevance of critical literacy to their lives and its significance to their development (e.g., Hayik 2016; Kuo 2014; Stillar 2013; Zubair 2003).

Practitioners have also encountered several challenges in the way of implementing critical literacy in the classroom. At a policy level, curriculum reforms in countries like the USA (Wanberg 2013) and Australia (Alford and Kettle 2017) have been discussed as reflecting a waning commitment to critical literacy and pedagogy in mainstream and EAL education. Researchers have also problematized lack of materials offering adequate opportunities for critical literacy work (Case et al. 2005; Ko 2013), lack of administrative support for implementation of critical programs (Albers and Fredrick 2013), and the increasing impact of tests on the teaching-learning process (Curdt-Christiansen 2010; Sharma and Phyak 2017), including limiting time for critical practice (Kuo 2009; Alford and Jetnikoff 2016). Critical practitioners also need to deal with learners' resistance to critical literacy which may result from their focus on preparing for examinations (Kuo 2013), cultural and ideological biases (Zubair 2003), investment in their prior schooling habits (Kramer-Dahl 2001), and limited language abilities (Alford 2001; Huh 2016). Resistance from parents and the wider community is another likely barrier. And there are challenges related to teachers as they may have internalized a mainstream view of literacy learning (Curdt-Christiansen 2010) and a didactic approach to education (Ko 2013), lack an in-depth understanding of critical literacy (Comber and Nixon 2011), and have limited access to relevant professional development (Alford and Jetnikoff 2016) and experts in the field (Chun 2016).

Finally, a question we have been asked is "Can this be done in educational or social circumstances that are undemocratic?". This is an important question, a full answer for which would take more space than we have available here, though a partial answer is to point to the admittedly small number of studies critical L2 literacy and critical pedagogy from fairly controlled educational systems like those of South Korea or controlling, if contested circumstances, like those of Iran (cf. Suh and Huh 2017; Abednia and Izadinia 2013). Some attempts at critical literacy have been made in such places and have been reported, though it will always be a matter of selected "baby steps" (as advised by Crookes 2013). An optimistic response would include noting that "undemocratic" countries, cultures, or institutions may not be homogeneously undemocratic (or authoritarian, or controlled, or even well-administered). Thus, they may have their own margins within which critical efforts are more feasible. Bui (2016), for example, reports a successful L2 critical literacy project from a mountainous hill province in Vietnam, presumably a case where the writ of central government or ministry does not run or where exceptions are allowed. Similarly (to take one example among many possible) Phyak (2013) reports activist youth engaged in L2 literacy planning and bilingual education in minority languages, the point being that the example is located in the relatively remote province of Lumbini, far from the capital, Kathmandu, and an additional point being that language teachers in this case have support from local young activists (cf. Bui 2016). On the other hand, Nuske (2017, p. 215) reports, as might have been expected, that Saudi EFL teachers, even those who aspire to social change, state that any articulation of critical topics would "provoke censure from supervisors or senior colleagues and could possibly cost them their jobs." (Yet again, consider the sudden shift, at time of writing, in social policies in that country.) Thus, a valuable addition to the critical literacy scholarship would be research on *how* teachers navigate sociocultural, political, and institutional constraints to facilitate engagement with critical literacy in the classroom and beyond.

Critical literacy practice involves facing numerous challenges. In many cases, however, these are by no means insurmountable obstacles in the way of teachers who, while striving for social justice and human emancipation, are willing to be flexible and patient and set attainable short-term goals in pursuit of their long-term visions. Not to mention numerous competent teachers who simply do not write about their empowering teaching practice, the large number of accounts published around the world, some acknowledged in this chapter, and the wide variety of institutional contexts reflected in these accounts, ranging from core school classes, through after school programs, to university courses, each featuring, to varying degrees, a combination of the abovementioned obstacles, is testament to the fact that critical literacy is a viable path, and as the reported outcomes show, a truly rewarding endeavor.

Cross-References

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Developing Language Curricula for Young Language Learners

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Contents

Abstract

This chapter describes the processes by which curricula for teaching English to elementary school-aged children are arrived at, the distribution of responsibilities for devising young learners' curricula, and the varieties of curriculum model that are found in response to different settings. It also discusses the ways in which curriculum decisions are documented and made available to teachers, parents, and other stakeholders in education and the relationships that can exist between curriculum design and assessment systems.

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It is argued that the values attributed to English and the relationships that the English language may have with the national language and other languages used in the host country are an important dimension in much curriculum decision-making, some of which may be strongly influenced by political figures who do not themselves have educational or linguistic expertise. The relationships that English may have with other subjects on the school curriculum, including other foreign languages, are also addressed. It is argued that language curriculum design for young children needs to be approached in a different way from design for older learners and that, when converting a language curriculum for children into concrete teaching plans, as well as specifying language content, it is valuable to include syllabus strands that are "child-friendly" and have cognitive, educational, and cultural values. The success with which curriculum specifications reach full classroom implementation is seen as partly dependent on transparency of communication within the education system but also requires coordination of teacher education and the provision of resources. The focus in this chapter is on the state school system but with discussion, where relevant, of the role of the private sector.

Introduction

As in the rest of this chapter, the term **young learners** refers to children below the age of 12 but above the age of 4, which covers the age range that might be found in schools across the world labelled "primary" or "elementary."

Internationally, the terms related to planning and specifying the contents of educational programs are used variously and sometimes in overlapping ways. In the UK and countries which follow UK usage, the term **curriculum** is very likely to refer to a whole educational program, comprising all subjects taught, as, for example, the National Curriculum for primary schools in England (DfE 2015). **Syllabus,** on the other hand, refers to the documented structure and learning components for a course of study in a particular subject, mathematics, geography, or French, for example. In US usage, the term "curriculum" is commonly found, whereas in the UK the term "syllabus" would be preferred. In this chapter, it seems useful to employ both terms following the UK distinctions since, when discussing foreign language learning in mainstream education, it is very important to consider the "fit" of what is proposed for language learning (syllabus) into the context of the whole of the child's educational program (curriculum). The term "(learning) program" also seems generally useful, to refer either to the plans for a specific subject or to the plans for the overall education of learners.

Worldwide, great differences may be found in how language learning programs for primary school-aged children are arrived at and described for users. Some

countries express goals and aims in very broad and brief terms (see Rixon 2013:31). Many do not itemize actual teaching content although increasingly in more recently developed curricula more detail is given, and headings regarding objectives may show the influence of international or regional research and development.

The approach in this chapter will be to present the state of the art regarding the most highly evolved ways of specifying program content and the paths that may be taken in curriculum specification. Curricula encountered by the reader may thus be compared with these models, and their adequacy for the context they serve can be more easily assessed. Although there are relatively recently developed primary English curricula available, for example, that for Cyprus, from 2011 (Rixon 2013:91) the primary language curricula in use in some countries are of long standing, a few in European countries dating back as far as the 1990s. A similar range of vintages may be expected worldwide. Currently valid examples of curriculum planning from particular countries will be cited in order to support or illustrate points of principle but without attempting a worldwide survey. This is not only because of space limitations but because curricula may be subject to change as national conditions and policies dictate. Since increasingly many education authorities or ministries of education are making their documentation publicly available on the Internet, readers interested in curriculum information on specific countries are advised to search directly online in order to access the most up-to-date information.

Building English Language Curricula

The Rise of English Language Education in Primary School Curricula

Curriculum decisions and curricular reform are often the reflection of broader political or policy decisions and of power relationships within a country or region. Presidents of countries have been known to intervene with proposals or vetoes. This type of involvement may particularly be the case when priorities concerning what languages should be learned in school are to be decided. Dynamics between local, national, and international languages will be involved, compounded by perceptions of their relative economic or other value.

English is by now the first choice of foreign language to be taught in primary schools worldwide. This is in addition to its continuing importance as a medium of education and as a school subject in the curricula of those countries referred to by Kachru (1990) as Outer Circle. In these countries, normally as a result of historical British colonization, English is a second language widely used among an elite and usually, if not always, having official status. On the other hand, the presence of English in national primary school curricula in countries in which it is a foreign language (Kachru's Expanding Circle) has increased greatly since the early 1980s, a rise which has been traced in numerous publications. Graddol (2006) focuses on the growing influence and spread of English in education and daily life worldwide which has accompanied this rise in primary school English. Enever et al. (2009) provide a snapshot of policy and practice in young learners teaching worldwide,

through summaries of contributions to an international conference held in Bangalore in 2008. Detailed discussions by Enever and Moon (2009) and Rixon (1992, 2013) have focused specifically on policy decisions affecting the treatment of English as part of national primary curricula and will enable the reader to build a timeline of developments. In a worldwide survey of primary and practice in primary school English conducted between 2011 and 2013, Rixon identified four major changes regarding English language in primary school curricula taking place during the first decade of the twenty-first century and all tending to increase the amount of attention dedicated to the subject.

- Changing (lowering) the age at which English is started.
- Making the teaching of English compulsory rather than an option within the curriculum.
- Making the English the medium for teaching other curricular subjects.
- Specifying target levels for English language attainment at the end of primary school Rixon (2013:9).

To these initiatives, we may now add the recent moves to adopt English as a medium of instruction (EMI) at primary and secondary school as well as tertiary level in an increasing number of countries from the Expanding Circle which had no legacy of English through colonization. English has by now gained a symbolic status as the expression of national aspirations for modernization or greater participation in world markets. Dearden (2015:2), in her report on EMI for the British Council, surveying 55 countries, comments on the way in which EMI has frequently been introduced "'top-down' by policy makers and education managers rather than through consultation with the key stakeholders."

Increasing the presence or status of English in primary school curricula in one or more of the above ways will have implications for the status and treatment of other languages on the curriculum, even if only in terms of available curricular space. This applies to officially recognized national languages and less favored minority languages as well as to foreign languages other than English. However, it should not be forgotten that in many educational systems, although English may dominate as the language of first choice at primary school, it is not the only candidate. In most regions of the European Union, for example, two foreign languages are the norm at primary school.

Different Curriculum Settings

There are several different curriculum settings for the primary school learning of English, and the contrast drawn by Cummins (1979) between the development of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in a language is a useful preface to discussion of these. It highlights a fundamental and important distinction between the different uses and types of grasp of English that are of value to children in different learning settings.

The first three settings for English learning on the list below – English medium education, immersion-style schooling, and content language integrated learning – embed English language in school life, thus expanding the time available for learning. Given that English in all these situations is an integral part of the children's educational experience and, to different extents, a vehicle for learning other subjects, curriculum documents which independently specify language content in these settings are not generally found. The language is assumed to depend on and to follow the content of their lessons in other curricular subjects.

English Medium Education

The debate about the benefits, drawbacks, and feasibility of conducting the whole of primary education in a language that is not the children's L1 has continued for many years (Coleman 2010; Knagg 2013; Williams 2006). Although contextual factors such as a large number of local languages (e.g., Kuchah 2009 on Cameroon) may strongly influence authorities toward the choice of a single language such as English as a medium of education, decision-making has always been complex and loaded with concerns and values other than strictly pedagogical ones. The consequence is that countries with seemingly similar conditions may take very different paths regarding the language(s) offered as a medium for primary education. Even when several languages are on offer and include several local languages, uptake may be skewed, usually in the direction of English. An example is South Africa where, as discussed by Chick (2002), 11 languages, including English, are officially recognized for education purposes. It is often the case in this context (Enever and Moon 2009:14) that, in spite of the attempts to give previously marginalized languages their place in education, many parents press for English medium education even when the English proficiency of the teachers responsible for primary education is low.

In recent years, some countries (such as Rwanda in 2008) in which English has no colonial legacy and thus no tradition of English as a medium for general education have taken the decision to declare English the official language of instruction in some sectors of education including the primary school.

CALP considerations in EMI are vital. Children who are learning other curricular material such as mathematics or geography through the medium of English face the challenge of understanding and assimilating new concepts through a language that is not their own. They will also need to read a range of different text types and learn to express themselves appropriately in written English following the conventions expected within genres used in the academic subjects they are studying. These are challenging as well as rewarding uses of English, and the subject knowledge and language skills of the teachers involved are paramount.

Immersion-Style Schooling

Immersion programs, often also termed "bilingual" schooling, aim to embed the foreign language within a school for use for much of day-to-day business such as taking the register, assemblies, and, most importantly, as the medium of instruction for some subjects on the curriculum. In Spain, for example, education was devolved to the regions in 2000, and most regions have bilingual projects in

place at both primary and secondary levels (Huguet et al. 2008). A typical pattern is for pupils to receive up to 40% of their schooling through English. See Kersten and Rohde (2015) for a twenty-first-century update. CALP considerations clearly also apply here.

Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

CLIL uses English or another foreign language for teaching one or more curricular subjects within a school. See Bentley (2015), Dalton-Puffer (2011), and Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013) for overviews. It is a model which receives official support in a number of contexts and is extensively if not densely present at primary level within countries of the European Union, where numerous foreign languages besides English are involved in CLIL. Rixon (2013: 91) reports on the special place given to CLIL in primary English learning in Cyprus: The description of CLIL given for schools in the European Union by Eurydice (2017) is as follows:

> The distinctive feature of CLIL provision is that pupils are taught different subjects in the curriculum in at least two languages. For instance, most subjects are taught in the language of schooling but mathematics, geography or natural sciences are taught in a different language. (Eurydice 2017:55)

The objective of this type of provision is twofold, to increase learners' exposure to and proficiency in another language without taking up excessive hours on the timetable, but adequate attainment by pupils in the curriculum subject(s) is also of great importance. The project to teach Science and Maths in English from Primary One in Malaysia, which ran from 2003 to 2009, is another example of this type of activity.

English as a School Subject

In state schools and private language schools worldwide, English is taught as a subject in its own right on the curriculum. The approaches to course design and teaching are far from uniform since teaching cultures differ, and both prosperous and less well-resourced parts of the world are involved, but it is the BICS model of language learning that generally prevails. Children may be expected only to demonstrate proficiency in listening and oral interaction and some ability to read and write in a restricted set of text types, rather than to be able to operate at the deeper cognitive levels promoted and required by CALP.

In spite of the high aspirations for primary school English language learning expressed by authorities in many parts of the world, it is notable that relatively modest amounts of time are actually allocated on curricula to English as a school subject. The Eurydice Key Data report (2017:117), for instance, reports that the share of instruction time dedicated to foreign languages recorded for 2016 in the majority of European countries ranges between 5% and 10% of the total curriculum time, while Rixon (2013:29) found that differing numbers of teaching weeks in a year worldwide, ranging from 27 to 40, contributed to stark differences in total time available for teaching English. In 16% of the 64 contexts only 30–50 teaching hours per year were allocated to English although about 30% of contexts offered over

100 h per year, especially at the higher grades of primary school. These substantial times allocated for English were applied in countries offering very different conditions, such as the Czech Republic, Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Qatar, Spain, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. Contexts in which English is a medium of instruction naturally offer much higher numbers of hours per year. The highest number of official teaching hours reported in the British Council survey (Rixon 2013:74) was for Cameroon 234 h per school year in English medium schools, but there was also a high number – 162 h per year – in French medium schools.

Major Organizing Principles for Syllabuses for Young Learners of English as a School Subject

Many of the syllabus and methodological approaches used for the teaching of older learners and adults can also be found under discussion in the literature applied to young learners' course design. However, closer consideration suggests that some of the approaches for older learners do not apply for children. For example, it is claimed in a number of publications, including the Eurydice documents from Europe, that a version of communicative language teaching (CLT) is used with young learners. The present author would take exception to this on the grounds that the communicative approach was developed for adults and mainly for adults in private language school settings. See Holliday (1994). Besides this, the term has taken on so many nuances and different shades of meaning over the years since CLT was first discussed in the 1970s as to be by now uselessly imprecise. If the term has any meaning for the teaching of children, it might serve best to express a general aspiration to make the language learning process meaningful to the learners.

The underlying principle of most successful approaches to teaching languages to children is that content and activities should be **child-friendly.** Child-friendliness means ensuring that the learners find what is presented to them in class both meaningful and engaging so that, even in the absence of any immediate other motivation, they are able to see some purpose in learning the language. A number of **organizing principles** fit this requirement. An organizing principle, in the technical terminology of materials design, is a systematically recurring feature or pathway in learning content that determines the selection, grouping together, and sequencing of what is taught. Although development of language skills and knowledge of language items is given some place among the aims on most primary curriculum documents, the tendency in current young learners' language program design is to downplay specification of linguistic items or categories as major organizing principles. This contrasts greatly with course design for older learners, which historically has been predominantly centered on aspects of language form and use, for example, grammatical structures, lexis, and language functions or a focus on developing particular skills such as listening and speaking. Although some national primary English curricula still focus on linguistic categories alone, this is becoming increasingly rarer.

In particular, as pointed out by Arnold and Rixon (2008:42), language functions (e.g., agreement, complaints, and requests), once widely included in syllabuses for

adults, seem largely to have been bypassed in curricula for children. This is most likely because young children are not seen as needing or capable of the negotiation of the same wide range of social and language register issues as older learners. What is preferred to linguistic categories are broader, more "real-life," concepts which can provide contexts for gathering linguistic items together in meaningful ways that are comprehensible to children. For children's courses, organizing principles might be **topics, stories and story lines**, **games,** and **activities** such as craft or art. CLIL-based teaching also fits clearly into this pattern as it is organized by the subject matter for which the English language is the vehicle.

Topics, in particular, are an organizing principle very commonly found in young learners' curricula but much less used with older learners. When translated into lesson materials, a topic, such as Animals or My Classroom, while remaining meaningful and interesting, provides a clear context for lexical sets to be introduced and practiced and may also favor the natural use of particular grammatical features or discourse types. Within the Animals topic, for example, a section on "Fascinating Facts" about animals could provide a clear context for use of the simple present tense for general truths, while the topic "My Day" could allow the revisiting of the same tense but this time for the expression of habitual actions.

Task-based learning is a hybrid of methodology and syllabus design in which the course is structured around the choice of activities/tasks to be achieved in class through use of the language. This is a reverse of the historically more usual position in which the language content to be learned (e.g., grammar, vocabulary, or focus on a particular skill) is specified first, and then suitable means of presenting and activating its use are sought. Task-based learning is thus seen as a very suitable approach for child learners (Pinter 2005) although implementation requires considerable skill and very often a change of mind-set on the part of teachers. Task-based teaching (see Carless 2012) was introduced in primary schools in the mid-1990s in Hong Kong but has taken a number of years to begin finding its place within the expectations and classroom cultures of that context.

The strong concern for basing courses for young learners on meaningful activity can bring very many motivational and learning benefits but can also create technical difficulties for curriculum and course designers. The linguistic content of courses needs to remain coherent and traceable even though lessons are not structured around grammar or lexis. Similar technical challenges can also be created for teachers since it requires ingenuity and constant attention to classroom flow to ensure adequate and systematic coverage and recycling of key language items among all the other learning objectives that may be in play.

Procedures in Curriculum Design

Language program design or renewal normally follows the same basic stages as are applied to the rest of the curriculum. The Eurydice report of 2001, although limited to systems in countries in Europe, is a usefully detailed document which reflects procedures that are also followed elsewhere. Three main stages can be distinguished (p.149):

- The decision to update or replace the existing curriculum
- The preparation of the new curriculum
- The approval of a new curriculum, which usually requires a legislative process and may be expressed, for example, as an act, a decree, or a ministerial circular

Variations in ways in which curriculum bodies may be made up are found in the worldwide survey by Rixon (2013) and are reflected in the description of the situation in Europe found in Eurydice (2001).

> The work is usually entrusted to ad hoc working parties appointed by the ministry of education and responsible to it. In most countries these groups are heterogeneous, with a variety of players, such as teachers, school heads, inspectors, teacher trainers, educational researchers and representatives of parent or pupil associations. However, in some countries this task is entrusted to very homogenous groups that represent only one sector of the educational community, e.g. that of teachers, or experts.
> In a small number of countries, a permanent body attached to the ministry is responsible either for drafting curricula or for setting up working parties for this purpose. (Eurydice 2001: 152)

Structure of Curriculum Statements

Not all educational authorities produce detailed curriculum statements. It is useful, however, to set out and discuss here the components that are commonly found in a fully worked out set of documents. This framework also reproduces in essence the types of proposal that a commercial publisher would need to work with while considering a new course project. What appears below in Fig. 1 is a modified and updated summary of a figure given in Eurydice (2001:152).

The above is the framework for a minimal document. Many educational authorities choose to flesh out their documentation considerably more by including other sections, such as an account of recommended methodology or lists of linguistic and other items to be taught. These might be presented in a sequence or else in thematic groups. A bibliography may also be provided. The more detail is given, the closer the document approaches to becoming a course blueprint. This degree of detail may be necessary and desirable in contexts in which teachers have to create their own lesson plans and materials to embody the curriculum or when a national or regional textbook needs to be authored but in other contexts it may be seen as imposing unnecessary restrictions on users.

Recent trends have been to include objectives that go beyond linguistic categories. Language teaching experts within a country or region are likely these days to be interested in how language learning can contribute to children's general educational development. For example, aspirations for education to become more learner-centered have become extremely widespread in the twenty-first century (e.g., Song 2015), and these also embrace young learners' language teaching. In some countries, statements about child-centered learning have stimulated important research into how this concept should best be interpreted in the language classroom. See, for example, Wang (2007) on China. Learner-centered principles such as **developing autonomy** and **learning to learn** may be seen in many present-day primary English

Introduction/Rationale	Statement of the reasons for a new language programme – for example, problems to be solved (e.g. the need for better listening and speaking). or a new development that needs to be incorporated in the English Language programme (e.g. child-centred learning or Task-Based language learning). Detailed discussion of reasons for such choices may follow.
General Objectives	The main headings showing what is therefore to be focused upon. e.g. 1) overall language objectives and whether priority is to be given to a particular language skill or linguistic area. 2) non-linguistic objectives such as Learning to Learn or increasing cultural openness.
Specific Objectives	More detailed listing and discussion of what should come under each heading supplied for General Objectives
Parameters for implementation	Teaching hours available per week or year, details of materials to be supplied or created.
Assessment statement	Indications of target levels to be reached and of how pupils' progress and attainment will be tracked and recorded. Ideally, this section should contain fully-worked designs for formal and classroom assessment which match the new curriculum content.

Fig. 1 Essential sections in a curriculum statement

language curricula. The 2001 Eurydice curriculum framework document, for example, is set up to invite entries on objectives that include reflection on language, sociocultural aspects such as knowledge and understanding of other countries and cognitive and affective aspects such as learner autonomy.

Human rights issues and the need to promote greater inter-cultural harmony through education are two related areas in which awareness has grown in recent years. Article 29(c) of the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1990) states:

> States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to... [t]he development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values' as well

as 'for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own.

Parker and Valente (2018: 367–36) discuss recent developments in which values, especially aspects of pupil voice and the rights of the child, are seen as essential components of a morally sustainable English language education curriculum.

Goals for Level and Type of Attainment

While most of the measures listed above have increased the presence of English in schools worldwide, setting target levels for English at the end of primary school provides greater precision and focus for primary school English curriculum content. Standard setting for primary-level English language learning was not, however, in place in many school systems until the beginning of the twenty-first century. In 2000, Johnstone (2000:14) discussed two distinct approaches to primary school foreign language learning.

> . . . one geared to 'second language (L2) learning' (*apprentissage*) which seeks to develop competence in one foreign language, the other geared to 'sensitization' (*sensibilisation*) which seeks to introduce children to language more generally through a language awareness approach as a precursor to the subsequent learning of one or more foreign languages. (Johnstone 2000: 124)

The language *learning* approach tends to be more favored worldwide today and is more amenable to setting standards for children's proficiency in English by the end of primary school. The publication in 2001 of the Common Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001) was a stimulus to more interest in standard setting in many contexts. The survey by Rixon (2013:11) found that the CEFR was by the end of the first decade of the century used as an expression of target levels for primary school English in many countries. These included countries both inside and outside Europe although Outer Circle countries still tended to prefer their own national tests and examinations. Nearly all school systems which made use of the CEFR set the target level for attainment in English at the end of primary school at either A1 or A2. It has been acknowledged (e.g., Hasselgreen 2005) that CEFR criteria were not drawn up with the needs and centers of interest of young learners in mind. Thus, they are currently less useful than they might be for informing primary English curriculum documents. A number of research groups have been working on filling this gap, among them the group working on the Global Scale of English for Young Learners (Benigno and de Jong 2016; Pearson Education Ltd 2018).

Nonetheless, the existing *Common European Framework of Reference* descriptors of different bands of language learner performance have provided a stimulus for teaching materials. This influence applies strongly in the private sector of young learners' teaching and materials publishing, where international examinations for children such as Cambridge YLE have made direct use of CEFR levels and included task types based on performance descriptors. Commercial publishers have been quick to create English language learning series which proclaim direct links to CEFR criteria and related examinations.

The Rixon survey (2013) revealed that in the state sector, although targets for attainment, CEFR or not, were in place, relatively few countries had any formal means of assessing whether the desired levels had in fact been reached. Where an English language course does lead to a test, an examination, or other type of assessment, the relationship between syllabuses for children's language learning and the manner and content of their assessment is another very important area of concern for curriculum developers although they may not always have influence over assessment matters. It is by now a truism that curriculum and assessment development should go hand in hand, but frequent comments in the literature on ELT innovation (e.g., Orafi and Borg 2009:250; Wedell 2011) suggest that this is often does not happen. When there is a gap or a conflict between assessment and curriculum, assessment seems to be the more powerful force and tends to dominate how curricula are interpreted. This operates in terms both of learners' own focus and teachers' selection from learning areas specified on the curriculum. See Alderson and Wall (1993:12) on the power of this type of "washback."

There are also signs that carefully-thought-out assessment design can result in even formal tests having beneficial rather than detrimental effects on young learners' English curricula. This can be seen clearly in a number of primary-level research projects supported by Cambridge Assessment. In these, based on the principle of consequential validity (Weir 2005:37), the contents and task requirements of assessment instruments such as the Cambridge YLE examinations are deliberately used to create positive washback effects on local curricula and on teaching and learning. The use of the YLE examinations with their assessment of all four language skills has, according to several accounts, shifted attention toward the teaching of listening and speaking in contexts such as France and China where they had previously not been valued (see, e.g., Salamoura et al. 2012).

In parts of the world where ongoing classroom assessment is used, using descriptive methods such as those promoted by the European Language Portfolio (ELP), there is more chance for attention be paid to "soft" (i.e., non-purely language-based) aspects of learning specified on the curriculum such as pupils' development in autonomy or their outlook on other cultures (Little 2012). Without the assessment framework provided by an instrument such as the ELP, these facets of the curriculum may easily be underplayed in actual course delivery.

Issues in Primary English Language Curriculum Implementation

Making Intentions Explicit

However well-conceived a language program may be, it can only take on full value if its intentions and contents are successfully conveyed to the professionals who are to implement it. Any curricular innovation needs to be accompanied by extensive teacher education and reorientation and probably by a renewal of teaching materials. However, it may not always be guaranteed that such programs and resources will be available at the level originally hoped for. A default expectation, therefore, would be that clear and detailed documentation on the new curriculum should be made

available to stakeholders. In an international survey covering 64 contexts, Rixon (2013:31) identified four levels of detail for curriculum documentation:

1. A very detailed specification of content with lists of language items and skills coverage and including specification of the level(s) of achievement to be reached by the learners
2. A very detailed specification of content with lists of language items and skills coverage
3. A fairly detailed outline of suitable content, giving, for example, topic areas, functions, or language items to focus on
4. A general overall description of aims for primary school English

In 11 cases (17%), there was either no response to the question or a report that no published guidelines or syllabus information were available, with another 12 (19%) declaring that the curriculum information given was at the general overall description level. On the other hand, nearly one third (20 cases) claimed that the highest level of information was supplied, with the middle ground of levels 2 and 3 together attracting another third (21) of responses.

The responses to the survey by Rixon (2013) show similar variations in the degrees of autonomy and agency allowed to teacher educators and teachers working with curriculum documentation. In Colombia, for example, the national language curriculum document itself was directly used in teacher training sessions as the basis for schools to develop their own teaching programs (Rixon 2013:31), whereas, in Georgia, groups of experts were working on teachers' guides to be supplied to teachers (Rixon 2013:31). On the other hand, as Rixon also reported (2013:32), in many contexts information on the curriculum tended not to reach teachers at all. Curriculum documents were not always available, especially in more remote areas, and they were not always consulted even when available.

Ensuring that Aspirations Are in Harmony with Contextual Affordances

Clearly, curriculum innovation means moving teaching content and practices some steps away from their present state, but judgment is required concerning both how far and how fast to move and appropriate ways of preparing both professionals and public for the change.

Curriculum decisions that prove problematical may come about as the result of expert advice whose assumptions prove to be distant from beliefs about education which are held in the prevailing teaching culture and are probably also shared by pupils and their parents. We have already mentioned the case of Hong Kong and the introduction of task-based teaching, which was at first extremely distant from prevailing classroom practice and has taken time to imbed (Carless 2012). Another type of influence that is coming under more discussion in recent years is that in play when developing countries receive educational aid from well-resourced outside

bodies such as UNESCO, USAID, ADB, and the World Bank. Song (2015), for example, writes of a change in 1996, promoted by outside agencies, concerning a shift in the overall philosophy of the Cambodian school curriculum from teacher-centered to child-centered pedagogy.

> With their world views of how children should be educated, these organizations prescribe educational reforms to developing countries, the prescriptions that give policy makers of those countries little choice but to implement the reforms in exchange for access to needed funds. Song (2015:36)

It seems that, although teachers found little to resist in the notion of making education more child-centered, many years later this project was still marked by mismatches between the curriculum statements of this aspiration and the reality of classroom behavior by most teachers. Song's experience is echoed by Kuchah (2013:19–20) concerning the string of language curriculum reforms in Cameroon sponsored by outside agencies but not taking firm roots in local understanding or practice.

Other issues may arise at the practical levels of preparation of personnel and resources. It is frequently claimed, e.g., by Waters and Vilches (2008), among others, that language program designers may not always succeed in creating direct connections between the aspirations of their programs and the objective practical circumstances of the teaching contexts that they are intended to inform. As has been pointed out above, sometimes fundamental decisions affecting the curriculum, such as a switch toward or away from English medium instruction, can be made by powerful but non-expert political figures for reasons of ideology or the expression of national aspirations. Once the grand idea is established, details of curriculum design and implementation will then need to be devolved to educational professionals to work through in the best ways they can. Implementation problems tend to occur when, in the words of Waters and Vilches (2008:5), "the curriculum design is insufficiently compatible with teaching situation constraints" and "the necessary levels of professional support and instructional materials have not been provided." One common obstacle occurs when the teachers designated to carry out a new curriculum initiative require training for their new role, but insufficient resources of funding, time, or attention are found for this to be carried out adequately. The project to teach Science and Maths in English from Primary One in Malaysia, announced in June 2002, implemented in January 2003, and finally cancelled in July 2009, is one recent example of a hurried "top-down" curriculum move which was short on preparation time and failed to thrive.

In some countries, anonymity for state school curriculum developers is still the norm, and consultation with professionals on the ground may have been minimal or even nonexistent, leaving the developers in an isolated position and also difficult to hold to account. Increasingly, however, there is consultation, and the names of those responsible for language learning planning are to be found in the public domain. A good example of this is the Cyprus primary English curriculum, the pilot version of which is to be found online with the names of all the contributors provided on its cover pages (Cyprus Ministry of Education n.d.). This level of greater transparency,

while highly desirable in many ways, may not leave curriculum designers in a comfortable position since they, while fulfilling their own role within the education system as a whole and accountable for their own work, usually will not have the power to command all the resources that we have seen above are needed to ensure fully successful implementation. This is an area in which more joined up government action would be of benefit in many countries.

One particularly problematic area is the link between curriculum intentions and the teaching materials through which they are expressed in class. Materials commissioned to fit a syllabus are often created by very different teams from those who created the syllabus. Teachers who are expected to devise their own lesson plans and materials to match curriculum specifications may also face challenges.

Coherence and Continuity Between Primary and Secondary Curricula

As mentioned above, there has been a move in a number of places toward greater clarity in specifying the target skills and levels of English to be reached by the end of primary schooling. This should be a very positive step toward solving a very well-known and heavily researched issue – that the outcomes of primary school language learning very often do not have any useful impact on or implications for the contents of secondary school curricula. Children's attainments in English at primary school may be ignored, very often by taking them "back to zero" when they start their new school. The need to take account of and build on, rather than ignore, the English knowledge that children bring from primary school to secondary school is well acknowledged (see, e.g., Bolster et al. 2004), but problems of disjuncture between the two levels are still widely reported. The survey by Rixon (2013:39–40) suggests that deliberate measures to link curricula for primary and secondary school language learning are still only rarely put in place, with only Italy, South Korea, and Sweden reporting steps taken to ensure links and exchange of information between primary and secondary schools.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the amount, nature, and detail of curriculum specifications in English language teaching programs for young learners vary considerably worldwide. Largely, this is due to differences in local conditions and needs but also to the fact that development teams may contain individuals with different combinations of expertise and views on education. Additionally, political and ideological influences may be more, or less, pressing.

It is important that curricular aims are efficiently and transparently communicated to stakeholders but also that stakeholders are involved early on in development processes so that a sense of ownership and commitment to the outcome is promoted. Relationships between curriculum and assessment specifications are also important,

and it is essential to arrange that assessment formats and procedures are designed to link with and support not only the language contents of a curriculum but the types of activity and other values that are to be found during classroom learning.

Areas for Future Research

References to literature in this chapter demonstrate that studies of aspects of curriculum development in young learner teaching are relatively numerous, but usually the study is of just one facet – told from the points of view of people at lower levels on the implementation chain, materials writers, teacher educators, and more rarely the teachers working on what is handed down to them. These research contributions, although valuable, are usually short, of journal article length. Fuller start-to-finish "biographies" of young learner curriculum innovations are needed, based on multiple data sources and discussed at some length. An example of the genre is the doctoral study by Kiai (2012) in which stakeholders at all levels of a curriculum innovation "food chain" in Kenya, including ministry officials involved in early curriculum decisions, were invited to contribute. However, this study is of an innovation intended for secondary level students. There seems to be space in the research field for similar work in young learners' curriculum design.

To the present author's knowledge, in-depth studies of the backgrounds, the thought processes, and the professional procedures of those at the fountain head of young learners' curriculum development in the public sector are currently unavailable. There is fascinating well of human and professional experience waiting to be tapped and researched here. With few exceptions, though, the curriculum developers themselves remain shadowy unnamed figures and their thought processes and working procedures a matter of speculation. By contrast, the literature on ELT syllabus and materials design for the international publishing industry, largely serving the private sector, is rich, and much of it is written by the materials designers themselves who usually double as syllabus creators. See, for example, volumes authored or edited by Tomlinson (2003, 2008, and Tomlinson and Masuhara 2010) which contain not only reflective and procedural accounts by successful ELT writers concerning their syllabus and material work but also present models for structuring syllabuses and for materials analysis and evaluation, many of which were also devised by writers, some of them known for their young learners' work. See, for example, Arnold and Rixon (2008) and Littlejohn (2011).

Clearly, positions of trust and conditions of government confidentiality may stand in the way of disclosures by, or researcher access to, public sector curriculum developers. Because they are often unnamed individuals and/or members of large committees, it is difficult at this stage to determine if there are profiles which fit "typical" young learner language curriculum designers in the public sector and indeed if it is worth seeking for commonalities among the different figures who fill this role in contexts across the world. However, case studies within single countries of curriculum development bodies could be both revealing and helpful to others charged with similar tasks. A famous UK example is that provided by Sir Brian Cox,

chair of a working committee on a primary English curriculum, who became so frustrated by government failure to publish some of the recommended material coming from his group and that to remedy the matter, he wrote a separate book (*Cox on Cox*) about the process of the committee, which allowed him thereby to reveal the contentious material (Cox 1991). This is not a work of neutral research, but the presentations of final recommendations and the commentary on how these were arrived at make it very instructive reading.

It is clear from the account above that curriculum developers have a highly demanding set of roles to play since not only do they have to formulate new plans for whole regions or nations based on their own expertise but they may sometimes be required to accommodate their work to the views of their political masters or to flesh out incompletely formulated ideas coming "top down" from the same figures. Additionally, once their work is done, they do not always have the authority to ensure that all the training and material resources needed further down the "food chain" for the successful implementation of their work are made available. As we have seen in this chapter, curriculum development projects affect the lives of much of a population, teachers, parents, and, most importantly, children. Knowing more about how they can be made to work optimally would contribute to the well-being of millions.

Cross-References

▶ Assessment of Young English Learners in Instructional Settings
▶ Teaching Young Language Learners

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English as an Additional Language: Integrating School-Aged Learners into Mainstream Curriculum

17

Constant Leung

Contents

Abstract

The concept of integrating English as an additional language (EAL) (also referred to as English as a second language) for learners into the mainstream curriculum has been the subject of debate among educationalists and policy-makers in many parts of the English-speaking world. The issues concerning the integration of EAL students into the mainstream curriculum are multidimensional – the label of EAL itself appears to be part linguistic, part educational, part social, and part political. The main purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the multi-dimensionality of EAL curriculum and practice. The developments in EAL curriculum and pedagogy within the mainstream education system will be looked at first. The influences of wider concerns such as social integration and rights and entitlements to equal opportunity in public provision will be discussed next; recent experiences in California and England will be drawn on to illustrate the multidimensional nature of EAL policy and practice. The central assumption

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throughout this chapter is that EAL in mainstream schooling can only be under-stood properly if we pay attention to its unique position at the crossroads of educational, social, and ideological movements.

Keywords

English as an additional language · English as a second language · Mainstreaming of EAL/ESL · Integration of linguistic minority students · Equality of access

Introduction

In ethnically and linguistically complex and diverse predominantly English-speak-ing countries such as Australia, the UK, and the USA, the integration of English as an additional/second language (EAL from now on) students into the mainstream schooling provision in the publicly funded school system has been an established educational policy concern for some time now. Interestingly, this apparently com-mon educational issue has been realized by a whole host of different national and/or local policies and practices in terms of EAL and minoritized community languages (e.g., Arabic, Polish, and Urdu in UK). The wide-ranging discussion on integration in this area of education has oriented towards achieving a number of different but overlapping goals:

- Effective adaptation/expansion of educational provision for all students with particular reference to linguistic and ethnic minoritized students, some of whom are newly arrived, and some are citizens and/or members of settled local com-munities, e.g., Chinese communities in Australia, Hispanic communities in the USA, Filipino communities in (English-speaking parts) of Canada, and Asian (with links to the Indian subcontinent) communities in Britain.
- Educational integration of students with diverse linguistic backgrounds in a general sense and in relation to affording English language learning opportunities in school.
- Social integration and inclusion informed by citizens' rights and entitlements as much as promoting individual achievement in school.
- Development and maintenance of community and national linguistic resources in terms of English and other languages.

This chapter will argue that integration of EAL students into the educational mainstream (which is itself a conceit for an educational provision endowed with a capacity to provide for groups of students with diverse needs) is as much a pedagogic issue as a social and ideological one. Beyond its basic reference to a "common" curriculum and viewed in a long(er) term perspective, the idea of the "mainstream" is actually a contestable and contested set of curriculum choices and pedagogic practices. EAL, as an educational provision, is in some sense an educational arena where various, sometimes competing and sometimes overlapping, expectations and demands meet one another. By extension, EAL is an ideologically charged

discipline. A useful way of seeing the complex and "loaded" nature of EAL is to compare it with other more "insulated" school curriculum subjects such as mathematics and French (or indeed the more conventionally established English as a foreign language), which are generally less directly exposed to nondiscipline-based pressure and influence. These subjects tend to have greater disciplinary autonomy that afford them a more or less stable subject status with more or less recognizable syllabus content, regular time-table slots, and so on. In order to understand the different approaches to integrating EAL pupils in different locations, we will need to look at lines of articulation between curriculum developments, and social values and beliefs. The purpose of examining the relationship between language education policy and practices, and social values is not to claim any causal explanation but to show the need to go beyond pedagogic considerations if we are to understand why certain policy and pedagogy are adopted and not others at any one time. Some of the observations and questions raised in this chapter will be influenced by this author's knowledge of the trajectory of developments in EAL in England (and the UK more generally).

Integration: Curriculum Level Developments

Broadly speaking, at the curriculum level, the integration of EAL students into the mainstream can be seen to have developed in two directions: (a) attempts at making the English-medium schooling environment inclusive and beneficial for language minoritized students and (b) attempts at making the curriculum accessible by actively using students' first or community language other than English as a medium of learning and wider curriculum communication. The first is discussed as EAL pedagogy and the second as bilingual education.

EAL Pedagogy

For a variety of historical, demographic, social, and legislative reasons, the past 40 years or so have seen a high level of initiatives and activities in places such as Australia, Canada, and England in integrating EAL learners, who are either new to the education system or from an ethnic minoritized community background with a home language other than English, into the mainstream English-medium educational provision. The central idea behind the integration policies has been a concern with equal opportunities and entitlements in education. This invariably means an effort at accommodating or including EAL students into the mainstream curriculum across subject content classes and/or extending the time-tabling arrangements to provide access to mainstream curriculum-related but separate English language classes (This kind of classes are sometimes referred to as sheltered English classes). We will now look at a range of selective examples of pedagogic ideas and developments in EAL within the mainstream in the past four decades or so (These examples are used to illustrate the kind of innovations and developments that have emerged; no evaluation

is intended. There are other concomitant developments related to the idea of mainstreaming which are not the subject of this discussion, e.g., multi/trans-culturalism in the curriculum).

In broad terms, many of the ideas and developments can be seen as falling into one of the following four categories: language-content orientation, content-language orientation, trans-curriculum language orientation, and student orientation. These categories are not meant to represent a sequence of development; they are used here partly because they signal different pedagogic concerns in different contexts, and partly because they are convenient labels to represent the separate approaches and efforts made by teachers and researchers in different places. However, these categories should not be seen as mutually exclusive and, as it will be seen, they share some overlapping of concerns, and in practice, there is often some degree of crossover hybridization (e.g., see section "Trans-Curriculum Language Orientation" below).

Language-Content Orientation

Much of the early attempts at developing specialist programs for EAL students were based on a structural approach. For instance, the Scope materials (1978: i) in England advised teachers that "[f]rom the very beginning you have to see to it that your pupils learn correctly organised language, not a makeshift kind of pidgin . . . They have to master the way words are put together and the correct form of those words." In many ways under this kind of approach, the content of learning is the language system itself. However, there is often a "functional reality content" organized as themes in this kind of materials. For instance, the Scope materials for beginners were organized around themes such as shopping, farm animals, and farming. It should be noted that using putatively interesting and/or relevant carrier content as a conduit to teach vocabulary and grammatical rules is of course a well-established practice in foreign language teaching, e.g., the Headway series designed for English as a foreign language by Soars and Soars (2009, 2011).

An example of a specifically mainstream curriculum-derived language-content oriented syllabus is the topic approach first promoted in Australia (Cleland and Evans 1984). This approach was initially developed out of a sense of dissatisfaction with the traditional grammar or structure-based teaching (Evans and Cleland undated) for EAL students who were in the process of being integrated into subject classes. It was felt that the contents of EAL pedagogy should pay attention to students' English language competence with reference to their communicative requirements when studying curriculum subjects such as science and humanities. Thus the conventional concerns of language teaching, e.g., grammar knowledge and the ability to use spoken and written language, are manifested through the content of topics such as the life cycle of an animal. The topic content terms (vocabulary) and language expressions (structure and discourse) are presented and rehearsed through teaching sequences which include the use of visuals and group activities. This kind of approach tacitly acknowledges that learners of EAL have to learn language and content at the same time in the mainstream classes, although the pedagogic focus is on language itself.

Content-Language Orientation

The work of Crandall and her colleagues (Crandall 1987; Crandall et al. 1987) in the USA can be seen as an example of curriculum content-oriented EAL, sometimes referred to as content-based language instruction. This approach is built on the observation that if school-aged EAL students are to participate in mainstream classroom learning, then it makes sense to focus "on the ways in which the language is used to convey or represent particular thoughts or ideas" (Crandall 1987: 4) (There were similar developments in adult and university sectors, generally known as English for specific purposes (ESP). For a discussion, see Johns (1997)). Subject specific uses of vocabulary and discourse expressions are identified and classroom strategies are built around these in order to promote both understanding of the subject content and learning of English at the same time. For example, it is pointed out that mathematics uses English language vocabulary and structures in particular ways, e.g., the notion of subtraction can be expressed by "subtract from," "decreased by," "less," "take away," and so on, and language expressions such as "If a is a positive number, then $-a$ is a negative number ..." to represent the axioms of opposites (Dale and Cuevas 1987: 17). Classroom activities designed to promote EAL development are built around the identified content-language. Perhaps it would be apt to mention here that the language aspects of the cognitive academic language learning approach (CALLA) developed by Chamot and O'Malley (1992, 1994) for EAL students also pays attention to subject content; it builds the teaching of "vocabulary, structures, and functions in English by using concepts drawn from content areas" (1992: 41). (A fuller account of CALLA will follow presently.) Working within a theoretically explicit systemic functional linguistics perspective Mohan (1986, 1990, 2001) and his colleagues (e.g., Early 2001; Tang 1992) working in Canada propose a content-language integration approach which ties language expressions and curriculum content together via a set of underlying knowledge structures. These knowledge structures, such as description and sequence, are argued to be cross-curricular. So one may find sequence in narratives, in descriptions of historical events, and when following procedural steps in science experiments. This schema is intended to help teachers analyze the key knowledge structures in different subject areas and tasks and identify appropriate language expressions for teaching and learning for students at different stages of EAL development. Mohan also suggests that knowledge structures can be visually represented in graphic forms such as charts and diagrams. Thus the content-based use of visual representations and other forms of semiotic representations such as flow charts can be used as part of the teaching of the key language and content meaning.

Leung (2014) observes that while complex subject content can be mediated through informal everyday expressions in classroom teaching and learning activities, content-based language use, even when it is of the informal everyday variety, does not mean student understanding is assured, nor does it mean successful learning outcomes of the content would necessarily follow. Lin's (2016: Ch 7) analysis shows that pedagogically it is necessary to be clear whether subject content learning or language learning is the priority. This is because a content priority would likely

orient teaching plans (related to teaching content, time allocation, and focus of assessment) in a different way than a language priority. (For a further discussion of the varieties and complexities of content-language integration, see Cenoz 2015).

Trans-Curriculum Language Orientation

EAL pedagogy has also been discussed as a trans-curriculum issue. By this is meant that the teaching and learning of EAL are seen as part of the challenges of understanding and using language for school-wide communication. We will look at two examples, both from North America. The first is the work of Cummins (e.g., Cummins 1992, 1996, 2000, 2008; Cummins and Swain 1986). Cummins suggests that language proficiency can be analyzed in terms of basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS refers to "the manifestation of language proficiency in everyday communicative contexts"; CALP is conceptualized as "manipulation of language in decontextualized academic situations" (Cummins 1992: 17). BICS tends to occur in situations where the meanings communicated are broadly familiar to the participants and/or the immediate context or action provides supportive clues for understanding; greeting friends and getting food in a student canteen are examples of context-supported BICS; a class discussion on the merits and demerits of the use of pesticide in farming, without any supporting print, visual or video materials, is an example of context-impoverished CALP. These two conceptual categories do not yield precise linguistic descriptions nor do they map on to any specific area of the curriculum directly. But they can be used to estimate the language and cognitive demands of a variety of communicative situations in school. It is understood that the predicted language and cognitive demands have to be worked out with reference to the learning needs of specific students. In general, EAL students tend to acquire BICS relatively easily whereas the development of CALP used in decontextualized situations is a more complex and long-term process. Pedagogically, it is suggested that EAL students, particularly those in the beginning stages, would benefit from context-embedded communication, e.g., learning new information and language expression through hands-on activities and/or with the support of visuals or realia, whenever the curriculum-related language is inaccessible.

The second is the conceptual framework proposed by Snow et al. (1989, 1992). This framework has been formulated specifically to enable EAL and content teachers to share a common teaching agenda. It is assumed that in a content-based approach to additional language development the language learning objectives are derived from "(a) the language curriculum (e.g., basic knowledge such as names of days of the week in English), (b) the content-area curriculum, and (c) assessment of the learners' academic and communicative needs and ongoing evaluation of their developing language skills" (op.cit.: 30). Working with these three concerns, Snow et al. propose two types of language objectives: content-obligatory objectives and content-compatible objectives. Content-obligatory objectives specify the language, both structural elements as well as other features of discourse, that must be taught and learned as an integral part of any specific content topic, e.g., technical vocabulary such as "vibration" and "frequency" when studying the properties of sound and

the associated discourse features of a formal scientific definition. Without learning these language items and features of discourse, content learning through the English language cannot be said to have taken place effectively. Content-compatible language objectives are language knowledge and skills which can be taught opportunistically, in a strategic sense, in the context of a particular topic or subject. For instance, if it is felt by teachers that some students would benefit from more guidance on the use of the past tense, then a history or humanities project on, say, Victorian clothing may provide the appropriate content context.

Thus it can be seen that the ideas proposed by Cummins and Snow et al. are pedagogically relevant to additional language development within the mainstream curriculum but they are not tied to any specific areas of language and content. Cummins' BICS and CALP can be used to map out classroom strategies and the conceptual framework proposed by Snow et al. lends itself to both language and subject content analysis and planning.

Perhaps we should return to a specific aspect of one other relevant approach (already mentioned earlier under "content-language orientation") because it is trans-curricular in nature: the cognitive academic language learning approach (CALLA) (Chamot and O'Malley 1987). The CALLA was designed to be used for students in the transitional stage between attending separate EAL classes and mainstream schooling in North American contexts. Both language and subject content are addressed; it explicitly incorporates elements of Cummins' and Mohan's work. A distinguishing feature of this approach is that it pays attention to learning strategies. Chamot and O'Malley (1987: 240) argue that

1. Mentally active learners are better learners . . .
2. Strategies can be taught . . .
3. Learning strategies transfer to new tasks . . .
4. Academic language learning is more effective with learning strategies . . .

The CALLA encourages students to use metacognitive strategies such as selective attention and self-monitoring, cognitive strategies such as grouping and classifying words according to their attributes and visual imaging to understand and remember new information, and social-affective strategies such as cooperating with peers to solve problems and asking teachers or peers to provide additional explanation or rephrasing. Quite clearly these learning strategies are neither language nor curriculum oriented in any direct way, but it is suggested that they can assist both content and language learning.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that the examples of curriculum level developments described above can be, in principle, adopted in a variety of modes of delivery. For instance, teachers may use the content-obligatory and content-compatible objectives to guide their planning for EAL students who are within a mainstream "integrated" class (with English proficient students) and for EAL students who are enrolled in "integrated" schools but are attending some separate English adopting a language-content orientation or sheltered content lessons that follow a content-language orientation.

Student Orientation

The liberal humanistic perspective on language development has also had an influence on EAL pedagogic development, particularly in the development of a particular kind of student-oriented EAL pedagogy. An early proponent of this perspective was Levine (published posthumously, edited by Meek 1996) who saw mixed ability teaching in mainstream classrooms as a potentially effective response to meeting the diverse language learning needs of EAL students in British classrooms. Levine (1996: 15) emphasizes the importance of "letting children have *their own voice*" (italics in original). In the English (subject) classroom this means, inter alia, setting a teaching context whereby EAL students are encouraged to engage with ideas and projects which reflect their own interests as well as to work collaboratively in small groups with one another. In this perspective, social interaction between students and between students and teachers is seen as pivotal to additional language development (Leung 2010). While the importance of the curriculum and teacher's instruction is acknowledged, the focus of attention is on the "dynamic and dialectical learning relationships" (Levine 1996: 118). In contrast to the language- and content-oriented approaches mentioned earlier, the specific language to be learned is often not discussed explicitly. The notion of language is expressed either in terms of the "underlying systems of rules which govern native speakers' use of English" and "structure" (e.g., sentence level grammar) (Levine 1996: 22–23) or communicative competence in an abstract process sense:

> In so far as communicative competence equates with having learned language behaviour which is both appropriate and effective for the context of our lives, we all probably learn what we are able to do – no matter how different that is in kind or extent – in much the same way. That is to say, we are, and have been, open to external stimulae and motivation to learn the code and its appropriate use while, at the same time, having the opportunity to exercise an innate drive to learn on the code and on the situations and contexts in which particular parts of it are used . . .
>
> If these observations are applied to the communicative teaching of an additional language, it must surely suggest a more active role for learners in the learning-teaching process, and a more interactive one, allowing development from the data of the environment. (Levine 1996: 123–124)

The language teaching agenda for the teacher in this conceptualization is essentially reactive in that the kind of teacher intervention made is dependent on the needs or problems shown in the active work of the EAL student. Classroom pedagogy is conceptualized in terms of learner active engagement. This perspective has been further elaborated in the officially promoted partnership teaching model (Bourne 1989; DES 1991; DfEE 2001) in England:

> Learning is best achieved through enquiry-based activities involving discussion . . .
>
> To learn a language it is necessary to participate in its meaningful use . . . The curriculum itself is therefore a useful vehicle for language learning . . . A main strategy . . . for both curriculum learning and language learning is the flexible use of small group work . . . (Bourne 1989: 63)

(For a more detailed discussion, see Leung 2001, 2009, 2016).

Bilingual Education

Given the focus and scope of this chapter, the discussion in this section will mainly focus on the USA, where bilingual education has been promoted as one of the educational responses to the schooling of students from minoritized same-language communities, notably the Spanish-speaking communities (for further details, see Boyle et al. 2015: Ch 2; for a brief discussion on bilingual education in other contexts In different world locations, bilingual education – the use of the languages spoken by both linguistic majority and minority communities for instructional/ school purposes – is often adopted by education authorities for different purposes. For instance, in the Basque country in Spain, the use of Euskara (Basque language) is part of the national language revival effort (Azurmendi et al. 2001; Torres-Guzmán and Feli 2005). Another similar example is the use of Welsh in Welsh-medium schools in Wales (see Williams 2000). These are examples of efforts to revitalize and to support indigenous national minoritized languages. The European School approach to languages is an attempt to promote a transnational identity and multi-lingualism within a European Union context (Bearsdmore 1993; Housen 2002). Although these systems and programs can also be discussed as forms of bilingual education, they are not directly concerned with the integration of more recently settled ethnic and linguistic minorities. Therefore, they fall outside the scope of the present discussion). Perhaps we should note that the idea of bilingual education in the USA has had a rather checkered history, because it can trigger anxieties and concerns related to cultural, ethnic, national, and even racial identities (e.g., Crawford 2000; Unz 1999, also see section "EAL: Not Just about Education and Language Learning"). For this reason, the use of minoritized students' first language in the curriculum has only received truncated federal and state level legislative support over time (National Academies of Sciences 2017: Ch 2). At present, the concept of bilingual education is found to be implemented through two main approaches:

1. Transitional bilingual education – The use of students' first language is intended to help them keep up with curriculum subject learning; English is phased in as soon as possible; its primary goal is to facilitate the mainstreaming of students to all-English classrooms. Typically, students begin learning in their first language in kindergarten or first grade and move to English as the main medium of communication incrementally over time (National Academies of Sciences 2017: Ch 7).

2. Dual language education – The goals of this approach to language education are (1) to develop high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy in the two languages involved (say, English and Spanish), (2) to perform academically across the subject range at appropriate grade level in both languages, and (3) to understand and appreciate different cultures and inculcate positive values towards cultural diversity. It is generally held that in dual language programs adopt a content-language integrated approach, i.e., the teaching and support for the two languages are subject content-based. There are two types of dual language programs: one-way and two-way dual language. One-way dual language programs predominantly cater

for English learners from a particular minoritized language community. These programs are designed to help students to learn English and to develop their first language. Two-way dual language programs serve both English learners from a particular minoritized language community and English proficient students; both groups of students are taught through English and English learners' first language in the same class. These programs are designed to promote high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy, among other things (Boyle et al. 2015: Ch 2).

As a coda to this section, it would be important to acknowledge the relevance of the notion of translanguaging in terms of integrating minoritized language students into the mainstream curriculum. The discussion so far has implicitly treated the idea of language as divisible into identifiable entities such as English, Japanese, and so on. Each language is seen as a distinct codified linguistic system. So when we talk about dual language programs in the USA, we enumerate the named language codes involved, e.g., English and a partner language such as Korean or Spanish. Underlying this assumed divisibility is the associated idea that teachers and students tend to use one language at a time, and when they draw on the resources of both (or all) of the languages present in the classroom, in language studies generally we have tended to refer to this multilingual use as code-switching. This view of languages as separate codes has been contested in the recent debates surrounding code-meshing, flexible multilingualism, polylanguaging, and translanguaging (and other related ideas). The focus and scope of this discussion precludes a fuller epistemological and ontological account of these ideas (see Canagarajah 2011, 2013; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Jørgensen et al. 2011; Jørgensen and Møller 2014; Li 2017; Makoni and Pennycook 2005, among others). Suffice it to say here that this body of work suggests that people in their everyday communication practices do not necessarily restrict themselves to using one, and only one, named language; they would use whatever available linguistic resources at their disposal fluidly. This is a significant observation particularly for community and/or institutional contexts where the fabric of the local vernacular draws on several named languages. Sometimes this kind of translingual communicative practice, increasingly referred to as translanguaging, is (perhaps a little mockingly) given a language name such as Hongish (a spoken and written vernacular in Hong Kong drawing on Cantonese and English). The salience of this observation for language education is that in a great many schools and communities in different parts of the world where ethnic and linguistic diversity is the norm, this kind of language practice is a routine daily phenomenon. Given that a key purpose of classroom communication is to facilitate student understanding of the content of teaching, then this kind of local translanguaging practice should be used as a, if not the, means of communication in the classroom to facilitate student learning (García and Li 2014; García et al. 2017). In many ways, translanguaging is not a specific curricular arrangement; as a communicative practice it can suffuse all the curricular arrangements designed to promote the integration of minoritized language students, irrespective of the language and content orientations discussed earlier. It is very likely that this is a dimension of mainstreaming that will require further study and development.

Mainstreaming: Beyond Language Issues

The collective experience of the education systems where ethnic and linguistic diversity has been a prominent feature has shown that the effective mainstreaming of minoritized language students requires, in addition to language teaching and learning provision, school and education system level adaptations and developments. While these developments are not the main focus of this discussion, in this section, I will mention briefly some of the whole-school and whole-system provisions that have been found to be important. A study carried out by the European Commission (2013) into the educational responses to new arrived migrant students in the member countries of the European Union provides a useful reference point. Most of the "migrant" students in the EU are learners of the language of schooling in their new country of residence (e.g., Portuguese-speaking students in the Netherlands); furthermore they also have to learn to find their ways through a different school and community environment. The study finds that in addition to linguistic support, three other types of educational support policies and provisions can help promote the integration of the newly arrived students: academic support, school outreach and cooperation with local communities/parents, and intercultural education. Linguistic support in some EU countries includes both additional language (the language in the new school) and the students' first languages. Academic support refers to facilities that can help to induct the new students and their parents into the school environment, place the incoming students in appropriate classes/groups in terms of age and background education, monitor progress, and provide additional learning support where needed. Outreach refers to schools making efforts to involve parents in school curriculum events and governance, and in their children's learning at home. Intercultural education refers to school efforts to adopt culturally sensitive curriculum practices, ensure teachers have appropriate training in working with ethnic and linguistic diversity, and recruit teachers with migrant backgrounds.

It is quite clear that the kinds of school and education system level support and provision mentioned above are context sensitive. For instance, the placing of incoming students in the appropriate classes or groups would require different actions and facilities with different groups of students. So for a school in England to offer appropriate schooling experiences of newly arrived students from a professional family from Sweden and from a refugee family from a war zone would require different facilities and expertise. The integration of minoritized language students into mainstream schooling is a complex process. In the light of the increasing ethnic and linguistic diversity in school population in many world locations, these school and education system level issues are likely to receive greater attention in future (see National Academies of Sciences 2017 for a US oriented view; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2015 for an international perspective). The discussion in the next section provides a contextualized account of the cultural and ideological sensitivities and sensibilities involved in the way in which the integration of EAL students into the mainstream has played out in the past 40 years.

Curriculum Orientations: Knowledge Base and Pedagogic Choices

The collective efforts of researchers and practitioners in the past 40 years or so have led to a corpus of organized information and documented experience in the field of EAL. It would be reasonable to assume that there is now sufficient accumulated development of ideas and professional experience for education systems to choose and adopt pedagogic approaches and curriculum arrangements which would promise the most effective response to the language and learning needs of EAL students. However, current experience in different parts of the English-speaking countries suggests that making pedagogic and curriculum decisions is neither a disinterested intellectual exercise nor a simple technical matter of choosing the most efficient means to achieve the desired ends. The commonsense idea of "choosing the best deal" does not necessarily apply because there are multiple end-point consumers and there are different "best deals" for different parties. In linguistically and ethnically complex societies, language education policy decisions reflect the intricate interplay between demographic shifts, social values, political processes, and (often unevenly distributed) political power. The policy of educational integration of EAL students is arguably more exposed to these wider social and political developments than most other curriculum issues. I will now look at some key moments of recent experiences of integrating EAL students in two case histories, England and California and attempt to foreground the importance of taking account of local ideological environments and political processes. The experiences in England and California have been chosen here not because they represent manifestations of some universal development, but because they can be used to sharply illustrate the nexus between integration of EAL students and wider social and ideological processes.

EAL: Not Just About Education and Language Learning

The school system in England has substantial experience in making EAL provision since the 1960s when large numbers of migrant workers first arrived from the Indian subcontinent and other parts of the New Commonwealth such as Jamaica. Initially, the reception of the newly arrived students as largely piecemeal at school and district levels. It was quite common to put the newly arrived students in separate English language centers or units, separate from the mainstream provision. The idea was to teach the new students English by specialist English language teachers first. The students would be integrated into the mainstream school when they had acquired sufficient English. This separate provision varied from school to school and from district to district in terms of length of stay for students and teaching provision. This somewhat *laissez faire* arrangement gave way to a more system-wide approach in the early 1980s.

The system-wide mainstreaming initiatives that began in the early 1980s have been largely expressed through a student-oriented approach. EAL students are expected to be placed in mainstream age-appropriate classes as soon as possible upon joining school (There are some induction classes in school for newly arrived

ESL beginners. But these classes or courses can best be described as tolerated (rather than actively encouraged) by curriculum authorities and the official educational inspectorate. See Leung (2002) for further discussion). Pedagogically, (all) teachers are expected to provide EAL development opportunities through engagement with curriculum activities which allow active hands-on participation and small group-based learning. EAL specialist teachers, where they were available, had multiple roles which include offering mainstream/subject teacher advice and guidance on how to generate English language learning opportunities in content lessons (including the use of students' first language where possible and appropriate as a transitional facility into English), and doing collaborative "support" teaching in classes where EAL students are present (see Bourne 1989: 107–108 for further discussion). There is relative little *additional language-specific* discussion on language learning. This orientation has persisted to this day. For instance, there is currently no dedicated EAL curriculum; the mainstream (mother tongue) English and literacy curricula are presented as suitable for EAL development (Although some guidance and advice on how to work with ESL students are available in a number of official curriculum, teacher training and inspections publications, e.g., DfEE (2001), OFSTED (2001), and SCAA (1996)). Professionally EAL as a discipline is not offered as a main subject in preservice teacher education; indeed, there is no officially required professional teacher credential for EAL. Under these circumstances, EAL mainstreaming appears to have resulted in full structural integration for students, i.e., EAL students attending ordinary classes, and, at the same time, under-provisioning in terms of curriculum infrastructure (e.g., the absence of explicit EAL curriculum specifications and mandatory specialist initial teacher education). (For a fuller discussion, see Leung 2001, 2010, 2016.)

The current EAL policy and practice is **student**-oriented but the mainstream curriculum itself is not **EAL**-oriented. This de-emphasizing of EAL has to be explained if we are to understand the policy-practice configuration that has been in place for the best part of four decades. The lineage of the current integration approach can arguably be traced back to a moment in the mid-1980s occasioned by the publication of two landmark documents. In 1986, the Commission for Racial Equality published a report on the practice of teaching English to EAL students in separate language centers in one local education authority and found this practice tantamount to racially discriminating in terms of outcome (CRE 1986). The publication of this report led to the effective termination of the provision of separate EAL centers in the state-funded school sector. The impact of this report was a reflection of the gathering strength of an emergent view on social integration of ethnic and linguistic minorities captured in the report of an official committee of enquiry, generally referred to as the Swann Report (DES 1985).

> We believe that a genuinely pluralist society cannot be achieved without the social integration of ethnic minority communities and the ethnic majority community within a common whole. Whilst we are *not* looking for the assimilation of the minority communities within an unchanged dominant way of life, we are perhaps looking for the 'assimilation' of *all* groups within a redefined concept of what it means to live in British society today. (op.cit.: 8)

The Swann Report projected a vision of nested communities within a framework of a stable nation-state: Britain as a community of communities (This can be seen in its view of language: "The English language is a central unifying factor in 'being British', and is the key to participation on equal terms as a full member of this society. There is however a great diversity of other languages spoken among British families in British homes" (DES 1985: Ch 7.1.1)), engaged in the process of reconciling itself to the legacy of its imperial past. (See Harris et al. 2001 for a further discussion.) This shift from assimilation of ethnic and linguistic minorities to pluralist integration is articulated to a policy statement which emphasizes attitudinal change linked to a particular kind of educational inclusiveness:

> Language and language education . . . [have] usually been perceived in narrow and discrete terms, initially as concerning the "problem" of teaching English to children for whom it is not a first language . . . We believe that the language needs of an ethnic minority child should no longer be compartmentalised in this way and seen as outside the mainstream of education since language learning and the development of effective communication skills is a feature of every pupil's education . . . Linguistic diversity provides the opportunity for all schools . . . to broaden the linguistic horizons of all pupils by ensuring that they acquire a real understanding of the role, range and richness of language in all its forms. (DES 1985: 385–386)

The call for social integration, articulated to an inclusive education as defined by the Swann Report signals the need to end the "compartmentalized" teaching of English to ethnic and linguistic minoritized pupils. By treating additional language learning as part of a broader communication issue, EAL can now be seen as an integral part of a generalized and common curriculum process, i.e., mainstreamed EAL. As Bourne (1989: 64) observes, the Swann Report found a policy position that "was able to return English language learners to the mainstream classroom." Thus, in educational terms, this redefined vision of a pluralist society in a multiethnic and multilingual context has led to a view which favors social integration through common and undifferentiated membership in mainstream processes; conceptualizing EAL as a part of the more general communication issue provides a perspective that allows a toning down of distinctiveness and difference. The prioritizing of the social and socializing aspects of education in the rhetoric of this form of pluralism made it possible to downplay the significance of the different language and language learning needs of EAL students and to direct attention to the common communication needs. In other words, mainstreaming EAL students takes priority over English Language teaching and learning, and the adapting and extending the mainstream curriculum for EAL students. The pedagogic option that makes immediate sense in this primarily social integration agenda is a student-oriented one which, above all, aims at helping the individual student benefit from the "mainstream" classroom activities, dispensing the need to address EAL as a distinct curriculum issue (A corollary of this line of thinking is that teachers are often reminded that teaching techniques that enable ESL students to participate in lesson activities, such as breaking up complex texts and asking students to reassemble the parts, are good for all students (e.g., DfES 2002)). EAL, as it is currently conceptualized in the official educational literature, can be seen as a continuation of that line of thinking

(It is interesting to note that, while ESL has not been conceptualised as a curriculum issue, the statutory National Curriculum (comprising school subjects) for primary and secondary schools provide explicit curriculum content specifications).

The complex ideological and social factors that have impacted on the educational provision for EAL students described above are clearly uniquely part of the English polity in the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. However, the hand of ideology and social values can be seen in other educational jurisdictions. For instance, the twists and turns in policy disposition regarding bilingual provision in parts of the USA from the 1960s onwards can be seen in the same light. It is generally acknowledged that the early initiatives on bilingual education were supported by federal level funding (e.g., Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1968); the courts were also active in interpreting the law in support of more appropriate and adequate educational support for minoritized students, e.g., in the well-known 1974 Lau v. Nichols case,

> ... the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the San Francisco Unified School District was in violation of ... [the Civil Rights Act 1964] for failing to provide 2,856 Chinese children access to learning English or to the basic content of schooling because they had not developed the level of English proficiency necessary to benefit from subject matter instruction in English. (National Academies of Sciences 2017: 39)

This judgment and the ensuing legislation and federal initiatives paved the way for the bilingual education provision discussed in section "Bilingual Education" above.

However, it is widely accepted that the idea of providing bilingual education to minoritized students did not received universal public approval; opposition to bilingual education came from English-only lobbying organizations such as US English on ideological grounds, as well as school districts which were concerned with the practical implications of having to provide for a large number of different language groups (National Academies of Sciences 2017: Ch 2). In California, events came to a head in the late 1990s. In 1998, the voters of California supported Proposition 227 "English for Children" (also known as the Unz initiative, named after its promoter) which was designed to severely restrict the use of minoritized students' first or native language for curriculum learning purposes; in effect, schools were required to adopt English-only teaching. Proposition 227 also mandated the introduction of a transitional EAL program referred to as "structured English immersion" that was not normally to last more than 1 year. In other words, under this program EAL students are expected to have developed sufficient English language knowledge and skills within 1 year to be able to participate in all-English medium schooling without further EAL assistance. During the campaign leading up to the vote, the pedagogic efficacies of different kinds of language education for linguistic minorities were debated by the proponents and opponents of Proposition 227. For reasons of focus, the specific case for and against the initiative will not be rehearsed here; nor will I enter into the debate on the success or failure of the so-called structured English immersion since 1998. What is of interest here is the background thinking behind Proposition 227. Unz's own writings offer some

interesting insight which may help to clarify the underlying arguments. First, there appears to be an instrumental argument for learning English:

> . . . if other languages such as Chinese or Spanish are of growing world importance, English ranks in a class by itself . . . over the past 20 years it has rapidly become the entire world's unofficial language, over the past 20 years it has . . . [dominated] the spheres of science, technology and international business . . . lack of literacy in English represents a crippling almost fatal disadvantage in our global economy. (Unz 1997: M6)

In addition, there seems to be an interesting ideological articulation of a pro-immigration and an anti-affirmative action stance, i.e., against ethnic preferences for jobs in public sector employment, leading to an English language-only view of social and ethnic assimilation (Unz 1999: 18):

> It is . . . a tragedy of the first order that, even as the reality of the American melting pot remains as powerful as ever, the ideology behind it has almost disappeared, having been replaced by the "diversity" model . . . A social ideology that allots to blacks and Latinos and Asians their own separatist institutions and suggested shares of society's benefits cannot long be prevented from extending itself to whites as well, especially as whites become merely one minoritized among many minorities . . . the diversity prescription contains the seeds of national dissolution.

On this view, the English language is seen as a sort of cement capable of binding all individuals, from whatever ethnic and language background, in the common endeavor of the American melting pot. Proposition 227 in California can be seen as part of the wider ideological and political movement advocating promoting English as the primary language for official and educational functions.

Events have moved on since 1998. Proposition 227 was overturned in 2016 by the passing of Proposition 58 into state legislation. Proposition 58 does not restrict schools to an English-only instruction approach; schools are free to choose their own instruction program to serve their student population, including the option of bilingual education. The arguments supporting Proposition 58 included flexibility in the use of language/s can optimize English language learning, restoring local control for schools and (in the case of bilingual education) promoting greater intercultural interaction and understanding.

Thus, it can be seen that the educational provision for students with EAL backgrounds, whether we are talking about language curriculum models or bilingual education, is subject to wider ideological and political influences. It would seem that ideological and political influences are at least as important as pedagogical arguments in determining actual educational provision in specific contexts.

Concluding Remarks

Historically, the integration of EAL students into the mainstream curriculum is an ideologically laden process. Over the past four decades or so, there have been a large number of developments in language curriculum and pedagogy which have

attempted to address some of the teaching and learning issues concerned with ethnic and linguistic minoritized students. However, the curriculum options and approaches adopted by policy-makers and education systems have not always been influenced by professional experience and research-based arguments. The different types of curriculum responses to EAL students' educational needs in different English-speaking countries strongly indicate that social values and policy arguments emanating from other spheres of society often hold sway and policy decisions on EAL can be made on nonlanguage education grounds. This suggests that there is a need for analytical clarity in understanding the multidimensionality of EAL policy and practice. Such clarity, if nothing else, will serve to help identify what is being argued for and against. In the long run, it would be of considerable interest to find out how far EAL policies and practices in different world locations are primarily driven by evidence of effectiveness (e.g., in terms of student educational attainments), by ideological persuasion, by happenchance, or by a combination of all of them.

Cross-References

▶ Content and Language Integrated Learning in Hong Kong
▶ English Language Teaching in North American Schools
▶ Instructed Second Language Acquisition and English Language Teaching: Theory, Research, and Pedagogy
▶ Languaging and Translanguaging for English Language Teaching

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EALD Students at University Level: Strengthening the Evidence Base for Programmatic Initiatives

18

Sophie Arkoudis and Anne Harris

Contents

Abstract

English language standards of students who have English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EALD) have long been a concern in English-medium universities. Universities offer a range of programs and practices to support EALD students through their university education. These programs are designed to ensure that EALD students have opportunities to be successful at university and to enhance their employment options. However, research has raised doubts about their effectiveness. Practices can be fragmented and they are often not included in the core business of disciplinary learning and teaching practices.

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The challenge for universities is in identifying, monitoring, and evaluating best practices for English language programs. This chapter presents a framework that can guide institutions in strengthening the evidence base for their English language practices. The evidence base is important as it assists universities in assuring graduates' English language standards are at an appropriate level within a competitive educational environment.

Introduction

Internationalization has in part facilitated the dominance of English as the language of communication in higher education institutions. There has been a significant rise of English as the medium of instruction in South-East Asian and European universities (Kirkpatrick 2016). It has also been a motivating factor in the recent massive global mobility of students from Asia to study in English-speaking universities in Australia, the USA, the UK, Canada, and New Zealand (OECD 2017). These countries also have large numbers of local university students who have English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EALD). As a result, university students are at differing levels in terms of their educational, linguistic, and cultural experiences. This shift in the higher education landscape from elite to mass and universal education (Trow 2007) requires some rethinking about the teaching and learning approaches that can be used to develop the English language communication skills of an increasingly diverse student cohort. In a period of widening participation, concerns about the quality of teaching and learning and outcomes in terms of graduate employability, there are a number of fundamental tensions about the roles and responsibilities incumbent on universities to ensure the English language standards of their graduates (Arkoudis and Doughney 2016; Murray 2015, 2016). These issues are not unique to English-speaking countries and are important wherever teaching is conducted in English (Kirkpatrick 2016; Poon 2016; Wingate 2015).

It is reasonable to expect that university students graduate having achieved required levels in their cognate discipline area as well as having attained the ability to communicate and express their knowledge and skills clearly in both written and oral form. Universities state that English language communication skills are an important graduate attribute for their students. Surveys of employer groups carried out in Australia also stress the clear link between effective communication skills and employability (Arkoudis et al. 2016; Blackmore et al. 2014; Graduate Careers Australia 2017). It is well established in research (Arkoudis et al. 2012; Dunworth 2012; Harris 2013, 2016; Wingate 2015) that the increased use of English language tests by professional bodies indicates employers' disquiet of the quality

of university graduates' communication skills. This is due to the development and assessment of communication skills remaining largely invisible in teaching and learning practices (Arkoudis et al. 2016). In fact, English language has largely remained a support service external to the core business of disciplinary teaching and learning. Notions of deficit and remediation are attached to English language support programs, with their main remit to "fix up" the "English problem" (Haugh 2015) in order for students to participate in disciplinary learning. In other words, an elite approach to English language and literacy development is largely prevalent in universities that are operating within mass and universal access. One way to address this issue and ensure students graduate with, at the least, minimum threshold standards in communication skills, is to integrate them within disciplinary teaching. Until recently, the challenge was to identify what works best in terms of whole institutional approaches that are sustainable and scalable (Hattie 2015).

This chapter will explore the issues, review current debates and concerns, and identify actions that are proving to be effective. We argue that it has been difficult to transform practices within higher education teaching and learning. What is required is to integrate English language development, but this has not occurred on a large scale largely because many universities in English-speaking countries use models of English language support that are linked to elite higher education systems of the past. This appears to create some fundamental tensions with regard to roles and responsibilities for the development and assessment of English language and learning within disciplinary contexts. We need to shift the narrative of deficiency and remediation which is connected mainly to EALD students and move to an integrated approach for all students. In this chapter, EALD is used to refer to students whose first language is a language other than English, or students whose first language is a dialect of English, including indigenous language, traditional language, creoles, and related varieties.

Fundamental Tensions from the Main Research

There are a number of terms that are used to define English language and literacy. "English language proficiency" (ELP) is used predominately within English language testing of EALD students. These English language tests often use "standard English" to test proficiency levels, which can often be different to the English dialects used by, for example, indigenous languages (Baker and Wigglesworth 2016; Kirkpatrick 2016). "Academic literacies" are mainly associated with academic learning advisors who develop EALD students' academic and literacy skills to support learning in disciplinary contexts within higher education. However, "academic literacy" involves more than academic writing, as it incorporates the ability for students to communicate effectively in academic discourse (Lea and Street 2006; Wingate 2015).

Many universities refer to "oral and written communication skills" in their graduate capabilities or attributes (Arkoudis 2014; Wingate and Tribble 2012). For purposes of clarity, "communication skills" will be used in this chapter as an umbrella term to refer to English language and literacy in higher education. This term incorporates academic and social communicative ability that develops from entry through to teaching and learning in university and into professional employment and further studies. This can be conceived as a developmental continuum from university entry to exit. The continuum can be represented across the life cycle of a students' degree program as follows (Fig. 1).

The continuum emphasizes the importance of students developing their academic and social communicative language ability during their higher education studies, which adopts Bachman's (1990) model of communicative language ability. It incorporates everyday and social communication with disciplinary academic language and literacy to build toward professional communication that can contribute to graduate employability (Blackmore et al. 2014; Graduate Careers Australia 2017; O'Leary 2017; Tymon 2013).

Traditional approaches to addressing English language standards of EALD students have been to set minimum English language requirements at the point of entry to university study and offer support programs for students who encounter difficulties. However, the reality is that some students who have met the minimum English language levels to enter their university study struggle with the oral and written communication required for their studies (Murray 2016; O'Loughlin and Arkoudis 2009). Relying solely on admission requirements to account for the English language standards students is not enough (Dunworth 2013; Harris

Entry
- *Readiness to commence higher education study*
- English as general and social communication language ability

University experience
- *Engagement with disciplinary teaching, learning and assessment tasks*
- English as disciplinary academic, workplace and social communicative language ability

Exit
- *Readiness to enter profession and/or further study*
- English as professional and social communicative language ability

Fig. 1 English language continuum (Arkoudis et al. 2012)

2013; Wingate 2015). Both English language development and disciplinary learning are developmental and cumulative during the course of study, yet in most universities, the two are separated. This is despite increasing research that indicates greater integration is required between disciplinary content and English language development in university programs (Arkoudis and Doughney 2015; Fenton-Smith and Humphreys 2017; Haggis 2006; Harris 2016; Hyland 2002).

The use of post-entry language assessments (PELAs) has expanded in universities in Australia, the UK, the USA, and New Zealand. PELAs are an early assessment tool used to identify students who may benefit from additional support to develop their communication skills. For example, in 2015, 27 of the 40 Australian universities used some form of PELA (Arkoudis and Doughney 2016). This situation is largely in response to a general concern that English language entry requirements do not adequately reflect students' capacity to undertake university study (Murray 2016). In the past, few PELAs were integrated into a student's course of study, often requiring only specific cohorts to complete it. In almost all cases, there were no implications should students not complete the task and no compulsion to participate in follow-up measures (Fenton-Smith et al. 2017; Harris 2013). Follow-up measures were almost all online and/or generic. These issues are currently being addressed by a number of universities, and some examples are provided later in this paper. Recent research indicates that most students who would benefit from support often choose to avoid completing post-entry tasks for language assessment and do not consider extracurricular teaching and learning activities to be relevant to their studies (Harris 2013, 2016; Baik and Greig 2009). Harris argues that for a PELA to be truly effective, it needs to be integrated within curriculum processes, preferably as an early low-stakes assessment task. In this way, students perceive it as part of their course and, therefore, relevant. When it is part of the curriculum, feedback is timely and contextualized, and students are aware, early in their studies, of their standard against that required by the discipline. This again highlights the importance of integrating initiatives within disciplinary teaching and learning and raises the question about how universities develop communication skills, not only of EALD students but of all students, beyond the point of entry.

Universities have responded by offering diverse and multilayered program initiatives. In the UK, a common form of support is offering extracurricular study skills courses (Wingate 2006). These tend to be generic and focus on, for example, issues of plagiarism, academic writing, and referencing. Some offer English for Academic Purposes (EAP) credit courses as well as one-on-one consultations. The UK Higher Education Academy has funded research projects that focus largely on integrating language and learning skills within disciplinary teaching for EALD international students (Higher Education Academy 2017). The Higher Education Funding Council for England has invested heavily in *Centres for Excellence in Teaching and Learning (CETLs)*. The *Write Now* CETL, for example, states that its "core rationale is for evidence-based and theory-based student support in the related areas of student writing and assessment." Wingate (2015) argues

that the main approaches used within the UK are inadequate unless they integrate and assess academic literacy within disciplinary curriculum. She has identified four models that exist in the UK, with varying levels of integration, ranging from extracurricular to curriculum integrated. A similar range of programs exists in Australia (Arkoudis and Doughney 2014; Dunworth 2013). Similar views to Wingate's are also echoed within the Australian context regarding the integration of communication skills within disciplinary teaching and learning.

The USA differs slightly from both the UK and Australia. Universities in the USA have a long-standing tradition of teaching Freshman Composition to all undergraduate students as credit-bearing courses. As there is no uniform policy, US universities adopt varied approaches to supporting EALD students (Garcia et al. 2013). These include sequenced ESL credit subjects that students must complete before they can undertake mainstream studies, writing classes which are available to all students and teach academic writing, and the integration of content and language teaching within subjects. The main focus of activities appears to be "writing across the curriculum" (Horner 2014). Many universities also offer peer support via a writing center. Not all of these models listed above exist within every university, and challenges remain in developing pedagogical approaches to teaching academic writing within disciplinary contexts (Flowerdew and Costley 2017).

Shifting the Narrative from the Margins to the Mainstream

Traditionally, the primary form of support for the development of communication skills has been either one-to-one sessions or workshops under a model that operates either fully or largely outside of disciplinary curricula. However, individual support is proving to be unsustainable, while generic workshops, either online or on-campus, lack context and are perceived as irrelevant. Often characterized as a "deficit," they target students who are considered to be in need of remedial support outside of the curriculum. This is an outmoded form.

Recently, the deficit model has been challenged, with the provision of activities aimed at developing the communication skills of all students linked more closely to the disciplinary curriculum. There are a number of studies that provide evidence to support their move in this direction (Buzzi et al. 2012; Clarence 2012; Jacobs 2010), but there are still issues associated with such an approach. First, it is argued that a non-compulsory model that exists outside of the curriculum does not target the right students. Research shows that those most in need tend to avoid additional activities and that students have increasingly busy lives that create difficulties in attending extra classes, especially as the content may not be perceived to link directly to assessment tasks (Garcia et al. 2013; Murray 2016). Second, there is some evidence that attendance of support programs does not necessarily lead to improved learning outcomes (Baik and Greig 2009; James 2010). Third, some of the studies

indicate that there are low attendance rates in workshops (Harris and Ashton 2011; Wingate 2015). Support such as these, outside of the discipline, show that resources can be better utilized.

In an effort to address the poor use of resources, a number of examples have been given where discipline and academic language and learning professionals have worked together to provide more contextualized development of communication skills. These studies provide some evidence that students develop their communication skills, but many of these micro-level approaches are difficult to sustain over time, are not scalable, and do not necessarily result in systematic and integrated change (Arkoudis and Doughney 2014; Baik and Greig 2009; Dunworth 2013; Fenton-Smith et al. 2017; Wingate and Tribble 2012). While there is an abundance of small-scale research that makes claims for evidence of the effectiveness of various communication skills programs, almost all interventions can demonstrate some signs of success (Hattie 2015), but few, if any, provide evidence that communication skills of students are at the required level for graduation.

English language support programs and academic support initiatives that operate outside of disciplinary learning are not the best model for enhancing communication skills' capacity. This is well known, yet many universities still use such models largely due to perceived difficulties associated with integrating communication skills into the disciplinary curriculum (Arkoudis et al. 2012; Murray 2016; Wingate 2015). Some academics assert it is not their job, and some feel ill-equipped to teach "English," while others point to an already crowded curriculum (Arkoudis et al. 2012; Dunworth 2013; Harris 2016). Where universities encourage discipline and academic language and learning professionals to work together, outcomes are often reliant on funding, relationships, and/or course leadership.

Arkoudis (2014) conducted research into various programs offered in Australian universities. She found that while a number of higher education institutions had developed institutional strategies for assuring the communication skills of their graduates, practices were disjointed and not connected to disciplinary assessment. She found that communication skills were not explicitly assessed in many disciplinary subjects and that there was an assumption that students would develop these skills by osmosis. She argued that an integrated approach was required, one that included a variety of strategies that fit together to develop and assess students' communication skills. Responsibilities would be distributed according to the professional responsibilities of key people involved in teaching and learning.

It could be argued that communication skills appear to be invisible within higher education curriculum, where disciplinary knowledge is the main focus of assessment. Hattie research has investigated the impact of programs on student learning and found that learning outcomes need to be visible and scaffolded throughout the program and aligned with teaching and learning activities, including assessment (Hattie 2015). Hattie argued that learning outcomes and criteria

for success need to be made visible or explicit within the learning context to students. If particular levels of oral or written communication skills are an intended learning outcome, and they should be, then courses need to identify what successful demonstration of these skills looks like to guide students' learning. Hattie makes the point that when students know "what success looks like, then learning is greatly improved" (p. 4). He also argues for more focus within universities on assessment for learning, where more emphasis is placed on the processes of feedback and where processes of feedback and assessment increase students understanding of what is expected of them. In order to make progress on this, the role of English language learning within disciplinary curricula needs to be addressed. As Biggs and Tang put it: "assessment practices must send the right signals to students about what they should be learning and how they should be learning it" (2007, p.163). Sadler (2015) goes further by pointing out that it is difficult to know if students have satisfactorily demonstrated learning outcomes. He asks, "where should the lower boundary be set, so when all courses are taken together, the result satisfies discipline-based expectations, professional accreditation requirements and the capabilities society expects of higher education graduates" (p. 6). The missing link is to make English language expectations more explicit within assessment. This is challenging for universities as they have never been required to do this in the past. It must take place, not only due to increasing scrutiny and standards, but to reinforce the quality of graduates.

In order to achieve this, communication skills need to be integrated within disciplinary teaching and within the learning and assessment processes. This means all students are included, which requires shifting the narrative from the margins to the mainstream and distributing the roles and responsibilities of those involved in teaching and learning.

This section will describe some recent research that has addressed the issue of roles and responsibilities within institutional practices.

The Griffith University Model

In 2009, Griffith University in Australia implemented an English Language Enhancement Strategy which takes a whole-of-institution approach to student language development. The strategy includes multiple strands to develop academic literacy in EALD students throughout the student life cycle. This consists of the English Language Enhancement Course (ELEC), which is a compulsory EAP subject for all undergraduate international students. As such it only addresses a specific cohort of EALD students – namely, the international students. This program does not include domestic EALD students. International EALD students undertake the subject in the first semester of their course, as well having the opportunity to participate in a number of optional tutorial and English language support programs. Griffith is the only university in Australia to have compulsory

discipline-specific EAP courses implemented as foundational units across all undergraduate degree programs (Fenton-Smith et al. 2017).

The ELEC is tailored to the four academic groups represented in undergraduate programs:

1. Language and Communication for Business and Commerce
2. Language and Communication for Health
3. Language and Communication for Sciences
4. Language and Communication for Arts and Social Sciences

Students who undertake the unit take one less elective in later years, so the degree is not lengthened through the inclusion.

The ELEC program is developed and delivered by a team of academic and professional providers of English language: members of the School of Language and Linguistics who provide theoretical content through lectures, and staff from the Griffith English Language Institute who deliver practical, discipline specific language-oriented tutorials (Fenton-Smith et al. 2017).

While Fenton-Smith et al. note evidence of improved student language andliteracy skills, they identify potential risks and challenges in terms of integrating communication skills in other subjects. These include:

• Disengagement of disciplinary academics toward the development of communication skills due to the view that it is being taken care of elsewhere
• Unrealistic expectations from both students and academic leaders that one program will "fix" the problem
• Difficulties in designing and measuring outcomes

One of the particular challenges for the Griffith program is that responsibilities for the development and assessment of international EALD students' communication skills remain within targeted EAP subjects. While the curriculum is designed to integrate English language and literacy within disciplinary learning, these subjects largely remain on the margins of mainstream teaching. Therefore, the responsibilities lie mainly with the academics who teach the EAP subjects and the international students who enroll in these subjects.

The Inclusive Model of Academic Literacy Instruction

Seeking to address the academic literacy needs of a diverse student population, Wingate (2015) proposed an inclusive model of academic literacy instruction that integrates academic literacy and disciplinary teaching. The model is based on her extensive research in the UK. Wingate argues that academic literacy development should be for all students, rather than only EALD students. Wingate's

model is based on academic literacy instruction, and methodologically it is underpinned by genre analysis. She proposed that it be available to all students, be integrated within subjects, and be based on collaboration between what she refers to as "writing experts" and "subject experts." She detailed the various examples of how the model can operate within subjects, offered a theory-informed approach that can guide practices for integrating academic literacy and subject learning and teaching, and trialed the approach in a number of subjects. She also included evidence of student learning via student perceptions and observed instances of learning and assessment of improvements in student texts.

Wingate argued that while there was some evidence of student learning through the instructional approach that she developed, there were several shortcomings. Similar to other research, these included difficulties in collaborating with subject experts, the perceived irrelevance of literacy workshops offered as an "add-on" leading to lack of attendance, and, hence, limited impact on student learning. Wingate concluded that inclusive literacy practices:

> . . . can obviously not be achieved in small-scale initiatives, as it requires institutional transformations which will bring about the integration of literacy into the subject curriculum, a major change which has to be encouraged and supported by departmental and institutional leaders. (pp. 150–151)

Wingate accepts that institutional change is crucial to moving toward an effective integrated approach, a task that she acknowledges is a long-term proposition. Others are more strident:

> The responsibility for teaching academic writing lies with all involved: the academy and senior management, the department, individual academics and designate support staff. . . . Academic literacies should be top of the academy's agenda for learning and teaching as it is too important an issue in terms of engaging students to be left to chance. (Hardy and Clughen 2012, pp. 50–51)

Wingate's model integrates language and content teaching and has a solid theoretical context, but it failed to gain traction within the wider institutional context. The roles and responsibilities remain in the margins, with the English language experts.

The Edith Cowan University Model

Edith Cowan University (ECU) in Australia has been moving toward an integrated approach in the development and assessment of students' communication skills since 2012. In what could be described as a bottom-up and top-down approach, the university opted to progress slowly toward full integration, attempting to gain support from key stakeholders as each development took place. Having run a series of PELA trials from 2009 to 2011, teaching and learning leaders

supported the university-wide application of a PELA within early core or foundational units in 2012 (see Harris 2013). Policy was put into place in the months that followed, giving the implementation greater credibility. The policy included significant clauses, such as "ELP will be contextualised in all courses"; "ELP feedback, together with recommended actions for assistance, will be provided in all assessments involving written forms of communication"; "All undergraduate coursework courses will contain a prescribed unit wherein a specific assessment will be made as to whether a student has or has not demonstrated within that unit the attainment of the ECU minimum standard of English language proficiency"; "All commencing students will be required to complete the ECU post-entry language assessment (PELA)"; and "Students identified in the PELA with less than satisfactory ELP will be required to undertake an English language proficiency support program" (Harris 2016).

The PELA process was crucial in the widespread acceptance of the English Language Proficiency policy. The PELA, a short-written task, is completed by all incoming students. This was viewed as necessary, as analysis of entry pathways showed that less than 10% of students entered with an IELTs score, and therefore not capturing all students. In addition, initial trials of PELAs were generated by academic staff within the business faculty as they had concerns about what they perceived as weak English language entry pathways. Importantly, feedback is linked to the PELA. Feedback is at the heart of the initiative, and all stakeholders – students, unit and course coordinators, and teaching and learning leaders – receive feedback within a week. Students receive a feedback sheet, a simple one-page document that contains 15 items and a short comment (see Appendix 1). Academic staff receive results and a summary of common errors for their cohort. Results are linked to university systems which allows this rapid generation of results and also analysis of various aspects, including entry pathways and other measures. Until recently, students who did not complete the task could avoid sanctions, a gap that has now been filled. Support for developing academic communicative ability is linked within these units where feasible.

Starting as early as 2009, the integration, or embedding, of language and academic skills has been driven at course level in some schools (see Harris and Ashton 2011). With the PELA taking place in large first year units in undergraduate and postgraduate courses, specific units were targeted. This has always been challenging as implementation was, and remains, largely dependent on personnel. In addition, when restructuring took place in 2016, the fragility of such processes was highlighted, showing the importance of full integration.

Policy ensures that milestones are in place mid-course to confirm that all students are, at the least, meeting minimum threshold standards in written communication related to their disciplinary context. An ELP measure, designed to give consistent feedback to all students regarding generic communication skills, is a basic rubric that is returned with all written work. As a result, students receive feedback on every written assessment throughout their studies. When they are required to demonstrate mid-course that they meet minimum standards, they have

already received constant feedback. The aim is to encourage students to take responsibility for developing their English language skills and feedback via the rubric which allows them to see and demonstrate progression. The achievement of the Course Learning Outcomes relating to communication skills remains the critical place in each course where the ELP capability is assessed and students held accountable to the standard set. Development is closely linked to the assessment of written communication skills, and both are regarded as everyone's business.

Enacting such policy, however, has not always been easy. To assure graduates' communication skills are at the required standard, teaching and learning leaders at ECU are currently integrating a range of practices, guided by the Distributed Expertise Model, which is discussed in the next section.

Conceptualizing an Integrated Model

The discussion highlighted difficulties in establishing an evidence base for program initiatives that can demonstrate graduates have attained threshold standards in communication skills. As has been indicated through the examples cited above, without institutional change, programs that develop students' communication skills will remain in the margins of university teaching and learning. Critical to this is the issue of how the roles and responsibilities can be realigned within institutional practices in order to integrate communication skills within mainstream disciplinary teaching and assessment practices.

Arkoudis and Harris (2016) developed a model, the Distributed Expertise Model, to assist universities to integrate communication skills within disciplines, i.e., to systemically develop and assess communication skills within a student's course. By interviewing teaching and learning leaders around Australia, they found that while a number of universities have institutional strategies for developing the communication skills of their graduates, practices were largely disjointed and not connected to assessment. Hence, two main findings guided the development of The Distributed Expertise Model:

1. The highest impact on student learning is when communication skills are included in disciplinary assessment tasks throughout a student's program.
2. Universities know that their graduates have achieved threshold standards of communication skills because of the cumulative milestones that students must meet before they can graduate.

This is a whole-of-program approach that includes a variety of practices that fit together to develop and assess students' communication skills. Within this approach, responsibilities are distributed according to the professional responsibilities of key people involved in teaching and learning. The practices apply to all students and are designed to be sustainable and scalable across the program. The ECU example given above, where students are given feedback on all written work, and then required to meet minimum standards mid-course, reveals how this can work. Communication

skills, in this context, are everyone's business. Importantly, these high-impact practices strengthen the evidence base and inform quality assurance processes, crucial for all higher education institutions at the current time.

The Distributed Expertise Model incorporates six action points for strengthening the evidence base for graduate communication skills within a whole-of-program approach. It is readily adaptable to all programs, and its application assists universities in strengthening their evidence-based approaches to the teaching and learning of communication skills. The idea of distributed expertise is useful in considering how various approaches contribute to ensuring students have attained threshold levels of English language communication upon graduation. Teaching and learning leaders, course coordinators, teaching academics, and academic language and literacy advisors all play a role (Fig. 2).

These six action points include the critical responsibilities that underpin the Distributed Expertise Model. The first action point, establishing threshold standards, ensures that minimum levels of oral and written communication skills are consistent with requirements of the discipline. This may include industry and/or accreditation prerequisites. In Australia, there has been much work in this area identifying minimum standards for communication skills across a range of disciplines (see http://olt.gov.au/resource-library?text=teaching+and+learning+academic+standards). Minimum standards need to be articulated and clearly visible to all involved. Program teams design thresholds of attainment that are measurable, and feedback commences early in a student's course.

Assessment is crucial to the model, as universities need to demonstrate that graduates have met threshold standards. Action point two, the identification of milestones, is therefore significant. Course teams decide the key junctures where milestones must be met. Disciplines will vary as some teams may nominate the
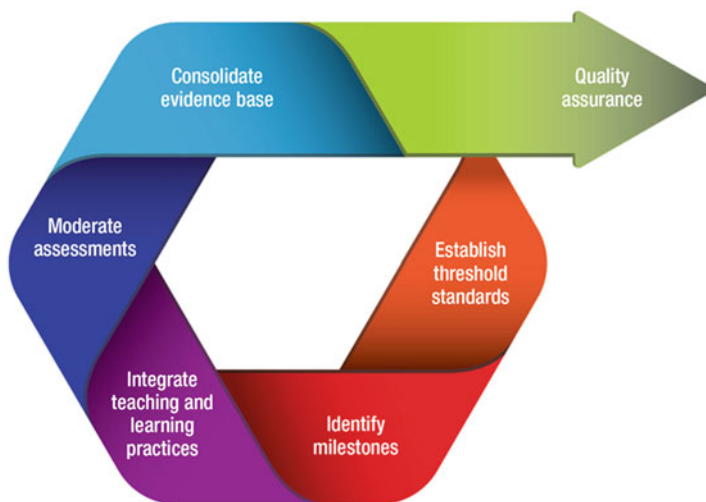
Fig. 2 Distributed Expertise Model (DEM) (Arkoudis et al. 2016)

start and end of the course; others may indicate each year level or prior to a professional placement. These milestones will necessarily be "hurdle" requirements, so units need to be identified, assessment tasks carefully designed, and formative or developmental tasks put in place to proceed the summative assessment. Teaching and learning are critical, and a team approach is regarded as best practice. In action point three, the integration of disciplinary and literary specialists within the course team allows seamless interaction and engagement. Professional development can be offered to boost partnerships and co-teaching opportunities, as research highlights the need for ongoing, rather than short contract, initiatives. With upskilling and seamless teams, initiatives become part of ongoing teaching and learning activities within a short period.

High-impact practices are decisive in this model; hence assessment tasks need to be relevant to industry, accreditation bodies, or other requirements. The fourth action point, the moderation of assessment tasks, is broad in range. Samples need to be collected of both formative and summative assessments related to communication skills. Benchmarking with similar disciplines across institutions, cross-checking with consultative committees, and linking tasks to course learning outcomes should become part of regular processes. Consistency of marking and ensuring grading is at the required standard calls for blind marking of, at the least, milestone assessments. This requires strong leadership from the course coordinator to support the development of such assessment practices.

The fifth action point, the consolidation of an evidence-base, is important for university and course leaders who have been unable to state categorically that their graduates had met required standards. Within this action, processes need to be established for the collection and review of materials that are linked to assessment, moderation, benchmarking, student support, and the various teaching and learning practices. This evidence is available if the four action points above have been implemented. With materials captured, reporting and updating requirements are easier, and more staff are engaged in the process. This links to the sixth action point, quality assurance. Rather than stagnating, practices should be constantly reviewed and improved, processes updated, and data monitored. Feedback from staff, employers, and students should be part of the cycle of review and quality assurance. The impact of initiatives should be evaluated regularly.

Graduate communication skills could be described as the "Achilles heel" of higher education providers. The development of the Distributed Expertise Model was largely influenced by the lack of an evidence base, the lack of articulated thresholds for communication skills, the lack of assessment tasks that explicitly measured communication skills, and the lack of implications should students not reach minimum levels. Action points include the need to collect and collate evidence: course design documents, mapping matrices, university-wide policies, audits and moderation of assessments, benchmarking policies, minutes of meetings, and mapping course learning outcomes. Following the Distributed Expertise Model, therefore, gives university leaders all requirements to demonstrate that their graduates have achieved minimum threshold standards in communication skills.

The following example illustrates how the Distributed Expertise Model can work and provide evidence of graduate communication skills:

Graduates from this course need to demonstrate that they have the required communication skills to enter their profession. The course coordinator has adopted a number of approaches across the course to highlight the importance of developing communication skills throughout the course. Milestone subjects, where students are required to meet minimum levels of communication skills, are identified across the course. Minimum expectations of communication skills are included within the guidelines. The assessment template used by all academics in the course includes comments on structure and organization of the written text, as well as presentation of response according to appropriate academic and linguistic conventions. Academic language and literacy specialists staff develop resources and materials to support students in developing the communications skills required for the assessment tasks. Students are able to undertake work placements once they have meet the minimum requirements in the milestone subjects relevant to the placement. Professional development sessions are organized so that teaching staff can share ideas for assessment design, examine issues related to assessment in general and communication skills in particular, and develop a shared understanding of threshold standards of communication skills attainment for the course.

Strong organizational leadership is required to integrate oral and written communication skills within institutional quality assurance processes (Hattie 2015; Sadler 2017). Teaching and learning leaders within universities need to be responsible for setting the standards of achievement that students are required to demonstrate in order to graduate. This requires making the standards visible to students and teaching and learning academics who are involved in assessment of student learning. Without clearer articulation of standards for communication skills, it is difficult to provide evidence of student achievement. Sadler (2015) has argued that it is difficult to assure standards without setting "pass" levels that students need to achieve in their studies. These standards for communication skills need to be formulated within the disciplines, as there are requirements vary depending on the professional requirements that may be required by accrediting professional bodies, for example, in nursing, teaching, accounting, and engineering. Teaching and learning leaders also have the resources and responsibilities to guide and influence an institutional approach that can strengthen the evidence base for developing graduate communication skills. Course and subject coordinators also have a critical role in fostering an evidence-based culture that seeks to demonstrate the impact of practices on student learning, and this should include oral and written communication skills.

Within the Distributed Expertise Model, best practice in the provision of developing and the assessment of communication skills is followed. All aspects are integrated within a student's program of study – strategies and support measures are contextualized and linked directly to assessment tasks, which are moderated, and students have to meet cumulative milestones within their program of study. The responsibility for

achieving best practice, which also assures graduates meet threshold standards for communication skills, is distributed across the teaching program.

Future Directions

This chapter has concentrated on discussing approaches to strengthening the evidence base for program initiatives for EALD students in higher education. It has been argued that university programs are moving away from deficit approaches to communication skills remediation and are moving slowly toward integrating English language and disciplinary learning. It takes time to develop integrated approaches in many universities as a cultural shift is needed. Existing practices are strongly entrenched within university culture. They are a part of what has been referred to as the "DNA" of universities, which is something that is conservative and has built up over a long period of time (Christiensen and Eyring 2011). Within an elite higher education system, academics have been largely responsible for teaching their disciplinary knowledge. Part of the cultural shift requires strong leadership from course coordinators and teaching and learning leaders, as they, in turn, draw on the expertise available to assure learning outcomes for communication skills. Therefore, further research is required to explore the nature of leadership in developing a distributed expertise approach. This research would investigate different disciplinary contexts and develop frameworks that will better strengthen the evidence base for communication skills.

There has been very little research into understanding and articulating exit standards and to ensuring that students graduate with the communication skills required for employment or further study. More research is also needed to develop an explicit framework for describing communication skills standards. This would also facilitate benchmarking activities between universities to assure graduate communication skills and strengthen their teaching, learning, and assessment practices. Professional development also needs to be in place to enhance the practices of academics and course coordinators.

Research strongly demonstrates that an integrated approach to the development and assessment of students' communication skills is the best way to assure graduates have met threshold standards. Involving all stakeholders, a whole-of-course approach safeguards that students with EAL, along with all students, participate in high-impact practices that are both sustainable and scalable across the program. These, in turn, strengthen the evidence base and inform quality assurance processes.

Cross-References

► English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: the role of English as Lingua Franca
► Postentry English Language Assessment in Universities
► Student Writing in Higher Education

Appendix 1: Feedback Sheet

Student Number: _____

FEEDBACK KEY (with examples only) – Sections where you need help:

Paragraphs and Sentence Structure

Sentence Completeness (SC) *(incomplete, run on)*	Sentence Length / Complexity (SL) *(simple, rambling, word order)*	Phrase/Clause Order (PCO) *(order of phrases/ clauses impedes meaning)*	Paragraphs (Para) *(no paragraphs when needed, too short)*	Punctuation (P) *(comma, full stop, capitals, semicolons, colons, quotation marks)*

Word Use

Word Choice (WC) *(inappropriate, does not suit the sentence, missing words)*	Word Form (WF) *(plural, noun or verb form, -ing form)*	Articles (A) *(a, an, the)*	Tense (T) *(walk, walked, have walked, have been walking)*	Noun/Verb Agreement (NVA) *(he were [was], they is [are])*
Spelling (Sp) *(incorrect spelling)*	Apostrophes (Ap) *(missing, incorrect use, it's/its)*	Prepositions (Prep) *(in, at, on, by, from)*	Informal Language (IL) *(idioms, slang, isn't [is not], & [and], use of first and second person)*	Conjunctions (Con) (Misuse or missing - *and, but, yet, so, because, although*)

English Language Proficiency Description

Focus on the topic	Content	Development of topic
☐ Strong focus on the topic	☐ Appropriate and relevant	☐ Logical and sustained connections throughout essay
☐ Satisfactory focus on the topic	☐ Mostly relevant material included	☐ Ideas are organised but connections may be missing or incorrectly used.
☐ Poor focus on the topic	☐ Irrelevant material included	☐ Ideas are disorganised and/or weakly connected across paragraphs

Based on the feedback, the following actions are recommended:

1	**No English language support required: High Proficiency**	You should **monitor** your English proficiency and access appropriate resources to refine your skills.
2	**May require English language support: Developing/Moderate Proficiency**	You are **encouraged** to undertake a language support course offered by Learning Consultants. These can be accessed on the Academic Skills Centre site within the "My Communities" tab of your Blackboard homepage.
3	**English language support required: Low Proficiency**	You **must** seek support to improve your language skills. You **must complete** the Foundation Writing Course offered online. To complete this course, access the Academic Skills Centre site within the "My Communities" tab of your Blackboard homepage.
	Unable to mark	☐ Limited sample ☐ Unable to read writing

Comment:

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English for Specific Purposes: Some Influences and Impacts

19

Ken Hyland

Contents

Abstract

The field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) addresses the communicative needs and practices of particular professional or occupational groups. It draws its strength from an eclectic theoretical foundation and a commitment to research-based language education, which seeks to reveal the constraints of social contexts on language use and the ways learners can gain control over these. In other words, it challenges the theory-practice divide and makes visible academic and professional genres to students. In this chapter, I briefly point to some of the major ideas

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and practices that influence ESP, focusing on needs analysis, ethnography, critical approaches, intercultural rhetoric, social constructionism, and discourse analysis. I then go on to look briefly at some of the effects ESP has had on language teaching and research, arguing that it has encouraged teachers to highlight discourse rather than language, to adopt a research orientation to their work, to employ collaborative pedagogies, to be aware of discourse variation, and to consider the wider political implications of their role. Together these features of ESP practice emphasize a situated view of literacy and underline the applied nature of the field.

Introduction

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) refers to the teaching and learning of English in particular domains of use, thus focusing on the specific communicative needs and practices of specific groups. Emerging out of Halliday et al.'s (1964) ground-breaking work in the early 1960s, ESP started life as a branch of English language teaching, promising a stronger descriptive foundation for pedagogic materials in technology and commerce. In the years since, it has expanded to include the language used in virtually all fields of professional and occupational activity, most notably business, law, and the academy. Typically, students are adults and classes tend to be homogenous in terms of learners' goals, if not proficiencies.

ESP has consistently been at the cutting-edge of both theory development and innovative practice in applied linguistics, making a significant contribution to our understanding of the varied ways language is used in particular communities. Drawing on a range of interdisciplinary influences for its research methods, theory, and practices; ESP has consistently provided grounded insights into the structures and meanings of texts, the demands placed by academic or workplace contexts on communicative behaviors, and the pedagogic practices by which these behaviors can be developed. In this chapter, I will sketch out what I see as some of the major ideas, which currently influence work in ESP, and briefly comment on some of the effects it has had on language teaching and research.

Some Influences on ESP

It is its interdisciplinarity, an openness to the approaches and insights of other fields, which helps distinguish ESP and underlies its understandings and practices. Its closest connections, of course, are to applied linguistics and particularly to discourse analysis. We can, however, also see strong links between ESP and pragmatics, communicative language teaching, corporate communications, writing across the

curriculum, rhetoric, critical literacy, sociocognitive theory, and the sociology of scientific knowledge. This willingness to embrace and unite different disciplinary perspectives gives ESP its distinctiveness and helps to identify what it stands for. In this chapter, I want to briefly introduce six of the most salient aspects of these perspectives as key influences: (i) needs analysis, (ii) genre analysis, (iii) ethnography, (iv) critical perspectives, (v) intercultural rhetoric, and (vi) social constructionism. This is perhaps an idiosyncratic list, but several of the topics in it appear in a survey by the former editors of *English for Specific Purposes* of current trends in the papers published in the journal (Paltridge and Starfield 2011). These are the core ideas which define what ESP seeks to do and the ways it currently chooses to do it, assisting practitioners to interpret how aspects of the real communicative world work and to translate these understandings into practical classroom applications.

Needs Analysis

While not unique to ESP, needs analysis is a defining element of its practices and a major source of its interdisciplinarity (e.g., Upton 2012). The systematic investigation of the specific sets of skills, texts, linguistic forms, and communicative practices that a particular group of learners must acquire is central to ESP. It informs its curricula and materials and underlines its pragmatic engagement with occupational, academic, and professional realities. It is a crucial link between perception and practice, helping ESP to keep its feet on the ground by tempering any excesses of academic theory building with practical applications.

Analysis presupposes an understanding of what must be analyzed and a theoretical framework for describing it (Hyland 2003). Both have changed over time. Early needs analyses focused on the lexical and syntactic features of texts of particular registers, or domains with discernible linguistic features, by establishing the distinctiveness of scientific and technical varieties of English. Interest then moved to the rhetorical macro-structure of specialist texts (Trimble 1985) to describe expository writing as nested patterns of functional units. In Europe, this approach was informed by functional-notional syllabuses and attempts to specify, in functional terms, the competence levels students needed for particular activities (Munby 1978). This interest in locating texts more deeply in their social contexts has continued through to the present as work has increasingly sought to develop an understanding of the social processes in which academic and workplace writing is sited. The use of genre analysis pioneered by Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993), for instance, has provided a useful tool for understanding community-situated language use and describing specific target texts required by learners.

Conducting a needs analysis is a complex process and Bocanegra-Valle (2016, p. 563) identifies six types of sub-analyses:

- Target situation analysis what learners should know in target context
- Discourse analysis: description of the language used in the target context
- Present situation analysis: what learners can/can't do now in relation to target needs

- Learner factor analysis: a composite of preferred strategies, perceptions, course expectations, etc.
- Teaching context analysis: resources, time, teacher skills, attitudes, etc.
- Task analysis: identification of tasks required in target context

Both pragmatic and rhetorical analyses have become more sophisticated and diverse, but simultaneously, the concept of *need* has been expanded beyond the linguistic skills and knowledge required to perform competently in a target situation. On one hand, it has moved to include *learner needs* or what the learner must do in order to learn, incorporating both the learner's starting point and their perceptions of need (Hutchison and Waters 1987). Most recently, the question of "who's needs?" has been asked more critically, raising questions about target goals and the interests they serve rather than assuming they should exclusively guide instruction. The term *rights analysis* has been introduced to refer to a framework for studying power relations in classrooms and institutions and for organizing students and teachers to bring about greater equality (Benesch 2001). Clearly, however, the imperative of need, to understand learners, target contexts, discourses, and sociopolitical context means that the starting point for any ESP activity must be a strong research base.

Genre Analysis

Genre analysis is probably the most important item in the ESP toolbox. The importance of genre is underpinned by the fact that few people have explicit knowledge of the rhetorical and formal features of the texts they use in their professional workplaces or academic disciplines. Genre analysis seeks to "make genre knowledge available to those outside the circle of expert producers of the texts" (Shaw 2016, p. 243).

Genres are abstract, socially recognized ways of using language that we draw on to respond to perceived repeated situations. In ESP, a fruitful line of research has been to explore and identify the characteristic lexico-grammatical features and rhetorical patterns of particular genres. This has helped to reveal how texts are typically constructed and how they relate to their contexts of use through specific social purposes, as well as providing valuable input for genre-based teaching. Genre analyses also characterize the processes by which texts and events are mediated through relationships with other texts, drawing on the concept of *intertextuality* (Bakhtin 1986).

The idea that any instance of discourse is partly created from previous discourses and reflected in subsequent ones is an important way of conceptualizing cultures. It also helps us to understand the ways that texts cluster to constitute particular social and cultural practices, networked in a linear sequence, as in the case of a formal job offer for instance, or more loosely cohering as a repertoire of options, say in the choice of a press advertisement, poster campaign, or mail shot to announce a product launch. Analyses have been greatly facilitated in recent years by the use of large text corpora and computer concordancing programs, which make reliable quantitative

analysis more feasible. Researchers can now collect representative samples of texts differentiated by both genre and field and, with frequency counts and collocational analyses, produce more targeted and more plausible linguistic descriptions.

Genre analysis takes a variety of different forms, but in ESP, it has traditionally involved attention to features of texts and their rhetorical purposes as a basis for pedagogical materials. This approach has been influenced both by the pioneering work of Swales (1990) and by Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g., Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), a sophisticated theory of language concerned with the relationship between language and the functions it is used to perform in social contexts. Both see language as a system of choices allowing users to most effectively express their intended meanings, and this fits neatly with ESP's aims to demystify the academic and professional genres that will enhance or determine learners' career opportunities. Genre analysis has thus become the principal means by which ESP practitioners identify the structural and rhetorical features that distinguish the texts most relevant to students.

In addition of being a valuable research tool, discourse analysis has also become a central teaching method in ESP, with a commitment to exploiting relevant and authentic texts in the classroom through tasks which increase awareness of their purpose and their linguistic and rhetorical features. More generally, providing students with an explicit knowledge of relevant genres is seen as a means of helping learners gain access to ways of communicating that have accrued cultural capital in particular communities. Genre approaches, in fact, also seem to offer the most effective means for learners to both see text-context relationships and to critique those contexts (Hyland 2002). The provision of a rhetorical understanding of texts and a metalanguage to analyze them allows students to see texts as artifacts that can be explicitly questioned, compared, and deconstructed, revealing the assumptions and ideologies that underlie them.

Ethnography

The third major influence on ESP has emerged more recently but has begun to make a significant impact on the ways we understand both language use and language learning (e.g., Dressen-Hammouda 2013). Research which moves away from an exclusive focus on texts to the practices that surround their use is facilitated by ethnographic studies. *Ethnography* is a type of research that undertakes to give a participant-oriented description of individuals' cultural practices. The term remains fuzzy and is often used loosely to refer to any qualitative method, but essentially, it focuses on a holistic explanation of communicative behavior by drawing on the conceptual frameworks of insiders themselves. Members of discourse communities and the physical settings in which they work thus become the primary focus of study, with detailed observations of behaviors together with interviews and the analysis of texts, to provide a fuller picture of what is happening. This approach lends itself well to ESP research as it provides critical insights into educational processes and practices and ways of developing theories grounded in actual investigations rather than theoretical speculation (Hyland 2006, p. 68).

Ethnography has been important in ESP in three main ways. First, it has begun to provide valuable insights into target contexts, helping to identify the discursive practices involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of texts (Paltridge et al. 2016). So, for example, this approach was used by Gollin (1999) to analyze a collaborative writing project in a professional Australian workplace, and by Lillis and Curry's (2010) longitudinal study of scholars from four countries managing their participation in international publishing. Second, ethnographic techniques have also been useful in exploring student practices, revealing how they participate in their learning, engage with their teachers, and experience their engagement as peripheral members of new communities. This was the focus of Leki's (2007) study to explore the literacy experiences of four undergraduate students in a US university over a 5-year period. Another example is Starfield's (2015) critical ethnographic research into the experience of black undergraduates in a formally whites-only university in South Africa. Third, ethnography has been used to argue for pedagogic appropriacy in contexts where overseas students study in Anglo countries or where Anglo teachers and curricula are employed in overseas settings. Holliday's (1994) ethnographic study of a large scale English for academic purposes (EAP) project in Egypt, for instance, underlines the need for sensitivity to local teaching models and expectations.

Despite the growing number of ethnographic studies, more needs to be done to bridge the gap between texts and contexts. Cheng (2006), for example, argues that ESP research remains too focused on what people learn, the complex journals of the academy and workplace, rather than how they learn it, the context of acquisition.

Critical Perspectives

Critical perspectives emerged in ESP in the late 1980s following parallel developments in the wider field of English Language Teaching. I noted above that, in its early years, ESP was largely concerned with identifying and describing formal, quantifiable text features without a great deal of social awareness. Increasingly, practitioners have been urged to think beyond the narrow confines of technical training and the professional empowerment of students to the broader sociocultural impact of their work. Most noticeably, these relate to the "accommodation" of students to the interests and ideologies of the institutions and professions they seek to enter and to the potential "linguicism" whereby the dominance of English maintains unequal power and resources and even the death of prestigious registers in other languages (e.g., Philipson 2012; Pennycook 1997). The growth of a more socially informed approach has also brought a greater willingness to interrogate the assumptions on which theory and practices are based. This is apparent in various ways, but it is important to mention two.

First, it has helped to develop a growing sense in ESP that a social-theoretical stance is needed to fully understand what happens in institutions to make discourses the way they are. Increasingly, studies have turned to examine the ideological impact of expert discourses, the social distribution of valued literacies, access to

prestigious genres, and the ways control of specialized discourses are related to status and credibility (Hyland 2004). The values, beliefs, and ideologies of speakers and writers are seen in the distribution of particular features in texts and the ways they are used to understand and explain discourse practices. Issues such as individual competitiveness, alliances among particular groups, the role of gatekeepers, and vested interests in institutional reward systems have therefore become legitimate areas of ESP research.

Second, critical perspectives remind us that ESP teaching itself is not a politically neutral activity. Phillipson (2012), for instance, argues that marketing English as a global commodity is essentially ideological as it not only threatens local languages but also works to maintain sociopolitical elites. More directly, Pennycook (1997) believes that ESP should not simply accept the demands of global business and the academy. Instead, it should question the status quo and help students to develop a critical awareness of how language works to support institutional hierarchies and inequalities. In the classroom, Benesch (2001) has argued that ESP in universities can achieve its aims more effectively by engaging with issues of power, describing a teaching approach that tries to modify target context arrangements rather than reinforcing conformity. The main view here then is that our teaching practices should be less *accommodationist* to dominant political and institutional orders, helping students to perform the best they can while "encouraging them to question and shape the education they are getting" (Benesch, p. xvii).

There is little doubt that "the critical turn" has brought a much needed "spirit of reflexivity and interrogation" Benesch (2009, p. 81) to ESP and created greater self-awareness among practitioners. However, one problem for teachers is that many of the canonical texts in critical ESP and critical pedagogy more generally are too remote from everyday practice, favoring impenetrable jargon over classroom approaches, and therefore offering poor guides to pedagogy (e.g., Morgan 2009). Where pedagogy is described, it often reflects a top-down, teacher-led prescriptivism which underplays classroom power relations and sidesteps the possibility that students hold different views to the instructor (e.g., Fenton-Smith 2014). Macallister (2016) argues, however, that this "first wave" of critical ESP now needs to give way to a view which allows students and teachers to question and challenge what they do in their own local classrooms without losing sight of their students beliefs and values.

Intercultural Rhetoric

The influence of *intercultural rhetoric*, the ways that first language and culture affect second language writing, has been particularly significant in ESP. It is a way of understanding second language writing production that emerged from *contrastive rhetoric*, a theory which took a more culturally deterministic position and tended to overgeneralize from small, isolated samples of writers (Kaplan 1966). Instead, this

culturally contextualized view of writing (and speech) seeks to be more nuanced in its interpretations of culture-text relationships and has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the preferred patterns of writing of different cultural groups.

Only in the last 20 years has the field of Academic English taken the issue of students' culture seriously. This is partly because early formulations of contrastive rhetoric were seen as rather ethnocentric and prescriptive, and partly because of a well-established attitude that, in the fields of science and technology, there is an independent scientific culture expressed by a universal rhetoric. Culture is at the heart of intercultural rhetoric but is a complex concept to operationalize. There are still reservations about using it to characterize student writing as it is often difficult to establish equivalent writing tasks across cultures and to distinguish the effects of first language from those of limited proficiency on the writing of non-native learners. Connor (2008, pp. 299–316) proposes three main tenets of intercultural rhetoric:

1. Texts need to be seen in their contexts with meaningful, contextual, and purposeful descriptions.
2. Culture needs to be complexified to include disciplinary cultures in addition to national/ethnic cultures.
3. Dynamic, interactive patterns of communication are important to consider, which leads to convergences among cultural differences.

These characteristics include a great deal which is fairly mainstream in EAP and the idea of disciplinary cultures is now well-established (e.g., Becher and Trowler 2001; Hyland 2004). This is because it is widely recognized that we are more likely to achieve our social purposes if we frame our messages in ways that appeal to appropriate culturally and institutionally legitimated relationships. So, in analyzing the extent to which student writing across disciplines draws on generic or specialized vocabulary, for example, Durrant (2014), found substantial variation between disciplines, while most disciplines were relatively internally homogeneous. Hyland's work on undergraduate writing also found considerable specificity in both the frequency and functions of features. Students' uses of hedges (Hyland 2004), self-mention (Hyland 2012), and engagement features such as reader pronouns and directives (Hyland 2006) all differ across disciplines.

One major reason for this is that writers draw on what they know as a result of their reading and writing of other texts. This not only offers the individual writer a way of managing the complexities of disciplinary writing but also contributes to the stabilization of reproduction of disciplines. Written genres themselves become the tools by which knowledge and learning are articulated for students. Even in cognate fields, such as nursing and midwifery, students are asked to produce very different writing assignments (Gimenez 2009), and this diversity can present considerable challenges to students. A large-scale corpus study, in fact, has distinguished thirteen "genre families," ranging from case studies through empathy writing to research reports, which differ in social purpose, generic stages, and the networks they form with other genres (Nesi and Gardner 2012).

Studies have also provided considerable evidence for cultural-specificity in preferred structures of exposition and argumentation across languages. These cultural preferences include different organizational patterns, different persuasive appeals, different ways of incorporating material, different uses of cohesion and metadiscourse, and different uses of linguistic features (e.g., Siepmann 2006; Schouten and Meeuwesen 2006). As a result, it seems that L1 and L2 student writing differs in certain ways and to varying extents depending on the combination of languages involved. Hinkel (2005), for instance, found lexical and syntactic variety, passivization, coordination, and subordination differences among students of different languages writing in English. Similarly, Moreno (1998) found coherence and cohesion differences and Keck (2014) variations in ways that writers presented evidence and sought to address readers.

Intercultural rhetoric also draws attention to the fact that we are members of several such cultures simultaneously and critically highlights the conflicts inherent in these multiple memberships. In particular, it emphasizes the potential clashes between the discourse conventions of professional and ethnic cultures. The question of who establishes the linguistic conventions of professional communities and whose norms are used to judge them is a central issue in ESP, and researchers have questioned the traditional view that those familiar with other conventions need to conform to Anglo-American norms when engaging in professional and particularly academic genres (e.g., Ventola 1992). Many postcolonial countries have developed thriving indigenous varieties of English, which are widely used and accepted locally but which diverge from international standards. ESP teachers now take the issue of appropriate models for EAP and English for occupational purposes (EOP) seriously, exploring how far the professions, corporations, and disciplines in which they work tolerate differences in rhetorical styles.

Social Constructionist Theory

Originating in the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1934/2015) and developed within social psychology and post-modern philosophy, *social constructionism* is perhaps the mainstream theoretical perspective in ESP and EAP research today. The perspective mainly gained prominence in ESP through research on scientists' lab activities by those working in the sociology of scientific knowledge (e.g., Gilbert and Mulkay 1984; Latour and Woolgar 1979) and the rhetorical analyses of scientific texts by Bazerman (1988), Myers (1990), and Swales (1990).

Basically, social constructivism suggests that knowledge and social reality are created through daily interactions between people and particularly through their discourse. It takes a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge and, in opposition to positivism and empiricism in traditional science, questions the idea of an objective reality. It says that everything we see and believe is actually filtered through our theories and our language, sustained by social processes, which are culturally and historically specific. Discourse is therefore central to relationships, knowledge, and scientific facts, as all are rhetorically constructed by individuals

acting as members of social communities. The goal of ESP is therefore to discover how people use discourse to create, sustain, and change these communities; how they signal their membership; how they persuade others to accept their ideas; and so on. Stubbs succinctly combines these issues into a single question:

> The major intellectual puzzle in the social sciences is the relation between the micro and the macro. How is it that routine everyday behavior, from moment to moment, can create and maintain social institutions over long periods of time? (Stubbs 1996, p. 21)

Social construction has thus become a central theoretical underpinning of work in ESP. It sets a research agenda focused on revealing the genres and communicative conventions that display membership of academic and professional communities, and a pedagogic agenda focused on employing this awareness to best help learners critique and participate in such communities. Swales (2001) points out that social constructionism is attractive to those working in ESP as it gives them "an enhanced place in the study of academic tribes and territories" (p. 48), putting discourse at the center of human endeavor and elevating the role of those who study it. The fact that this view makes truth relative to the discourses of social groups has not, however, always endeared ESP practitioners to those who prefer a less tenuous connection between reality and accounts of it, not least the scientists, academics, and professionals they study.

Nor have constructionists yet managed to agree on precisely what the term *community* means, despite its importance in this approach. Harris (1989, p. 12), for example, argues we should restrict the term to specific local groups and labels other uses as "discursive utopias." Clearly if communities are regarded as real, stable groups conforming to certain shared and agreed upon values and conventions, there is a risk of representing them as static, abstract, and deterministic. Discourse communities, however, are not monolithic and unitary structures but involve interactions between individuals with diverse experiences, commitments, and influence. As a result, Porter (1992) understands a community in terms of its *forums* or approved channels of discourse, and Swales (1998) sees them as groups constituted by their typical genres, of how they get things done, rather than existing through physical membership. For the most part, recent research has sought to capture the explanatory and predictive authority of the concept by replacing the idea of an overarching force that determines behavior with that of systems in which multiple beliefs and practices overlap and intersect (Hyland 2004).

Some Impacts of ESP

By way of balance, I would like to complete this chapter with a brief consideration of what all this amounts to and where these influences have taken ESP by looking at some of the effects ESP has had on language teaching. Basically, ESP coheres around a general acceptance that institutional practices and understandings strongly influence the language and communicative behaviors of individuals. It also stresses

that it is important to identify these factors in designing teaching tasks and materials to give students access to valued discourses and the means to see them critically. I want to draw attention to five aspects of this characterization: (a) the study of discourse rather than language, (b) the role of teacher as researcher, (c) the importance of collaborative pedagogies, (d) the centrality of language variation, and (e) the view that language represents broader social practices.

The Study of Discourse Not Language

Clearly, ESP has moved some way from its original exclusive focus on text features. In the past, materials were often based solely on the lexical and grammatical characteristics of scientific and business discourses in isolation from their social contexts. Today, these materials have largely been replaced by those that acknowledge wider interactional and semiotic contexts, where language and tasks are more closely related to the situations in which they are used. ESP practitioners now address wider communicative skills in their teaching. In the area of research, ESP attempts to go beyond texts to understand how they work in particular disciplines or professions, seeing genres, for instance, as recognizable kinds of social activity. Central to ESP, then, is a focus on *discourse* rather than just *language* and how communication is embedded in social practices, disciplinary epistemologies, and ideological beliefs.

To understand language and the functions it performs for people, we have to appreciate how it is used within particular contexts, identifying the purposes and participants that are integral to the construction of particular communicative processes and products. We need, for instance, to understand the interpersonal conventions a sales manager might observe when giving a client presentation or the knowledge a chemist assumes of his or her audience when writing up a lab report. In the classroom, these concerns translate into finding ways of preparing students to participate in a range of activities and to see ESP as concerned with communicative practices rather than more narrowly with specific aspects of language.

The Teacher as Researcher

ESP is, fundamentally, research-based language education; a pedagogy for learners with identifiable professional, academic, and occupational communicative needs. This means that teachers cannot simply be the consumers of materials and research findings but must follow the imperative of specificity. They must consider the relevance of studies to their own learners and conduct their own target situation analyses and their own research into local contexts. While ESP textbooks and so-called "English for General Academic Purposes" or "English for General Business Purposes" courses are still widespread, there is growing awareness in the field of the limited transferability of skills, forms, and discourses across situations (Hyland 2016). In addition, teachers have not only become researchers of the genres and

communicative practices of target situations but also of their classrooms. As I mentioned above, teachers have used qualitative techniques such as observations and interviews to discover students' reactions to assignments, the ways they learn, and content instructors' reactions to learners' participation and performance. This information then feeds back into the design of ESP courses in the materials, tasks, and problems that are employed in the classroom.

Collaborative Pedagogies

A third major impact is the distinctive methodological approach that ESP has developed as a result of its view of specificity. ESP necessarily works in tandem with the specialist fields it seeks to describe, explain, and teach, bringing an expertise in communicative practices to the subject specific skills and knowledge of those working in particular target areas. It is a central tenet of ESP that professional communities possess their own distinguishing discoursal practices, genres, and communicative conventions, which arise from different ways of carrying out their work and of seeing the world. Because ESP learners need to acquire competence in particular genres and specific communicative skills along with the knowledge and tradecraft of their professions, this knowledge becomes the context for learning. The topics, content, and practices of the profession thus act as vehicles for teaching particular discourses and communicative skills. The fact that the ESP practitioner is generally a novice in these areas means that collaboration with both students and subject specialists is essential.

Students bring to their ESP classes some knowledge of their specialist fields and the kinds of communication that go on within them, and this latent communication knowledge is important in a number of ways. Importantly, it means that ESP teachers need to negotiate their courses with learners drawing on their specialist expertise to promote relevant communicative activities in the classroom. An imperative of ESP has always been a reliance on tasks and materials that display authenticity or faithfulness to real-world texts and purposes, and learners themselves are among the best arbiters of this kind of appropriacy. Another way that teachers often collaborate with learners is to employ this specialist knowledge as a learning resource. Much current ESP is strongly focused on rhetorical consciousness-raising, helping students to become more aware of the language, discourses, and communicative practices in their fields. This means the teacher is closely involved in assisting learners to activate and build on their latent understandings perhaps harnessing the methods of their fields to explore the ways that communicative intentions are expressed (Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998).

Teachers also often need to collaborate with subject experts, and there are a number of ways this can operate. The specialist can assist as an informant, providing teachers, or students, with background and insights into the kinds of practices that experts engage in and their understandings of the texts they use (Johns 1997). Alternatively, such collaboration can involve the specialist acting as a consultant, assisting the ESP teacher to select authentic texts and tasks. More centrally, ESP

courses often involve the direct collaboration of subject specialists, either through team teaching or by *linked courses*, integrating an ESP course with the activities of a specialist course by jointly planning tasks and coordinating instruction. The literature reports mixed experiences of this with some teachers describing ESP and subject teacher collaborations as unrewarding, with Faculty treating the English teachers as subservient to the content course (e.g., Barron 2002; Turner 2004) and others confirming more positive relationships (e.g., Davison 2006; Arnó-Macià and Mancho-Barés 2015). Hyland (2015), for instance, discusses how various degrees of cooperation with different faculties, including co-teaching and co-assessment, helped invigorate the English curriculum at Hong Kong University as well as providing valuable professional development opportunities and gaining the teachers greater respect for their work.

The Importance of Discourse Variation

While the argument for a "common core" of generic skills and linguistic forms is still occasionally made, ESP research has strongly reinforced the view that professional and academic discourses represent a variety of specific literacies. A recurring theme through this chapter has been that each community has different purposes and ways of seeing the world, which are closely related to distinct practices, genres, and communicative conventions. As a result, investigating and teaching the communicative practices of those disciplines inevitably takes us to greater specificity. The idea of linguistic variation has been central to ESP since its inception and owes its origins to Michael Halliday's work on register in the 1970s, but it has gathered momentum as a result of a number of factors.

One contributing factor has been a growing awareness of the complexities of community literacies and the training that leads to professional membership. In universities, a large body of survey research carried out during the 1980s and early 1990s revealed the considerable variation of discourses across the curriculum (e.g., Horowitz 1986). This work showed that not only did different disciplines employ different genres but that the structure of common genres, such as the experimental lab report, differed completely across disciplines (Braine 1995). The growth of modular degrees and interdisciplinary courses has made matters even more linguistically demanding for students, and recent case studies of individual students and courses reinforce this picture revealing marked diversities of task and texts in different fields (e.g., Nesi and Gardner 2012; Hyland 2015). In the workplace, discursive competence is increasingly recognized as a marker of professional expertise. References to specific communicative abilities are now often seen in the professional competency statements of nursing, law, and accountancy, while caregivers, therapists, doctors, and other professionals are often judged in terms of their ability to gather and give information effectively in their particular contexts.

As I have noted, the idea of multiple literacies is supported by text analysis research. Successful communication depends on the projection of a shared context. Communication is effective to the extent that participants draw on knowledge

of prior texts to frame messages in ways that appeal to appropriate cultural and institutional relationships. This directs us to the ways professional texts vary not only in their content but also in different appeals to background knowledge, different means of persuasion, and different ways of engaging with readers. In sum, this research shows that professional discourses are not uniform and monolithic differentiated only by specialist topics and vocabularies. It also undermines the idea that there is a single literacy that can be taught as a set of discrete, value-free technical skills across all situations. This helps teachers to see that weaknesses in English has little to do with a deficit of literacy skills which can be topped up in a few English classes and leads ESP to find ways of integrating the teaching and learning of language with the teaching and learning of disciplines and professions.

Language and Institutional Practices: Replication or Contestation?

Together with work in New Literacy Studies (e.g., Barton and Hamilton 1998), ESP has begun to provide textual evidence for the view that language use is always socially situated and indicative of broader social practices. With the emergence of critical pedagogies, it has also raised questions about whether the teacher's responsibility lies in replicating and reproducing existing forms of discourse (and thus power relations) or of developing these in principled ways.

ESP's previous lack of engagement with critical issues was partly a result of its pragmatic origins in the 1970s oil boom and its tendency to "follow the dollar" through a global migration of teachers and students. While promoting an international outlook, this background may have encouraged a certain complacency or unquestioning acceptance of the value of this enterprise and the ways it was carried out. Practitioners rarely gave much thought to, and almost never sought to challenge, the power structures that erected and supported the prestigious literacy practices they taught. There is now greater awareness of critical issues and of the relationships between language and power, but the discipline has still to seriously confront these issues. This is partly a factor of the institutional constraints acting on ESP contexts themselves. In universities, ESP staff are frequently employed as vulnerable, short-term instructors in marginalized "service units." In the private sector, their status is normally greater, but here they are often contracted to provide a commercially evaluated product such as a course or materials for a paying client. Ways of facilitating change in such environments remain to be explored.

Conclusion

This brief overview has been necessarily selective, as limitations of space prevent a fuller coverage of the disciplines and theories that have influenced the growth of ESP and of the influences it has itself had on applied linguistics. Nor has it been possible to do justice to those areas that have been included, and the key ideas and contributors mentioned are worth following up in the literature.

There are, however, two clear ideas that emerge from this survey and which might stand for a synopsis of the field. First is the fact that ESP is clearly founded on the idea that we use language as members of social groups. This in turn means that it is concerned with communication rather than language and with the ways texts are created and used, rejecting an autonomous view of literacy to look at the practices of real people communicating in real contexts. The second point is that ESP is unashamedly applied. It should be clear that the term *applied* does not mean lacking a theory. It means gathering strength by drawing on those disciplines and ideas that offer the most for understanding and for classroom practice. Not only is there an interdisciplinary research base at the heart of ESP, but this eclecticism results in a clear theoretical stance that distils down to three main commitments: to linguistic analysis, to the principle of contextual relevance, and to the classroom replication of community-specific communicative events.

Cross-References

▶ Action Research in English Language Teaching: Contributions and Recent Developments
▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching
▶ English Learners with Disabilities: Linguistic Development and Educational Equity in Jeopardy
▶ Student Writing in Higher Education

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An Interdisciplinary and Contextual Approach to Teaching Adults English in the Workplace

20

Jane Lockwood

Contents

Abstract

This chapter explores the positive contribution that ideas and constructs from both the business and management training and the adult education literature can make to the theory and practice of workplace ELT curriculum design. It also explores how the context for training is of critical importance. Specifically, this chapter looks at how workplace stakeholders can provide a business voice to the English language teaching (ELT) curriculum processes, how business training planning and evaluation frameworks can assist English for specific purposes (ESP) workplace practitioners in reconceptualizing the curriculum process, and how a review of adult learning research can help ESP workplace practitioners better understand the English language needs of professionals in the workplace. Unfortunately, the applied linguistic literature is, for the most part, school-based, leaving workplace ELT programs poorly researched and documented in terms of curriculum theory and practice. The chapter will report on studies of workplace English carried out in Hong Kong and the Philippines. The first Hong Kong study (Lockwood, Language programme training design and evaluation processes in

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Hong Kong workplaces. Unpublished PhD. dissertation, The University of Hong Kong, 2002) investigated the way in which frameworks from business management and training can be used in ESP workplace training to ensure work-place stakeholders and thus the organization as a whole are better represented in the process. The second Hong Kong study (Hamp-Lyons et al. A new approach to competency based language assessment in professional contexts – Hong Kong Institute of Company Secretaries (Research Report). Hong Kong Research Council, Hong Kong, 2002) provides insights into how different stages in a professional career (in this case accountants) impact the kind of written language expectations of that professional. Other studies conducted in the Philippines in the business processing outsourcing (BPO) industry further illuminate the language demands of the increasingly globalized workplace.

Introduction

Despite the increase in demand for more and better business English language programs in the workplace, the theoretical tenets upon which they are based remain under-researched (Nickerson 2005; St. John 1996). Workplace language trainers, armed with applied linguistic skills and knowledge and teaching experience in schools and universities, face new challenges in the workplace environment and often report feeling ill-equipped to deal with language training in the business context (see Lockwood 2014). For example, workplace communication trainers hired by companies are mostly trained in the humanities to work in educational institutions and bemoan their own lack of knowledge of business practices and business needs for workplace English language training. There is a dearth of research literature to assist them.

This chapter argues that by looking at the interdisciplinary literature of business management and training and adult education for the professions, new ideas and approaches may emerge and thus lend more support to ESP trainers in the workplace. It also argues that a thorough knowledge of the actual context for training is a critical ingredient for success. The implications of the business context for ELT curriculum design are described, and frameworks from the literature of business management and training used to show how new and more effective workplace English training programs may be developed (Brinkerhoff 1998; Cummings 1998; Kirkpatrick 1994). This chapter also discusses how adult learning education research, particularly that which explores how professional knowledge and competence develops (Eraut 1994), may help to inform and guide workplace ELT trainers in their program development. This will be illustrated in the outcomes of different sets of workplace ELT research projects, one set of studies based in Hong Kong (Hamp-Lyons et al. 2001; Nunan and Forey 1996) and sets of studies in Manila and Australia (Forey and Lockwood 2004, 2007).

Such interdisciplinary research into approaches to ELT course design and evaluation, and into language assessment design, can better equip teacher trainers in the workplace to carry out this very challenging area of specialized ESP and can improve language teaching services to businesses and workplaces.

The Language Needs of Adults at Work

Typically, during the life span of the adult professional, she/he spends in excess of double the time at work as she/he has spent in formal education. This situation raises a number of important questions for the recent promotion of lifelong education in Asia. First, given the fact that adult professionals spend so much time at work, the question arises as to whether it is possible to analyze and articulate the stages of knowledge and competence acquired throughout their careers. If we are able to articulate these stages in professional knowledge and competence, then ESP language training curriculum processes and programs can be mapped onto such frameworks, thus increasing the transparency and relevance of ELT workplace training to the professional in the workplace. Although there is fragmented research in this area in Asia, there is, as yet, nothing large scale and systematic being carried out with the possible exception of the consultancy completed recently on the language benchmarking of primary and secondary school teachers in Hong Kong (see the chapter by Coniam and Falvey, this volume).

Assuming a reasonable degree of success and fulfillment in our chosen areas of work, we know we get better at what we do and most professionals accept, even enjoy, the ongoing challenges of "moving up the ladder" and developing competencies in a successful career. Developing a model to analyze and exemplify these steps/stages/phases has, however, been the subject of much work in adult education (Argyris and Schon 1974; Calderhead 1988; Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1986; Eraut 1994; Fuller 1970). Eraut (1994) believes that an attempt to define and detail levels of professionalism in the workplace across industry types and professions worldwide is a fundamental step in being able to conceptualize curriculum models for lifelong learning and training within the workplace:

> Behind the numerous policy issues which have enlivened the debate about the appropriate form and structure for professional education, lies a remarkable ignorance about professional learning. Apart from the limited though valuable literature on professional socialisation, we know very little about what is learned during the period of initial qualification besides the content of formal examinations. Still less is known about subsequent learning, how and why professionals learn to apply, disregard or modify their initial training immediately after qualification: and to what extent continuing education on-the-job or even off-the-job learning contributes to their professional maturation, updating, promotion or reorientation. Yet without such knowledge, attempts to plan or evaluate professional education are liable to be crude and misdirected. (p. 40)

Other researchers have made earlier attempts at this kind of conceptualization. For example, Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) identified five levels of skills acquisition

in the workplace: novice, advanced beginner, competent, proficient, and expert. Fuller (1970) has also developed a model that suggests three benchmark levels of professional development for teachers, specifically:

Level 1: Early phase (beginner) – where the concern is about self and how the teacher presents her/himself.
Level 2: Middle phase (competent) – where the teacher feels more in control of both the classroom and the content and becomes more concerned about the rapport that can be established with students.
Level 3: Late phase (professional) – where the teacher becomes more reflective about what can and should be taught to the students and how the program might change

In two Hong Kong-based research projects investigating the language needs of accountants (Hamp-Lyons et al. 2000; Nunan and Forey 1996), researchers had to establish pathways of English language competencies for accountants from junior accountant through to "partner" in typical multinational and accounting firms. These pathways then informed the development of language assessment tasks and training materials at different levels of accounting work. It was found that accountants enter and advance through the professional hierarchy in a large multinational accounting firm from junior, to senior, to manager, and then to partner. At each level there are specific written tasks that they are responsible for, ranging from the creation of new documents, synthesizing information, and making judgements and interpretations to proofreading and editing. Interestingly, it was found that junior accountants, in their first 3 years of their careers, in fact do very little writing in the Hong Kong workplace and typically collect and collate information before passing it on to their supervisors. However once promoted to the next stage, the senior level, accountants are suddenly required to write a variety of demanding and complex texts involving synthesizing information from a range of sources and making recommendations. Not surprisingly the Hong Kong Society of Accountants is very concerned about the quality of writing in English among its senior, manager, and partner membership. The training manager within that professional association also reported that she felt junior accountants in fact lose some of their English skills when they begin their careers in Hong Kong as accountants. Nunan and Forey (1996) suggest that:

> One conclusion that can be drawn from this research is the need for the development of tailor-made courses which match the requirements of the profession. The findings clearly demonstrate that even within, what appears to be a homogeneous professional group, there are quite diverse writer roles which need to be recognised and addressed …. From the findings of the survey and interviews it appears that senior accountants (managers and partners) are spending a large amount of their valuable time editing and rewriting documents produced by their subordinates. An improved writing training programme will help alleviate the time spent by seniors on editing and rewriting. (p. 52)

A human resources (HR) manager of a large multinational retail outlet in Hong Kong captured the complexity of designing well-targeted programs for adults when she said in an interview with the author (Lockwood 2002):

> Senior professional members in our organisation will only come to English language training if they know it's going to be 'spot on'- otherwise they will drop out early on. To be 'spot on' means you need to know and find out what they write and why, and how the language training will help them reach the high standard of written communication at their specific level of professional expertise. It requires knowing them as professional adults; knowing us as an organisation and knowing the profession. Then the language trainer has to be able to analyse the kinds of texts they produce . . .In my experience this is poorly done by language teacher . . .it's hard to find a provider who can do this competently.

The Problems of Curriculum Design in Workplace ELT

Although there is an abundance of research literature in adult English language teaching curriculum design going back many decades (e.g., Candlin 1984; Hutchinson and Walters 1987; Nunan 1988; Markee 1997; Wilkins 1976; Nation and McCalister 2010), this is of limited use in workplace ELT program design because of the fundamental differences between the educational and workplace contexts. While some substantial research (Barbara et al. 1996; Bhatia 1993; Boswood 1994, 1997; Nickerson 2005; Nunan and Forey 1996; Poon 1992; Swales and Rogers 1995; Lockwood 2012; Flowerdew and Wan 2006) has been carried out over the last decade in identifying specific genres and discourse features of workplace and business texts worldwide, very little research has been carried out in the field of course design and evaluation for such training. Although there is a great deal of applied linguistic literature that looks at the role of needs analysis in the design of language programs in educational institutions (Brindley 1984; Munby 1978; Nunan 1988; Richterich 1983; Willing 1988), studies in the applied linguistic literature into the language needs of workplaces are scarce. Interestingly the applied linguistic literature dealing with ESP language assessment and program evaluation in workplace settings has shown communication assessments for aviation (Alderson 2011, Knoch 2014), for health professionals (McNamara 1997; Elder et al. 2012), and for call centers (Lockwood 2010) as workplace contexts being better researched.

The effective design and evaluation of workplace ELT programs depends on an insider knowledge of the business context driving the language training program, as well as an ability to gain access to the appropriate stakeholder group within the business community beyond the teacher and the learners. The problem that currently exists is that of easy access to the relevant stakeholders (e.g., line managers and other senior departmental managers, not just the participants themselves). Such access is needed to establish a clear view from a managerial perspective of the training needs and how they may be addressed. As businesses and workplaces increase their requirements for accountability for the expenditure of their training

budgets, needs and outcomes for ELT workplace language programs must be more clearly specified, monitored, and evaluated. ELT workplace trainers who are typically outsourced for the particular language training project therefore have a great deal of information to gather from the workplaces contracting their services, and a number of stakeholders need to be consulted. The business management and training literature is clear about this paradigm of need and accountability:

> The focus of training is moving away from the individual to the organisation. This manifests itself in various ways. We now speak of organisational learning. We tend to be interested in the organisational impact of training, not individual learning...training will have to change to be effective. There is a demand for justification of training expenditures and initiatives. Importantly it has also led to the need to demonstrate training activities' impact on strategic initiatives, core organisational capabilities, organisational effectiveness, and the bottom line. (Brown and Seidner 1998, p. 10)

The problem for ELT workplace practitioners is to understand this paradigm and how it might inform and systematize language planning and evaluation processes for business and workplace training and ensure positive outcomes of the training.

One framework from the business management and training literature used for a Hong Kong study (Lockwood 2002, 2014) of stakeholder involvement in ELT curriculum program design is the *levels of evaluation* framework (Bramley and Pahl 1996; Easterby-Smith 1994; Hamblin 1974; Kirkpatrick 1994). The framework provides a multilevel evaluation model that explores the outcomes of training from a variety of business and training stakeholder perspectives. Kirkpatrick (1994) presents a framework for training evaluation that consists of four levels:

Level 1: The reaction level

At this level of training evaluation, the participants are often asked to comment on various aspects of the training event itself such as the attitude of the trainer, the method of the presentation, the quality of the venue and handouts, and their general enjoyment of the training. This level of evaluation is most commonly done in the form of an evaluation form and often provides useful information to the trainer about how the session may be improved. Most evaluation is still done at this level of reaction. In a study carried out in the UK in 1989 by the UK Training Agency (Bramley and Pahl 1996), only a small minority of organizations go beyond this level of evaluation.

Level 2: The learning level

At this level of training evaluation, the participants are tested on the content of the course as evidence that facts, skills, or, in the case of language learning, language proficiency has improved.

Level 3: The performance level

At this level of training evaluation, the participants are assessed on how they apply or transfer what they have learned on the course to their jobs. Workplaces need to know if participants have used their newly acquired knowledge, skills, or attitudes in the context of their jobs. This third level of training evaluation is an attempt to measure the transfer of learning to workplace performance.

Level 4: The results level

At this level of training evaluation, the results of the training are related to generalorganizational improvement. Kirkpatrick (1994) suggests looking at areas such asstaff turnover, absenteeism, and morale of employees. Evaluating this level of training can also incorporate a cost-benefit analysis of the training, which is sometimes dealt in the literature as a fifth and separate level of evaluation.

The value of this model of training evaluation to the ELT curriculum designer is that it unfolds layers of stakeholder needs within the business training environment. To design and evaluate effectively at Level 3, for example, requires an ELT trainer tounderstand the needs of line managers and department heads in terms of the job performance improvement required in the workplace.

An investigation of language program design and evaluation processes used in Hong Kong workplaces that commission highly specialized English language training (Lockwood 2002) concluded that the involvement (or lack of involvement) of key business-based stakeholders in the ELT curriculum process significantly affected training outcomes. In this study, the business and management training framework described earlier was used as the basis for data collection about current design and evaluation practice from HR managers and ELT workplace language training specialists. The study found that both HR managers and ELT trainers thought that the most important levels to be incorporated into curriculum design and reported on in evaluation of workplace ELT training were the Level 3 (performance) and Level 4 (results) as described above. Their reasons for nominating these two higher levels as most important reflected the fact that workplace ELT training is most often driven by business needs, e.g., customer dissatisfaction with communication level and gaps in job performance.

As one of the HR managers in a large Hong Kong investment bank said when interviewed for the study (Lockwood 2002):

> My aim is to have every English language course 'tailor-made' to the specific needs of the bank. They (the courses) should be competency based, and employees should enter at a reasonable level of English so that they can participate in and benefit from this highly targeted training. But language training can be tricky to deliver, and there's no more efficient way of wasting money than a misconceived training programme. Training in the bank must be measurably productive. A training programme can't just be nice for the employees. It's got to add to the bottom line, it's got to enhance the performance of the individual and therefore the bank.

This view of the workplace language program was further supported by the ELT workplace trainers, one of whom said:

> Although language programmes are run for different reasons, most are about improving performance in the workplace rather than importing a lot of language content in isolation …. Job performance improvements demonstrate a 'payback' to the workplace. What most organisations want to see is why they are paying for the course…that is improve performance at the workplace …this is why line managers should be more involved at the beginning and the end of the course.

However, it became evident later in the study that although both groups gathered plenty of evidence for evaluation at Levels 1 and 2 (normally in the form of end-of course evaluation sheets and test score results), very little evidence for evaluation was gathered at Levels 3 and 4. In other words, language program success could be demonstrated from within the walls of the classroom, but not in terms of the wider workplace needs and expectations. Clearly this was a problem from the business point of view as accountability for training budgets is becoming increasingly stringent and training more focused on the business requirements. It was also a problem for ESP curriculum development as business and organizational needs are fundamental to the planning of an appropriate program. Ultimately, the quality of workplace ELT curriculum design will depend on being able to incorporate effectively the needs of workplace with the needs of the employee. Cooper (1992) was critical of workplace ELT course quality provision when she reported:

> The decision to commission ELT workplace training is often made on the strength of past practice or a course title and a brief description of the course. It is difficult for the employers to assess a course's suitability, except in broad terms, and to assess its content as to effective applicability in the workplace … present employers have no effective means of judging whether the English courses they sponsor are effective, nor indeed are they likely to have a clear picture of what employees will be able to do at the end of the course. (p. 226)

Case Studies in Workplace ELT in Hong Kong and the Philippines

There is no easy answer or formulaic response to how ESP workplace curriculum development should take place. It would appear, however, that the more complex the subject matter (e.g., legal, accounting, medical, engineering) is, the more desirable it is to have subject matter experts heavily involved and working collaboratively with ELT specialists in the production of the materials. In all cases of ELT workplace curriculum development and training, there needs to be a sustained and effective interface with a range of stakeholders in the workplace.

The Hong Kong government recently sponsored a materials development project entitled *Advanced Writing Skills for Tax Specialists and Advanced Writing Skills for Auditors*. This project was jointly managed by the Centre for Professional and Business English at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University and the Hong Kong Society of Accountants. The ELT writers selected for the project were not accounting experts and therefore needed considerable contact time with the HKSA and accounting professionals to ascertain the contextual writing needs of tax specialists and auditors. Just as importantly, however, the writers needed to get authentic samples of written documents in accounting that they could analyze before beginning the materials' writing phase. During this project, it became clear that contextual information, access to worksites, and authentic documentation were critical to success for ESP accounting curriculum development. It also became evident that without

professional accounting knowledge, it is difficult to ascertain what matters and what does not in constructing meaningful texts. For example, when writing to the tax office, what constitutes an excuse for not filing a corporate tax return on time? What is the appropriate tone and style? How long should the letter be? Does only an experienced and senior accountant generate this kind of text?

On completion of this project, it was felt that professional subject matter experts with an ELT background would have been more able to "short circuit" the process and produce materials that were more contextually sensitive in this professional arena. It was extremely difficult for the writing team to condense years of professional accounting knowledge into a comprehensive set of ESP materials, so early collaboration is vital.

A number of studies into ELT workplace design and evaluation (Lockwood 2002; Forey and Lockwood 2004, 2010; Lockwood 2012) were undertaken in the Philippines based in the business processing outsourcing (BPO) industry, specifically within the call centers in Manila. Most of these call centers service US-based customers, and there is an extremely high level of expectation that these calls will be handled by Filipino agents who have excellent levels of English and who sound American.

These studies have examined the language needs of call center agents and how language performance can be effectively measured in the workplace after training. They revealed that although on-the-job evaluations use subjectively impressive quality scores for communication, the evidence in the authentic data (the calls) showed a different story. These findings highlight important issues in the kind of job performance measures that are made, in the way they are administered, and the ability of the people who carry them out (see Lockwood and Raquel forthcoming). Call center scorecards are devised and administered by nonlanguage experts, and their judgments are inevitably flawed (Lockwood et al. 2009). Assessors are essentially being invited to make broad and subjective assessments of characteristics like "energy," "confidence," and "sincerity" whose linguistic correlates are either not defined at all or else are defined in a way that is vague or difficult to understand. Many of the job performance scorecards dissected language into meaningless and fragmented parts, e.g., *voice texture*, *professional grammar*, *pace of talking*, *allowed customer to vent*, *polite when put on hold*, *uses customer's name*, *avoids jargon and slang*, *exhibits balanced firmness*, *organizes conversation statements systematically and structurally*, *shows a lively and non-monotonous opening line to the customers*, *speaks with a smile*, and so on, in the hope that it will all add up to good communication. Clearly there is a role for the language specialist in the design and administration of the "scorecard" as a measure of communication competence (See Elias et al.). Call center workplaces, like all workplaces, are still oblivious of frameworks and expertise that could really help them in solving some of their communication problems.

Other studies have investigated the generic structure and linguistic features of a range of authentic calls. The study demonstrated the importance for workplace ELT specialists to be able to access authentic data upon which to base their training materials and assessment criteria. Preliminary analysis of transcriptions of

authentic call center calls revealed a generic structure to these kinds of calls, with the "moves," and the attendant linguistic features able to be described (Forey and Lockwood 2007). Access to a range of calls across a range of industry types also revealed that some categories of calls were inherently more difficult than others. These findings are of importance not only to the design of ELT curriculum but equally to language assessment evaluation, in particular the use of scorecards.

Language research into call center transactions has been steady over the last decade (Friginal 2008; Forey and Lockwood 2010; Hood 2010; Hood and Forey 2008; Forey and Lam 2013). Graduates from some of the best universities in Manila are currently employed in this industry and view job prospects and the chances for promotion optimistically. The work is becoming more complex and is moving beyond the traditional customer care role to areas such as complex technical and computer support; financial, legal, and insurance advice; and emergency travel and hospitality care. Research into the attendant language needs as the agent moves up this new industry value chain has just started (see Lockwood and Raquel forthcoming). Gone are the days when the choice was between working as a cashier in Walmart and call center work for the high school graduate. In the new call center industry, there need to be definitions of professional competence across an increasing complexity of work and accounts. This work will in turn inform applied linguistic research and ELT training program design and evaluation.

Current research based in Hong Kong and the Philippines into workplace ELT training highlights two separate but related questions. Firstly, how does the ESP specialist derive a better understanding of the nature of the organization or workplace requesting language training? This chapter has argued that the answer lies within a good understanding of the work requiring access to the workplace itself and also lies within the current business management and training literature. The second key question relates to the working professionals themselves: how does the ESP specialist develop an understanding of the individual professional operating within her/his own professional community? This chapter has argued that the answer lies within some of the recent adult education literature that explores the developmental stages of professional knowledge and competence. New models and ways of thinking about workplace ELT training and curriculum development therefore need to engage much more with disciplinary knowledge outside applied linguistic theory and practice.

Conclusion

Using the workplace context itself as well as interdisciplinary constructs to analyze the problems and processes of curriculum design in ELT workplace training has resulted in a broader view of stakeholder needs and expectations for training as well as a better understanding of the business imperatives underpinning the desire for training. The collaborative negotiation of a curriculum for workplace ELT training depends on the effective involvement of business-based as well as training stakeholders. An understanding of the professional stage of

the individual within this context is also important in ensuring the level and the focus of the language training is appropriate.

The implications of this research for the ESP workplace practitioner in the workplace are numerous and cannot be described in detail in this chapter (see Lockwood). However, a reexamination of the knowledge and skills required of the ESP practitioner working in a business environment is clearly overdue. This need was captured in a statement made by an experienced ELT workplace trainer interviewed as part of Lockwood's (2002) study:

> One of the things that can hold workplace ELT trainers back is their dogmatism about what should and shouldn't be on the course based on their narrow view of what works in a school based classroom. The other trap in this highly specific kind of training is kidding yourself that a session on email writing for example can be taken off the shelf and simply delivered ....this kind of training is going well beyond teaching generic skills from course books...it is the ability to ask questions of the workplace, listen carefully, think on your feet and be constantly creative about the training.

This raises the question of what then constitutes a better workplace ELT curriculum approach. From the research carried out in this area to date, it would seem that the ESP/ELT practitioner needs to draw on disciplines beyond applied linguistics and education to understand the business/organization context; the practitioner needs to understand the workplace stakeholders' needs and expectations for language training; and finally the practitioner needs to understand whether the individuals being trained fit into their own professional stage of development. The answers unfortunately do not lie in the applied linguistic and education disciplines alone. Mapping business management and training knowledge and adult education knowledge will provide a rich source of support for workplace ESP practitioners.

Cross-References

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▶ Pronunciation in English as Lingua Franca

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Part III

Assessment and Evaluation in ELT: Shifting Paradigms and Practices

Assessment and Evaluation in English Language Teaching: Section Introduction

21

Xuesong Gao

Abstract

In this section, contributors address a variety of assessment and evaluation issues for English language educators. Chapters discuss how standardized English tests should be used by university educators to recruit students with appropriate English competence for academic studies, and post-entry English language assessment can be used to promote continuous language learning efforts among students with English as an additional language. Assessment strategies have also been developed for evaluating and enhancing language learners' learning, in particular for young language learners. The use of assessment strategies such as dynamic assessment and feedback is examined to identify its potential contribution to language learners' learning. To implement new assessment ideas, language teachers need to develop appropriate language assessment literacy. It is also important to ensure fairness and justice in assessment and evaluation.

Keywords

Assessment · Evaluation · Dynamic assessment · Teacher assessment literacy · Fairness

Assessment and evaluation remain important concerns for policy makers and practitioners in English language teaching, as they are closely linked with relevant language policy making and curriculum design as well as profoundly influencing the ways that learning and teaching are conducted. They are also concerns for English language teaching practitioners across different sectors, including

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kindergartens and universities in both EFL and ESL contexts. Chapters in the previous edition of the handbook closely examined issues of assessment and evaluation in relation to teaching and learning and sought to clarify misconceptions that English language teaching practitioners may have as a result of a long-standing disconnection between assessment and teaching. They promoted the integration of assessment and evaluation training in English language teacher education programs. These chapters noted that it is becoming increasingly important for English language teachers to develop assessment literacy, now that schools and teachers alike are all expected to be accountable to government departments and funding bodies for their practice. At the same time, English language teachers need to respond to increasingly complex assessment and evaluation challenges, as both language and language learning have been reconceptualized to incorporate new constructs (e.g., multiliteracies, English as a lingua franca) and perspectives (e.g., sociocultural theory, critical pedagogy), which profoundly mediate the development of assessment and evaluation practices.

The things that motivated contributors to write about assessment and evaluation in the first edition of this handbook are still relevant to the contributors of the chapters in this section. Standardized testing for university entry is a classic example of professional concerns for policy makers and practitioners in English language teaching, who are interested in promoting English language learners' continuous learning efforts to achieve satisfactory post-entry assessment outcomes. Major assessment frameworks have been developed, this time noticeably by China as it aspires to create an assessment framework like the Common European Framework of Reference for the Chinese context and beyond.

In addition, assessment practices need to be developed to respond to a growing number of young language learners as English is being taught to younger and younger students in many parts of the world. Assessment practices informed by new perspectives on language learning (e.g., sociocultural theory) are being developed and promoted. As an example, dynamic assessment is presented as an excellent strategy for language teachers to co-construct the future with English language learners. English language teachers also need to use feedback as an important pedagogical strategy to promote better learning. To this end, English language teachers are more than ever expected to develop appropriate assessment literacy, so that they can implement assessment for learning practices in teaching. Whatever shifts may happen in assessment and evaluation policy and practice, whether relevant assessment and evaluation practices are fair and whether they contribute to social (in)justice, will remain critical concerns.

Ockey and Gokturk's chapter on the use of standardized English tests in universities looks at stakeholders' views and knowledge about the tests, the predictive validity of the test results for English language learners' academic outcomes, the use of standardized test results for language support course placement, and the use of locally developed test results for language support placement. The chapter reminds readers about the importance of being informed users of standardized test results when making admission decisions and placing students for language support courses.

While Ockey and Gokturk hope that standardized English language proficiency tests can help universities and educators to make accurate decisions about English language learners and help them achieve academic success in the medium of English, Read challenges assumptions about whether students from diverse linguistic and educational backgrounds are all well prepared for academic studies in the medium of English at universities. It has become necessary for universities to identify students in need of developing academic literacy skills and provide them with relevant support. For this reason, Read's chapter focuses on post-entry (English) language assessment programs in universities in Australia and New Zealand. He challenges the traditional generic language and study skills programs for failing to provide discipline-specific literacy skills to the students. The integration of academic literacy into content course delivery requires both language teachers and content subject lecturers to collaborate, which constitutes a significant professional challenge for the teachers. Nevertheless, he contends that it is critical for university students to achieve continuous academic language development, with some kind of assessment of the professional communication skills that they need for future employment.

While Read is concerned with refining post-entry university language assessment to guide university students' pursuit of discipline-specific literacy and professional communication skills, Liu and Pang document a colossal effort to develop an English language proficiency scale for English language teaching in China. Unlike previous standardized English tests in China, the newly developed proficiency scale uses sets of "can-do" statements to differentiate different proficiency levels, following the Common European Framework of References for Languages. The scale has features unique to the Chinese context as it incorporates English learners' ability to mediate between Chinese and English (i.e., translation and interpretation skills). This is a highly ambitious project with outcomes that are likely to challenge the dominance of the language assessment frameworks endorsed by major English language testing bodies (i.e., Educational Testing Service). The scale has certainly important implications for English language learning and teaching in China, where the context is known for its exam-driven learning culture.

Davison's chapter addresses the lack of consensus and examples about using assessment to enhance language learning, despite the widespread acceptance that assessment can be used to enhance learning. The chapter presents the Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL), an online resource system that Davison and her colleagues developed to help Australian teachers assess EAL students' language development. Using TEAL as an example to illustrate the core concepts in using assessment to enhance language learning, Davison highlights the complexities of its actual practice due to the shifting nature of the knowledge being assessed, relevant policies and practices, and assumptions about language development, as well as teacher assessment literacy.

Poehner, Qin, and Yu's chapter problematizes the "backward" design in traditional assessment practices, which take stock of what language learners have learnt and predict what they can achieve in the future. Seeing assessment and teaching as organically integrated activities, they promote the practice of dynamic assessment,

which identifies language learners' current and emerging abilities. Drawing on Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory of learning, they argue that teaching and assessment should be integrated to promote language learners' future learning. They use two examples to illustrate how language teachers can promote language learners' pragmatic knowledge through computerized dynamic assessment and help language learners develop academic writing through the intervention of dynamic assessment.

Focusing on a group of language learners different from those in traditional assessment practices, Butler engages with a critical issue with regard to assessing young language learners since the English language is being taught to an increasing number of young learners (Liu and Brantmeier 2019). Approaches to assessing adult language learners are no longer valid when evaluating young language learners' language development, due to the differences between young and adult learners with regard to learning and assessment. The chapter presents an overview of major issues in assessing young learners, such as age-appropriate formats and procedures of assessment. Readers should pay attention to the suggestions with which Butler concludes the chapter. In particular, more research on young learners' learning is needed, to help develop age-appropriate assessment practices. Teachers need to develop relevant assessment literacy so that they can facilitate young language learners' learning with appropriate assessment practices.

Regarding the role of teachers in using assessment strategies to help language learners learn better, the chapter by Heritage illustrates the use of feedback as a powerful pedagogy strategy promoting better learning. It is noteworthy that the chapter focuses on teachers giving feedback to help English language learners improve their language use in the context of subject content learning. The chapter provides a good reminder of what skills and knowledge teachers need to acquire before they help language learners to improve their learning through feedback.

Among all the skills and knowledge that teachers need to develop for effective feedback practice, they need to develop appropriate assessment literacy. For this reason, Xu's chapter on English language teacher assessment literacy is particularly valuable for this section. The chapter identifies the knowledge base that English language teachers need to have before they can effectively assess language learners' learning. It also elaborates how language teachers' conceptions of assessment evolve as mediated by contextual conditions, with a case study on a university English teacher in China. Despite the fact that language teachers often work within institutional and other contextual constraints, Xu demonstrates that English language teachers can still promote students' learning by their proactive engagement with assessment and their assertion as a competent language assessor. These results encourage language teachers in other contexts to explore how they can integrate assessment into teaching in enhancing learners' learning. Such integration is important as assessment and evaluation practices often have important social implications.

The chapter by Deygers reminds readers of the significance of fairness and justice in language assessment. High-stakes assessment practices contribute to social equity because they likely mirror language practices in families of particular social classes. It is the moral responsibility of language educators to work out ways to reduce the injustice that language assessment and evaluation practices can have in dividing

language learners, although such consideration may have implications for the validity of relevant language assessment and evaluation practices. Though Deygers' message is largely relevant to major language test developers and those who use test results for decision-making, it is also important for language teachers to remember that they can do much within classrooms to achieve justice and fairness by using strategies such as feedback to promote learners' learning.

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Standardized Language Proficiency Tests in Higher Education

22

Gary J. Ockey and Nazlinur Gokturk

Contents

Abstract

In higher education, standardized academic language proficiency test scores are often used for multiple purposes, including admissions of international students to degree programs and identification of students' post-entry language support needs. In this chapter, issues surrounding the use of high-stakes standardized academic language proficiency tests for making decisions about international English as a second language (ESL) students are explored. Specifically, (a) stakeholders' views and knowledge about standardized academic language proficiency tests, (b) predictive validity of standardized academic language proficiency tests for academic success, (c) the use of standardized language test scores for placement into language support courses, and (d) the use of locally developed tests for placement into language support courses rather than standardized tests are discussed. Based on the discussion, suggestions for the appropriate use of standardized language test scores for making admissions and placement decisions are provided.

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Introduction

Standardized academic language proficiency tests are commonly used to make decisions about test takers in academic settings. Standardized tests are expected to have gone through a rigorous test development process, are based on a set of test specifications, use a justifiable scoring model, and follow universal procedures for administration (Davies et al. 1999). They are also usually supported by empirical investigations for their stated purpose. Examples of standardized academic language proficiency tests include the Test of English as a Foreign Language Internet-based Test (TOEFL iBT: http://www.ets.org), the International English Language Testing System (IELTS: https://www.ielts.org), and the Pearson Test of English Academic (PTE Academic: https://pearsonpte.com).

While it seems reasonable to assume that when standardized academic language proficiency tests are used for their intended purpose, the interpretations made about test takers' abilities based on test scores are appropriate, such a claim may not always hold true. Because these tests are designed for fairly general contexts, they may not produce accurate scores for all types of test takers and contexts for which they were developed. For instance, students with little experience in completing multiple-choice items may not be able to demonstrate their English ability on a multiple-choice standardized test designed to determine if students have enough English ability to study in an English-medium university. Moreover, English language skills necessary for academic success at undergraduate and graduate levels may vary across disciplines, programs, and/or institutions, and a standardized English language proficiency test may not be appropriate for identifying the appropriate threshold of English needed for all of these contexts.

A further complication in the use of standardized language tests in higher education is that the tests are commonly used for purposes for which they were not primarily designed. When this is the case, interpretations about a test taker's ability are even less likely to be appropriate. An obvious example would be the use of standardized academic language proficiency test scores to determine placement of students into leveled math classes. Most would agree that this would likely lead to inaccurate decisions about the individual's math skills. On the other hand, it would be much less clear as to whether the use of these standardized academic language proficiency test scores could be appropriate for a more closely associated purpose, such as identifying students' university post-entry language support needs. The two purposes, identifying language needs for placement and language proficiency for university admission, are similar; however, they are not equivalent in that placement testing involves placing students at levels of a pre-existing language program, whereas proficiency testing requires measuring how much ability and/or capability a test taker has in a given language (Cheng and Fox 2017).

Despite concerns about the use of standardized academic language proficiency tests in higher education, their use for making high-stakes decisions is prevalent. In fact, scores from these tests are commonly used for multiple purposes, including ones for which they were not originally developed. The use of standardized academic language proficiency tests may be tempting for test users because they can limit the need for resource intensive locally developed tests. Users commonly rely on standardized language test scores for admission decisions, a purpose for which they have been designed and may be appropriate, as well as to determine if there is a need for placement into language support courses, a purpose for which they were not designed and are less likely to be appropriate. Given the potential advantages and concerns about uses of standardized academic language proficiency tests in academic settings, an exploration about what is and is not known about these tests may provide stakeholders guidance for how to use these test scores most effectively for their particular contexts.

In this chapter, some of the issues surrounding the use of high-stakes standardized academic language proficiency tests in tertiary education are explored. The chapter begins with a discussion of stakeholders' views and knowledge about interpretation and use of standardized academic language proficiency test scores in academic settings. Next, the usefulness of these standardized language tests for predicting subsequent academic success is examined. This is followed by a discussion about the use of standardized language test scores to place students into appropriate levels of language support courses. Finally, the use of locally developed tests for ESL placement rather than standardized tests is debated. The discussion is limited to international ESL students, and most claims made in the paper are based on empirical investigations of TOEFL iBT and IELTS because these are the tests that have been most used and studied for these purposes in higher education.

Stakeholders' Views and Knowledge About Standardized Academic Language Proficiency Tests

Broadly speaking, stakeholders can be categorized into two groups: those who make decisions about the use of a particular test and those who are affected by these decisions. Because stakeholders' understanding and use of test scores may positively or negatively influence test consequences, they play a critical role in determining the appropriateness of a test for a particular purpose (Messick 1996; Bachman and Palmer 2010). In this section, the focus is on the views of stakeholders who generally make decisions about the uses of standardized language tests, that is, individuals that have the power to decide how standardized language test scores are used in their institutions. To a lesser extent, the views of other stakeholders who typically have little or no input on decisions regarding test score use, the test takers themselves, are also discussed.

Several studies have been conducted to investigate stakeholders' interpretations and uses of standardized language test scores in higher education contexts (e.g., Baker et al. 2014; Ginther and Elder 2014; Hyatt and Brooks 2009; O'Loughlin

2008, 2013; Rea-Dickins et al. 2007). A recurring finding among these studies is that most decision makers lack sufficient knowledge about standardized language tests to make informed decisions about the use of these tests for admission and placement purposes in their institutions.

O'Loughlin (2011) examined stakeholders' knowledge and beliefs about the use of IELTS for selecting international students and planning students' future language learning in an Australian university. Data were collected from university policy documents, questionnaires administered to 20 administrative and academic staff, and in-depth semi-structured interviews with 10 of these stakeholders. The researcher found that there was little empirical basis for setting entry-level IELTS scores at the university and that the stakeholders had insufficient knowledge about the meanings of IELTS scores. Moreover, the scores were barely utilized to guide students' future language learning, with the exception that students with an overall IELTS score of 6.0 or less, but admitted into linguistically challenging courses, were required to take two additional ESL courses.

In a much larger study, funded by the Educational Testing Service, similar conclusions about stakeholders' knowledge of test scores were drawn. Ginther and Elder (2014) investigated stakeholders' interpretations and uses of TOEFL iBT, IELTS, and PTE scores in two American and Australian universities. Four hundred and eighty-one administrative and academic stakeholders completed questionnaires, and 30 of them participated in follow-up interviews. The researchers reported that most stakeholders had generally limited knowledge about the meanings of test scores. For instance, there was some confusion among the stakeholders regarding the meaning of minimum cut scores, "the line between success and failure" on the test (Davies et al. 1999), established by their institutions.

Coleman et al. (2003), who contrasted students', instructors', and administrators' views about IELTS in three English-medium universities in Australia, the United Kingdom, and China, also reached similar conclusions. Four hundred twenty-nine students and 195 instructors and administrative staff responded to questionnaires, and 19 students and 18 instructors participated in semi-structured interviews. The findings indicated that in all three institutions, instructors and administrative staff, who were likely the ones making decisions about the uses of standardized test scores, were not very knowledgeable about the test and the meanings of IELTS scores. In addition, the research indicated that the instructors had concerns about the predictive validity of IELTS scores due to factors such as excessive test preparation and the non-disciplinary nature of the test. Unlike the other two studies, this one also explored the views of another group of stakeholders, the test takers, themselves. In contrast to the beliefs of the instructors, it was found that students considered IELTS as an accurate and adequate measure of academic language proficiency.

While some score users are very knowledgeable about the appropriate uses of standardized academic language proficiency test scores, research suggests that most score users are not sufficiently informed about how to use these scores for making decisions. This suggests the need to build language assessment literacy, which can be defined as knowledge, and skills that enable an individual to "understand, evaluate, and, in some cases, create language tests and analyze test data" (Pill and Harding

2013, p. 382), among score users. Stakeholders, including policy makers, instructors, and administrators, need to be assessment literate to make informed decisions about assessment practices in their own contexts (Inbar-Lourie 2008, 2013; O'Loughlin 2013; Popham 2004; Taylor 2009, 2013). Given that the lack of assessment literacy among stakeholders may influence not only the validity and ethicality but also the feasibility and effectiveness of the tests, it is of utmost importance for stakeholders in higher education institutions to develop their assessment literacy (Baker 2016; Taylor 2009; O'Loughlin 2013). To ensure valid use of test scores for admission and/or placement purposes, score users must familiarize themselves with standardized language tests and meanings of test scores. In addition, they must recognize the importance of setting cut scores for admission and placement decisions for their specific contexts based on empirical investigations rather than intuitive judgments. It should be kept in mind that even though interpretations made based on test scores may be valid for a particular purpose, cut scores set inappropriately may lead to incorrect decisions, compromising the usefulness of a test for its intended purpose.

While the responsibility for developing language assessment literacy and gathering validity evidence to support decisions made based on test scores rests with local decision makers, it is the test developer's responsibility to provide test users with test manuals that report test development and validation procedures as well as score interpretations on various test taker populations. Test developers should also make research available on issues related to test design that might have an influence on score interpretations. For example, employing a different test format rather than multiple-choice could minimize the potential impact of test format on score interpretations (Bachman and Palmer 2010).

The research also suggests that decision makers do not generally believe that standardized test scores can be used to effectively guide students' future learning. This seems to be a defensible approach, given that the primary aim of these standardized academic language tests is to help determine the extent to which an individual has sufficient English ability to succeed in an English-medium university. That said, it may be possible to better exploit the results of standardized tests to identify students who might need additional language support. For example, in a local context where curriculum objectives are generally aligned with standardized tests, newly admitted students' test scores might be appropriately used, at least to a certain extent, to guide their future language learning. On the other hand, it could be that standardized test scores may not be very useful for placing students into levels of a pre-existing ESL course in a particular context, since they are unlikely to be aligned with the objectives of the curriculum in that context.

It is also interesting to note the rather large gap between students' and instructors' perceptions about the usefulness of standardized language tests for placement purposes. While instructors tend to believe that standardized academic language proficiency test scores may not be useful for identifying students who need additional language support, students generally believe that these tests can be used to make placement decisions. For instructors, the unwillingness to use standardized test scores for placement purposes may stem from a perceived mismatch between

students' test and real-life academic language performance or a general view that standardized tests are inherently bad. For students, the belief that standardized test scores can be used for placement decisions might stem from their experience with the high-stakes nature of these tests. Students might naturally assume that they must be appropriate for other language assessment purposes. This belief is likely further supported, in a student's mind, by the fact that many universities exempt students who obtain high standardized test scores from taking in-house placement tests. In short, teachers may not trust standardized tests for post-entry placement decisions because they are not designed to be used for placement purposes, while students may trust standardized tests for placement purposes because these tests have likely had major impact on their study habits and academic lives, and consequently they have been indoctrinated to trust them.

Predictive Validity of Standardized Academic Language Proficiency Tests

Designed to provide evidence of an L2 test taker's academic language ability, standardized academic language proficiency tests would presumably elicit scores that could be used to predict academic success. Predictive validity refers to "the correlation between test scores and later performance on something" (Carr 2011), which in the case of standardized language tests would be the correlation between these test scores and measures of academic success, such as course grades. Surprisingly, at least to some, research in this area has generally failed to find a strong relationship between standardized language test scores and college success measures. For example, in their study of 113 undergraduate business students at an Australian university, Kerstjen and Nery (2000) found only weak correlations between IELTS scores (overall and section) and GPA, with correlations ranging from 0.12 to 0.20. In another small-scale study conducted on 65 students in three disciplines, business, science, and engineering, Dooey and Olive (2002) found that, in general, IELTS scores had no significant correlations with GPA. The only exception was IELTS reading scores, which related weakly with course grades in three disciplines, with correlations ranging from 0.21 to 0.37. As part of a study on the criterion-related validity, that is, the extent to which scores on one test relate to scores on an accepted indicator of the ability to be assessed Davies et al. (1999), of PTE Academic, Riazi (2013) investigated the relationship between 83 students' PTE Academic scores and their first-year GPAs at an Australian university. Reported correlations of PTE scores with grades ranged from 0.28 to 0.35, indicating a weak relationship between PTE scores and first-year academic performance. Ushioda and Harsch (2011) examined the relationship between 95 pre-sessional graduate students' IELTS scores and their course grades. The results indicated a weak to moderate relationship between test scores and grades, with correlations ranging from 0.26 to 0.58.

Using a much larger sample than these other studies, Cho and Bridgeman (2012) investigated the predictive validity of TOEFL iBT, also using first-year university

GPA as a criterion of academic success. Data included 2,594 students' academic records gathered from 10 American universities. The findings showed that TOEFL iBT scores accounted for only 3% of the variance in GPA (correlations of roughly 0.09) for the sample, and even when disciplinary variation was taken into consideration, TOEFL iBT scores were found to explain only an additional 3–4% of the differences in GPA. In a follow-up study, Bridgeman et al. (2016) examined the relationship between TOEFL iBT scores and GPA, taking into account linguistic background, academic discipline, and section score profiles. Data collected from 787 undergraduate students in an American university were analyzed. The researchers found that when all students were included in the same analysis, TOEFL iBT total scores correlated only weakly with GPA (r = 0.18), providing further support that standardized academic language proficiency tests are poor predictors of college success.

A number of possible reasons for the rather low predictive relationship between standardized language test scores and university success have been postulated. For one thing, these two purposes imply two related but somewhat different constructs. Standardized academic language proficiency tests aim to measure general language proficiency, while academic success as measured by GPA or a similar measure is impacted by not only language ability but a number of other factors, such as motivation, learning strategies, disciplinary knowledge, and academic acculturation (Cheng and Fox 2008; Fox et al. 2014). In other words, standardized test scores may be predictive of academic success, but these other factors are so important that the correlations between the two constructs are quite small. Another potential explanation for failure of standardized test scores to predict academic success relates to the challenges of measuring academic success. GPA may not be a very good measure of academic success since a great amount of variation in grading practices exists, even within a given program in one university. Moreover, grade inflation may lead to a rather restricted range of grades, which could also limit the power of an analysis to identify a relationship. An additional reason for such results might be due to homogeneous samples of test takers: none of the studies reported here included test takers who did not attend university. This group would presumably include a lot of students who performed poorly on a given standardized test, meaning that the language ability range of the test takers in these studies is limited to the ones who performed well. Such a restricted range of ability might lead to limited power to detect a relationship between college success and standardized test scores (Cho and Bridgeman 2012; Bridgeman et al. 2016).

Another possible reason for the limited predictive validity of standardized language tests, which has received little attention until fairly recently, is that individual differences in test preparation strategies could blur the relationship between test scores and academic success (Ginther and Yan 2017). Standardized tests typically use multiple-choice items to measure listening and reading and productive tasks, such as writing a short essay, summarizing a text, or disagreeing with a position, to assess writing and speaking. It may be that certain students can prepare for particular tasks in ways that help them attain higher scores on them than their actual language abilities would suggest, while they are unable to do so with other tasks. For instance,

some students may be able to practice multiple-choice test taking strategies that could aid them in achieving higher scores on listening and reading sections of a test than their abilities would dictate. On the other hand, they may not be able to prepare for speaking and writing tasks in ways that would help them achieve scores beyond their language skills. This could lead to uneven score profiles (a high score on one or more of the four skills and a low score on one or more of the other skills), and students with these unbalanced score profiles could have some scores, which are not very representative of their true language abilities. It could be these students' (ones with scores that do not represent their true language abilities) scores that limit the predictive validity of standardized tests.

A few studies have provided evidence that for certain students, particularly ones with unbalanced score profiles, standardized proficiency test scores are less predictive of academic success than for those with balanced score profiles. For instance, further analysis by Bridgeman et al. (2016) showed that when students were grouped by linguistic background and academic discipline, and students with discrepant score profiles were excluded from the analysis, the relationship between test scores and grades increased, in some cases quite dramatically. For Chinese business students, for example, the correlation of TOEFL iBT reading scores with GPA was found to change from 0.01 to 0.36 when test takers with uneven profiles were removed from the analysis.

A similar finding was also reported by Ginther and Yan (2017), who explored the predictive validity of TOEFL iBT for three Chinese undergraduate student cohorts (N = 1,990), 2011, 2012, and 2013, in an American university. In 2011 and 2012, the minimum entry language requirement was an overall score of 80 on TOEFL iBT; however, in 2013 an additional requirement was a minimum score of 18 on the iBT speaking and writing sections. Although reported correlations between TOEFL iBT scores (overall and section) and GPA were generally weak for the three cohorts, with correlations ranging from 0.07 to 0.32, the directions of the correlations were found to change by enrollment year. For the 2011 and 2012 cohorts (when students in the study may have had scores lower than 18 on speaking and/or writing), speaking and writing scores had a positive relationship with GPA; however, negative correlations were found for listening and reading scores. By contrast, for the 2013 cohort (when all students had speaking and writing scores of at least 18), no negative correlations were found between test scores and GPA. Given that strong reading and listening skills are expected to facilitate rather than inhibit academic success, these results may indicate the existence of distinctive Reading/Listening versus Speaking/Writing score profiles among the 2011 and 2012 cohorts. In addition, the absence of negative correlations for the 2013 cohort, for whom admission language requirements included both overall and section cut scores on TOEFL iBT, lends support to the argument that the use of section cut scores in entry-level language requirements may enhance predictive validity of standardized proficiency tests.

In another study, Harsch et al. (2017) investigated the utility of TOEFL iBT for predicting academic success in a UK setting. The researchers examined the relationship between 504 graduate students' test scores and their grades, taking into account linguistic background, discipline, and post-entry language support. While reported correlations of TOEFL iBT scores with course grades were generally weak, with

correlations ranging from 0.10 to 0.20, it was found that the correlations varied systematically by linguistic background and academic discipline. For instance, for Chinese students, TOEFL iBT total and speaking scores correlated weakly, but significantly, with course grades (r values around 0.31), whereas for German students, none of the correlations were significant. Likewise, for disciplines with a quantitative focus, TOEFL iBT speaking, listening, and overall scores had weak, but significant, relations with grades (correlations around 0.20), while for disciplines with a social science focus, no significant relationship was found between test scores and course grades.

What research indicates about the relationship between standardized academic language proficiency tests and academic success has several implications for the use of these tests for admission and placement purposes in tertiary education. Given that these test scores are not strong predictors of academic success for all students, particularly students with unbalanced score profiles or from certain L1 backgrounds, higher education institutions should consider either not using standardized academic language proficiency test scores or using them along with other criteria when making admission decisions. For the first alternative, institutions would be expected to develop their own language proficiency assessments for admission purposes since academic language ability is an essential criterion for admission decisions. For the second alternative, institutions would be expected to set minimum cut scores for each of the four skills for admission decisions and use section rather than total cut scores to support decisions about students' post-entry language support needs. For example, to be granted admissions, a student would need to exceed a certain score in each of the four skill areas along with a certain overall score on a given language test. Such a practice would help limit the concern that students using particular test preparation strategies to obtain high scores would be inappropriately granted admissions. That is, test takers who are prepared to do well on multiple-choice tests would also need to do well on productive tasks (e.g., writing an essay) to gain admissions. Considering that students with similar total scores, but unbalanced score profiles, may not have the same language needs, the use of section scores for placement purposes may also assist stakeholders in making better judgments about a student's academic language needs.

Using Standardized Language Proficiency Tests for Placement Purposes

With large numbers of international students studying in English-speaking countries, many universities try to find the most effective and practical way to determine newly admitted students' additional language support needs. A common practice among these institutions is the use of standardized academic language proficiency test scores for ESL placement decisions. Ling et al. (2014) reviewed the websites of 152 higher education institutions, surveyed 80 institutions, and interviewed representatives of 24 ESL programs. The researchers reported that standardized academic language proficiency tests were widely used to inform placement decisions, with

around half of the 50 4-year universities utilizing TOEFL iBT and/or IELTS scores for identifying students who might benefit from additional language support. For stakeholders, such a practice is attractive for at least two reasons. First, standardized test scores are readily available from the admission process; no additional testing is needed and this could save substantial resources in many educational contexts. Second, test takers generally believe in standardized proficiency test scores as accurate indicators of their language ability. This means that there is likely to be disagreement between decision makers and test takers about who needs the additional language classes.

Although the use of standardized language tests for placement purposes is commonplace in higher education institutions, it might be unrealistic to expect these proficiency tests to be very accurate at placing students into levels of a particular language support program. Intended to provide a general indication of a test taker's language ability, standardized academic language proficiency tests are designed to assess how much ability and/or capability a test taker has in a given language. By contrast, placement tests are developed to separate test takers into levels of a pre-existing language support program with the purpose of maximizing the effectiveness of language instruction in homogenous classes (Cheng and Fox 2017). Because many programs design their own language support curriculum around program-specific learning objectives, it is expected that materials and teaching practices used in these courses may not well align with a test not specifically designed for the curriculum. In this regard, standardized academic language proficiency tests would not be expected to serve effectively as placement tools (although they might be useful for identifying students that almost certainly do not need any language support and ones that almost certainly do).

The fact that standardized academic language proficiency tests are practical and generally accepted as an accurate measure of language ability among test takers is also not sufficient to support the use of these tests for placement decisions. To determine the extent to which these tests are appropriate for placement purposes in higher education contexts, empirical investigations with sound methodological designs are needed. Unfortunately, such investigations are quite limited (Fox 2004, 2009; Arrigoni and Clark 2015). In addition, while locally conducted studies may provide initial insight into the usefulness of standardized tests for placement into language support courses, caution is warranted when interpreting results from these studies. This is because much of the reported research relies on an insufficiently validated in-house placement test to evaluate the effectiveness of a standardized proficiency test. That is, in most cases students are first placed into levels of a pre-existing language support course based on their scores on a locally developed placement test, and then their standardized academic language proficiency test scores are compared across the levels determined by the locally developed test. In fact, it may be that the locally developed test, itself, is not very effective at separating test takers into appropriate levels of an ESL course. Other research has used teacher and student judgments to determine the effectiveness of placement decisions made based on standardized test scores. Unfortunately, these judgments often lack objectivity and may not be very good indicators of appropriate placement, either.

An example of a study that relied on locally developed placement test scores as a measuring stick for a standardized test is that of Kokhan (2012), who examined the effectiveness of TOEFL iBT for separating students into three levels of an ESL writing course. Based on the results of an in-house writing placement test, 2,363 students were placed into the three levels. The students' TOEFL iBT total and section scores were then compared within each level and across the three levels and the scores did not align very well. For example, for a student with an overall TOEFL iBT score of 80, the chances of being placed into levels 1 and 2 and being exempted were 40%, 50%, and 10%, respectively. The researcher concluded that no particular set of TOEFL iBT total or section scores could serve reliably as placement cut scores since their use resulted in a substantial proportion of misplacement compared to the placements determined by the locally developed placement test.

Examples of studies which have utilized teacher and/or student judgments to evaluate the effectiveness of standardized academic language proficiency test scores for placing students into appropriate classes are common. Arigoni and Clark (2015) examined the usefulness of IELTS as a placement tool in an English-medium university in Cairo. Two hundred ninety-eight students were placed into two levels of an academic writing course based on their IELTS overall and writing section scores. The findings obtained from student and instructor questionnaires and interviews indicated that instructors considered nearly 15% of the students as misplaced, and around 25% of the students believed that they needed to study more than their peers to be successful, suggesting a perceived misplacement among the students. A similar result was reported by Fox (2009), who also used teacher judgment as a criterion against which to evaluate the appropriateness of the TOEFL iBT and IELTS for ESL placement decisions at a Canadian university. Students (N = 261) were separated into three levels of an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) course based on their standardized test scores, and a considerable number were identified as misplaced by classroom teachers.

Research on the use of standardized academic language proficiency tests for placement purposes seems to suggest that these tests may not function effectively for separating students into levels of a pre-existing language support program. Given the main aims of proficiency tests, this finding makes some intuitive sense; however, it is hard to draw firm conclusions regarding the effectiveness of standardized academic proficiency tests for placement purposes, given the methodological limitations discussed above. On the other hand, it is obvious that when test users plan to use a test for a purpose for which it was not developed, they should justify the appropriateness of the test for the intended purpose. It is possible that a standardized academic language proficiency test that does not serve well as a placement tool in a certain program might be more appropriate for placement decisions in another program, depending on the objectives of the curriculum in the program. Therefore, test users must consider how the objectives of a particular language support program would align with those of standardized academic language proficiency tests before making decisions about the use of these tests for placement purposes. Furthermore, if locally developed placement tests are themselves in need of validation, it would not be very appropriate to consider them as a criterion for standardized tests. Obviously,

more research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of standardized academic proficiency tests for placement purposes in higher education contexts. The findings of such research may guide stakeholders in interpreting and using these test scores for making placement decisions.

Using Locally Developed Tests Rather than Standardized Tests for ESL Placement

Given the concerns about the use of standardized academic language proficiency tests for placement into ESL courses, a number of higher education institutions have developed their own placement tests. There are several commonly touted benefits of using locally developed placement tests. First, they can be aligned with local curriculum objectives, meaning that what is assessed can represent what students are expected to learn in a particular language support program (Green 2012). Students can be placed into appropriate levels of an EAP program based on their level of mastery of the content of the curriculum, and those who are unable to pass portions of the test designed to assess the content covered at a certain level could be justifiably placed into that level. Second, the use of locally developed tests may provide teachers who are familiar with student profiles, curriculum objectives, and local needs with a chance to contribute to test design, which may enhance the appropriateness of a test in a local context. These teachers often have a strong understanding of the content of the courses and the types of student profiles that can most benefit from these courses. Having their input in the test design may lead to assessments that can better identify students that are likely to benefit from a given language support course. Third, for certain groups of test takers, locally developed placement test scores may be more representative or valid than standardized academic language proficiency test scores. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, a possible reason that students have uneven score profiles on standardized tests is that they have spent a great deal of time preparing for the tests. For instance, they may be able to perform above their true ability levels on certain task types, such as multiple-choice, in standardized tests. Because the stakes of locally developed placement tests are not as high as those of standardized tests (being required to take an additional course has less negative consequences than being rejected from a college), students would not be expected to prepare excessively for these tests. As a result, locally designed placement tests may yield scores that are more representative of the students' true ability. However, it could be that placement tests with tasks or formats that are not well understood by a particular group of test takers might result in scores that do not reflect a test taker's true ability. This is because students may get lower scores than expected due to a lack of understanding of what they are supposed to do on the test to demonstrate their true language ability. This so-called test effect should be avoided by making sure students understand what they are expected to do to complete the tasks. Thus, familiarity with test tasks can contribute to scores that represent a test taker's true ability, but too much practice on a given task type that is susceptible to a study effect could lead to an overestimation of a test taker's ability. It

therefore seems that locally developed placement tests aligned with local curriculum objectives and with tasks familiar to test takers would function better for placement purposes than standardized academic language proficiency tests. However, the extent to which this is the case is not as clear as it seems.

Just like much of the research on standardized assessments is conducted or funded by companies that develop these tests, research on locally designed tests is often undertaken by the test developers themselves, who have a strong motivation for finding evidence to support their intended use. This potential source of bias should be considered carefully when interpreting findings obtained from these studies. It should also be recognized that many local contexts are unlikely to have the resources necessary to develop and administer a well-designed placement test and to process and report test scores appropriately. In fact, many institutions lack the necessary expertise for this purpose even if they did have the financial resources available. As a result, locally developed placement tests often fail to measure all aspects of the abilities that they should. For instance, because assessing speaking requires a great amount of educational, financial, and logistical resources (Ockey 2017), many local placement tests neglect to assess it directly (Ling et al. 2014).

Research on the effectiveness of locally designed tests for ESL placement has yielded inconclusive results. While some studies suggest that locally developed tests may not be useful for placement purposes, others show that they could serve reasonably well for separating test takers into appropriate levels. Lee and Greene (2007) investigated the extent to which scores on a locally developed test predict ESL students' academic performance and language-related difficulties in degree courses. A hundred students with TOEFL iBT scores below 102 were administered an in-house placement test designed to assess academic listening, reading, and writing skills. The findings indicated no correlations between test scores and GPA, suggesting that the in-house placement test was a poor predictor of academic success. The analysis of teacher and student evaluations and their relationship with test scores also showed that teachers' evaluations of students' course performance had no relationship with their test scores, while students' self-evaluations correlated moderately with them. At a university in the United Kingdom, Fulcher (1997) examined the validity and reliability of an in-house placement test designed to identify students in need of additional language support. The test, which included reading, descriptive and argumentative essay writing, and English grammar sections, was administered to 1,619 students. Reported reliability indices were quite low for the reading and grammar sections, 0.63 and 0.59, respectively, and further analysis indicated that the grammar section failed to separate the students into appropriate levels of ESL courses. Writing, however, was reported to be quite reliably assessed, with an estimated reliability of 0.89.

Other studies have reported more positive results about the effectiveness of locally developed placement tests. For example, Winke (2013) investigated the usefulness of an in-house group oral test for placing students into seven levels of a 6-week ESL speaking course. Two group oral tasks, in which test takers were expected to have a discussion with their partners in a group, were administered to 128 students. Reported inter-rater reliability was 0.72, suggesting a moderate level of

agreement between two raters. The findings of cluster analysis showed that the group oral test effectively placed students into the seven levels of the course.

To recap, although locally developed placement tests would at first glance appear to be more appropriate for placement decisions than standardized tests, this is not necessarily the case. The advantages of curriculum alignment, teacher input, and the absence of a test preparation effect may be offset by a lack of local resources necessary for developing effective assessments. When local resources are sufficient to develop and sustain an effective test, however, it would seem that a local placement test may be more appropriate for making placement decisions than a standardized assessment that has not been designed for a particular local context.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion about stakeholders' views and knowledge about interpretation and use of standardized academic language proficiency test scores. It was concluded that many stakeholders lack sufficient knowledge about these tests to use them appropriately in their own local contexts. To help stakeholders make informed decisions regarding the use of these tests in higher education contexts, it was argued that it is important to build assessment literacy among stakeholders. Efforts to increase assessment literacy among stakeholders, particularly policy makers, administrators, and instructors, are crucial since they are the ones most likely to make decisions about how the test scores are used. Additionally, test takers themselves should be better educated about the effectiveness of these tests for particular purposes, since their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the use of standardized test scores for particular purposes (as evidenced by complaints or silent "acceptance") can affect the way score users decide to use these test scores.

Next, the usefulness of standardized language tests for predicting academic success was explored. It was shown that academic success is not very accurately predicted by standardized language test scores, and it was suggested that this was likely due to a plethora of reasons, including academic motivation, personality factors, homogeneous groups of test takers used in most studies, and possible negative effects of test preparation strategies employed by certain groups of test takers. These test preparation strategies may lead to not only unbalanced score profiles but also scores not representative of test takers' actual ability, particularly on certain task types. It was recommended that when standardized test scores are used for admission and/or placement decisions, minimum scores in each of the reported score categories be set to limit a possible study effect on decisions made based on test scores.

The use of standardized academic language proficiency test scores to place students into appropriate levels of language support courses and the alternative, the use of locally developed tests for this purpose, were then examined. It was concluded that standardized academic language proficiency tests may not be appropriate for placement into ability-based classes driven by a local curriculum. In such situations, it may be better to use a locally designed placement test aligned with

the objectives of the curriculum as long as educational and financial resources are available. However, it was argued that in many higher education institutions, the resources and expertise necessary to develop and administer such tests effectively are unavailable. It was recommended that in such cases, stakeholders must first consider the degree of alignment between the objectives of a local curriculum and those of a standardized academic language proficiency test. If there is a high correspondence between the two, then the standardized test scores might be used with caution along with other proven ability indicators. It was also suggested that setting minimum cut scores in each of the skill areas may reduce the rate of misplaced students when standardized academic language proficiency test scores are used for placement decisions.

Standardized academic language proficiency tests have an important role in helping stakeholders make decisions about a test taker's academic language ability in tertiary education. When it is determined that the scores can be used for making a particular decision, it is important that they are used appropriately. They cannot be considered appropriate for all situations and infallible for any context. When their use can be justified empirically, they should be used in conjunction with other indicators of language ability and interpreted appropriately for the given context.

Cross-References

▶ English Language Teaching in China: Developing Language Proficiency Frameworks
▶ English Language Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice
▶ Fairness and Social Justice in English Language Assessment
▶ Postentry English Language Assessment in Universities

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Postentry English Language Assessment in Universities

23

John Read

Contents

Abstract

Modern international universities are admitting students with diverse language and educational backgrounds, which means that old assumptions about how well prepared the students are to meet the demands of English-medium study may no longer apply. Domestic as well as international students may need to enhance their academic literacy skills. This situation makes it desirable to identify incoming students who would benefit from some form of academic language development by administering what has become known in Australia as a postentry (English)

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language assessment (PELA). This chapter describes the background situation in Australian universities, where this kind of assessment has played an increasing role in the last 10 years, and presents case studies of PELAs in Australia and New Zealand. It discusses how a PELA can be distinguished from a proficiency or a placement test. Another important consideration is to relate the assessment to the delivery of language and literacy instruction as students pursue their degree studies. The traditional approach of providing support through generic language and study skills programs is under challenge from those who advocate more discipline-specific academic literacy provision that is integrated into the teaching of content courses and involves collaboration between language tutors and subject lecturers. However, difficulties in implementing an integrated approach mean that there is a continuing role for PELAs. The chapter ends with some discussion of the need to sustain academic language development throughout undergraduate study and the possibility of some kind of assessment of the professional communication skills that students will require in their future employment.

Introduction

Much has already been written about two major trends in contemporary higher education: internationalization and massification. Internationalization is driven by a variety of factors, but one prominent one is the need, particularly on the part of public universities, to compensate for declining or inadequate revenues from their national governments by recruiting full-fee-paying students from other countries. This trend is seen not only in the so-called English-speaking nations which have been the traditional destinations of international students but also a wide range of other countries where English has been adopted – partly or fully – as a medium of instruction in higher education. From a student's perspective, a degree obtained through the medium of English may confer advantages in gaining employment after graduation, whether it be in the host society, their country of origin, or elsewhere in the global economy. The question, though, is whether the students have adequate proficiency in English to cope with English-medium instruction. The major proficiency tests such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), and the Pearson Test of English (Academic) (PTE-A) perform an important screening role in this regard. Students often refer to "passing" one of these tests, but achieving the minimum score for admission is no guarantee that a student will not encounter language-related difficulties in their studies, in addition to the problems of adjusting to a new society and education system.

The second trend, massification, is more of a domestic phenomenon, resulting from government policies to broaden access to higher education beyond the privileged, or at least middle-class, strata of the majority society which continue to dominate the university student population. Thus, universities now actively recruit students from ethnic minority communities (whether they be indigenous or immigrant), from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, from provincial or rural locations, and from the mature adult workforce. The challenges faced by these students can certainly be linguistic in nature, but even those who are fluent or monolingual in English may find it particularly difficult to acquire the academic literacy needed to meet the requirements of university study, especially if they are the first in their family to have this opportunity. Here again, meeting the matriculation standards for university admission may not be sufficient to ensure that the students can cope with the essential reading and writing tasks in their undergraduate studies.

Thus, there is growing interest in assessing the English ability of students from these diverse backgrounds after they have been admitted to the university in order to identify those who would benefit from enhancement of their language and literacy skills, particularly if they may be at risk of failing courses or dropping out of the university altogether. This chapter will focus specifically on the situation in Australian universities, where postentry English language assessment (or PELA) has come to play a prominent role in the last 10 years. The term PELA can also be glossed as "postentry language assessment" or "post-enrolment English language assessment." Although the term and the concept have come out of the Australian context, they have wider relevance in other education systems as well, as illustrated in the set of case studies in Read (2016).

The Australian Context

The starting point is conventionally identified as the publication in 2006 of an article (Birrell 2006) by an Australian social scientist who specializes in immigration studies. He questioned why international students graduating with undergraduate degrees in fields such as information technology and accounting were unable to demonstrate the level of English language proficiency required to obtain an employment visa in Australia, when this was the same level which they were supposed to have achieved before they began their university studies. This generated a wide-ranging public debate about how well prepared international students were for the language demands of their studies and what responsibility the universities had to address the issues that emerged.

One concrete outcome was the convening by a government body, Australian Education International, of the National Symposium on English Language Competence of International Students (AEI 2007). This led to the formulation of a set of English language standards known as the Good Practice Principles (AUQA 2009), which were subsequently adopted by the federal agency responsible for conducting

academic audits of universities, now known as TEQSA (the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency). The principles have been influential, both directly through the audit process and more broadly through highlighting the obligation of tertiary institutions to ensure that the students they have accepted have an adequate level of English in undertaking their studies.

Among the ten principles, there are four which have implications for assessment of students' academic language ability around the time of admission:

1. Universities are responsible for ensuring that their students are sufficiently competent in the English language to participate effectively in their university studies.
3. Students have responsibilities for further developing their English language proficiency during their study at university and are advised of these responsibilities prior to enrolment.
4. Universities ensure that the English language entry pathways they approve for the admission of students enable these students to participate effectively in their studies.
7. Students' English language development needs are diagnosed early in their studies and addressed, with ongoing opportunities for self-assessment (AUQA 2009).

The other principles cover the ongoing provision of English language development as students proceed through their studies, opportunities for international students to adjust to their new academic and social environment, and the need to monitor the effectiveness of the university's English language programs. Collectively, the principles highlight the fact that both the university and the student have responsibilities for ensuring that the student's studies are not hampered by language-related difficulties. This represents a departure from the idea that international students are primarily responsible for improving their English and passing a designated proficiency test as a condition for being admitted to a degree program. Increasingly, too, the principles are seen as applying not just to international students but to many if not all domestic students as well.

In the last 10 years, Australian universities have displayed varying degrees of commitment to applying the principles on their own campuses. At the federal level, a change of government in 2013 resulted in a weakening of the earlier TEQSA mandate to focus on students' English language proficiency needs as a priority area through the audit process (Lane 2014). This may have taken the pressure off some universities to move forward with plans for a PELA as a component of their student services. Nevertheless, learning advisors and English language tutors have continued to take initiatives in this area, on their own campuses, and through their national organization, the Association for Academic Language and Learning (AALL) (www.aall.org.au). A major project funded by the federal Office of Learning and Teaching (Dunworth et al. 2013) led to the creation of the Degrees of Proficiency website (www.degreesofproficiency.aall.org.au), which provides a range of resources to assist universities in addressing their students' language needs, including the introduction of a PELA.

An Overview of PELAs in Australia

Given the local, mainly institution-specific nature of these assessments, it has been difficult to obtain accurate information on how many PELAs have been implemented and what form they take, as Dunworth and her associates (Dunworth 2009; Dunworth et al. 2013) found in their nationwide surveys. The results of the most recent survey by Barthel (2017) are summarized in Table 1.

The findings probably underreport the extent to which these assessments are used throughout the country; however, the pattern is broadly similar to those obtained in the previous surveys. They show that PELAs are administered at more than half of the Australian universities, often in particular faculties rather than across the whole institution. In most cases the assessment has been developed locally by the staff at the university concerned. Although numerous PELAs are designed for students in a particular faculty, the focus tends to be on general English, not the specific language skills required for the students' intended discipline.

In terms of the traditional macro-skills, writing receives by far the most attention, followed by reading. This can be understood from various perspectives. An obvious reason is that, despite recent trends toward a wider range of course assessments, students' academic work is still primarily graded on the basis of exams, assignments, and other writing tasks. Another consideration is that a writing assessment task is seen as relatively easy to set. While a writing test may be somewhat more challenging to mark reliably, many English language tutors in Australia are familiar with

Table 1   Some results from a survey of PELAs in Australian universities

Responses from 33 of the 39 universities	
23 universities have a PELA in operation	
University-wide	12 (otherwise in particular faculties)
Compulsory	12 (mostly for all students)
Assessing general English	18 (otherwise more discipline-specific language)
Assessment of particular skills	
Writing	19
Reading	14
Listening	3
Speaking	1
Locally developed	19 (commercially purchased: 4)

rating scales used for tests such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and may indeed have training and experience as IELTS writing examiners to draw on. More generally, writing and reading are the core components of the conventional notion of academic literacy.

Distinguishing Features of PELAs

At this stage it is useful to consider the PELA phenomenon from a more analytic point of view. What are the key characteristics that distinguish this kind of assessment from other English tests that students may be required to take?

The first point to focus on is the term "postentry." This has the implication that students have already met the requirements for admission to a degree program and will not be excluded from the university on the basis of a low score on the PELA. Thus, a postentry assessment has a different function from an English proficiency test like IELTS, TOEFL, or PTE(A), in which international students must achieve a minimum score as one of the conditions for admission.

The question, then, is why international students should be asked to take an additional assessment if they have already "passed" one of the major proficiency tests. One reason highlighted by the influential Birrell (2006) article is that these students have multiple pathways into undergraduate degree study. Apart from applying directly from their home country, they have other options: studying for 2 or 3 years in an Australian secondary school and taking the matriculation route followed by domestic students, taking a full-time course in academic English or foundation studies at an ELICOS center (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students) or an approved language school, or initially enrolling for a sub-degree certificate or diploma course at a university or college. A student visa for any of these other options can be obtained with a lower score on one of the international tests than is needed for undergraduate admission. Birrell (2006) noted that students could pursue one of these pathways without being required to take IELTS again prior to undertaking degree study.

A second consideration is that universities tend to set their minimum test scores on the low side for marketing reasons, to avoid deterring students who might otherwise have good academic potential (see, e.g., Hyatt and Brooks 2009) – or more cynically, revenue potential. The standard requirement for undergraduate study at Australian institutions is band 6.5 or even just 6.0 on IELTS (and the equivalent scores on the other tests). This is recognized as just a threshold level of proficiency (Read and Hayes 2003). Indeed the official IELTS scoring guide for institutions (https://www.ielts.org/ielts-for-organisations/setting-ielts-entry-scores) states that a score of 6.5 is only "probably acceptable" for linguistically less demanding academic courses but that students at that level will need further English study to cope with linguistically demanding courses. A related point is that, in spite of the stringent security and anti-fraud procedures adopted by the major testing organizations, receiving institutions may have concerns about the extent to which intensive coaching, undetected security breaches, or

administrative irregularities may have played a role in the test performance of certain students. Thus, a PELA provides the basis for giving students the message that, although they may have achieved the minimum score on one of the recognized international tests, they are still likely to experience difficulties with the language demands of their studies.

Communicating such messages is very much in the spirit of the Good Practice Principles, which take it for granted that higher education institutions have a responsibility to the students they have admitted to ensure that the students are aware of problems they may face and are given opportunities to enhance their academic language ability. This then raises the question of whether taking a PELA should be compulsory. Barthel's (2017) survey found that this applied in only about half of the universities which reported having implemented a PELA. The counterargument advanced by some academics (see Dunworth 2009; Murray 2016) is that students should be treated as autonomous adults who can make their own decisions about whether they need to enhance their language skills. Others take a more sanguine view, citing evidence that students in most need of language support are likely to avoid taking it up if they can.

Comparing PELAs and Placement Tests

Regardless of whether it is compulsory for students to take a PELA or not, once they do so, the question is what happens after that. At this point it is useful to compare a PELA with a placement test. The classic type of placement test is used by language schools and university foreign language teaching programs to determine the broad proficiency level of each incoming student as the basis for placing them in a class or course at their level of ability. In a language school, the test may cover a wide range of ability from beginner to advanced, whereas the test for a university language program may help to classify students into categories such as beginner, false beginner, heritage learner, or indeed native speaker. However, these examples focus on students as language learners rather than as undergraduates embarking on various disciplinary studies, which is the realm of a PELA.

In the case of international students, it has been a common practice in US universities to administer an English test to place students in, or exempt them from, required courses in English as a Second Language (ESL) or freshman composition. Some PELAs may function in a similar fashion if students entering a particular faculty are required to take such courses. However, there are at least three ways in which PELAs tend to operate differently from this model:

1. Although the initial public concern raised by Birrell's article focused on international students, academic language and learning advisors have increasingly recognized that domestic students – including those for whom English is their first and only language – can have similar academic literacy needs which they should be alerted to. Nevertheless, requiring domestic students to take an English test after matriculation is more problematic than for international students and

may be subject to legal or political challenges, as well as the kind of academic grounds mentioned above for not making such a test compulsory.

2. There is more of a culture of student advising associated with the administration of a PELA. Often the initiative to introduce this kind of assessment has come from advisors in the university's learning center or academic skills program. Thus, students completing the PELA – and particularly those identified by their results as being at high risk of academic underachievement – will be offered an individual consultation to review their areas of need and inform them of opportunities available on the campus to enhance their academic language skills. These may include credit courses in English language, academic writing or scientific communication, short noncredit courses, workshops and seminars, peer mentoring, individual consultations on draft assignments, online self-study resources, and so on. Such a session also gives the advisor an informal opportunity to evaluate the student's speaking skills, which are typically not formally assessed in a PELA for practical reasons.

3. Following from the second point, a PELA may be seen as more of a diagnostic instrument. Diagnosis as a purpose for language assessment has received increasing attention in the last 15 years (see, e.g., Alderson 2005; Alderson et al. 2015; Lee 2015), and there is ongoing debate as to its key features. Several PELAs have included the word "diagnosis" in their titles; examples are the Diagnostic English Language Assessment (DELA) at the University of Melbourne (Elder and Read 2016, Ransom 2009), the Diagnostic English Language Needs Assessment (DELNA) at the University of Auckland (Read 2015), and the Diagnostic English Language Tracking Assessment (DELTA) at collaborating universities in Hong Kong (Urmston et al. 2016).

Apart from the role of advising in interpreting the results, DELA and DELNA are diagnostic mainly in the sense that scores are reported for the individual skill areas of listening, reading, and writing. In the case of writing, DELNA in particular applies an elaborate analytic rating scale which provides detailed feedback on the linguistic and discoursal features of the student's composition. To this extent, then, DELA and DELNA are not clearly distinguished from placement tests which also serve to direct international students to enrichment courses in the appropriate skill areas. The claim to being a diagnostic instrument would be stronger if the listening and reading tasks were, like the writing task, designed to identify strengths and weaknesses in particular sub-skills, which is the goal of cognitive diagnostic assessment (Lee and Sawaki 2009), a methodology adopted from the field of educational assessment.

DELTA in Hong Kong does incorporate test items measuring individual sub-skills of listening and reading, as well as elements of grammar and vocabulary. Students take the test not just once but each year of their undergraduate study, so that their progress can be tracked and they can set goals for ongoing English language development. Results are presented in graph form as well as through descriptors of sub-skills which require attention. At each of the participating universities, the DELTA reports are linked to the English language curriculum and to learning

resources for individual study. Thus, in these respects, DELTA meets a number of the expectations for a good diagnostic instrument of academic language ability.

Some Case Studies

Let us now look at some particular cases of PELAs in New Zealand and Australia.

DELNA at the University of Auckland

DELNA at the University of Auckland has already been mentioned. This assessment program has been for a number of years the most comprehensive and well-resourced PELA in Australasia. It is also the best-documented case (Elder and von Randow 2008; Read 2008; Read and von Randow 2013, 2016, plus the additional references at www.delna.auckland.ac.nz/en/delna-related-research.html). Indeed it is the only PELA of any kind at a New Zealand university. It had a somewhat different origin from the PELAs in Australia in that it grew out of concerns at the university in the 1990s about the academic language skills not just of international students but various groups of domestic students as well: recently immigrated permanent residents, students from ethnic minority and refugee backgrounds, and mature students with no recent experience of formal study. DELNA was introduced in 2002 with a focus on academic programs with large numbers of students for whom English was an additional language (EAL). Thus, it predates the developments in Australia arising from Birrell's (2006) work. By 2007 it was made a requirement for all undergraduate students, regardless of their language background, and over the years, it has become for most of them just one more task to complete during orientation. Since 2012 it has been mandatory for all incoming doctoral candidates, and other postgraduate students are strongly encouraged to participate too.

DELNA operates as a three-stage process (see Fig. 1) which is designed progressively to target students who are at risk of achieving below their academic potential, or even dropping out, as a result of language-related difficulties. The initial screening stage, consisting of a computer-based vocabulary test and timed reading task, exempts highly competent students from any further assessment. In the diagnosis stage, those who score below a threshold level take paper-based tests of academic listening, reading, and writing. Students who do not perform adequately in the diagnosis tasks are requested to have an individual consultation with a language advisor. Although student compliance with the requirements to take the diagnosis and meet with the advisor is reasonably high, it varies by faculty. Students in education, engineering, nursing, and pharmacy tend to be more closely monitored because they form cohorts pursuing an integrated degree program and also because they must meet professional registration requirements (including a high level of communication skills) upon graduation. Conversely, student records show that those who avoid taking the diagnosis generally have low or failing grades in their academic course or drop out of the university altogether.
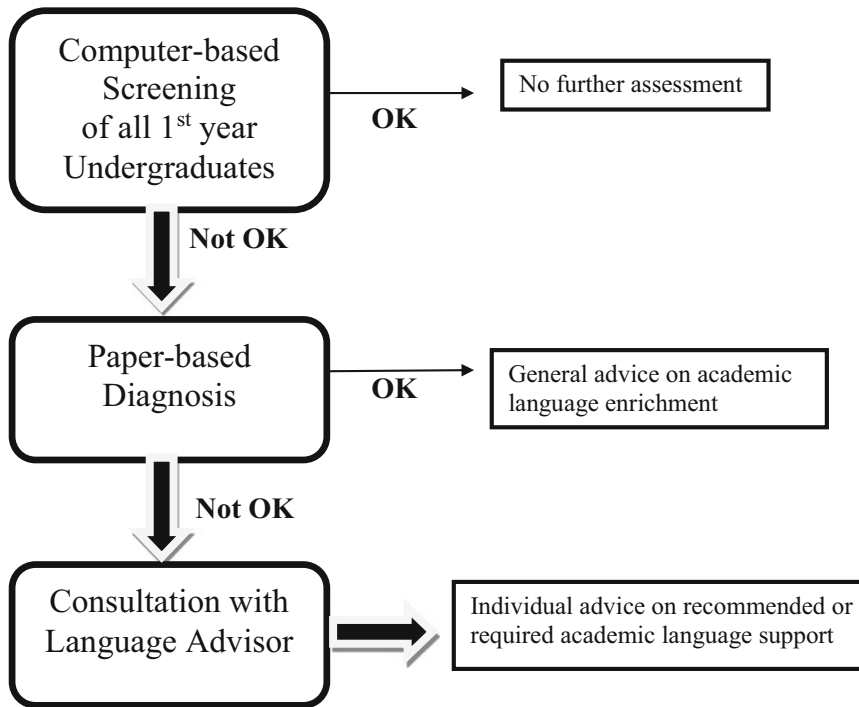
Fig. 1 Overview of DELNA at Auckland

BELA at Bond University

The Bond English Language Assessment (BELA) (Lydster and Brown 2017) is more typical of a PELA at an Australian university. In response to the Good Practice Principles, Bond University in Queensland initially administered to its international students the English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA), an online test marketed by the Australian Council for Educational Research. However, as other universities found too (Harris 2013), this test was unsuitable as a measure of academic language ability and was discontinued. In the meantime, English language support was embedded in the delivery of two core subjects which were compulsory for all undergraduate students. In addition, a small Student Learning Support (SLS) unit provided individual consultations on written assignments and workshops on academic skills for students across the university.

In 2013 the university introduced its own postentry assessment, the BELA, in the form of an essay writing task administered online through the university's learning management system. The following year the BELA was incorporated as a required initial task for a core subject on critical thinking and communication, which is taken by almost all incoming undergraduates. Based on student feedback, the original time allocation was increased from 45 to 60 min, and a short online tutorial was added at the beginning to give some basic tips on good academic writing. The reasons for

choosing an argument-type essay for the BELA task were similar to those given above for the predominance of the writing skill in PELAs across Australia. In 2016, the BELA was also embedded in the Bachelor of Medical Studies, so that it is now taken by all entering undergraduates.

The essays are rated by the teaching staff of the core subject, with training and standardization provided by the SLS learning advisors. To ensure that the marking process is practical and financially viable, the raters make simple "satisfactory" or "below satisfactory" judgments on each of three criteria: organization, linking and flow, and grammar and vocabulary. Students whose essays are below satisfactory on at least two of the criteria receive an email from the subject lecturer directing them to make an appointment with an SLS learning advisor to get feedback on their writing and advice on resources and support available. In 2014 and 2015, students were invited to take the assessment a second time, writing an essay on another topic. Those who did so were then able to make an appointment again to review their progress with an advisor. The second BELA is no longer promoted due to a lack of uptake; however, at students' request, an alternative task can be provided.

Lydster and Brown (2017) report on a small-scale validation study of the BELA conducted in 2014–2015. Since only a limited number of students took the test a second time, it was difficult to draw any conclusion about their progress in academic writing. However, an analysis of the students' marks for the major essay in the core subject gave a clear indication that those who had visited the SLS had obtained higher marks than those who had not and students with the lowest BELA scores had benefitted the most from consulting a learning advisor. On the other hand, it was the lower-scoring students who were most likely to fail the major essay, and this applied even more to the students who had not completed the BELA task at all.

PELAs at Curtin University

Curtin University in Western Australia has long had a commitment to internationalization, reflected both in the large number of international students who come to study in Perth and in the operation of three offshore campuses in Asia. As with other Australian universities, it has a well-established learning center, which is now part of Curtin Library and provides a variety of academic support programs for students from all disciplines. In 2008 it implemented the UniEnglish Self-assessment Tool, a free online test particularly recommended for students whose first language is not English. The instrument includes sections on the use of English/reading, listening, writing, and speaking, which can be taken separately in 15–20 min each or as a whole test. The first two sections are scored automatically, whereas individual comments are provided on the productive skills by a tutor within 1 week. Depending on their scores, the students also receive advice on appropriate services available to enhance their English language skills (Elder and Read 2016, p. 43).

In addition to the resources of the learning center, the university has appointed English language development coordinators to each of the four main faculties: business, health sciences, humanities, and science and engineering. The role of the

coordinators is to provide "discipline-aligned" opportunities for English language development for both undergraduate and postgraduate students in the faculty. This includes the design and administration of a PELA for all incoming students in the form of an appropriate writing task. In health sciences undergraduates write a 250-word essay discussing a topic (from a choice of two) related to healthcare in Australia. At the postgraduate level, there are two linked writing tasks, one academic and one professional. For instance, the students read the abstracts of three research articles investigating the effectiveness of hand hygiene in reducing the spread of infection. Then they write a 300-word essay to discuss the topic and a 150-word email from a manager to their team on how to control a disease outbreak in their workplace. The writing is marked using analytic rating scales, and, based on the results, the students may be required or recommended to attend SUCCESS, the generic name for a structured series of tutorials on aspects of academic writing in their disciplinary area (Maggie McAlinden, personal communication, 24 Nov 2017).

These faculty PELAs are seen as relatively resource-intensive, and the university is considering the adoption of the Academic English Screening Test (AEST) as a screening measure for all incoming students. The AEST, which was originally developed at the University of Melbourne under a commission from the University of South Australia (Knoch et al. 2016), combines in a sense the screening and diagnosis phases of DELNA at Auckland into a single instrument, consisting of two measures of language knowledge and a writing task. A trial is to be conducted in 2018 to compare the relative effectiveness of the AEST and the faculty-specific PELAs in identifying students with English development needs in an economical way.

In 2013 Curtin adopted an English Language and Learning Policy which can be seen as consistent with the Good Practice Principles. It includes the statement "Staff involved in curriculum design, assessment practices, course delivery and or supervision are responsible for developing students' English language proficiency through these activities" (Curtin University 2015, p. 1). In principle this extends the responsibility for English language development to all teaching staff and falls within the domain of Curtin Learning and Teaching (CLT), the central unit charged with enhancing teaching and course delivery.

PELAs and English Language Development

The Curtin case brings us to one of the Good Practice Principles which is relevant to the question of how English language development opportunities are delivered to students.

> 6. Development of English language proficiency is integrated with curriculum design, assessment practices, and course delivery through a variety of methods.

This principle highlights the point that a PELA must be planned in conjunction with the provisions made at the university to assist students with support in acquiring academic language and literacy skills – although the term "support" is now largely supplanted by the broader notion of English language development.

As noted above, all Australian and New Zealand universities have learning centers (also known by names such as Student Learning Services), staffed by learning advisors who offer workshops, minicourses, individual consultations, and access to online resources for self-study. Traditionally these centers have operated on a generic basis, providing service to students from across the university, and thus implicitly basing their work on an "autonomous" model of academic literacy (Lea and Street 1998). Many PELAs have been designed according to the same logic, either by testing knowledge of vocabulary and grammar or by assessing reading and writing skills through topics of general interest. This of course is the approach taken in the major international proficiency tests as well. If the PELA is to be administered across the whole university, this generic approach may be the only realistic option, and it may be justified on the grounds that it can identify students who are most at risk of academic underachievement as a result of limited competence in English.

However, since the early 2000s, there have been questions about the effectiveness of the generic approach, when it does not directly relate to the assessed tasks that students have to undertake in their courses, and a growing recognition that different disciplines have distinct norms and expectations for the kind of writing that their students should produce. Thus, there have been numerous initiatives to integrate or embed language and literacy development into the teaching of particular courses or units, especially in professional degree programs like business, education, engineering, and health sciences (Harris and Ashton 2011; Hunter and Tse 2013; Purser 2011; Thies et al. 2014). This approach is reflected in GPP #6 quoted above and is strongly advocated by higher education researchers such as Arkoudis et al. (2012) in Australia and Wingate (2015, 2018) in the UK. All of these authors acknowledge, though, that this kind of program is difficult to set up and even harder to sustain over an extended period. Subject lecturers tend to avoid dealing with "language" issues, seeing them as outside the scope of their expertise. If a collaboration is established, there is a great deal of work involved in the creation of suitable learning resources and the planning of instructional strategies, when academics are frequently pressed for time to carry out their core teaching responsibilities. And an initially promising integrated program may be disrupted by the departure of a key participant or a substantial change in the subject curriculum.

Integrated Academic Literacy Instruction

It is useful to focus at this point on what is meant by "embedding" or "integration." We saw one example of the use of the term embedding in the case study above of the BELA at Bond University, where the students took the assessment as one early requirement for a compulsory first-semester module in their degree. However, the term is often used interchangeably in the literature with "integrated" to refer to the extent to which language and literacy instruction is incorporated into the mainstream curriculum. Jones et al. (2001) identified four increasing levels of integration, which they labeled weak adjunct, strong adjunct, integrated, and embedded. In her book, Wingate (2015, p. 60) offers an elaborated classification with more or less the same four categories, named extracurricular, additional, curriculum-linked, and

curriculum-integrated. The levels are distinguished in terms of features such as the timetabling of the literacy instruction, who delivers it, the degree of involvement of subject lecturers, the subject specificity of the teaching and the materials, and whether some or all of the students participate in the instruction.

For Wingate (2015, 2018) the curriculum-integrated level, which she also refers to as "inclusive practice," is the ideal to be aimed for to overcome the limitations of current largely extracurricular approaches to academic literacy development. This means applying four principles, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Academic literacy instruction should focus on an understanding of the genres associated with the students' academic subjects, rather than taking the generic approach found in the typical EAP program.
2. *All* students should have access to this instruction, regardless of their language background. Any language support for non-native speakers should be provided in addition to the academic literacy instruction.
3. The instruction needs to be integrated with the teaching of content subjects so that ideally academic literacy is assessed as part of the subject curriculum.
4. Academic literacy instruction requires collaboration between writing experts and subject experts to develop the curriculum jointly (2015, pp. 128–130).

As a first step, Wingate describes how she and her colleagues at King's College London have designed and delivered academic literacy workshops for students in four disciplines, applied linguistics (her own discipline), history, management, and pharmacy.

The MASUS Procedure

If we look at Wingate's four principles from an assessment perspective, it may seem that if they are fully implemented, there is no real need for a PELA: all students will receive the integrated academic literacy instruction through the teaching of their course subjects. However, the second principle indicates that it may be necessary to identify "non-native speakers" (a somewhat problematic term) who need to enhance their knowledge of the lexical and grammatical systems of the language, as well as receiving the mainstream instruction. More generally, it is useful to set a discipline-relevant writing task around the time that students enter the degree program, in order to evaluate how well they are all able to complete it and to help target the academic literacy instruction. We saw an example of such a task for postgraduate students in health sciences at Curtin University in the profile above.

A more established and influential assessment of this kind is Measuring the Academic Skills of University Students (MASUS) (Bonanno and Jones 2007), which was developed by the learning center at the University of Sydney in the early 1990s. MASUS provides a framework for the collaborative design of a writing task by subject lecturers and learning advisors. Prior to doing the writing, the students are provided with relevant input material to simulate study of the topic. For instance,

undergraduate students in accounting were given a lecture on professional ethics and a framework for analyzing cases. In a subsequent lecture time, they wrote a case report discussing the ethical considerations involved and recommending a course of action. The reports were rated by subject tutors trained by language experts at the learning center according to the standard MASUS criteria, which cover use of the input material, structure and development of the text, control of academic style, grammatical correctness, and presentation qualities. The results were reported both to the students and to the accounting teaching staff, who followed up the assessment with more explicit guidance on how to write good case reports through regular practice in tutorials and the provision of annotated models online. In addition, students with poor control of grammar were referred to resources available through the learning center (Bonanno and Jones 2007, pp. 10, 16).

MASUS has proved to be a flexible framework for postentry assessment, with variations across faculties and in other universities beyond Sydney. Although there has been some criticism of the procedure in terms of its quality as a measuring instrument (Erling and Richardson 2010; Knoch and Elder 2016), it represents a systematic way of operationalizing the concept of discipline-specific academic literacy. Obviously, it is critically dependent for its effectiveness on the collaboration of subject lecturers, both in the design of the writing task and in implementing effective literacy development in their courses.

A Longitudinal Perspective and Exit Testing

Let us return to two more of the Good Practice Principles:

> 2. Resourcing for English language development is adequate to meet students' needs throughout their studies.
> 5. English language proficiency and communication skills are important graduate attributes for all students.

These statements clearly take a longer-term view of students' language and literacy development. Their needs may continue "throughout their studies" rather than just in the transition period of the first one or two semesters of their degree. Most PELAs are administered on a one-off basis shortly after admission to the university, but there are some exceptions. As previously discussed, the BELA at Bond University was supposed to be taken again at the end of the year, but, since it was voluntary, there was very little uptake by the students. Further afield, the English Language Proficiency Assessment (ELPA) at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (Li 2016) is administered for a second time after 1 year of study, to monitor whether students have reached an adequate level of achievement in the first-year curriculum (which strongly emphasizes the development of academic language skills) in order to cope with the remaining 3 years of their degree. The other main assessment in Hong Kong, the Diagnostic English Language Tracking Assessment (DELTA) (Urmston et al. 2016), goes beyond the ELPA by retesting students

annually through the undergraduate years to trace the development of their knowledge and skills in academic English. Of course, in a fully integrated approach to language development, the students' progress can presumably be tracked through the assessment of their assignments in their degree courses.

The other principle (#5) refers to graduate attributes, which may be more associated with the latter stage of a student's progression toward a degree. It is now a routine practice for universities to formulate graduate profiles for their degrees, with statements about the attributes that students purportedly have upon completion, typically including effective written and oral communication skills. Murray (2010) has argued that professional communication skills should be considered one of three components of English language proficiency for university students in the Australian context, along with linguistic competence and academic literacy. However, as Arkoudis and Kelly (2016) point out, there is in practice no formal assessment of the extent to which students have acquired those skills when they graduate, apart from what they may demonstrate in the graded assignments for their courses. At the University of Auckland in the 1990s, the professor of language teaching and learning (Ellis 1998) proposed that each faculty of the university should designate a writing-rich "capstone" course that students would take in their final year for this purpose, but the proposal was set aside in favor of the development of the DELNA (as previously described).

Thus, there has been much less attention to exit testing than to immediate postentry assessment. In the Hong Kong context, Qian (2007) described the Graduating Students' Language Proficiency Assessment (GSLPA), which was developed by testing experts at Hong Kong Polytechnic University to assess communication skills for the professional workplace. However, when other universities declined to accept the GSLPA for use with their students, the University Grants Committee introduced a voluntary scheme to pay the fee for graduating students to take IELTS instead. In Australia a similar offer has been made to international students completing their degrees at two universities in Brisbane (Humphreys and Mousavi 2010). Taking IELTS at this point in their study gives the students an internationally recognized measure of their academic language proficiency, and it is an immigration requirement for those who seek a visa to work in Australia after graduation, but the test is neither discipline- or profession-specific nor designed to assess the communication skills required for professional employment.

Arkoudis and Kelly (2016) predict that increasing demands for accountability from external stakeholders will oblige universities to develop robust internal systems to provide evidence that their teaching programs are effective in developing the communication skills of their graduating students in ways that will enhance their future employability.

Conclusion

Postentry language assessments are by definition local instruments, designed to meet the needs of particular faculties or universities, and therefore reflecting the linguistic, educational, and social profile of the incoming student population, as well as the

kind of provisions for English language development available at that institution. This means that a PELA is likely to lack the technical quality of an international proficiency test such as IELTS or TOEFL, although as Murray (2016, p. 121) observes, much depends on whether expertise in language testing is available at the university concerned or can be obtained through consultancy services. In this regard, the Language Testing Research Centre at the University of Melbourne has played an influential role in the development of a number of PELAs in Australia and New Zealand. On the other hand, while qualities such as reliability and generalizability are necessary, a framework devised by Knoch and Elder (2013) for the evaluation of PELAs also emphasizes the importance of determining (a) whether the instrument provides the basis for making sound decisions as to which students would benefit from the development of their language and literacy skills and, ultimately, (b) whether it contributes to raising the level of student achievement in their degree studies.

For many PELAs the primary purpose is to have a broad screening function, particularly to identify students who are most at risk of failing to achieve to their academic potential because of language and literacy issues. The extent to which the assessment is diagnostic in nature is quite variable. Writing tasks are the main component of most PELAs, and the analytic rating scales that are typically used to score them can provide information about strengths and weaknesses in the student's writing. Students will benefit more from this diagnostic information if they participate in an individual advisory session with a tutor, which may be beyond the university's resources to provide on a large scale. The DELNA program at the University of Auckland is unusual in this regard in being able to provide individual consultations on the assessment results to more than 1000 students each year, in addition to any subsequent support from English language tutors and learning advisors. On the other hand, the DELTA and ELPA programs in Hong Kong offer alternative models of diagnostic assessment that are more integrated into the provision of language and literacy development at the universities involved.

The role of a PELA in a particular institution will also vary according to whether English language support is provided in the conventional fashion through a central learning center or through more discipline-specific and integrated approaches within faculties and degree programs. In the latter case, the assessment will need to be more tailored and will require active and sustained collaboration between language advisors and subject lecturers. Given the difficulties in reaching that level of cooperation, there will be a continuing need for more generic assessments that help to fulfill the responsibility of universities to address the language and literacy needs of the students they accept for admission.

Cross-References

▶ English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: The Role of English as Lingua Franca
▶ Standardized Language Proficiency Tests in Higher Education

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English Language Teaching in China: Developing Language Proficiency Frameworks

24

Jianda Liu and Mingwei Pan

Contents

Abstract

This chapter introduces the development of an English language proficiency scale for English language teaching in the Chinese context. Based on the Communicative Language Ability model (Bachman (1990) Fundamental considerations in language testing. Oxford University Press, Oxford; Bachman and Palmer (1996) Language testing in practice: designing and developing useful language tests. Oxford University Press, Oxford) and the use-oriented principle, this scale

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defines English language competence for English language learners in the Chinese context, with specific reference to the teaching of English. According to the scale, English language competence consists of comprehension competence and expression competence. Unique to the Chinese context, the scale developers also incorporated into the framework the ability to mediate between English and Chinese, i.e., translation competence and interpretation competence. The English proficiency scale includes sets of "can-do" statements that define different standards for English learners at different levels. This chapter also highlights the rationale and characteristics of the proficiency scale and its significant implications for English language learning and teaching in China.

Introduction

Language proficiency scales are intended to describe the extent to which language learners or users at different proficiency levels can use the target language in real-life situations (North 2000). They may serve different purposes and play an important role in integrating language assessment with learning and teaching (Alderson 2005).

Back in the 1950s, when English teaching and learning played a primary role in the military and government arenas, the Foreign Service Institute Scale (FSI) and the Interagency Language Roundtable Scale (ILR) were developed with a view to recruiting and appraising soldiers and civil servants and coordinating various US federal agencies to keep abreast of modern methods and technology (see more details at http://www.govtilr.org/skills/ILRscale2.htm). Since that time, however, the focus of language proficiency scales has shifted more toward the area of language education. In the 1980s the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL; see more details at https://www.actfl.org) stipulated fine-grained descriptors with regard to the basic skills of English learning. Since the inception of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001; North 2000), language proficiency scales have increasingly far-reaching effects on global language policymaking, curriculum design, teaching material development, and language (Figueras 2012). As a result, the development of nation- or region-wide English proficiency scales continued apace, such as the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB; Center for Canadian Language Benchmarks 2012, 2015) in Canada, the International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR; see Wylie and Ingram (2010) for more details) in Australia, and the CEFR-J in Japan (see more details at http://www.tufs.ac.jp/ts/personal/tonolab/cefr-j/english/whatis.html).

China, which boasts the largest population of English learners worldwide, has not been immune to the sweeping impact of language proficiency scales. There has been an increasing awareness of scaling English learners' competence, and researchers,

practitioners, and policymakers in China all agree that a unified proficiency scale is urgently needed to describe learners' performance and streamline their competence across different educational stages and different regions in the Chinese context (Dai and Zhang 2001; Yang and Gui 2007). In 2014 the State Council of China issued a document entitled "Deepening the reforms on educational exams and recruitment systems." One pressing task, as highlighted in the document, was to develop an English language proficiency scale for English learners and users across different proficiency levels in China. In this context the National Education Examinations Authority (NEEA), endorsed by the Ministry of Education, China, initiated a nationwide project to develop an English language proficiency scale, known as China's Standards of English Language Ability (CSE). This set out to (1) define and describe the English competencies that learners at different educational phases are supposed to reach; (2) provide references and guidelines for English learning, teaching, and assessment; and (3) enrich the existing body of language proficiency scales for future alignment on a global basis (Liu 2015a).

With a review of the extant literature on language proficiency scales as a point of departure, this chapter describes how the CSE was developed based on the Communicative Language Ability (CLA) model (Bachman 1990; Bachman and Palmer 1996, 2010) and the use-oriented principle. Light is also shed on how descriptors were categorized and scaled and how the scales were validated. Finally, guidance is provided on how exemplar activities, as by-products of the CSE, may inform language teaching and assessment.

Theories and Principles of CSE Development

In order to justify the rationale of the CSE, we will review the well-established prevailing language proficiency scales outside China, the models or frameworks concerning language ability, and the use-orientedness of the CSE. We will also present an operationalizable framework for the development of the CSE.

Language Proficiency Scales Outside China

At the beginning of the development of the CSE, a number of existing language proficiency scales, such as the CEFR and the CLB, were reviewed. Among these scales it was found that the CEFR stood out as the most influential in the development and validation of the CSE, for the following reasons. First, the CEFR can be regarded as one of the most influential existing language proficiency scales. Many proficiency scales are adaptations or (sub)-branches of the CEFR, for example, the CEFR-J. Many international testing batteries or organizations also align their tests or proficiency scales with the CEFR, such as the ILR, the ACTFL, and the CLB, as shown in Table 1. Second, the CEFR is innovative in the sense that it incorporates the collaborative co-construction of meaning, as well as plurilingual and pluricultural competence (North and Panthier 2016). This innovation of the CEFR has

Table 1 Alignment of other scales to the CEFR

CEFR	ILR	ACTFL	CLB
A1	0/0+/1	Novice (low/mid/high)	1/2
A2	1+	Intermediate (low/mid/high)	3/4
B1	2	Advanced low	5/6
B2	2+	Advanced mid	7/8
C1	3/3+	Advanced high	9/10
C2	4/4+/5	Superior	11/12

attracted much interest in multicultural language education contexts. Third, the CEFR is regularly updated; the latest version was released around the end of 2017 (Council of Europe 2018).

In general, the CEFR has been developed to provide a common basis for language syllabi, curriculum guidelines, examinations, and textbooks and to relate a European credit scheme to fixed points in a framework (van Ek 1975). The global scaling of this framework was largely inspired by commonly referenced proficiency levels in other documents, such as *Threshold*, *Vantage*, *Waystage*, *Breakthrough*, *Effective Operational Proficiency*, and *Mastery* (Alderson 2002), which correspond to the proficiency levels of A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2, respectively. It was then developed with detailed descriptors for each level, which includes benchmarked behavioral characteristics in various domains (Little 2006). The Council of Europe (2001) claims that the CEFR is comprehensive as "it should attempt to specify as full a range of language knowledge, skills and use as possible . . . and all users should be able to describe their objectives, etc. by reference to it" (p. 7).

Nevertheless, the CEFR is not without its critics. First, the construct of language ability as reflected in the CEFR or its descriptors is basically drawn from teachers' perceptions only, while learners' or other stakeholders' perceptions were not included. An overreliance on quantitative methods alone in dealing with teacher's perceptions might also be problematic. In addition, the descriptors take "insufficient account of how variations in terms of contextual parameters may affect performances by raising or lowering the actual difficulty level of carrying out the target 'can-do' statement" (Weir 2005a, p. 281). Second, the CEFR descriptors seem to lack specificity. At certain points the descriptors may seem redundant and reader-unfriendly (Alderson 2010). For example, a B1 descriptor, "Can give a prepared straightforward presentation on a familiar topic within his/her field which is clear enough to be followed without difficulty most of the time, and in which the main points are explained with reasonable precision," is embedded with various constraints from different perspectives, such as quality of presentation and addresser/addressee of presentation, so that users may be confused about the real foci of the descriptor per se. Third, while the CEFR claims to cover aspects of both proficiency and development in its six ascending levels of proficiency, it fails to do so consistently (Alderson et al. 2006; Hulstijn 2011; Norris 2005). Thus, a host of researchers (e.g., Cumming 2009; Fulcher 2004; Hulstijn 2007; Spolsky 2008) have expressed concerns regarding the rationale of the CEFR. For instance, Spolsky (2008) criticizes

the CEFR as "arbitrary" standards designed to produce uniformity, while Cumming (2009) points out the dilemma of the imprecision of standards such as the CEFR "in view of the complexity of languages and human behaviour" (p. 92). Fourth, although the CEFR developers tried to include translation and interpretation abilities into the new version, whether they have been able to accomplish this seems uncertain, given the resistance and criticism from the field of translation studies.

Models of Language Ability

As reviewed above, it appears the CEFR was intended to streamline language proficiency levels across different social and educational contexts in Europe. However, in China, where English mainly plays the role of a foreign language, CSE developers cannot directly adapt the CEFR (see Zou et al. 2015 for more details). A new proficiency scale applicable to the Chinese context should be prioritized. Before its development, however, CSE developers also considered the language ability models that were indicative of the theoretical underpinnings of the CSE.

Research into the construct of language ability dates back to the 1960s, when Lado (1961) and Carroll (1961, 1968) published their interpretations of language ability. The structuralist approach to language and language ability (e.g., Lado 1961) was followed by a discussion about linguistic competence versus performance and the definition of "communicative competence" (Hymes 1972, 1973, 1982; Halliday 1973, 1976). In the 1980s Canale and Swain (1980; Canale 1983) proposed the first componential model of communicative competence, which was further extended into various pedagogical adaptations of communicative competence (e.g., Celce-Murcia et al. 1995; Savignon 1983). Similarly, Douglas (2000) proposed a model with a particular view of language use for specific purposes, where professional or topical knowledge is equally emphasized (see Purpura 2008 for a detailed review of how language ability models have evolved).

In an eclectic collection of and critique on the above conceptualizations, Bachman (1990) and Bachman and Palmer (1996) posited the Communicative Language Ability (CLA) model, where language ability was perceivably constructed as "consisting of both knowledge, or competence, and the capacity for implementing, or executing that competence in appropriate, contextualized communicative language use" (Bachman 1990, p. 84). The CLA model not only inherits organizational competence in its traditional sense but also embeds strategic competence and regards it as not just serving a compensatory function, which, to a certain extent, alludes to Canale's (1983) refined model. More importantly, it also recognizes the roles of cognitive strategies and pragmatic competence, together with their impact on the realization of communicative competence.

On the whole, this model is theoretically sound and has been empirically validated to a certain extent (though pragmatic competence has not been vigorously validated) and is merited as a state-of-the-art representation (Alderson and Banerjee 2002). Consequently, CSE developers adopted a modified version of the CLA model by incorporating ideas of cognitive abilities, which largely derive from Weir's

(2005b) socio-cognitive framework. As such, the CSE developers referred to the CLA model to a certain degree, but they also operationalized it for scale development purposes, to be elaborated below.

Use-Orientedness

Contingent upon different purposes, language proficiency scales correspond to different orientations. The CEFR claimed to be action-oriented, where more emphasis is laid on whether and, if so, how language users integrate various language skills in performing particular activities in social and public settings – i.e., performing different functions with different texts and topics in different language activities. The CEFR adopts illustrative descriptor scales to highlight users' performance in receptive, productive, and interactive language activities. This orientation has been proven to be appropriate, given the role that English plays in the European context. Europeans, most of whom use English as a second language, are supposed to communicate in the language, either spoken or written. Although English learners and users in China are more likely to learn English in an educational context, they are encouraged to use it in different domains. Thus, in order to justify the real use of English as a target language (Bachman and Palmer 2010), prioritizing how English is used in the Chinese context is a guiding principle of CSE development (Yang 2015).

Framing an Operationalizable Proficiency Scale

In the context of the above review, CSE developers formulated an operationalizable framework. As illustrated in Fig. 1, the core of the CSE reflects an overarching notion of language ability, within which language competences and strategies cofunction in performing a language activity. This mechanism sits comfortably within the CLA model, where communication success depends upon the language competences learners and users resort to, as well as the strategies they employ in an activity.

In a componential sense, language ability can be further divided into comprehension (listening and reading) and expression (speaking and writing). In language comprehension, learners/users are supposed to remember/understand, apply/analyze, or evaluate/create texts (Anderson and Krathwohl 2001), with an ascending order of cognitive demand. In a similar vein, learners/users are expected to convey, explain, or persuade. In actual performance, both comprehension and production channels are enabled and interact with required pragmatic knowledge for communication effectiveness. In addition, mediation is also considered as part of language competence, referring to the fact that language learners/users resort to comprehension and expression in mediating activities.

In this scale, only translation and interpretation are considered. Although it is not a direct component (the dotted-line square) as it involves translation and interpreting
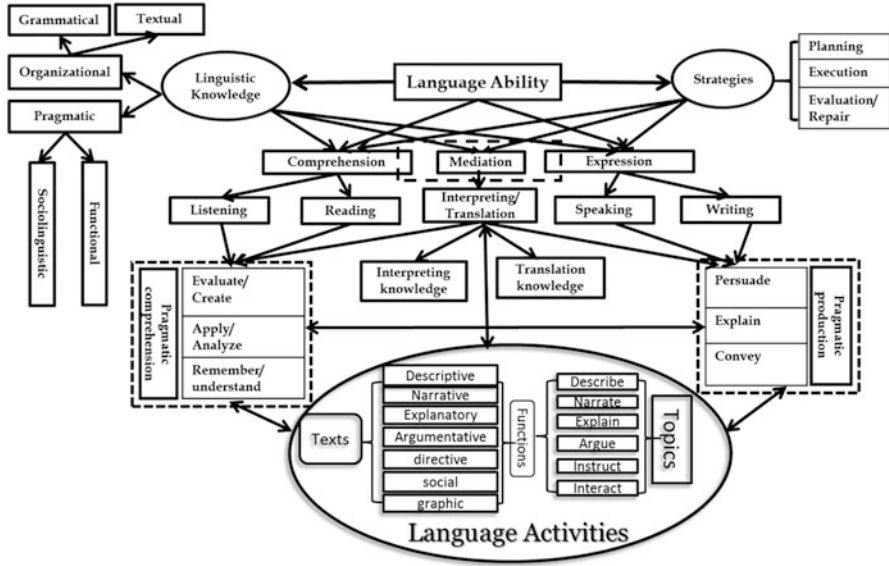
Fig. 1 An operationalizable framework for the CSE
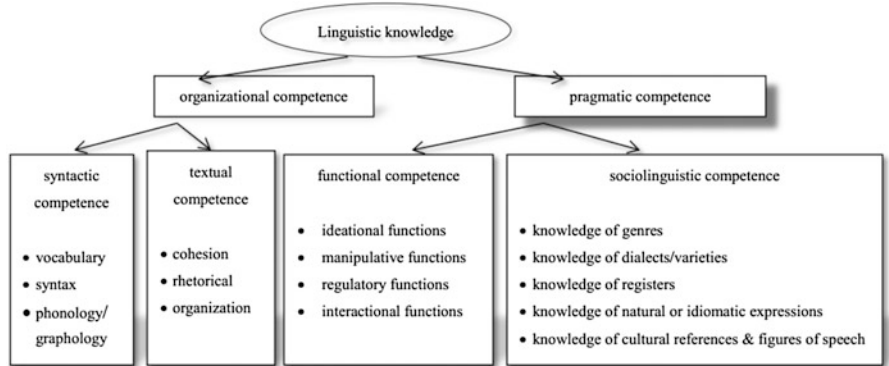
Fig. 2 Linguistic knowledge in the CSE

knowledge that is not linguistically laden, this sub-ability functions in a similar fashion when compared with comprehension and expression.

In order to realize their language competence, learners/users also need to employ their linguistic knowledge, which consists of organizational competence and pragmatic competence. The former can be further broken down into syntactic competence and textual competence; the latter includes functional competence and sociolinguistic competence (see Fig. 2; Bachman 1990).

Apart from language competence, strategies are also involved, which can be divided into planning, execution, and appraising/compensation (Council of Europe 2001).

Different language sub-abilities are heavily involved in all of them. It is noteworthy that the strategies related to different language sub-abilities vary in terms of their names. For example, within the umbrella term of appraising/compensation, the specific name for the writing sub-scales might be editing/proofreading, while that for the speaking sub-scales would be repairing.

As shown in Fig. 1, in congruence with the different functions that communication mainly serves, different sub-abilities deal with a plethora of texts, including narrative, descriptive, expositive, argumentative, directive, social, and graphic texts (Jackson and Stockwell 2011) to narrate, describe, expose, argue, instruct, and interact on different topics. Be it comprehension, expression, or mediation, learners'/users' language competence is ultimately realized in language activities in relation to the abovementioned text types and functions.

Therefore, in order to streamline the framework across different sub-ability scales, the CSE developers laid down a "three-fold four-layer hierarchical framework." Being "threefold" means that language ability is described from three perspectives: language competences, linguistic knowledge, and strategies. Being "four-layer" means that when language competences are described, the descriptors are structured in a hierarchical system. Language ability is the top layer, beneath which there are language comprehension, language expression, and mediation. The third layer is subdivided with global competence descriptors for different sub-abilities. When sub-abilities are instantiated by an assortment of texts with different functions, descriptors specific to sub-abilities constitute the fourth layer (Liu and Han 2018).

Developing and Validating the CSE

Having reviewed the existing competence scales, models of language ability as well as an operationalizable framework for CSE development, in this section we will detail the nuts and bolts of the development and validation of the CSE.

The Development Procedure

Figure 3 outlines the CSE development procedure. As illustrated in the figure, the CSE development can be divided into three major phases. The first phase primarily deals with collecting descriptors, which derived from not only a wealth of literature but also from exemplar generation (described in more detail below). In the second phase, based on expert and teacher judgments, the CSE developers conducted trial validation on a working group basis. During this process the developers removed duplicate descriptors, blended similar descriptors, and categorized descriptors into an operationalizable framework for the CSE, as discussed above. The last phase was composed of two field studies to finalize the scaling. In the first field study, all the descriptors were randomly spread into different sets of questionnaires, which were administered to language education experts and frontline teachers as well as learners/

Phase 1
collecting descriptors
• literature review
• exemplar generation

Phase 2
categorizing descriptors
• expert judgment
• teacher judgment
• validating and revising
  the descriptors

Phase 3
scaling descriptors
• 1st field study:
  questionnaire
  • experts; teachers;
    learners/users
  • equating;
  • vertical scaling;
  • horizontal scaling
  • cut-off point
• 2nd field study: interview
  and questionnaire

Fig. 3 The CSE development procedure

users. The participants were asked to report the extent to which their students (if the participants were teachers) or they themselves (if they were learners/users) could perform in relation to each descriptor. Based on the results, statistical analyses were conducted to determine the cutoff points for each proficiency level. The second field study, which was smaller in scale, tried to elicit the responses of teachers of various educational stages to the same descriptors, so that horizontal scaling could be carried out for the calibration of the cutoff points.

For convenience of initial scaling, the CSE descriptors were first categorized into nine working levels, CSE 1 to CSE 9, which were arranged in ascending order from lower proficiency levels to higher ones. The descriptors at lower proficiency levels were assumed to be within the competence range of higher proficiency levels. Similarly, to facilitate the trial validation, each level was tentatively aligned to a particular group of English learners in China: CSE 1 corresponded roughly to Grade 3 primary school pupils (a starting point at which most, if not all, English learners have received formal EFL instruction for 1 year), CSE 2 to primary school leavers (or Grade 6 primary school pupils), CSE 3 to junior high school graduates, CSE 4 to senior high school graduates, CSE 5 to non-English major sophomores, CSE 6 to non-English major undergraduates or English major sophomores, CSE 7 to English major undergraduates, CSE 8 to English major postgraduates, and CSE 9 to professional users such as professional translators or interpreters.

The CSE development was a huge project that spanned a long period of time, with a total of 8 working groups including about 200 language assessment experts and PhD students involved. The eight groups were responsible for listening, reading, speaking, writing, translation, interpretation, organizational knowledge, and pragmatic knowledge, respectively. To facilitate inter- and intragroup communication, an online platform was also specifically designed for this project. It should be noted that, except for organizational knowledge and pragmatic knowledge, all the other groups' sub-scales were inclusive of both competences and strategies. In order to facilitate intergroup communication, two special working groups, namely, the coordination group and the validation group, were in charge of logistical issues and data processing, respectively.

Developing the CSE

In order to provide a clearer picture of the research methods, this part provides more detail about how the CSE descriptors were collected and revised during the first two phases of the research design outlined above.

The initial CSE descriptor pool was huge, containing descriptors from various sources ranging from the most common language proficiency scales at home and abroad to curricula, teaching syllabi, textbooks, workbooks, and test syllabi and specifications (Liu 2015b). Apart from searching the literature, the developers also used exemplar generation to supplement the collection method. In this, the participants, mainly frontline teachers external to the project, were asked to produce new language competence descriptors by referring to sample ones. This proved to be effective because there was a scarcity of top- and bottom-level descriptors, and the newly generated descriptors by primary school teachers and postgraduate supervisors enriched the descriptor pool. In addition, the translation and interpretation working groups did not have much literature to refer to concerning their specific sub-abilities. Contributions from translation and interpretation practitioners again significantly expanded the descriptor pool. In total, the first CSE descriptor pool contained 16,477 descriptors.

However, a large descriptor pool does not necessarily mean a pool of high-quality descriptors. After collecting the descriptors, the CSE developers conducted two rounds of screening and revision, where all the descriptors were cross-checked on an intra- and intergroup basis. Apart from this large-scale cross-check, each working group also conducted rounds of workshops to elicit teachers', students', and parents' responses to the raw descriptors so that more feedback could be collected and used for reference in revising the descriptors.

Three guidelines consistently threaded through the whole process of descriptor screening and revision. First, each descriptor must take the form of a "can-do" statement (Council of Europe 2001). In other words, what is described must point to learners' or users' accomplishments rather than their weaknesses. Caution should also be observed in using hedging and degree adverbs, such as "comparatively" and "in general," for scaling purposes. Long and complex-structure descriptors were also revised, since CSE users may have found themselves at a loss as to what should be focused on in an individual descriptor. Ambiguity, vagueness, atypical language activities, and linguistic jargon should be avoided wherever possible.

Second, the intended construct of an individual descriptor should be unique. This may be particularly true for descriptors of the translation and interpretation subscales. In some cases, there may be more than one focus in the descriptor, which may give rise to potential misunderstanding. Third, each descriptor follows a three-element model (Pearson Standards and Quality Office 2014): *performance*, *criteria*, and *conditions*. For example, there are three elements in the following descriptor: *Can briefly retell the story with the help of a teacher. Retell the story* is the performance element; *briefly* serves as the criterion, describing how well learners can retell the story; and *with the help of a teacher* is an indicator of the conditions or the prerequisite for the can-do statement. As such, the elements of performance and

criteria, which stipulate the "doing" of the English language and the degree of achievement, were compulsory for all the descriptors. The condition element was optional, given its role of adding or removing constraints. All the descriptors were screened and revised based on the above guidelines. After this process, the descriptor pool was reduced to about 5000 descriptors.

Validating the CSE

In order to report on the research methods, this part describes how the CSE was validated in the two field studies of the last phase of this project.

The Participants

In the first field study, which was larger in scale, the CSE developers decided on how to sample English teachers, learners, and users based on representativeness. Taking into account cross-regional economic development discrepancies, the demographic backgrounds of the participants, as well as the differences in teaching quality across different educational stages in China, the CSE developers finally settled on stratified sampling, where the total numbers of participants from different provinces, municipalities, or autonomous regions in China were first determined. Then participant numbers were allocated to different educational stages, with a specific aim of striking a balance between urban and suburban/rural areas. In accordance with the working levels mentioned above, the participants included Grade 3 and Grade 6 primary school teachers and learners, Junior 3 and Senior 3 high school teachers and learners, college English teachers and learners, and English majors and their supervisors. To facilitate the representation of other stakeholders in the CSE, the working groups also included teachers and students at polytechnics or community colleges and human resources staff from some established enterprises in China.

Approximately 130,000 learners and nearly 30,000 English teachers and related professionals responded to the questionnaires (described below). The working group members were drawn from almost every corner of China. The number of participating schools and universities reached about 1500.

The Questionnaires

As described above, a total of nearly 5000 descriptors, including descriptors of listening, reading, speaking, writing, translation, interpretation, organizational knowledge, and pragmatic knowledge, were pooled together. As it was impractical to request participants to respond to one questionnaire containing such a large number of items, the CSE developers, largely based on the working levels, split the descriptors into 80 questionnaires with about 70 items (descriptors) in each. In order to equate responses from the same proficiency level across different questionnaires in the data analysis, about 20% of the anchor items were spread across the 80 questionnaires so that the responses could be compared. Most of the questionnaires were administered via a self-developed website (http://cse.neea.edu.cn) to gain the

participants' written consent and also to facilitate data collection and follow-up analysis. In some less developed regions, paper questionnaires were delivered and collected for data input.

All the questionnaires used a 5-point Likert scale: 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4 (North 2000). The teacher participants were asked to assign a score to one of their students who characterized the intermediate level of that particular working group. The learner participants were asked to self-rate their own performance against each descriptor. At the ends of the scale, 0 means the student cannot perform what a descriptor says under any circumstances, while 4 means she/he can do so in any conditions. A score of 1 represents a marginal pass, where favorable conditions, such as teacher facilitation, might be required to assist performance; in comparison, a score of 3 means satisfactory performance, where the student can perform despite certain unfavorable conditions such as noise. A score of 2 is in the middle, indicating that the student can do what is described in normal situations.

To ensure the validity of the data and a high return rate, the participants, especially the teacher participants, attended on-site workshops. The working group members introduced the background of the CSE project and clearly stated its purposes and significance. At the workshops the participants were able to familiarize themselves with how and why they should assign different scores to each item (descriptor). Those who could not attend the workshops in person had the option to attend a webinar, where similar instructions were delivered online.

The Data Analysis

The last phase was primarily for scaling the descriptors. More specifically, the cutoff points for different levels were determined. The CSE developers first screened the descriptive statistics and the data distribution to find out if there was any "noise," such as invalid responses and certain outlying cases. Then the participants' responses were standardized based on the predetermined anchor items, so that their judgments on the descriptors could be quantified in the form of logit values and further scaled along a continuum, where difficulty levels as reflected by IRT logit were compared. The more positive the IRT logit value, the more difficult a descriptor seems to be (see Liu 2015a, b for more detail). By doing this, the researchers could investigate the extent to which the working levels could be justified, and adjacent levels could be statistically distinguished.

With these working levels, the CSE developers tried and compared three possibilities: Model 1, a symmetrical scaling with equal intervals; Model 2, a symmetrical scaling with unequal intervals; and Model 3, an asymmetrical scaling with unequal intervals. The most ideal model should meet two requirements. First, the scaling results should be able to accommodate the largest possible number of existing descriptors. However, if the scaling was solely dependent on IRT difficulty values, this could mean sacrificing a number of existing descriptors. Therefore, there must be rounds of adjustment to optimize both IRT values and the existing descriptors. Second, the scaling results should be interpretable to a maximum extent. The different levels should be aligned to certain educational phases to enhance reader-friendliness.

Table 2 Scaling the descriptors

Levels	N	Mean	Range
CSE 1	136	−1.8088	~−2.39
CSE 2	287	−1.5043	−2.39 to −1.65 (0.74)
CSE 3	439	−0.9443	−1.65 to −0.95 (0.70)
CSE 4	510	−0.2726	−0.95 to −0.27 (0.68)
CSE 5	501	0.0643	−0.27 to 0.40 (0.67)
CSE 6	691	0.4464	0.40 to 1.08 (0.68)
CSE 7	658	0.6901	1.08 to 1.78 (0.70)
CSE 8	529	1.3525	1.78 to 2.52 (0.74)
CSE 9	213	1.7202	2.52~

To reach a compromise, the CSE developers proposed a model that resembles Model 1, namely, symmetrical scaling with equal intervals. However, it should be noted that the intervals between adjacent levels are not necessarily absolutely equal. Table 2 lists the scaling results after the first field study. As shown, the zero logit occurs at the CSE 5 level. The IRT difficulty values spread the descriptors along a continuum, with about 0.7 logit (0.7 ± 0.04) as an interval. This method of scaling not only ensured comparatively equal intervals between adjacent levels but also accommodated the existing descriptors to the best possible extent.

Methodologically, how the descriptors were scaled was also similar to the practice of the CEFR developers, who used 1 logit as the absolute and equal interval (North 2000). In the case of the CSE, 0.7 logit was used for three reasons. First, the CSE tended to be more spread out than the CEFR, as there were nine working levels for the CSE. Given its nature of being more fine-grained, this narrowing of logits for scaling intervals may be justifiably accepted. Second, it may be seen in Table 2 that 0.7 logit ensures the symmetry of the scales. The IRT difficulty value range (0.74) between CSE 1 and CSE 2 is the same as that between CSE 8 and CSE 9. Very similar ranges can also be found between CSE 2–CSE 3 and CSE 7–CSE 8 (0.70) and between CSE 3–CSE 4 and CSE 6–CSE 7 (0.68). In addition, as CSE 4, CSE 5, and CSE 6 accounted for the largest number of English learners in China, whose proficiency levels may not be clearly demarcated, the smaller logit intervals can also be justified. In these levels a larger number of descriptors were retained for clearer demarcation. Third, it was found that taking 0.7 logit as the interval ensured that adjacent levels could be distinguished to the greatest extent. If a wider interval (>0.70) was taken, the borderline cases (descriptors) might be pooled together. Likewise, if a narrower interval (<0.70) were used, the number of descriptors for certain levels would have been scant.

The Second Field Study

In the first field study, participants at a particular working level responded to corresponding questionnaires, which facilitated horizontal standardization. However, it did not allow vertical scaling. Therefore, another round of testing was conducted. In this design, a special test was constructed which consisted of all the anchor items at all levels and some existing items which showed good fit,

representing content across all the levels (Kolen and Brennan 2014). The scaling test was controlled to be of a length that could be administered in a single sitting (about 80 test items). Respondents from all of the nine levels were asked to complete the same scaling test. Because some items were too difficult for respondents at the elementary level, special instructions were given to the respondents informing them that there would be difficult items on the test, and that they could respond "0" if a test item was beyond their abilities.

Data from the scaling test was used to construct the score scale. Each respondent taking the scaling test also took the test designed for his or her level. These data were used to link scores at each test level to the scaling test. In addition, as the CSE was intended to be not only descriptive but also prescriptive, the descriptors were further revised based on the results of the first field study. This was also aimed at offsetting the weakness of an overreliance on quantitative data (Liu and Peng 2017). Bearing these concerns in mind, the CSE developers conducted the second field study with participants at different educational stages from six provinces and municipalities in China, allowing for a fair representativeness of demographic distribution.

Therefore, the purposes of the second field study were twofold: cross-validation of the grading and vertical scaling. The CSE developers collected 80 high-quality descriptors that fit the proposed model in the first field study, and then grouped them into a universal questionnaire, which was administered to participants at different educational phases. Next, based on the revised descriptors provided by the eight working groups, more questionnaires were constructed. However, unlike the questionnaire to address the first issue, the new questionnaires were intended to facilitate further culling or revision of the descriptors.

Methodologically, though the second field study still used questionnaires, it was in fact contextualized in an interview setting. At each interview the interviewer read aloud each descriptor in the questionnaires to elicit judgments (scores) and comments from ten interviewees. Two or three working group members took down the interviewees' comments on the spot and also digitalized the scores that the interviewees assigned to each descriptor. The juxtaposition of the interview data with the questionnaire data created the possibility to remove certain descriptors that were judged poorly.

The results from the second field study gave further support to the scaling results from the first field study. The revised descriptors also underwent another round of "re-revision" before the CSE descriptors were finalized. To streamline the understanding of the words used in the CSE, there was also a glossary that defined the terms, such as *familiar topics* and *with ease*. Although most of these were not jargon, they were still explained in detail to avoid possible confusion.

The CSE and English Teaching

As discussed above, the CSE not only serves as standards for English learning and assessment in the Chinese context, but it also provides guidance for EFL teaching. Therefore, this section provides some ideas for how the CSE might be applied in teaching practice.

As companion products of the CSE, there are a number of exemplar language activities which were extracted from the descriptor pool. They shed light on the language activities that could be included in classroom instruction and material compilation at different proficiency levels. From a developmental perspective, certain language activities can rehearse or reinforce learning. Because of space limitations, we take exemplar activities in writing as an example.

From a large pool of written expression descriptors, the CSE developers extracted an inventory of exemplar writing activities across different domains of language use (Pan 2017). As shown in Table 3, in the educational and social domains for English learners and users in China, there are a number of activities ranging from lower proficiency levels to higher ones. At the lower end in the educational domain, the most useful exemplar writing activity is *to copy*, such as *to copy English alphabet and words*. Beginners are not supposed to produce anything in the target language in its written form. However, when it comes to higher proficiency achievers, they are expected to *write a report* or *write a paper/thesis* in educational settings in China. Likewise, in the social domain exemplar, writing activities are mainly related to how learners and users play the roles of different social agents via written communication, such as *to write an email*, *to write a notice*, and *to post an entry online*.

Therefore, in task-based language teaching and learning in the Chinese context, different levels of writing tasks can be designed (see Ellis 2003; Harmer 2001). For instance, an inventory of exemplar writing activities may serve as a directory, under which many related descriptors may be listed. When designing writing tasks in class or compiling materials for English learners, teachers may refer to the descriptors. Table 4 lists a few descriptors associated with the activity *to do creative writing*. At lower proficiency levels (CSE 2 and CSE 3), learners are supposed to write stories based on various prompts. In this case, "story" seems to be a typical text type that learners at these levels tend to encounter. However, at higher proficiency levels (CSE 4 and CSE 7), tasks such as writing drama and composing poems, which are more literarily conventional and demand higher creativity, can be used.

Table 3 Exemplar writing activities in educational and social domains

Domains	Educational	Social
Writing activities	To copy	To write a letter/an email
	To write based on pictorial/graphic prompts	To make a list
	To write a poster/to make a flyer	To write a plan
	To take notes	To write a note
	To write an abstract	To fill out a form
	To write a summary	To write a diary
	To do creative writing	To write a notice
	To write a paper/thesis	To post an entry online
	To write a composition	
	To write a story	
	To write a report	

Table 4 Descriptors about *to do creative writing*

Levels	Descriptors
CSE 2	Can make up a short story based on pictorial prompts
CSE 3	Can make up a story using vocabulary from learning materials
CSE 4	Can write a one-act drama about familiar campus life
CSE 7	Can compose poems with the teacher's guidance

Conclusion

Beginning with a review of existing language proficiency scales and models of language ability, this chapter describes the development and validation of the CSE, an English language proficiency scale in the Chinese context. The CSE developers, by referring to and operationalizing the CLA model, distilled the essences of existing language proficiency scales while offsetting their shortcomings. The de facto scenario of the Chinese context was also taken into consideration, so that the CSE is specifically and appropriately contextualized.

It should be noted that the CSE is not without flaws. Just like the CEFR, it also needs to be refined and updated so that it can better serve the purposes of teaching, learning, and assessment of the English language education in China, enabling its impact on language education to be visible to relevant audiences in related disciplines and thereby promoting productive cross-fertilization among language proficiency scales on a global basis. At present, monographs on how the CSE should be interpreted and how it can be applied in teaching, learning, and assessment are being published in order to attract a wider readership and gain more public attention.

Cross-References

▶ Shifting from Teaching the Subject to Developing Core Competencies Through the Subject: The Revised Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 Edition) in China
▶ Standardized Language Proficiency Tests in Higher Education
▶ Postentry English Language Assessment in Universities

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Using Assessment to Enhance Learning in English Language Education

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Chris Davison

Contents

Abstract

The concept of using assessment to enhance learning has almost become taken for granted in teaching in English as a second/additional language education in the past 10 years; however, the field still lacks any consensus about terminology and scope, and few examples exist of large-scale assessment systems where the principles underpinning the concept can be seen in practice. This chapter first explores the issues of definition and scope and then describes one example of a large-scale assessment system which exemplifies the core attributes of the concept, the Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL), an online resource system developed to help Australian primary and secondary teachers assess the stage of development of EAL students in speaking, listening, reading, and writing, to improve learning and teaching. The chapter will conclude with some of the unresolved issues and implications for the wider field of second/additional language education.

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Introduction

The concept of using assessment to enhance learning has almost become taken for granted in teaching in English as a second/additional language education in the past 10 years; however, the field still has no consensus in terms of terminology and scope, and few examples exist of large-scale assessment systems where the principles underpinning the concept can be seen in practice. This chapter first explores these issues of definition and scope and then describes the aims, rationale, and structure of one example of a large-scale assessment system which exemplifies the core attributes of the concept of assessment for learning, the Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL), an online resource system developed to help Australian primary and secondary teachers assess the stage of development of EAL students in speaking, listening, reading, and writing, to improve learning and teaching. The chapter will conclude with some of the unresolved issues and implications for the wider field of second/additional English language assessment.

Issues of Definition and Scope

When it comes to the concept of using assessment to enhance learning, many terms are used interchangeably to refer to similar assessment practices and procedures, including terms such as *classroom-based assessment*, *formative assessment*, *assessment for learning*, and, more recently in English language education, *dynamic assessment* (see Poehner, this volume) and *learning-oriented assessment*. What these different pedagogically linked assessment approaches (Leung et al. 2018) have in common is the embedding of assessment in the teaching-learning process in order to promote student learning, explicitly or implicitly defined in opposition to traditional externally set and assessed large-scale formal examinations used primarily for selection and/or accountability purposes.

Assessment experts and researchers in general education have long argued for the importance of using assessment and assessment information to improve student learning (e.g., Black and Wiliam 1998; Hattie 2008; Popham 2009; Stiggins 2005), with calls for a shift in teachers' assessment practices from recording and evaluating student achievement to promoting students' active engagement in learning through assessment (Black and Wiliam 1998; Hattie 2008; Hattie and Timperley 2007; Kluger and DeNisi 1996). Some of the core assessment for learning strategies include detailed elaboration of learning outcomes, success criteria, and performance standards (Nicol and Macfarlane-Dick 2006); assessment tasks specifically designed

for learning (Thompson and Wiliam 2007); more effective use of formative feedback (Hattie and Timperley 2007; Sadler 1989); and the use of self- and peer assessment in classroom teaching (Klenowski 1995; McDonald and Boud 2003; Price et al. 2004; Taras 2003). In a meta-analyses conducted by Black and Wiliam in 1998 using 250 studies, they found that students whose teachers used such formative assessment strategies significantly improved their performance. A decade later, a larger scale meta-analysis was conducted by Hattie (2008) exploring the effects of more than 100 educational interventions on learning, with similar findings

The work by Black and Wiliam (1998) and Hattie (2008), along with more recent studies (Beaumont et al. 2011; Birenbaum et al. 2011; Black et al. 2006; Hendry et al. 2011; Keppell and Carless 2006; Marshall and Drummond 2006; Munns and Woodward 2006), provides strong empirical support for the claim that teacher assessment practices associated with using assessment to promote learning can be grouped together into one single construct. Combining the effect sizes of all such teacher assessment practices makes such formative assessment the most influential single factor in improving student learning. Black and Wiliam (1999) found a range of effect sizes from $d = 0.4$ to $d = 0.7$, while Hattie (2008) reported a range between $d = 0.41$ and $d = 1.44$. Despite the prominence and status of the work by Black and Wiliam (1998) and Hattie (2008), however, neither studies have escaped criticism. For example, Black and Wiliam's study has been challenged for its claimed lack of theoretical pedagogic context (Perrenoud 1998), concerns about the reliability of some included studies and discrepancies in results (Smith and Gorard 2005), methodological limitations (Dunn and Mulvenon 2009), and inconsistencies in the use of terms (Taras 2007). Similarly, Hattie's study has been criticized for its exclusion of some factors that might have changed the results of his meta-analysis; his supposedly unrealistic conceptions of teaching and effective teachers (Terhart 2011); problems with the dependency of effect size to sample size, social, background, and context effects not being considered when discussing the results; concerns about the inclusion of some low-quality studies and some not being assessed for validity; achievement defined only by quantitative measures; inapplicability of some studies to the real classroom (Snook et al. 2009); and inappropriateness of inferences drawn from the results to inform policy due to the weakness of methodology used when studies included in the meta-analysis have different social and cultural contexts (Evers and Mason 2011).

However, since Scriven's (1967) first use of the term, the construct of formative assessment as a key concept in classroom assessment has evolved with changing understandings of its meaning and various approaches advocated for its effective implementation. Similarly, assessment for learning has also changed its meaning over the last three decades; thus it is useful to provide a brief summary of the evolution and use of the two terms.

Various authors are attributed with the first use of the term assessment *for* learning to refer to formative assessment, including Sutton (1995), James (1992), and Gipps and Stobart (1997). They had in common the attempt to define the characteristics of an assessment whose primary purpose was to improve student learning. Alonzo (2016) proposes that the development of understandings about assessment for

learning can be divided into three waves, encompassing three overlapping periods where "each successive period attempted to account for the weaknesses of its predecessor" (p. 53). In his review of the literature, Alonzo (2016) labels these periods as Wave 1: "Adoption, Dichotomisation and Formalisation"; Wave 2: "Complexification and Exploration"; and Wave 3: "Period of Realisation and Reconciliation" (pp. 53–64). He explains that the first wave was characterized by the clear distinctions between summative assessment and formative assessment. During this wave, these two types of assessment were seen as mutually exclusive with summative assessment privileged in education, particularly in the USA and also in a number of non-English-speaking countries where external examinations were the major vehicle for assessment. At the same time, Black and Wiliam (1998) identified various issues with the way formative assessment was being used in most classrooms. Black et al. (2004) explain that three main problems were evident:

> The first was that the assessment methods that teachers use are not effective in promoting good learning. The second was that marking and grading practices tend to emphasise competition rather than personal improvement. The third problem was that assessment feedback often has a negative impact, particularly on pupils with low attainments who are led to believe that they lack "ability" and are not able to learn. (p. 1)

In response to these problems, there was an impetus to clarify the concept and expand on what constituted formative assessment. As part of a second wave of theorization, the Assessment Reform Group (2002), building on Sadler's (1989) earlier work on feedback, clarified assessment for learning as "the process of seeking and interpreting evidence for use by learners and their teachers to decide where the learners are in their learning, where they need to go, and how best to get there" (p. 1). Many researchers then elaborated on the concept, including Black et al. (2003), Broadfoot et al. (2001), Shepard et al. (2005), and Davison (2007). In the USA, Stiggins (2005) argued that formative assessment was a tool for school improvement as it provided teachers with evidence of students' progress, and as a result, teachers are better able to make "useful instructional decisions" (p. 325). Black et al. (2002) published an extended definition of assessment *for* learning:

> Assessment *for* learning is any assessment for which the first priority in its design and practice is to serve the purpose of promoting pupils' learning. It thus differs from assessment designed primarily to serve the purposes of accountability, or of ranking, or of certifying competence. An assessment activity can help learning if it provides information to be used as feedback, by teachers, and by their pupils in assessing themselves and each other, to modify the teaching and learning activities in which they are engaged. Such assessment becomes "formative assessment" when the evidence is actually used to adapt the teaching work to meet learning needs. (pp. 2–3)

Black and Wiliam (2009) later elaborated the difference between assessment for learning and formative assessment as follows:

> Practice in a classroom is formative to the extent that evidence about student achievement is elicited, interpreted, and used by teachers, learners, or their peers, to make decisions about

the next steps in instruction that are likely to be better, or better founded, than the decisions they would have taken in the absence of the evidence that was elicited. (p. 9)

This second wave of theorization highlighted the importance of feedback in the formative process, as well as the participation of students in the taking action to close the gap in their learning. Stiggins (2002) emphasized that it is was the role of students as active participants in the learning process what made formative assessment for learning. However, formative and summative assessments were still seen as distinctly different activities, with Stiggins (2002) arguing:

Summative assessments cannot inform the moment to-moment, day-to-day, and week-to-week instructional decisions faced by students and teachers seeking to manage the learning process as it unfolds. They cannot diagnose student needs during learning, tell students what study tactics are or are not working, or keep parents informed about how to support the work of their children. These kinds of uses require assessments for learning. (p. 7)

According to Alonzo (2016), the third wave in the development of assessment for learning was marked by the breakdown in this dichotomization of formative and summative assessment as an increasing range of educational systems (including Hong Kong, Singapore, New Zealand, and Australia) adopted assessment for learning as official policy for implementation in their school systems, with all assessments, including summative assessments, conceptualized as part of the process of enhancing student learning (Davison 2013). In an assessment *for* learning culture, it is argued that even summative assessments of the students' language skills can and should also be used formatively to give constructive student feedback and improve learning (e.g., see Carless 2008; Davison 2007; Davison and Hamp-Lyons 2009; Hamp-Lyons 2007; Harlen 2005; Kennedy et al. 2006; Taras 2005, 2009). Kennedy et al. (2006) conclude that "the continuing bifurcation between formative and summative assessment is no longer useful, despite the fact that such a distinction has resulted in some excellent research and development work on formative assessment" (p. 14). He joins Harlen (2005), Carless (2008), and others in calling for more research to be conducted into summative assessment, and as Carless (2008) puts it, tests as "productive learning opportunities." However, Kennedy challenges Roos and Hamilton's view (2005) that summative assessment as a procedure is too deeply entrenched to become a valid activating mechanism for goal-directed educational activities. In Australia, Masters (2013) proposes that "assessments should be seen as having a single general purpose: to establish where learners are in their long-term progress within a domain of learning at the time of assessment. The purpose is not so much to judge as to understand" (p. 58). Masters concedes that such a reform in understanding assessment requires a rethinking of the cultural and social expectations of education. Wiliam (2011) reinforces this construct, arguing that "any assessment [including summative assessment] can be formative and that assessment functions formatively when it improves the instructional decisions that are made by teachers, learners, or their peers" (p. 45).

This third wave of development in the theorization of assessment for learning also highlights the changing role of teachers who are required to be activators of learning

rather than just facilitators, with student increasingly being supported to self-assess and act upon feedback in order to achieve explicit learning goals; other stakeholders such as policy makers also become enablers of an assessment reform process where all assessment is designed to enhance student learning.

Recent research suggests that assessment to promote learning can only be fully understood and implemented by teachers when they recognize the social, political, and economic contribution and impact of their assessment practices and how these factors shape their assessment practices (Fleer 2015). This view complements research in assessment for learning (Black et al. 2006; Keppell and Carless 2006; Marshall and Drummond 2006; Munns and Woodward 2006) which highlights the importance of social interactions, cultural contexts, and the belief systems of both students and teachers and how these factors shape students' identity (Cowie 2005) and the nature of power and control in the classroom (Black and Wiliam 2006). In English language education, a number of studies have examined the role of teacher knowledge, experience, and beliefs in L2 assessment processes (e.g., Davison 2004; Leung 2014; Rea-Dickins 2001, 2006, 2007). Other research, concentrating more on learners, has looked at the value of self- and peer assessment (Patri 2002) and the role of diagnostic (e.g., Alderson, Brunfaut and Harding 2015) and dynamic (e.g., Lantolf and Poehner 2011; Poehner 2008, 2011) assessment in promoting teaching and learning.

More recently, the term *learning-oriented assessment* (Carless et al. 2006) has gained popularity, with Turner and Purpura (2015) proposing a multidimensional approach in which the goal is to understand the complexities of how information from assessments (e.g., tests, observations, class discussions, naturalistic talk-in-interaction, peer feedback, self-assessment, projects, portfolios, or moment-to-moment evaluations of performance embedded in dialogic instruction) can be used to close learning gaps. Like other third wave researchers theorizing assessment for learning, this approach moves beyond simplistic dichotomies to acknowledge that assessment in classrooms is multifaceted, involving not only many different dimensions (e.g., the context) that contribute to the learning process but also a number of agents (e.g., students, teachers, peers, computers) and purposes. Turner and Purpura (2015) identify seven critical interconnecting dimensions of learning-oriented assessment, including the contextual dimension (i.e., the social, cultural, or educational context of learning), the elicitation dimension (i.e., the method used to elicit performance), the proficiency dimension (i.e., the key standards being targeted and tracked), the cognitive or learning dimension (i.e., the sociocognitive characteristics underlying performance and learning), the affective dimension (i.e., attitudinal and emotional dispositions engaged in performance and learning), the interactional dimension (i.e., the interactional attributes of assessment-related communication – turn-taking, preference structure, etc.), and the instructional dimension (i.e., the instructor's content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, and assessment literacy).

To summarize then, in an assessment for learning culture, assessment needs to be continuous and embedded naturally into every stage of the teaching-learning cycle. All assessments (even those for accountability purposes) need to be designed and

implemented with the overriding aim of improving student learning, with assessment for learning as the dominant educational ethos. In such a classroom or institution, teachers would be continually engaged in various forms of formative assessment, even at the end of the course. In this model of assessment for learning, outlined in Table 1, assessment includes the formal planned moments when students undertake an assessment task but also includes the far more informal, even spontaneous moments when teachers are monitoring student group work and notice one student speaking more confidently or another failing to take an offered turn. As the goal of teacher-based assessment is to improve student learning, self- and peer assessments are an integral component of all assessment activity. Feedback is also a defining element, with opportunities for constructive and specific feedback related to specific assessment criteria and curriculum goals and content regularly reviewed by students and teachers.

Numerous studies, however, have highlighted that the translation of AfL theory into practice is by no means straightforward. Research has shown the explicit application of AfL objectives and strategies can narrow curriculum and learning (Davies and Ecclestone 2008; Hume and Coll 2009; Torrance 2007); effective AfL practice reflects the "spirit" rather than the "letter" of implementation (Dixon, Hawe and Parr 2011; Marshall and Drummond 2006); and changes to assessment practice are fundamentally constrained by the organizational and pedagogic structures in which they are embedded (Black and Wiliam 2005; Davison 2007, 2013; Hill 2011; Webb and Jones 2009). "Deep" changes to assessment practices therefore require deep changes to school structures and classroom pedagogy, highlighting that a key task of any assessment system is to engage and overcome the constraints of the given teaching environment by transforming it. As Cochran-Smith (2000) argues:

> If we frame knowledge and learning questions as . . . teachers learning to apply formal knowledge and demonstrate 'best practices', we ignore more than three decades of research on the social and psychological construction of knowledge and the enormous significance of cultural differences, culturally relevant pedagogy and culturally relevant assessment. . . If on the other hand, we frame these questions and teachers' work as fundamentally interpretive, political and theoretical as well as strategic, practical and local, we emphasise the importance of teachers' roles. (p. 18)

Hermansen and colleagues' research on AfL classrooms highlights the situated, problem-solving nature of AfL praxis "as a problem complex that needs to be explored and developed locally" (Hermansen 2014, 2016, 2017; Hermansen and Nerland 2014). Her research draws attention to an understanding of assessment praxis as teacher "knowledge work" that involves the active negotiation of existing practice and re-contextualization of new practice in local settings. Against a background of established routines and conventions "initiatives like AfL cannot simply be inserted into educational organisations, but need to be 'worked in' to the organisation for them to become part of the collective process" (p. 188). Assessment praxis therefore involves 'processes of reworking practice through making sense of the 'new' and the 'old', through investing artefacts with meaning, and through

Table 1 Assessment for learning in the classroom: a typology of possibilities. (Adapted from Davison 2008)

	In-class contingent formative assessment while teaching	More planned integrated formative assessment	More formal mock or trial assessments modeled on summative assessments but used for formative purposes	Prescribed summative assessments, but results also used formatively to guide future teaching/learning
Definition	An integral but very informal part of every teacher's daily practice	An integral part of the learning and teaching cycle, i.e., part of effective teaching and planning for the future	A time for taking stock, assessing how individuals are performing compared with whole group	A distinctive stage at the end of a unit of learning and teaching
Degree of pre-planning	Often spontaneous and contingent when the need arises	An informal planned process during the course of the year tailored to the needs of the individual students and class	Usually pre-designed, sensitive to the needs of students but also to the demands of external requirements	Predetermined, relatively formal, and set at beginning of unit of learning and teaching
Focus	Learner-referenced; focus on the learning process	Criterion-referenced, but in relation to learner's starting point; focus on the learning process and student progress	Criterion-referenced, but in relation to system-level norms; focus on student progress and gap between what should be and is	Criterion-referenced, but in relation to system-level norms; focus mainly on the product of learning, and what student needs to do next
Typical kinds of feedback	Indirect or implied feedback, co-constructed by students and teacher	Direct qualitative feedback, may involve multiple and varied sources, e.g., self, peers, teacher, etc.	Direct qualitative feedback, may indicate profiles or grades, but still extensive student involvement	Report in profiles, levels, and marks by teacher, but preceded and/or followed by formative self- and peer evaluation and extensive teacher feedback
Types of assessments: Observe	Informal observation of learner behavior/language use	More structured self, peer, and teacher observation using anecdotal records/observation checklists/self- and peer evaluations	Systematic observation of language samples using scales/profiles/rubrics	Formal moderated mapping of students performance on system-wide published standards/scales

(*continued*)

Table 1 (continued)

	In-class contingent formative assessment while teaching	More planned integrated formative assessment	More formal mock or trial assessments modeled on summative assessments but used for formative purposes	Prescribed summative assessments, but results also used formatively to guide future teaching/learning
Inquiry	Focused open questions to elicit/check understanding Opportunity for student self-reflections	Peer conferencing Informal student self- and peer reflections/ learning logs	Teacher-student conferencing Structured student self- and peer reflections/ learning logs	Formal oral via voce-type assessments
Analysis	Informal analysis of patterns in student language use	Analysis of drafts/ video and audio samples of work	Portfolios/ collections of student work/ presentation	Formal portfolio/ project/videotaped presentations
Test	Spontaneous quizzes	Informal quizzes, diagnostic tests, student-developed tests	More formal tests	Formal tests, exams

reworking relationships with student and parents' (p. 195). One such example is the *Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL)*, described below.

An Example: Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL)

Drawing on assessment for learning principles and based on a Vygotskian theory of learning, the *Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL)*, http://teal.global2.vic.edu.au/, was developed through researcher-teacher collaboration involving the active input and ideas of hundreds of EAL specialists from selected government and Catholic and independent schools in the Australian states of Victoria and New South Wales. EAL teachers' assessment practice needs were used as the starting point for the design of the toolkit (Davison and Michell 2014). The project resulted in the development of a validated online assessment advice and "toolkit" for use by all teachers to help assess the stage of development for EAL students in speaking and listening, reading, and writing, with a view to improving learning and teaching. The assessment resource is not only a design artefact reflecting the distributed assessment praxis of teachers and researchers, it is also a mediating tool to support the ongoing work and continued

innovation of both groups, that is, to guide continued L2 classroom assessment praxis in the future (Michell and Davison 2019).

The current approach to AfL in Australia is best captured by the NSW Board of Studies (Department of Education 2008), who argue that for a view of assessment *for* learning which gives students opportunities to produce work that leads to the development of their knowledge, understanding, and skills. They highlight the need for interactions between learning and manageable assessment strategies that promote learning and which clearly express for the student and teacher the goals of the learning activity, reflecting a view of learning in which assessment helps students learn better, not just achieve a better mark, at the same time providing ways for all students to use feedback from assessment and take responsibility for their own learning. Teachers decide how and when to assess student achievement, as they plan the work students will do, using a range of appropriate assessment strategies including self-assessment and peer assessment. Even high-stakes summative assessments and standardized tests used for accountability purposes must now be designed to be used for formative purposes by students, parents, and teachers to inform and shape future learning.

The Tools to Enhance Assessment Literacy for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL) project has been used in all Victorian schools as an online assessment advice and "toolkit" since mid-2015, helping more than 40,000 teachers to assess the stage of English language development to improve the learning and teaching of over 100,000 students. The website includes four main components: first, a set of sequenced teacher professional learning resources about EAL and AfL, including self-assessments, designed for small group or self-directed study; second, an assessment tool bank containing a range of assessment tools and tasks organized around the three broad macro-skills (oral, reading, and writing), three macro-functions (informative, persuasive, imaginative), three stages of schooling (early elementary, mid to upper elementary, and secondary), and a range of EAL proficiency levels; third, a range of assessment-for-learning and teaching exemplars including a selection of annotated units of work across a range of subject areas and year levels showing assessment tasks with formative feedback embedded within a teaching/learning cycle; and, finally, an online teacher discussion forum, including a password-protected area for teachers to share problems and strategies and to moderate or benchmark work samples. As part of the tool-kit, there is an assessment system for the collection and analysis of student oral and written language samples and exemplars and a bank of computer-adaptive tests for reading and vocabulary. As the project originated in Victoria, all tools are aligned against the *Victorian EAL Standards (VELS)* and the *EAL Developmental Continuum* (DEECD n.d.), with potential for alignment to other standards by other jurisdictions.

The development of TEAL was a bottom-up process, involving practicing teachers, teacher researchers, and other stakeholders, who co-constructed the format and criteria for each assessment, elicited feedback at different stages in the writing process, and trialed and validated each new assessment. Teachers were also involved in collecting, evaluating, and developing exemplar school-based assessment materials, tasks, and strategies; in writing and critically trialing professional learning

activities; and in providing feedback on existing and recommended assessment policies and practices. The involvement of practicing teachers in the conceptualization, design, and development of the assessment toolkit is public recognition of their position as key stakeholders in the assessment process and experts in how assessments influence what happens in classrooms (Winke 2011).

TEAL has also appealed to an international audience, attracting more than 10,000 page views per month from over 20 countries. It demonstrates that with support and collaboration, teachers and researchers can build an assessment "system" which puts the learners and at the center of the assessment process. External validations have found the system to be theoretically and philosophically coherent, to be able to model desired outcomes and scaffold and support sustainable improvements in assessment, learning, and teaching, building an assessment-literate community of not just teachers but students, parents, and other key stakeholders. Results of backwash studies and other external evaluations show that the resources help teachers adopt differentiated contextualized tailor-made assessment practices that also have commonality, consistency, and public confidence.

This theory-conscious project has a built-in capacity to facilitate negotiation and sharing of criteria and judgments among teachers and students, to ensure teacher assessment decision-making is more transparent, thus leading to greater trustworthiness and assessment uptake. However, even with this relatively favorable emphasis given to local negotiation and determination, there are still issues that need to be resolved.

Unresolved Issues

Even in supportive EAL assessment environments, however, there continue to be a number of unresolved issues (Davison and Leung 2009), including issues related to the construct being assessed, the role of the learner in engaging with the results of the assessment, the (teacher) knowledge and skills needed to make the assessments, and the larger sociopolitical issue of the ways in which the assessment results are interpreted, used, and valued.

One major set of unresolved issues relate to the underlying construct being assessed in assessment *for* English language learning. At a simplistic level, different approaches value different aspects of the English language system, depending on their theorization of language; hence, dynamic approaches take a more linguistic-cognitive view, and more sociocultural Hallidayan approaches take a more situated view. A deeper issue, though, is the need to challenge the widely held tacit assumption that English language assessment is monolingual assessment. In fact, all EAL learners come to English in and through a huge range of other languages. This reality affects every step of the assessment process, from communicating the role and purpose of assessment to students and parents in their dominant language to assessing students' abilities in all their preexisting languages and literacies at point of entry into an EAL program, to evaluating how they draw on and utilize their first and additional languages in learning and using English, to drawing on their

first language skills and competencies to understand and explain some characteristic features of their English language development, and to ensuring feedback to parents and students is provided in languages which they know and can understand, so that they can make sense of and actually use the assessment information they have been given to improve. Thus, multilingualism, not monolingualism, must be the central assumption underpinning all EAL assessment for learning tools. This concern with multilingualism in assessment reflects a broader move toward more complex theorizations of language using and learning in multilingual contexts (including, e.g., Li's (2011) multilinguality and multimodality and code- and mode-shifting, Canagarajah's (2011) code-meshing, and Garcia's (2009) translanguaging). As Scarino (2017) points out:

> Central to the discussion of both eliciting and judging students' intercultural language learning is that in all aspects of language assessment, it is not only what students learn that is important but also *how it is that they understand what they learn*. This learning in turn is shaped by their situatedness in their own language and culture and their personal knowledge, experiences, understandings, beliefs and values, which form the interpretive resources that they bring to learning.

For TEAL, this has meant a recent revision of the explicit underlying EAL standards or indicators used to describe development to strengthen its focus on cultural and plurilingual awareness, that is, on student understanding and use of the cultural conventions of spoken and written communication in standard Australian English, including the relationship between text and context, audience and purpose, and how such students draw on the knowledge and resources of their first languages and cultures to negotiate communication and enhance learning. The term *plurilingualism* was coined by the Council of Europe in 2001 to recognize that when students have the ability to use several different languages for communication, with varying degrees of proficiency, "these competencies do not sit discretely alongside each other (but) . . .form a composite repertoire of competencies that people can draw upon (simultaneously) during communication (and learning)" (Choi and Ollerhead 2018. p. xiii). For TEAL, plurilingual strategies include *translanguaging*, "the strategic deployment of multiple semiotic resource, e.g., languages, modalities, sensory cues, to create a socio-interactional space for learning and understanding, knowledge construction and identity negotiation" (Li 2015, p. 32).

This raises the second unresolved issue, that is, how to ensure that students actually make use of the assessment information that is the focus of assessment for learning activities. Assessment for learning approaches, by definition, emphasizes learner involvement and agency (Although one of the aims of using A*f*L in the classroom is to guide students to become self-regulated and independent learners, the process of self-regulation is critically dependent on interactions with their teachers and their peers to activate and support their learning.), but many aspects of the impact and uptake of assessment by learners need more investigation and include the framing of the assessment and the impact of the timing and format and format of feedback (e.g., detailed comments, checklists, score/grade) as well as the target audience (i.e., whether the feedback is primarily addressed to individual

students or the whole class) (Lewkowicz and Zawadowska-Kittel 2011; Taharnen and Huhta 2011). A study by Taharnen and Huhta (2011) compared teacher and student perceptions regarding the level of learner involvement in assessment including whose assessment ("teacher, self, peer, others?") carried the most weight in grading decisions (p. 134). Rea-Dickins (2006) argues that assessment should be *framed*, or identified, as "for assessment" to learners if they are to adopt an appropriate orientation to the task. Davison (2013) highlights the need to involve learners in decisions around how and on what basis they will be assessed and the importance of ensuring students understand the intended learning outcomes and success criteria in advance of assessment. For TEAL, this has meant an emphasis on developing self- and peer assessments and articulating to students and parents in their first languages the reasons for wanting them to take co-ownership of their own assessment.

Another unresolved issue is the nature of the assessment literacy (see Xu, this volume) teachers need to develop to effectively use assessment to enhance learning, and how such knowledge and skill should be developed. Recent surveys and reviews of language teacher assessment literacy have focused on the range of "components" that comprise this literacy. Taharnen and Huhta's (2011) survey, for example, asked respondents to select the five most important features (in terms of skills, knowledge, and abilities) addressed in assessment (p. 135). Tsagari (2011) undertook a large-scale questionnaire survey of the assessment practices of EFL teachers to inform the design of pre- and in-service teacher training programs in Greece. Inbar-Lourie (2008) provides a comprehensive description of the range of components in assessment literacy and proposes the notion of a framework to capture a holistic and integrated understanding of assessment. Taylor (2009) questions the mix among the technical know-how, practical skills, theoretical knowledge, understanding of principles, and the context of assessment within education and society.

Despite the rise of assessment for learning, concerns about the nature of teacher assessment literacy remain (Davison 2013, 2017; Davison and Michell 2014; Engelsen and Smith 2014; Eyers 2014; Impara and Plake 1995; Lam 2015; Malone 2013; Popham 2009, 2011; Schafer 1991; Tsagari and Vogt 2017). In-service teachers report that they do not feel sufficiently well-prepared to assess students' learning (Koh 2011; Mertler 2004; Plake 1993) as they have limited knowledge and understanding of A*f*L principles and practices. Preservice teachers are also not well prepared to use appropriate A*f*L strategies to support student learning (DeLuca et al. 2013; Hill and Eyers 2014; Loc 2016; Siegel and Wissehr 2011; Volante and Fazio 2007; Zin 2019) and report a lack of confidence in applying their A*f*L knowledge and building their skills (Ogan-Bekiroglu and Suzuk 2014). Teacher education curricula still lack the necessary assessment components to fully prepare student teachers for assessment for learning (Brookhart 2011; Hill et al. 2014; James and Pedder 2006; Mertler and Campbell 2005; Siegel and Wissehr 2011; Stiggins 2002; Xu and Brown 2016). Even when student teachers undertake extensive preparation in assessment for learning, DeLuca and Klinger (2010) found more positive outcomes for their understanding of summative rather than formative assessment, and other studies found a narrower perspective aligned with the summative role of assessments (Dayal

and Lingam 2015). Therefore, more scaffolding and practice are needed to achieve high-quality knowledge and skills in assessment for learning (Dayal and Lingam 2015; Grainger and Adie 2014). However, even this may not solve the problem; Zin 2019 argues that there are also affordances and constraints external to and beyond the control of preservice education which significantly impact preservice teacher development, and the same would be true of in-service education.

In contrast to those researchers who try to define the construct itself, Scarino (2013, 2017) argues for a sophisticated form of assessment literacy that goes well beyond notions of defining the professional "knowledge base" and "best practice." She highlights the processes through which assessment literacy is developed and teachers' interpretive and reflexive frameworks that can be used to shape their own understandings, preconceptions, and practices of the ways they conceptualize, interpret, decide upon possibilities, and make judgments in assessment for learning. Scarino (2013) argues that teacher assessment literacy "requires... teachers to examine, in a critical way, their own conceptions of the assessment process and the conceptions of others" (p. 314). For TEAL, this has meant the development of a teacher professional learning program that builds opportunities for self-reflection, discussion with peers and experimentation and feedback as core attributes of the professional learning (Davison 2017), and a definition of teacher assessment for learning literacy (Alonzo 2016) that focuses on building communities of assessment for learning practice:

> Teacher assessment for learning literacy (comprises the) knowledge and skills in making highly contextualised, fair, consistent and trustworthy assessment decisions to inform learning and teaching to effectively support both student and teacher learning. The aim of teachers is to build students' and other stakeholders' capabilities and confidence to take an active role in assessment, learning and teaching activities to enable and provide the needed support for more effective learning. (p. 58)

This raises a fourth issue, that of the trustworthiness of assessment for learning assessments. Research shows that teacher assessment is never "objective"; the teacher always has preconceived ideas or assumptions about a student's level and, perhaps more importantly, their potential (Lantolf and Poehner 2011). Such assumptions must be made explicit and opened up for discussion and critique with fellow teachers and with learners themselves. Trustworthiness in assessment for learning comes from this process of expressing disagreements, justifying opinions with reference to criteria, work samples, and peer benchmarking. Wiliam (2001) argues, "in order to maintain trust communities will have to show that their procedures for making judgements are fair, appropriate and defensible (i.e., that they are valid), even if they cannot be made totally transparent" (pp. 173–4). In assessment for learning, trustworthiness is linked to both the *source* of assessment tasks (e.g., self-designed, peer teachers, textbook-derived) (Lewkowicz and Zawadowska-Kittel 2011; Cheng 2011; Tsagari 2011) and what teachers do to ensure the quality and trustworthiness of assessment, for example, use of benchmarks or exemplars to ensure consistency of judgment and/or the use of social moderation to enhance comparability of assessments across similar contexts (Davison 2013). So a key

goal for educational systems is to improve the ability of all key stakeholders to draw inferences or derive judgments from data, especially those who are meant to be doing the improving (i.e., students, parents, teachers, and policy-makers), by establishing common understandings of the task, publicly agreed and explicit assessment criteria, and strong moderation processes as well as explicit feedback and reporting to ensure public accountability, even for informal assessments. Because there will always a problem of interpretation, professional dialogue and interaction have to be central to the decision-making process. These are inherent strengths, not weaknesses, of teacher-based assessment for learning systems.

For TEAL, this has meant that although schools and teachers have been granted a high degree of trust and autonomy in the design, implementation, and timing of assessment tasks, there are a set of more formal summative/formative assessment tasks for the assessment of reading, writing, and oral communication which encourage the teacher to stand back and reflect on their implicit or explicit assumptions about individual students' capacities, compare those assumptions with careful analysis of examples of students' actual performance, and then subject their judgments to explicit scrutiny and challenge or confirmation by others. Teachers are also encouraged to give students sufficient time and support to demonstrate their best – to show what they *can do* – and for teacher-assessors to be able to confidently assess their output and, even more importantly, "test" their own informal judgments of students' language levels and achievements.

A final related issue is maintaining the balance between the "measurement" and formative feedback feed-forward functions of assessment for learning (Shepard 2000), so that neither assessment purpose dominates nor undermines the other, but both are enhanced by the presence of the other, hence creating a system that provides high-quality information to all stakeholders in a form that is tailored for their needs. For example, educational systems generally want more backward-looking quantitative, aggregated data about a large range of language learners to "account" for their expenditure of public resources, whereas the individual student or teacher needs highly contextualized and individualized data that they can use to feed-forward to improve the language and literacy of one particular language learner. For TEAL, this has meant striving to educate all stakeholders about the needs and perspectives of the other, in order to build an assessment system which integrates the two functions so the same data can be used for the two different purposes. Also important is ensuring all stakeholders can upload and retrieve information that is useful for them while at the same time ensuring sustainability for the assessment system through building a cohesive and collaborative continuing community of practice.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented some of the conceptual, educational, and epistemological complexities of using assessment to enhance learning, with particular reference to the ongoing variation in the nature of the knowledge being assessed, the policies and practices being adopted, and the assumptions underlying what counts as development

in language and learning as well as in teacher assessment literacy. Other complexities will undoubtedly emerge as more and more students, teachers, and systems strive to use the assessment to enhance English language learning and teaching.

As Leung et al. (2018) argue, such complexities are to be expected as assessment for learning is itself a deeply embedded and highly contextualized process involving a variety of stakeholders working in particular sociohistorical and cultural systemic and policy contexts, a significant contrast to the externally produced standardized tests of more traditional large-scale English language assessment. A diversity of policies and practices appears to be the norm, reflecting the ways in which the affordances and opportunities within the existing assessment communities and cultures have been exploited historically, with varying levels of success. Rather than being concerned by or attempting to stamp out diversity, we need to recognize and accept that such diversity is an essential part of any conceptual framework for understanding the uses of assessment to promote learning in different contexts.

Cross-References

▶ Assessment of Young English Learners in Instructional Settings
▶ Dynamic Assessment: Co-constructing the Future with English Language Learners
▶ English Language Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice
▶ Feedback for Enhanced English Language Learning

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Dynamic Assessment: Co-constructing the Future with English Language Learners

26

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Contents

Abstract

All forms of assessment are concerned with interpreting individuals' performances not merely for the sake of describing those performances but for employing them as a basis for making claims about the knowledge and abilities believed to underlie them. Dynamic Assessment (DA) is a framework that challenges more conventional views of performance and the evidence of abilities most appropriate to forming generalizations regarding abilities. Specifically, DA requires the integration of teaching into assessment activity for the purpose of understanding learner responsiveness. Based on the theoretical writings of

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L. S. Vygotsky, DA proponents consider learner independent performance of tasks to reveal abilities that have fully formed whereas learner responsiveness to support that is offered when difficulties arise indicates abilities that may not have fully developed but are emerging. In this way, DA offers a developmental diagnosis that does not predict learner future functioning solely on the basis of past development but that instead begins to construct a future with learners during the assessment itself. This chapter considers the major theoretical underpinnings of DA and the models and principles elaborated in the extensive DA research literature concerned with cognitive abilities and general education. Discussion then turns to implementation of DA with L2 learners. Two studies are presented in detail that emphasize DA's potential in both formal language testing situations and instructional contexts.

Introduction

Perhaps the greatest challenge in educating English language learners is arriving at an appropriate understanding of their past in order to take stock of their current abilities and needs and help them move forward. In this regard, assessment, broadly conceived as an activity of gathering information about what learners know and can do (Bachman and Palmer 1996), plays a central role. Of course, assessment can denote a wide range of practices, from requiring students to sit for externally designed standardized tests to student creation of portfolios of their work and from quizzes created by teachers targeting outcomes from specific lessons to student in-class presentations. Traditionally, these practices have been categorized as instances of either *summative* or *formative assessment* (Dixson and Worrell 2016). Gardner (2010) explains that summative assessment frequently involves the use of standardized procedures for administering the assessment and for interpreting performance and that they may be used for determining whether learners need particular services, can advance to higher levels of study, are ready to matriculate to university, qualify for employment opportunities, etc. Dixson and Worrell (2016, p. 156) add that "summative assessments are almost always graded, are typically less frequent [than formative assessments], and occur at the end of segments of instruction." These authors continue that formative assessment, in contrast, "encompasses a whole host of tools that provide feedback to teachers or students to help students learn more effectively" (p. 154). Information from formative assessments may be used by teachers as they plan subsequent learning objectives and determine whether learners are prepared to move on to new material (Sadler 1989; Shepard 2006). In addition, formative assessments provide information to students, administrators, and other stakeholders that can be useful for supporting continued learning (Torrance and Pryor 1998).

The summative-formative dichotomy offers a quick and perhaps appealing categorization of assessment possibilities, one that has been extended in the conceptual proposals of Black and Wiliam (1998). These authors put forward the now well-known argument that the relation between assessment activity and learning can be construed as *assessment of learning*, in which learning is taken as a product and as an object of assessment, or as *assessment for learning*, wherein the relevance of assessment to supporting teaching and learning is highlighted. Important differences in how assessment is approached in these orientations include who develops the assessment instruments (i.e., testing professionals or classroom teachers); the conditions under which the assessment is administered (e.g., whether it is timed or is a part of regular classroom activity and whether it is done individually or in groups); whether the assessment is administered by a specialist, designated proctor, or regular teacher; and the kinds of tasks or items that characterize the assessment and how similar these are to those employed in other classroom activities (for discussion, see Black and Wiliam 2009; Moss 2003).

There is little room to doubt the value of these conceptualizations of assessment in helping to better understand assessment as part of a process of teaching and learning and the centrality of classroom teachers in carrying out assessments that support educational objectives. Nonetheless, the extent to which these dichotomies capture all that may be considered assessment is less clear. For instance, Dixson and Worrell (2016) suggest that the primary difference between summative and formative assessment concerns what is done with the results of the assessment rather than with the specifics of the assessment tasks, instruments, or conditions per se. To this, we would add that assessment, whether it is conceived as part of teaching and learning or as simply measuring its outcomes, tends to be marked either implicitly or explicitly by the following: a "backward-looking" view of development that is concerned with learner's knowledge and abilities as they have formed up to the present point in time; an interest in determining what learners know or can do independently, that is, without support from others or use of resources; and, finally, conviction that the resultant information provides an adequate basis for predicting a learner's likely future.

The present chapter is concerned with dynamic assessment (DA), a framework in which teaching is integrated as part of assessment procedures for the purpose of ascertaining how responsive learners are to a short-term intervention (Haywood and Lidz 2007). The degree of improvement learners manifest, as well as the source of difficulties they experience, offers a diagnosis of development that includes learner's current abilities and those that are in the process of emerging (Poehner 2008; Sternberg and Grigorenko 2002). DA shares with some of the above proposals a commitment to rendering assessment activity more relevant to the goals of second language (L2) teaching and learning. However, DA begins from a very different premise, namely, that assessing and teaching are not discrete activities but exist in relation to one another, together forming a coherent activity of revealing and promoting learner development. Most importantly, the future in DA is regarded not as something to predict on the basis of past development but rather it is glimpsed in the present through learner engagement and responsiveness in cooperative activity.

We begin with a brief overview of the theoretical origins of DA in the writings of Russian psychologist L. S. Vygotsky (1987). After identifying important concepts and principles of DA, we turn to two recent projects that together exemplify applications of DA in the L2 field and also extend existing DA research in new directions.

Background

DA emerges from a specific feature of Vygotskian theory, the zone of proximal development (ZPD). As a dialectical thinker in the tradition of Marx (see Ratner and Silva 2017), Vygotsky approached the world as comprised of relations and processes rather than discrete objects in a state of relative stability. Among other things, this means that it is difficult to extract a single element of his broader theory and not discuss it in relation to his other proposals and discoveries. Be that as it may, full discussion of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and its contributions to the L2 field is well beyond the scope of the present chapter. Interested readers are referred to the work of Lantolf and Poehner (2014, 2018). For our purposes, what is most important to appreciate is that the ZPD (and therefore DA) is reflective of Vygotsky's view of human consciousness and its development. For him, human consciousness is the transformation of biologically endowed abilities through cultural means. The use of sign systems in particular allows individuals to gain control over psychological functions such as attention, perception, and memory and to begin to think and subsequently to act in particular ways. Vygotsky referred to the cultural means through which we gain this control as *mediation*, and he held that historically determined forms of mediation become available to us through the societies in which we live. These include counting systems as well as language, literacy, and conceptual knowledge about the world. Such affordances, in conjunction with social interaction with caregivers and peers – and in some societies teachers – provide experiences that mediate the development of new ways of thinking.

Central to this model of human psychology is the premise that the mind is not coterminous with the brain. As Vygotsky (1987) explained, while the brain is an organ inside the skull, the human mind comprises social and cultural forms of mediation that initially exist outside physical persons but that are appropriated by individuals over the course of development. He specified *intra-psychological* activity as that which occurs when an individual relies upon mediation that he/she has already internalized or appropriated. Intra-psychological activity pertains to individuals completing tasks independently and which is conventionally regarded as the totality of human psychological functioning. Vygotsky (1978) argued, however, that the intra-psychological activity captures only a portion of human abilities and that it in fact develops from the *inter-psychological* activity, that is, psychological functioning that is shared among individuals. Here actions of remembering, perceiving, reasoning, problem-solving, and so on are carried out dialogically. Experiments Vygotsky and colleagues conducted with children, learners with special needs, and

individuals who suffered brain damage, among other populations, led them to conclude that what is possible at one point in time only through cooperation with others (i.e., inter-psychologically) can later become part of a person's intra-psychological repertoire as he/she internalizes the relevant forms of thinking (Vygotsky 1978). In distinguishing the range of abilities that have already fully developed from those still in the process of forming, Vygotsky (1978) employed the terms *zone of actual development* and *zone of proximal development*. In contemplating the implications of these insights for education, Vygotsky (1998) observed that because conventional assessments – and here he did not distinguish between those intended to contribute to teaching and learning or simply to measure their outcome – focus exclusively upon learner's independent performance of tasks, they can only hope to capture a part of development. Vygotsky (1998, p. 200) states his position as follows:

> While some processes of development have already borne fruit and concluded their cycles, other processes are only at the stage of maturation. A genuine diagnosis of development must be able to catch not only concluded cycles of development, not only the fruits, but also those processes that are in the period of maturation. Like a gardener who in appraising species for yield would proceed incorrectly if he considered only the ripe fruit in the orchard and did not know how to evaluate the condition of the trees that had not yet produced mature fruit, the psychologist who is limited to ascertaining what has matured, leaving what is maturing aside, will never be able to obtain any kind of true and complete representation of the internal state of the whole development and, consequently, will not be able to make the transition from symptomatic to clinical diagnosis.

On this basis, he concludes that "determining the actual level of development not only does not cover the whole picture of development, but very frequently encompasses only an insignificant part of it" (ibid.).

The importance of the ZPD for education, Vygotsky reasoned, is that "learning which is oriented toward developmental levels that have already been reached is ineffective from the viewpoint of a child's overall development. . . [whereas] the notion of the zone of proximal development enables us to propound a new formula, namely that the only 'good learning' is that which is in advance of development" (Vygotsky 1978, p. 89). For assessments to take account of the ZPD, Vygotsky advocated moving beyond observation of learner independent functioning in order to engage cooperatively with learners, offering hints, prompts, leading questions, and other forms of feedback as learners experience difficulties.

In the decades since Vygotsky's death, a number of formalized procedures have been elaborated that are collectively referred to as dynamic assessment. Sternberg and Grigorenko (2002) noted that DA procedures may be differentiated according to whether mediation occurs throughout the administration of an assessment (which they refer to as a "cake" format) or if it is delivered during a separate session that occurs between a conventional pre- and posttest (a format they dub "sandwich"). Lantolf and Poehner (2004) observed that some approaches to DA opt for open-ended dialogue in which mediation is negotiated between the assessor, or mediator, and the learner, while others advocate scripting precise mediating moves in advance

of the procedure and delivering them to learners in a standardized manner as needed. They term the former approach "interactionist" and the latter "interventionist." In both, mediation begins implicitly through behaviors such as pausing, asking whether the learner is satisfied with his/her response, and suggesting that the learner reattempt the task; mediation becomes more explicit (offering clues concerning the nature of a problem, examples, and models to guide the learner toward correcting the problem and explanations of underlying concepts and principles) until either the learner overcomes the difficulty or the mediator reveals and explains the solution. As Poehner (2008) explains, the aim of providing mediation during DA is not simply to help learners improve their score or grade but to arrive at a diagnosis of development, one that comprises what learners are able to successfully do independently, their current struggles, and the extent to which new abilities are in the process of forming.

DA has been widely implemented in cognitive education programs with young children (e.g., Tzuriel 2011) and in remedial education interventions for learners with special needs (Feuerstein et al. 2010, 2015). It has also increasingly been pursued with a more general population of learners in various academic disciplines, including language. According to Poehner (2018), much L2 DA research has involved collaborations with classroom teachers, whose primary interest is not learners' overall language proficiency but their mastery of particular language features that have been the focus of instruction. A theory of language no doubt at least implicitly informs the curriculum followed by the teachers, but the mediational targets in such DA studies have typically included specific areas of morpho-syntax (e.g., substantive-modifier accord, verbal tense, aspect and mood, interrogative constructions, etc.). More recently, DA researchers have also begun to explore more general domains of L2 abilities. For instance, Poehner et al. (2015) report the use of a dynamic procedure to diagnose learner L2 listening and reading comprehension. In their work, multiple-choice items were written that targeted specific sub-areas within the general comprehension constructs, including lexical knowledge, morpho-syntax, discourse level grammar, and cultural knowledge. Tracking how much mediation learners required for particular test items allowed the researchers to ascertain which dimensions of listening and reading comprehension were most challenging for individuals. Levi (2012) implemented DA in the context of the English oral proficiency interview component of the Israeli national matriculation exam. Employing the rubric used by raters to mark examinee proficiency, Levi engaged learners in reflection on their own oral performances as well as those of other students, mediating their consideration of specific areas of proficiency in need of further development.

It is worth noting that both the Poehner et al. (2015) and Levi (2012) studies occurred in more formal language testing situations, which represent another important extension of L2 DA research. Earlier work had focused almost exclusively on instructional settings, occurring in either one-to-one tutoring situations or in classrooms. To be sure, each of these contexts is crucial for DA to realize its potential in L2 education. They also bring DA into contact with existing practices that might be identifiable as either formative or summative assessment (or assessment for learning

or assessment of learning). As should be clear, however, the commitment to systematically integrating mediation as part of the procedure is definitive of DA regardless of the precise context in which it occurs. This is because DA holds that careful attention to the mediation learners require now provides a window into their potential independent functioning in the future. To further clarify this point, we now consider two recent L2 DA projects. The first follows the work of Poehner et al. (2015) in seeking a means to implement DA on a large scale by replacing a human mediator with support that is automatically generated during a computerized test. Embedding mediation in a computer program so that it is delivered to learners as needed is known as computerized DA or C-DA. The second project builds upon earlier classroom-based DA studies but extends it to academic writing, with an aim of implementing an individualized intervention program to identify weaknesses in learner writing and begin to improve them. The reader will also note that the former project was carried out with English-speaking learners of L2 Chinese. However, as we have attempted to clarify, DA is a framework for conceptualizing assessment that is not limited in its scope to any particular language or indeed to any specific learning domain or population. Our purpose in reporting both of the following projects is to explicate how DA was realized in two different contexts (namely, a formal testing procedure and an instructional academic writing program) and through two different approaches (a standardized, computer-based administration in the one case and an interactive, one-to-one format in the other). Together, they not only showcase the range of possibilities afforded by DA, but they also provide models that researchers and practitioners may draw upon as they consider the relevance of DA to co-constructing a future with English language learners.

Computerized Dynamic Assessment (C-DA): Diagnosing Learner L2 Pragmatic Knowledge

Qin (2018) undertook to extend the use of C-DA in the L2 field to the domain of pragmatics. She notes that an advantage of the computerized format is that it addresses the practical problem of "scalability" of DA procedures; that is, how realistic is DA in situations that require diagnosing the abilities of large numbers of learners? A computerized approach, as designed by Poehner et al. (2015), established that while computerizing mediation does not allow for the same degree of flexibility and negotiation as one-to-one interaction between a mediator and learner, it is possible to offer mediation to large numbers of learners simultaneously. While that study was concerned with listening and reading comprehension, Qin (2018) sought to explore the feasibility of diagnosing pragmatic knowledge of language use through C-DA. As she explains, knowledge of pragmatics has long been regarded as an integral component of language proficiency (e.g., Bachman and Palmer 1996), specifically underscoring learner awareness of contextual appropriateness and politeness in target language use. Following the Vygotskian premise that providing mediation is required for a full diagnosis of development, Qin's C-DA design attempts to raise learner awareness of particular pragmatic features during the

assessment in order to determine learner's current knowledge and the extent to which their understandings were in a process of developing.

Readers are referred to Qin (2018) for full details of the project. Our discussion here is limited to the design of the C-DA procedure, with selected examples to illustrate the insights the procedure afforded into learner development. The specific pragmatic feature that is brought into focus in this discussion is learner comprehension of conversational implicature (i.e., indirect meaning) in L2 Chinese. The data come from two learners (Andrew and Jane, both pseudonyms) recruited from an elementary-level Chinese course at a private North American university.

C-DA Design

The C-DA instrument assesses learners' abilities to comprehend implicatures of oral stimuli. The test was completed in a single session lasting approximately 1 h. Implicature comprehension was operationalized as the ability to understand the indirect, implied meaning of a speaker's utterance in relation to its literal meaning and context. Consider the following example in English. A man asks his wife whether a shirt with a bright multicolored pattern "looks good" for their evening out. His wife responds that she really likes his blue shirt. The literal meaning is indeed that she finds the latter shirt an attractive option. The implicature – that is, the indirect, implied meaning – is that she does not like the multicolored shirt. In the C-DA test, two types of implicatures were included: indirect refusals and indirect opinions, the latter of which are generally more challenging for learners according to the L2 pragmatics research literature (Taguchi et al. 2013). The instrument applied a sandwich DA format that included four parts: (1) a pretest evaluating current abilities to understand implied meanings in Chinese, (2) an intervention session involving predesigned mediation intended to assist test-takers in improving their skills, (3) a "near-transfer" posttest that employed different indirect refusals from those on the pretest, and (4) a "far-transfer" posttest that introduced more complex items with indirect opinions. The two posttests allowed for investigation of the distance between what learners were able to do alone prior to mediation (i.e., their pretest performance) and what became possible after mediation. In Vygotskian terms, examining this distance or change brought to light learners' ZPD for implicature comprehension. Figure 1 displays the C-DA procedure.
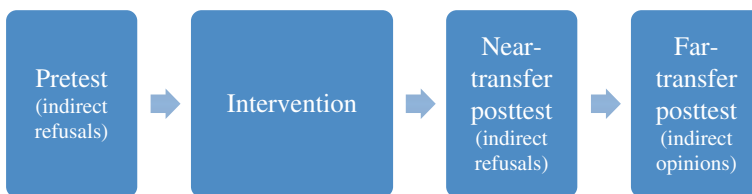
Fig. 1 Organization of C-DA procedure

During the pre- and posttests, test-takers were first presented with background contextual information concerning the item they were about to hear. Background information was provided in Chinese for some items but English for others, depending upon the complexity of the information to be shared. A Chinese sentence was then played containing the target utterance. After listening to the audio file only once, a statement corresponding to the target utterance was presented on the computer screen, and test-takers were asked to use a slide ruler to evaluate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement. The slide ruler is on a scale of +50 (strongly agree) to −50 (strongly disagree). Using a slide-ruler format allowed for a more nuanced tracking of changes in learner confidence in their implicature comprehension between the pre- and posttests. For instance, a significant increase toward the outer ends of the continuum/slide ruler after mediation would suggest increased certainty/confidence in the response, one indication that the learner had benefited from the intervention stage of the assessment.

Regarding the intervention session, the amount of mediation provided was determined by learner performance on the pretest. Test-takers only went through mediation for the questions they did not answer correctly in the pretest. The mediation was model-informed by pragmatics research and was intended to function as a metacognitive tool. This means that test-takers did not simply "acquire" implicature or Chinese pragmatics, but they were provided with a metacognitive tool (mediational means) to help them (1) notice and (2) pay attention to both the literal meaning and implied meaning of utterances. This mediation approach was rooted in speech act theory (Searle 1975). In this model, indirect speech acts require the hearer to interpret more than what the speaker actually says (locutionary force) by way of relying on other resources, such as shared background and linguistic and nonlinguistic cues, to understand the intended, and sometimes indirect, meaning – that is, the utterance's illocutionary force. In this project, the intervention stage employed a multiple-choice format, presenting learners with the items they had missed on the pretest and offering a selection of five possible interpretations of what the speaker had intended to express (i.e., one correct choice that indicates the speaker's real intention and four contextually related distractors). If a test-taker chose the correct option on the first attempt, no prompt was presented and the computerized program advanced to the next item from the pretest that he/she had missed. If the test-taker selected an incorrect option, a mediational prompt was automatically provided by the program. Mediational prompts were standardized (i.e., the same for all learners) and delivered in an order of most implicit to most explicit. A total of four prompts was available for each test item. The first prompt simply allowed test-takers to try again, the second prompt repeated the key content of the utterance (i.e., the locutionary act), the third prompt asked the intent of the utterance (i.e., illocutionary act), and the final prompt provided the correct answer.

The C-DA instrument automatically generates four numerical scores: a pretest score, near-transfer score, far-transfer score, and a *learning potential* score (LPS). The first three scores are implicature comprehension scores on the three tests. The pretest score represents independent performance, the near-transfer score represents mediated performance (i.e., provoked by mediation during the preceding

intervention stage), and the far-transfer score represents learner success in transferring their emerging understanding and knowledge to more difficult items. These three scores were calculated based on corresponding "threshold ratings" produced by native speakers of Chinese (i.e., the rating that Chinese native speakers had selected for a given item using the slider format). Specifically, for each item, one point was awarded if the learner's response was equal to or greater than the native speaker threshold rating, while no points were awarded if the response was below the threshold. The LPS serves to capture learner responsiveness to mediation during the C-DA procedure by taking account of the degree of change to learner performance between the pretest and near-transfer posttest, relative to the maximum possible score on the test (Kozulin and Garb 2002; Poehner and Lantolf 2013; Zhang and van Compernolle 2016). The following formula for calculating LPS, proposed by Kozulin and Garb (2002), was adopted in this project:

$$\text{LPS} = \frac{\left(S_{\text{post}} - S_{\text{pre}}\right)}{S_{\text{max}}} + \frac{S_{\text{post}}}{S_{\text{max}}} = \frac{2S_{\text{post}} - S_{\text{pre}}}{S_{\text{max}}}$$

ZPD and Predicting Future L2 Development

As an illustration of how differences in learner responsiveness to mediation during C-DA can capture emerging abilities, we briefly consider Andrew and Jane as two contrasting "cases." These learners had similar pretest scores but responded to the computerized mediation differently during the intervention stage and earned dramatically different near-transfer and far-transfer posttest scores. Their performances are summarized in Table 1. Interestingly, Andrew produced a higher score on the near-transfer posttest (score = 9) than the pretest (score = 5), and his far-transfer posttest (score = 5) was the same as his pretest score despite the increased level of difficulty of the far-transfer items. Taken together, this pattern suggests that Andrew had benefited from the intervention stage and that his understanding of implicatures in L2 Chinese was indeed emerging in a way that was not found with Jane. Specifically, Jane actually produced lower comprehension scores on the near-transfer posttest (score = 4) and far-transfer posttest (score = 2) than she had on the initial pretest (score = 5). In terms of their respective LPS, Andrew was one of the few test-takers in Qin's study who produced high LPSs, while Jane's near-transfer score was lower than her pretest score, so the LPS formula created by Kozulin and Garb (2002) did not apply to her.

Table 1 Andrew and Jane's C-DA scores

	Pretest score (12)	Near-transfer score (12)	Far-transfer score (12)	LPS
Andrew	5	9	5	1.33
Jane	5	4	2	N/A

The maximum test scores are provided in parentheses
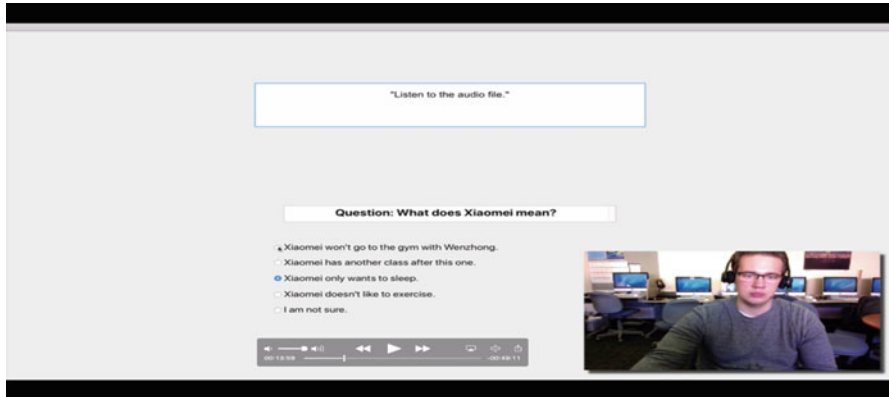
Fig. 2 Example of ScreenFlow screen capture and video

In addition to C-DA scores, the two test-takers' response processes during the procedure were analyzed for insights into their engagement with the test items and available mediation. Andrew and Jane's interactions with C-DA were recorded by a two-way video screen recording software, ScreenFlow. ScreenFlow simultaneously captured the user screen (i.e., what Andrew and Jane saw at particular moments during the procedure) and recorded the test-takers themselves via the computer's built-in camera and microphone. Figure 2 provides an example of ScreenFlow's interface during Andrew's session.

The data collected through this approach allowed for multimodal discourse analysis (O'Halloran 2011) that included the test-taker's use of gestures, facial expressions, pauses, and other behaviors as they worked through specific C-DA items. For instance, Excerpt (1), which occurred when Andrew encountered the first item in the intervention session, documents the process through which he demonstrated comprehension of the aural text "Tomorrow is Xiaomei's boyfriend's birthday. Wenzhong suggests Xiaomei should take her boyfriend to the new American restaurant. Xiaomei says, '*My boyfriend only loves Chinese food.*'" The ScreenFlow data permit an analysis of learner moment-to-moment behaviors during the procedure, including the responses they select, the time that passes before they make a selection, and any verbal and nonverbal actions.

Excerpt 1

Line	Time stamp	Description
1	12:37–12:51	Audios play
2	12:51–12:53	Andrew clicks "Show the Question" on the screen
		A multiple-choice question appears on the screen
3	12:53–12:59	Andrew moves the cursor between different options
4	12:59–13:00	Andrew clicks the literal meaning option and then clicks "Next"
		The 1st prompt, "That is not right. Try again," is shown on the screen

(*continued*)

Line	Time stamp	Description
5	13:01	Andrew looks at the 1st prompt
6	13:02–13:04	Andrew frowns
7	13:04–13:07	Andrew moves the cursor between different options
8	13:08	Andrew clicks "OK" button in the prompt
9	13:08–13:11	Audio starts to play again
		Andrew clicks the indirect meaning option 2 s after the audio starts
		Andrew clicks "Next"
10	13:12	The prompt, "Correct," is shown on the screen

In Excerpt (1), we see that after the audio was done, Andrew used 6 s to think about the answer while moving the cursor between different options (line 3) before selecting the literal meaning of the utterance (i.e., that Xiaomei's boyfriend only loves Chinese food) in line 4. After the first prompt was shown on the screen (line 4), Andrew moved the cursor between different options while thinking (line 7) and clicked the "OK" button in the prompt (line 8) to replay the audio file. After listening to the recording for only 2 s, Andrew chose the indirect meaning option (i.e., that Xiaomei does not accept Wenzhong's suggestion to go to the American restaurant) and clicked "Next."

This excerpt offers insight into Andrew's emerging understanding of indirectness. Indeed, he used only two attempts to figure out the correct answers to both the first and second questions in the intervention session. After this initial stage, where he seemed to develop greater awareness of indirectness, Andrew only used one attempt for the rest of the questions, meaning that he only listened to the audios again and then selected the correct interpretation from the available choices without any further mediating prompts. We interpret this as evidence that Andrew had a ZPD for implicature comprehension: he was able to make progress through the mediational prompts and transfer the emerging abilities to the rest of the questions in the C-DA procedure. In contrast, there was no identifiable development in Jane's performance. It seems that the number of attempts she used in the intervention session was closely related to her degree of certainty in the pretest (degree of certainty was reflected via slide-ruler results): for the pretest items about which she was more certain, she required fewer attempts to select the correct interpretation during the intervention; likewise, for those items where she was less certain of her interpretation, she made more attempts. Over the course of the intervention, there was no indication that Jane's comprehension of implicatures was changing. Moreover, Jane's responses during an interview following the procedure revealed that she struggled even to determine the literal meaning of many of the test items.

In summary, Qin's (2018) project evidences the diagnostic potential of C-DA with L2 learners. While Andrew and Jane earned the same score on a non-dynamic pretest, their responsiveness during the intervention stage and their performances on the posttests make it clear that it would be erroneous to conclude that their knowledge of Chinese implicature is the same. Thus, test-takers such as Andrew,

who responded well and showed his preparedness to move on to more complex tasks and features of pragmatics, will have their needs met in different ways from learners such as Jane, who made no identifiable improvement during C-DA and who may require further instruction and practice to appropriately comprehend implicatures in Chinese. To be sure, the focus of Qin's project on L2 Chinese means that attempts to extend this work to contexts involving English learners would require careful consideration of English pragmatics as a basis for defining relevant constructs that could be targeted by the procedure. As mentioned, our purpose in sharing these data is that they illustrate the potential for DA procedures to be computerized, allowing them to be more easily implemented with large numbers of learners than would be possible through individualized, one-to-one administrations. As Qin's research reveals, by expanding the assessment procedure beyond learner history (i.e., their development up to the present moment as revealed through independent, unassisted test-taking) and taking account of their emerging abilities (according to the mediating support they required), it became possible to determine how to most appropriately meet the leaners where they are and begin to work together with them to construct a future.

DA and L2 Instructional Intervention: Promoting Learner Academic Writing

In contrast with Qin's (2018) research involving computerized delivery of mediation during DA, Lu (in preparation) follows the DA tradition pioneered by Feuerstein (Feuerstein et al. 1979) and first adapted for use with L2 learners by Poehner (2008) of face-to-face DA sessions that are integrated with an individualized enrichment program targeting learner needs. Tzuriel (2011), discussing this approach in the context of cognitive education initiatives, characterizes this approach as first identifying learner abilities that have begun to develop and that need further intervention before learners can advance and then guiding learners through a planned sequence of activities in which the tasks and materials are designed to promote those abilities. Put simply, the mediation that occurs in DA serves to probe learner abilities, and the resultant diagnosis informs an enrichment program where the mediated activity continues across multiple sessions in order that the level of functioning learners reached through cooperation with the mediator during DA becomes a level they achieve independently (Poehner 2018). Lu's (in preparation) project centers around a DA and enrichment program designed for use with adult English language learners in an academic writing program.

As Lu (in preparation) notes, while some L2 DA work has investigated writing (Rahimi et al. 2015; Shrestha and Coffin 2012), its application with English language learners at an advanced level, where both rhetorical and linguistic issues may become more complex, is an underexplored area. Moreover, Lu's project follows the growing trend in writing assessment to employ integrated reading-writing tasks, which reflect a broadened understanding of the construct of writing for academic

purposes (Cumming et al. 2005; Gebril 2009; Guo et al. 2013; Knoch and Sitajalabhorn 2013). According to this view, writing is inherently associated with learners' ability in academic reading and involves producing "content responsible" (Leki and Carson 1997) texts by incorporating substantive content from source materials. Lu (in preparation) further points out that interaction and oral feedback are not entirely unfamiliar to the L2 writing domain. Indeed, among the various ways of evaluating students' writing, responding to students' texts through written or oral feedback has long been an important and ubiquitous classroom practice (e.g., Ferris and Hedgcock 2014; Hyland 2003; Hyland and Hyland 2006). Cumming and So (1996) consider that the intense, personalized, and goal-oriented interactions between teachers and students may embody the most powerful aspects of instruction on written composition. However, Lu also remarks that despite the value placed on providing oral feedback and interacting with multilingual writers about their texts, research has rarely explored how such one-to-one, face-to face interactions can be employed in a principled and systematic way to assess and assist students' development in writing over time (Ferris and Hedgcock 2014; Severino and Cogie 2016; Williams 2004). Thus, the project aims to contribute to not only the L2 DA research literature but to scholarship in the area of academic writing more generally.

DA and Writing Intervention Design

Lu's (in preparation) research was carried out in an intensive English program at a large US university. Six participants from level 4 (the highest level) of the academic literacy class in the program were recruited to participate in the study. At the time of the study, all the participants had obtained a bachelor's degree in their home country, and, with the exception of one student, all planned to enroll in a graduate program in the university where this project occurred. None of the participants had received systematic training in English academic writing in their previous English learning experiences.

The DA and writing intervention program design included four stages: a pretest in which a conventional or non-dynamic assessment of learner writing was conducted followed by a DA of their writing, an enrichment program tailored to learner needs and abilities that were identified during DA, a posttest (again comprising a non-dynamic and DA of learner writing) that paralleled the pretest, and a delayed posttest, which was non-dynamic but that presented learners with a more complex task and that was intended to ascertain their success in transferring their abilities. A semi-structured interview was also administered with each participant at the beginning and the end of the study, respectively.

The pretest and posttest were parallel in terms of format and difficulty. Participants wrote an argumentative essay under independent and mediated conditions, respectively, in each test. As the assessment followed an integrated reading-writing design, the non-dynamic and DA procedures both required learners to first read two brief argumentative texts (approximately 300–350 words each) that take opposing perspectives on a shared topic. The participants were then asked to construct their

own argumentative essay after reading the texts, taking a position on the theme of the readings and supporting their ideas with specific information from the articles as well as their own reasons or experiences. Students first completed this task in a non-dynamic manner, and the essays they produced were carefully analyzed by the researcher in order to determine potential problem areas to probe during the subsequent DA session. An analytic rubric reported in Weigle (2004) was also used to evaluate each essay according to four areas: content, organization, accuracy of language, and range and complexity of language.

During the DA sessions, this rubric was reviewed and explained to the learner, who was then instructed to read through his/her essay from the non-DA session and make any changes he/she thought were necessary without assistance from the mediator. Then mediator and learner jointly reviewed the essay. Rather than a scripted and standardized (i.e., interventionist) approach to mediation, the mediator engaged in an interactionist approach, using prompts, hints, suggestions, modeling, etc. to address the rhetorical and linguistic issues in the essay. The general DA principle of moving from implicit forms of mediation toward increasingly explicit forms was adhered to Poehner (2008). Immediately following this interaction, learners were asked to revise their essay. The initial (non-DA) version of the text and the revised version were compared by the research, along with recordings of the DA interaction, in order to determine abilities that appeared to be in each individual's ZPD and would therefore be an appropriate target for sustained mediation in the enrichment program. Each learner then participated in a 5-week individualized enrichment program during which they met once a week with the mediator for a one-to-one tutoring activity. The rhetorical and linguistic aspects of writing that were targeted during the tutorials include unity and coherence, constructing arguments, documenting sources, pronoun reference and shifts, subject-verb agreement, etc. For example, when discussing how to use sources, learners were introduced to the concepts of summarizing, paraphrasing, and quoting, the common strategies to paraphrase, and the language that can be used to identify a source. Learners then completed exercises to identify correct and incorrect examples of using and documenting an original source, and they also drafted their own paraphrases of short texts for additional practice. The posttest was administered at the end of the enrichment program. A month after the posttest, a transfer test (delayed posttest) was given where instead of two reading passages, three short passages introducing different opinions on the same issue were provided. The transfer test aimed to assess the participants' ability to synthesize information from more complex sources. Two raters with experience in teaching and assessing L2 writing were recruited to score all the essays produced by the participants during the tests. Through this approach, comparisons between learner pretest and posttest performances allowed for identification of development over time, while analysis of interactions revealed difficulties and emerging understandings as these became apparent through dialogue.

Full details of this project are reported by Lu (in preparation). In the following, we offer two instances of mediator-learner interactions extracted from the DA sessions in order to illustrate how mediation was dialogically negotiated and the insights this process afforded into learner abilities.

Diagnosing Learner Development Through L2 DA Interactions

Excerpt (1) is taken from the first DA session, for which learners read two passages on whether homework does more harm or good for young learners. The learner, Ryan (a pseudonym), took the view that homework increases the achievement of young learners. His essay had a clear structure with an introduction, two body paragraphs, and a conclusion. The introduction and conclusion, however, were both very brief, and the thesis statement at the beginning of the text did not relate well to the ideas developed in the body of the essay. In the excerpt, the mediator (M) brought Ryan's (R) attention to the beginning and ending of his essay:

Excerpt 1
1. M: But then in the introduction and conclusion
2. R: It's too short
3. M: Exactly. [You already know that-
4. R: [I know, I know (laugh)
5. M: Then why didn't you (.) try to make them longer?
6. R: Because I want to (.) try to (.) actually I want to try to write a body paragraph first and then-
7. M: Umm
8. R: Back to correct the first- um first paragraph and then (.)
9. M: That's right. That's the correct strategy
10. R: Yeah, but I just figured out that I have no time. It's my structure, so-
11. M: Oh, yeah, I know. Usually it's a good idea (.) we try to develop the body first and then we come back to the introduction [and finally conclusion
12. R: [Yeah
13. M: Then your problem is that you didn't have enough time?
14. R: Yeah.

In this exchange, M's mention of the introduction and conclusion immediately prompts R to acknowledge that they are too short (turn 2). While this in itself does not reveal his understanding of the importance of a thesis and how it is developed in the remainder of the essay, it does show his awareness that neither the introduction nor the conclusion conformed to the expectations for academic writing. With regard to the ZPD, this may be interpreted as indicating an existing awareness of these writing conventions even though that was not manifested in the writing he produced.

The lines of interaction that follow do not shed further light on the depth of R's understanding of expectations for introductions, thesis statements, and conclusions, but they do reveal the reason he was unable to use his knowledge to produce an appropriate essay. With a further mediating prompt from M (turn 5), R explains that he actually wrote the body of the essay first before trying to work more on the introduction (turns 6 and 8). In turn 10, R acknowledges that he did not have enough

time at the test to develop the beginning and ending more adequately. M confirms that it is actually a good strategy to prepare the body of an essay first before refining the beginning and ending of the text (turns 9 and 11). This interaction not only reveals that R was in fact well aware of one of the problems that M was about to discuss with him, but more importantly, it brings to light R's strategy of simultaneously composing different sections of his essay. Again, with reference to the ZPD, R's responsiveness during the exchange leads to a very different picture of his current knowledge than would be the case if, for instance, he had been completely unaware that there were problems with his introduction and conclusion.

As the DA interaction proceeded, M and R turned their attention to each paragraph of the essay in turn. The following is the second paragraph of the essay, and it became a major focus of the DA interaction. Note that it has been unaltered, and so spelling and grammatical errors are those produced by the learner.

> *Second, homework probably is a big assignment, such as a team assignment that students have to finish their homework with their classmates or parents. Kind of this homework can help students to practice how to make team work succeed. In the Potter and Bullitt' article, they showed that assignment may not have a quality of benefit for students, even it may cause children to have mental health problems. However, no studies have been founded that homework cause students weakness. On the contrary, a big assignment may help students to learn how to adapt environment and pressure during the doing homework. This skill is needed for everyone in the future. Thus, a big assignment can let students learn skills that schools have never could.*

In this paragraph, several distinct ideas about the benefits of homework are included, and so in addition to linguistic errors, a major issue M raised concerned the paragraph's lack of unity and focus. In Excerpt (2), M begins by exploring whether R had planned a main point that he wished the paragraph to convey.

Excerpt 2

1. M: And for the second main point (.) I feel there might be a little bit problem here. What is your main point of the second paragraph- body paragraph, I mean?
2. R: Um when I- when I was writing about the second point, I- I just want to cite (.) the article from the Passage B- Passage B, yeah, second article. So I just thinking, I don't know how to::
3. M: How to cite?
4. R: Yeah, so I just think um, randomly, just like the point, and just write this
5. M: Okay. You- you mentioned some idea from Passage B, right? You mentioned mental health problem
6. R: Yeah
7. M: But then usually we don't cite for the sake of citing
8. R: Oh really? Okay
9. M: We cite it to (.) to support a point, right? So what exactly is like the topic sentence in this paragraph? Or what is your main idea?
10. R: Um I think (2.0) I want to (.) an argument that (3.0) homework still helps students to success but- um, also they also can learn other skills like teamwork or::

11. M: Uh-huh
12. R: Actually I want to mention they work close with their friends or parents to build this relationship, yeah, because the teamwork, the big assignment
13. M: Umm, yeah, I know. So (.) I just feel like this body paragraph is not focused enough
14. R: Yeah, I know, I know
15. M: You talked about separate- several separate different ideas
16. R: Yeah

In turn 2, R did not respond directly to M's question about the focus of the paragraph but explained that he tried to cite some counterargument from Passage B, which however was not explicitly connected to the rest of the ideas in the paragraph. That is, the authors of Passage B argued that homework brings about mental health issues among children, but R failed to logically connect this information to his own position that he was developing in the paragraph. Beginning in turn 2, it becomes clear through R's responsiveness to M that an underlying difficulty is that R did not fully understand the purpose of referencing sources in academic writing. In turns 7 and 9, M explains that a source is generally cited in academic writing to support the point the author wishes to make citing. After M inquires again what R intended the main point of the paragraph to be, he states that homework helps children to learn the skill of teamwork (turns 10 and 12). Thus, through a series of mediating moves, a clearer understanding emerges of both R's intended meanings and the struggles he faced that are apparent from the writing he produced.

The interaction continues as M endeavored not to revise the essay but to guide R in doing so.

17. M: So probably, then how can you maybe (.) modify this part (.) just this paragraph? How can you make your argument stronger and also make it more focused?
18. R: Um I would like to (5.0) uh, remove the counterargument, and I put some example, and (4.0)
19. M: Yeah
20. R: (5.0) And just remove the health
21. M: Uh-huh
22. R: Mental health and to connect the skill, to learn the skill by example
23. M: By giving some examples. Okay, I think that's good. You can try to remove the counterargument from this paragraph, but then after that you still need to have one single clear idea in this paragraph and you need to decide (.) what the main point of this paragraph is.

In turn 17, M prompts R to modify the paragraph on his own. R then responds that he could remove the counterargument from Passage B and add some examples to support the main idea of the paragraph (turns 18, 20, and 22).

From this excerpt, we see a process of mediation revealing the learner's current and emerging understandings of academic writing conventions. Specifically, it

appears that R did not have a clear idea of what a unified paragraph should look like. He was, however, aware of the concept of counterargument, and he attempted to use some information from the reading, although was unable to effectively integrate the source material into his own argument. Through further dialoguing with M, R managed to reach a solution as to how his paragraph might be revised. At the conclusion of the DA session, R revised his essay, including the second paragraph:

> Second, homework also can help students to develop other skill such as team work. Homework may as a form of project that they have to finish it with their classmates or parents. For instance, a team work that they have to breed a pet in each group, they could learn how to plan their schedule, assign each member's tasks. This kind of work may not be easy to finish, so they can experience this part and make it better and finish it as soon as possible. Furthermore, team work is a major skill in the future. To work with other co-workers is usual thing. Thus, the benefit of homework like a big project is students can learn team-work skill

As can be seen, R's second draft of the paragraph still included various errors, but it was better developed. It included an example and was unified around the central idea that homework can help students develop teamwork skills.

In sum, R's responsiveness during DA – specifically, the extent to which he was able to improve his integration of details from the readings and yet employ these details in a manner that did not sacrifice the paragraph's overall coherence – indicated that careful consideration and synthesis of arguments and counterarguments was an area of his writing that could benefit from immediate intervention. Put another way, that ability was in his ZPD – it was ripening but had not yet fully developed. Had R failed to make appropriate revisions following his interaction with the mediator, the diagnosis would have concluded that he had not yet begun to develop the understandings relevant to addressing this aspect of academic writing. Conversely, if this issue had not emerged at all during DA, it would indicate that he had already fully developed that ability. As it was, this became a focus of the instructional intervention program that M conducted with R.

Conclusion

DA is still a relatively new innovation in the field of L2 education. As such, numerous questions remain concerning, for instance, the following: factors to consider when selecting an interactionist or interventionist approach to mediation or perhaps designing yet another approach, advantages and challenges to employing DA in computerized formats, the quality of the diagnostic information obtained about learners and how this information may help teachers to best meet learner needs, and possibilities for implementing DA across varied configurations of groups (e.g., pairs of learners, groups of 3 or 4, an entire class, etc.). These are undoubtedly important issues that need to be addressed through further research. The projects reported here offer only a beginning to exploring them. Nevertheless, the inherent optimism in DA that shakes us

from simply accepting a learner's manifest repertoire of abilities as the totality of his capabilities and that insists upon the potential for development among all individuals through appropriate forms of mediation is what compels us to pursue DA as a means of co-constructing futures with English language learners.

Cross-References

Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Meaning
(.)	A short pause, less than 0.5 s
(2.0)	A timed pause, e.g., 2 s
[	Place where overlapping talk starts
-	Truncated word or unfinished sentence
::	Lengthening of a word or sound
( )	Researcher comments

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Assessment of Young English Learners in Instructional Settings

27

Yuko Goto Butler

Contents

Abstract

With the growing number of children worldwide learning English in instructional settings, educators are increasingly concerned with how best to assess their language development. However, assessing young learners (YLs, defined in this chapter as children age 5–12) warrants a number of special considerations due to their age and other unique characteristics. After discussing young language learners' unique characteristics and needs with respect to assessment, this chapter addresses the following major issues that arise when assessing them: (a) targeted language abilities for YLs, (b) age-appropriate formats and procedures of assessment, (c) assessment

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for learning (e.g., feedback and diagnostic information in assessment and assessment for autonomy enhancement), and (d) challenges to meet YLs' diverse needs (e.g., students with multilingual backgrounds and students with disabilities). The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research directions, including (a) more child second language acquisition research to inform assessment theory and practice, (b) addressing teachers' role in assessment to better assist YLs' learning, and (c) greater attention to the use of technology for YLs' assessment.

Introduction

English is considered to be a powerful global language, and the number of children who are learning English in instructional settings is on the rise worldwide. Accordingly, educators are concerned about how best to assess these children's language development. Assessing young learners (YLs) warrants a number of special considerations because of their unique age-related and environmental characteristics. YLs' needs are increasingly diversified, and their language use is changing as a result of technology development. Assessment for YLs has to reflect such changes and needs. Assessment can be used for a wide variety of purposes, but any assessment information should ultimately enhance a child's learning. Importantly, teachers play a critical role in assessing YLs.

Assessment for YLs had been a relatively unexplored area of research. In the last couple of decades, however, there has been a rapid increase in the number of empirical studies on language assessment of YLs, including recent books on the topic (e.g., Nikolov 2016a; Prošić-Santovac and Rixon forthcoming; Saville and Weir 2018; Tsagari and Spanoudis 2013; Wolf and Butler 2017). Drawing on such research, the present chapter discusses key issues when assessing YLs, defined as children age 5–12 learning English in various instructional settings (as an additional and/or foreign language). After describing social and cultural environments where such learning is taking place, as well as YL's age-related characteristics, the chapter addresses the following key issues when assessing YLs: (a) targeted language abilities for assessment, (b) age-appropriate assessment formats and procedures, (c) assessment designed to directly assist YLs' learning, and (d) challenges to meet YLs' diverse needs. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future directions for research.

Ecological Layers Characterizing Young Learners

YLs' Changing Learning Environments

YLs' language learning does not simply reside in individual children but is embedded in contexts. When attempting to understand children's development, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model of ecology of human development reminds us of

the importance of considering whole ecological systems where the development is taking place. According to this model, a child's development, including language development, is a complex interplay between the child and multilayered social and cultural environments where learning is situated. Some of these environments are more immediate, such as family and schools, and others are more remote macrosystems, such as the given culture's belief system and bodies of knowledge. The model also incorporates a *chronosystem,* which allows for the consideration of changes to a child as well as his/her environments over time, both during the individual life span and across history. As Bronfenbrenner's model makes clear, in order to understand a YL's language development and capture its processes and attainments through assessment, we need to pay close attention to the child's entire ecological system and how the different elements of that system interact with the child.

Among many environmental complexities associated with YLs' English development, the following two macrolevel general trends are worth mentioning. First, YLs' learning environments are increasingly diversified. Traditionally, the field of second language acquisition (SLA) has characterized English learning contexts as falling into two general categories, namely, English-as-a-second language (ESL) (English as an additional language (EAL) is also often used in some regions, including the United Kingdom) and English-as-a-foreign language (EFL) contexts. ESL learning takes place in an environment where English is the dominant language, whereas EFL learning occurs in places where English is not dominantly spoken outside of the classroom (i.e., input-limited conditions). The underlying assumption for these classifications is that ESL and EFL learners have different types and amount of exposure to English and distinctively different goals and needs. Though this classification still has some usefulness, it might oversimplify what's really going on, at least in a certain regions and contexts; YLs' learning environments are increasingly varied within as well as across geohistorical boundaries. (A similar argument can be made for any other geohistorical classification models, including the well-known three-circle model of English by Kachru (1992).) On the one hand, some immigrant children in ESL contexts may be locked in a so-called language ghetto with limited exposure to English. On the other hand, a growing number of children in EFL contexts can increase their exposure to the target language through attending various types of language immersion programs or content and language integrated learning (CLIL) programs (Anderson et al. 2015). Additionally, many middle-class children participate in early study abroad programs (e.g., Song 2011); these children move between ESL and EFL contexts. Moreover, recent expansion of English-medium information via media and other means allows some learners to have greater access to English, both within and outside of formal school contexts, and the opportunities to access to English often vary according to YLs' socioeconomic backgrounds even within a given region.

Second, the increased use of various types of digital technology, such as computers, cellphones, and tablets, has drastically changed the way people communicate, which in turn greatly influences the way they learn and teach language. Technology has become a tool of instruction as well as a target of communicative language use. It is natural, then, to use technology as a means of assessment and to

consider the technology skills involved in language use as part of the target language ability (namely, potential *construct*) in assessment. Communication through technology, however, is increasingly obscuring boundaries of traditional categorizations, such as spoken and written languages and print (a traditional notion of literacy) and nonprint. As more children grow up with digital technology in their lives, their mental processing and strategies, such as memory and strategies to generate relevant information through networks, may differ from previous generations. Although there has been limited empirical investigation, especially among children, to verify this claim, studies targeting primarily adolescents and young adults do suggest that digital technology's potential effects on cognition "are likely nuanced, but could strengthen specific cognitive strategies" (Mills 2014: 385). If such effects do exist, instructions and assessments for YLs should be matched well with their preferred cognitive styles.

YLs' Age-Related Characteristics

Young learners are undergoing cognitive, socio-affective, and linguistic development. Their information-processing speed, memory span, and attention span show nonlinear and rather drastic improvement patterns until they reach their mid-teens. Preschool children's memory span is, on average, one third of that of adults. Memory capacity among younger children (children up to around age 6) differs not only quantitatively (i.e., memory span) but also qualitatively, and they use different memory strategies than older children and adults (Fry and Hale 2000). Children acquire various types of knowledge as they accumulate their daily experiences, and they gradually develop analytical abilities, metacognitive/metalinguistic abilities, and self-evaluative abilities throughout the school-age years. From birth, children also develop socio-cognitive interactive abilities, such as having joint attention (i.e., two individuals share their attention to an object through eye gazing, pointing, and other verbal and nonverbal means) and understanding other people's intentions. By the time children are 5–7 years old, they can collaborate with others in tasks and take turns in communicative exchanges. They are curious about objects and events around them, and they are also fond of fantasies and stories. Children around 9–10 years old begin to read for information, and by age 11 and 12, they are gradually able to sustain abstract topics in conversation (Clark 2009). It is important to note, however, that such general developmental patterns can vary significantly depending on children's sociocultural and physical environments. As discussed in detail below, all these developmental factors, in conjunction with contextual factors, greatly influence the design and administration of assessments, including the assessment content (e.g., age-appropriate tasks or item choices), formats (e.g., multiple-choice vs. performance-based assessment), procedures (e.g., individual-based vs. pair or group assessment, time requirements), the degree of autonomy (e.g., self-assessment and peer-assessment), and how best to offer scaffolding as part of assessment processes.

Another developmental factor that uniquely characterizes YLs is that they are developing their first language (L1). While we still have limited understanding of the bidirectional, cross-linguistic influence on language development among YLs, it may be different from that of adults, who have already firmly established their L1 categorizations in phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Moreover, due to the increased mobility of people, a greater number of YLs are learning English in multilingual environments (both in the so-called ESL and EFL contexts) (Bailey and Osipova 2016). For example, a Kurd child in a primary school in Germany may primarily speak Kurdish at home, Turkish in the community, and German at school and learn English as an additional language for global communication. She may exercise *translanguaging* in multiple languages and may do so across multiple social spaces (García and Li 2014). In any of her given language-use contexts, multiple languages are activated (Grosjean 2010). We know little about how language development trajectories of bilingual or multilingual YLs differ from those of their monolingual L1 learning peers. No matter how the two groups differ (and multilinguals may be different from bilinguals as well), such differences challenge the traditional approach to assessment in which monolingual native speakers' performance is set as the stable norm.

Importantly, there are substantial individual differences in cognitive, sociocognitive, and linguistic developments among children within the same age groups. Moreover, children's individual development in different domains may not occur in tandem; for example, a child may be more advanced in a certain cognitive domain but less developed in a social domain. Teachers often observe substantial variability among students with respect to their experience with assessment and their L1 proficiency (or any other languages in the case of multilinguals), in the literacy domain in particular. The use of home and community language(s), personality, and learning styles are all found to be influential over YLs' target language development (Ćatibušić and Little 2014). Such diversity among children makes it difficult to standardize assessment content, criteria, and procedures.

Finally, we must not forget that children are vulnerable to adults' attitudes about assessment and their expectations concerning children's performance on assessment. Carless and Lam (2014) reported that lower primary school students in Hong Kong expressed both negative and positive feelings in drawings they made to describe their feelings about tests as well as their parents' reactions to their test performance. In the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, recent standard-based educational policies mandate that young English language learners be assessed in English and other academic content, often through a series of high-stakes standardized tests, for accountability purposes. As a result, YLs can face substantial pressure (e.g., McKay 2006; Menken et al. 2014). Assessment results can have long-lasting effects, both positive and negative, on YLs' affective factors such as motivation, anxiety, and self-confidence, which in turn can greatly influence their learning. Early experience of failure tends to make children attribute their performance to ability rather than effort and leads to lower expectations for their future performance (Perry and VandeKamp 2000).

Key Issues and Challenges for Assessing Young Learners

Targeted Language Abilities for Assessment

Communicative Language Ability (CLA)

Different instructional models have varying degree of emphasis on "a language-content continuum," with some programs focusing more on developing age-relevant language proficiency for communication and others concerned more about content knowledge acquisition through English (Inbar-Lourie and Shohamy 2009: 84). YLs' English programs essentially aim at developing *communicative language ability (CLA)* – the ability to construct meanings and converse successfully in various social and academic contexts – but the targeted use domains and required age-appropriate proficiencies vary depending on the programs.

Researchers have taken different approaches to conceptualizing and operationalizing CLA. Purpura (2016: 193) identified four major approaches: (a) trait-centered, (b) task-based, (c) interactionist, and (d) sociointeractional. Detailed discussions of each approach are beyond the scope of this chapter, but many models assume the compositionality of some traits or abilities of CLA. (Socio-interactional models are an exception to this trend. They consider CLA to be co-constructed among individuals by participating in moment-by-moment interactions to achieve a goal-oriented activity.) These various models differ with respect to how to conceptualize the role of context in theorizing CLA. While these theoretical models have been influential in language assessment, theory-driven approaches to YLs currently face unique challenges. For example, when applying models that assume the compositionality of CLA, we have limited information about the interrelationships among components, how each component develops in relation to others, and how such development among YLs might differ from adults. Similarly, little is known about how YLs' different traits interact with contextual factors and strategy use; such knowledge is critical for fully utilizing interactional models.

Efforts also have been made to identify the knowledge and skills necessary for successful communication based on experts' judgments. Experts have developed various curricula and assessment standards and frameworks, with specific knowledge and skills corresponding to a certain proficiency level. The *Common European Framework for References for Languages* (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001) is one well-known example. The CEFR's can-do statements, composed of six major proficiency levels (ranging from A1 [breakthrough] level to C2 [mastery] levels), indicate what learners are able to do with the target language at each proficiency level. The CEFR has been widely used among YL educators and assessment developers not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world. It is critically important to remember, however, that the CEFR descriptors were not originally meant for use with YLs and that they were written in a context-free fashion; namely, the descriptors are written in a general fashion so that they can be used in wide contexts (Hasselgreen 2005). Thus, major adaptation is indispensable to make the CEFR descriptors age- and content-appropriate when using them for YLs. There has been some effort to

create CEFR-based can-do descriptors for YLs, including creating a pre-A1 level, further-dividing A1 and A2 levels and changing wordings in the descriptors (e.g., Benigno and de Jong 2016; Hasselgreen 2005; North 2014). Little (2007) noted concern that modifying higher levels (C1 and C2) for YLs would be particularly challenging because they assume learners' cognitive maturity and academic and professional experiences that go beyond YLs who are in immersion and/or CLIL contexts. After all, we still don't know the extent to which children follow the same developmental path as the one outlined by the descriptors. Major international, large-scale, standardized, proficiency tests – including the Cambridge Young Learners of English tests, the Pearson Test of English Young Learners, and TOEFL Primary Test – also indicate alignment with the CEFR. But as Papageorgiou and Baron (2017) warned, test users "should not misinterpret any type of linking as a sufficient indicator of the overall quality of an assessment or as confirmation of the validity of its scores for their intended use" (148).

Language Ability for Academic Contexts

YLs in immersion contexts (e.g., immigrant children in ESL/EAL contexts, YLs in bilingual and CLIL contexts) need to acquire content knowledge such as math, science, and social science through the target language. Theorists, including Vygotsky (1962) and Bruner (1975), have addressed the significant role that language plays in developing concepts in academic domains. Cummins's (1979) classic distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) has shed light on the importance of developing CALP in academic studies, which could take a long time for YLs to develop. Given increasingly demanding accountability requirements in many regions and institutions, concerns have been expressed about the validity of content subject assessments if a child has not yet developed the language skills necessary for acquiring the content knowledge. Bailey and Butler (2007) proposed developing a test of academic language for L2 learners that could serve as a prerequisite for taking content assessments.

Although researchers acknowledge the important role of language in academic studies, they disagree about how to conceptualize *academic language*. Some researchers consider academic language to be diverse sets of discourses and genres associated with academic disciplines (Johns 1997), while others argue that it involves "language used to navigate school setting more generally" (Bailey and Huang 2011: 343) in addition to lexicon, sentential structures, and discourse cohesions used to teach academic subjects. Indeed, Gu (2014), based on a large-scale proficiency test of YLs' English in immersion contexts, provided some empirical evidence indicating that academic and social languages are not distinct constructs. Scarcella (2003) included not only linguistic components but also cognitive and social factors associated with using language in academic contexts (e.g., values, attitudes, and motivation) as well as various learning strategies (e.g., higher order thinking and metalinguistic awareness). Others have questioned a static conceptualization of academic language, instead suggesting dynamic and evolving multiple literacies (e.g., Street 1996).

There are many challenges to identifying and mapping YLs' English development in academic content studies. For example, if we accept that academic language for YLs consists of discipline-specific elements as well as common core elements, as in Bailey and Butler (2007), then we need to identify academic language for each subject area (e.g., math and science) and grade level. In the United States, such efforts can be seen in English language proficiency standards developed or adopted by states. The English language development (ELD) standards developed by the World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) consortium (adopted by a number of states), in order to meet the requirements of No Child Left-Behind (NCLB) policy in 2001 initially and the K–12 Common Core State Standards (CCSS) in 2010, conceptualize academic English as being at the intersection of ELD standards and core standards in each subject area. WIDA thus linked ELD standards to content standards in five areas (language of socialization and instruction, language arts, math, science, and social studies) at each corresponding grade level (WIDA n.d.). Such linkages can provide teachers with blueprints for how YLs generally develop language in academic contexts, but as Bailey and Heritage (2014) pointed out, "[ELD standards] lack the specificity needed to describe the language learning and development that must occur for students to use language as both a goal in itself and in the service of content learning" (482). As discussed below, this can be partially due the field's insufficient empirical-based understanding of YLs' language development in academic contexts. Even if the goal is to make sure that YLs can develop sufficient academic language, however defined, before taking content-subject tests, as suggested by Bailey and Butler (2007) above, there is little information to rely on to determine such a level. Finally, poststructuralist researchers question the norm that serves as the foundation for current standard-based approaches; a particular idealized monolingual norm is used as the standard, and there is no room for fostering YLs' dynamic bilingual/multilingual development (Flores and Schissel 2014).

Age-Appropriate Assessment Formats and Procedures

In designing assessments for young learners, the tasks, formats, and procedures should be appropriate for their age and their life and classroom experiences. When using tasks for assessment, it is important to consider what cognitive demands the tasks entail. For example, the cognitive demands for "telling a story" based on pictures can be manipulated by increasing or decreasing the number of pictures used, showing or not showing children the pictures in the right order, using a story with a simpler or more complicated plot line, and adjusting the amount of planning time offered to children (Pinter 2015). Cognitively rich tasks can serve as a tool to elicit various linguistic, cognitive, and metacognitive resources that YLs obtain to complete tasks. A certain degree of cognitive challenge also can motivate YLs (Jang 2014). However, if the cognitive demands exceed children's capacity (or what Vygotsky (1978) called their *zone of proximal development*), the assessment will not only fail to give teachers accurate and meaningful information to assist the children's language learning, but also it can potentially dampen the children's motivation and confidence.

Educators need to understand that tasks that work well as classroom activities may not necessarily be effective assessment tasks. Once YLs realize that they are being assessed, they may behave differently from usual. It is also important to remember that children are sensitive to the pragmatic role of teachers or other assessors in the assessment process. Carpenter et al. (1995) found that, during a teacher-child pair task assessment, children ages 5–10 were puzzled during the assessment when their teacher asked them what they saw in a picture when they knew that the teacher could also see the picture. Indeed, children need to be socialized into the world of assessment in order to perform "appropriately" during the assessment (Butler and Zeng 2014), but understanding what they are expected to do during the assessment requires a certain level of social-cognitive maturity and experience.

A teacher-child oral interview format (a popular assessment format in primary school) certainly has some advantages in that it can allow teachers to tailor questions to individual learners' proficiency levels and interactive styles and to stretch the learners' abilities. Thus, this individual assessment format may work particularly well for younger children or children who are less proficient and less proactive. However, the individual format can easily fall into an initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) discourse pattern – a typical classroom discourse pattern – that may lead to relatively limited responses from the children, such as simply answering teachers' questions (Butler and Zeng 2011). Conversely, child–child paired or group assessment formats can elicit a wider range of language use, such as asking questions, disagreeing, and suggesting (Butler and Zeng 2011), as well as a variety of interactional strategies, including repetitions and comprehension checks, all the while creating more balanced power relationships among the participants (Oliver 2002). Paired and group assessment formats are also better aligned to classroom activities. Depending on the nature of task contents and formats (e.g., pairing and grouping, familiarity of tasks), however, children up to around age 10 may find it hard to work collaboratively during the assessment (Carpenter et al. 1995; but also see García Mayo and Agirre (2016) who found a U-shape development pattern of group dynamics).

Learner-Centered Approach: Assessment to Promote YLs' Learning

As noted above, YLs are in the midst of developing not only their languages but also various knowledge and skills in academic and nonacademic domains, and this development is nonlinear and dynamic. Thus, assessment should be primarily designed to assist the development of the targeted abilities while focusing on the processes of learning. And this should be achieved through flexible and multiple means and in an ongoing fashion. Measuring YLs' abilities and performances at a single point in time makes sense only if such information is clearly used for further learning and enhancing targeted abilities. In other words, *assessment for learning* (Black and Wiliam 1998), or assessment primarily used for formative and diagnostic purposes, has a particular relevance for young learners. Similarly, assessments that are designed to foster children's development of self-regulation during early childhood have been strongly promoted, given the fact that early

self-regulation predicts children's long-term success in various academic learning (e.g., McCelland et al. 2014).

Based on her investigation of teachers' assessment practices for young English learners in England and Wales, Rea-Dickins (2001) suggested that "good 'assessment for learning' thus motivates learners to become engaged in the interaction through which they are enabled to develop skills of reflection (as a basis for self- and peer-monitoring), as well as providing them with an ability to reflect meta-cognitively on their own learning" (452–3). *Dynamic assessment (DA)* is one type of assessment that focuses on the role of scaffolding in assisting learners' learning during interaction. Based on Vygotsky's (1978) notion of the *zone of proximal development*, DA, by providing various supports individually to learners during interaction as an assessment procedure, aims to determine the extent to which scaffoldings are necessary for the given learner to improve his/her performance. In other words, DA intends to capture not only a learner's current ability to complete a task independently but also his/her emergent abilities (Poehner et al. 2017). Researchers have also sought to uncover YLs' cognitive processing and strategies for solving assessment tasks during *cognitive diagnostic assessment (CDA)*, an assessment approach designed to provide learners with feedback on their cognitive and metacognitive strengths and weaknesses for successfully completing the assessment tasks. In an intervention study of CDA in reading among young English learners in Canada, for example, Jang et al. (2017) identified a number of practical tips for effective mediation. Tips included (a) YLs' emotional responses to feedback indicated a sign of their cognitive and metacognitive abilities, (b) self-questioning promoted YLs' metacognitive control, (c) YLs who chose texts based on their interest were more responsive to the intervention, and so forth.

Self-assessment is increasingly viewed as a way to promote learners' self-reflection and autonomy. As such, it has become common practice to include self-assessment items in textbooks and other resource books for teachers. And yet self-assessment does not seem to have much of a presence in practice in YLs' classrooms (e.g., Becker 2015), which might be due, in part, to the fact that teachers and parents often perceive the primary function of assessment to be summative. Thus, the relative unpopularity of self-assessment in practice might reflect their concerns that self-assessment is too subjective and unreliable, especially for YLs. Indeed, some evidence indicates that children up to around age 9 or 10 are more likely less accurate in self-assessing their performance in L2/FL compared with older children (e.g., Butler and Lee 2006). Given the complex nature of the act of self-assessment, age differences in response may be due to cognitive and metacognitive developmental factors as well as various social and affective factors, including children's experiences with self-assessment and their personality (Butler 2018a, b). Therefore, it is important for teachers to (a) select age-appropriate activities for self-assessment items, (b) provide clear wording, (c) construct items in a contextualized fashion (e.g., asking "Can I sing the ABC song well?" after children sing the song in class instead of asking, "Can I sing English songs well?"), and (d) offer children sufficient experience with self-assessment. Children also need to clearly understand the purpose of doing self-assessment (Butler 2016).

Critically, however, the accuracy of children's responses may be less important if one focuses on the potential merits of enhancing YLs' self-regulation. From a formative perspective, self-assessment should be designed to help children understand the goal of the task, reflect on and monitor their process in relation to that goal, and foresee the next step. Self-assessment should highlight children's accomplishments and promote their confidence. The teacher's role during this process is significant. Research has indicated that self-assessment can lead to improvements of YLs' confidence and English-learning but that if teachers do not subscribe to the spirit of assessment for learning and do not see the value of self-assessment for children's learning, the effect of self-assessment on children's learning remains limited (Butler and Lee 2010). Combining peer-assessment with self-assessment may facilitate YLs' autonomy over their own learning (Hung et al. 2016).

Challenges to Meet YLs' Diverse Needs

Current assessment practices fall far short of meeting the diverse needs of YLs. Test reliability and validity can vary by test-taking group. In the United States and the United Kingdom, high-stakes standardized tests of academic subjects tend to have lower reliability and validity among YLs compared with monolingual English-speaking counterparts (Espinosa 2013). According to Espinosa, YLs should first be assessed in their dominant language. However, this can be challenging due to a lack of valid and reliable assessment for identifying YLs' dominant language. And even if one's dominant language is identified, with a few exceptions, compatible tests in academic domains are not available in other languages. Translating existing tests into the students' dominant language is not an easy solution. A translated version usually does not ensure a compatible level of validity and reliability with the original test. Moreover, translated versions are often normed on children who do not share similar characteristics with YLs in immersion contexts (e.g., monolingual speaker of the YLs' L1 or dominant language).

Under monolingual assessment contexts where YLs are required to take standardized tests in the target language, various types of test accommodation have been employed through modifying the test itself (e.g., using plain language without changing the content of the test) or the test procedures (e.g., providing extra time). According to Abedi et al. (2004), the accommodation should minimize the test takers' potential source of difficulty, but that source has to be measurement irrelevant. The authors found that the most common standardized test accommodation practice in the United States was not made based on empirical evidence. They also found that the effectiveness of accommodations is largely learner- and context-dependent, leading them to conclude that there is no "one-size-fits-all" approach to accommodation (1).

The accommodation approach, an inclusive approach to mainstream assessment practice, rests on the premise that as long as the source of difficulty for YLs is removed, the test should measure the same ability among both YLs and monolingual speakers of the target language. However, this premise itself is questionable if we

accept the view that bilinguals'/multilinguals' abilities are *qualitatively* different from monolinguals' abilities (e.g., Cook 1992); if there is a qualitative difference, then assessing YLs through tests normed on monolingual students would raise serious validity concerns. A number of social consequences and implications, or *washback*, as a result of score interpretations and use of standard-based high-stakes tests (e.g., influences on instruction, students' grade promotion, and school and teacher evaluation), have been reported (Menken et al. 2014). Such washback effects are in fact considered to be an important part of test validity (Messick 1996). To respond to this problem, some researchers proposed multilingual assessments that allow YLs to use their multilingual resources by engaging in *translanguaging* during the assessment so that the assessment result can better represent their true understanding. This practice should reflect YLs' actual language practice more accurately as well (Menken and Shohamy 2015). At this point, however, little practical information is available for teachers due the scarcity of empirical research on the effectiveness and feasibility of this proposal.

Finally, diagnosing specific learning difficulties (SLDs) among YLs poses a serious challenge. When YLs do not meet academic standards in English-medium school contexts, they are often misidentified as having SLDs (over-representation) or judged as lacking sufficient English proficiency when in fact SLDs exist (under-representation) (Ballantyne 2013). Both over- and underrepresentations of SLDs invite serious consequences. Assuming that SLDs appear across languages, it is suggested that SLDs should be identified through diagnostic tests in the child's dominant language; however, such diagnostic tests are often not available in children's dominant languages. Moreover, even if the diagnosis is possible in the child's dominant language, "the lack of an official diagnostics of SLDs does not exclude the possibility of having L2 learning difficulties" (Kormos 2017: 36). Learning difficulties in L2 can be due to multiple factors, not only cognitive and metacognitive factors (e.g., working memory, naming speed, and attention control) but also social and affective factors (e.g., instructional contexts and motivation). After all, we still have limited knowledge about how L1 and L2 learning difficulties overlap. Complicating matters, SLDs encompass various types of difficulties. Any given sources of difficulties may also influence L1 and L2 differently depending on modalities (spoken and written language modes), types of language processing (implicit and explicit processing), stages of development, and the combination of L1 and L2 languages (Kormos 2017).

Future Directions

Assessment for YLs is still relatively understudied, and there are many agendas for future research. I focus on three critical areas in this section: (1) child second language acquisition research, (2) teachers' role in assessment to promote learning, and (3) technology and assessment.

Child Second Language Acquisition (Child SLA) Research

Researchers assume that child SLA is different from adult SLA; however, research on child SLA is still limited, and we do not know how, exactly, child SLA differs from or is similar to cases of adult SLA (Oliver and Azkarai 2017). First, we need to better understand how YLs develop communicative language abilities in the target language (in relation to other language(s) that they speak). Recent longitudinal research efforts among immigrant children in the United States (Bailey and Heritage 2014) and Ireland (Ćatibušić and Little 2014) are promising. As we have discussed in the previous section, considering that the monolingual approach to assessment in multilingual contexts is more likely to have serious validity threats, we need to better understand how bilingual/multilingual children *uniquely* develop their English as well as other language(s) in their own right. Since learning trajectories and speed of development may be influenced by instructional environments as well as the characteristics of L1 and the target language, we need more information from diverse learning contexts as well as learners with various linguistic backgrounds.

Second, we need more information about the relationship between the quality of input (including feedback) and YLs' target language development. Such information is particularly important in language-focused instructional contexts (or what are traditionally referred to as EFL contexts). This is because, in those input-poor contexts, it has been found that the frequency and quality of instruction, rather than the age of onset of learning, is more influential over YLs' target language development, contrary to a widely held assumption that "the younger the better" for language learning (Muñoz 2017). It would be valuable to develop corpora capturing classroom interactions (teacher–student and student–student interactions), just like Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) – a corpus that has been used widely among first-language acquisition researchers.

Third, more research on individual differences in child SLA is necessary. In particular, information concerning individual differences in YLs' cognitive processing and strategies when they use language(s) would be valuable because it can inform teachers when designing assessment tasks, developing scaffolding techniques, or offering diagnostic feedback during/after assessments. We have limited research on *cognitive validity* (Field 2011) among YLs, which is research examining cognitive demands for completing tasks (in academic contexts in particular) and comparing cognitive processes between the assessment and real-life contexts. Such information is critical for YLs, whose cognitive resource availability when completing a given assessment task may be greatly influenced by their age, proficiency level, background knowledge, L1 background, and affective states. The information on cognitive validity may also provide foundational knowledge for developing valid diagnostic assessments for YLs with learning difficulties.

Teacher's Role in Assessment to Assist YLs' Learning

Concerning the centrality of assessment for learning for YLs, there is no question that teachers play a critical role in conducting assessment and using the results to assist YLs' learning. Limited research to date, however, suggests that teachers do not seem to make use of assessment directly to enhance YLs' learning. A series of international surveys by Rixon and her colleagues concerning teachers' assessment practices (Papp and Rixon forthcoming; Rea-Dickins and Rixon 1999, both cited in Rixon 2013, 2016) revealed that the teachers used assessment primarily for summative purposes, especially to see their own teaching effectiveness, and that their assessment practice was often constrained by beliefs and traditions of local teaching and assessment cultures. Similarly, Becker's (2015) implementation study of European Language Portfolio (ELP), which was designed to document YLs' language development based on the CEFR and to promote learners' autonomy and self-efficacy in their learning, was not successful in Germany. The teachers did not use ELP systematically or regularly; they found ELP too complex, time consuming, and unreliable. Becker concluded that "large-scale ELP use and assessment can only be established if teachers readjust their traditional ways of teaching and make changes at the level of lesson and learning and assessment culture"(275). Indeed, assessment for learning requires teachers to undergo conceptual changes. Teachers have to alter their conceptualizations regarding the relationship between learning and assessment, and the role of teachers in the assessment. They might also need to reconsider notions of validity, reliability, and fairness (Davison and Leung 2009). To make the matter more complicated, such conceptual changes need to take place in specific teaching contexts, which may no longer be construct-irrelevant (as in the psychometric tradition) but are often constrained by external factors that go beyond individual teachers (e.g., policy requirements).

In light of assessment for learning, teachers are expected to develop assessment literacy or diagnostic competence. Edelenbos and Kubanek-German (2004), based on their observations of teachers' practice in primary school English classrooms in the Netherlands and Germany, as well as on interviews with the teachers, addressed the importance of developing "diagnostic competence," which they defined as "the ability to interpret students' foreign language growth, to skillfully deal with assessment material and to provide students with appropriate help in response to this diagnosis" (260). According to the authors, diagnostic competence is composed of multiple elements, including the ability to observe and interpret students' performance (including nonverbal responses such as silence and facial expressions); various assessment-related skills such as selecting, analyzing, and adapting diagnostic materials; and abilities to scaffold students' learning (see Edelenbos and Kubanek-German 2004: 277–279 for complete descriptions of diagnostic competence). Although the authors identified the components of diagnostic competence in a primary school foreign language context, they should be applicable to any language teaching context.

Developing such competence does not seem to be easy, however. Torrance and Pryor (1998) reminded us that the initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) exchange, a

very popular classroom discourse initiated by the teacher, can help teachers detect if the student knows what the teacher had in mind, but it does not elicit information about what the student knows or provide the student with useful diagnostic feedback to promote their learning. Butler (2015) examined teachers' engagement in their YLs' task-based assessment in the context of China and found that there was substantial variability in the way that teachers elicited and diagnosed the YLs' English performance during the assessment as a result of their engagement styles. Studies examining teachers' practice of standard-based classroom assessment have also often reported the inconsistency of teachers' interpretations of standards as well as scoring (e.g., Llosa 2011 for a case in the United States).

For the future, given the fact that classroom assessment is deeply embedded in context, we first need more studies describing teachers' daily practice of assessment from different instructional contexts. For example, despite the growing popularity of CLIL, we hardly know how assessment is conducted in CLIL programs (Nikolov 2016b). Second, considering the importance of professional training, more research is needed to address potential gaps between what professional training offers and what teachers actually do in their classrooms. Longitudinal investigation, which follows teachers' cognition and assessment practice before, during, and after trainings, would be of particular interest. Third, in addition to teachers, we need to know more about children's views of assessment. Applied linguists have long treated children as merely an object of observation or treatment when they should be treated as autonomous and active agents (Pinter 2014). It would be a fruitful area of research to investigate how children develop self-regulation of and autonomy over their language learning over time as a result of assessments (e.g., by examining the process of interacting with teachers and allowing YLs to take initiative in assessment through self- and peer-assessment).

Technology and Assessment

As communication through digital devices is expanding, the role of technology in language learning for YLs is growing. Surprisingly, however, empirical investigation on digital technology-mediated assessment for YLs, including assessment using multimedia and digital games, is limited; we know little about how YLs interact with various technologies, their attitudes toward technology, and the potential influence of technology over their performance during assessment. Macaro et al. (2012) review of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) among primary and secondary school students learning English indicated that, although the direct effects of technology on YLs' English learning is rather slim, technology can positively influence YLs' attitudes and behaviors and facilitate collaboration, which all in turn influence their English learning positively. Assuming that technology is increasingly used in language instruction, technology-mediated assessment should be aligned well with instruction. Technology-based assessment also seems to be particularly suitable for YLs. First, considering substantial individual differences among YLs, technology makes it easier to have assessment tailored to individual

children's needs. Its potential for offering YLs instant feedback is an advantage as well. Second, multimodal capabilities can be useful for attracting and maintaining YLs' attention and motivating them to complete assessment tasks. Teachers can capture students' learning processes and trajectories over time through technology without making YLs feel anxious or self-conscious while being assessed. And lastly, using language technology itself likely corresponds well with the cognitive styles of children who grow up with technology. In any event, more empirical research is necessary to test such assumptions. We need to better understand how best to design and administer user-friendly and age-appropriate assessment tasks through technology, what factors may potentially influence validity and reliability of the assessment, how to provide feedback effectively through technology, the impact of technology-mediated assessment over instruction, and fairness issues in technology-mediated assessment. Critically, we may not be able to simply assume that technology-mediated assessment works well for all YLs. Papp and Walczak (2016), in a computer-based standardized English proficiency test, found that YLs who showed a preference for taking a computer version of the test performed better than those who didn't. Lee and Winke (2017) examined children's eye movements on the computer screen during a computerized speaking test. They found that English-learning YLs tended to look at a countdown timer (a potentially distracting element) while their monolingual-English-speaking counterparts tended to look longer at onscreen pictures, which would help them produce speech, suggesting that children's proficiency levels and anxiety levels may have unevenly affected their performance on the computer-based test. More research is needed to better understand how individual factors may interact with YLs' performance when using technology.

Conclusion

Although the number of studies on assessment for YLs has been on the rise, there are still far more questions than answers. Assessment for YLs requires careful considerations of age-related and environmental factors as well as individual differences. Given the vulnerability of YLs, it might be necessary to consider *all* assessment for YLs as having high stakes potentially. The teacher's role in assessment is particularly important for meeting the increasingly diversified and changing needs of YLs and to assist individual children's learning through assessment. And most importantly, we need to keep in mind that children are the center of the whole ecological system of learning and assessment.

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Feedback for Enhanced English Language Learning

28

Margaret Heritage

Contents

Abstract

When effectively provided, feedback can be an immensely powerful engine for improving learning. Through illustrations of classroom practice, this chapter examines what constitutes effective feedback in the context of language learning. Specifically, the chapter focuses on how teachers can enhance K-12 English language learner students' language development during subject matter learning

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through the provision of feedback in the context of formative assessment. The knowledge and skills teachers need for this purpose is also considered.

Introduction

Feedback is universal and indigenous to human interaction and can encompass any form of response to an action from a frown to a change in posture to a vocal utterance. Such is the universality of feedback that in many situations the absence of a response will itself be understood as a form of feedback (Levinson 2013). This chapter aims to consider formative feedback as a means to enhance the language learning of English learner (EL) students in kindergarten through 12th-grade schooling who are learning English at the same time as they are also learning subject matter content. The reason for this focus is threefold. First, close to 4.5 million school-age children in the United States (USA) US) are formally tested for English proficiency and found eligible for English-language support services to access the curriculum. Across the board, EL students represent a diverse group that includes students with differences in the amount of schooling in their country of prior residence, differences in their language status (they may be monolingual, speaking only a language other than English; bilingual, speaking two languages other than English), differences in their exposure to English, and differences in their ethnicity (Heritage et al. 2015). Second, the achievement of ELs – the fastest growing segment of the US school-age population – in core subject areas (mathematics and reading) as measured by standardized assessment is persistently low (National Center on Education Statistics (NCES) 2015). Third, this differential in achievement is also found internationally. In so much as comparisons can be made between students who are tested in a language they speak at home and students who are tested in a language they do *not* speak at home, results of the 2012 administration of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) are suggestive of a linguistic basis for the academic achievement gap (NCES 2014).

Specifically, the chapter focuses on feedback in classroom settings and its use as a resource to advance language learning in the process of formative assessment. First is a brief overview of formative assessment as a process embedded into ongoing teaching and learning. This is followed by a discussion of the communicative context in which feedback in support of language learning is considered. Next is a consideration of feedback as correction and then as a central component in the process of formative assessment. Subsequently, there is a description of the communicative context in which ELs' language learning and the conduct of formative assessment are situated, followed by a discussion of self-regulation skills which can be supported through feedback. Several instances to illustrate formative feedback for language learning are presented throughout. The illustrations are taken from video transcripts of actual classroom practice. A final section

adumbrates the knowledge and skills teachers need to engage in formative assessment and provide feedback about language learning.

Formative Assessment

Formative assessment, also referred to assessment for learning, was promoted in the 1980s (Crooks 1988; Sadler 1989) as a way to connect the two assessment activities of making judgments about student learning and providing feedback to students intended to move learning forward. A major landmark in establishing formative assessment as an explicit domain of practice was Paul Black and Dylan Wiliam's research synthesis (Black and Wiliam 1998). This review noted a shift in interest away from restricted forms of tests that are weakly linked to students' learning experiences to interest in the interactions between classroom assessment and learning. Encompassing diverse bodies of research, including classroom discourse practices, student self-perception, and teachers' assessment practices, their review concluded that implementing formative assessment can lead to significant learning gains (Black and Wiliam 1998). Since this review, evidence of the impact of formative assessment on student learning has been accumulating across individual studies and large meta-analyses (e.g., Brown and Harris 2013; Andersson and Palm 2017). While there is debate on the size of the effects of formative assessment on learning (e.g., Kingston and Nash 2011), available evidence suggests that considerable improvements in student achievement are possible when teachers implement formative assessment routinely and frequently.

Formative assessment can be conceptualized as a set of practices integrated into daily classroom teaching and learning. Its purpose is to elicit qualitative evidence of student learning and take action in order to advance learning while it is in progress (e.g., Black et al. 2003; Black and Wiliam 1998). Feedback is a key element in formative assessment, specifically, formative feedback that assists learners in taking action to close the gap – the discrepancy between their current learning status and desired goals (Sadler 1989). In formative assessment, teachers of ELs are assessing and responding to both their students' language learning and their subject matter learning. Thus, language learning, oral and written, is assessed and responded to as an integral component of learning disciplinary content.

An Example of Formative Assessment

The following example is taken from Bailey and Heritage (2018a).

The students in Ms. Avila's fifth-grade class were learning about making claims and providing evidence in argument structures. The teacher discussed with students through mentor exemplars how authors construct arguments by making claims backed by reasons that are supported by evidence. During these discussions, the students considered how authors expressed their ideas clearly and linked them together with the use of discourse connectors. In this particular lesson, Ms. Avila

sat beside Jaime, an EL student, and used their conversation as a formative assessment opportunity to review his writing and to elicit oral language. She began by asking him why he had written that some people might not want to join the fight against global warming. Jaime replied "'cuz sometimes people don't care, or they're just like really mad." Then she asked why he thought that, and he responded "'cuz you know how people are really busy sometimes, and sometimes they're like concentrating on their work more than other stuff that are happening so they like, like, put them to the side and work on what they are going to work on, like their work." The teacher followed this by asking him if, in his view, some people don't believe in global warming, to which he replied "Yeah, they're like some people that really need to recycle and waste lots of stuff." As she listened to Jaime, Ms. Avila noted that his language reflected a small repertoire of discourse connectors (*'cuz, so*), which he used correctly, and that he mainly used simple sentences, with occasional issues of clarity or vagueness with actions and objects, for example, "work on what they are going to work on, like their work," and "waste lots of stuff." Based on the evidence she obtained, Ms. Avila decided on pedagogical next steps: to focus on increasing Jaime's repertoire of discourse connectors. She first provided feedback to him, noting that he had expressed the important idea that people are distracted by their own work and other preoccupations, and then suggested that he could work on using a greater variety of discourse connectors to more clearly express relationships between his ideas. For the next lesson, Ms. Avila made a chart for Jaime's (and of course other students') reference which was divided into the headings *beginning*, *middle*, and *end*. Under each heading, she listed discourse connectors that could be used at different points in the argument, for example, *beginning, first, one reason is, or on the one hand; middle, next, for instance, or specifically; and end, lastly, above all, consequently, or in summary.* Using the chart, the teacher and her students talked about how various connectors linked ideas in important relationships so that the meaning of what they were hearing or reading was clarified. Next time she had a writing conference with Jaime, she saw that he had already expanded his use of discourse connector to link ideas more clearly within the argument structure.

Feedback

This section distinguishes between feedback as "correction" and formative feedback used in the context of the process of formative assessment.

Feedback as Correction

Early studies of feedback were rooted in the behaviorist paradigm and tied to the programmed learning movement (Sadler 1989; Wiliam 2013). Basically, programmed instruction prompts the learner to generate a target behavior and reinforces that behavior by confirming it, thus providing positive reinforcement (Bangert-Drowns et al. 1991).

The basic idea of reinforcement theory is that telling the leaners that their answers are correct reinforces the cognitive processes the learner has engaged with in order to achieve the correct response. This reinforcement, therefore, will increase the likelihood that the correct response will be given in situations where the learner encounters similar prompts in the future (Wiliam 2013). Reinforcement theories within behaviorism may be considered to accord with feedback as a corrective action intended to shape a learner's behavior.

In a review of experimental research on learning from programmed instruction materials, Kulhavy (1977) noted that evidence from a number of studies revealed that feedback did not function best as positive reinforcement. Indeed, several studies showed that positive reinforcement was often less effective than negative reinforcement. From his review, Kulhavy (1977) defined feedback as "any of the numerous procedures that are used to tell a learner if an instructional response is right or wrong" (p. 211). This definition encompassed procedures that give information to learners about whether their responses are correct or incorrect, provide the correct response, and tell learners what they needed to improve.

Inherent in this definition is the notion that feedback is needed only when things go wrong (Wiliam 2013), as in the case of corrective feedback in second language acquisition, also known as error/grammar correction (Bitchener and Ferris 2012), which is a "response to a learner's utterance containing a linguistic error" (Ellis 2009, p. 3). A broader view of feedback is adopted in the context of the process of formative assessment.

Formative Feedback

The concept of formative feedback is derived from cybernetics and concerns the control of systems. In cybernetics the output of the system is fed back to a system's controller as an input signal; the input/output signal closes the feedback loop, which, in combination with an external reference value, controls the system (Narciss 2008). In this vein, Wiliam (2013) describes how, in efforts to develop an automated system, engineers realized the need for the system wherein the effects of the actions taken could be evaluated and the evaluation would, in turn, impact future actions to achieve a desired result. Similarly, in a discussion of feedback, Sadler (1989, citing Ramaprasad 1983, p. 4) draws attention to the cybernetic perspective on feedback as the "information about the gap between the actual level and the reference level of a system parameter that is used to alter the gap in some way." Altering the gap is a fundamental requirement of feedback. Emanating from this cybernetic view, formative feedback has been described as information provided by an external agent about one's performance or understanding (Hattie and Timperley 2007) and information communicated to learners that is intended to modify their thinking to improve learning (Shute 2008).

The cognitive view of learning emphasizes learners' active construction of knowledge (e.g., Dumont et al. 2010). Within this view, individuals actively construct their understanding by connecting new knowledge to their existing knowledge.

They modify their prior knowledge in order to accommodate the new knowledge, reconstructing existing cognitive structures in the process. In the cognitive perspective, explanatory formative feedback helps learners correct their own errors and develop self-regulation skills (National Research Council 2012).

With regard to error correction by one's self and the development of self-regulatory processes, the role of the learner in formative assessment was underscored by Black and Wiliam (1998) in their conception of the core activity of formative assessment as two actions: first, the perception by the learner of the gap between his or her present learning state and a desired goal and second, following Sadler (1989), is the action taken by the learner to close the gap in order to attain the desired goal. The active role of the learner in formative assessment is consistent with a cognitive view of learning, and as conceptions of formative assessment have further evolved over the course of the last two decades, the connection between academic self-regulated learning and formative assessment has become increasingly explicit (e.g., Bailey and Heritage 2018b; Clark 2012; Heritage 2016). Learners who are self-regulated employ strategies such as setting goals, planning to achieve goals, monitoring progress toward goals, and, upon reflection, adapting learning approaches to move closer to desired goals (Zimmerman 2002). In the process of formative assessment, students are supported by their teachers to engage in such self-regulated strategies with the goal of ultimately acquiring them as an integral component of their independent learning process.

Effects of Formative Feedback

When effectively provided feedback is an immensely powerful engine for improving learning. In their review of 196 studies documenting 6,972 effect sizes, Hattie and Timperley (2007) reported that feedback had an average effect size of 0.79 standard deviations – an effect greater than student prior cognitive ability, socioeconomic background, and reduced class size. Hattie's later meta-analysis (2008) reported an effect size of 0.73. The effect sizes of feedback reported in Shute's (2008) review of 141 publications were typically in the range of 0.40–0.80. However, not all feedback is effective, for instance, ego-involving feedback that draws attention away from the task and toward students' self-esteem can have negative effects on performance or, similarly, feedback that makes comparisons with other students (Kluger and DeNisi 1996).

Effective formative feedback provides information to learners (1) about relating to the task or process of learning that fills a gap between what is understood and what is aimed to be understood (Hattie and Timperley 2007); (2) about the particular qualities of their work, with advice on what they can do to improve (Black and Wiliam 1998); and (3) about how to improve rather than correct answers (Bangert-Drowns et al. 1991), which is specific and clear and related to learning goals (Song and Keller 2001). In addition, from her extensive and comprehensive review of feedback, Shute (2008) observed that effective formative feedback "depends on three things: (a) motive (the students need it), (b) opportunity (the student receives it in time to use it), and (c) means (the student is able and willing to use it)."

In terms of language learning, formative feedback is not intended to indicate to students that their language use is either correct or incorrect. Rather, the purpose of feedback is to help students understand what they are doing well in relation to the learning goal (e.g., *I noticed in our discussion today that you were using one of the modal verb forms we have been thinking about during our collaborative work.*). Then the students need to understand what they can do in order to improve (e.g., *In our next discussion, can you try to use more of those verb forms when you are explaining your ideas*) (Bailey and Heritage 2018a).

Language Learning Context

Wells (1994) noted that both Vygotsky and Halliday view language as a "human 'invention' which is used as a means of achieving the goals of social living" (p. 46). In this regard, communicative competence involves knowing what to say, to whom, in what circumstances, and how to say it (Hymes 1972). Communicative language teaching emphasizes the learner's ability to speak in a second language in ways that are appropriate to specific communicative situations, for example, participating in conversations that involve requesting, explaining, sustaining ideas, and responding to requests for elaboration (Heritage et al. 2015).

With respect to the language of schooling, Bailey and Heritage (2008) proposed three categories of language that students need to use: first, social language (SL), the language that students use in school but outside the academic context as social language (e.g., talking to friends about shared activities); second, school navigation language (SNL), necessary for dealing with nonacademic aspects of the school culture and logistics (e.g., following directions, expressing needs); and third, curriculum content language (CCL), the language necessary for accessing academic content. CCL is acquired during subject matter learning and is different from the language that speakers use in SL or SNL contexts. Although EL students in school will need to learn all three categories of language, this chapter focuses specifically on the third category, CCL, or disciplinary language learning.

Disciplinary Language

Learning language in the context of subject matter engages student in the discourse patterns, structures, and terminology of the specific discipline. In science, students use language to interpret observations, to construct explanations about phenomena, and to engage in argumentation from evidence. Mathematical language is not simply specialized vocabulary but is primarily the communicative competence necessary for competent participation in mathematical discourse practice. During these discourse practices, students are involved in communicating their thought processes, justifying their reasoning, and critiquing the reasoning of others. In literacy, students read complex works of literature and perform critical reading that is necessary to process information in print and digital forms (Hakuta and Santos 2012). In addition, different disciplines utilize different languages in text. For example, science texts

use noun groups to categorize terms and processes, create theory, construct reasoning, and link ideas in text, and in mathematics students must manipulate long and complex noun groups to solve word problems (Schleppegrell 2004). EL students need to speak, read, and write within each of these disciplines in order to learn content.

In the context of subject matter learning, language learners do not develop language from a series of unidirectional inputs from teachers. Instead, they learn through socio-cognitive processes, making sense of the language they are exposed to with other interlocutors and co-adapting language to make meaning (Larsen-Freeman 2013). Teachers who adopt a communicative language teaching approach emphasize their students' fluency, or ease of use in the second language as they carry out these functions, and they regard issues of accuracy, or correctness, as secondary. Learners are encouraged to make creative attempts to use language to communicate (Nicholas et al. 2001).

An illustration of using creative attempts to use language is provided in the excerpt below. The high school class comprises newly arrived immigrant students to the USA (US). They have been learning English for 5 weeks and are using English to make meaning about subatomic particles during a science lesson. Prior to this partner discussion, the students have watched a simulation of subatomic particles moving around the atom and closeup shots of the particles inside the nucleus. They are now devising a question to share with the class about what they have seen.

María: For me the question is: because the s – the size is different.
[silence between José and María]
The size color is . . . different.
José: The size and color?
María: Yes, because the size and color is different. What is YOUR question? Other, other question.
José: No – It's not a question because you have because. It's WHY.
María: Ah! why! Why the size and color is different? For me, is my question. What is your question?
José: Mmm . . . Why (Spanish: Es que no sé cómo se dice alrededor.)
María: Round. Round.
José: Round . . . No, no, no, no, "around." (Heritage et al. 2015, p. 27)

While their English language production is not accurate, nor fully formed, nevertheless María and José are engaged in discourse-based communication to make meaning about subatomic particles. Furthermore, it will be clear to their teacher and their peers what questions the students are attempting to formulate in English. This kind of content-based language learning stands in contrast to teaching that emphasizes the formal study of language through its forms, rules, and structures. When feedback is provided to students about language while they are learning discipline-specific content, the feedback focuses on language to make meaning of content rather than on correcting errors of language production as in, for example, discrete point presentation methods of teaching second language.

Table 1   Summary of language learning approaches

Communicative approaches	Other views of language learning
Language learning is fostered through participation in carefully structured activities for a real purpose	Language learning internally processed in the student in the brain's "black box" as a result of external input – listening to the teacher
Subsume form and function by engaging learners in using language as a tool to act in the world	Teaching form and function in isolation from meaningful discourse-based communication
Revealing how language is purposeful and patterned	Emphasizing discrete structural features of language
Engaging learners in activities that scaffold their development	Engaging learners in activities that pre-teach content
Using complex, amplified texts that focus on essential elements of a concept or theme, their interconnections, and learner engagement in higher-order thinking	Using simple or simplified texts that are focused on single ideas
Establishing objectives that integrate language and content learning	Establishing separate objectives for language and content learning
Teaching multimodal grammar, extending what they are learning about from reading written texts to visual and electronic texts	Teaching traditional grammar in isolation from context and only in written form

Table 1 summarizes some of the differences in communicative, content-based approaches and other views of language learning (Heritage et al. 2015). Clearly, the nature of feedback provided will differ according to the language teaching approach. For instance, if learning language is undertaken in classrooms where teachers focus on forms in isolation from meaningful discourse, the feedback will address correct or incorrect forms. Illustrations of feedback in the context of communicative, subject matter teaching approaches are presented in the next section.

Formative Feedback in Content-Based, Communicative Contexts

In this section three illustrations of feedback to enhance language learning are provided.

Feedback in English as a Second Language Class

The following vignette is provided by Walqui and van Lier (2010, pp. 4–5).

This secondary English as a second language class comprises newcomers whose experience in the USA ranges from 3 months to 2 years. The students are part way through a 5-week unit on language that requires them to engage in research on the topic. At this point in the unit, students have formulated questions they would like to explore about language and have researched the topic from a variety of sources. The teacher now asks them to write a letter to someone they know, telling them what they

have learned so far about language. This activity will serve as an instructional task and also as a formative assessment opportunity for the teacher about his students' use of written language.

Before the lesson is over, five students volunteer to write the beginning of their letter on large sheets of paper. Julio asks to read his letter aloud to the class. As he reads, he uses his body and arms to underscore his ideas and interjects oral markers of communication in his reading.

> Julio: ...First of all, I think that language is a way to inform others around you, your feelings or just a simple thing that you want to let know people what is the deal. And it can be expressed by saying it, watching a picture, or hearing it, you know what I'm saying? I don't know if you have heard about the kangaroo rat that stamps its feet to communicate with other rats. It's really funny cause we humans have more characteristics to communicate to each other, but we still have problems to understand other people. Characteristics like sound, grammar, pitch, and body language are some of them, while the rat only uses the foot (he stamps the ground).

What might be appropriate feedback for Julio after his reading that will help him advance his language learning? Pointing out to Julio what he has done successfully, a teacher might note he has analyzed and synthesized information about language from a variety of print and electronic media, and he has used precise linguistic terms, such as *grammar* and *pitch* and other academic language – *characteristics*, *expressed*, *communicate*, and *inform*. Identifying what a student has done well is different from ego-involving feedback such as praise (e.g., you are so smart). The student's attention is drawn to where he has been effective, verifying and consolidating what he has learned.

In suggesting next steps, a teacher might tell him that he is developing an understanding of genre and audience to determine the appropriate form and style to communicate his findings in writing, but then ask him to review his writing and think about any language he has used that might be more appropriate in conversation with a peer than in a more formal written context. The emphasis of this feedback is not on informing Julio how to repair what he has done but rather on encouraging him to use what he already knows about the use of written language for specific audiences to review and revise his own work.

This approach to feedback illustrated above is consistent with the perspective on feedback as information that helps students troubleshoot their own performance and self-correct (Nicol and Macfarlane-Dick 2006). As such, the feedback provided preserves Julio's status as an agent in his own learning. Furthermore, an effective teacher will return to Julio to discuss any revisions, which may entail providing further feedback to help him refine his writing.

Classroom Culture

The way in which formative feedback is conveyed to students and the context of the classroom culture can affect a variety of students' personal features, such as self-concept, self-attribution, self-efficacy, and assumptions about the nature of learning

(Black and Wiliam 1998). For this reason, it is important to highlight the kind of classroom culture that is conducive to students' receiving and using feedback to advantage their learning, whether the feedback is provided publicly, as in Julio's case, or individually, as we shall see in subsequent examples of feedback.

A primary means to learn language in school and to reveal the status of language learning is through engaging in classroom discourse. Students decide whether or not to participate in classroom discourse depending on the classroom dynamic and their past experience with their peers. The more that students trust their peers, the more likely they are ready to take the risks necessary to learn (James et al. 2017). The significance of trust between teacher and students is also a major factor in how well students are able to engage in learning (Van Maele et al. 2014). Trust develops when an interlocutor is perceived to have one's best interests at heart, whereas distrust can develop when a feedback provider is viewed as threatening or unapproachable (Carless 2015). For feedback to be useful to students' language learning, and indeed for learning subject matter, teachers will need to create an inclusive, caring, and respectful classroom culture for students in which they feel that whatever level of language they are able to produce, their contributions will be valued by their teacher and their peers and will never be subject to ridicule, sanctions, or negative comparisons (Bailey and Heritage 2018a). Establishing the norm of careful listening to comprehend what peers are saying and creating participatory structures that enable the contribution of all students are essential for language learning and also for the provision of feedback.

Embedded Feedback

Earlier, corrective feedback in second language acquisition was described as any indication to a student that his or her use of the target language is incorrect. Such indications can include an explicit response, as in "no, that is not correct," or an implicit one, such as repeating the correct word or structure, or a metalinguistic response, for example, "don't forget that a verb has to agree with the subject" (Spada and Lightbown 1999). However, teacher interventions that can have the effect of correction can emerge in other ways. Following Jefferson's (1987) seminal distinction between exposed and embedded correction in conversation, feedback may be distinguished along similar lines. In embedded feedback, student language choices are replaced or corrected without that replacement or correction being the discernable object of the teacher's intervention. Because the corrective function of embedded feedback is not overt, explicit student uptake may not always be immediate. However, as the following example illustrates, embedded feedback used in a conversation about the students' mathematical problem-solving and the language of the problem provides the impetus for the student's instant uptake.

The students in this first- and second-grade mathematics class come from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds and many of them are ELs. In this lesson, the learning goal written on the whiteboard for students to see was:

> As a mathematician today, I will understand how a group of objects can be partitioned into equal shares.

After the students had read the goal aloud, the teacher called on multiple students to share what they thought the term "partition" meant and helped them connect their conversation about partitioning with the lesson learning goal. Next, the students were given a problem to work on, and as they started working, the teacher circulated to engage in formative assessment opportunities by listening to their explanations and posing questions related to their justifications about problem-solving strategies. One student, an EL, working to group 292 into 4 groups, had started by grouping the 200 into 4 groups of 50. The teacher uses her exchange with the student as an opportunity to help her acquire mathematical terms.

Teacher: So what do you think you're going to do now with the 92 that are left?
Student: I'm gonna split them?
Teacher: You're going split them. So you're going partition them into how many groups?
Student: Partition in four.
Teacher: Four groups?
Student: Yes.
Teacher: Okay. Go ahead. I'm going come back and see how you partitioned that 92 into the four groups. I noticed the strategy you used with hundreds. Now I want to see what that strategy looks like with tens and two ones.

Although the student had heard the word "partition" in a mathematical context during the initial class discussion about the learning goal, she uses "split them" instead of the more precise mathematical term "partition." The teacher's initial response is to acknowledge the student's answer by repeating it, but she goes on with a follow-up question in which she uses the mathematically appropriate term "partition," thus replacing the word "split."

At first sight, this kind of feedback may appear to resemble feedback as implicit correction as described in the second language acquisition literature (e.g., Ellis 2009). However, this is not the case. Consider the following example (Ellis 2009, p. 4):

S1: What do you spend with your wife?
T: What?
S1: What do you spend your extra time with your wife?
T: Ah, how do you spend?
S2: How do you spend.

Here, although the teacher's correction "how do you spend?" is not explicit, it is nonetheless designed and understood to be correction, as evidenced by the uptake of Student 2. However, in the mathematics classroom example, the replacement of the word "split" by "partition" is performed as part of response which has the goal of following up on the student's problem-solving plan. In effect, the teacher is modeling the terms for her student so that she can hear the word again in a mathematical context. As can be seen from the transcript, the student builds on this modeling by incorporating the word "partition" in her subsequent answer.

In this instance, correction has occurred, but the student has not been "corrected." Furthermore, the teacher has obtained evidence of the student's mathematical learning, and she has also provided feedback focused on the student's problem-solving strategy.

Feedback to Support Academic Self-Regulation

In their discussion on self-regulated learning and feedback, Nicol and Macfarlane-Dick (2006, p. 205) concluded that good feedback practice is "anything that might strengthen the student's capacity to self-regulate their own performance." Students who are self-regulated learners view learning as an activity they do for themselves in a proactive way rather than simply a reactive response to teaching (Zimmerman 2002).

Metacognition, the ability to reflect on one's own learning and make adjustments when necessary, is a facet of self-regulated learning. Two aspects of metacognition for self-regulation that are supported through students' engagement in a process of formative assessment are self-appraisal and self-management (Paris and Winograd 1990). Self-appraisal refers to reviewing one's knowledge and cognitive strategies, whereas self-management is when learners monitor and regulate learning through planning and adapting learning strategies when necessary.

Two motivational factors bear on students' self-regulation abilities. First, students' commitment to, and interest in, the learning at hand can lead them to perceive learning as either worthwhile or not worth doing. When students see little value in a task, they do not bring the goal-oriented perspective associated with self-regulation to their learning. This point underscores the need for teachers to engage students in learning opportunities that the students perceive as relevant, have an intrinsic value to their own learning, and have a clear purpose. Second, students' affective response to learning can impact motivation. For example, when students experience feelings of boredom, either as a result of learning situations that provide insufficient stimulation or those that place too great demands on their capabilities (Pekrun et al. 2002), their motivation for academic self-regulation is diminished (cf. Paris and Paris 2001).

Dialogic Feedback

Considering the aim of feedback as the means to enhance students' abilities to self-monitor their work in progress, Carless et al. (2011) distinguish between feedback as monologic information transfer and feedback as dialogic interaction. Dialogic feedback consists of negotiation and clarification and leads to action or reflection. In a further elaboration, Bailey and Heritage (2018b) and Heritage (2016) conceptualize dialogic feedback as a process of co-regulation in which thinking is distributed between the individual who is providing regulatory support (through feedback) and the individual who is appropriating regulatory knowledge and skills (e.g., goal setting, self-monitoring, adjusting learning strategies).

The following vignette illustrates how dialogic formative feedback can support an EL student to engage in both learning about structures in argumentation and in developing self-regulation skills.

There are 26 students in Ms. Avila's fifth-grade writing class, and over 50% are classified as ELs. In her class, writing instruction takes place within a predictable routine of a "writer's workshop" setting. Each session of the workshop begins with a mini-lesson, in which she focuses on a specific concept or skill, and is followed by a period in which the students engage in independent writing, using what they have learned in the mini-lesson to further their work. The session ends with a plenary in which Ms. Avila brings the lesson to a close.

The students had previously learned about the idea of "arguments" and reasons to support the argument, which Ms. Avila framed as "all the reasons why people should to listen to me." This mini-lesson had centered on developing counterarguments. Ms. Avila had worked through an example on the white board, using a graphic organizer labeled into three sections: arguments, counterarguments, and reasons/opinions. The students had the same graphic organizer in their notebooks and were at different stages in developing arguments, counterarguments, and reasons. In terms of disciplinary language, they were acquiring the precise terminology and the discourse structure of argumentation in essay writing.

During the independent writing time, Ms. Avila engaged in an interaction with Mariana, an EL student. Her purpose was to find out where Mariana was in relation to the development of her arguments, counterarguments, and reasons with the purpose of moving her work forward.

Ms. A: Read me your argument first, just so that I understand what it is that you're. . .
Mariana: I think people should recycle because like you. . . you could help the earth get well, clean and healthy.
Ms. A: Okay. And your reasons?
Mariana: To save the earth, you can provide people by getting injured when they are picking cans, bottles from the street or in the trashcan.
Ms. A: Read that last one again, I missed that one word.
Mariana: Provide, provide people by not getting injured.
Ms. A: Let me see the word? (Mariana points to the word in the "reasons" column of her notebook)
Ms. A: Are you trying to say. . . What are you trying to say there?
Mariana: Like to, for people to not get hurt.
Ms. A: And how does that support your argument?
Mariana: 'Cuz like, 'cuz some people, they throw, um, bottles and cans on the street,
Ms. A: Uh huh. (Ms. Avila nods)
Mariana: so some people are like walking and they trip on the bottles on the street
Ms. A: Uh huh. (Ms. Avila nods)
Mariana: and they try to recycle this.

In this interaction Mariana makes a vocabulary error (provide instead of prevent). Ms. Avila gives her several opportunities to revise her word selection, which she

does not. Having decided this is an error (i.e., that Mariana does not have the word as part of her repertoire) rather than a mistake, Ms. Avila decides not to correct this error – she can address vocabulary on another occasion – and, treating Mariana as having articulated a satisfactory English sentence, she explicitly maintains the focus on the main language and the disciplinary conceptual purpose of her writing, connecting reasons with the argument. Ms. Avila sees that Mariana is having difficulty in dealing with the terms "reasons" and "arguments" as metacategories. In response, she begins to make connections for Mariana between reasons and arguments in terms of their capacity to convince others and to cause other people to "pay attention to you, and they should listen and they should agree." Her aim is to move Maria toward a recognition of the nature of the argument structure involved.

> Ms. A: And you need to convince people, do you see. So everything you put here [the reasons column in Mariana's graphic organizer], you have to really be thoughtful, and really think about what you are writing down because this is going to be all the reasons why people should listen to you.

Ms. Avila ends her interaction with Mariana with a reminder of this feedback, written on a large post-it note that reads "Why should people listen to your argument?". She tells Mariana that the reminder will help her revise her work and that she can use the feedback to check her revisions. Mariana then continues with her writing.

This feedback does not provide a "correction" (i.e., the correct response in some form) for either the vocabulary error or for the writing problem (i.e., noting what is incorrect about her writing and telling her what to write). Responding with correction in both instances would have preempted Mariana's opportunity for self-regulation and most likely for learning about the function of reasons in an argument. Instead, the teacher offers her student a way out of her current difficulties by emphasizing the conceptual aspects of argument writing, pinpointing, in particular, the purpose of "reasons." Mariana's agency in her writing is maintained, and, in addition, her self-regulation abilities are supported by the teacher's suggestion that she uses the feedback to check her work. A further point about this feedback is that what Mariana is being asked to do is within reach of her current competence, thus removing any obstacles that might affect her motivation to engage in self-regulation by thinking about her own writing and how to improve it.

Also noteworthy in this dialogic feedback is that at no time is Mariana's language use demeaned by her teacher. As discussed earlier trust between teacher and students is a factor in learning. At the beginning of the interaction, Ms. Avila accounts for her request in terms of understanding what Maria's objective is. Her additional remark "just so I understand what it is that you're . . .." is registering Mariana's agency in the work and her own role as an assistant in the formation of the argument. After letting Mariana's vocabulary error pass, she focuses on the writing structure asking Mariana "and how does that support your argument?". Beginning her question with the word "and" builds the question as part of a coherent and continuing conversational sequence. These specific actions in the context of feedback are the small stitches that contribute to creating a trusting relationship between teacher and student.

Teachers' Knowledge and Skills

In order to effectively provide formative feedback to EL learners in the context of formative assessment, teachers will need a range of knowledge and skills. First, teachers will need to understand formative assessment as assessment to inform learning during its ongoing course, rather than as a means to determine if students got it or didn't get it (Otero 2006). They will need the skills to intentionally capitalize on formative opportunities during a lesson (which can encompass several class periods) to obtain evidence of language learning. Such opportunities occur when students actually use language for the purpose of disciplinary learning and include, as illustrated in this chapter, listening to students' discourse, asking questions, and examining and discussing their written work.

Second, teachers need the interpretive skills to make nuanced judgments about the status of student learning in relation to desired goals so that feedback can be calibrated to an individual student's current learning status. As discussed earlier, the purpose of formative assessment is to identify the "gap" between the learner's current status and desired goals. Sadler (1989) stressed that this gap will vary from student to student and spelled out the consequences for pedagogy: "if the gap is perceived as too large by a student, the goal may be unattainable, resulting in a sense of failure and discouragement on the part of the student. Similarly, if the gap is perceived as too 'small,' closing it might not be worth the individual effort" (p. 130). Thus, teachers' interpretive skills are essential to determine the gap so that, borrowing from the Goldilocks metaphor, the feedback will be couched in terms of the "just right" gap. These skills will be among the determinants of student motivation to continue wanting to learn language by feeling successful in their efforts.

Third, teachers need to understand formative feedback as a mechanism to help students understand where they are in their learning and what they need to do to move forward to close the gap. They also need skills to give the kind of feedback that serves these purposes. Understanding the role that effective feedback can play in supporting students' metacognitive skills so that they can engage in self-appraisal and self-management as part of regulatory learning processes will assist teachers in providing the "just right" feedback that paves the way for students' own self-monitoring, as illustrated in the interaction between Mariana and her teacher.

Heritage et al. (2009) found that teachers are better at drawing reasonable inferences about student levels of understanding from assessment information than they are at deciding the next instructional steps and hypothesized that among the reasons for this was a lack of disciplinary knowledge. As a result, among their recommendations for effective formative assessment was that teachers should possess deep knowledge of how learning progressed in specific disciplines. In the case of teachers of ELs, they will need both knowledge of learning in subject matter areas, as well as the knowledge of the language necessary to learn within the discipline. This will be a heavy lift for subject matter teachers who do not typically receive in-depth professional learning in language development.

In this regard, one promising area is the development of an empirically derived language progression for explanation, a cross-curricular language function (Bailey and Heritage 2014, 2018a). The progression is structured around the features of three key language dimensions: discourse, sentence, and word. The ability to acquire and coordinate the dimensions of word, sentence, and discourse features of English in sophisticated ways enables a speaker to effectively learn new subject matter in school. At a more detailed level are eight high-leverage language features. The progression is intended to increase teacher knowledge of language and to serve as an interpretive framework for formative assessment. The results of two pilot studies of implementation suggest that teachers find the language progression a useful tool for formative assessment to help them interpret evidence, make judgments about the gap, and decide on next steps for language learning, including feedback, in the context of disciplinary learning.

Finally, no matter their teaching context, teachers will need to create the classroom conditions that enable students to use language without fearing that their language production, either written or oral, will be met with anything other than a positive and constructive response. This involves creating a classroom community where the students feel safe to learn with and from each other. Above all, teachers will need to model the "safety" norms of the classroom in the nature of their feedback so that students perceive feedback as constructive support for learning and have the desire to use it to advance their own learning. Such norms include avoiding ego-involving feedback, focusing on the qualities of the learning not on the student, and clearly respecting students' learning progress by describing how they are making progress toward the goal with suggestions for how to move forward.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered how language learning for ELs can be enhanced through feedback in a process of formative assessment during subject matter learning. It began with a discussion of formative assessment as integral to teaching and learning, day by day, and drew a distinction between feedback in formative assessment and feedback as a response to error. The development of students' self-regulatory skills was also considered in the context of formative feedback. Throughout, illustrations of formative feedback about language in communicative content-based teaching and learning have been provided, including embedded and dialogic feedback. The nature of a classroom culture that is conducive to language learning and feedback was also highlighted.

The final section described the knowledge and skills that teachers need to engage in formative assessment for language in content area learning. Acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills for formative feedback about language is a nontrivial matter and, for the many teachers who are have ELs in their classrooms, will require preservice and ongoing in-service professional learning. However, given the benefits of formative feedback to learning, it is surely worth the investment.

Cross-References

► Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
► Using Assessment to Enhance Learning in English Language Education

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English Language Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice

29

Yueting Xu

Contents

Abstract

This chapter aims at developing common understandings of teacher assessment literacy in practice within the realm of English language teaching on an international scale. Building upon Xu and Brown's (Teach Teach Educ 58:149–162, 2016) framework of Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice (TALiP) and prior studies on language assessment literacy for teachers, this chapter elaborates on what each layer of TALiP means to English language teachers. It first analyzes the

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essential knowledge base for teachers to effectively assess English language learning, and then reviews research on language teacher conceptions of assessment and on English language teaching contexts to discuss how TALiP mediates, and is mediated by, tensions and dynamics in English teachers' assessment practices. Evidence from a case study of a university English teacher (Rosa, pseudonym) from a large research project of assessment literacy is used to highlight how the teacher's TALiP works as compromises are made between her conceptions of assessment and institutional contexts, as well as how she promoted her TALiP through proactive learning about assessment and identity construction as an assessor. It concludes with implications for the research and practice of English language teacher assessment literacy.

Keywords

English language teachers · Teacher assessment literacy in practice

Introduction

Assessment is the bridge that connects teaching and learning because only through assessment do we know whether what we taught has been learnt (Stiggins 1995). Thus, how assessment is conducted is critically important to evaluating the overall quality of education. In addition to assessment for public reporting, certification, and selection purposes, assessment is increasingly administered by teachers in their classrooms to support teaching and learning. As the agents of classroom assessment, teachers are responsible for planning and implementing quality assessment tasks in alignment with their teaching objectives, engaging students as active participants in the assessment of their own learning, interpreting evidence and outcomes appropriate for the assessment purpose and type, and making educational decisions based upon data derived from assessment, to name just a few. To ensure the quality of these classroom-based assessment activities, teachers need adequate assessment literacy (AL), a concept introduced by Stiggins (1991), to support their decision-making. Teacher assessment literacy, therefore, has become the crux of the issue, especially against the backdrop of expanding use of classroom assessment across contexts.

In the field of English language education, teachers' AL has gained increasing recognition in the past decade, but many issues inherent to AL have remained underexplored, such as how AL is related to the specific subject area, how English language teachers' AL is different from AL in general, and what constitutes AL for English teachers in particular. Considering the importance of teacher AL in evaluating the quality of English language education internationally, this chapter sets out to address the complexities of English language teacher assessment literacy in practice by teasing out what each layer of TALiP (Xu and Brown 2016) specifically means to English language teachers. Arguments in favor of TALiP for English language teachers are then supported by evidence from a case study of how Rosa (pseudonym), a university English instructor, enacted her TALiP and improved it in the process of learning about assessment and becoming an assessor.

Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice (TALiP) and Language Assessment Literacy (LAL)

Teacher assessment literacy in practice (TALiP) is a concept proposed by Xu and Brown (2016) to reconceptualize teacher assessment literacy, which was conventionally defined as a set of assessment knowledge and skills. TALiP is understood as a three-level mastery that entails evolving stages of assessment knowledge, skill, and awareness. At the first level, teachers are expected to possess a basic mastery of assessment principles of "what," "how," and "why." Based on this knowledge foundation, the second level requires teachers to develop their internalized set of understanding and skills of the interconnectedness of assessment, teaching, and learning. The first two levels of TALiP pave the way for the third, wherein teachers are supposed to develop a self-directed awareness of assessment processes and their identity as assessors. This continuum of assessment literacy development provides a trajectory along which teachers are able to develop their TALiP step by step.

Compared to AL research in general education and in science education, research on language assessment literacy (LAL) has been lagging behind and is still in its infancy (Fulcher 2012). As an overlapping area and a subordinate concept to AL (Taylor 2013), LAL denotes the specific knowledge and skill dimensions necessary for stakeholders' – including teachers' – effective assessment of student language learning (Davies 2008). Given that different stakeholders may need different dimensions of LAL, Taylor (2013) posits that LAL for classroom teachers is more oriented to language pedagogy, local practices, technical skills, and personal beliefs. As LAL for teachers is gaining increasing importance in the field of language assessment (Inbar-Lourie 2013; Leung 2004; Scarino 2013), there is "a phenomenal increase in the testing and assessment responsibilities placed upon language teachers" (Fulcher 2012, p. 113). Language teachers need to assume more responsibilities in assessment of student learning, such as gathering reliable data about student progress, using these data to adjust their instructions, and providing diagnostic feedback to their students (Shepard 2000). In the realm of English language education, however, LAL for English teachers has not yet been explicitly specified. Building on Xu and Brown's (2016) TALiP framework, the following section reviews up-to-date literature to elaborate on what each layer of TALiP means to English language teachers.

The Knowledge Base of TALiP for English Teachers

When LAL was introduced, it was considered to be a combination of core knowledge and skills of educational assessment and specific competencies related to language testing and assessment (Brindley 2001; Inbar-Lourie 2008). Although Inbar-Lourie states that "considerations of assessment purpose trait and method must be understood in light of contemporary theories in language-related areas" (Inbar-Lourie 2008, p. 394), this summary regrettably did not specify the language-related areas. Thus, it is essential to distinguish between the core knowledge and skills of educational assessment from those specific to language teaching and learning.

Brindley (2001) argues that the language assessment knowledge base comprises the "what," "how," and "why," dimensions of language testing and assessment. The "what" dimension of language testing and assessment, however, has not yet been agreed upon. According to some earlier studies that investigated the content of language assessment courses (Brindley 2001; Brown and Bailey 2008; Jin 2010), the knowledge base for LAL encompasses theoretical knowledge of language testing, including an understanding of language proficiency, how to construct and evaluate language tests, the relationship between assessment and curricula, and other practical skills such as item writing, test revision, test analysis, and test scoring. Clearly, such stipulations have focused mainly on test-related knowledge and skills, a professional area of expertise required for testers in particular, while neglecting knowledge and skills required for classroom assessment which teachers need to design and implement on a day-to-day basis.

In Xu and Brown's (2016) conceptual framework, the knowledge base is considered as "a necessary but not sufficient condition for TALiP" (p. 155). It consists of seven dimensions of knowledge, including (1) disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge (PCK), (2) knowledge of assessment purposes, content and methods, (3) knowledge of grading, (4) knowledge of feedback, (5) knowledge of peer and self-assessment, (6) knowledge of assessment interpretation and communication, and (7) knowledge of assessment ethics. Given that this knowledge base is more classroom-assessment oriented, it would be able to complement the LAL knowledge base espoused by earlier studies (Brindley 2001; Brown and Bailey 2008; Jin 2010) if it is tailored to English teaching pedagogy. What has remained unresolved, however, is how the knowledge base of the TALiP framework can be more subject-specific for English teachers.

The first type of knowledge, the disciplinary knowledge for English teachers, refers to content knowledge and curricular knowledge, which include knowledge of English language arts and knowledge of how curriculum can be both vertically and horizontally aligned with other parts of the education system (Shulman 1986). By comparison, the pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) for English teachers includes knowledge of the purposes for teaching English, curricular knowledge, knowledge of instructional strategies, and understanding of students' prior knowledge and learning difficulties (Grossman 1990; McLaughlin and Talbert 2006; Shulman 1987).

Within the second dimension of the TALiP knowledge base, the knowledge of assessment purposes and methods is generic, and yet knowledge of assessment content is discipline-based. English language teachers need to know what they should assess, what is worth assessing, how assessment can be integrated into the learning tasks, and how they can align classroom assessment to benchmarks and standards, curriculum, external tests, and textbooks (Cheng and Fox 2017). Such knowledge of assessment content requires teachers to familiarize themselves with their students' learning outcomes, and use these ultimate goals to guide the planning and implementation of assessment content.

Among the remaining five dimensions of knowledge, most of them are presumably generic to every subject discipline except for the knowledge of feedback. Given

that many teachers teach English as a foreign or second language, they not only need to know the purposes and principles of feedback and to become aware of the differential effects of different types of feedback on raising student achievement (e.g., feedback at the self-regulation and process levels is more effective than that at the task and self levels) (Hattie and Timperley 2007), but they also need to know when to use different forms of feedback to scaffold content and/or forms of students' language development. Knowledge of feedback on language forms is what (English) language teachers in particular need. To maximize the effectiveness of feedback processes, English teachers are also expected to possess the knowledge of how to involve students in feedback processes and how to enable students to become competent feedback providers and receivers (Xu and Carless 2017).

To note that examining the knowledge base as the first step does not mean that we are going to base our understanding of English teacher assessment literacy on the deficit model that has been described as a range of competency standards against which teacher performance is compared (e.g., Plake et al. 1993). The potential danger of simply relying on the knowledge base lies in an overly simplistic linear and causal relation between knowledge and practice which neglects the complexities of the interaction between teacher agency and infrastructural conditions in shaping assessment literacy (Xu and Harfitt 2018). In other words, relating the assessment literacy knowledge base for English teachers to only knowledge and skills concerning tests and classroom assessments is not sufficient to understand the complexities of TALiP.

English Language Teachers' Conceptions of Assessment

Teachers' professionalization in assessment is not a straightforward matter of increasing their assessment literacy through training workshops (Tierney 2006). It means that well-designed assessment courses or training workshops covering all the knowledge and skill dimensions discussed above cannot necessarily guarantee assessment literacy and effective assessment practices. Teachers' conceptions about assessment need to be regarded "as an indispensable point of departure for any further professional development on the matter" (Remesal 2011, p. 474). It is partly because they need to understand the conceptual bases of assessment based upon their own beliefs about teaching, learning, and assessment, and partly because they also need to relate such knowledge to their professional practices in their specific contexts of greater complexities and more dynamic changes (Scarino 2013). To gain a fuller understanding of TALiP for English teachers, it is necessary to review research on English language teacher conceptions of assessment, which work as "an interpretive and guiding framework by which they mediate their uptake of theoretical knowledge and its implementation" (Xu and Brown 2016, p. 156).

Teacher conception of assessment is used here as an umbrella term to refer to an organized belief system that embraces all that a teacher thinks about the nature and purpose of assessment, encompassing beliefs, propositions, attitudes, and preferences (Thompson 1992). While research on English teachers' conceptions of

assessment is somewhat limited, the review is extended to general education to gain a fuller understanding of how conceptions shape assessment literacy, from which three themes are gleaned. First, individuals' prior experience with assessment when they were students tends to shape their attitudes toward assessment as teachers (Gunn and Gilmore 2014; Smith et al. 2014). For example, negative experiences with tests in ones' schooling experiences might keep teachers from using them as a main form of assessment (Green and Stager 1986). Hence, teachers' prior experiences with assessment can be rich sources or harmful barriers to their assessment literacy development. Second, societal and cultural priorities for assessment use play an important role in shaping teachers' conceptions of assessment, as revealed by Brown and associates (Brown et al. 2009; Brown and Michaelides 2011; Brown and Remesal 2012). For example, teachers in low-stakes assessment contexts such as New Zealand and Australia tend to believe that assessment is mainly for improving teaching and learning (Brown et al. 2011), while in high-stakes assessment contexts such as China and Egypt (Gabril 2017; Li and Hui 2007), teachers tend to believe in both the accountability and improvement purposes of assessment. Third, there is a discrepancy between teachers' conceptions and practices of assessment due to many mediating factors such as political forces, cultural/societal expectations, and insights from empirical findings (Leong 2014). For example, secondary school teachers in Seden and Svaricek's (2018) study based their assessment practices on old-fashioned routines, although they had started to develop subjective theories about classroom assessment.

In the field of English language education, Roger et al.'s (2007) study was one of the first to explore teachers' conceptions of assessment. It compared the assessment belief of English teachers working in Canada, Beijing, and Hong Kong and found that the instructors in the three contexts held mixed – and sometimes contradictory – beliefs about assessment. Specifically, the instructors in all three contexts tended to positively view the role of assessment in improving instruction and student learning. They also held beliefs about assessment in terms of how it provided valuable learning experiences, improved ESL/EFL learning, affected self-concept building, and motivated students to work harder. Results also indicated these teachers' uncertainty over the time and commitment needed for assessment practice. Despite these similarities, instructors in Canada and Hong Kong tended to endorse more formal assessment and published assessment materials than their counterparts in Beijing. This difference in teacher conceptions of assessment, however, cannot be generalized to the variations caused by the contexts.

Unlike Roger et al.'s (2007) study which explored variations in conceptions of assessment across contexts, Munoz et al. (2012) explored the beliefs of 62 Cambodian teachers. This study found that most teachers agreed on the learning facilitating function of assessment, although they also acknowledged the importance of using assessment for accountability and certification purposes. Interestingly, discrepancy between conceptions and practice of assessment were identified. While these teachers reported a strong endorsement for assessment for improvement purposes, they tended to use summative assessment in their classrooms due to a lack of ability to use assessment for learning. Such discrepancy can be considered as a direct result of a lack of assessment literacy.

Different from the previous studies that focused merely on in-service teachers, Gabril's (2017) study investigated the assessment conceptions of both pre-service and in-service English teachers within a high-stakes, test-driven context in Egypt. Data from assessment conceptions questionnaire conducted among 170 Egyptian language teachers revealed that in-service teachers preferred a combination of formative and summative assessment practices while pre-service teachers were inclined toward a summative paradigm. The main reasons for such divergence include the summative nature of university assessment practices, from which pre-service teachers acquire their "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie 1975), and the nature of pre-university teaching, where teachers spend more time with students on formative assessment tasks.

In an East-Asia context, Wicking's (2017) study investigated 148 English teachers working in Japanese universities to understand their beliefs about assessment. The results revealed teachers' belief of assessing student ability and reporting results, which they regarded as an important part of EFL education rather than a mere bureaucratic burden. Teachers also believed that assessment is mainly used for giving feedback to students rather than to obtain feedback for their instruction.

Although limited, these studies highlight an urgent need for establishing the connection between what language teachers believe about assessment and how these beliefs shape their decision making in assessment practice. Most of the studies reviewed above seem to echo what Fives and Buehl (2012) have argued about the reasons for varying degrees of (in)congruence between teacher belief and practice, which lie in both the competition between beliefs about different functions of assessment, and various internal (e.g., knowledge, value) and external (e.g., classroom context, administrative expectations, policy demands) factors that either support or hinder the enactment of a belief. Teachers may act on conceptions with a conscious awareness of it, or make decisions under the influence of their conceptions but without consciously acknowledging the role of conceptions. Hence, English teachers' conceptions of assessment are an important variable to be considered in understanding their TALiP.

Macro, Meso, and Micro Contexts for English Teachers' Assessment Practices

Although their conceptions of assessment play an important role in guiding and influencing teachers' assessment decision making, teachers can only exercise their agency within the boundaries of the micro and macro contexts. These macro- and micro-contextual variables play a part in teachers' assessment practices "individually or in concert through policies, norms, rules, and conventions" (Xu and Brown 2016, p. 157) which leave teachers with little room for negotiation. However, research has not yet cast explicit attention on how teacher assessment literacy is mediated by different contextual factors, when compared to other areas of educational research on how contextual factors can affect teaching (e.g., Rubie-Davies et al. 2012; Sedivy-Benton and Boden McGill 2012). To understand how contextual

factors exert an influence, they need to be teased out at each level. Building on Fulmer et al.'s (2015) multi-level model, the macro-, meso-, and micro-contextual factors are reviewed consecutively.

The macro contexts encompass grander and broader influences from social, cultural, historical, and political factors (Liu and Xu 2017), which may have an indirect impact on TALiP. These factors fall into two categories: historical and horizontal. Historically, cultural norms about education and assessment differ across countries. In many Western countries such as New Zealand and Australia, where the cultural norm for assessment is low-stake, assessment for learning has prevailed (Brown et al. 2011). In contrast, in many Asian countries such as China, Japan, and Singapore, where the Confucian heritage culture dominates, tests or assessment for accountability purposes have been a traditional practice (Carless 2011). For example, China has a long history of a "*keju*" testing system that offered a level playing field for all students who needed to compete against each other in order to move up the hierarchical ladder of the society. This has continued to influence the cultural norm for assessment in such a significant way that exams are still valued for their selection and competition purposes (Cheng and Curtis 2009).

Horizontally, the contemporary educational policies at the national, state, and district levels have an impact on teacher assessment literacy in various ways. Prior studies have focused on the important roles of national policies in teachers' understanding of assessment (DeLuca and Bellara 2013), the influence of cultural legacy such as Confucian heritage cultures (CHC) (Carless 2011), and pressures and tensions arising from international comparisons of test scores as a measure of quality of education (e.g., Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2004). National policies also shape teacher assessment literacy by mandating curricular materials (Gu 2014). In addition, teacher standards in assessment prescribe what kinds of assessment competencies are recognized as important for highly skilled teachers and serve as a guideline for teacher practice. For example, the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2014, 2018) list five major competency areas that teachers need to acquire in order to assess student learning effectively, each with four levels of assessment literacy (see Table 1) ranging from a minimum exit level of "Graduate" to a master level of "Lead." The descriptors for each level suggest that these competency areas are oriented to the learning purpose of assessment, reflecting what the Australian government expects their teachers to acquire. These national legislation and professional standards about assessment constitute the "hard boundaries" for TALiP, mandating the dos and don'ts.

The meso level encompasses factors at the institutional level and in the immediate community, which may have a direct impact on teacher assessment literacy in practice. Although these factors are higher on the hierarchical structure, they are equally important to teachers' classroom practices because the institutional character of assessment will "create a culture of certainty and compliance" (Scarino 2013, p. 310), which may create puzzles for teachers concerning "what is 'permissible' or not in practice" (ibid). Prior research has explored important institutional factors that have influenced teacher assessment practice, such as school management (Pedder 2006), relations in the workplace (Xu and Liu 2009), and community economic

Table 1 Australian Professional Standards for Teachers in Assessment

Competency area	Graduate	Proficient	Highly accomplished	Lead
Assess student learning	Demonstrate understanding of assessment strategies, including informal and formal, diagnostic, formative, and summative approaches to assess student learning	Develop, select, and use informal and formal, diagnostic, formative, and summative assessment strategies to assess student learning	Develop and apply a comprehensive range of assessment strategies to diagnose learning needs, comply with curriculum requirements and support colleagues to evaluate the effectiveness of their approaches to assessment	Evaluate school assessment policies and strategies to support colleagues with: using assessment data to diagnose learning needs, complying with curriculum, system, and/or school assessment requirements and using a range of assessment strategies
Provide feedback to students on their learning	Demonstrate an understanding of the purpose of providing timely and appropriate feedback to students about their learning	Provide timely, effective, and appropriate feedback to students about their achievement relative to their learning goals	Select from an effective range of strategies to provide targeted feedback based on informed and timely judgments of each student's current needs in order to progress learning	Model exemplary practice and initiate programs to support colleagues in applying a range of timely, effective, and appropriate feedback strategies
Make consistent and comparable judgments	Demonstrate understanding of assessment moderation and its application to support consistent and comparable judgments of student learning	Understand and participate in assessment moderation activities to support consistent and comparable judgments of student learning	Organize assessment moderation activities that support consistent and comparable judgments of student learning	Lead and evaluate moderation activities that ensure consistent and comparable judgments of student learning to meet curriculum and school or system requirements

Table 1 (continued)

Competency area	Graduate	Proficient	Highly accomplished	Lead
Interpret student data	Demonstrate the capacity to interpret student assessment data to evaluate student learning and modify teaching practice	Use student assessment data to analyze and evaluate student understanding of subject/ content, identifying interventions and modifying teaching practice	Work with colleagues to use data from internal and external student assessments for evaluating learning and teaching, identifying interventions, and modifying teaching practice	Co-ordinate student performance and program evaluation using internal and external student assessment data to improve teaching practice
Report on student achievement	Demonstrate understanding of a range of strategies for reporting to students and parents/carers and the purpose of keeping accurate and reliable records of student achievement	Report clearly, accurately, and respectfully to students and parents/carers about student achievement, making use of accurate and reliable records	Work with colleagues to construct accurate, informative, and timely reports to students and parents/carers about student learning and achievement	Evaluate and revise reporting and accountability mechanisms in the school to meet the needs of students, parents/carers, and colleagues

status (Rubie-Davies et al. 2012). Xu and Liu (2009) found that teachers' knowledge and practice of assessment are constrained by the power relations within the institution, where teachers need to constantly negotiate with their colleagues and administrators and make compromises. Pedder (2006) proposed that the school organization, methods for collaboration, and input of school managers all play a key role in teachers' assessment practice within the school. It suggests that a shared school vision and greater extent of teacher participation in school decision making can help cultivate a positive climate for teachers' learning in assessment. Likewise, Troudi et al.'s study (2009) identified the effects of school managers' approaches to assessment on teacher practice. Clearly, although many meso factors were found to play a role in teachers' assessment practices, we have known little about how TALiP works differently in different institutions. Thus, a promising direction for future research would be comparative studies that investigate how institutional contexts exert an influence on teachers' assessment literacy in practice.

The micro-level factors include those in the immediate context of classrooms, which is a dynamic system that entails many factors to influence teachers' decision making in assessment. Comparatively speaking, the micro level has received the greatest attention in the assessment research literature due to its clear and direct connections to classroom practice. For example, large classes, as one structural condition, mediate teacher assessment literacy in a subtle but powerful way. In Xu and Harfitt's (2018) study, the case teachers needed to exercise their agency to work out feasible assessment-for-learning tasks in large class settings. Other examples of micro-level influential factors include school assignments as part of the assessment scheme (Koh and Luke 2009) and teachers' background variables such as years of experience and subject matter (Suah and Ong 2012). Regrettably, however, these studies were not generated from direct observations of teachers' assessment practices, which reduced their persuasiveness of the impact of micro-level factors as claimed.

In sum, the macro-, meso-, and micro-level contextual factors constitute a culture of compliances that are not easily challenged by teachers. These institutional and policy requirements also contribute to shaping the conceptions of assessment that teachers bring to the enactment of their assessment literacy.

TALiP Promotion with Teacher Learning and Identity Construction as Assessors

Given that TALiP is mediated by various levels of contextual factors and teachers' own conceptions of assessment, how it works in classroom settings and how it can be promoted to benefit student learning and improve instructional practice have become critical issues for both assessment specialists and teacher educators. Teachers' decision making in assessment, however, is by no means a simple matter. Rather, it is complex and thus requires teachers to make constant compromises among various tensions and to rework their identity as assessors (Xu and Brown 2016). Teachers' beliefs about assessment, disposition toward enacting assessment, and perceptions of their role as assessors all play a significant part in their assessment

work (Looney et al. 2018). Teachers need to make many contextualized decision making in their assessment practice, such as fitting a generic assessment framework to the specific language they teach, and adapting the state standards of assessment to their local contexts (Scarino 2013).

The complexity of evaluating student work in classrooms, therefore, lies not only in the teachers' reconceptualization of knowledge but also in the identity construction of both teacher and learners (Pryor and Crossouard 2008). In other words, teachers' classroom-based assessment of student work provides a rich site for them to reflect upon their prior experiences with assessment as learners and teachers and to (re)construct their identity as assessors. This suggests that the situatedness and dynamics of TALiP involve many rounds of balancing of tensions among various mediating factors, such as the assessment principles from the knowledge base, teacher's conceptions of assessment, and multiple levels of contextual factors. Given that empirical studies illustrating how teacher learning and identity construction work in one's TALiP development are generally lacking, the following section provides case evidence from a project of teacher assessment literacy, drawing upon the experiences of one university English teacher.

Case Evidence from a Project of Teacher Assessment Literacy

Illustrative data from a case study teacher (Rosa, pseudonym) is provided in the following section to answer the following essential questions:

1. What is the teacher's prior experience with assessment and her conception of assessment?
2. How does her TALiP work as compromises made among various tensions?
3. How does she manage to learn proactively about classroom-based assessment and construct her identity as an assessor?

Data Collection and Analysis

Three sources of data were collected for this study: classroom observation, interviews, and documents. Twenty-three sessions of Rosa's teaching were observed and video-recorded with field notes throughout the academic semester. Every 15 min of video recording was summarized to describe what was observed as an episode. These episodes were then used to provide a general picture of Rosa's assessment practices in the classroom.

In addition, Rosa was interviewed seven times. The topics of the interviews ranged from understanding her earlier learning experiences to probing the motivation and rationale for her classroom assessment practices. Each interview lasted for 30–60 min, and was audio-recorded and fully transcribed. After being verified by Rosa, the transcripts were subject to open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1998). The open codes were later subject to axial coding to identify core categories that are

closely related to the research questions, including Rosa's conceptions of assessment, compromises that she had made in her assessment practice, and her proactive learning experience and identity construction as an assessor.

Documents were also collected to understand the documentary reality of Rosa's TALiP. They include course syllabus and lesson plans, snapshots of Rosa's use of an automated essay evaluation system, teacher-student interactions on social media (e.g., WeChat), and student writing assignments. These data were analyzed differentially based upon their own nature. For example, the course syllabus was reviewed to identity the course objectives and the assessment plan, and Rosa's communication with students on social media was analyzed inductively to identify salient themes.

These three sets of data serve different roles. Data from classroom observations portrayed the assessment strategies used, assessment processes implemented, and moment-by-moment informal assessment scenarios and excerpts. Interview data brought quotations from the teachers about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and conceptions of assessment. Data from documents yielded excerpts or even the whole passages from documentary records, text and/or audio interaction on social media, assessment tasks on textbooks, lesson plans, and course syllabi. The three sources of data triangulate one another to provide a more in-depth, nuanced understanding of Rosa's TALiP.

Context and Participant

Rosa works in a second-tier university that specializes in technology and teacher education in a metropolitan city in southern China. The university ranking system in China mandates that the three tiers of universities enroll students who have achieved differently in their college entrance exams (*Gaokao*). Compared to first-tier universities that are funded by the "Double First Class Project" and third-tier colleges, which are vocationally oriented and offer 3-year training programs, second-tier ones are non-key universities that enroll 4-year undergraduates. (The "Double First-class" project was recently launched by the Chinese Ministry of Education to enhance the development of 42 world-class universities and 95 universities which have their own first-class subject disciplines.) The enrollment of Rosa's university in *Gaokao* (entrance exams to colleges) each year is of the average level among the second-tier universities. After students are enrolled, English placement tests are administered to put them into either Class A or Class B, which stand for students' different entry levels of English proficiency.

Rosa was chosen to participate in a larger project on teacher assessment literacy for three reasons. First, she was one of the high performers in a previously administered survey test of teacher assessment literacy (Xu and Brown 2017). Second, she had more than 10 years of teaching experience and was recognized by her university for her teaching excellence, which was considered because Black and Wiliam (1998) suggested that teachers with higher teaching efficacy perform better on assessments than their less confident peers. Third, she volunteered to participate and welcomed classroom visits and individual interviews.

Table 2 Rosa's assessment plan

Assessment tasks	Weight	Requirements
Final exam	60%	They are achievement tests measuring students' knowledge and skills of listening, reading, and writing in English
Mid-term exam	10%	
Attendance & participation	12%	It requires students to attend classes on time and take part in class discussions voluntarily
Group drama	3.5%	It requires students to work in groups of four and to shoot a 10-min video to act out an episode of any passage of the textbook
Oral presentation	3.5%	It requires students to deliver a 5-min presentation based upon thematic topics of the textbook
Oral test	3%	It may take many forms. Students who take part in any speaking contest held by the university can be exempt from the test
Essays	4%	It requires students to submit four essays to the automated essay rating website before deadlines
Quizzes	5%	It requires students to take five quizzes of dictations during the semester

Rosa taught *Comprehensive English*, a core English course in the *College English* curriculum, to a class of 50 first-year students in her university. In this course, Rosa's assessment plan was prescribed by her faculty. As specified in Table 2, exams are prioritized in this plan, with the final and mid-term exams taking up 70% of the final grade. In contrast, classroom assessment only takes up 30% of the final grade, consisting of as many as six assessment tasks, such as attendance and participation, group drama, oral presentation, oral test, essays, and quizzes. In what follows, how Rosa's TALiP works is presented by illustrating the ways in which she negotiated and carried out this assessment plan in her classroom.

Rosa's Prior Experience with Assessment and Her Conception of Assessment

Rosa was born in a small town in the northern part of China. When she was young, she absorbed many doctrines advocated by Confucianism. Deeply convinced by the doctrine that "all was inferior to academic performance" (*wan ban jie xia pin, wei you du shu gao* in Chinese), Rosa and her family made her academic performance a top priority.

To ensure that she would be fully devoted to study, Rosa's parents did not allow her to do any housework or develop an interest in music or sports. The only thing that Rosa did in her high school was concentrate on the three main subjects to be tested on the entrance exam to college (*Gaokao*): Chinese, mathematics, and English. Being one of the top students in her class, Rosa was expected to enroll in one of the elite universities such as Peking University.

The high expectation from her teachers and family, however, created huge pressure that she could not endure. Rosa unfortunately failed the most important exams in her

life: the *Gaokao*, and was admitted to a three-year English teacher education program at a local community college. Rosa described her experiences as follows:

> I was a victim of exams, suffering from different kinds of them. In the middle school, I never felt the joy of learning. I was always worrying about not securing the first place in exams. If I was the second place in any of the exams, I felt painful. That kind of feelings was stupid, but it was true.

The perception of being "a victim" of the exams reflects Rosa's misgivings about the exam-oriented educational system. Her emotional experience was not positive due to the tremendous pressure to score high and secure a top spot. Her use of the word "stupid" to describe the painful experience of not being in first place on exams indicates her delineation from the old way of academic life. This negative emotional experience with assessment apparently constituted part of Rosa's conception of assessment, which in turn, influenced her decision-making in assessment practice when she became a teacher.

Rosa's experience in the college was totally different. With no pressure to excel on exams, she found herself totally "free" in this new community. She had plenty of time and opportunities for her to try out new ideas and take part in different activities. Her active participation in co-curricular activities did not hinder her study as her parents had warned. Instead, it facilitated her all-around development. She graduated with straight-As and then successfully pursued a master's degree at a well-respected university in a southern metropolitan city. After 3 years of graduate study, Rosa became an English lecturer in the same city, although she had not formally received training in terms of assessment.

> In my M.A. program, there was a 'Language Testing' course. But it was not a compulsory course, so I did not take it. … It was too technical. Many jargons. Too hard for me to understand at that time. But now I regretted not taking it (laugh). It was at least an opportunity for systematic learning about it.

Despite the inadequate preparation of assessment in her pre-service teacher education program, Rosa had become a very committed teacher after teaching 11 years in her university. From voluntarily visiting her colleagues' classes in search of good assessment activities to video-recording her own teaching for self-critique and reflection, Rosa constantly looked for effective methods to improve her pedagogy and assessment. She attributed her proactive engagement with classroom assessment to her self-image as a "high-score-low-competency" person. She admitted that her efforts of promoting classroom assessment were motivated by her wish of preventing her students from sharing her test-oriented educational experience.

In summary, Rosa's profile suggests that her negative experience with *Gaogao* seemed to delineate her current self from her former identity as a "victim of exam-oriented education," and to motivate her to become an active explorer of classroom assessment. However, when her insufficient assessment training experience was coupled with the prescribed assessment plan, it presented Rosa with further challenges in her assessment decision making.

Compromises Rosa Made in Assessment: Reconciling Conflicts Between Her Conception and Institutional Context

In her practice, Rosa constantly made compromises to reconcile conflicts arising from her conception of assessment and the institutional context, such as approaching classroom assessment with the accountability purpose, utilizing an automated essay evaluation system, and delivering audio feedback on social media. Given that the third compromise has been reported elsewhere (Xu 2018), the following section only reports the first two compromises that Rosa made in her assessment practice.

The first compromise she made was about how to conduct classroom assessment when the assessment plan prescribed by her university was test-oriented. As suggested by her assessment plan (see Table 2), the prescribed weights of mid-term and final exams take up 70% of the final grades, and thus all of the learning-oriented assessments can only take up the remaining 30%. Rosa's dilemma arose between her wish to enlarge the proportion of classroom assessments and her vulnerability for not being able to change the weights of exams.

> I wish classroom assessments would take up a larger proportion. . . .If more are included, it can motivate students to work harder. . . . But I can't change the weights. The university wanted it this way–the final exam takes up 60%. The result is, some students don't care about classroom performance and other tasks. They think they could pass as long as they do well in the final exam.

While Rosa believed that the larger proportion of classroom assessment would motivate students to invest more effort in English language learning, she felt vulnerable about not being able to change the weights of the final and mid-term exams, as they had been prescribed by her faculty. Her belief about classroom assessment can also be inferred. First, she believed that classroom assessment is a lever for learning, and that more assessment tasks mean higher possibility for facilitating student learning. Second, she believed that making every activity count toward the end-of-term grade would be the best incentive for students' English learning. Therefore, the compromise she made out of these tensions was to approach classroom assessment with the accountability purpose.

In my observation of her classroom teaching, Rosa kept a detailed and consistent record of how students performed in their classroom assessment tasks. For example, she put students in groups of four or five and asked the group leaders to write down each member's "credit" that she would award after students volunteered to speak. By calculating the number of "credits," she came up with some data representing each student's performance in class participation. Clearly, the compromise that she made was to follow the prescribed plan of her university while approaching classroom assessment with the accountability purpose. That said, despite her belief that classroom assessment is a lever for learning, her limited preparedness of classroom assessment led her to the current compromise. Thus, her TALiP in this scenario is not a benefit for student learning.

The second compromise that Rosa made was to use an automated essay evaluation system, *Pigai* (www.pigai.net), to facilitate her assessment of student essays. Although

her accidental use of this website was simply because her university purchased an institutional membership to showcase their "technologically facilitated" campus for the government's official inspection, she successfully utilized it to supplement teacher feedback on her part. She attributed her initial motivation of using this website to the overwhelming marking workload brought by the large class size.

> The class is too big. If it took me 10 minutes to read an essay, give comments and assign grades, in total I would need 10 hours to mark 50 essays. In fact, marking an essay takes longer than that. I may end up having no time to eat or sleep. Plus I couldn't mark reliably all the time. I was very stringent at the beginning; when I was tired, I became much more lenient.

Apparently, the website saved her much time in marking essays of a large class. But Rosa was not stopped by a reduction of workload. She further utilized it by checking the data provided by the website. She ranked the students according to the grades awarded and number of drafts submitted, read through data to understand the quality and quantity of student work, and monitored student behaviors accordingly.

Rosa admitted that the website played an important role in marking through instantly generated grades and feedback. Moreover, it provided informative data for her to make useful inferences about student learning, such as student engagement time with the website-generated feedback, quantity and quality of drafts submitted, and categories of errors and revisions. Based on the data, Rosa reviewed individual students' essays and chose some of them to provide teacher feedback, which was later made available for the whole class to read on the website. She explained her rationale for this orientation in teacher feedback.

> Each time I gave comments on some students' drafts. As the website has pointed out their grammatical errors and other mechanical mistakes, I mainly gave them feedback on content and structure. The more global issues. The website cannot tell students what's wrong with their structure, or whether their content is central to the topic. But I can. . . . They need both. They need my feedback to look at the larger issues, and they need concrete corrective feedback to correct their mistakes in writing.

Clearly the institution's purchase of this automated evaluation website helped Rosa tremendously in her assessment of student essays. It relieved her from grading overload, provided her with useful statistics about student writing, and left her much room for providing quality teacher feedback on more global issues. The perfect combination of timely corrective feedback from the website and her individualized feedback on content and structure seems a perfect example of Rosa's TALiP, a great compromise made for facilitating student learning.

Rosa's Learning About Assessment and Her Identity Construction as an Assessor

Despite the automated evaluation system, Rosa spent a lot of time on exploring means by which classroom assessment can be fairly measured. One action she took was to explore ways of changing the conventional ways of assessing student group

presentation and drama. Her prior practice of evaluating group work was to assign a one-off score to group members based on the overall quality of the work without differentiating individual contributions. However, Rosa expressed skepticism over this practice and her wish to change it in one of the interviews.

> I gave them the same grade, because everyone has done it that way, including me. I talked to many colleagues, and they said it's convenient to give everyone the same grade. But I wonder whether it is fair to those students who are more capable. You know some group work was done by one or two key persons in the group. Some other lazy people just showed up and read the scripts of the slides. It seems unfair to them.

This excerpt suggests that it was a common and acceptable practice among many university English teachers to assign the same grades to members for group work. Mainly driven by her concern that one-off scores may encourage free-riders and discourage higher performers, Rosa decided to make a difference by exploring an alternative way of assessing group work.

She then resorted to academic publications, and identified Nepal's (2012) approach of measuring individual contributions to group work (Nepal 2012) very helpful. To verify the effectiveness of the approach, she did an experiment. She started by generating individual scores for each student with peer evaluation sheets in which students were required to assign contribution percentage to one another. Using Nepal's (2012) mathematical model to calculate an individual weighting factor (IWF) for individual students, she generated the individual grades based upon the grades for groups that she had assigned earlier. Then every student had two scores: an individualized score bearing their own contributions to the group work, and a one-off score shared by others in the group, upon which Rosa conducted an inferential statistical test to see whether individual scores differed significantly from group scores. She also administered a small survey with five open-ended questions to collect their perceptions of the individual scores. The results turned out to be encouraging; the individual scores differed significantly from the group scores, and most students welcomed the individual scores as an effective means to inhibit free-riding. When asked why she strived to seek individual scores, Rosa attributed it to her long-held concern for fairness in classroom assessment.

> Because fairness is a big problem in assessing group work. Some students may get a free ride and don't contribute. Now the individual scores differentiate their contribution. It made me feel much better. I also realize that I am an important person in their assessment. You see, when I changed the way I assessed, they received different grades. I need to be more careful to make my assessment valid and reliable.

The above excerpt suggests that the biggest concern for Rosa in classroom assessment is reliability, and fairness in particular. This was also confirmed by my observations of her classroom practice, in which she spent more time on asking students to ascertain their individual contributions to group work than on giving them quality feedback to help them improve. Although Rosa's act of seeking fair grades rather than delivering quality feedback to students seems to go against the

essence of classroom assessment, her proactive learning about assessment and her growing awareness of being an assessor did facilitate the development of TALiP. Rosa has started to realize her role as an assessor can make a difference, and her strong interest in innovative classroom assessment is an intrinsic motivation for her to keep learning about assessment.

To sum up, Rosa's TALiP can be summarized in three dimensions. First, Rosa was motivated to explore effective classroom assessments but approached them with the accountability purpose. She proactively sought strategies of quantifying participation and measuring individual contributions to group work. Second, Rosa's highly technological AL in practice led to fruitful results: her use of the automated essay scoring website relieved her from overwhelming grading, provided useful statistics of student performance, and allowed her to give more feedback on global issues. Third, Rosa's growing identity as an assessor prompted her to conduct action research, which provided an impetus for her informal learning about assessment. Hence, her TALiP can be seen as many compromises that arose out of the tensions between her own conceptions of assessment, inadequate preparedness, and institutional resources and constraints.

Conclusion and Implications

This chapter explores the complexities of assessment literacy in practice for English language teachers by first relating each component of Xu and Brown's (2016) TALiP model to literature on the English language assessment and then expounding the model with evidence from a case study. The review suggests that English language teachers' assessment literacy needs to go beyond a knowledge base of English language assessment principles, and to embrace a more sociocultural understanding of teacher assessment literacy in practice – TALiP. TALiP for English language teachers, like that for teachers from other subject disciplines, requires them to consider many components in concert (e.g., the knowledge base, teacher conceptions of assessment, macro-, meso-, and micro contexts) and to make constant compromises out of tensions among these components. The case evidence from Rosa's experience suggests that such compromises are not always beneficial to student learning. To ensure that they are, teachers need to engage themselves in proactive learning about assessment and constantly construct their identity as assessors.

This chapter has a number of implications for practice. First, the discussion of the knowledge base suggests that English language teachers need to be better equipped with content knowledge, PCK, and various dimensions of assessment principles and assessment ethics in their pre-service teacher education programs. Assessment courses should thus be made compulsory in teacher training curriculum, and assessment literacy a part of teacher certification. To ensure that the knowledge base keeps abreast of research and policy innovations, teacher educators need to constantly update the materials used in assessment courses. For those countries where standards are missing, setting up their own teacher

standards for assessment might be the first step to commence the consolidation of the knowledge base for English language teachers.

Second, the importance of conceptions of assessment in mediating TALiP suggests the necessity of helping teachers reflect on their conceptions on a regular basis, as well as the urgency of assisting them to offset the negative effects of "apprenticeship of observation" on the development of their assessment literacy and assimilation of new beliefs about assessment, teaching, and learning. This poses challenges for teacher educators who need to become aware of the critical position of teacher conceptions of assessment in TALiP and to design school-based activities for teachers to "unlearn" and "relearn" about assessment. In addition, teacher education needs to be spread along teachers' entire career and to engage them in sustainable and individualized deep learning about assessment. To achieve this, education faculties and schools need to build up long-term partnership and make stronger connections between the knowledge base and the contexts of assessment practice.

Third, the nature of TALiP as many dynamic, situated compromises made out of various tensions suggests that a sustainable solution to improving teachers' assessment literacy is to turn them into agentic learners and reflective assessors who are able to exercise their agency, reflect on their current and past TALiP, and actively learn about how to improve it to facilitate student learning. To achieve this, teacher educators, educational assessment experts, and university/school administrators need to put in joint efforts to involve teachers in learning communities where teachers are provided autonomy and professional support for their assessment practices. In such learning communities, teachers need to be encouraged to freely share and negotiate their assessment decisions with their colleagues, administrators, assessment specialists, and teacher educators. They also need to be supported to exercise their agency to turn their classrooms into an arena for testing their TALiP. To successfully do this, school-based TALiP support system needs to be established where teachers' day-to-day classroom assessment practices can be used as rich resources for regular reflection and TALiP improvement. Only when teachers become agentic professionals can their TALiP develop in a sustainable way.

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Fairness and Social Justice in English Language Assessment

30

Bart Deygers

Contents

Abstract

This chapter offers a critical historical overview of the research into and conceptions of fairness and justice in the language assessment literature. The focus is primarily on high-stakes assessment practices, since this is the area in which most of the relevant research is conducted. In order to clarify the meaning and origin of the current conceptions of fairness and justice, this chapter opens by going back

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to the original works in moral and political philosophy. Afterward, fairness, justice, and their relationship to validity are discussed.

Introduction

In 1963, the US District Court ruled that the test used by the State of Louisiana to determine whether low-educated citizens (the State of Louisiana 1963a, b) could register to vote was unconstitutional "because of its unlawful purpose, operation, and inescapably discriminatory effect" (United States v. State of Louisiana 225F. Supp. 353 1963a, b, p. 398). This test included a language and literacy section of questionable validity that was scored at the whim of the registrar and had the purpose to reduce the number of African American voters. A somewhat similar but more well-documented case in the language testing literature is that of the dictation test, which was part of the explicitly discriminatory White Australia policy (McNamara and Roever 2006; McNamara 2009, 2012). Until it was abolished in 1958, this test served to exclude newly arrived but unwanted immigrants by giving them a dictation in a language they were not familiar with. Historical examples such as these are arresting reminders of how language assessment can reinforce or mitigate systemic social inequalities (Spolsky 2013). Studying such inequalities as they stem from social structures is the focus of social justice (Adams 2014).

This chapter aims to disentangle and clarify the concepts of fairness and social justice with regard to language assessment by taking a double approach. In the first part of the chapter, the moral and political philosophy on social justice will be introduced. This is important, because the language assessment literature has not always engaged in a careful interpretation of these principles. So, in order to clarify the meaning and relative position of fairness and justice, this chapter will first go back to foundational works by Kant, Rawls, Sen, Nussbaum, and Young. The second part will offer a historical and conceptual overview of how fairness and justice have been considered in language assessment, from the early beginnings until today. Finally, after addressing the relationship between fairness, justice, and validity, the conclusion of the chapter contains a brief discussion of guidelines regarding fair and just language assessment.

Fairness and Social Justice in Political and Moral Philosophy

The purpose of this section is to introduce the political and moral philosophy on which language assessment principles are built. This will help to disentangle confounded concepts that are commonly confounded and to clarify definitions that may have become blurred over time.

Ethics, Morality, and Nomenclature

Broadly speaking, the study of ethics is concerned with answering the question of how to live good lives, while morality focuses on how to treat others. *Political* morality zooms in on how systems should treat individuals (Young 2011; Dworkin 2013). Not all language testing authors adhere to this distinction between ethics and morality, however. In the language assessment literature, ethics are usually seen as the agreed-upon social practices and collective responsibilities of assessment professionals. Morality, on the other hand, is seen as pertaining to the conscience of the individual testing professional (e.g., Davies 2012). In order to preserve consistency with the language assessment literature, this chapter will use the term "code of ethics" in the way that is commonly accepted in the field: "sets of principles that draw on moral philosophy and are intended to guide good professional conduct" (Boyd and Davies 2002, p. 304). The term morality will be used to refer to the relationship among individuals and between individuals and societal structures. Additionally, in this chapter, "justice" will be used synonymously with social justice, as is customary in language assessment literature (e.g., McNamara and Ryan 2011). When another type of justice is referred to, it will be explicitly mentioned (e.g., criminal justice, distributive justice).

Justice, from Aristotle to Mill

In philosophy, justice has been an object of study since Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (350BC). Aristotle distinguished between legal and distributive justice – the former referring to a citizen's duty to respect the law and the latter to the duty to treat others fairly. Distributive justice is a discipline within moral philosophy that is concerned with deciding on how goods should be distributed in society. The purpose of distributive justice is strikingly similar to the goal of high-stakes tests, as defined by Cronbach: "[testing] has always been intended as an impartial way to perform a political function – that of determining who gets what" (Cronbach 1984, p. 5). Cronbach does not refer to the distribution of material goods but of opportunities, services, and societal statuses. Whereas distributive justice refers to the fair reallocation of material goods and social justice to the distribution of opportunities, both are manifestations of the distributive paradigm, and in practice the two terms are often conflated (Young 1990).

   In Western philosophy, three schools have taken different approaches to the ethical puzzle of deciding who is entitled to which material or other benefits in society. Utilitarianism would solve the matter by taking the course of action that causes the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people (Mill 1861/2015). Libertarianism would focus on allowing for maximal individual liberty and minimal government interference (Nozick 1974), and the human rights approach would consider certain individual rights so fundamental that there could be no justifiable utilitarian or libertarian grounds for violating them (Sandel 2010). The source of the human rights approach can be found in Immanuel Kant's (1785/2016) *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals*. As will be shown below, the human rights

approach has had a far more substantial influence on fairness and justice in language assessment than utilitarianism and libertarianism (Deygers 2017).

Kant's Categorical Approach to Morality

Kant accepted the utilitarian idea that human nature is to seek pleasure and avoid pain, but rejected the notion that reason is controlled by a desire to maximize happiness and minimize pain (Hume 1738/1978). Freedom, Kant stated, is in the human ability to suppress pleasure-seeking impulses and to pursue a goal that has intrinsic moral worth. Human dignity stems precisely from this ability to make choices autonomously and consciously. The idea of autonomously choosing to do what is morally right, because it is morally right, is at the core of Kant's conception of morality (Sandel 2010). For Kant, an action has moral worth only if it is done for the right reasons. In order to decide when a reason is right, he submitted three formulations of the categorical imperative – a moral law that must be obeyed under all circumstances.

The first formulation prevents people from favoring their own desires over the best interests of others: "Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law" (Kant 1785/2016, p. 421). The second formulation tightens and limits the first by stating that no moral law could be acceptable if it denied the freedom and dignity of others: "Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never merely as a means to an end, but always at the same time as an end" (Kant 1785/2016, p. 429). The core idea of the third formulation is that people must only act on those principles that could gain acceptance by a universal community of rational and autonomous people: "Act in accordance with the maxims of a member giving universal laws for a merely possible kingdom of ends" (Kant 1785/2016, p. 439).

Although the enduring influence of Kant on moral and political philosophy is undeniable (Sandel 2010), many modern philosophers may be Kantian, without adhering to a close interpretation of Kant's duty-based ethics and morality. What makes them Kantian is the foundational respect for human dignity and human reason (for a thorough examination of *Kant's ethics* versus *Kantian ethics*, see Wood 2008). The first article of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, for example, carries an undeniable Kantian signature, but does not highlight Kant's duty-based severity: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" (UN General Assembly 1948).

In language assessment, Kantian ethics imply that testing practices which humiliate, degrade, or dehumanize candidates, solely use them for financial gain, or do not recognize their individual identity (Young 1990; Kaufmann et al. 2010) are morally reprehensible, even if the outcomes of the test are psychometrically defensible. When using Kantian ideas as guidelines for morally acceptable testing practices, it is clear there can never be any justification for not respecting test takers' background, for subjecting them to humiliating examination conditions, or for taking advantage

of test takers' less powerful position (e.g., when applying for citizenship, or education) for financial gain, without considering their rights as individuals. These ideas are clearly visible in the Code of Ethics of the International Language Testing Association (2000).

In philosophy, Kantian ideas have had a profound influence on John Rawls, arguably the most important twentieth-century philosopher in the distributive justice paradigm.

Rawls' Justice as Fairness

One of the first modern philosophers to read Kant not "as a morality of austere command but [as] an ethic of mutual respect and self-esteem" (Rawls 1971, p. 225), John Rawls' writings focused on how societal institutions should provide the just distribution of goods, services, and opportunities. Rawls' theory was written to counterbalance utilitarian tendencies (i.e., catering to the needs of the greatest number of people) in society. For Rawls, utilitarianism entails the risk of endangering the fundamental rights of underprivileged individuals. Safeguarding those rights by promoting fairness as a guiding principle for justice is at the heart of Rawlsian philosophy. Now, 60 years after Rawls' first major publication (Rawls 1958), it is impossible for authors of a book or paper on social or distributive justice to forego his ideas. In the language assessment literature, no ideas on justice have had more impact than Rawls' (e.g., Cronbach 1976; Kunnan 2000, 2018; Davies 2010; McNamara and Ryan 2011).

The basic question put forward by Rawls is what kind of society would we choose if we did not know our own place in the world? In order to come to an answer, Rawls introduces the metaphor of the *veil of ignorance*. If people had to decide on the basic structure of society from behind this veil – which hid information about their position in society, about their wealth, health, ethnicity, or gender – they would choose fairness as the basic guiding principle (Rawls 1958, 1971, 2001). Consequently, people would choose a society that is fair and offers equal opportunities to all.

From this, Rawls deduced two main principles of justice, which have influenced the idea of the welfare state to this day (Reisch 2014). Because there is hierarchy to these principles, the second cannot be addressed before the first is satisfied. The first principle guarantees that all citizens enjoy maximal equality in society. Thus, no societal arrangement can ever be just if it lacks a system of equal basic liberties.

> Each person has the same indefeasible claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all. (Rawls 2001, p. 42)

Rawls' second principle accepts that social and economic inequalities will arise, but even in this context, it is important that all members of society have equal access to the same positions in life (2a). Moreover, the *difference principle* (2b) states that if inequalities do arise, they should be the most beneficial to the least-endowed citizens.

Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions:

a. They are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity;
b. They are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society. (Rawls 2001, p. 42–43)

To be clear, Rawls defines fairness as the absence of bias. Since fairness – objectiveness – is the precondition for justice (Rawls 2001), no ruling could be just if it is based on a biased system in which certain groups of people systematically receive more opportunities. Instead, Rawls argues for a system where everybody has equal opportunities and where redistributive measures bring the most benefits to those who need them the most.

After Rawls: The Capability Approach

Offering a full overview of Rawls' impact on philosophy and policy exceeds the scope of this chapter (but see, e.g., Laborde 2002). Nevertheless, it is important to include the work of Rawlsian thinkers Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum in this section since their *capability approach* has influenced the writings on justice in language assessment (e.g., Kunnan 2014, 2018).

Even though Sen and Nussbaum applaud the Rawlsian approach for the prioritization of fairness, equity, and objectivity, they criticize its proponents (e.g., Rawls 2001; Pogge 2010; Dworkin 2013) for focusing too much on equality in terms of primary goods instead of on equality in terms of capabilities (Sen 1980, 1992). Primary goods are items, liberties, or services that every person would want regardless of any other desired they held (e.g., freedom of thought, freedom of movement – see Rawls 2001; Boylan 2004; Dworkin 2013). A capability, on the other hand, refers to "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being" (Sen 1993, p. 30). As such, the capability approach judges the justness of a society or system by the extent to which it allows people to pursue valued goals (Sen 1993; Nussbaum 2002).

Secondly, Sen noted that Rawls' focus on determining the conditions for perfectly just societal institutions cannot yield a definitive outcome, since there will never be unanimous agreement about what perfect justice entails. Instead, Sen promotes a more pragmatic approach, which focuses on reducing known injustices, rather than on defining what perfect justice entails (Sen 2010).

Thirdly, Sen criticizes Rawls' veil of ignorance as a thought experiment, since it is unrealistic to ask people to imagine a state of ignorance regarding their status in life. Objectivity, Sen argues, can only be reached by involving a wide array of subjective perspectives (Nagel 1989; Sen 2010). Thus, the justness of a system can only be judged when the viewpoints of all stakeholders are considered.

Finally, most post-Rawlsian philosophers agree on the need for just societal institutions to be based on robust evidence (e.g., Phillips 2007; Sen 2010; Dworkin 2013). Reminding of Kant's dictum that an action which leads to a morally desirable

outcome only has moral worth if it is done for the right reason, these modern philosophers argue that a policy can only be just if it is based on a reasoned use of evidence (Sen 2010).

Political and Moral Philosophy on Education and Assessment

The literature on social justice in education often focuses on schools as reproduction sites of social inequality (e.g., Bourdieu 1991; Ball 2003) or as emancipatory transformation grounds, where systemic inequalities can be reversed (Walker and Unterhalter 2007; Van den Branden 2015). Nevertheless, irrespective of the approach taken to the emancipatory potential of education, it is safe to state that all human rights philosophers consider access to education a basic human right at very much the same level as food, shelter, and bodily integrity (Nussbaum 2000; Rawls 2001; Boylan 2004; Walker and Unterhalter 2007; Stein 2016). Consequently, there is a broad consensus that a just educational system should be governed by principles of fairness and equal opportunity (Rawls 2001) and that education should allow people to determine and pursue valued goals in life (Nussbaum 2002; Sen 2010). This has implications for assessment that provides access to education and for the assessment going on during the educational process.

Any kind of testing entails a power imbalance. The person being tested is judged by a person or organization, who has the power to decide over the candidate's fate (Foucault 1977; Shohamy 2001). Since the candidate bears the brunt of the decision, but is usually not allowed to partake in the decision-making process, most tests qualify as systemic coercion (Valentini 2012). Such systems are not necessarily unjust, Rawls and later philosophers argue, but they must be free from bias. Moreover, everybody who wants to partake in a test should be able to do so. Consequently, tests should not withhold certain groups of people from taking part, unless there is good reason to do so.

Regarding access to education, one of the most prominent voices of the Rawlsian school is Ronald Dworkin. He wrote extensively about a university's right to apply affirmative action for students who come from a less privileged background (e.g., Dworkin 2000). Dworkin's solution to unequal starting positions in education is to ensure that people from a disadvantaged background are compensated for any inhibiting factors that are outside of their control. Once those factors, stemming largely from chance, are remedied, people are responsible for their own successes and failures later in life (Dworkin 2002, 2003). To an extent Dworkin's ideas are in opposition to the social justice philosophers who focus less on individual responsibility and more on structural inequalities and systemic bias (Young 1990; Bourdieu 1991; Roemer 1996). These authors would point out that affirmative action to determine access to education is too little, too late, since educational justice is not about applying positive discrimination at certain points but about remedying a systemic inequality of opportunities. In this respect, Young introduced the concept of *thrownness* to denote that people do not choose their own circumstances but are thrown into a social world that will determine their opportunities for them (Young 1990; Rawls 2001).

Even though not all authors would stress structure over agency to this extent (e.g., Sen 2010 considers human agency a vital component), there is consensus that structural educational social injustice is a reality. It occurs when certain groups of people are systematically given fewer opportunities for pursuing valued goals, either because of a biased policy or because of collectively enacted implicit societal norms (Nussbaum 2000; Young 2011). As long as schools play a role in normalizing and reinforcing unequal opportunities, they contribute to the cyclical reaffirmation of unequal opportunities (Young 1990, 2011; Adams 2014). Since systemic inequality is the result of interactions between individuals, every individual involved in education is responsible for reducing bias during classes and during assessment (Giddens 1979; Young 2011; Adams 2014). Nevertheless, since systemic forces are enacted largely implicitly and unconsciously (Bourdieu 1984; Young 2011), that is easier said than done.

Summarizing the above, there is consensus that everybody has the right to equal educational opportunities (Nussbaum 2000; Boylan 2004) and to an education that allows them to pursue valuable life goals (Sen 1980, 1993). Everybody also has the right to an education that is free from systemic inequality (Walker and Unterhalter 2007; Adams 2014). In this process, assessment plays a decisive role.

Fairness

Fairness is a rather intuitive concept that concerns receiving equal treatment or rewards when equality is due (Rescher 2002). This desire for equality appears to be a universal part of human nature, displayed by children from as young as 4 years old from the most diverse societies (Blake et al. 2015). Given the natural inclination of humans to strive for equity, it is somewhat unsurprising that fairness has been a perennial concern in testing as well as in philosophy.

Language testers may consider fairness either narrowly or broadly. The narrow conceptualization considers fairness as a psychometrical matter, aimed at reducing bias (McNamara and Ryan 2011). The broader definition of fairness also includes the absence of bias, but goes beyond it by considering a range of issues, from equal access to rater severity (McNamara and Roever 2006; Shaw and Imam 2013; AERA 2014). In this section, we will consider both conceptualizations, beginning with the narrow one.

As the focus in the chapter shifts from the philosophical to the psychometrical, it is important to highlight that the term "bias" as used in assessment may differ from the bias identified by Rawlsian thinkers. In both fields, bias denotes an absence of objectivity, but the approaches taken to avoid or counteract this deficiency may differ. Language assessment, being a practice-driven multidisciplinary field, uses a more concrete methodology than the propositions put forward by the abovementioned philosophers. Nevertheless, even though Rawls' writing about bias may not be specific enough to allow for concrete operationalization, he did see merit in compensating for biased judgments about primary goods and saw bias as a threat to validity.

> It is unreasonable to demand great precision, yet these estimates [i.e., individual judgments about the distribution of primary goods] cannot be left to our unguided intuition. Moreover, they may be based on ethical and other notions, not to mention bias and self-interest, which puts their validity in question. (Rawls 1971, p. 78)

As this quote shows, Rawls deemed the demand for great precision in mitigating biased judgments to be unreasonable. In assessment and psychometrics, however, achieving great statistical precision has been a perennial quest.

Fairness and Bias

The Roots of Bias Research

Quite likely, a desire for impartiality is what inspired the creation of the Chinese Imperial test – perhaps the oldest and longest-running public selection examination, which was used from 605 until 1905 to select bureaucratic staff in the service of the emperor of China (Spolsky 1997; Stein 2016). Later, in the post-revolutionary Europe of the enlightenment, tests were used to pursue the meritocratic ideal of selecting the most qualified candidates (Spolsky 1997; Reisch 2014; Stein 2016). During this era, educational institutions in the Anglo-American tradition were among the first to use tests as selection mechanisms in the modern sense (Stein 2016). Rather quickly, scholars discovered that these tests were not only measuring construct-relevant variance but that other factors appeared to determine the score as well.

Latham's (1877) observation that raters differed in severity laid the groundwork for Edgeworth (1888) to investigate the backgrounds of candidates, and discover that wealthier candidates were more likely to do well in examinations. In a related study, Dexter (1903) showed that students who did well academically were twice as likely to become part of the American high society. Drawing on Dexter, Cattell (1905) later called for the standardization of university examinations, in order to ensure that candidates were judged on merit, not on social standing. Today, the trends uncovered by Edgeworth and his colleagues would be referred to as bias: systematic construct-irrelevant variance that unfairly disadvantages specific populations (McNamara and Roever 2006).

An important condition for bias is the presence of differential item functioning (DIF), which occurs when certain test items persistently and significantly function differentially for different populations after controlling for the test takers' ability level (Aryadoust et al. 2011). A psychometric concept, DIF is not necessarily problematic in itself, since certain groups could systematically underperform for construct-relevant reasons (Linn and Drasgow 1987).

> Differential item functioning is a necessary but not sufficient condition for bias because a test item that functions differently for two groups might do so because it advantages one group in a construct-irrelevant way, but there might also be legitimate reasons for differential functioning. (McNamara and Roever 2006, p. 83)

Bias occurs, however, when large numbers of items systematically and demonstrably (dis)advantage specific populations on construct-irrelevant grounds, such as

gender, educational background, or home language (Elder 1997; Kane 2010; Xi 2010a; Shaw and Imam 2013).

Early research into the differential performances of different subgroups on the same tests discovered that not all groups performed equally well on all tests. Links between performance and socioeconomic (Stern 1914; Binet and Simon 1916) or ethnic background (Weintrob and Weintrob 1912) were found, but not all researchers necessarily interpreted this as a moral or ethical problem. Dexter (1903), for example, saw the connection between high test scores and high socioeconomic status as a sign that tests selected the right people, rather than as a sign of potential bias.

Toward a Broader Conceptualization: Cultural Bias

During the second half of the twentieth century, the term fairness came into use. Cleary (1968), examining racial bias in tests, proposed an operationalization of fairness that approaches today's conception of DIF. For Cleary, a test was fair if there were no systematic performance differences in different groups of test takers. Three years later, Thorndike (1971) pointed out that a systematic performance difference does not necessarily imply unfairness. A test is only unfair when two groups of equally able test takers gain markedly different scores. In order to establish whether that is the case, Thorndike stated, it would be necessary to determine the base rate performances of different populations so as to allow for partialling out the ability level of different groups of test takers. In the same year as Thorndike's influential paper, a third paradigm entered the debate, highlighting political and ethical concerns (Oliveri et al. 2013). Darlington (1971) introduced the broad definition of fairness by focusing on how value systems may lead to bias. This idea was embraced by Flaugher (1974) who advocated for cultural awareness in test development.

By the mid-1970s, at least five models of fairness had been proposed, but none truly managed to achieve the ideal of "culture fairness" (Cronbach 1976; Petersen and Novick 1976). In the same year, Rawls was referenced for perhaps the first time in the assessment literature, when Cronbach includes the difference principle in a paper on fairness (Cronbach 1976).

Bias in Language Testing: Enter Rasch

In language assessment research, there is a time before and after the introduction of the Rasch model. Before, studies often examined the effect of background knowledge (e.g., Alderson and Urquhart 1985; Hale 1988), native language (L1) (e.g., Swinton and Powers 1980), cultural background (e.g., Chen and Henning 1985), or ethnicity (e.g., Zeidner 1987) on test performance by relying on item difficulty alone, without considering test-taker ability. The basic Rasch model, however, considers both test-taker ability and item difficulty. The premise of the model is that the probability of a test taker getting a dichotomously scored item right depends on the difference between candidate ability and item difficulty. These two parameters are estimated separately, but are mapped onto a common scale (Barkaoui 2014).

McNamara and Knoch's (2012) historical overview of the impact of the Rasch models on language testing shows how a rather small group of researchers from the USA, the UK, Australia, and the Netherlands examined the potential of the basic Rasch model for test validation (e.g., De Jong 1983). It was only after the introduction of many-facets Rasch measurement (MFRM, Linacre 1989) and the FACETS program (Linacre 1989), however, that the method truly gained momentum.

Building on the basic Rasch model, MFRM allows researchers to examine polytomous and ordinal items and to define parameters other than test-taker ability and item difficulty, such as rater severity or certain demographic variables. As such, MFRM offered an answer to the rating problems observed a century earlier (Latham 1877) and to the problems of quantifying and resolving socioeconomic or racial bias (Cleary 1968; Darlington 1971; Petersen and Novick 1976). For the past 30 years, the MFRM has been growing into a leading method used to investigate bias and fairness (McNamara and Knoch 2012), although other statistical avenues are being explored successfully (Xi 2010b; Li and Suen 2013).

A Broader Conception of Fairness

Up until now, the discussion of fairness in this chapter has focused on the narrow conception (i.e., limited to psychometrically traceable item bias). This section discusses a broader conception of fairness, as including sensitivity reviews, considerations of equal access and equitable treatment, and rater severity (McNamara and Roever 2006).

Sensitivity reviews typically take place before and during test construction. Taboo lists can be used to preemptively rule out certain topics as test material, since they may adversely affect the performance of certain test takers (e.g., religion, sexuality, politics). During test construction, an international and culturally diverse review board can scrutinize test items for potential insensitivities or bias. When this is done extensively, and when all stakeholders are included in this process, such a review may begin to address the objectivity approach advocated by Sen (2010) and the right to objective assessment argued by Stein (2016).

Regarding equal access, it is clear that if language assessment opens the way to educational opportunities or to nontrivial statuses, goods, and services (e.g., citizenship, social housing, and employment), the level of effort involved in partaking in the test should be comparable for all people involved. For example, if, as is increasingly the case, European nations demand non-EU nationals to pass a language test before they are admitted to the host country (Van Avermaet and Pulinx 2013), fairness demands that gaining access to the test site is feasible for all (Rawls 2001). Similarly, all test takers should receive equal treatment during the test, regardless of any demographic or physical differences (Nussbaum 2002). The test design should not exclude people from partaking or negatively impact test takers' performances. If it does, accommodations should be available to compensate for any unequal opportunities that may arise (ILTA 2007). Often, these will include screen readers for the

visually impaired, compensatory measures for candidates with dyslexia, and the like (Abedi 2014). To date, comparatively little research has examined the fair assessment of low-educated, low-literate learners, who make up for a substantial proportion of the citizenship testing population (Carlsen 2017).

Additionally and importantly, the rating procedure can unduly influence a candidate's score. Rater severity was the topic of one of the first fairness studies (Latham 1877), and the study of rater behavior, rater consistency, and rater severity has been a longtime focus of language assessment research and good practice guidelines (EALTA 2000; ILTA 2007). In an influential early study, Diederich and colleagues (1961) found that different raters may use almost the entire score range when judging the same performances without scoring criteria. Intuition is generally not a recommended approach to achieve rating reliability, but rating scales too do not always provide guarantees for reliable scoring, even after rater training (Elder et al. 2005). Rater reliability is not fixed, but results from the interaction between the type of rating scale, the quality of the criteria, the experience of the rater, and individual differences in severity (Weigle 2002; Barkaoui 2010; Galaczi et al. 2011; Fulcher et al. 2011; Isaacs and Thomson 2013). As long as raters are consistently deviant, however, MFRM analyses can be used to compensate for severity or leniency issues. Since the 1990s, dozens of studies have been published about this well-established topic (McNamara and Knoch 2012). Nevertheless, even when the rating reliability indices are high, and even when MFRM analyses are applied methodically and rigorously, there are no guarantees that the raters will interpret the same criteria similarly. In fact, empirical studies suggest that the interpretation of a rating scale is fundamentally impacted by rater experience, task types, surface elements, and rater intuition (Lumley 2002; Barkaoui 2010; Fulcher et al. 2011; Isaacs and Thomson 2013), which, in turn, raises important issues regarding scoring validity (Harsch and Martin 2013; Deygers and Van Gorp 2015).

The relationship between fairness, justice, and validity will be discussed below. For now, we can conclude that fairness research, in its narrow and broad conceptualization, has been a vital part of the history of language assessment and has been at the heart of some important technological and statistical innovations in the field. However, in spite of these important methodological innovations, and in spite of the progress made during some 150 years of research, there is no universally accepted method of eliminating bias. Quite clearly, and contrary to what earlier fairness researchers assumed (Binet and Simon 1916), fairness has proven to be an issue that cannot be easily resolved. There is no readymade formula for fair testing (McNamara and Roever 2006). At best, it seems, unfairness can be contained, but not eradicated.

Justice in Language Assessment

The section above indicates that the operationalization of fairness in the assessment literature aligns rather well with the Rawlsian notion of avoiding bias and ensuring equal access. Moreover, fairness has been a matter of educational research for a

century, but the interest in justice is more recent (Davies 1977; Spolsky 1981, 1995). As a telling case in point, Web of Science returns no results for the query "social justice AND assessment" between 1980 and 1990. For the following two decades, respectively, 17 and 106 papers are listed, compared to 213 for 7 years after 2010. The growing number of papers on justice aligns with an increased interest in test ethics and with a growing use of language tests for high-stakes purposes such as citizenship (McNamara and Shohamy 2008; Van Avermaet and Pulinx 2013).

A number of important publications have kindled the interest in the role of language tests in society. Messick's (1989) chapter on validity brought the concept of impact front and center, and important subsequent publications have expanded on that basis. Even though many valuable ideas have been expressed in these publications, however, their approaches to fairness and justice have not always been mutually compatible and have not always agreed with accepted principles in moral and political philosophy.

First, it is important to introduce the ILTA (2000) Code of Ethics, perhaps the most essential document regarding justice in the field of language assessment. The Code of Ethics contains nine amended principles, ranging from respecting test takers' dignity (Principle 1) to considering unintended effects of tests (Principle 9). Its purpose is to promote beneficence, non-maleficence, justice, and respect for autonomy and for civil society as central to the practice of language assessment (ILTA 2000, p. 1).

These principles explicitly and visibly draw on moral philosophy and bear a clear Kantian signature in its foregrounding of human dignity. Principle 1 states: "Language testers shall have respect for the humanity and dignity of each of their test takers. They shall provide them with the best possible professional consideration and shall respect all persons' needs, values and cultures in the provision of their language testing service" (ILTA 2000, p. 1). The annotation to the third principle reads: "The human rights of the research subject shall always take precedence over the interests of science or society" (ILTA 2000, p. 3). As will become clear in the following section, ILTA's code has had a noticeable influence on the conceptions of justice that have been put forward in the literature.

Untangling Fairness and Justice

Messick's groundbreaking chapter (1989) on validity stressed the importance of the social consequences of tests and distinguished between an evidential and a consequential basis for validity. The evidential basis concerns construct validity and the avoidance of construct underrepresentation and construct-irrelevant variance. The consequential basis refers to the values that shape a testing policy and to the social consequences of tests. In line with Rawls, Messick links fairness to the evidential basis of validity and the importance it assigns to avoiding bias on construct-irrelevant grounds. Messick also uses the term justice, but in a somewhat ambivalent way. Messick's justice has two components: the position of a test in a larger societal policy but also the consequences that are attached to test scores.

In an important paper on justice and fairness in citizenship testing, McNamara and Ryan (2011) revisit Messick's chapter to clarify the use of terminology. Staying true to both Messick and to Rawls, they define fairness as "the extent to which the test quality, especially its psychometric quality, ensures procedural equality for individual and subgroups of test-takers and the adequacy of the representation of the construct in test materials and procedures" (McNamara and Ryan 2011, p. 163). They continue to make an important distinction between fairness and justice: fairness is test-internal, and justice is test-external. In other words, investigating fairness implies presupposing the existence of a test for a certain purpose. To investigating justice, however, researchers take a step back and consider how a test functions in the larger whole of society and which functions the test scores perform. Justice requires that researchers think critically about the why a test is used in the first place "not only in terms of its effects and consequences but in terms of the social values it embodies" (McNamara and Ryan 2011, p. 165).

Thus, McNamara and Ryan link fairness to the evidential basis of validity and justice to its consequential basis. In an important deviation from the Rawlsian approach, however, they do not give fairness priority over justice. In their framework, a test can be just even if it is unfair. The example they give is that of a university admission test: In practice, these tests may be unfairly biased, even though there is general support for the idea that prospective students need to demonstrate a certain proficiency level in the language of instruction before they can gain admission to university. For Rawls, however, the mere justifiability of an *idea* could never qualify the *practice* as just. Put differently, if a justifiable idea is put into practice in a way that does not guarantee equality of opportunity and freedom from bias for everybody involved, it can never be just (Rawls 2001; Sen 2010; Sandel 2010; Stein 2016).

Even though McNamara and Ryan did not maintain Rawls' prioritization of fairness over justice, they did stay close to his conception of fairness. Other authors have deviated more from the original philosophical concepts. Kane (2010), for example, does not define justice altogether, but differentiates between substantive fairness – the absence of bias – and procedural fairness, the use of a test score. There are two conceptual problems with this proposition. First, it appears to consider fairness a proxy for justice, rather than a precondition, and second, it focuses on the individual test taker alone, whereas justice demands a focus on the larger society (Sen 2010).

Throughout his career, Alan Davies remained skeptical toward fairness and justice. In his introduction to the 1997 special issue of Language Testing devoted to test ethics, Davies considered the focus of justice to be on the role of tests in society and the focus of fairness to be on the individual test taker. In later publications, however, Davies dismissed attempts to delineate justice and fairness as futile (Davies 2010) or suggested equating justice with legality (e.g., Davies 2012). Other authors too have proposed diverging ideas on fairness and justice. Some have used fairness and justice synonymously (e.g., Shaw and Imam 2013) and have avoided a clear distinction by defining fairness as "something that may, but not necessarily, be synonymous with justice" (Walters 2012, p. 470),

In contrast, Anthony Kunnan, one of the first language assessment researchers to demand attention for fairness and justice, has always sought to offer clear operationalizations of fairness and justice. Kunnan (2000) can also be credited with highlighting the important idea that the presence of a test may introduce a societal inequity or imbalance that would not have occurred in the absence of that test.

In his first contributions, Kunnan (2000) considered justice as part of fairness, whereby fairness was considered an overarching concept that included validity and justice. In his definition of justice, Kunnan referred to matters of litigation, which is substantially different from distributive and social justice. Kunnan's subsequently published test fairness framework (Kunnan 2004, 2010) maintained fairness as a superordinate concept, consisting of both justice and beneficence. Somewhat confusingly, this framework described justice as freedom from bias and beneficence as the impact of a test on a wider society. In recent work, Kunnan (2014, 2018) no longer defines justice as a component of fairness but considers them as two distinct principles. In a Rawlsian turn, he prioritizes fairness over justice (i.e., a test can never be just if it is not fair). Kunnan's most recent publication (2018) introduces a principle of fairness and a principle of justice, which link with Stein's (2016) principles (see below). The principle of fairness states that: "An assessment ought to be fair to all test takers; that is, there is a presumption of treating every test taker with equal respect." The four sub-principles show that Kunnan is using a broad definition of fairness, since they include the right to acquire the necessary skills, knowledge, or abilities to pass the test; the right to meaningful, unbiased, and construct-relevant assessment; and the right to equal access and equitable treatment. The principle of justice is less concrete. In reference to Rawls, he considers justice to be an institutional matter: "an assessment institution ought to be just, bring about benefits in society, promote positive values, and advance justice through public reasoning." In this conceptualization, thus test institutions should be just, by yielding societal benefits and by advancing certain values, but they should also advance justice through public reasoning. It is unclear, however, what Kunnan means by public reasoning, and how it would be implemented in assessment practice. Furthermore, Kunnan's focus on the importance of a test to be beneficial to society betrays a somewhat utilitarian perspective in an approach that is indebted to Rawls and Sen, who prioritize certain inalienable individual human over the common good. It is unclear how Kunnan deals with this apparent conceptual mismatch.

Consequently, even though Kunnan's theory suggests adherence to moral and political philosophy, there are a number of inconsistencies between his theory and its original sources. For example, Kunnan has adopted three essential ideas from Sen (2010): the importance of public reasoning (see above), universality, and impartiality. It is unclear, however, how universality would be achieved by "promoting non-parochial, global norms of justice" (Kunnan 2018, p. 93), and perhaps most importantly, it is unclear how Kunnan's approach would lead to impartiality. Kunnan states that "an outside voice [would] provide an impartial perspective" (Kunnan 2018, p. 93), but this deviates crucially from a fundamental point in Sen's (2010) theory of justice. Sen, in line with Nagel (1989), argues that one person can never be

objective, since *objective illusion* (Sen 2010: 161) prevents any one person from seeing the world from any other perspective than their own. Consequently, Sen proposes to include the voices of many different stakeholders with many different objective illusions to comment on the justice of a policy.

Kunnan also promotes developing norms of justice in language assessment. Sen, however, argued that a normative approach to justice in untenable because there will never be universal agreement on what perfect justice entails. For Sen, it will be much easier to get people to agree on what is unjust. Building on this idea, Deygers proposes operationalizing justice as minimizing injustice, much in the same way as fairness research focuses on minimizing bias. In Deygers' definition, "a testing policy is *unjust* if it wilfully and avoidably restricts test takers' freedom without an empirically sound or reasonable motivation" (Deygers 2017; Deygers et al. 2017). A reasonable motivation should rely on empirical data and could follow Toulmin's argument structure (Toulmin 2003) as it has been proposed in operationalizations of validity (Kane 2013) and fairness (Kunnan 2010).

Deygers (2017) also proposes principles of justice in language assessment which rely on moral and political philosophy. These principles include the need for high-stakes assessment policies to rely on careful and reasonable interpretation of empirical evidence, the need to consult all primary stakeholders about the justice of a testing policy and to give the people most impacted by that policy the opportunity to reject it on reasonable grounds, the need for testing institutions and individual language testers to be held accountable when they engage in morally reprehensible practices, and the need to respect the privacy of test takers, especially when it concerns biometric data.

In relation to this, Stein (2016) has formulated the rights of test takers, starting from the premise that tests structure access to a primary good (education) and that access to such goods should be fair and unbiased. Stein identifies the right to benefit from measurement, the right to relevant measurement, and the right to objective measurement.

The first right entails that it is unjust to use assessments to the disadvantage of certain groups. As such, it is important to ask the stakeholders of a testing policy whether they can reasonably reject it and its proposed outcomes (see Sen 2010). Secondly, test takers have the right to construct-relevant assessment, and thirdly, they are entitled to assessment practices that are free from bias. Since fairness is a precondition for justice (e.g., Rawls 1971, 2001, Sen 1980, 2010; Young 1990; Nussbaum 2002), the right to objective assessment is primordial. Inevitably, this brings us to the fairness debate in the language assessment literature.

Justice or Fairness? Seeing the Forest for the Trees

With so many different conceptualizations of justice and fairness, and an abundance of shifting nuances, it is challenging to see whether there is any common ground in the language assessment literature. It is clear that there is agreement on fairness. At a minimum, fairness concerns the absence of bias. There is also general agreement that justice has a broader, value-laden scope that includes an attention for the impact of a test

on society. Additionally, different authors agree that justice demands respect for the human rights of test takers (Sen 2010; Nussbaum 2011; Adams 2014; Stein 2016; Deygers 2017; Kunnan 2018), that a just policy must be based on the reasoned use of evidence (Sen 2010; Deygers 2017; Dworkin 2013; Kunnan 2018), that justice requires acknowledging test takers as equal stakeholders (Walker and Unterhalter 2007; Stein 2016; Deygers 2017), and that fairness is a prerequisite for justice (Rawls 1971; Walker and Unterhalter 2007; Sen 2010; Stein 2016; Deygers 2017; Kunnan 2018).

Justice and Power

In high-stakes language testing, there is a coercive power dynamic at play: The person asked to prove a certain ability level will be judged by another, who controls the situation, the judgment, and ultimately the future of the candidate (e.g., Shohamy 2001; McNamara 2012; Spolsky 2013). Authors who have written in the tradition of critical language assessment have typically relied more on Foucauldian post-structuralism (e.g., Foucault 1977) and critical sociology (e.g., Bourdieu 1991) than on Rawlsian philosophy, but their purposes have been comparable to the ones propagated in the social justice literature.

Foucault famously criticized examinations for their ceremonial subjection and objectification of individuals:

> In [the examination] are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth. At the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected. (Foucault 1977, p. 184–185)

Complementary to these ideas are Bourdieu's concept of habitus – the unwritten rules and idiosyncrasies that establish group cohesion – and his thoughts on how socially powerful groups use their symbolic capital to implicitly and explicitly superimpose their habitus on society and to exclude those who do not conform (Bourdieu 1984). Consequently, the knowledge of power asymmetries in language policy was not new when Elana Shohamy published her essential book, *The Power of Tests* (2001). But she did translate these principles to a context of language testing and introduced them to a wide audience. Shohamy was, and is, fundamentally concerned with the impact of tests on people's lives and with the language ideologies that enable a political agenda in which test plays an important part. If these conceptions appear self-evident now, it is largely due to Shohamy's work and her focus on the impact of tests on individuals and on the societal role they play.

More recent work in this tradition has focused on the symbolic power on display in language testing procedures (Khan and McNamara 2017), has examined the ideological forces behind language policies (Shohamy 2006), or has explored issues of human rights in connection with language ideology (McNamara and Shohamy 2008). A frequent focus of research papers in this domain is language testing in the

context of citizenship or permanent residency requirements. Often, these papers discuss policy measures (Shohamy 2009; McNamara 2009; Van Avermaet and Pulinx 2013) or the impact of power issues on individuals involved in citizenship procedures (Khan and Blackledge 2015).

In spite of some differences, however, the Foucauldian and the Rawlsian tradition in language assessment may be quite similar at heart. The two approaches share comparable or compatible goals, conceptions and theories. Bourdieu, for example, is an essential influence on Young, a social justice philosopher. And for some, the distinction between these two traditions even seems somewhat irrelevant. Fulcher (2015), for example, in his philosophical examination of language assessment, mentions Rawls in relation to justice, but ultimately connects justice to Foucauldian matters of power.

Justice, Fairness, and Validity

An overview of how justice and fairness have been defined and operationalized in the language assessment literature is incomplete without a discussion of how both relate to validity. The idea that there is a relationship between fairness and validity is well established, but the exact nature of that relationship has been a matter of some debate. In this section we will first discuss how justice and fairness may relate to validity, and then consider briefly how fairness could be operationalized to benefit valid score use.

As was discussed in the historical overview of bias research, the idea that fairness is an essential component of validity has been an essential part of mainstream validity theory (Kane 2010, 2013). Lack of fairness was considered a threat to validity from the early days of language assessment (e.g., Cattell 1905, p. 367). More recently, Messick (1989) saw fairness and justice as components of a unified concept of validity. In Messick's theory, fairness was concerned with test-internal matters, while what we would now call justice (McNamara and Ryan 2011) was test-external and concerned with the values represented in a test and with the impact of scores on people's lives. This is also largely the position of McNamara and Ryan, who argue that both fairness and justice are validity issues at heart: "most authors following Messick have also increasingly accepted that questions of social values and policy are relevant to understanding the meaning of test scores, and hence their validity" (McNamara and Ryan 2011, p. 163). Davies, too, considered both fairness and justice to be manifestations of validity. In a 2010 contribution, he equates justice with validity and fairness with the absence of construct underrepresentation and construct-irrelevant variance. Because both fairness and justice are closely related to validity, Davies argued, there is little merit in attempts at delineating either.

Kane (2010) observes that the relationship between validity and fairness depends on how they are defined. A narrow definition of validity (e.g., limited to construct validity) and a broad definition of fairness (e.g., everything, from avoiding construct-

irrelevant variance to objective measurement and equal access) would mean that fairness subsumes validity. Conversely, a narrow definition of fairness (e.g., limited to eliminating biased items) and a broad definition of validity (e.g., everything having to do with proving any important claim, from construct representation to score use) would mean that fairness is part of validity. Since Kane defines both fairness (equitable treatment and reasonable consequences – see above) and validity broadly, he chooses not to consider either one as subordinate to the other. Rather, he argues that fairness and validity are two ways of answering the same basic question: "Are the proposed interpretations and uses of the test scores appropriate for a population over some range of contexts?" (Kane 2010, p. 177). In later work too, Kane avoids a clear differentiation between fairness and validity, arguing that procedural and substantive fairness are integral components of test development and test validation. Kane's view is compatible with Xi (2010a), who considers fairness and validity to be part of the same framework. Xi sees fairness as comparable validity for all subgroups involved in the testing process. Another variation on this perspective is seen in the Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing (AERA 2014), which states that fairness (defined as equitable treatment of test takers and the absence of bias) vitally contributes to the validity of a test.

Thus, there is general consensus that validity and fairness are interlinked, and most researchers and theoreticians agree that fairness is either a component of validity or largely coincides with it. A few authors have taken opposing views to the relationship between fairness and validity. Kunnan (2000), for example, proposed a framework in which fairness encompassed both validity and justice – an idea that runs counter to notions proposed by Messick (fairness as part of validity) and Rawls (fairness as a precondition for justice). In more recent work, Kunnan (2018) has elaborated that idea, by considering fairness as a superordinate category that contains both "meaningfulness" (i.e., validity) and lack of bias (for a discussion on meaningfulness and validity, see Weideman 2017).

Since justice is not quite the established research topic in language testing that fairness is, it is unsurprising that the literature on the relationship between justice and validity is not quite as well developed. Messick (1989) and McNamara and Ryan define justice in terms of the effects and consequences of a test and in terms of the societal values it represents (McNamara and Ryan 2011, p. 165). Thus, logically, they consider justice as a component of validity. Kane does not explicitly develop an argument related to justice, but his discussion of procedural fairness shows that he would be inclined to consider justice as part of validity.

Within the social justice literature, however, validity is commonly considered as an essential component of justice (Stein 2016). A test which is not valid could never be part of a system that is based on "fair equality of opportunity" (Rawls 2001, p. 42) for all. Similarly, for Sen (2010), an instrument which has the power to exclude would need to be based on irrefutable reasoning before the policy could be considered just. This idea has received some uptake in the language assessment literature. For Kunnan (2018) a test cannot be just if test users are not aware of the validity evidence. In a similar vein, Deygers (2017) argues that a test policy can never be just

if it does not rely on adequate empirical evidence for its most important claims. Lastly, there are theorists who propose to consider validity a characteristic of a test proper and contest the idea that the use of a test in a social context is part of validity (e.g., Borsboom and Markus 2013). For better or for worse, however, these ideas are not generally acknowledged in the language assessment literature (McNamara and Ryan 2011).

Regarding justice and validity, it appears that the general assessment literature sees justice as part of validity, and that the social justice literature considers it the other way around. On closer consideration, this apparent conceptual schism may not be quite as wide as it would seem at first sight, since Kane's point about broad and narrow definitions applies here too. A rather narrow definition of justice (i.e., limited to the social consequences of score use), as is typically applied in the language assessment literature, would mean that justice is part of validity, while a wide definition would lead to the opposite conclusion. Additionally, justice in the language assessment literature usually focuses on the impact of a test on society, in which case it is reasonable to consider justice as part of test validity (e.g., Messick 1989; McNamara and Ryan 2011). In the social justice literature, however, the scope is wider (e.g., Stein 2016). These authors consider societal institutions, institutional policies, social norms, and structural inequality as the domain of justice. As such, it is reasonable for these authors to consider valid tests as a vital component of a wider educational system.

The above discussion is conceptually important, but largely belongs within the realm of theory. In practice, language test developers face more concrete and elemental challenges. Related to fairness, these challenges include but are not limited to avoiding bias, maintaining a consistent difficulty level between test versions, and ensuring rater reliability and consistency. It can be quite daunting, even for seasoned test developers, to select the appropriate methodological tools and avoid the many pitfalls. For that reason – even though a full hands-on discussion of the various ways in which fair testing could be promoted to benefit valid score use goes beyond the scope of this chapter – this paragraph identifies a number of methodological approaches to fairness and justice, without aspiring to exhaustiveness.

Weideman (2017) outlines three essential requirements for sound test development: tests must be based on a sound linguistic theory (for an early discussion, see Cronbach and Meehl 1955), they must be in accordance with existing and commonly accepted codes of ethics (though this cannot be enforced, see Davies 2012; Spolsky 2013), and they must qualify as "responsible design" (see also guidelines for good practice, e.g., EALTA 2000; ALTE 2001; ILTA 2007). An important aspect of responsible design is procedural fairness, in the sense that "all test takers [should] be treated in essentially the same way, that they take the same test or equivalent tests, under the same conditions or equivalent conditions, and that their performances be evaluated using the same (or essentially the same) rules and procedures" (Kane 2010, p. 178).

Drawing on Kane, Xi (2010a) has proposed a set of inferences that need to be validated with regard to fairness. Table 1 summarizes the implications of these inferences and the underlying assumptions (see Kane et al. 2017). The table also

Table 1 Inferences and assumptions underlying fair and just testing

Inference	Implication	Assumption	Reference	Method used
Scoring	The link between a performance and a score is robust and accurate. The rating is consistent	The rating scales are well designed and usable	Harsch and Martin (2012)	%modagree
		All test takers have equal opportunities to demonstrate their knowledge, skills, or abilities	Aryadoust (2018)	Recursive partitioning Rasch trees
		The test is delivered in such a way that allows all test takers to demonstrate their knowledge, skills, or abilities	Li and Suen (2013)	Variance-known HLM
		Test administration conditions are identical across contexts	Saville (2012)	
		The test and the test items are statistically robust	Saida and Hattori (2008)	Post-hoc IRT equating
		Appropriate accommodations are available to all test takers who require them	Willner et al. (2008)	Delphi study
		Raters are trained and monitored for reliability and consistency	Eckes (2005)	Many-facets Rasch analysis
Generalization	The scores on one performance do not deviate from what one would expect based on parallel test versions	Each test contains enough tasks to allow for stable estimations	Matlock and Turner (2016)	Unidimensional item response theory
		The scaling and equation procedures are appropriate	ETS (2010)	Equipercentile linking
		The task specifications are well defined	Davidson (2012)	

Table 1 (continued)

Inference	Implication	Assumption	Reference	Method used
Extrapolation	Candidates who pass the test tasks will be able to perform the real-world equivalent of those tasks	All test items or tasks are essential in order to accurately represent the target domain	Allalouf and Abramzon (2008)	DIF analysis
		Omitting certain tasks from the test would lead to a less accurate representation of the target domain	Frost et al. (2012)	Discourse analysis
Decision	The test scores allow score users to make appropriate real-world decisions	The score reports are clear and useable	O'Loughlin (2013)	Mixed methods
		Score users know how to interpret the meaning of test scores	Baker et al. (2014)	Survey research
		The admission procedures in which the test scores are used are reasonable	Khan and Blackledge (2015)	Ethnographic case study
		The test scores have positive impact	Deygers et al. (2017)	Analysis of false negatives

Based on Xi (2010a) and Kane et al. (2017)

provides one relevant publication per assumption and briefly indicates the methodology used in that publication, when applicable.

Most publications on the topic of justice in language assessment have been conceptual (McNamara 2009; Deygers 2017; Khan and McNamara 2017) rather than empirical, and only a few research papers have appeared (see Table 1). These empirical studies have often taken a qualitative approach (e.g., Khan and Blackledge 2015), although a mixed-methods procedure focusing on the impact of false negatives has also been proposed (e.g., Deygers et al. 2017).

Regardless of the approach taken, an essential prerequisite to fairness and justice is transparency (Fulcher 2010). It is essential for language testers and score users alike to report fully and openly which studies have been conducted and what the outcomes were. Without transparency there can be no public debate (Kunnan 2018), which would leave test candidates and score users with insufficient information to adequately select the most appropriate test.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, we will briefly consider how fair and just assessment can be enforced. The answer to that is brief: it cannot. There are no binding ethical regulations for language testers, as there are for doctors and lawyers. Language testing organizations have drawn up codes of practice (EALTA 2000; ALTE 2001; ILTA 2007) and minimum standards of quality (ALTE 2007), but these are mostly focused on the more technical and operational sides of language assessment and language test development (Spolsky 2013). They help promote fairness, but not necessarily justice. Freedom from bias, for example, is a widely recognized aspect of test quality (EALTA 2000; ILTA 2007), and it is even a requirement for becoming a full member of certain professional language testing organizations, such as ALTE (Spolsky 2013).

ILTA's Code of Ethics is focused on justice and human rights, however. Violating it could lead to certain organizations or individuals losing their membership. But, since language testers do not have to be part of a professional organization to develop and administer tests, there are no ways to enforce the moral guidelines encompassed in codes of ethics and codes of practice. Test developers who would wish to disregard ethical standards could not be stopped from doing so, as long as they are not involved in illegal activities (Spolsky 2013).

In spite of this, the pressure from within the language testing community to engage in fair and just assessment is substantial. Justice, social responsibility, and social engagement are the focus of special issues, books, and conferences, and a substantial number of language testers are actively engaged in changing language assessment and language teaching policies across the globe (e.g., Lo Bianco 2014). Moreover, as the field of language assessment has been embracing its social responsibility, the subdiscipline of language assessment literacy (e.g., Inbar-Lourie 2013; Malone 2013) has been researching ways of engaging with educators, policy makers, and the wider society to promote fair and just assessment.

Cross-References

► Critical Research in English Language Teaching
► English Language Teacher Assessment Literacy in Practice
► Postentry English Language Assessment in Universities
► Standardized Language Proficiency Tests in Higher Education
► Using Assessment to Enhance Learning in English Language Education

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Part IV

The Learner and the Learning Environment: Creating New Communities

The Learner and the Learning Environment: Section Introduction

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Abstract

Contributors in this section demonstrate their understanding of learners and learning context in relation to developments in English language teaching. Chapters focus on young and adolescent language learners as well as the various responses that language learners may have in the learning process, including resistance to the instruction of pragmatic norms, learning engagement, autonomous learning, and strategy use. Issues of imagined community and identity have been highlighted in connection with learning English in a multilingual world. Contributors in this section also discuss how to use motivational strategies, coordinated classroom interaction, and technology to make the learning environment more conducive to learning.

Keywords

Identity · Resistance · Learner engagement · Learner autonomy · Motivation · Classroom interaction · Technology-enhanced language learning

It is well noted in the chapters in the first edition of this handbook that the division between cognitive and socially oriented approaches in second language acquisition research might have led to tension, even though researchers from both backgrounds have acknowledged the significance of context in exploring language learners' language use and development (Han 2016). Cognitive researchers have attempted to open the "black box" or explore learners' mental processing of language input and output, but they have also acknowledged that such mental processing takes place

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within a context, even though they treat context as external variables influencing the mental processing of language (Zuengler and Miller 2006). In contrast, socially oriented researchers have argued that context cannot be separated from language learners' cognition and learners' learning is regarded as an integral part of larger social processes, highlighting the notion that language learning happens within social groups or communities of practice (e.g., Lantolf and Thorne 2006).

Chapters in this section highlight the contributors' understanding of learners and learning context. The first two chapters discuss young language learners (by Nikolov and Djigunovic) and adolescent learners (by Harklau and Moreno), before moving on to four chapters on the various responses that language learners are likely to display in the learning process, including resistance to pragmatic norms (Ishihara), learning engagement (Mercer), autonomy (Palfreyman and Benson), and language learning strategies (Takeuchi). The chapter by Norton and Pavlenko examines issues of imagined community and identity in relation to learning English in a multilingual world, echoing the profound mediation that context has on English language learners. Likewise, the next three chapters in this section highlight how language learners' learning environments can be made more facilitative in enhancing learners' learning with motivating strategies (Dornyei and Muir), class interaction (Walsh and Sert), and technology (Warek and Wu).

Nikolov and Djigunovic's chapter focuses on young language learners within the age range from 6 to 14, with evidence from classroom-based research. The chapter outlines how young learners develop in English and how internal and external factors contribute to differences in individual learners' learning achievements. As a result of the understanding of young language learners and their learning, Nikolov and Djigunovic contend that relevant policies, curricula, and age-appropriate pedagogical strategies need to be developed in facilitating their learning of English. Similarly, Harklau and Moreno address the challenges that adolescent language learners have to deal with in the learning process. Considering that these learners are at a highly malleable and challenging age for identity development, migrating English language learners have to cope with even more challenges as they cross linguistic and cultural borders in pursuit of social recognition and self-assertion. The chapter highlights the fact that these young English learners are often involved in a variety of face-to-face and multimodal interaction and semiotic practices, which profoundly mediate the development of social identity and the emergence of self-concept. Consequently, these learners' identity development is multifaceted and dynamic, which deserves further research.

Echoing Harklau and Moreno's arguments, Norton and Pavlenko's chapter presents research on the multiple clusters of language learners' identity pursuit. The chapter stresses the significance of language learners' actual or desired membership in "imagined communities" in mediating their exercise of agency, investment of effort, or acts of resistance underlying their learning trajectories. These "imagined communities" are closely related to what language learners would like to achieve in learning English and thus have implications for teachers when adopting relevant pedagogical strategies to enhance learners' learning.

   In increasingly complex learning contexts, language learners display a variety of learning behaviors that deserve attention and theorization. As an example, Ishihara problematizes the assumption that language learners choose to align their language use with the pragmatic norms of the target language speakers to integrate themselves into particular communities (local or imagined). She focuses on the phenomenon of pragmatic resistance, through which language learners intentionally depart from the target language speakers' norms in their perception. The phenomenon speaks for possible conflicts between the learners' identity aspirations and the target language speakers' norms. It is indicative of language learners' exercise of agency in appropriating target language use for self-assertion. Therefore, it is important for language teachers to be critically aware of their learners' inclination to deviate from the target language speaker's norm for asserting their translingual subjectivity. It is necessary for language teachers to develop culturally sensitive pedagogical responses, since it is not fair for them to penalize these learners' deviant language use.

   To avoid misjudging language learners' learning behavior, language teachers may benefit from developing new understandings of learners' engagement in the learning process. Mercer's chapter on this key process toward successful learning highlights the need for language learners to feel competent, autonomous, and related in the process of language learning, so that they will become more motivated to actively think about, focus on, and enjoy their learning. The chapter highlights the importance of creating learning conditions that make language learners feel positive about the learning process and maximize their investment of learning efforts for the best possible learning outcomes.

   Mercer's reference to motivational antecedents for deepened learning engagement is closely related to Takeuchi's chapter on language learning strategy and Palfreyman and Benson's chapter on learner autonomy. Takeuchi's chapter reviews the historical development of language learning strategy research and its current debates. Takeuchi evaluates the possibility of replacing language learning strategy with self-regulation and concludes that the two constructs complement each other, calling for an approach integrating both language learning strategy and self-regulation in future research. Palfreyman and Benson's chapter continues the discussion on autonomy from the previous edition of this handbook, reviewing key research findings on various interpretations of autonomy by different stakeholders (e.g., learners and teachers) and the autonomy being promoted by pedagogical endeavors. The chapter also elaborates recent developments associated with digital/social media, curriculum and material development, and plurilingual perspectives. Technological developments create opportunities for language learners and teachers to experiment with new ways of learning and teaching, while new perspectives on language learning enable language teachers to become aware of alternative tools that can help them to make sense of language learners' autonomous learning and prepare language learners for autonomous learning. They also draw attention to the contextual conditions that language teachers and learners may reshape in facilitating learning and teaching.

Dorney and Muir examine what language teachers can do to make their classrooms motivating for language learners. Drawing on research in a variety of areas, including group dynamics, motivational psychology, and second language research, the chapter argues that language teachers can consciously intervene to enhance the motivating character of a given classroom by focusing on strengthening group cohesiveness, promoting interpersonal relations, establishing group norms, assigning student roles, and assuming democratic leadership. Language teachers adopt proactive, motivational teaching practice in providing highly contextualized support to facilitate language learners' learning. Meanwhile, Walsh and Sert focus on how language teachers use interactional dynamics to provide opportunities for language learners to learn language and content. To this end, language teachers need to develop an appropriate level of interactional competence or Classroom Interactional Competence, so that they can create a language classroom rich with learning opportunities through well-coordinated classroom interaction. The chapter presents a variety of interactional strategies such as increased wait time and reduced teacher echo to enhance learner contributions in the process.

Warek and Wu elaborate a theoretical framework on the integration of technology in supporting language learners' learning. They stress that technology should fit within the overall language learning environment and that it should be appropriate for learning, teaching, and assessment. When using a technology for language teaching, language teachers need to consider its appropriateness in relation to the pedagogical goals and relevant learning activities. They need to use its strengths or affordances to facilitate what they want language learners to achieve.

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Teaching Young Language Learners

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Marianne Nikolov and Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović

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Abstract

The chapter focuses on the main trends and issues in teaching English as an additional language to young learners, a growing field of interest to both practicing teachers and researchers. By young language learners, we mean that learners fall within the age range between 6 and 14, although we are aware of a growing number of programs for younger children. Lowering the start of English learning to the pre-primary age (below 6 years) is an emerging field of study; however, this age group is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The-younger-the-better position, which still prevails in most contexts world over, is reconsidered by taking into account findings of studies on classroom practices and evidence of achieved learner outcomes. Based on a critical overview of cross-sectional and longitudinal studies on teaching English to young learners in different contexts, this chapter discusses what pedagogical principles current practices rely on and how they are implemented. The first part considers how young learners develop in English: what kind of processes is involved and what teachers should know about them. The second part focuses on factors internal and external to learners resulting in differences in English language development: how individual differences, parents, teachers, and extracurricular exposure to English impact learning and achievements over time. The third part discusses language policy, curricula, and transition, whereas the fourth one presents age-appropriate tasks and assessment approaches conducive to young learners' successful learning of English. The chapter draws on evidence from classroom-based studies and proposes topics for further research.

Introduction

Teaching must be in harmony with learning; therefore, we start this chapter with a discussion of how children between the age of 6 and 14 learn languages. In the first part of this chapter, we overview what roles implicit and explicit learning, comprehension and production, and developmental stages and errors play as children's proficiency in English develops. We characterize interactions between young learners' basic communication and literacy skills and discuss why age is not a key variable in early English programs. In the second part, we move on to how factors internal and external to children impact their English language learning over time. We discuss the roles learners' individual differences play and how parents, teachers, and peers play in early English programs. In the third part we focus on language policies, types of curricula, and challenges posed by transfer. In the fourth part, we present classroom-based research findings on age-appropriate tasks along three developmental stages, with a special

section devoted to how they should be used to scaffold young learners' development in a feedback and assessment *for* learning (FA*f*L) framework. In the last section we recommend areas worth exploring in classroom research projects in order to design and implement a successful language program for young learners.

It has been pointed out repeatedly (e.g., Murphy 2014) that there are more similarities than differences between learning English as an additional language in a context where the target language is considered a foreign language (FL; input is limited mostly to the classroom), a second language (SL; the target language is widely used outside the classroom), or a heritage language. As English is learnt as a lingua franca everywhere, the distinctions are less reliable. The situation is more complex in contexts where teachers with limited English proficiency are expected to teach young learners (e.g., in Japan and France). Therefore, we discuss English as an additional language, indicating the overlaps in definitions and the fact that findings tend to be valid not only for a certain context. L1 and L2 are used to indicate the sequence of learning a language.

How Do Children Learn English as an Additional Language?

In this section we overview how young learners develop while learning and using their multiple languages. First, we present what role implicit and explicit learning, comprehension, and production play in learning English. Then, we look at developmental stages and how errors emerge before moving on to the ways in which children's communication and literacy skills interact. Finally, we discuss if there is an optimal age for learning an additional language, how fast children develop, and why age is not a key variable.

Implicit and Explicit Learning

The younger the learners are, the more similar the learning of English is to the way they acquire their L1(s) and the less they are able to identify and apply rules of the English language consciously. Psycholinguists have distinguished two processes underlying language learning (e.g., Johnstone 2009; Paradis 2009). Implicit learning, which is typical in child L1 acquisition, contributes to procedural knowledge: it involves memorizing language items including words and unanalyzed chunks used in specific contexts and learning rules implicitly (naturally). The other type is explicit or analytical learning building declarative knowledge: using their inductive and deductive reasoning and strategies, children become gradually able to figure out meaning in context and to apply rules to formulate new utterances. These two processes are present in all language learners at all stages of developing their L1 and additional languages; however, their role and importance shift over time. Implicit learning is overwhelmingly powerful in young learners before puberty, whereas explicit learning gradually gains ground during school education and becomes dominant for most learners around puberty (Cameron 2001). This distinction has important implications for curriculum and materials design of meaning- and form-focused tasks.

Comprehension and Production

Children learn languages in here and now contexts, where comprehensible input (Krashen 1985) is rich in detail and specifics: they make sense of the meaning in the input they are exposed to as they interact with their parents, siblings, and caretakers at home and their peers and teachers in the classroom. As these stakeholders are constantly aware of what young learners comprehend and what they cannot understand, they tune their input and the activities to their needs. Learning is multimodal: input is not limited to language, but it involves all information inherent in the activity English is embedded in, including colorful visuals, body language, movements, and other semiotic features.

Young learners can comprehend a lot more than they can say, and their reading comprehension tends to be at a higher level than their writing ability. They comprehend input based on the visual and contextual information in addition to understanding (body) language by drawing on their background knowledge of the world. They can comprehend new language they are not familiar with based on the delicate interactions between their situational and background knowledge as well as their inductive reasoning allowing them to guess meaning and others' intentions in context.

The key strategy involves guessing meaning in context by using all available semiotic sources (facial expression, body language, movements, pictures, physical environment, etc.) during L1 acquisition as well as in all kinds of learning. Guessing L2 meaning tends to happen in the children's L1, at the early stages, thus allowing them to get feedback on their guesses and to make sense of one another's comments (Nikolov 2002). Guessing intelligently offers teachers important insights into learners' thought processes: what they comprehend or misunderstand in storytelling (Ahlquist and Lugossy 2015), role-plays, guessing games, etc. Integrating learners' languages and multimodal sources into the learning process has recently been framed as translanguaging (Li 2018). Children learn their multiple languages, which interact with one another all the time, by drawing on both linguistic and nonlinguistic sources available to them in the actual learning situations.

Teachers can apply a useful teaching technique to scaffold this learner strategy at the very early stage of learning English. When they introduce a new vocabulary item (using a real object or shown in a picture book or story book or on a whiteboard or an iPad), they can rely on what children are familiar with by pointing to the new item and asking yes/no questions: first checking what they know (e.g., Is this a dog? Is it a cat?) and then, the one they are not familiar with (Is it a cow?) is what the new item is. By using this technique, teachers integrate learners' knowledge of others' perspectives: children know that their teacher knows what they are familiar with and can do and what they cannot yet do.

To allow both parties to benefit from guessing, teachers must be able to comprehend their learners' body language and utterances in their L1 so that they can build on their meaning making. Thus, they can reformulate and recycle what children would like to say and hear in English. This way teachers can diagnose and build on what young learners comprehend or know and what they cannot figure out or do not yet know. Interaction allows them to get feedback which, in turn, can further scaffold their learning (see section on FAfL).

Developmental Stages and Errors

Developmental stages and the role of errors in learning English have been widely discussed in linguistic studies. Errors are normal in L1 and L2 learning. They tend to occur systematically in most learners' trajectories indicating where they are in their process of learning. Errors emerge and tend to disappear with time if children are exposed to rich input and multiple learning opportunities involving interaction with meaningful feedback and scaffolding in context. Learners' erroneous interlanguage phenomena indicate the developmental stages they are going through. However, development is not linear: there are many ups and downs in the process. What children can do today may cause them problems next week. They learn and forget, overgeneralize and simplify, and often seem to use their L1 and English randomly as they learn implicitly through extensive repetition. The process is further impacted by learners' individual differences.

Many children go through a silent period: they may not be willing to speak. However, they may respond by using body language or their L1, thus indicating what they can or cannot comprehend. Further developmental stages have been repeatedly characterized by the use of single-word utterances, use of content words and omission of copula (e.g., is, are) and morphemes (e.g., -s, -ing, -ed), rising intonation for questions but no change in word order, and use of external no in negation (no fish). Young learners often transfer their L1 intonation patterns and pronunciation in the case of cognates (e.g., phone, hamburger, computer). These developmental errors indicate that learning is taking place as children test hypotheses on how English works. Fluency tends to precede accuracy, although at the single-word level, children tend to be quite accurate. Challenges emerge when they use unanalyzed wholes or patterns practiced in role-plays or storytelling sometimes incorrectly. Overall, it has been widely observed that children can be quite fluent but make many mistakes and codemix as they progress. Complexity, as the third aspect of language performance, emerges slowly; it can interfere with fluency and accuracy (Johnstone 2009).

The Interactions Between Languages and Basic Communication Skills and Literacy Skills

The main difference between first and second language acquisitions is that L2 learners already have a language system available to them and they rely on their L1 in important ways. It is becoming increasingly common that children start learning English as their third language in elementary school. The L1 is an integral part of learning process and languages interact with one another. Many children are bilingual or learn two additional languages. These languages are nowadays seen as coexisting and interacting in the same mind (Cook 2012; Cummins 2000) and emerge as a dynamic mental system. The interaction between young learners' languages is underpinned by findings in classroom research. For example, in languages with a highly transparent sound – letter correspondence (e.g., Croatian, Greek, Hungarian) – all children who can read in their L1 will apply their L1

phonetic rules in English and read out words phonetically. This strategy was found to support memorizing the spelling of words phonetically in Hungarian (Nikolov 2002); however, the very same strategy may interfere with reading in English at the early stages. Literacy skills in learners' L1 serve as a basis for their literacy in English, and these skills transfer both ways.

A distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills and cognitive academic skills (Cummins 2000) is useful to highlight the challenges children face and their teachers should be aware of. Most children develop along roughly similar lines in their oral and aural skills, but more visible individual differences tend to emerge in their literacy development. These differences are related to their cognitive abilities, language learning aptitude, and literacy skills in their L1 and English. All these interact with their family-related socioeconomic status (SES). Several empirical studies revealed important relationships between young learners' level of aptitude, L1 and English skills, and SES (e.g., Butler and Le 2018 in China; Csapó and Nikolov 2009; Kiss and Nikolov 2005 in Hungary; Huang et al. 2018 in Taiwan; Kuchah 2018 in Africa; Mihaljević Djigunović 2012 in Croatia; Sayer 2018 in Mexico; Wilden and Porsch 2016 in Germany). When teaching English to young learners, teachers should bear in mind all of the points discussed so far: how what children can do in English indicates their trajectory of development and is related to what they can do in their L1 and why.

Optimal Age and Rate of Learning

Early English programs are based on the widely held assumption that there is an optimal period for learning an additional language and children learn languages with ease. The critical period hypothesis, claiming that language acquisition should start before a certain age to avoid developing an accent and other limitations in one's proficiency over time, is a recurring reason to start English programs early. Over the past decades, researchers have repeatedly and unequivocally pointed out why the argument is hardly relevant in foreign language contexts (e.g., Nikolov and Mihaljević Djigunović 2006; Pfenninger and Singleton 2016). The main argument for an early start is children's sensitivity to sound (Johnstone 2009) and intonation; however, not all teachers serve as authentic models. For example, in many early English programs, young learners may have limited access to authentic language use for two reasons: (1) the quantity of input and opportunities to use English are limited by time, and (2) the quality is oftentimes different from native-like proficiency, as teachers use English as a lingua franca. In some extreme situations, the teachers themselves may not be ready to teach English due to their lack of proficiency and motivation (e.g., Japan). In other contexts, as children play video games and watch YouTube videos excessively, they develop quite good English by the time they start it in school (e.g., Fenyvesi 2018; Henry 2013). Teaching them English poses very different challenges than working with children who have access to minimal input in the classroom only.

Many advocates of early start English programs neglect an important fact supported by a growing body of empirical studies: children in all contexts develop in their

additional language at a slower rate than adolescents or adults (e.g., Krashen 1985, Nikolov and Mihaljević Djigunović 2006). It may strike them as a surprise that in immersion programs in the USA, it takes 5–7 years for children to achieve native-level proficiency in English (Genesee 2010). A number of longitudinal studies in FL contexts also document children's slower progress in English over time than that of teenagers (Larson-Hall 2008; Muñoz 2006; Pfenninger and Singleton 2016) and cast doubt on the value of early English programs. Young learners' slow rate of English language development has important implications for what the realistic aims of early language programs are, how they should be taught, and what challenges teachers and children have to cope with over the years. However, rate is not the main argument for starting English early, as will be discussed under curricula. The underlying value of early exposure to picture books, literacy, music, chess, and sports, for example, is not children's faster rate of learning. In the next section, we discuss how individual differences besides age and factors external to young learners impact their learning of English.

Variables Internal and External to Young Learners: How Do Individual Learner Differences, Teachers, Parents, and Out-of-School Exposure to English Interact?

Individual differences impact children's development in English in more important ways than has been assumed. In this section we discuss what role factors internal to children play: aptitude, attitudes, motivation, strategies, anxiety, and linguistic self-confidence have been found to make a difference. Besides these, we explore how factors external to young learners impact their learning of English: parents (mediated by SES), teachers, and peers, in addition to the quality and quantity of learning opportunities in- and outside the classroom, also contribute to the process and outcomes of early English programs.

Language learning tends to be successful in the case of L1 acquisition, although there are important individual differences characterizing outcomes over time. In the case of English as an additional language, results vary to a larger extent despite the assumption held by many stakeholders that starting English early will by itself guarantee success. The many variables impacting school achievement in all subjects also influence how fast and how successfully children learn English. The most important individual variables discussed in the literature and researched in empirical studies include aptitude, attitudes and motivation, anxiety, self-confidence, strategies, SES, and some others. Young learners themselves are increasingly seen as valuable sources of information on both learning and teaching and in a way partners in research on early learning of English (Pinter and Zandian 2014).

Internal Factors: Individual Differences in Learning English

Language learning aptitude, the ability to learn a language faster and more easily than peers, even when less motivated (Milton and Alexiou 2006), is a good predictor of success in early English language learning in classroom settings. Aptitude

comprises cognitive abilities: phonetic coding, memory, and inductive and deductive reasoning. Implicit learning typical of children is memory-based, whereas explicit learning involves all four components. Research into young learners' aptitude uses age-appropriate measuring instruments (e.g., Alexiou 2009; Kiss and Nikolov 2005; Milton and Alexiou 2006). Although aptitude used to be defined as static and inborn, recent discussions point out that it can and should be developed.

All children are assumed to entertain positive attitudes to language learning and to be very motivated to learn a new language; however, important differences characterize children (Mihaljević Djigunović 2009; Mihaljević Djigunović and Lopriore 2011). As is summarized in a recent paper (Mihaljević Djigunović and Nikolov submitted), attitudes and motivation are not stable phenomena but change with increasing learner age. Typically, young learners start with positive attitudes and are motivated intrinsically by classroom experiences and their English teacher, as well as extrinsically by what members of their family told them about the benefits of knowing English and by positive teacher feedback on their performance. This is followed by a new orientation, utilitarian in nature, and related to future usefulness, which becomes most salient in puberty (Nikolov 2002). Attitudinal and motivational changes over time can be observed at activity, lesson, or grade levels. Some emerging negative developments are connected with first difficulties in learning English, which leads to some learners perceiving it as increasingly difficult to learn, which may negatively affect their linguistic self-confidence and may result in indiscipline (Kuloheri 2016). On the other hand, using English for nonlanguage purposes, for example, in content-based immersion programs (see more on content and language integrated learning, CLIL, in section on curricula; Dobson et al. 2010) or in real-life communication experiences with speakers of English (Mihaljević Djigunović 2015) or on the Internet, leads to positive attitudinal and motivational development.

Although children are generally thought to be motivated most of the time and not to feel anxiety during learning English, research offers evidence that language learning anxiety does exist (e.g., Liu and Chen 2013; Mihaljević Djigunović 2009). Many young learners have been observed to be shy, nervous, and embarrassed when speaking in front of their class. The main causes of language anxiety relate to low self-perceived ability, fear of making mistakes, and pressure induced by the teacher (excessive testing), peers, and parents. Some sources are related to the language itself and the way it is taught. Thus, children may find English spelling difficult or the teacher's input in English incomprehensible. Even games can result in anxiety in some learners who feel under high pressure to perform well and contribute to their team's results. Negative effects of language anxiety need to be considered seriously, or children's motivation and linguistic self-confidence may decrease (Nikolov 2001). Teachers can do a lot by creating a non-threatening learning environment, having realistic expectations, and increasing young learners' self-confidence.

Learner strategies are assumed to be conducive to language learning, and differences characterize children as they use them. Some language learning strategies emerge at the earliest stages of learning English, and their number and conscious

uses increase as children progress. However, since strategies are used to overcome difficulties, when learners face fewer challenges, they may use fewer strategies or use them less frequently. Also, strategies should be used efficiently; thus, simply using a strategy does not lead to better learning. For example, memorizing L1 and L2 word pairs or looking up words in a dictionary is not always beneficial. The key strategy of guessing meaning in context was discussed earlier. Studies have shown how children notice similarities and differences between the pronunciation and vocabulary use of their teacher and cartoon characters, guess meaning, repeat and memorize words and chunks (Mihaljević Djigunović 2002), encourage themselves and others, and reflect on and evaluate their own performances (Butler 2016; Nikolov 2002). Children's strategies may reflect teaching practices as well as the sociocultural context in which they live and learn. Training them in strategy use can be integrated into curricula, and it may form a valuable component leading to learner autonomy and translanguaging in later years.

External Factors: Parents, Teachers, and Exposure to and Interaction in English

Parents' roles are widely discussed in the literature on early English programs. Their keen interest and perception of English as a commodity and the key to future success explain why, despite discouraging research findings on young learners' English achievements over the years, early English programs have expanded exponentially recently. Besides motivating young learners to put effort into learning and using English, parental background impacts children's home literacy and thus, indirectly, their proficiency in English, especially in academic language, as SES has been found to interact in important ways. Children from less educated backgrounds tend to enter school with lower literacy skills, and schools can compensate to a varying degree. In contexts where English provision is not equally available to all young learners, children of higher SES backgrounds may learn the more desirable additional language in more intensive content-based better-quality programs with better trained teachers (Butler 2015a; Nikolov 2016a).

The impact of parents, other family members, the teachers, and peers interacts with classroom events and the broader socio-educational setting to shape learners' motivation. While parents impact learners' motivation indirectly (as they are external to the English lessons), the teacher's and peers' role can be observed in the classroom. At ages 6–8, children's motivation is directly impacted by the teacher, who influences their motivated learning behavior during each lesson. Young learners gladly follow their teacher's rules and are eager to please her. Between age 8 and 11, the teacher still plays a central role, but peers also become increasingly important. Through cooperation or competition, peers may turn into young learners' motivational role models. From about age 12, the peers' role becomes even more important, whereas the teachers' role tends to be less salient, although there may be important differences in various social contexts (e.g., in East Asia). The motivating impact of valued others and young learners is bidirectional: just as much as the

teacher can motivate children with her approach to them and the teaching strategies she employs, young learners also influence their teacher's motivation for teaching and her motivated teaching behavior (Nikolov 2008). The same is true about children's and their peers' motivation (Mihaljević Djigunović and Nikolov submitted).

Teachers, besides parents, are key stakeholders in early English programs for multiple reasons. They serve as role models as to how English is used, since their discourses serve as sometimes the only input in English and the task they set are the only opportunities for children to use their English. Teachers tend to be the main reason why children are motivated to learn English in the classroom (Nikolov 1999): the way the teacher organizes activities, gives feedback, and manages the English class has a huge impact on how children's attitudes to language learning are shaped and how they perceive their own abilities and development. Teachers' and young learners' competences and motivation interact with one another: motivated and competent teachers can better enthuse and maintain children's interest in learning English over time than teachers who lack proficiency in English and/or classroom methodology and do not experience success in their work.

Despite the relatively long tradition of early English programs, teacher education still faces huge challenges. Two models have been identified: many English teachers are homeroom teachers who are very familiar with young learners' general curricula and characteristics; they can manage activities with children seamlessly and draw on what they know with ease. They may, however, lack age-appropriate proficiency in English and knowledge about the learning and teaching of English. Other teachers are English language specialists with better proficiency, but they may be less competent in age-appropriate classroom methodology, and integrating content across the curriculum means a challenge for them (Inbar-Laurie and Shohamy 2009).

Teachers' competencies and beliefs impact their work in important ways: they influence what they perceive to be realistic aims and beneficial tasks, how and to what extent they use and encourage uses of children's L1(s) and English to scaffold their learning, what roles they assume implicit and explicit learning and errors play in children's English development, how they offer feedback to encourage more learning, and how they make sense of their slow progress in English and age-related needs (Lugossy 2012; Nikolov 2008). Classroom observations and interviews with teachers indicate that their practices and beliefs vary to a large extent and may explain why assessment projects tend to document minimal proficiency in early English programs (Nikolov 2008; Tragant Mestres and Lundberg 2011).

How much comprehensible English and opportunities to practice it children get depends on their teachers' proficiency in teaching methodology and English. In most FL contexts, young learners tend to have access to comprehensible input and learning opportunities exclusively in the classroom in typically one to three classes per week. The sources of input include course materials and teachers and peers, with whom children share L1. It is reasonable to argue that the more teachers manage to offer motivating and doable tasks in English, the more children will learn. Teachers' use of L1 and English during classes is an important consideration. Findings show that many teachers are aware of the languages they use and report that their decision on when they use L1 is made based on how they perceive their learners' needs at a particular point

during classes or on their perceived constraints imposed by children's' aptitude and proficiency, as well as type of teaching activities they believe lead to their established goals (Nagy 2009). Others use the L1 overwhelmingly and codemix languages allowing learners little opportunity to learn something (Nikolov 2008).

A recurring issue teachers often wonder about, and is reflected in their classroom practices, concerns translation in meaning making. Some teachers worry that without making children memorize word pairs in their L1 and English, meanings remain unclear and learning does not take place (Lugossy 2012; Nikolov 2008). Research has shown time and over again that memorizing isolated words is not conducive to learning and using English. Knowing equivalents in the two languages is not necessary for children to be able to use English over time. When L1 use is considered against success of English learning, it turns out that the amount of L1 used by teachers is not that important: what is important is when, how, and why L1 is used for meaning making and how children benefit from it (Mihaljević Djigunović 2012).

In addition to learning English at school, young learners may also be exposed to English outside the classroom. The usual sources of such exposure are the media and the Internet (e.g., subtitled films, cartoons, interactive video games, stories, music with lyrics in English). In many contexts, English is available easily and may involve direct communication with English language speakers (both native and non-native). Recent studies report on positive effects of such exposure on acquisition of English vocabulary (e.g., Jensen 2017), listening, and reading comprehension (e.g., Lindgren and Muñoz 2013). Effects of exposure to English can even be observed before children start formal learning of English in school (e.g., De Wilde and Eyckmans 2017; Fenyvesi 2018; Henry 2013).

Out-of-school exposure to English can enhance young learners' motivation by showing them how it is used in multiple ways in real life. The benefits of exposure for learning English, however, emerge when it is recycled in the English classroom, as teachers integrate authentic examples into tasks and build on what children can do in English. Teachers should bear in mind that young learners may know a lot more than they teach them.

New information and communication technologies (ICT) have made it possible for some children to have frequent access to English outside the classroom using the Internet, computer games, iPad apps, etc. Although few studies have so far been carried out on the impact of ICT on young learners and the results are limited, some findings quite convincingly point to the benefits of these new tools for learning English. Thus, use of iPad storytelling apps have been found to be effective by extending learners' opportunities for interaction in English, catering for both conscious and incidental learning, as well as by allowing learners to take control over their learning and enhancing their motivation (Kirsch and Izuel 2017). Frequent online game playing was found to be related to better English vocabulary use (Sylvėn and Sundqvist 2012). Young learners seem to be aware of and appreciate both the motivating game elements and learning elements of computer-based instructional games (Butler 2015b). Research is needed to explore how multimodal activities (online video gaming, YouTube videos, etc.) contribute to young learners' and their teachers' learning of cultures, English, and translanguaging practices.

Language Policy and Curricula

So far we have discussed what teachers of young learners should know about how children learn languages and what factors impact their development in English. In this section we focus on documents that guide teachers and other stakeholders when launching early English programs. Although, the early years of English learning are often seen as "just fun in English," different types of curricula set various goals and recommend different methods to achieve them. In this section, we present typical curricula in early English programs and outline their characteristics and challenges for teachers.

Aims and Types of Early English Curricula

The aims listed in curricular documents for early English learning reflect language policies set by ministries in particular contexts and are also often based on international (e.g., Council of Europe) and national documents. Overall, aims are formulated in terms of expected linguistic, socio-affective and cognitive outcomes. In FL contexts, language achievement targets are less ambitious than in SL contexts and take account of essential differences in amounts of exposure to English. Emphasis is laid on developing positive attitudes to language learning in general, and to learning English in particular, and to English-speaking cultures, which are supposed to generate long-term motivation. Cognitive aims generally refer to development of metalinguistic awareness (e.g., Johnstone 2009), which can enhance learning English in minimal input settings typical in many countries (see, e.g., overview on East Asia in Butler 2015a).

Among the problems connected to expected outcomes and achievement targets is understanding of what young learners' English language proficiency is like and how it develops through the early years. FL learning is often perceived as a unitary and a unidimensional process. Recent research-informed views (Johnstone 2009; Pinter 2017) paint a different picture. It is now seen as a multidimensional as well as multidirectional phenomenon. This means that it does not proceed linearly but is rather a recursive process involving frequent backslidings and different rates of progress in fluency, accuracy, and complexity (Johnstone 2009). Progression in English may depend to a large extent on the appropriateness of tasks used in terms of cognitive demand they make on children and on how well they enhance their motivation and linguistic self-confidence.

The aims of English teaching, the frequency of classes, amount of English children have access to, etc. vary in different types of curricula for young learners. Although achievement targets in English are included in most curricula, the main aim of early learning of English is not in the domain of proficiency. Multiple studies have documented that younger learners' achievements are surpassed by later starters (Jaekel et al. 2017; Pfenninger and Singleton 2016). The goal concerns children's self-confidence and beliefs that learning an L2 is not only possible but also rewarding. All curricula emphasize affective aims, including motivation, positive attitudes

and beliefs, high self-esteem, and self-confidence. These are more important over time than the English proficiency children can achieve in the first few years.

Different types of programs envisage different number of English classes and expected outcomes. Overviews of typical early English programs show that they follow one of the four models (see Johnstone 2009 for details). The first two models are based on 1–2 h per week: in the first one, English is taught through general topics (such as parts of the body), whereas in the second model topics come from other curricular areas (such as math or science). The third model raises language awareness by sensitizing children to languages in general. The fourth model devotes considerably more hours to English compared to the other models: significant parts of the curriculum are taught through English as a medium of instruction. These models can be placed on a continuum in relation to how much emphasis they put on language versus content (Inbar-Laurie and Shohamy 2009: 84). Awareness raising programs offer knowledge about languages and aim to develop metacognitive skills rather than proficiency in an additional language. The other models shift along the continuum as they focus on language, embed language in content, integrate language across the curriculum, and immerse children into the curriculum in English.

An example of the model drawing on curricular domains is CLIL; this recent trend in teaching English to young learners is similar to content-based teaching. CLIL classes offer instruction in both English and content of other school subjects in the primary curriculum. Although not well researched yet, findings suggest that such teaching has quite a few advantages. Using English in meaning-focused classroom activities to learn nonlinguistic content relevant to their curriculum is highly motivating for children and shows how English can be useful. The communicative potential of CLIL has been connected to enhanced receptive skills and vocabulary as well as fluency, risk taking, and creativity (Dalton-Puffer 2007). Also, young learners' use of L1 is found to be much lower than in FL classes in both oral and written production (Augustin Llach 2009). However, recent comparative studies on Spanish L1 learners in FL and CLIL programs have found very little differences in L1 uses on oral narrative tasks (Pladevall-Ballester and Vraciu 2017) and in children's motivation over 2 years (Pladevall-Ballester 2018).

There is no systematic comparative research on how weekly exposure to English impacts outcomes, although teachers usually want more time (Nikolov 2008). Some studies (e.g., Curtain 2000) point to better L2 development in more intensive programs. Most schools include 1 or 2 h per week in the 1st years followed by 3 h later, but programs vary. Insights from some longitudinal studies (e.g., Vilke and Vrhovac 1995) suggest the opposite should be done. Intensive teaching is more significant at the very start because it allows for a more intense experience and provides children with the exposure necessary to activate and engage their implicit learning skills, thus enabling development. More extensive exposure is also connected with CLIL, which may increase young learners' motivation by making English learning purposeful, relevant, and more motivating. A lot depends on what happens in the classes; therefore, more exposure does not automatically mean more learning opportunities. An important point regarding the time factor is the need to distinguish between allocated time and engaged time (Curtain 2000). While the former refers to the

physical time set by the program, the latter refers to how time is spent in terms of using English and engaging learners' interest.

Class size is hardly ever mentioned in studies, although teachers tend to find it difficult to cope with large groups. What is perceived as large varies across contexts: for example, at all schools in Hungary, students learn FLs in small groups of 12–18, but their teachers still complain about having to manage learners at different proficiency and ability levels (Nikolov 2008). In China and many other contexts around the globe, groups of 60+ children in a class are the norm, and they pose very different challenges (as was observed in China by the first author).

Transfer and Continuity

In most contexts transfer and continuity cause major problems for young learners and teachers (e.g., Chambers 2012). Secondary school teachers are often unaware of what and how children learned in primary school English classes, find it hard to cope with their mixed-ability students, and feel they need to start teaching English from scratch. The problem learners' face is a change in methodology from intrinsically motivating fun activities to formal instructional approaches. This means a shift from playful tasks focusing on meaning and fluency to tasks focusing on language form, accuracy, and complexity. These changes may decrease learners' motivation and make them feel that their achieved competence is not recognized. Contrary to expectations and to results of local assessments, findings of recent longitudinal studies using more fine-tuned measures suggest that many learners manage to progress during the transition period (Courtney 2017). Although continuity problems seem to persist in most contexts, there is evidence that networking between primary and secondary schools can result in fully informed teachers of English at both ends of the transition period who can facilitate further development in secondary school (Chesterton et al. 2004; Johnstone 2009).

Teaching English in the Young Learner Classroom

In this part, we outline what tasks tend to work with children at three developmental stages and how they can be used in a feedback and assessment *for* learning framework.

What Kinds of Tasks and Activities Work Best with Young Learners?

The types of activities children benefit from and enjoy are discussed in every detail in many excellent publications (e.g., Cameron 2001; Curtain and Dahlberg 2010; Nikolov 1999, 2016b; Pinter 2017). Tasks that work best tend to have some fun element; they use music and rhythm, songs, and rhymes accompanied by physical activities. They focus on meaning to allow children to use their implicit learning skills in familiar contexts, especially at the earliest stages of development.

As children's span of attention is short, activities have to be in line with how long they are able to focus. Activities have to be age-appropriate and tuned to learners' developmental level and background knowledge.

Activities should be both intrinsically motivating and cognitively challenging (Nikolov 1999, 2002). Intrinsic motivation is important so that children find the tasks worth doing even multiple times to allow them to master the content and feel successful. As young learners develop at a slow rate, a lot of varied recycling of the themes and tasks is necessary. Thus, the challenge for teachers concerns not only how they can evoke children's interest but also how they can maintain it by using motivating tasks over years.

The two key qualities necessary for maintaining interest in tasks are the same across the age range: children have to be motivated to participate in tasks and be aware that they are making progress. They should always feel that although tasks are somewhat difficult, they can still do them if they try harder. This additional aspect of age-appropriate tasks concerns how challenging they are: it is important to allow children to feel that making efforts and trying harder pay, as the tasks are doable within their current developmental stage called zone of proximal development (ZPD in Vygotsky 1978). If tasks are too challenging right now, it should be clear to learners how they can succeed next time. This process may lead to a growth mind-set (Dweck 2006), mastery motivation, and enhanced self-confidence: children feel that they are making progress because of their efforts. This is one of the long-term benefits of early learning of English.

It is useful to think in terms of three overlapping stages to describe what kinds of tasks work well with children between the ages of 6 and 14 and why (Mihaljević Djigunović and Nikolov submitted).

The first stage covers the youngest age group in the 1st year or so in English classes (depending on when program starts between ages 6 and 8). During this period children get used to how school works and how English classes are similar to and different from other classes. At this stage learning English means aural and oral tasks, a lot of visual support, reference to familiar themes related to the here and now context, and no formal assessment. Activities include games with physical movements, competitions accompanied by chanting rhymes and singing songs, total physical response activities, listening to stories in picture books, guessing games, and short interactive role-plays. Children enjoy repeating familiar activities many times. They may repeat unanalyzed chunks they heard in stories and songs and utterances they are familiar with from the activities and their teacher's uses of formulaic language in classroom management (Gheitasi 2017). All tasks should focus on meaning and fluency rather than accuracy and basic communication abilities rather than cognitive academic skills.

During the second stage (age 8–11, depending on starting point), children are socialized into more language learning activities. Although their curricula and teaching materials tend to include most fun elements characterizing earlier English classes, new literacy tasks complement familiar aural and oral activities as reading and writing are gradually introduced. Integration of literacy helps boost learners' initial cognitive academic skills. Multiple matching tasks with visuals and words or

short expressions, banked cloze tasks targeting familiar vocabulary, and one-word or short answers tend to work well. All tasks should have clear outcomes, as first of all they serve as extrinsic motives and, second, teachers can specify where difficulties lie. Many children may become aware of uses of learner strategies. Tasks should build on what children can do well in their L1 and take into consideration the challenges posed by differences in the languages they are literate in and English. At this stage, learners' performances tend to be assessed in line with other subjects, thus making English similarly demanding to other subjects. Some individual differences in literacy skills will emerge reflecting faster or slower rates at which children develop. Guessing games, stories, role-plays, and a range of meaning-focused listening, speaking, reading, and writing tasks should recycle and widen the familiar themes and language. Tasks should offer motivating opportunities to learn new meanings, forms, and content in varied activities to avoid boredom. Some activities popular at the previous stage may lose their motivating power (e.g., rhymes, songs, round games). Integrating content across the curriculum can serve as a motivating option to consider.

The third stage covers the 1st years of puberty (age 12–14) when important shifts take place in most learners' language, cognitive, emotional, and social development. English classes are more about learning than having fun. Besides fluency in basic communication skills, cognitive academic skills, reading and writing, and a growing emphasis on accuracy and complexity also gain ground in the curriculum. During this stage, learners become more aware of their strengths and weaknesses, how they compare to their peers, as well as the presence, availability, and real-world uses of English outside the classroom. Peers impact learners' willingness to communicate and performances in English in important ways. A balance between tasks using collaboration (pair and group work) and teacher-led classroom activities should socialize learners into supportive interaction in English. Tasks often focus on developing the four skills separately or by integrating them and allow for teaching more varied learner strategies. The range of meaning-focused task types may be supplemented by some form-focused tasks targeting gaps in learners' performances. The range of familiar topics is widened by new ones often borrowed from other subject domains (environmental issues, healthy living, travel) and other English-speaking culture-related topics, so that learners find tasks interesting. As they may include cross-curricular content, they should be tuned to children's school and background knowledge, their changing needs and interests, as well as their cognitive and English abilities. They should be neither too easy nor too difficult, as both can discourage young learners from extending themselves and showing their true abilities (McKay 2006). For age-appropriate task types for all four skills and excellent sample tasks, see Cameron (2001), Curtain and Dahlberg (2010), Nikolov (2016b), and Pinter (2017).

Feedback and Assessment *for* Learning (F*f*L and A*f*L)

At all stages of learning English, young learners need feedback on how they perform on tasks, what they are good at, and what they need to practice more so that they can

do better. In this chapter we use the terms feedback and assessment as pedagogical activities placed along a continuum. As was pointed out in the previous section, at the first stage young learners are usually not assessed in English. However, they need and tend to get some sort of feedback as they socialize into activities in English. Teachers' feedback may range from a nod or smile or frown to one-word or longer positive appraisal, negative comment, and some rewards. Teachers may use facial expressions or simple utterances or rising intonation repeating the word while pointing to what the inappropriate word means to indicate that the answer was not quite right and wait for the child to self-correct or ask another child to help. These types of immediate feedback allow children to realize where they stand without feeling anxious about being assessed. Feedback serves as a means to scaffold learners' development within their ZPD; therefore, it functions as FfL.

The terms AfL and diagnostic and learning-oriented assessment have been increasingly used to mean teacher-based assessment helping learners to use their English knowledge, skills, aptitude, and strategies as an integral part of teaching. In this approach (Nikolov 2016b), all tasks are used for giving contextualized and immediate feedback to young learners. All activities are opportunities for teachers to diagnose where their learners are in their development, what they managed or failed to learn, and where they need more practice and help. With the help of immediate and personalized FfL and AfL, teaching can be tuned to individual children's needs, and teachers can critically reflect on how they should modify their teaching, if necessary, to better scaffold learners' development. Young learners benefit from getting help where their gaps are. There are two additional benefits: frequent FfL is non-threatening, and it reduces anxiety. Also, it boosts children's ability to self-assess their performances and to become autonomous learners. Negative feedback and lack of success, unfortunately, may demotivate young learners in the long run (Nikolov 2001). Therefore, the longer-term aim of feedback and assessment is to ensure that children's motivation and development in English are maintained over the long years, despite their relatively slow progress.

All tasks used for assessment should be familiar to learners, and they should be appropriate not only for assessment but also for learning (Nikolov 2017). Tasks integrating content and language pose special challenges for content validity, as it may be difficult to figure out whether the gap in young learners' performances is in the content or the language or both. Teachers should bear in mind what tasks aim to teach and measure (see Inbar-Laurie and Shohamy 2009) and how children's knowledge and skills in their additional language and the content domain interact. In other words, in content-based teaching programs, assessment must be in line with multiple curricular aims.

An emphasis on positive outcomes and encouragement are crucial when teaching and assessing young learners. It has to be borne in mind how performing in front of peers may induce children's anxiety, so working in pairs and small groups should be alternatives (Nikolov and Mihaljević Djigunović 2011). Tasks used in course books often integrate more than one language skill; however, during assessment it is important to focus on skills separately so that teachers can identify specific problems (McKay 2006).

Learning-oriented assessment should be frequent, immediate, and personal. As tasks tap into the small developmental steps learners take, teachers should offer clear feedback on what children can and cannot do, so that they feel that they are making progress and achieving what they are expected to (Nikolov 2016b). Doing the same task multiple times to achieve better results can motivate slower learners to overcome challenges. Self- and peer assessment have been shown to be useful with children, as they encourage uses of learner strategies and scaffolding peers' learning of English (Butler 2016; Hung et al. 2016; McKay 2006). Many of these ideas have been used in published studies; how they can be applied in large classes and in contexts where self- and peer assessment are not used at all are areas in need of further research.

In contrast with learning-oriented assessments, in many countries national assessments are part of curricula; in other countries, international proficiency examinations are offered to young learners in the private sector (Nikolov 2016a). More research is needed to examine how proficiency tests impact teaching (washback effect) and how children benefit from taking them in the long run.

The Way Forward: Classroom Research with Young Learners of English

Teaching English to young learners has become a growing field of importance to many stakeholders: policy makers, teachers, parents, young learners themselves, as well as researchers. After its unprecedented spread to practically all corners of the world, accompanied by high enthusiasm and great expectations based on folk wisdom and some studies, we have reached a stage when our approach to early English learning and teaching can be based on evidence gained from research. However, the field is moving fast, conditions change, and more studies are needed conducted by teachers working with young learners.

An early start by itself is not the key to successful English learning. Its basic advantage – allowing more overall time for learning and opportunity to naturally use implicit learning abilities and then engage in explicit and analytical learning – can result in success only if a few conditions are met. Published research on young learners offers ample evidence that their English learning process is complex and involves interaction of many factors, both internal and external to young learners. Classroom studies should offer insights into how these processes work in specific contexts.

Children's English language development proceeds in parallel with their cognitive and affective development. This means that the teaching approach, classroom tasks, feedback and assessment, as well as atmosphere in the learning environment must be in harmony with their needs and current abilities. To secure this harmony, it takes some effort and organizing at different levels. The field would benefit from more studies exploring these areas.

At the national policy level, successful early English programs require adequate time provision and curricula which are based on understanding of early language

learning processes and set realistic goals. It is also vital that national educational authorities make sure that teachers get adequate education in both the English language and teaching methodology. Policy makers need to ensure that continuity is secured from one educational stage to the next. At the immediate learning environment level, it is vital that the language teacher is able and willing to implement the pedagogical principles based on research evidence. Young learners are more likely to be successful if they get support for learning English at home as well. How these processes can strengthen one another is yet another avenue for research.

Teacher education plays a pivotal role in early English programs. To be able to deal with the many challenges of teaching young learners, teachers need to acquire competences that will allow them to set realistic goals, successfully manage classes, scaffold learning, respond to age-related needs, as well as serve as English language models. Having in mind the huge impact English teachers have on young learners and early language learning processes, high-quality teacher education with appropriate focus on both language and pedagogy is an absolute must. For example, recent research encourages content-based instruction, feedback and assessment *for* learning, and translanguaging, but few studies look into how they work.

Although we now know much more about young learners and early learning of English than a decade ago, there are many aspects which have not yet been researched. Two additional areas are the effect of published teaching materials and examinations on early English programs. One can find information on how teaching materials are used by different teachers, but we lack data about whether and to what extent they integrate research-based insights into early learning and teaching of English. There are no studies on how course books and external exams impact these processes. Finally, another important domain in need of further research concerns how information technology and extracurricular exposure to English contribute to teachers' and learners' development and motivation.

This chapter has outlined many aspects of early English programs, but it has also shown that more classroom studies are necessary by teachers working with their young students to allow us to hear their voices and to learn more about their experiences.

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The Adolescent English Language Learner: Identities Lost and Found

33

Linda Harklau and Rhia Moreno

Contents

Abstract

Adolescence is regarded as a particularly malleable and difficult age in the development of social identity and conception of self and even more potentially problematic for multilingual and multiethnic English learners (ELs). In this chapter, we review scholarship from the new millennium including major shifts in theory and research involving identity development of adolescent ELs, specifically first-generation migrants to majority-English-speaking societies. Globalization, transnationalism, and the expansion of the digital world have all greatly impacted adolescent youth identity development and consequently have sparked new research in the field. In this review, we outline major strands of investigation of identity development in EL youth, including individual psychosocial processes, the significance of institutional and societal contexts, and the centrality of both face-to-face and multimodal interaction and semiotic practices. With discussions of multilingualism, multiculturalism, multimodality, and multiliteracies shaping current scholarship, the chapter concludes with directions for further research on the multifaceted and dynamic nature of EL adolescent identity development.

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Identity – how learners see themselves and are seen by others in relation to the target language and culture (e.g., Norton 2013; Block 2007; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) – has been a key issue in recent theory and research on second language acquisition (SLA). Learner age has likewise been viewed as a crucial factor in SLA (e.g., Krashen 1981; Muñoz and Singleton 2011). Adolescence in particular has been seen as a phase of human development uniquely bound up with identity issues (e.g., Erikson 1968; Hall 1904). Understanding theory and research on identity is therefore especially crucial for SLA researchers working with the growing number of first-generation adolescent migrants to majority-English-speaking societies. Accordingly, this chapter reviews research and theory on societal images and self-perceptions of adolescent English learners (ELs) and interrelationships with language and academic learning. Since there is no universally understood period of adolescence, we define it somewhat arbitrarily here as ages 12–18.

Since the first edition of this chapter was published (Harklau 2007), interest in adolescence and identity issues has grown considerably. While only 695 publication citations on immigrant youth appeared between 1962 and 2004, 2293 appeared in the following decade alone (Fuligni and Tsai 2015: 414). In addition, rapid societal changes including globalization, transnationalism, and the quickly evolving digital age have significantly altered the social and virtual environments in which EL youth develop and learn, prompting an explosion of new research and theory. Moreover, while research on adolescent identity formation once focused primarily on monolingual White middle-class youth in dominant Anglophone cultures, recent decades have seen increased attention given to multilingual and transnational adolescents from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (Arnett 2010). Accordingly, the purpose of this review is to outline key strands of research and identify major theoretical shifts and questions arising in scholarship in the new millennium on multilingual, multicultural, multimodal, and multiliterate identity development in EL youth.

While widely varying in perspective and emphasis, theory and research on adolescent EL identity tends to address at least one of three interrelated foci: (a) individual psychosocial processes that serve to recursively organize and construct the self; (b) sociocultural, political, economic, institutional, and historical structures or discourses that convey group values and beliefs to the individual about identity and are in turn affected by individual actions and beliefs; and (c) face-to-face and multimodal-mediated interactional practices through which constructions of identity are constantly asserted, resisted, and altered. We use these foci below to organize the discussion.

Individual Psychosocial Processes of Identity Formation

Scholarship in this area spans several disciplines including social, developmental, and counseling psychology and intercultural communication. Research is typically characterized by the administration of Likert-scale-based multi-item inventories

soliciting adolescent feelings, values, and self-reported behaviors (Helms 2007; Phinney and Ong 2007) as well as multivariate cluster analyses and predictive models (e.g., Berry et al. 2006).

Psychosocial researchers have long viewed the achievement of a stable, coherent, positive, and autonomous identity as the major task of adolescence as youth move from childhood to adulthood (Erikson 1968; Fuligni and Tsai 2015; Phinney and Ong 2007). Social and clinical psychology has therefore examined constructs such as self-esteem, stress, coping, and resilience (Mercer 2014) and has focused on the formation of ethnic affiliations, self-concept, and cultural identification as variables intervening in adolescent "storm and stress" (Hall 1904). In psychosocially oriented research, how adolescent ELs see themselves in relation to the target language and culture is encapsulated in the notion of *ethnic identity* (e.g., Berry et al. 2006; Phinney and Ong 2007; Fuligni and Tsai 2015). While early work (e.g., Giles and Johnson 1987; Tajfel 1981) highlighted the role of language choice and use in ethnic identity, recent theorists consider the relationship more complex (Oh and Fuligni 2009; Phinney and Ong 2007).

Ethnic identity formation is seen as a dynamic process that is as much achieved as given and that changes over time. Drawing from psychoanalytic theories of adolescence and identity development (Erikson 1968), Phinney's influential model (e.g., Phinney and Ong 2007) hypothesizes a series of developmental stages through which adolescent immigrants explore and commit to ethnic identities. Other theorists (e.g., Berry et al. 2006; Suárez-Orozco 2004) argue that acculturation and identity processes are too varied to characterize in a unilinear stage model. Berry instead focuses on strategies used by youth in acculturation and identity formation, characterizing them in one of four profiles based on youth identification with heritage and host cultures: a national or assimilation profile (rejection of heritage culture in favor of host culture), marginalization or a diffuse profile (rejection of or uncertainty about both heritage and host culture), an integration profile (identification and high involvement with both heritage and host culture), and an ethnic separation/segregation profile (rejection of host culture in favor of heritage culture). Research in this vein (see Berry et al. 2006 for a review) suggests that the majority of individuals fit an integration profile, reporting balanced use of both languages and high identification levels with both cultures. Scholars have argued for the prevalence and desirability of integration or a hybrid multilingual and multicultural identity in which immigrant youth aim to maintain their heritage languages and cultures while simultaneously acquiring English and accommodating host cultural beliefs, values, and behaviors, thereby accessing multiple communities.

An increasing focus in recent research is the extent to which globalization, and immigrant status more specifically, might affect adolescent identity formation (Berry et al. 2006; Fuligni and Tsai 2015; Jensen and Arnett 2012). Adolescents, it is argued, are at the "forefront of globalization" (Fuligni and Tsai 2015: 413). They are unique from children and adults in traversing the widest range of social contexts and communities – family, school, social, and digital spaces – while still in the processes of developing identities and autonomy (Phinney and Ong 2007; Yoon et al. 2017). Globalization is also thought to increase the reach and pace of cultural contact and change, making youth identity development an increasingly complex

task (Jensen and Arnett 2012). Additionally, in a globalized world with rapid travel and ease of Internet communication, immigrants no longer need to sever ties with heritage cultures and therefore must negotiate hybridity and multiplicity in ethnic identities and ties to their heritage culture in ways that previous generations of immigrants did not (Fuligni and Tsai 2015). Moreover, adolescents are also the greatest producers and consumers of media that increasingly spread linguistic and cultural influences across boundaries (Jensen and Arnett 2012).

While all youth grapple with cultural identity in a globalized age, immigrant adolescents' identity development as ethnic minorities in their host societies might be especially challenging (Jensen and Arnett 2012). Following Tajfel's (1981) early work, many scholars suggest that the achievement of identity for ethnolinguistic or racial minority adolescents necessitates more complex cognitive and affective dynamics than that of the dominant cultural group (Fuligni and Tsai 2015). Adolescent ELs may face psychological conflict bridging home and dominant cultures in societies where they are associated with a stigmatized subordinate group (Gonzales-Backen et al. 2017; Hutnik and Street 2010). Berry et al. (2006) found that perceived discrimination had a negative psychological impact and was associated with a greater degree of ethnic separatism. Societal prejudices regarding language minority status work upon the individual by triggering stress and coping mechanisms (e.g., not participating in bias-imbued school practices) that may be effective in an immediate sense but lead ultimately to adverse repercussions such as poor school achievement (Chhuon and Hudley 2010). As a result, stigmatized minority youth might be more likely overall than majority youth to have a poorer sense of personal efficacy and to accept perceptions of limited social access rather than to challenge or circumvent them (Suárez-Orozco 2004). Some research has confirmed that adolescent immigrants may have distinctively high levels of sadness and preoccupation with losses (Yoon et al. 2017) and that refugee traumas (Kiang et al. 2016) affect psychological well-being and identity formation. Nevertheless, other researchers have found similar levels of psychosocial adaptation among immigrant and non-immigrant youth (e.g., Berry et al. 2006; Fuligni and Tsai 2015).

Since adolescents often acculturate faster than their parents, adolescent EL identity formation has sometimes been associated with increased familial and intergenerational conflict (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006; Oh and Fuligni 2009). Yet evidence for greater immigrant adolescent-family conflict has been inconclusive, and researchers increasingly find that adolescent immigrants benefit from families that maintain strong ethnic identities and ties to cultural traditions and may experience the same or even less parental conflict (Fuligni and Tsai 2015; Jensen and Arnett 2012; Phinney and Ong 2007). Some research suggests that ELs who maintain proficiency in their heritage language have stronger ethnic identities and significantly lower levels of parent-child conflict, leading to more positive relationships in the home (Oh and Fuligni 2009). Family ethnic socialization and youth identity formation are increasingly seen as reciprocal rather than one-way processes (Gonzales-Backen et al. 2017). Family influence on youth ethnic identity development may be mediated by socioeconomic status, although evidence is mixed (Berry et al. 2006).

Although Erikson (1968) hypothesized that parental influences on identity formation are eclipsed by peer associations in adolescence, empirical work suggests variation in peer influences on adolescent identity. While nonminority adolescents in Western contexts tend to be defined and define themselves in terms of the activities, interests, or reputation of their peer group, immigrants from ethnolinguistic and racial minority groups may find their identities and peer associations defined primarily in terms of similarities in ethnicity and race and similarities in perceived distance and marginalization from the dominant group (Suárez-Orozco 2004). Immigrant affiliation with urban youth gangs has also been linked with destabilization of familial and community support systems (Suárez-Orozco 2004). Immigrant parents often work long hours away from home, disrupting family structures and rending some youth, particularly boys, more vulnerable to the influence of "alternative family structures" such as gangs (Suárez-Orozco 2004: 190). Youth, who feel alienated from both heritage and host cultures, are thought to be especially at risk for gang membership (Berry et al. 2006). Negative stereotypes of some ethnic groups as prone to gang membership can further facilitate youth aspirations to gang participation (Chhuon and Hudley 2010).

Psychosocially oriented scholarship has speculated that differing gendered norms for males and females in both home and host cultures produce varying identity development pathways for immigrant youth (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006). While theorists have proposed that females are expected to maintain stronger natal ethnic identities (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006), evidence for this notion has been mixed (e.g., Fuligni and Tsai 2015; Jensen and Arnett 2012). In fact, some studies find that girls face fewer obstacles in moving across multiple ethnic and racial cultures and identities (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006) and that girls are more likely than boys to reject traditional gender roles (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006). Research also suggests gender differences in how youth adapt psychologically to immigration; female immigrant youth tend to experience lower levels of psychological well-being and higher acculturative stress than boys, while boys tend to experience greater problems with social marginalization and rejection of natal and host cultures that can lead to behavioral problems (Berry et al. 2006; Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006).

A number of unresolved questions and gaps in psychosocially oriented research on adolescent EL identity require further investigation. For example, while models and methods have proliferated, more attention may be needed to building sound underlying theoretical constructs of ethnic identity (Helms 2007) and linking these constructs to other constructs including racial and cultural identity (Charmaraman et al. 2014). More empirical work on processes of identity formation in ethnolinguistic minority youth is needed to disconfirm or refine existing theories (Berry et al. 2006), and more reliable instruments and measures are needed (Helms 2007). More qualitative research approaches (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006; Yoon et al. 2017) and longitudinal studies are needed to discern developmental trends better than the cross-sectional studies that have thus far been the norm (Phinney and Ong 2007). Moreover, while the linkage between social context and individual identity formation is widely acknowledged in the field (Erikson 1968; Fuligni and Tsai 2015; Kiang et al. 2016), a wider scope of research approaches is needed to go beyond self-report studies that use individuals as the unit of analysis (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006).

The long-standing assumption in psychosocial research that adolescence must be characterized by "storm and stress" (Hall 1904) and its accompanying bias toward investigating pathologies of multicultural youth identity development is now under question. Fuligni and Tsai (2015), for example, argue that current research builds a portrait of immigrant youth flexibility in the face of social and cultural change and highlights their facility for selectively choosing and adapting elements of heritage and host cultures to successfully build their own identities. Accordingly, more research is needed to understand how ethnic identity changes situationally (e.g., Suárez-Orozco 2004) as well as more systemic comparative cross-national, cross-generational, and cross-cultural research on ethnic identity development and how the size and status of the local and societal ethnic community influence this process (Berry et al. 2006).

Finally, psychosocially oriented research has tended to rely upon broad pan-ethnic identity categories that are of dubious validity since they mask drastic differences in ethnic and national origins, generational status, and multiethnic status (Charmaraman et al. 2014; Kiang et al. 2016; Umaña-Taylor and Fine 2001). Current scholarship is taking on this issue, exploring how ethnic identities can be more carefully and situationally defined. For example, promising work is investigating immigrant adolescents' own concepts of identity, finding that immigrant youth may use more varied ethnic identity labels than native-born students, including labels found in both heritage and host cultures. Furthermore, the labels that they use may vary over time (Fuligni and Tsai 2015). Moreover, it appears that even adolescent ELs quite similar in ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and social context can experience considerably different processes of identity formation because of intrinsic individual differences in psychological makeup, experience, and motivations (Mercer 2014). More work is needed to substantiate and elaborate on such findings.

Institutional and Societal Contexts of Identity Formation

Sociologically and anthropologically oriented scholarship shares an interest in how immigrant youth identities are shaped by broader sociocultural, historical, economic, political, and institutional contexts and hypothesizes significant shifts in immigrant self-identification during adolescence. Work in the anthropology of education is typically characterized by ethnographic and case study methodologies featuring unstructured, in-depth interviews and participant observation of informants in social settings, while research in the sociology of education relies more on multivariate analysis of large-scale surveys and databases. Influential large-scale mixed methods studies of adolescents include the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008) and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Socioculturally oriented work on adolescent immigrant identity has grown dramatically over the past two decades.

Researchers in this area suggest that adolescent ELs enter societies in which popular culture images of immigrants are often unfavorable (Suárez-Orozco 2004). *Latinx* youth in the USA, for example, face pan-ethnic stereotypes in popular media

as illegal immigrants, poverty-stricken, criminals, and uneducated laborers who are reluctant or unable to learn English (Carter 2014; Louie 2012), while *Asian Americans* may be portrayed as unassimilable foreigners (Suárez-Orozco 2004). In Great Britain, Rampton (2017) identifies a prevalent racist "babu" stereotype of ESL/Indian English speakers as "deferential, polite, uncomprehending, and incompetent in English" (p. 52). These externally imposed identities, manifested through stereotypes and negative social mirroring, hinder the ability of immigrant youth to form identities as worthwhile and competent members of the host society (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006). Adolescents define their identities by self-identifying and developing affective and psychological bonds with some ethnic and social groups while simultaneously contrasting oneself with groups or categories considered "other" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Immigrant youth awareness of ethnic differences and inequalities tends to heighten with age and personal experiences with discrimination (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Youth from minoritized ethnic, racial, or linguistic backgrounds are more likely to perceive discrimination and exclusion in society that can result in the formation of oppositional (Ogbu 1991) or reactive ethnic identities in immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

In recent decades, once prevalent models of comparative group cultural identity development (e.g., Ogbu 1991) have given way to more multiplicitous, nuanced perspectives. For one thing, research increasingly finds that adolescent immigrant identity intersects with multiple other aspects of identity, yielding intragroup differences (Block 2007). For example, the process of *racialization* is central to identity formation in adolescent immigrants to English-dominant societies. In the USA, where Whiteness and monolingualism are hegemonic, immigrant ELs may view White monolingual English speakers as the only authentic Americans (e.g., Flores et al. 2015; Lee 2005; Louie 2012). Therefore, one aspect of youth assimilation is adopting the racial and pan-ethnic categories prevalent in the host society (Louie 2012). Immigrants of color are especially prone to face discrimination (Suárez-Orozco 2004), leading some to adopt a pan-minority identification (Louie 2012). Latinx or Asian immigrants may be perceived as less assimilable "perpetual foreigners" (e.g., Endo 2016) due to phenotypic features (Suárez-Orozco 2004; Yoon et al. 2017). Immigrant youth of Caribbean African and African origin, like American-born African American peers, are subject to harmful racialization of identities that can result in conflicted racial and ethnic identities, perceptions of discrimination, and negative mental health (Bigelow 2008; Sanchez et al. 2016).

Social class is another underexamined aspect of adolescent EL identity. Recent work often takes a Bourdieusian view, in which class is not simply a matter of economic capital but also of social, cultural, and linguistic capital – the extent to which one embodies the education, occupation, language, behavior, and social networks that are valued by the societally dominant group (Block 2007; Bourdieu 1991). Research points out that even within ethnic communities, EL youth have heterogeneous class backgrounds (Sarroub 2001; Louie 2012). Furthermore, socioeconomic status of the receiving community and local co-ethnics' transnational capital play a vital role in immigrant youth identification and acculturation processes (Louie 2012). Thus, while traditional models associate assimilation with unilinear

upward mobility, newer scholarship assumes "segmented assimilation," or multiple paths for EL youth self-identification in host society class structures (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 62). These include selective acculturation and the possibility of downward or dissonant acculturation in which they become identified with the working class.

Immigrant EL youth also negotiate new ways of expressing and performing *gendered* identities. Female immigrant youth often have less autonomy and more parental monitoring than males during adolescence (Harklau 2013; Lee 2005). This may result in stronger ethnolinguistic identification with parents (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), but also increased conflict with parents and male siblings over behavioral double-standards (Harklau 2013; Sarroub 2001). Males tend to perceive fewer supportive adult relationships (Suárez-Orozco 2004) and may take on racialized, oppositional masculine identities in reaction to hegemonic White ideals of masculinity (Endo 2016; Lee 2005: 119).

While work is scant, *religiosity* is generally thought to be a positive factor, promoting youth resilience, ethnic identification, and heritage language maintenance (Joo 2009). Yet scholars (Sarroub 2001; Tirmazi et al. 2011) also suggest that the role of religiosity may differ among heritage cultures and in the receiving society. For example, the cultural identity formation of Muslim immigrant youth in Western societies is unique due to their religious minority status and increasing "Islamophobia" (Bigelow 2008; Tirmazi et al. 2011). In response, youth might use religious symbols such as the *hijab* (Bigelow 2008) for girls to signal not only religiosity but also solidarity and resistance to anti-immigrant or anti-Islam sentiment.

Researchers also increasingly emphasize the malleability and evolution of adolescent identities over time. Anthropological work has increasingly emphasized instability in concepts of culture (Clifford 2010) and identity (Hall 1996), drawing upon perspectives situated in cultural studies (e.g., Bhabha 1994; Hall 1996; Weedon 1997), poststructuralisms (e.g., Baxter 2016; Block 2007; Foucault 1995), and critical discourse studies (e.g., Rogers et al. 2005). Key notions in these perspectives include cultural identities (or subjectivities, e.g., Weedon 1997) as representational, power-laden, reciprocal, multiple and hybrid, mobile, and contested.

Identities are *representations* that fix upon attributes of the individual-physical phenotype, language, cultural beliefs, and practices and use them as shorthand to classify people. In doing so, however, they mask heterogeneity within and across individuals. The same individuals can take on very different identities as ELs depending on the institutional context and those with whom they are grouped or with whom they are compared (Carter 2014; Harklau 2000; McKay and Wong 1996). Identity categories are *power-laden* (Block 2007) because the dominant group defines itself by defining and excluding a cultural *Other* (Hall 1996). For example, pan-ethnic identities such as *Latinx* and *Asian American* are as much imposed by contact with a dominant White group as chosen by individuals (Carter 2014; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Adolescents may draw upon pan-ethnic identities for group solidarity in situations of interethnic and interracial contact and potential social vulnerability, while negotiating much more intricate and nuanced ethnolinguistic identities among themselves (Chhuon and Hudley 2010).

Processes of adolescent EL identity formation are also *reciprocal*; that is, they both shape and are shaped by societal and institutional influences or discourses (Carter 2014; Foucault 1995/1979). The individual range of possible identities at any point in time is limited by preexisting societally and institutionally recognized differentiations in gender, language, ethnicity, and race (Carter 2014). Adolescent immigrants operate in reference to these discourses at the same time they are contributing to or resisting them.

Particularly in the face of globalization, youth identities are increasingly portrayed as *multiple, hybrid,* and even *conflicting* (Block 2007; McKay and Wong 1996). The notion of core unitary ethnolinguistic identities corresponding with geographic boundaries is argued to be an invention of eighteenth and nineteenth century social science that is belied by current research (Blackledge and Creese 2010). Nevertheless, the notion of a unitary or authentic ethnicity is a powerful one (Reyes 2007), and adolescents constantly attempt to weave together identities to maintain a coherent sense of self (Kanno 2003: 131).

Adolescents' identities are also *shifting and mobile* (Block 2007), an ongoing and never completed process of the remaking of the self. Researchers often draw upon Norton's (2013) notion of "imagined community" to show how adolescents not only continually recreate past and present identity positions but also create idealized future identities, affiliations, and communities to which they aspire (e.g., Cohen 2012; Kanno 2003).

Cultural identities are innately strategic and positional (Hall 1996) and are therefore *site of contestation* (Block 2007; Rampton 2017). Adolescent ELs do not simply accept their positioning by others but actively set about resisting their positioning and attempting to reposition themselves through counterdiscourses. For example, McKay and Wong (1996) show how a student resisted the subject position of *ESL student* by utilizing his greater command of Chinese cultural symbols to make an off-color joke that his friends but not the teacher would understand. Block (2007) therefore contends that further research needs to address individual agency in the strategic deployment of identities.

Schooling contexts are often central to socially oriented research on adolescent EL identity since schools are theorized as a "field" (Bourdieu 1991) for instilling or ameliorating dominant societal notions of racial, ethnolinguistic, and social class identity (Flores et al. 2015). Moreover, immigrant youth identities are thought to be intertwined with their academic achievement and ultimately life chances (Paris 2011). By their location, socioeconomic status of the community in which they are situated, and ethnic makeup, schools profoundly shape the nature of immigrant youth's available peer groups and exposure to various social worlds and thus shape the nature of ethnic socialization and identity (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

In the USA, studies report that schools contribute to marginalized EL identities and youth cultures when they enforce assimilationist values and ignore ELs' heritage languages, cultures, history, and knowledge from home and community (Kanno 2018; Lee 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Valenzuela 1999). Prevalent English monolingual ideologies overlook immigrant students' multilingualism and academic accomplishments (Carter 2014; Stewart 2014) and identify students as linguistically

and cognitively deficient (Kanno 2018; Kanno and Kangas 2014; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008) or irredeemably foreign and "Other" (Talmy 2004). Bilingualism or EL status is often stigmatized as remedial by educators and peers alike (Ortmeier-Hooper 2010; Stewart 2014; Valenzuela 1999). School institutions limit the tenable identities available to EL youth by segregating and tracking them (Callahan and Humphries 2016; Carter 2014; Cohen 2012; Kanno and Kangas 2014). Latinx adolescents, especially ELs, are stereotyped in US schools as academically unambitious and incapable (e.g., Valenzuela 1999) and as a result are directed toward lower academic and career goals than similarly achieving non-ELs (e.g., Callahan and Humphries 2016). The *model minority* representation of Asian heritage students is simultaneously a resource and racist burden in school, obscuring learning differences among students and minimizing academic obstacles and discrimination faced by Asian American youth (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006; Yoon et al. 2017). Nonetheless, students may strategically embrace Asian American pan-ethnicity as a path to positive academic identity (Chhuon and Hudley 2010). Schools can also counter societal relations of power to the extent that they actively engage ELs' divergent cultural identities and encourage multilingual and multicultural hybridity in immigrant youth (Paris 2011).

Adolescent ELs may adopt a range of strategies in identity development, including ethnic flight and identification with the dominant group, adversarial identities rejecting the dominant group, and transcultural identities synthesizing elements of each (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008). Some scholars find that those with strong heritage cultural identities and those with transcultural identities who selectively acculturate to the host society fare best in school and society (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Nevertheless, others (e.g., Lee 2005) point out that selective acculturation alone cannot fully protect youth from the deleterious effects of prejudice and inequities in the broader society.

Other socioculturally oriented work examines the influence of peer relationships. This work finds that immigrant youth may be ignored by dominant society peers (Lee 2005). Youth who defy segregation and attempt to cross ethnolinguistic social networks may be cast as inauthentic representatives of their heritage group (Carter 2014). Studies also suggest that newcomer EL identities may be constructed in opposition to more acculturated co-ethnic peers (Lee 2005), causing tensions between these groups at school and in the community and often subjecting immigrants to harassment and marginalization (Stewart 2014; Yoon et al. 2017). EL youth may counter by constructing cosmopolitan transnational identities (Endo 2016) through social networks and media. Flores et al. (2015) find that students experiencing difficulty with schoolwork may especially focus on social identities and peer interactions at school.

Relatively little work has focused on immigrant adolescent identity formation in relation to family. Studies find that adult immigrants and their adolescent children's ethnic identities may develop quite differently during acculturation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008) and take on hybrid cultural characteristics as a result of contact with the dominant host society. Youth self-identities tend to mirror those of their parents (Portes and Rumbaut 2001); however, echoing psychosocial research findings, scholars find that "dissonant acculturation" and role

reversal, whereby children's acculturation to the host society and heritage culture loss outstrips that of their parents, can weaken parental authority and cause family strife (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 126). First language attrition is both a symptom of and contributor to this process (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In general, the development of identities characterized by selective acculturation to the dominant host society is seen as most desirable (Lee 2005).

In terms of community factors, large-scale sociological research suggests that the degree of diversity or ethnic enclosure and segregation of the local ethnic community has a significant effect on family levels of ethnic socialization and thus influences youth acculturation and identity processes (Sarroub 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Identity formation is also affected by the size and intactness of the local immigrant community; youth from smaller immigrant communities tend to adopt more pan-ethnic identity labels (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Community socioeconomic status is also consequential for ELs' sense of identity in relation to the broader host society (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Fewer studies have focused qualitatively on individual EL youth identity formation in the context of extracurricular and community contexts. Choi (2009), for example, studied immigrant adolescents' participation in an after-school literacy club. Reyes (2007) documented Southeast Asian origin youths' experiences with a community-based digital video-making project. Blackledge and Creese (2010) studied how complementary heritage schools aimed to preserve and augment British EL youth's identification with their families' home languages and cultures of origin. Some have also explored the role of religiosity in adolescents' identity development outside of school contexts (e.g., Sarroub 2001). These studies find that out-of-school co-ethnic immigrant peers can form an important source of support for youth ethnic identities.

Globalization and increasing transnationalism have highlighted significant gaps in theory and research on the social contexts of immigrant youth identity formation. Very little research, for example, has focused on how tenuous immigration status (e.g., undocumented or refugee status in the USA) affects EL adolescent identity formation, although extant studies (e.g., Suárez-Orozco and Yoshikawa 2015) suggest negative effects on youth self-esteem and motivation. In addition, the diasporic communities in which youth identity forms increasingly consist of international sojourners and transnational families of mixed generational status who regularly traverse societal and cultural boundaries of homeland and host societies (Kanno 2003; Louie 2012; Sarroub 2001). Few studies, however, trace adolescent identity formation back and forth across national contexts (see Kanno 2003 for an exception). Youth also increasingly come from mixed ethnolinguistic and racial backgrounds, resulting in an increase in mixed or pan-ethnic identification (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Another effect is that youth increasingly relocate to communities outside of traditional immigrant settlement areas (e.g., Hamann and Harklau 2015). Scholars find that such contexts, where immigrants may form a more distinct and enclosed minority, tend to have differing patterns of identity formation (e.g., Carter 2014; Harklau 2013).

In all, there are many promising avenues for future scholarship on the institutional and societal contexts of immigrant adolescent identity formation. For one, there is a

strong need to investigate immigrant youth identities as intersectional (e.g., Block 2007) and encompassing not only their status as multilingual English learners but also their racial and ethnic identifications, gender (including under-researched LBTGQ identities), socioeconomic status, and religious affiliations. Moreover, while the institutional contexts and practices associated with formal schooling have been widely investigated, far less work has investigated immigrant adolescent identity formation in the contexts of extracurricular activities, family, and community. Finally, transnationalism poses significant new unanswered questions for theories of youth identity. For example, under globalization, is it even possible to have a stable or core self or identity (Paris 2011)? Is a "transcultural" identity, described by Suárez-Orozco (2004) as "the state of belonging to at least two identities simultaneously and not being confused or hurt by it" (192), the goal? Or are transcultural identities more than dualistic, a more complex hybrid that incorporates not only heritage and host language and culture (Kanno 2003), but also elements of globalized youth cultures?

Focus on Interaction and Semiotic Practices

Scholarship in this area spans a number of disciplines, including intercultural communication, social psychology, linguistic anthropology, language socialization, literacy studies, and media and cultural studies. This work often emphasizes the performativity of identities and how identities are constantly taken up, resisted, and recreated through a broad range of semiotic and communicative practices in physical and virtual spaces (e.g., Block 2007; Moje 2000; Paris 2011; Weedon 1997). Methodological approaches vary, but tend to privilege microethnography (Streeck and Mehus 2004), conversation analysis (Clift 2016), narrative analysis (Barkhuizen et al. 2014), and other approaches taking an intensive focus on recordings of face-to-face, written, or virtual interactions and discourse. In recent decades this work has expanded exponentially with growing digital communication affordances.

A number of researchers look at the role of *code choice and translanguaging* in identity work. This work shows a compelling link between adolescent identity formation, media consumption, and youth styles (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003). Heller (2007) shows complex negotiations of adolescent EL school-based identities through the uses of French, English, and vernacular languages at a Francophone high school in Toronto, describing how particular code choices are made legitimate or illegitimate in power-laden discursive contexts. Miller (2003) argues that ELs' language learning and use are bound up with identity formation through speakers' levels of agency, language competence, social networking ability, and confidence. Working in a multilingual high school setting in England, Rampton (2017) finds that adolescents aspiring to full participation in the peer group acquire not simply the monolingual Standard English but rather a variable mastery of a repertoire of languages. Paris (2011) describes a California high school where many multiethnic and differently marginalized cultures coexist in a single dominant cultural setting. Paris reports youth engaged in "language sharing" when use of a

language traditionally "belonging" to another group is ratified as appropriate by its traditional speakers. Paris conceptualizes a multiethnic contact space where youth perform an "extraordinary dance of language and identity." These scholars portray adolescent ELs' social identities and social status as actively processed and renegotiated in social interactions. Increasingly, scholars working interactionist perspectives reject traditional sociolinguistic analyses positing discrete or bounded codes in favor of analyses emphasizing "translanguaging" – the discursive, contingent, and situated nature of language performances using any and all linguistic resources at hand (Blackledge and Creese 2010; García and Li 2014).

Research also indicates how a broad range of semiotic resources and practices including language are used by ethnolinguistic minority youth to index in- and out-group ethnolinguistic, local, and transnational identity repertoires. They include gang tags, music, clothing styles, food and beverages, media consumed, and "identity texts" on youth backpacks, clothing, skin, text messages, social media platforms, and publicly performed rap lyrics (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Paris 2011). Scholars (e.g., Duff 2002; Pon et al. 2003) also find that ELs can be excluded in interaction not only through the content of utterances but also how turns are sequenced, allocated, and distributed. For example, Asian Americans and Asian Canadian ELs may be subject to silencing in schools through peer ridicule of their English usage, but paradoxically their very silence may also invoke representations of cognitive and emotional immaturity. Miller (2003) relates that ELs at an Australian high school were positioned as illegitimate communicators because of their multilingualism or made "inaudible" when interacting outside of Standard English. However, ELs' silence can also be agentive, as when resisting unwanted representations of one's cultural identities (Duff 2002). Rampton (2017) shows that minority languages may be incorporated into community language norms and practices as adolescents cross ethnolinguistic groups and fashion new conceptualizations of ethnic identity. Moreover, Rampton shows how immigrant youth may revoice minority or learner linguistic codes as a means of resisting stigmatization. Adolescents in his study deployed stylized codeswitches into ESL/Indian English to parody stereotypes of Asians they encountered in English society and to undermine the authority of White authority figures in school interactions. Paris (2011) expands this notion, arguing that language appropriation in multicultural youth cultures is used not only to include, exclude, or cross but also to share. Reyes (2007) shows how Cambodian American students deploy talk to resist their positioning by educators as inauthentic bearers of Cambodian ethnic identity and instead counter with a notion of identity indexing ethnic and racial differentiations. Talmy (2004) finds that EL youth in a Hawaiian ESL classroom resist their positioning as perpetual newcomers by distinguishing themselves from and stigmatizing more recently arrived peers, thus reinscribing existing linguistic ideologies and hierarchies. Scholars (e.g., Flores et al. 2015) find that standardized Spanish and high culture presented in world language classrooms can position Latinx speakers as incompetent or inauthentic users of their own home languages.

ELs negotiate identities both through proximate face-to-face interactions and academic and social interactions mediated through literacy practices (e.g., Kibler

2017; Ortmeier-Hooper 2010; Yi and Hirvela 2010). Accordingly, a growing body of research examines multimodal literacy practices in adolescent immigrant identity formation (see Lam and Warriner 2012 for an overview). Paris (2011), for example, shows that youth often deploy language and literacy symbolic resources (e.g., nonstandard spelling and grammar) in ways that show resistance to standard American English dialect and school-based genres and that these forms of oral and written identity texts are often ignored or silenced in school contexts. Based on Rosenblatt's transactional theory, Choi (2009) argues that reading literature requires adolescents to make connections to personal experiences and fosters examination and formation of identities.

Other research explores how EL youth agentively forge identities through the creation of counternarratives – stories or narratives that unmask and denaturalize socially constructed identities that marginalize immigrant youth and critique power relations that underlie them (Endo 2016; Flores et al. 2015). Yi and Hirvela (2010) find that diaries and weblogs can be an important means of constituting the self and creating positive imagined futures and communities for immigrant youth.

Recent scholarship increasingly addresses adolescent language use and identity development in *digital and online media spaces*. This is an especially consequential and productive area of inquiry given that adolescents are the predominant media consumers and innovators (Black 2009). One strand of this work addresses how immigrant youth identities are shaped by media images or representations of culture and of adolescents. Popular culture and media images carry powerful stereotypes and normative messages about what it is to be "American" (Zuengler 2004). Lee (2005), for example, argues that Hmong ethnic ELs in the USA evaluated their own cultural identities and family relationships through the lens of idealized messages and images in popular culture about the "Normal American Family." However, adolescent ELs do not simply take on identities available to them in consumer oriented media but rather engage in a sophisticated process of appropriation and resistance (Zuengler 2004). For example, youth may draw symbolically on hip-hop culture to identify themselves as racialized and in opposition to majority-White peers (e.g., Cutler and Røyneland 2015; Lee 2005; Paris 2011). Researchers also note the global reach of urban youth cultures through international web media, touring entertainers, migrant import-export markets, and travels of adolescents themselves (Endo 2016). Thus, youth cultures that ELs may draw upon in forging social identities are increasingly multicultural (Paris 2011) and transnational rather than fixed on single ethnolinguistic or geographic groups (Black 2009; Endo 2016; Lam 2009).

Another strand of research traces adolescents' out-of-school digital literacy practices, showing how immigrant adolescents orchestrate existing multimodal representational resources including languages to design messages that simultaneously convey novel meanings and define authorial identities (Lam 2009). Black (2009), for example, followed three transnational adolescent ELs' participation in an online fanfiction community, tracing how they drew upon popular manga and anime as resources for social interaction, English use and learning through creative writing, and performing identities as confident and cosmopolitan multilingual writers. Choi (2009) shows how an Uzbek immigrant adolescent used online communities as a

safe space to experiment with English usage without having to assume an EL identity. Yi and Hirvela (2010) emphasize the agentivity and skillfulness of one Korean American youth's multimodal out-of-school web diary activities that she shared with multiple transnational audiences. Lam (2009) examines how a Chinese American immigrant adolescent used multimodal text messaging to affiliate herself with multiple social groups including the local Chinese immigrant community, a "translocal" network of Asian American youth, and peers in China.

Such online media practices facilitate EL youth linguistic and identity development by providing supportive networks of online peers with similar literacy interests (Black 2009) and encouraging EL agency, experimentation, and creativity. They thus allow ELs to be active shapers of social interactions, literacy practices, and their online identities (Black 2009; Yi and Hirvela 2010). The multiplicity and transnational nature of online media communities allows ELs to perform cosmopolitan identities as competent communicators in global pan-ethnic networks where multilingualism and multiliteracy are valued and expected (Endo 2016; Joo 2009; Lam 2009; Stewart 2014; Yi and Hirvela 2010) and allows them to maintain strong connections to heritage language and cultural peers (Yi and Hirvela 2010).

The relative anonymity of online interaction affords ELs a safe space to craft positive identities as English-using multilinguals (e.g., Lam 2009; Stewart 2014; Yi and Hirvela 2010) apart from the surveillance or discrimination that they may experience as immigrants and English learners in host communities and societies (Lee 2005: 109). Nevertheless, Paris (2011) cautions that while identities may be produced in large part in interactional and semiotic practices that can cross national borders, youth are never entirely free from structural systems of discrimination, racism, and privilege that they experience in their host societies.

Scholars (e.g., Black 2009; Flores et al. 2015; Yi and Hirvela 2010) find that immigrant youths' highly varied, multimodal performance of out-of-school social identities through media is often starkly different from the identities available to them through literacy practices at school. Schools in English-dominant societies often impose narrow monolinguistic and monomodal views of academic literacy that fail to recognize students' multilingual, multimodal communication resources (Stewart 2014) or to incorporate youths' multicultural experiences and perspectives (Yi and Hirvela 2010).

These findings signal a great need for further research on how EL identities are forged through multilingual and multimodal semiotic practices and interactions in out-of-school contexts. Research is also needed to keep up with EL youth's innovative and ever-changing ways of using communication technologies to interact and negotiate identities. Research would also benefit from additional studies showing how EL youth ethnic identity construction through digital technologies is gendered, racialized, and affected by socioeconomic and digital divides.

In all, from this review, it is clear that identity remains a key construct in theory and research on adolescent EL adaptation to new societies. There also seems to be an emerging interdisciplinary consensus that identities are multiple and dynamic in nature. Scholarship in the new millennium portrays EL youth identity as an immensely complex construct, situated in a matrix of social interaction,

intraindividual psychological processes, and broader institutional and societal contexts. This implies that theory and research must necessarily continue to be multifaceted, incorporating individual psychological, sociocultural, contextual, and interactional perspectives in order to develop a holistic sense of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the field would benefit from more dialogue and interdisciplinary comparative work across theoretical and methodological paradigms.

Moreover, this review suggests that recent changes in the nature of immigration and communication globally pose a challenge for us to develop new research and theory on how adolescent identities are shaped with the rise of transnational migratory flows and burgeoning worldwide youth cultures supported by digital multimodal media. In this context, language is only one of an array of symbolic resources through which identities are forged, tried on, accommodated, imposed, resisted, and changed. While SLA researchers or educators may see English learning as central, as McKay and Wong (1996) note, it is important to remember that adolescents themselves may see language as peripheral or as only one of many semiotic resources they bring to the work of building and managing identities in new social contexts.

Cross-References

▶ Digital Literacies for English Language Learners
▶ English as an Additional Language: Integrating School-Aged Learners into Mainstream Curriculum
▶ Imagined Communities, Identity, and English Language Learning in a Multilingual World
▶ Languaging and Translanguaging for English Language Teaching

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Understanding English Language Learners' Pragmatic Resistance

34

Noriko Ishihara

Contents

Abstract

Learners often choose to socialize into local or imagined community practices by aligning with the pragmatic norms of the target language. However, they are known to sometimes elect to depart from what they perceive as typical target community behavior. This phenomenon of *pragmatic resistance* underscores the centrality of subjectivity in pragmatic language use and development. Deliberate pragmatic choices divergent from perceived target community norms occur not when the norms of the learners and those of the target language are simply different but when the latter conflict with learners' bi- or multicultural identities, values, personal principles, attitudes, and investments. While pragmatic resistance is documented as an incidental finding in many studies, several have

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investigated it as a central theme in relation to learners' subjectivity. These studies show that through pragmatic resistance, learners exercise agency and negotiate their translingual subjectivity and multicompetence in the uniquely crafted *third space*. Learners may not position themselves as fully fledged community members held accountable for adhering to target norms. Moreover, learners may view perceived native-speaker norms as irrelevant or even undesirable for themselves, as in communicating in English as a Lingua Franca. Theoretically, the language socialization framework can explicate the connection between this individual behavioral choice and its collective societal impact. Given the complex nature of pragmatic resistance and its complex linkage to subjectivity, it would be unfair to invariably penalize learners for pragmatically divergent language use. As regards culturally sensitive pedagogy and assessment, instructional strategies and resources will be discussed along with suggestions for future research.

Introduction

As in *When in Rome, do as the Romans do,* learners often choose to socialize into local or imagined community practices by emulating perceived norms of the target language. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as *acculturation*, *accommodation*, *convergence*, *alignment*, or *recontextualization* depending on theoretical orientation. However, learners are known to sometimes elect to depart from what they perceive as typical target community behavior, commonly referred to as *pragmatic norms* in second/foreign language (L2) pragmatics research. This phenomenon of *pragmatic resistance* underscores the centrality of subjectivity in pragmatic language use and development (Kasper and Rose 2002). Pragmatic resistance constitutes pragmatic choices diverging from perceived target community norms. It often occurs not when the norms of the learners and those of the target language are simply different but when the latter conflicts with the learners' subjectivity (i.e., sense of oneself and of one's relation to the world (Weedon 1997), including identities, values, personal principles, attitudes, and investments). Differences in norms may be a source of curiosity, amusement, charm, or noncomprehension and may not readily manifest themselves as an issue, whereas contradictory beliefs and competing conventions are more likely to lead to rejection of the incompatible L2 norms by L2 users. That is, learners' subjectivity is inextricably intertwined with their pragmatic choices and can play a role in determining the way in which learners represent themselves. In fact, learners' pragmatic choice is often divergent from those of native speakers of the target language due to their hybrid subjectivities especially in today's fast-changing global spaces (Kramsch and Uryu 2012; Hinkel 2014).

While pragmatic resistance is documented as an incidental finding in many studies, several have investigated it as a central theme (e.g., Eslami et al. 2014; Davis 2007; Hinkel 1996; Ishihara 2006, 2010; Ishihara and Tarone 2009; Kidd 2016; LoCastro 1998, 2001; Siegal 1994, 1995, 1996). These studies will be reviewed along with the incidental findings in other studies. Manifestations of pragmatic resistance in target languages other than English will also be discussed as they are relevant to understanding the nature of this phenomenon.

Through pragmatic resistance, learners exercise agency and negotiate their culturally hybrid subjectivity in the uniquely crafted *third space* (Bhabha 1994), a metaphoric place for "a discursive subject position" culturally diverse speakers construct in interaction. This third space is often characterized as a site of struggle and contestation due to its heterogeneity (Kramsch and Uryu 2012). In this view, which transcends the deficiency model, language learners are reconceptualized as *multicompetent* (Cook 2007) or *translingual* (Canagarajah 2013). Due to this multiplicity in cultural affiliation, learners and other L2 users may not necessarily position themselves as fully fledged target community members held accountable for adhering to target norms (Gomez-Laich 2016; Hinkel 1996). Instead, bi- or multicultural learners may consider what they perceive as target community norms irrelevant or even undesirable for themselves (McKay 2002; Taguchi and Roever 2017), as shown in many studies reviewed below. Theoretically, the framework of language socialization (Ochs 1993; Duff 2012) can explicate the connection between this individual behavioral choice at a micro level and its collective impact at the macro level (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; see below). Moreover, the reconceptualization of learners as part of the social turn in applied linguistics (Block 2003) and the ever-growing diversity of global English shed a new perspective on the phenomenon of pragmatic resistance and have profound implications for formal L2 instruction. Given the sociocultural nature of pragmatic resistance and its complex linkage to learners' subjectivity, it would be unfair to invariably penalize learners for pragmatically divergent language use. As regards culturally sensitive instruction and assessment, the "Pedagogical Implications" section of this chapter discusses instructional strategies and resources as well as suggestions for future research.

Background

L2 Pragmatics

In effective intercultural communication, we use our ability to understand others' spoken and written messages even if they are not stated directly. Depending on the social context, we vary our language use from polite to casual, formal to informal, direct to indirect, and so forth to express our intent according to the demands of the given interaction. Whether in speaking or writing, we jointly co-construct meaning through verbal and nonverbal channels within each sociocultural context. Thus, pragmatic competence can be viewed as discursively constructed social practice.

Accordingly, *pragmatics* can be defined as "the study of speaker and hearer meaning created in their joint actions that include both linguistic and nonlinguistic signals in the context of socioculturally organized activities" (LoCastro 2003, p. 15).

In the process of co-construction, we may confuse, mislead, misunderstand, offend, or distance ourselves from others inadvertently even in our dominant language. Because the norms of preferred or socially acceptable behavior vary across cultures, are contextually contingent, and change in time, the task becomes even more challenging in an L2. In fact, if no instruction is provided, comprehending socioculturally negotiated meaning can take L2 users an extended period of time even in a second language context in which they are typically exposed to authentic L2 use (e.g., Jeon and Kaya 2006; Kasper and Rose 2002; Takahashi 2010).

Problematizing Assumptions in Interlanguage Pragmatics and Pragmatics Instruction

Fortunately, research in interlanguage pragmatics has shown that many aspects of pragmatics are amenable to instruction and that the process of acquiring pragmatic competence can be accelerated especially through explicit instruction (Kasper and Rose 2002; Taguchi 2015). An upsurge of interest in this area has led to an array of instructional resources (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor 2003; Houck and Tatsuki 2011; Ishihara and Cohen 2010; Riddiford and Newton 2010; Tatsuki and Houck 2010).

One common characteristic shared by most of these materials and studies in interlanguage pragmatics is that samples of *inner-circle* (Kachru 1990) "native-speaker" language are often presented as the model under the assumption that learners should conform to this model and that they are willing to do so. Typically, learner language is evaluated in terms of how closely it approximates native-speaker norms. L2 users are supposed to rely on pragmatic transfer, that is, they are believed to carry over to their L2 comprehension and production pragmatic language uses or worldviews associated with their L1 and languages other than the target language (Hinkel 1996). The outcome sometimes proves appropriate in case of *positive* pragmatic transfer, where these norms happen to be identical or similar, or inappropriate, resulting from *negative* pragmatic transfer if the norms are different or contradictory. The latter is believed to potentially cause *pragmatic (pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic) failure* (House and Kasper 2000). In this *deficiency model*, L2 users' pragmatic competence is characterized as incomplete, deficient, underdeveloped, or falling short of that of native speakers.

However, L2 learners' divergences from native-speaker norms may not necessarily be attributed to underdeveloped competence. From the standpoint of the social turn in applied linguistics (Block 2003), identities are closely intertwined with L2 learning and use as learners are not free from preconceptions about the world but are social beings with their own values, beliefs, and worldviews. They bring their subjective positions into how they represent themselves in the L2, while this subjectivity guides their judgment and choice of L2 pragmatic uses (Hinkel 2014;

LoCastro 2003, 2012). Departing from potential essentialization deriving from dichotomous contrastive analysis in interlanguage pragmatics, an alternative point of view can be drawn from *intercultural pragmatics* (Kecskes 2014), in which diverse L2 English users' pragmatic language choices are studied in their sociocultural and discursive contexts (Cogo and House 2017). Pragmatic resistance is defined below from this perspective.

Defining and Researching Pragmatic Resistance

As stated above, pragmatic resistance in the context of L2 pragmatics research refers to L2 users' avoidance of what they perceive as target community norms. Various manifestations of L2 users' pragmatic resistance have been reported in the literature, which is reviewed in the sections below. Following reported cases in which L2 users were found to intentionally evade perceived norms (e.g., Al-Issa 2003; Hinkel 1996), Ishihara (2006, 2009b, 2010) more narrowly defined it as L2 users' *deliberate* divergence from perceived pragmatic norms and language uses they are aware of and linguistically capable of producing. Excluded from this definition are cases where learners depart from common pragmatic interpretation and production as they lack or fall short of an awareness of L2 community norms or the ability to produce target-like forms, which can lead to *unintended* pragmatic divergence. Because accidental divergences can convey unintended meaning and may cause communicative dissonance inadvertently, learners would benefit from pragmatics-focused instruction that would support their sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic competence.

From a sociocultural point of view, the case of deliberate pragmatic resistance can be regarded as L2 users exercising agency in constructing dynamic multiple identities. While engaged in translingual practices (i.e., co-constructing meaning and negotiating identities while meshing multiple languages, dialects, registers, and discourses, Canagarajah 2013; Creese and Blackledge 2015), L2 users temporarily maintain a degree of distance from the target community (Ishihara 2010) and negotiate their hybrid subjectivities. In the language socialization framework (Ochs 1993; Duff 2012), learners' alignment with community practice is deemed to contribute to the preservation or reproduction of the practice, leading to the continuity of that tradition. However, the theory also accounts for resistance in that the personal language choice of pragmatic resistance can bring about a temporary shift, more permanent change, or even transformation of the particular practice in the given community (Ahearn 2001; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Iwasaki 2011). In order to honor and support this learner agency, language educators may wish to remain sensitive to learners' pragmatic choices during instruction. (See the "Pedagogical Implications" section below for further discussion.)

Despite the documented evidence, the phenomenon of resistance is sometimes dismissed as a marginal issue in L2 education. It may groundlessly be misinterpreted or neglected as occurring infrequently as an exception to the rule. In addition, learners' sense of resistance may be negatively viewed as indicative of immaturity or ethnocentrism (e.g., parochialism or intolerance of another culture) rather than as

agency or legitimate negotiation of subjectivity. Resistance may also be assumed to reflect learner alienation from the L2 community, which may in turn hinder opportunities for L2 learning and engagement in the community (Charlebois 2016). Although L2 speakers' accommodation, alignment, or integration may be a primary area of investigation in mainstream SLA studies, it is in fact crucial to empirically investigate the nature of L2 users' resistance to advance our collective understanding of their *thirdness* (as in *third space/place*), hybridity, and translingual practice. Research on pragmatic resistance can also enhance language educators' awareness of learners' subjectivity and agency. It is imperative that pragmatics-focused instruction be delivered in a way sensitive to learners' complex negotiation of multiple identities. Otherwise, instructional efforts may risk being interpreted as linguistic imposition or even a form of cultural imperialism, no matter how well-intended they may be (e.g., Canagarajah 1999; Kasper and Rose 2002; Phillipson 1992; Thomas 1983). (For further details on poststructuralist constructs relevant to pragmatic resistance such as *subjectivity*, *identity*, *agency*, and *investment*, see Ishihara 2019).

Pragmatic resistance has been studied through a range of research methods reflecting various theoretical perspectives. Studies based on a social psychological framework have a tendency to use elicitation methods (e.g., DCTs and role-plays) followed by a type of retrospective self-reports. Although these methods do not yield authentic interaction or discourse and therefore, lack consequentiality (Gomez-Laich 2016), their advantages include that they allow close comparable analysis of pragmalinguistic resistance as well as exploration of learners' imagined identity negotiation recounted by learners themselves. Another framework prominently used to research pragmatic choice is poststructuralist, in which pragmatic resistance is investigated in its authentic, ecological contexts (see Ishihara 2019 for further discussion on the theory and methodology for researching pragmatic resistance). The following section provides a review of studies on or relevant to pragmatic resistance with attention paid to research methods used.

Research on Pragmatic Resistance

Research in the Second Language Context

A pioneering dissertation, by Siegal (1994), opened up the line of investigation into the link between learners' subjectivity and pragmatic language use. Although her research centered on European female learners of Japanese as a second language, her findings (1994, 1995, 1996) are highly relevant to English language learners as well as to later studies on this topic that almost invariably cite her seminal work. Using a case study approach, Siegal studied four learners in terms of their development of L2 sociolinguistic competency and perceptions of their own and other community members' language use as they relate to race, gender, and social context. For instance, for most of her 1-year stay in Japan, one of the participants, Arina, a Hungarian learner, continued avoiding higher-level honorifics (i.e., "exalted" and "humble" honorific forms) (Siegal 1995). Arina noticed a native-speaking Japanese

woman using highly humble forms, which she viewed as undesirable for her own output. She determined to stick with what she perceived as the polite and safe *desu/ masu* ("polite" form). Avoiding the humble forms the community would view as standard, Arina relied on a one-size-fits-all approach, utilizing what she considered safe instead of adjusting her L2 use to match what she perceived as a community norm. Her pragmatic choice appeared to stem from her negative view of gender roles and expectations in the target culture she did not wish to emulate. Her resistance to social positioning indexed by the humble forms was evident, which affected her L2 use. Similarly, another participant, Mary, resisted using particular higher-level honorifics in an interaction with her advisor, a form she was capable of using on other occasions (Siegal 1996). By avoiding representing her advisor on a higher linguistic scale, she strove to establish herself on an equal footing with him.

It is worth mentioning that later on, as Arina gained opportunities to deliver formal public speeches in the L2, she came to understand the advantage of using honorific language in this particular context. Perhaps with the intention of maintaining face as a proficient speaker and a novice scholar of Japanese literature, she began to adopt the exalted and humble honorific forms in formal speeches which she previously rejected. By doing so, she *invested* in this particular aspect of the L2 while gaining approval, symbolic prestige, and status in return. As Siegal argued, these examples of both aligning to and resisting perceived native-speaker norms revealed a complex mechanism of L2 use and development that is nonlinear. L2 users' subjectivity (Weedon 1997), investment (Norton 2000), and pragmatic use appear to be intertwined and mutually constitutive. L2 users' subjectivity can either enhance or undermine their desire to adopt particular pragmatic uses that are already in their linguistic repertoire, while such deliberate pragmatic choices simultaneously allow them to associate with or disengage from the target community. Notably, Siegal pointed out that due to Japanese speakers' sense of ownership of the language and culture, learners' pragmatic divergences a are sometimes interpreted in a distinctive manner, placing L2 users in a unique position in the community.

Hinkel (1996) also explored nonnative English speakers' perception of and attitudes (Gardner 1972) to L2 pragmalinguistics and their stated willingness to adhere to such pragmalinguistic norms of behavior. A questionnaire with an agreement–disagreement Likert scale regarding the perceived politeness of North American English was administered to 240 advanced Chinese, Indonesian, Korean, Japanese, and Arab learners of English who were exposed to the L2 culture fairly extensively. Despite their recognition of the L2 pragmalinguistic norms, the participants occasionally evaluated them critically by contrasting them with L1-based norms of behavior and were sometimes reluctant to adopt them. The author concluded that the diminished evaluation of the L2 norms may have been caused by cultural misunderstanding and that learners' language choice appeared to have been influenced by their pragmatic interpretations and attitudes.

Taking a somewhat similar approach through a survey, Davis (2007) researched the preferences of Korean learners of English with regard to pragmatic routines in Australian and American English. This study is unique in that learners' preferences, biases, and attitudes for two inner-circle varieties of English were researched. Davis'

attitude questionnaire consisted of two parts: one in which participants rank-ordered inner-circle English styles according to their preferences and the other in which they rated preference statements about inner-circle English varieties on an agreement-disagreement scale. Responses from 20 ESL students in Melbourne were compared against those from 21 EFL Korean students in Seoul as well as those by 20 native speakers of Australian English. The Korean students in the ESL context exhibited overwhelming preference for North American pragmatic routines over recognizably local Australian "national routines" such as *g'day mate*, *howdy*, and *no worries*. Qualitative data also showed that the majority of participants perceived American English routines as more familiar and natural as they had been exposed to them in earlier language education in Korea. They also indicated that they understood North American English to be the established EFL norm as well as the globally accepted variety. They also viewed Australian English as limited due to its perceived unintelligibility outside of Australia.

As one reason for this phenomenon, Davis pointed out that students' attitudes reflected a widespread bias in South Korea and elsewhere toward North American English, as demonstrated by North American English being established as the norm in Korean EFL. Moreover, because routines have specific sociolinguistic functions representing group identity and culturally-specific worldview, L2 users may have reservations about adopting sequences clearly marked as native speakers', deliberately opting for nonnative-like forms (Davis 2007). Still another factor for learners' resistance to local Australian norms identified by Davis is learners' subjectivity and motivation, as argued by researchers such as Hinkel (1996) and Siegal (1994, 1995, 1996). Davis acknowledged that native and nonnative speakers have different rights to language uses that index nationality and that recent arrivals could be judged as trying excessively to blend in if they adopt nationally marked expressions. However, this study, like Hinkel's (1996), relied on learners' self-reported perceptions and judgments rather than on contextualized pragmatic use in authentic contexts.

A small number of studies focused on the potential link between learners' subjectivity and pragmatic choice by East Asian learners of English in a second language context. From a sociopsychological perspective, Eslami et al. (2014) researched the pragmatic language use of Korean learners of English in the USA. The realizations of requests in response to a discourse completion task (DCT) in English and Korean by 30 Korean learners of English were compared to requests made by 30 American college students. The researchers identified learners' realizations of requests that diverged from those of native speakers as *pragmatic transfer*. The cases of pragmatic transfer included learners' use of directness and perspectives in the head act of the requests. Stimulated recall interviews further revealed that participants sometimes deliberately avoided adopting L2 uses they considered normative in English. The authors drew on speech accommodation theory (Beebe and Giles 1984; Beebe and Zuengler 1983) to argue that not all these Korean learners aimed to emulate perceived native-like pragmatic language uses due to their cognitive and affective dispositions. The *convergence group* of participants, who emulated perceived L2 norms, included long-term students wishing to acculturate to the target culture. In contrast, the participants in the *divergence* group, whose pragmatic

language diverged from L2 norms, largely showed instrumental motivation in viewing English as a utilitarian language. Some of them demonstrated an awareness of the level of directness in requests commonly used in American English and yet opted to use the expressions they considered higher on the L1-based politeness scale. The authors highlighted learners' complex and conflicting needs, such as being pragmatically appropriate, achieving their goals via language, maintaining face and cultural loyalty, and expressing their diversified identities (also see Kim 2014 for a similar study). Poststructuralist researchers may argue that consistent with the sociopsychological framework is their rather static characterization of learners as either convergent or divergent relative to perceived L2 norms. In naturally occurring interactions, learners' authentic pragmatic choices are discursively constructed in relation to power and contextual demands in a more complex and sometimes conflicting manner.

One study that utilizes naturally occurring corpus data is Liao (2009), which examined six Chinese international teaching assistants in the USA. Through a mix-method consisting of corpus quantification and sociolinguistic interviews, Liao examined how the participants used discourse markers (e.g., *oh, yeah, you know, well*) in their lectures as compared against how native speakers of English did in preceding studies. The findings suggested that the participants appeared to have acquired different discourse markers to varying degrees. Liao's qualitative analysis indicated that one of the participants associated discourse markers with informal and colloquial language and intentionally avoided them in order to portray herself as professionally formal. Drawing on the poststructuralist notion of identity as dynamic and non-unitary (Weedon 1997), Liao proposed characterizing L2 users as individual social beings with multiple complex identities, each with different voices and investments in second language learning.

Following Siegal (1994, 1995, 1996), a few studies took a purely interpretive approach to L2 users' pragmatic resistance (Ishihara 2006, 2009b, 2010; Ishihara and Tarone 2009; Kidd 2016). Using a phenomenological research method (lived-experience inquiry) sometimes adopted in educational research, Ishihara's (2006) dissertation researched how pragmatic resistance was experienced by L2 English and Japanese speakers through 26 in-depth unstructured interviews. Ishihara (2009b, 2010) reported a few of these cases in depth with the aim of offering an interpretation of the meaning of pragmatic resistance at an individual micro level (e.g., what pragmatic resistance means to learners' socialization, identity development, and individual translingual practice) as well as at a more institutional, societal, and meso or macro level (e.g., how pragmatic resistance can potentially influence the practices of the community). For example, a Japanese speaker of English, Nobuko, who was an athletic director of operations serving the student community in the USA for 20 years, reported sometimes objecting to a lack of politeness in students' language of request, directly and indirectly prompting them to speak more respectfully to her. In explaining her sense of resistance, Nobuko recounted her own socialization into a typical athletic hierarchy in Japan, in which the more formal expression of politeness was strictly enforced in speaking to someone of a higher social rank. Her subjectivity shaped by this first language socialization was called

upon as she interacted with her students in English as an authority figure. As a result of a number of brief interactions encouraging students to use more respectful language with her, Nobuko sometimes detected what she defined as a positive change in the students' linguistic behavior. Drawing on second language socialization theory (Ochs 1993; Duff 2012), Ishihara (2009b) interpreted this as a case of an L2 user's pragmatic resistance leading to a change in community practices and attributed it to the power Nobuko negotiated in this athletic community.

A more recent, book-length study of pragmatic resistance was conducted by Kidd (2016). To examine Japanese learners' management of face and identities in interacting with a non-Japanese teacher in class, the author observed 15 students aged 10–12 in two beginning-level English conversation classes offered in a private language school in Japan. The class interactions were video-taped, transcribed, and interpreted through discourse analysis. Kidd also interviewed the American teacher to research his teaching beliefs, attitudes, and practices and administered a questionnaire to gain his perspective of the use of Japanese during his English activities. Retrospective interviews were also conducted with the learners using stimulated recall based on the video-recorded instruction.

The data revealed learners' negotiation of face and the interactional strategies they used to manage face by and aligning with, resist, or rejecting identities they felt were imposed by a teacher in a position of power. For example, the learners aligned with some of the cultural values and social practices the teacher enforced in the classroom by performing expected roles and undertaking appropriate behaviors. The learners preferred to be constructed as "good students" and enacted the student behaviors they deemed expected. While they accepted those identities, in a dynamic classroom context, they sometimes resisted classroom practices and language uses that they found incompatible with their own L1-based conceptions. Moreover, teacher's cultural models of schooling were not necessarily apparent to the learners. This caused feelings of resentment, frustration, anxiety, uncertainty, and loss of confidence on the part of the learners, which Kidd characterized as pragmatic miscommunication. Unfamiliar classroom practices caused the learners to lose face and prevented them from constructing identities they felt were expected by the teacher. Consequently, the learners sometimes rejected some of these impositions and disengaged from class activities to uphold their Japanese identities and avoid loss of face. Kidd argued that a lack of cross-cultural awareness of face needs can influence learners' process of identity construction and enactment.

The purpose of the abovementioned interpretive investigations (Ishihara 2006, 2009b, 2010; Kidd 2016; Siegal 1994, 1995, 1996) was not to determine how frequently pragmatic resistance is likely to occur, what percentage of learners resist L2 pragmatic norms, or what profiles (i.e., social categories) of learners are likely to resort to resistance in order to predict patterns of resistance. Rather, the studies were conducted to examine the meaning of this complex phenomenon to learners themselves, their identity development and translingual practices, the impact of learners' pragmatic choices on community practices, L2 teaching and assessment practices, and language teacher development, which will be discussed in a later section on "Pedagogical Implications."

Thus far, pragmatic resistance researched in second language contexts has been reviewed, often together with its relationship to learner subjectivity. Other instances of L2 users' resistance to perceived pragmatic norms in languages other than English include the use of *white lies* in Japanese by American learners (Ishihara and Tarone 2009; Kubota 1996), status-differential terms of address between siblings in Japanese by a young American learner (Jones 2007), style-shifting in Japanese by American learners (Iwasaki 2011), apologizing for an offense that occurred through no fault of his own by an American learner (Ishihara 2009b), honorific forms in Korean by learners residing in the UK and Australia (Brown 2013), imperative request forms in Spanish by American learners (Shively 2011), semantically unfamiliar greetings (*Did you eat yet?*), and address terms in Indonesian by Eastern and Western learners (DuFon 1999; Hassall 2013). Similarly, a body of language socialization and sociolinguistic studies report L2 users' sense of resistance to the discursive practices of the target community (e.g., Canagarajah 1999, 2013; Duff 2012; McKay and Wong 1996). Below, research on pragmatic resistance conducted in foreign language contexts is discussed.

Research in Foreign Language Contexts

Only a handful of studies of pragmatic resistance by English language learners appear to have been conducted in foreign language contexts. Although the first two do not use the term resistance, the phenomenon under investigation may be considered highly relevant. Kim's (2000) doctoral dissertation drew on the construct of *acculturation* characterized by learners' age, input, and sense of cultural affiliation. The extent of *acculturation* in 50 Korean ESL students was investigated in relation to the degree to which their speech act strategies were considered native-like. More specifically, their use of request and apology strategies was elicited through DCTs and role-plays and correlated with the degree of acculturation. Although these variables did not independently predict the participants' pragmatic output, the variables were found to interact with each other to contribute significantly to the learners' pragmatic choices. This study prompts us to ponder whether the higher the sense of affiliation with the target community and the higher the level of acculturation and integrative motivation, the more target-like their use of speech act strategies may be (Kasper and Rose 2002).

Al-Issa (2003) investigated realizations of the speech act of refusal in English by Jordanian learners elicited through DCTs. The author compared English refusals by 50 Jordanian learners of English in Jordan with English refusals by 50 native speakers of American English and Arabic refusals by 50 Jordanian native speakers of Arabic. The EFL learners' language diverged from that of native-speakers in terms of the selection of semantic formulas, length of responses, and the content of the selected semantic formulas. For example, reflecting a native Arab cultural norm, the EFL learners expressed respect for their interlocutors by emphasizing or exaggerating recognition of their higher social status. Semi-structured interviews revealed that the learners were proud of their L1 Arabic and held the belief that

American English norms were not desirable for them or that emulating others' values was not considered a virtue. Al-Issa concluded that these learners' beliefs, perceptions, and religion possibly motivated *sociocultural transfer* from Arabic to English.

Following a study of her own pragmatic learning and resistance to L2 Japanese (1998), LoCastro (2001) researched Japanese EFL learners' individual differences in attitude and self-concept and stated willingness to accommodate to L2 pragmatic norms. Her data derived from multiple sources, including focus group discussions, written reaction papers, worksheets, and a questionnaire, obtained in the context of four language or language-related university courses. The questionnaire showed that most learners conceptualized their L1-based subjectivity as separate from learning English, suggesting that maintaining Japanese identity may cause them to resist compliance with L2 pragmatic norms. For example, 91% of the 43 surveyed disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that knowing another language well might lead to losing Japanese identity. In fact, over half of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that it is important to learn to behave like a native speaker of English, while 17% agreed or strongly agreed. Similarly, in a written reaction paper, several respondents stated that their Japanese identity would not be replaced or altered by learning or speaking English. In one of seven quotations form the data, a learner admitted that language learning involved adjusting one's way of thinking but that L2 learners should maintain their identity as it is "completely impossible to become a perfect native speaker and it's unnatural" (p. 80). Although LoCastro did not study their actual language use and therefore has no evidence of a direct link between learners' subjectivity and L2 uses, she concluded that individual differences including subjectivity may affect and even restrain learners' willingness to adopt nativelike pragmatic norms.

In sum, in both Kim (2000) and Al-Issa (2003) (along with Eslami et al. 2014 discussed earlier), the term *pragmatic transfer* (or *sociolinguistic* transfer) was used in line with Thomas (1983) and Kasper's (1992) seminal work. While in Kim (2000) the assumption may be that a higher level of acculturation can facilitate *appropriate* pragmatic use and successful pragmatic development, Al-Issa (2003) and LoCastro (2001) acknowledge that L2 users' deliberate pragmatic divergence may result from their cultural identity, a view predominantly represented in the literature on World Englishes (to be reviewed in the following section). Yet, none of these studies conducted in foreign language contexts investigated how learners' multiple identities may shift in time or across contexts or how their identities may be viewed as being constructed jointly in interactive discourse rather than being stable and fixed. Below we depart from the dichotomous ESL–EFL distinction to consider pragmatic resistance in a more globalized context in which a range of localized English varieties are used.

Pragmatic Resistance from a Global Perspective

In *World Englishes* context in which local varieties of English are spoken, sentiments about an inner-circle "native-speaker" variety of English are complex, and a sense of

resistance to postcolonial pragmatic norms may be prevalent. Walker (2010) argues that in studies of learner perception, in which learners' preferences and attitudes toward native-speaker norms are examined, learners sometimes wish to sound like native speakers; however, this is often not the case in *outer-circle* (Kachru 1990) settings. When English is brought into a postcolonial context, the language and culture are *appropriated* (Canagarajah 1999) or *renationalized* (McKay 2002) to reflect the locale (Marlina and Giri 2014). Elsewhere, pragmatic and rhetorical choices are also tinted by regional tastes and serve to enact local identities (Berns 2015; Kachru 2005).

Similarly, House and Kasper (2000) and House (2003) argued that monolingual native-speakers' communicative practices present a questionable norm for L2 users' discourse and pragmatics. Beside the concern that learners may not aspire to emulate L2 native-speaker norms as their target, determining such a norm is difficult in the first place due to pragmatic variation among native speakers. Native-speaker discourse also tends to be idealized; in practice, their communication is often partial and ambiguous and potentially provokes misunderstanding. The authors recommend looking to bilingual and multilingual speakers' "in-between style of interaction" (House 2003, p. 149) for a more appropriate norm for L2 users even though establishing such a norm for the purpose of language teaching and testing is a highly complex enterprise. In fact, a growing body of literature has investigated L2 speakers' use of communication strategies often in an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) framework. These studies delineate L2 users' interactional competence micro-analytically, demonstrating unique features of ELF interactions. Rather than characterizing ELF users' strategies as pragmatic resistance, these researchers largely emphasize the collaborative nature of such interactions and frame L2 interactions as primarily successful and highly cooperative.

Focusing on a speech act, a traditional and well-researched area in interlanguage pragmatics, Kasanga (2006) studied request realizations in a South African variety of English, Black South African English (BSAE) and SeL (Sesotho sa Leboa). The data included DCT-elicited requests in BSAE and SeL from 89 speakers, acceptability judgments on the politeness of the SeL data performed by six native speakers of SeL, and an unidentified amount of ethnographic notebook data of BSAE along with a small sampling of interview data for verification from bilingual university students. While in British English, conventionally indirect interrogative forms dominate in making requests, making suggestions, or offering advice (e.g., *would you, can't you, could you*), such interrogative structures were absent in BSAE, especially in the observational data. Instead, BSAE preferred the use of explicit performatives (e.g., *I'm asking for…*), which Kasanga (2006) suspects to be a shared feature of many of the African languages spoken in South Africa. The author proposes a *cultural difference hypothesis* in which this pragmatic norm in South African English is not viewed as a manifestation of learner language, error, or signs of fossilization that warrant adjusting as in *deficit theory*. Kasanga argues that non-native and nativized varieties of English should be viewed as New Englishes in their own right which developed through a process of innovation. They represent deliberate choices and preferences in which local cultures play a role in shaping linguistic

expressions that index group identity and solidarity. Therefore, L2 users' deliberate pragmatic choices presumably constitute their own variety of English and represent their own beliefs and cultural norms (Kasanga 2006; also Atawneh and Sridhar 1993). However, the potential issue in pragmatic intelligibility needs to be considered, given that direct requests are generally not preferred in some other varieties of English. Kasanga (2006) emphasizes the benefit of formal instruction especially for lower-status speakers' use of several modals in giving advice and suggestions (e.g., *you must*...) as well as for awareness raising among those in positions of power such as in gatekeeping situations.

Research has also identified various other nativized pragmatic language uses in *outer-circle* contexts. For example, Ouafeu (2009) studied conversational routines, in particular responses to thanking, in Cameroonian English. Analysis of authentic thanking interactions at the end of 169 recorded interviews were found to be fairly distinct from those in other varieties of English (e.g., *yes, for nothing, mm,* or silence with no acknowledgement). Notably, typical expressions in many other varieties of English (e.g., *you are welcome, not at all, no problem*) did not appear in the data. The most frequently occurring response, *yes,* reflects a convention found in thanking routines in many Cameroonian local languages. Also, while an adjacency pair in thanking typically comprises thanking and responders in other varieties of English, in Cameroonian English, an offer of a gift by the benefactor can comprise the first pair part followed by thanking as the second pair part, with the thanking responder an optional addition. Ouafeu does not frame these unique features in Cameroonian thanking responders as (postcolonial) resistance to *inner-circle* norms but as indigenized conversational routines colored by local cultural values reflecting the linguistic identities of Cameroonians who also speak other African local languages. Such linkage between nativized pragmatic and discourse norms and local linguistic and cultural identity is commonly found in many studies especially of the use of discourse markers and pragmatic particles published in the journal *World Englishes.*

The World Englishes' perspective has also been applied to situating varieties of English used in the *expanding circle* (Kachru 1990), in which English is typically taught as an academic subject and used only for international communication. For example, Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) compared request realizations elicited by role-plays from 30 Arabic–English bilinguals of Palestinian origin in a second language context in the USA, 20 Arabic–English bilinguals in a foreign language setting in Palestine, 30 native speakers of American English in the USA, and 30 monolingual Arabs in Palestine. The results showed that Americans used the highest level of politeness as well as indirectness indexed by silence. Bilingual Arabs in the ESL context were next in their level of politeness, while bilingual Arabs in the EFL context used a lower level of politeness. Finally, monolingual Arabs relied on the lowest level of politeness in request directives. The authors argue that the norms of the culture of residence affected how these speakers formed their requests and that L2 output reflects a different set of communicative behavior from that of native speakers.

Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) and Kirkpatrick (2015) go one step further to argue that pragmatic, discourse, and rhetorical norms in World Englishes should not be

viewed as errors or deviations from Anglo-American norms. Taking a variety of English used in China as an example, the authors argue that because Chinese speakers are more likely to use English with other World Englishes' speakers in East Asia than in *inner-circle* countries, a Chinese variety is in fact more culturally appropriate than any exonormative (i.e., imposed) Anglo-American norms. The analysis of email expressing request indicates that a Chinese version of English differs from *inner-circle* English in several respects (e.g., an abundance of background information as face work preceding the actual request).

More recently and more systematically, Babai Shishavan and Sharifian (2013) compared refusal strategies in Persian and English elicited from 86 Iranian learners of English through DCTs. Participants' cultural conceptualizations and linkages to their pragmatic use were also explored through three focus group interviews. Regardless of the language they were speaking and the gender and social status of the interlocutors, participants were found to use indirect refusal strategies more often than direct strategies to mitigate potential offense inherent in this face-threatening speech act. Although the gender and social power of the interlocutors influenced the use of some supportive moves differently between Persian and English, the choice of most frequently used moves was identical. The focus group interviews revealed that Persian cultural schemas of "*tă'ărof* (ritual politeness) and *ru-dar-băyesti* (state/feeling of distance-out-of-respect)" (p. 811) were intertwined with their preference for indirect and mitigating refusal strategies. While a few reported attempting to use English in a native-like manner, the majority of the participants stated that they would fall back on local cultural norms regardless of the interlocutors and the language they were speaking. The authors argue that conforming to native-speaker norms may not be relevant to the needs of global English users; instead, negotiation of their distinct linguistic and cultural identities should be researched.

Following Kasanga (2006), Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002), and Babai Shishavan and Sharifian (2013) offer a cautionary note in arguing that although a nativized variety of English is appropriate for use in local contexts in general, it can lead to misunderstandings if used with other English speakers, including *inner-circle* native speakers, a situation that warrants instruction both for native speakers of English in *inner-circle* setting and for speakers of World Englishes. This leads us to a discussion of pedagogical implications of research on pragmatic resistance.

Pedagogical Implications

A number of researchers in L2 pragmatics have pointed out that classroom instruction focused on L2 pragmatics should neither impose inner-circle native-speaker norms on learners nor expect them to produce language in a native-like manner, warning against a type of cultural imposition in the instruction of pragmatics (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor 2003; Kasper and Rose 2002; Thomas 1983; Yates and Wigglesworth 2005). However, beyond that cautionary note, very little has been offered by way of what practitioners might do to accommodate learner agency in implementing pragmatics-focused instruction and assessment.

One relevant and useful insight consists of distinctive instructional goals to be designed for learners' pragmatic knowledge (i.e., reception) and production (Hinkel 2014; Ishihara 2006, 2009b, 2010; Ishihara and Tarone 2009; Thomas 1983). That is, different goals and assessment strategies may be in order for improving learners' pragmatic reception and production. On the one hand, due to pragmatic resistance, learners may elect not to produce language in a native-like manner as part of their identity negotiation, which culturally sensitive teachers would take in consideration in instruction and assessment. Therefore, as regards **productive** skills, native-speaker norms may not necessarily be the goal for instruction or a baseline for assessment. Instead, learner language should be assessed in terms of how successfully learners can co-construct meaning, navigate interaction, and achieve their goals, rather than based solely on how closely their language approximates native-speaker standards.

On the other hand, awareness of *inner-circle* native-speaker norms as well as those of global English may be an appropriate goal for developing learners' **receptive** pragmatic skills. When learners (expect to) interact across cultural borders globally through English, their pragmatic exposure should be diversified. Stated differently, features of the pragmatics of global English, such as World Englishes features revealed in studies reviewed above, should be introduced to learners along with inner-circle norms of behavior (see Taguchi and Ishihara 2018, for examples). Through diversified models, pragmatics-focused instruction should inform learners of typical pragmatic norms in the community or communities and cultural meaning behind such community practices.

In addition, a few practical suggestions and preliminary attempts have been made to tackle the challenge of assessing learners' pragmatic competence in the classroom. For example, to assess learners' pragmalinguistic competence, teachers can elicit learner language through the use of imagined identities in role-plays. This allows learners to demonstrate their pragmatic language skills without having to deal with issues relevant to their own identity negotiation. Teachers may also elicit learners' intentions behind their pragmatic choices and assess learner language based on those rather than solely on empirically established native-speaker norms.

In an effort to enhance learners' sociopragmatic and metapragmatic awareness, teachers may wish to ensure learners' understanding of cultural values and conceptualizations associated with the pragmatic norms of behavior and of the potential consequences of their pragmatic choices given the context and interlocutors' identities (see Ishihara 2009a). Teachers and learners may also explore use of effective communication strategies, including confirmation checks, clarification requests, simplification, signaling importance, paraphrasing, and *represents* (i.e., supporting interlocutors by echoing or mirroring their utterances) (Björkman 2014; House 2012). Learners may also be encouraged to use creative strategies that capitalize on their cultural hybridity, such as the use of code-switching, in which a side sequence in one language is skillfully inserted without breaking the smooth flow of the original interaction in another language (House 2012).

Furthermore, even if language educators are aware of learners' prerogative of pragmatic resistance, learners themselves may be subscribing to a deficiency model

in which they deplore their nonnative-like pragmatic language uses. In such a case, language educators may wish to enlighten learners on their linguistic rights and encourage them to exercise agency in their pragmatics expression. As Ates et al. (2015) argue, World Englishes users are entitled to the ownership of their varieties and should be "empowered to not always comply with judgments of native speakers or native norms and standards" (p. 497; see also House 2003). As discussed earlier, learners' *thirdness* should be honored and viewed in a positive light and their translingual practice celebrated and encouraged.

In fact, the notion of a target community itself (e.g., an *inner-circle* community), sometimes presumed to be rather unitary and monolithic, is shifting in the context of rapid globalization today. Given the array of English varieties worldwide, both *inner-circle* native speakers and global English speakers may benefit from an enhanced pragmatic awareness of diversified norms of English. Drawing on Kubota (2001), in which features of World Englishes were taught to high school students in the USA, Ates et al. (2015) educated native English speakers on the pragmatic use of World Englishes with positive results. Suggestions for teaching L2 learners the pragmatics of global English include diversifying pragmatic norms by raising learners' awareness of World Englishes norms in addition to *inner-circle* norms (e.g., Murray 2012) as well as teaching successful communication strategies used by global English speakers (e.g., Cogo and House 2017; House 2012; see also Taguchi and Ishihara 2018).

Conclusion

Research on pragmatic resistance has assisted in uncovering the complex interplay between identity and pragmatic language use. To further explore this intricate topic, more learner perception studies focused on the area of L2 pragmatics will reveal whose pragmatic norms and what sort of cultural hybridity learners see as their model, which has the potential to inform future pedagogy for L2 pragmatics. Uncovering a wider range of pragmatic norms and discourse strategies in more varieties of global English will also contribute to our collective knowledge about the contemporary status of diversified English varieties. This enhanced awareness would also inform further development of culturally sensitive pedagogy and assessment for L2 pragmatics that would assist learners in undermining cultural stereotypes and developing appreciation of diverse cultural values and worldviews.

Cross-References

► Critical Research in English Language Teaching
► Imagined Communities, Identity, and English Language Learning in a Multilingual World
► Languaging and Translanguaging for English Language Teaching

► Promoting Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching: A Productive Bilingualism Perspective

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Language Learner Engagement: Setting the Scene

35

Sarah Mercer

Contents

Abstract

Engagement is the key to successful language learning. It describes the dynamic state when learners are actively thinking about, focusing on, and enjoying their language learning. In order to be willing and ready to engage, learners need to be in the right frame of mind to do so. To better understand what the key motivational antecedents for engagement are, this chapter draws on insights from self-determination theory (SDT). This theory suggests that we all have needs that must be met in order for us to feel willing to engage with learning opportunities – we need to feel a sense of competence, autonomy, and relatedness. For example, this means a learner needs to believe they can successfully manage the learning that is of value to them, that they have some choice and influence over what they do and how they do it, and that this can all be done within a supportive, low-anxiety

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community of peers and teacher. In this chapter, I describe what engagement is and why I think it is so important to understand for language education specifically. I reflect on the nature of the motivational antecedents and how we can best promote them as language educators. The chapter concludes with considerations for a holistic model of language learner engagement which would bring together the motivational antecedents within an ecological perspective.

Keywords
Engagement · Self · Competence · Autonomy · Relatedness · Language

Introduction

Every language teacher wants to see their learners focused on the tasks at hand, concentrating and thinking deeply about their work, and emotionally invested in the learning process. They want their learners to experience deep, rich, satisfying learning as opposed to them merely "going through the motions of learning." In sum, they want their learners to be engaged. In this chapter, I will introduce the concept of learner engagement and outline its importance for contemporary language learners, who are faced with a myriad of distractions. I will discuss key insights about the nature of engagement generally and in relation to second language acquisition (SLA) specifically. I will then focus on the necessary psychological antecedents to ensure learners are ready and willing to engage in class. Taking a self-determination perspective, I will concentrate on the three core components that form the basis of engagement: a sense of competence, autonomy, and relatedness. The chapter will conclude with reflections for practice and an agenda for future work on engagement and its antecedents in language education.

Engagement

Engagement is a psychological construct that is somewhat of a "new kid on the block" (Reschly and Christenson 2012, p. 14), especially in comparison with the more familiar construct of motivation. Yet, within its relatively short history, it has soon become "one of the hottest research topics in the field of educational psychology" (Sinatra et al. 2015, p. 1) with good reason. Confronted with alarmingly high school dropout rates and reports of high levels of student boredom, alienation, and disconnection with schooling (Macklem 2015; Pekrun et al. 2010; Shernoff et al. 2014, p. 159), educators are searching for "the holy grail of learning" (Sinatra et al. 2015, p. 1), and, for many, engagement fits the bill. High levels of student engagement have been shown to be connected with a wide range of desirable educational outcomes such as higher achievement, self-efficacy, motivation, interest, and the pursuit of mastery goals (Christenson et al. 2012). Similarly, disengagement has been associated with a range of problems such as dropping out of school, drugs,

alcohol, crime, and delinquency (Steinberg et al. 1996 cited in Shernoff 2013). However, despite the broad appeal of engagement for educators, it does not represent a straightforward panacea. The construct is fraught with complexity and definitional confusion, which has hampered research and complicated understandings of the practical implications of relevant studies. Nevertheless, a growing body of research suggests that engagement can be enhanced through deliberate interventions and specific teacher behaviors (Harbour et al. 2015; Shernoff 2013). This makes it an exciting concept to explore in more depth, while remaining mindful of its complexity.

Defining Engagement

The first challenge has been to try to agree on a definition of engagement as the field abounds with diverse perspectives, often depending on the background of the person providing it (Reschly and Christenson 2012). Russell et al. (2005) describe engagement as "energy in action," which resonates with other definitions such as that by Skinner et al. (2009, p. 225), who describe engagement as "energized, directed, and sustained actions." The core notion in most of these key definitions is "action."

The action dimension is central to how engagement is distinguished from its close relative, motivation. Within the field, how engagement and motivation differ or are similar is perhaps the thorniest definitional issue. Russell et al. (2005) suggest that motivation is about intent, whereas engagement is about action. As they explain, students might be motivated but still disengaged. For example, a student may be motivated to do well at school but becomes distracted by any number of momentary more attractive options for action so that despite positive intention, the motivation is not converted into positive actions. Mercer and Dörnyei (in preparation) explain this by saying that "motivation is undoubtedly necessary for *preparing the deal*, but engagement is indispensable for *sealing the deal*." Quint Oga-Baldwin and Nakata (2017, p. 152) distinguish engagement from motivation by arguing that it represents the point at which "students act drawing on the energy and direction of motivation to put thought and feeling into deed." Thus, although there remains confusion about the nature of the overlap and interrelations between the two, especially when types of engagement are operationalized in research tools, it would seem that many take the view that motivation can serve as "an antecedent or precursor of engagement" (Christenson et al. 2012, p. 814). In other words, learners need to be motivated and willing to engage, but the next step is whether they actually translate that willingness into sustained active engagement. It is worth noting, however, that others see engagement as a meta-construct, which subsumes motivation within its cognitive and affective dimensions (Christenson et al. 2012). In this chapter, I take the view that engagement reflects actions, which are best preceded by a motivational willingness to engage. In terms of the focus of this chapter, I will look specifically at the motivational antecedents that are most directly relevant for an understanding of engagement.

In terms of the specific composition of engagement, in line with a definition provided by Fredricks et al. (2004), there seems to be relative agreement over the notion that engagement is multifaceted and comprises three core components:

behavioral (action), affective (feeling), and cognitive (thinking) dimensions. Svalberg (2009) has added social, but here I take a situated view of learners meaning all aspects of cognition and affect are socially situated and behavior typically involves others in social settings. As Reeve (2012, p. 152) notes, "it almost does not make sense to refer to 'student' engagement because it cannot be separated or disentangled from the social context in which it occurs." The three dimensions (behavior, cognition, and affect) are interrelated, and the exact nature of their relations remains unclear, but they appear to be distinct. In other words, it is possible to be behaviorally engaged but not cognitively or affectively engaged (Trowler 2010), such as a learner "going through the motions" to comply with teacher expectations appearing to be actively participating in a task but without actually involving themselves at the level of deep thought or positive affect. Quint Oga-Baldwin and Nakata (2017, p. 152) capture the ideal combination of all three elements when they explain, "when students are optimally engaged in their studies, they are on task, thinking, and enjoying the learning process." In terms of the content of each component, scholars differ about what to include, but a useful suggestion is put forward by Linnenbrink and Pintrich (2003) who propose that behavioral engagement includes things such as effort, persistence, and instrumental help-seeking. They suggest that the cognitive component includes strategy use, meta-cognitive knowledge, and self-regulation. They describe the affective component as covering interest, value, and affect. All three components are dynamic and in constant flux and potential instability. This means levels of engagement can change even within the course of one single task, and also each component can potentially change to differing degrees.

The key is that "true" engagement necessitates all three components. Learners can pretend to be engaged but are in fact passively complying to fit into the expectations of school norms, but they are not authentically and intrinsically engaging in their school work. Nystrand and Gamoran (1991) make the distinction between procedural engagement (obediently going through the motions of schooling and complying to rules) and substantive engagement (authentic deeper psychological sustained commitment to school work and life). Here research has shown the pupils who are only behaviorally engaged and who potentially are getting good grades but are not emotionally and cognitively engaged show signs of high levels of stress and anxiety and thus poor well-being (Conner et al. 2010 reported in Shernoff 2013). The implication is that as teachers, we do not want just to have compliant students who "play the game" but who are not committed or invested psychologically in what they do. This means the aim must be for engagement on all three dimensions – behaviorally as well as cognitively and emotionally – and any understanding needs to account for such authentic, multidimensional engagement.

Engagement in SLA

Engagement is perhaps especially important and appealing to understand in respect to language learning, given its emphasis on active behaviors. In order to develop

their language skills, learners must actively practice and use the language over an extended period of time. As a result, a key tenet of communicative approaches to language learning has been "learning through use," which foregrounds the learners' participation in meaningful L2 interaction and active practice and use of the language. This puts learner engagement at the heart of successful language learning (Mercer and Dörnyei in preparation). Yet, surprisingly, engagement remains relatively under-examined in the field, especially when compared with L2 motivation, which has seen a vast body of research (Boo et al. 2015).

However, scholars are beginning to show increasing interest in language learner engagement. One scholar who has focused on engagement in SLA is Agneta Svalberg (2009, 2018). She has examined a very specific use of engagement, namely, "engagement with language." She too distinguishes between multiple components, cognitive, affective, and social (Svalberg 2009, p. 245), and separates the construct from related notions such as motivation, commitment, and involvement. Within the three levels of engagement with the language on task, she notes the characteristics of engagement as being focused reflection and problem-solving behaviors (cognitive), an active willingness to interact with the language and/or interlocutor (affective), and initiation and positive responses to interaction (social) (Svalberg 2009, p. 255). In reflecting on what can facilitate or impeded such engagement, she notes various intrapersonal, interpersonal, and contextual (including task-related) variables as well as the potential for the same variable to inhibit one learner's engagement but foster it in another.

Generally, SLA has seen a notable upsurge in studies and articles actively employing the term engagement (e.g., Han 2017; Quint Oga-Baldwin and Nakata 2017; Stroud 2017), although not all studies explicitly define the term or use it in a specific, focused manner depending on the focus of the study (e.g., Batstone 2002; Hyland 2003; Lo and Hyland 2007). Svalberg (2009) argues that work related to engagement is already being done but under other guises. For example, she suggests that much L2 motivational research is concerned with what drives engagement and similarly L2 strategy research often examines types of cognitive engagement. Research has also examined closely related action dimensions of engagement such as effort (Taguchi et al. 2009) or flow (Aubrey 2017), which could be considered as a form of very high engagement. Perhaps not surprisingly, there have been several studies which look at the role of technologies in language learning engagement with mixed results (see, e.g., Akbari et al. 2016; Baralt et al. 2016; Snyder and Alperer-Tatli 2007). However, the bulk of studies on engagement in SLA have been focused on task-level engagement, which is to be expected given its action focus and the typical timeframes it functions on. For example, Philp and Duchesne (2016) discuss the nature of learner engagement on tasks in an L2 context and stress the importance of understanding the contexts and social settings of engagement on task as well as the complexity and multifaceted nature of the construct. This resonates with work by others who also stress that engagement takes place in ecologies, in which the personal and social synergistically interact (Lawson and Lawson 2013). Other key studies in SLA have focused on the nature of engagement on tasks and specifically peer interaction (see, e.g., Baralt et al. 2016; Edstrom 2015; Phung 2017; Platt and Brooks 2002).

As such, Svalberg (2009, p. 243) concludes that in SLA, "researchers and practitioners alike are currently trying to come to grips with 'engagement' as the place where learning happens." However, research on engagement in SLA specifically is still relatively sparse and in its infancy. Understandings of how learner engagement on tasks or with language per se connects with learner motivation and other aspects of learner psychology in SLA are rare (for an exception, see Quint Oga-Baldwin and Nakata 2017). What is needed is a holistic framework that brings together various strands to understand language learning engagement as an action component of dynamic motivational processes in multilevel ecologies, such as within schools, classrooms, and interactions, and on micro- and macro-timescales such as across years of schooling and within the minutes of working on a task. Perhaps a first step in that direction is work done by Dörnyei and colleagues examining Directed Motivational Currents (DMCs) (see, e.g., Dörnyei et al. 2015, 2016; Henry et al. 2015; Muir and Dörnyei 2013). "A DMC is an intense motivational drive – or surge – which is capable of stimulating and supporting long-term behaviour" (Dörnyei et al. 2016, p. 18). It is a drive aimed toward a valued learning goal and through feedback loops and involves motivational energy as well as sustained action. Essentially, it looks at the long-term motivated actions as well as motivational forces combined over time, in ways similar to flow but different in terms of the timeframe considered. Building on this and looking at motivational antecedents in the light of their relevance for engagement are key steps toward a more holistic understanding of language learner engagement and what conditions foster or impede it.

Psychological Antecedents of Language Learner Engagement

So, what are the aspects of the learner's psychology, which create a willingness and readiness to engage in sustained learning actions? Here there are many answers to be found within the vast body of motivational research; however, I want to reflect very specifically on motivational constructs which clearly act as precursors to behavior and action. A key framework that has been used frequently in relation to engagement is self-determination theory (SDT) (Ryan and Deci 2000). SDT stresses that learners need to have three key psychological needs met in order to be willing and able to engage with learning opportunities: relatedness, autonomy, and competence (Jang et al. 2012; Reeve 2012). Relatedness is concerned with learners feeling cared for and socially connected to others. This also includes feeling that they belong and are making a contribution to their social setting (Ryan and Deci 2017). The security and comfort such social support provides are vital for the willingness to engage. Autonomy refers to the need for learners to have agency and be able to regulate their own learning experiences and actions. This also implies that their actions are congruent with their own intrinsic interests and values (Ryan and Deci 2017). Learners are more likely to be engaged when they can influence their own actions making decisions that match their own interests. Competence is often the notion at the heart of many motivational theories and refers to learners' need to feel a sense of

mastery and efficacy and a sense that they can influence outcomes. It is about feeling that they can successfully manage or achieve goals. Meeting these three core needs is the key to triggering inner motivational resources and thereby fostering learner engagement. I will now look at each in more detail.

Competence

Perhaps the key antecedent of engagement is a belief by the learner that their efforts will make a difference to their learning. They have to fundamentally believe that their engagement will reap rewards in terms of improved skills, otherwise, why would they even bother investing their time and energy in specific goal-directed actions? At the heart of the notion of competence lie self-related beliefs, which include self-related beliefs of efficacy as well as mindset beliefs about the potential of their abilities to develop further.

Sense of Competence: Sense of Self

One useful framework for understanding a sense of competence can be found in Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory. This is a model which connects the person, their behavior, and the environment in a triad of reciprocal relationships. Central to these interacting relationships is the construct of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is defined as an individual's expectancy beliefs about whether they believe that they can complete a specific task in a specific context (Bandura 1997). Pajares and Miller (1994, p. 194) explain that it represents "a context-specific assessment of competence to perform a specific task, a judgement of one's capabilities to execute specific behaviours in specific situations." These self-efficacy beliefs allow people "to exert control over their thoughts, feelings, and actions" (Schunk and Mullen 2012, p. 221). Self-efficacy is central to the notion of agency in which individuals proactively engage in their lives and opportunities around them. Such beliefs have been connected to a range of key determinants of academic success including motivation, persistence, effort, goal setting, and self-regulation (Schunk and Pajares 2009). In respect to engagement, self-efficacy plays a role at various stages of learning. For example, self-efficacy is likely to determine what tasks learners select to engage with as well as their ongoing commitment to persisting and completing the task.

Another self-construct that is concerned with how competent a learner feels is their self-concept. It is widely accepted that self-concept is domain-specific, which means that a person's self-concept can be differentiated across domains such as math self-concept being different to English self-concept and academic self-concept being different to general self-concept (Marsh et al. 1988; Marsh 2006). In respect to the domain of foreign language learning (FLL), self-concept has been defined as "an individual's self-descriptions of competence and evaluative feelings about themselves as a FL learner" (Mercer 2011, p. 14). It represents a more holistic view of self than self-efficacy and includes both cognitive and affective elements. Pajares and Schunk (2005, p. 105) explain that self-concept includes "questions of 'being' and 'feeling'" in a specific domain. Self-concept is the base construct for the

"self-system model of motivational development," which dynamically links self, context, engagement, and learning outcomes (see, e.g., Green et al. 2012; Skinner et al. 2009). In the model, self includes self-concept appraisals of competence as well as self-related beliefs about the task; both of which are contextually developed through processes of socialization. These beliefs in turn affect learner engagement, which in turn affects learning outcomes including achievement and skill acquisition. Naturally, increases in skills and successful outcomes as well as positive engagement experiences will also affect the learner's sense of self and their future willingness to engage. Green et al. (2012, p. 1120) conclude their longitudinal study investigating the self-system model with high school students by arguing that "enhanced engagement can be expected from interventions that target improvements of academic motivation and self-concept." This means that in order to enhance active engagement on task, educators can also work at promoting a positive, healthy self-concept as a key antecedent for engagement.

Mindsets

In order to also understand how learners form their sense of self, we need to appreciate how they think about their competences on a more fundamental level. Mindsets (also known as implicit theories) are a set of beliefs that learners hold about the degree to which they feel that their abilities as language learners can be developed through conscious effort and hard work (a growth mindset) or whether they believe that these are fixed, unchangeable characteristics (a fixed mindset) (Dweck et al. 1995; Dweck 2006; Mercer and Ryan 2010; Mercer 2015). As can be expected, learners who hold growth mindsets are more likely to persist in the face of difficulties, take on challenging tasks, and expend effort in attaining their goals. For such learners, failure poses no risk or threat. Instead, it merely represents a chance to learn and reflect on what to do differently next time, and it does not say anything about their sense of self as it represents a dynamic moment in time. In contrast, those learners with a fixed mindset find themselves facing an almost hopeless scenario. They need to validate their sense of self, which they believe is fixed and cannot be changed. As a result, they avoid anything that could risk failure as they believe failing at something or encountering difficulties makes a definitive statement about their competences, which they believe they cannot change. As a result, they typically give up easily and do not see any point in expending effort as "you can either do something or you can't." Even more worryingly, having to invest effort in learning can be interpreted by those with a fixed mindset as further confirmation of a supposed lack of ability as they believe that if they had a natural talent for the language, they would not have to work at it. The implications for engagement are obvious. To engage with language learning opportunities, a learner has to believe that their competence and abilities in a foreign language are something that they can develop and improve. If not, no matter how engaging materials and tasks may be, the learner may see all effort and investment in learning as pointless (Mercer 2015).

A key dimension of mindset beliefs is their relation to the types of goals that such learners typically set for themselves. Typically, learners who hold a fixed mindset

about their abilities prefer to set performance goals, which are concerned with displaying their competence or avoiding revealing their incompetence (De Castella and Byrne 2015). Such learners are more focused on getting good grades and looking competent, rather than on engaging in challenging tasks, which would foster learning and growth (Dupreyrat and Mariné 2005). The challenge in itself becomes a problematic threat to their sense of self. In contrast, learners with a growth mindset tend to focus on improving their skills and setting learning or mastery goals where the focus is on achieving something challenging and developing one's competences. In terms of engagement, we want learners to relish challenge and become invested in actions which are concerned with learning, not just display behaviors. One of the key definitions of "flow" as a strong form of engagement is the moment when "a person's body or mind is stretched to its limits in a voluntary effort to accomplish something difficult and worthwhile" (Csikszentmihalyi 2003, p. 3). Here the key is the satisfactory balance between challenge and a person's abilities as well as the voluntary effort expended; both of which (challenge and effort) a learner with a fixed mindset is likely to avoid. Research by De Castella and Byrne (2015) shows that learners who have fixed mindsets are also more likely to employ maladaptive behaviors, which would further impede their learning opportunities and which would foster disengagement such as self-handicapping behaviors, truancy, and possibly giving up on school altogether. The implication is that if we want learners to engage with school per se and specific learning activities, we need to work on developing a growth mindset in our learners and support their willingness to set mastery goals and see challenge as a positive growth opportunity, rather than a threat.

Autonomy

The need for autonomy refers to learners' sense that they have some degree of control over what they do. It stems from learners' feeling that "their actions stem from and are supported by volition and willingness versus feeling alien, forced or compelled" (Ryan and Deci 2017, p. 51). Autonomy does not mean independence and therefore does not contradict the need for relatedness. Indeed, autonomous behaviors can be highly social (Murray 2014); rather, it refers to the importance of learners feeling an active sense of being able to influence their learning experiences. Research has shown that autonomy-supportive teaching behaviors are most effective in fostering learner engagement (Reeve 2006). Essentially, teaching behaviors can be classified as stretching along a continuum from more controlling to more autonomy-supportive (Deci et al. 1981). In reality, a teacher is likely to move back and forth along this continuum at different points for various purposes. Key autonomy-supportive behaviors include building in an element of choice where possible, involving learners in decision-making processes, permitting a diversity of working styles and learning outcomes, encouraging open communication with learners, and respecting and motivating learners as individuals (e.g., Reeve 2006). However, perhaps one of the key insights from the autonomy perspective on engagement is the recognition that engagement does not just stem from learner responses to teacher

behaviors and activities. Rather engagement is best understood as a dialogical process in which learners employ their agency in directing their engaged behaviors (Reeve 2012; Reeve and Tseng 2011). They do not just passively respond to instruction, but they intentionally, proactively, and constructively bring their agency to bear in co-constructing their learning experiences (Reeve 2012). In other words, supporting learner autonomy enables learners to engage with learning activities on their own terms, enhancing their sense of ownership and investment in the process in more personally meaningful ways.

Another key dimension of autonomy-supportive behaviors, which may be even more important than choice, is helping learners to understand and appreciate the relevance of their school work (Assor et al. 2002). The notion of value has a long history in motivational theories such as within the expectancy-value model of motivation (Eccles and Wigfield 1995, 2002). The expectancy part is concerned with the learner's future-oriented expectation that they could succeed at a long- or short-term task. It is clearly related to the self-constructs discussed above, but the theory makes a crucial additional distinction that is vital for understanding engagement. As Eccles and Wigfield (2002, p. 112) point out, "Even if people are certain they can do a task, they may have no compelling reason to do it." The task needs to be of some value to the learner – be that in terms of relevance, importance, utility, possible costs, and/or interest (Pintrich and Schunk 2002). In other words, this model suggests that the two key factors determining learners' choices and decisions to engage stem from their evaluation of their probability they will be successful but also the value of doing so. It is almost to be expected that to be engaged, a learner has to see some relevance or purpose in what they do. Shernoff (2013, p. 57) explains that "students will not remain engaged unless they are shown the payoff it will have, either in terms of an immediate reward, subsequent schooling, future employment, future earnings, or some combination." While there is some discussion about the kinds of payoffs for which students would intrinsically engage, it is understandable that it will be hard for them to engage with something they see as irrelevant for their current or future lives. Shernoff (2013, p. 58) goes on to lament the problem that many teaching activities "have no actual purpose ... other than the educational value of the exercise itself." As such, it is easy to see why many activities can fail to engage learners who do not see the value of the activity or its related goals for them as individuals. It can be helpful to hold explicit discussions with learners about the "value" of tasks and activities as well as learning the language per se. Seeing value and purpose in what they do is likely to make learners more willing to engage autonomously with opportunities to use and learn the language.

Relatedness

The final component of the SDT framework that helps us to understand the antecedents of language learner engagement is concerned with relatedness and our "need to belong" (Baumeister and Leary 1995). Relatedness describes how we are driven to seek out supportive, strong interpersonal relationships, which can afford us a

sense of security, comfort, and social support. In respect to learners, it highlights the importance of them having a sense of belonging in their classrooms and school as well as positive group dynamics and supportive friendship groups. The learners' relationship with their teacher is perhaps the key contributory factor to their sense of belonging as a valued member of the classroom community. Indeed, there is a considerable body of research which suggests the importance of close, caring teacher-student relationships for various aspects of academic achievement (Furrer et al. 2014). Essentially, "children who report a greater sense of relatedness or belonging also feel more confident, work harder, cope more adaptively, show more positive affect, and perform better in school" (Furrer and Skinner 2003, p. 149). In respect to engagement specifically, Furrer and Skinner (2003) investigated relatedness, engagement, and achievement in school-aged children based on the rationale that "feeling special and important to key social partners is hypothesized to trigger energized behavior, such as effort, persistence, and participation; to promote positive emotions, such as interest and enthusiasm; and to dampen negative emotions, such as anxiety and boredom" (ibid., p. 149). Indeed, as predicted, they found that "children who reported a higher sense of relatedness also showed greater emotional and behavioral engagement in school" (ibid., p. 158), and interestingly, they also found that girls had higher levels of relatedness than boys.

Language learning is inherently relational, possibly more so than for other academic subjects. We need others to interact, communicate, and work together with. How well learners get on with their peers and teachers is likely to be defining for their willingness to engage with others and the opportunities for learning that their teachers provide. In SLA specifically, Svalberg (2009, p. 255) highlights the importance of social engagement in language use contexts. Clearly, the "readiness to interact" with others in classrooms using the L2 will be influenced by the quality of the learner's relationships with their peers as well as with their teacher. However, it is also important to remember the role of the learner's relationships with their family and social networks in providing confidence and security, as well as a sense of autonomy and competence, which can impact on their behaviors in school. Generally, positive relationships with peers and teachers as well as support from their family are critically important in generating the security and confidence learners need to engage in learning contexts.

Reflections for Practice

In this chapter, I have considered the intra- and interpersonal psychological factors that serve as important antecedents for language learner engagement. These include supporting learners to develop a sense of competence through positive self-expectancies for success, growth mindsets, and mastery goal orientation. It is important to engender a sense of agency and volition in learners so they can proactively manage, influence, and regulate their own learning. It is also helpful for learners to identify the value for themselves personally of learning the language as well as the value of engaging in specific tasks. Finally, promoting a sense of

relatedness in learners so they feel a sense of trust and support among their peers and specifically with the teacher helps to give them the security, comfort, and connectedness to engage with classroom language learning opportunities.

All of these antecedents of engagement can be affected positively (or negatively) by teacher behaviors. Indeed, the ability to influence aspects such as these is a key "reason for the growing interest in engagement" as "it is presumed to be malleable" (Fredricks et al. 2004, p. 61). In more concrete terms, there are specific actions that teachers can pay attention to which can support each of these areas. Considering learner's sense of competence, teachers can do much to support learners by helping them focus on their strengths. All too often educators concentrate on what can be improved and inadvertently focus on learner deficits. However, learners all have strengths, and it can be important for them to be able to identify these and build on them. Teachers' use of praise and explicit encouragement can also be important for building learners' confidence, although care must be taken not to inadvertently imply a fixed mindset by praising outcomes and using generic praise (Dweck 2007). Instead, it is more effective to praise processes and make feedback specific and constructive, also when it is positive. Language learning is also a slow, long-term endeavor, and sometimes it can be hard for learners to see their progress, and yet this sense that one is improving is critical for their sense of competence. Teachers can foster this through the use of "can-do" statements after units of work or portfolios which document progress as well as through tasks which specifically allow learners to show what they can do with no correction of mistakes but just a display of competence. The scaffolding of learning tasks allowing for choice in terms of diverse forms of output, speeds of work, levels of difficulty, and levels of peer/ teacher support can also be valuable for engendering genuine experiences of success from which a learner can develop a sense of competence.

In terms of mindsets, learners can be encouraged to identify examples of mindsets in action in the wider community, TV, film, and literature as well as from their own experiences with others. They can work on reformulating fixed mindset statements into expressions reflecting more growth mindset attitudes. The language we use as teachers can also convey powerful messages about the nature of ability and expectations of learners (Denton 2007). It can be important to monitor how we talk to our learners about language learning per se and about their achievements and competences. Essentially, we want to convey the message to *all* learners that we believe they can improve and we are confident in their abilities, even when they themselves might not be. We also want them to see language learning as a skill that anyone can improve. That is not to say, all learners can reach the same level of proficiency as that will be unrealistic, but all learners can improve their skills to differing degrees.

In terms of autonomy, Reeve (2006) lists various behaviors that typify autonomy-supportive teacher actions. Many of these reflect interpersonal competences such as respecting and esteeming learners, which in turn would also be valuable for their sense of self. These can include behaviors such as listening attentively, engaging with learners personally, and showing learners trust, empathy, and respect through relational interactional styles. He also discusses the kind of praise and encouragement as well as support of mastery and progress that is typical also for promoting

growth mindsets. Autonomy-supportive behaviors also include providing opportunities for learners to have choice, influence outcomes, decide who to work with, and be actively involved in tasks as well as decision-making processes. In terms of helping learners to value language learning in general as well as specific tasks, teachers can explicitly discuss their relevance and help learners to find personally meaningful connections that draw on their intrinsic interests.

To support learners' sense of relatedness, many of the behaviors above would likely promote positive teacher-student relationships which are so important for learners in developing the trust, sense of security, and confidence to engage. In particular, teachers can promote positive relationships through behaviors which express trust, empathy, and respect and in which they recognize the individuality and uniqueness of learners (Gkonou and Mercer 2017). The types of behaviors can include knowing and using names, knowing and addressing learners' personal interests, responding to mistakes and discipline issues in respectful ways, and being enthusiastic and passionate about teaching, language, and learners' language learning.

However, it is not only the relationship with the teacher that is crucial to creating the kind of atmosphere in which learners feel willing to engage. Here the relationship among peers in terms of group dynamics can be defining. Ideally, we want our classes to develop a sense of community through harmonious, respectful, and accepting relationships. The importance of positive group dynamics means it is worth consciously spending time on promoting them through specific activities designed to foster group belonging but also dealing with any problems as soon as they arise (see, e.g., Dörnyei and Murphey 2003). Especially in the context of communicative language teaching, many classroom tasks require cooperation with others. However, just because learners are working in groups does not in itself mean they are cooperating or collaborating effectively. Cooperation works best when learners have a genuine need to work together in order to successfully complete the task. They need to recognize a common goal and feel a sense of shared responsibility for achieving it. Teachers may also wish to discuss group working strategies with learners such as asking for people's opinions or help, listening actively, giving constructive feedback, and negotiating. Finally, although as social beings we tend to flourish through positive interpersonal relationships, it is also worth remembering that we can benefit from time alone. In the classroom, this means learners can also profit from having time to think and work quietly on their own as well as with others. Indeed, some focused individual learning time and a chance to concentrate on one's own tasks in one's own way alone can be an important opportunity for learners to become deeply, personally engaged in class work.

In sum, working on these three core antecedents will provide positive foundations for engagement to flourish. However, these factors alone do not guarantee that learners will actually engage with learning opportunities, despite making it much more likely. "To seal the deal," the next stage is to create engaging conditions in respect to the different ecologies of language learner engagement. This means looking at the conditions in the various ecologies, such as the nature of the educational institution, the classroom, and the specifics of learning tasks and activities,

and considering the ways in which they can facilitate engagement. For example, in respect to task and material design, this implies considering aspects such as cognitive load, cognitive complexity, challenge, authenticity, curiosity, interest, attention, novelty, variety, purpose, and meaningfulness. Within the classroom, it means not only attending to the group dynamics and peer relationships but also reflecting on the quality and nature of the physical space. For example, seating arrangements and wall displays can convey implicit messages about learning, and cluttered walls can potentially distract learners from task focus. In the broader school context, it means evaluating the sense of belonging that is generated in the school and the culture of learning and cooperation that is promoted through policy, discourse, and design.

Conclusion: Directions for Future Research

This chapter has introduced the construct of engagement and shown how this action-oriented motivational construct is key to deep learning and successful academic outcomes. I have discussed the antecedents of language learning engagement through the lens of SDT concentrating specifically on facets of competence, autonomy, and relatedness, which can create a readiness and willingness to take action and become engaged. However, it was also noted that a full understanding needs to connect these antecedents with actual actions in diverse ecologies. Below I offer a simplified hypothetical illustration of engagement that may be useful in setting a future research agenda and which may also help teachers to reflect on what and how they can affect learner engagement. It should graphically portray how the antecedents of learner engagement (intra- and interpersonal) interact with various engagement ecologies and how those engagement experiences feedback into the further development of the antecedents generating but also simultaneously emerging from the quality of the engagement experiences. All of these processes are socially situated and dynamic. This means that engagement can be affected by working on the antecedents as well as the nature of the ecologies. It also suggests that engagement, the ecologies, and psychological antecedents can all change over time, albeit some more readily and easily than others. It also means that even if a learner is engaged at the moment, it is uncertain whether they will remain engaged over time as the conditions are ever changing (Fig. 1).

Building on this simplified visual, a model of language learner engagement needs to be developed, theoretically expanded, and empirically examined, especially in terms of its dynamics and the nature of interrelations. Such a model can serve as a useful reflective tool for teachers and a trigger for a concerted program of research to investigate language learner engagement from a holistic, situated, and dynamic perspective. Research suggests that learner engagement facilitates deep learning (Floyd et al. 2009) and is connected to the degree of effort, involvement, participation, persistence, enthusiasm, enjoyment, and focused attention and concentration expended by the learner (Christenson et al. 2012; Fredricks 2014). It is the key to successful language learning. The challenge for language educators is to get learners
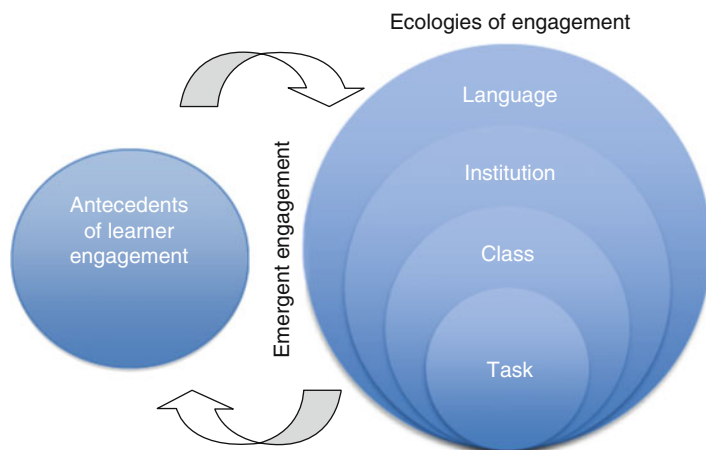
Fig. 1 Ecologies of engagement

engaged and keep them engaged. The challenge for researchers is to develop a practical, theoretically sound, and empirically validated model of language learner engagement and investigate how it can best be facilitated or impeded in practical terms. Given that engaged learners are the wish of every teacher as well as the ones most likely to succeed, we must make understanding engagement in language learning contexts a priority.

Cross-References

▶ Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
▶ Creating a Motivating Classroom Environment
▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment

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Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research

36

David M. Palfreyman and Philip Benson

Contents

Abstract

This chapter picks up discussion in the previous edition of this handbook of how the concept of autonomy has influenced language education and applied linguistics in recent years. It begins by discussing the philosophical and practical origins of learner autonomy in language education and particularly in English language teaching and how these have developed over the last 10 years. Key practical initiatives and research findings are reviewed to illuminate how autonomy has been interpreted in relation to learners, teachers, and the learning situation; how it has been linked or contrasted with other constructs; and how fostering autonomy has been seen as a part of pedagogy. Recent developments from the earlier edition are discussed regarding metacognition and, in particular, various contextual dimensions of learner

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autonomy. Other emerging topics are also reviewed, including learner autonomy in the world of digital/social media, learner autonomy in curriculum design and published materials, and the relation of learner autonomy to plurilingual perspectives. The chapter discusses issues in each of these areas, potential strategies for developing autonomy and effective learning, and possible future directions for research and practice.

Introduction

Personal autonomy ("authoring one's own world without being subject to the will of others" – Raz 1986, p. 369) has long been an acknowledged goal of education systems that seek to develop individuals who are capable of free and critical participation in the societies in which they live. Learner autonomy more specifically has been characterized by Benson (2011) as "the capacity to take control of one's own learning" (p. 58). The link between this and personal autonomy in a broad sense is by no means automatic, but active participation in learning is seen as being both essential to the development of personal autonomy and beneficial to the learning process itself. The roots of this concept can be seen in the radically student-centered educational thought of writers such as Dewey (1916) and Freire (1970); in work on adult self-directed learning by writers such as Brookfield (1986) and Knowles (1975); and in work on the psychology of learning by writers such as Barnes (1976), Kolb (1984), and Vygotsky (1978). In language learning, these ideas were developed systematically in the 1970s in the context of the Council of Europe's Modern Languages Project. Over the following 30 years, autonomy became an increasingly important concept in foreign language education, as evidenced in a number of publications (e.g., Barfield and Nix 2003; Benson and Voller 1997; Cotterall and Crabbe 1999; Dam 1995; Holec 1981; Little 1991; Palfreyman and Smith 2003; Pemberton et al. 1996; Riley 1985; Sinclair et al. 2000).

In the chapter on learner autonomy in the 2007 edition of this handbook, Phil Benson discussed the significance of the idea of autonomy in ELT, research on the definition and fostering of autonomy, and some areas in which further research was needed. In this chapter we review some of these areas and show how the concept of learner autonomy and its place in educational research and practice have developed in the 10 years since. For further detail on most topics in this chapter, the reader is referred to recent publications by Chik et al. (2017) and Little et al. (2017).

The Significance of Autonomy in (Language) Education

The rise of the concept of autonomy in learning in the 1970s was linked to an ideological shift away from consumerism and materialism toward an emphasis on the value of personal experience, quality of life, personal freedom, and minority

rights (Gremmo and Riley 1995). This led to calls for a radical restructuring of pedagogy, which was realized, within the context of educational institutions, in the spread of self-access (Riley and Zoppis 1985) and learner training (Holec 1980). Social changes have also favored the use of such individualized peda-gogies. Mass migration and tourism since the latter twentieth century, the open-ing of (especially higher) education to a greater number and variety of learners both within and across national borders, and the growth of a global ELT industry involving state-supported national and international programs as well as private and/or local training and tutoring have led to rapid increases in the number and variety of language learners in educational institutions. This has led to learners being seen in new ways (as consumers or as members of groups with particular needs); and flexible arrangements such as self-access and distance learning have often been seen as an effective, economical way of dealing with this situation, by supplementing or replacing classroom teaching.

This view of learners also resonates with broader ideologies of globalization, the information age, and the knowledge economy, which focus on large-scale planning of individual lives, "twenty-first-century skills," and employability; learners are seen less as individuals who are responsive to instruction and more as individuals who are capable of instructing and training themselves – and as potential workers and citizens who are capable of developing and adapting to new demands in the future. The Council of Europe's early focus on learner autonomy in language learning, for example, broadened into a focus on "learning to learn" in the EU's general educa-tional frameworks, as a contributor to learning and career development "at home, at work, in education and in training" (Tapio 2004, p. 8).

The discourse of learner autonomy (like any other discourse) can be used in both positive and negative ways (Foucault 1983). It has been criticized as locally inap-propriate (e.g., Sonaiya 2002); and in the social-economic context described above, there may be valid concerns about the quality of learning and the role of teachers in new modes of mass education. At the same time, the idea of autonomy in learning still has considerable positive potential in educational reform. In the changing landscape of language education, in which the economic and pragmatic interests of providers interact with teachers' perceptions of the nature of teaching and learning in the context of global debate over what it means to be an educated person in the twenty-first century, the concept of autonomy continues to play a role as a point of reference: a way of making sense of new modes of learning and of ensuring that their implementation genuinely serves the interests of their learners.

Defining Autonomy

Research aimed at the definition of autonomy in learning is important for the simple reason that, if we are to foster autonomy, or to use it as a point of reference, we need know what it is that we are trying to foster/orient to. Discussion of autonomy can become unproductive if, for example, it is defined as about control or decision-making but then treated in practice as a matter of independence from a teacher (with withdrawal of teacher support seen as a positive step). Considering the different (mis)conceptions of

autonomy held by researchers, teachers, learners, and others, Little (1990, p. 7) focuses on what autonomy is *not*: in his view, it is (a) not a synonym for self-instruction, (b) not a matter of letting learners get on with things as best they can, (c) not a teaching method, (d) not a single easily described behavior, and (e) not a steady state. Points (a) and (b) highlight that the term "independence" is distinct from "autonomy"; point (c) is particularly worth keeping in mind when pedagogical approaches are often packaged as "learning" (e.g., task-based learning, blended learning); points (d) and (e) remind us that learner autonomy may reveal itself in various ways and to varying degrees in different learners and in different contexts.

The "Bergen definition" of learner autonomy, emerging from an early conference in Norway, characterized it as:

> a readiness to take charge of one's own learning in the service of one's needs and purposes. This entails a capacity and willingness to act independently and in cooperation with others, as a socially responsible person. (Dam et al. 1990)

This definition mentions the learner's relations with others and with society, a theme which will be discussed below; more prominently, it focuses on psychological factors: *motivation* and a *capacity* for:

> detachment, critical reflection, decision-making, and independent action [. . . and a] particular kind of psychological relation to the process and content of [one's own] learning. (Little 1991, p. 4)

How these psychological capacities relate to observable *behaviors* is another matter. Little argues that:

> the capacity for autonomy will be displayed both in the way the learner learns and in the way he or she transfers what has been learned to wider contexts. (p. 4)

In research and practice, behaviors are more salient and accessible than mental capacities; Holec (1981), for example, mentions activities such as determining learning objectives, content, and progression, selecting methods and techniques, monitoring acquisition, and evaluating what has been acquired – the key behaviors involved in the self-management of learning. Researchers broadly agree that autonomy involves abilities and capacities that are both behavioral and psychological; but it is useful to distinguish between "learner autonomy," a learner characteristic which is persistent in some way over time, and "autonomous learning," referring to specific instances of learning which evidence autonomy in some way.

One of the problems in defining autonomy in any concise way lies in the sheer number of abilities and capacities that could be listed under the heading of autonomy. Candy (1991, pp. 459–466), for example, identified more than 100 competencies associated with autonomy in the literature. Ultimately, there is also a concern that any competency associated with good learning could be listed as a competency involved in autonomy. One alternative to attempting to define the construct of autonomy precisely is to accept that it can take a variety of forms. Although this

does not solve the problem of concise definition, it does allow for the coexistence of differences of emphasis and for the identification of observable behaviors associated with autonomy through empirical research.

Huang and Benson (2013) expand on Benson's (2011) definition of learner autonomy cited earlier, considering learners' capacity to exercise control in their learning in terms of:

(a) *Desire* to take an active role in their learning (motivation to focus on a learning goal, to engage in intentional steps toward that goal, and to persist in these efforts).
(b) *Ability* (knowledge about and skills/strategies in the language learned, as well as for planning their own learning, acting so as to promote such learning, and evaluating their own efforts).
(c) *Freedom* (opportunity and space to take an active role of some kind).

In terms of Benson's (1997) perspectives on autonomy, desire for autonomy may be viewed as essentially psychological, ability as a "technical" accomplishment, and freedom as a contextual, possibly "political" precondition for autonomy. However, the three aspects interconnect; for example, both ability and freedom are functions of the learner's perceptions as well as of their objective abilities or context, as will be discussed below. Regarding "control of learning," Huang and Benson (2013) analyze this as a learner's degree of control over *learning activity* (e.g., of how, where, or when she/he learns), *cognitive processes* (e.g., attention, memory, reflection), and/or *content* (what areas/aspects of language are focused upon, in relation to learners' purposes).

Understanding of the cognitive capacities involved in autonomous learning was helped by links between work on autonomy and work on *learning strategies* (e.g., Wenden 1991) and *learner beliefs* (e.g., Cotterall 1995). An important component of learning strategy use is metacognitive knowledge – the "stable, statable and sometimes fallible knowledge learners acquire about themselves as learners and the learning process" (Wenden 1995, p. 185), as distinct from the learner's knowledge of the language, for example. This involves the learner's personal knowledge about how she/he learns effectively, about the goals and demands of particular tasks, and about language learning strategies and how/when to use them (Wenden 1998). Research on learner beliefs assumes that systems of belief shape learning behavior, so that the development of autonomy in a behavioral sense implies changes in the learner's beliefs about language and learning (Cotterall 1995). Because both metacognitive knowledge and learner beliefs have been shown to be describable on the basis of learners' accounts of their learning, they offer potential for understanding the long-term processes involved in the development of autonomy and of learners' responses to our attempts to foster autonomy through the teaching and learning process.

Research on learning strategies has led to more detailed understanding of effective learning behaviors and to proposed programs of strategy training. However, Nakata (2014) points out that this has often been distinct from study of other aspects of learner autonomy, making it difficult to integrate into everyday schooling. Nakata suggests that this gap may be bridged using the psychological concept of *self-regulation*: "the degree to which students are metacognitively, motivationally, and

behaviorally active participants in their own learning processes" (Zimmerman 2013, p. 137). This involves the learner observing their own learning efforts, varying motivations and environment, judging their effectiveness, and adjusting accordingly. The notion of self-regulation, like the research on language learning strategies, has roots in cognitive psychology and a relatively positivist research paradigm. However, it is linked to a broad range of learner capacities and learning processes (including motivation) in both successful and unsuccessful learners (in contrast to learning strategies research, which emerged from research on effective learners). As developed by Zimmerman (2013), self-regulation also fits within a social theory of learning, making it more compatible with an *educational* perspective.

Rose (2011) argues that the term "self-regulated learning" has been used as inconsistently as the term "strategic learning" has; recently it has also sometimes been used synonymously with "autonomous learning." Panadero (2017) reviews several models of self-regulated learning which make somewhat different assumptions (e.g., about how conscious or explicit self-awareness is) and which have been applied in different contexts (e.g., primary or higher education). He also identifies several commonalities in these models which appear to play a significant role in effective learning. One of these is an emphasis on *self-efficacy*, "people's beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over their own level of functioning and over events that affect their lives" (Bandura 1991, p. 257), which has been consistently linked to success in learning (Zimmerman 2000). This underlines the subjective dimension of "control" mentioned earlier: learner autonomy involves not only the learner's capabilities and freedom to learn but also his/her perceptions of these and his/her beliefs and confidence – which are likely to both support and be supported by success in learning.

Ryan and Deci's (2000) self-determination theory (SDT) sees everyone as having a need to *feel* autonomous, related to others, and competent. Jdaitawi (2015), for example, found feelings of social connectedness, self-efficacy, and self-control to be associated with self-regulation among undergraduate students in Saudi Arabia. However, Lee (2017) notes that "autonomy" is interpreted in SDT as learners feeling personally invested in and intrinsically motivated by what they do, rather than being "in control." Thus, if a student voluntarily relies on his/her teachers to make all decisions in his learning, she/he would be considered an "autonomous" (i.e., volitional) learner in terms of SDT but perhaps not in terms of learner autonomy, where some kind of participation in higher-level learning decisions tends to be emphasized. The situation just mentioned could correspond to a kind of "reactive learner autonomy" (Littlewood 1999) whereby the learner is able to carry out tasks set by teachers, but not seek out and select tasks for himself/herself. Interestingly, the term "self-regulated" has been applied in other fields (e.g., Carvalho 2000) to simple systems such as a thermostat, which is set externally (by a person) and then balances input (room temperature) with control (of heating/cooling). This contrasts with higher levels of system complexity which Carvalho describes as "self-directed," "self-organized," and, at its most complex, "self-coordinated."

An important element of learner autonomy which seems to be lacking from the thermostat is *agency*, the "socioculturally mediated *capacity to act*" (Ahearn 2001,

p. 112, emphasis added). Nakata (2014) considers self-regulation as the cognitive/affective/behavioral side of autonomy, while agency supplements this ability to learn with a drive and direction that takes the learner on a path to lifelong learning (associated with autonomy). Agency is often associated with freewill and is seen as essentially human. Indeed, Little et al. (2017) state that:

> pedagogical approaches that seek to develop learner autonomy succeed not because they answer 'technical' or 'political' imperatives (cf. Benson 1997) but because they respond to how human beings are [psychologically] constituted. (p. 12)

This suggests that human agency is an innate starting point for the development of learner autonomy. Benson (2013, p. 86) suggests that "taking responsibility for one's authentic concerns" is a key element of autonomy; this idea of authenticity links autonomy to agency, "voice," and also identity. Like self-efficacy and the SDT notion of autonomy, identity makes a connection between the learner's self and her learning. The learner's "L2 learning self" is oriented to imagined identities (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009) and may be "wounded" along the way (Karlsson 2015), leading to a greater or lesser willingness to exercise agency.

In its early days, autonomy tended to be defined as a capacity of the individual learner; this, together with an emphasis on methods of meeting individual needs, and the occasional use of the term "autonomous learning" to refer to learning alone led to concern about an inherent individualism within the concept. One response to this was to acknowledge social constraints on individual autonomy, for example, in the notion of *responsibility*. For example, the EuroPAL project (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007) defined learner autonomy as:

> the competence to develop as a self-determined, socially responsible and critically aware participant in (and beyond) educational environments, within a vision of education as (inter) personal empowerment and social transformation. (p. 1)

The first part of this definition reminds us that individual self-regulation develops with regard to other people and to social constraints.

However, a sharp distinction between what is "inside the learner" and what is "external" has increasingly been seen as problematic, for example, in self-regulated learning theory by Martin and McLellan (2008). Influenced by Vygotskyan sociocultural theories, the elements of autonomy discussed earlier have come to be seen as existing only in a constant interaction between the learner and his/her environment. The interrelated constructs of identity, motivation, and autonomy have in common that "they change over time, they depend on context and they are socially mediated" (Murray 2011, p. 248). Learners cannot be assumed to be "always/already autonomous" (Manathunga and Goozée 2007, p. 310): in the classroom, as teachers are well aware, some learners at some times are less keen than others to exercise their agency in the pursuit of learning. Agency, although innately human in some sense, should probably be seen as a potential rather than pre-existing: Lantolf (2013) emphasizes that a person's agency develops only through certain kinds of social

interaction (some kind of informal or formal socialization or "teaching"). In relation to language learning strategies, recent research in a similar vein has helped our understanding of:

> the mediated nature of [strategies] in classroom culture, including artefacts, interactions and relations among people (e.g., Coyle 2007 [...]) and the dynamism of learners' strategy use in response to shifting learning contexts across time (e.g., Gao 2013[...]). (Wray and Hajar 2015)

Learning may be seen as happening in an "ecology," where a learner becomes aware of, seeks out, and draws upon a variety of resources (things, social contacts, and ideas) around him/her; and autonomous learning is this developing, interactive process of perceiving, seeking, and making the most of affordances (Palfreyman 2014).

This view of learning as always in context connects with another established underpinning of the notion of learner autonomy: that of lifelong learning. It is a key theme in educational discourse of the past 50 years that people should be capable of continuing their learning throughout their life, adapting to new situations, and adding new skills to their repertoire. The EuroPAL definition of learner autonomy (see above) refers to "competence to develop ... in (and beyond) educational environments," emphasizing a long-term, developmental perspective and the transfer of learning skills to different situations. This is seen as beneficial for the individual, particularly as the modern world is changing so rapidly.

The psychological perspectives above have clarified the different individual capacities and beliefs which contribute to autonomy. Another side of learner autonomy involves broader political and philosophical issues and ways in which the learning context can be made more empowering for the learner (Benson 1997). The EuroPAL definition (see above) refers to empowerment and social transformation as overall goals in the development of autonomy: responsible citizens who can make informed, independent decisions are considered to be a key element of a democratic society. The individual person or language learner is shaped to some extent by his/her context and may actively engage with the resources around her; she/he may also act to transform that context (Lantolf 2013) – perhaps in a small way, by seeking more resources relevant to his/her purposes, or perhaps on a larger scale, contributing to changing (even improving) the direction or structures of society. Language learning may be both a means and an end in processes of personal and social transformation, for example, for Anglo US students using Spanish in a community project (Lantolf 2013, citing Grabois (2008)).

Empowerment, often invoked in relation to learner autonomy, has an objective and a subjective dimension. Ibrahim and Alkire (2007) describe it as "expansion of agency" and analyze it as involving power to *choose* and to *act* in various domains (personal, home, community). Auerbach (2007) argues that although learner autonomy may well contribute to a democratic society, *emancipation* involves a much broader transformation of social possibilities than either of these. On the other hand, debates about "unfreedom" in health care (Reuter 2016) show how people can be "responsibilized" (expected/forced to make decisions) by powerful social actors and even be seen as having a paradoxical "right to be responsible." In the case of learning

and education, it may be problematic if learners are expected to take up particular opportunities and seen as negligent if they do not. In general, political aspects of autonomy in language learning tend to be evoked as overall goals but analyzed less systematically than other aspects. It is perhaps in the study of teacher autonomy that these aspects have been most in focus.

One ecological perspective which may help analyze the various elements of autonomy described above is complex dynamic systems theory (CDST) (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). CDST views phenomena such as language learning as *emerging* from the interaction of many components in multiple ways, so that unpredictable results can come from small changes which unbalance the system. Paiva (2011) analyzes long-term narratives of learners' lives, highlighting flows and changes in learning, motivation, and agency triggered by the learners' experiences or by shifts in role, while Sade (2014) analyzes the development of a single learning activity as learners find and enact different roles and relationships. These changes are not neat, linear steps of "progress" but often involve detours or even "backward" steps; a learner may "plateau" or discover new possibilities in learning and struggle with them, seeming to regress. Autonomous learning could be seen as a process of responding to this flow while keeping a sense of direction. Importantly, CDST sees systems as nested within (and entangled with) other systems. Thus a learner's language skills can be seen as a complex system, which interacts with other systems (of motivation, self-perception, or learning strategies). Changes in these systems are reflected in changes in the learner as a whole person, which in turn interact with (i.e., influence and are influenced by) changes in groups of which the learner is a part and with broader changes in society. CDST thus may provide a way of bridging between psychological, social, and political aspects of autonomy, as well as to issues of space and autonomy (e.g., Murray and Lamb 2017) discussed below. Although these interactions are complex and often unpredictable, they may be understood in retrospect, in terms of emerging patterns of autonomy, stable or unstable states, and events or experiences which trigger changes on a small or large scale.

Returning to Huang and Benson's (2013) elements of autonomy, if a learner is viewed as a complex person interacting with an ecology of learning, then desire may be re-visioned as *authenticity* (making one's own use of resources within and outside oneself); ability may be understood as *emerging* from a combination of individual and context (as well as the individual's perception of self), with resources or skills in one area of learning or life being repurposed in other areas; and freedom may be understood in terms of existence/awareness of a *range of options* for action and the possibility of constantly selecting among these options (Cave 2015) in pursuit of an evolving goal.

Researching Autonomy

Although autonomy is widely considered an important element for development, the primary aim for stakeholders (such as learners and governments) is typically the development of language. Thus some important questions about autonomy in language learning are:

Does greater autonomy lead to more effective language learning? In the context of language learning, it could be argued genuinely successful learners are those who succeed in constructing the target language system as a system for the interpretation and communication of their own meanings, a process that necessarily involves some degree of control over the management and content of learning. Thus, if we assume that the goal of language teaching and learning is not simply the accumulation of facts and technical skills, autonomous language learning is, almost by definition, necessary (if not sufficient) for effective language learning. Certainly work by Dam and Legenhausen ([1996](#)) showed that students in autonomous classrooms in Denmark were not disadvantaged by this in terms of language proficiency and surpassed some students in more traditional classrooms in Denmark and Germany. Comparability is always an issue in educational research, and much of the research in this area is based on short-term interventions, which, if it is acknowledged that the development of autonomy is a long-term process, are unlikely to yield valid or reliable results. However, a 4-year longitudinal study reported by Little et al. ([2017](#)) supports these positive findings regarding language development.

How effective are attempts to foster autonomy? A major difficulty in answering this question is that it requires gathering data about learners' autonomy, which is not straightforward. The essence of autonomous behavior does not lie in the behavior itself but in the fact that it is authentic, self-initiated, and considered – factors that are extremely difficult to observe. An instrument designed by Murase ([2015](#)) attempts to systematically quantify learners' attitudes and practices regarding various aspects of autonomy, including political ones, while Lin and Reinders ([2017](#)) develop, with statistical rigor, a psychometric test of self-management skills, learning behaviors, and attitudes. This issue will be discussed further below in relation to assessment and autonomy.

Bearing in mind the importance of context in defining autonomy, recent research has used the broad question *What forms can autonomous learning take in various contexts and how does it develop?* While early research on autonomy focused on special contexts such as self-access, this focus has expanded to manifestations of autonomy in classroom teaching contexts (Cotterall [1995](#)) and in learning outside the classroom (Benson and Reinders [2011](#)). For example, learners in classrooms and other contexts often learn in groups; Panadero et al. ([2015](#)) point out that collaborative learning involves not only self-regulation but also "co-regulation" of others' learning and "socially shared regulation" of learning in the group as a whole. These social/mental processes involve the various aspects of autonomy identified earlier, such as reflection, motivation, freedom, and use of strategies; Nakata ([2016](#)) analyzes how such processes underlie changes in learners' stance with respect to language learning. Palfreyman ([2017](#)) suggests that learner autonomy within a group context involves responsibility, engagement with the support and purposes of other group members, positive interdependence, and the development of a community of practice. In a language classroom setting, Ohara ([2017](#)) found that students who were able to use their interpersonal relationships with fellow students were able to exercise autonomy more effectively, while others did not use these affordances. Learners are often members of groups beyond the classroom; some of these form with learning as one of their main purposes (Murray and Fujishima

2013); others, such as the family or peer group, form a context within which learning can take place (Palfreyman 2014).

Groups and social networks are associated with spaces (such as a classroom or the "Language Café" described by Murray (2014)), which have both objective and subjective aspects, and which mutually influence the social and material affordances that autonomy can work with. One concern has been that learner autonomy may be irrelevant, or even dangerously distracting, in contexts where there are few material resources, such as in government schools in developing countries. Smith et al. (2017 in Chik) point out that learners and teachers in such settings may well develop autonomy through making use of other local resources, such as peers in large classes, or the affordances of relatively cheap, flexible technology such as mobile phones. They also emphasize the importance in such contexts of research *with* learners and teachers, rather than research *on* them, in order to understand:

> how students manage learning in constraining situations and what they learn from them, rather than assuming that they are not learning. They may be learning much more than we think they are [...] about who they are expected to be, who they think they are and who they want to be as learners. (Vieira 2013, AUTO-L)

The spread of information technology is a prime example of how contexts for learning have changed, expanded, and merged. From the 1970s, technology was often associated with individualization of learning and self-access; later, computer corpus analysis and "data-driven learning," for example, offered a way to engage classroom learners in reflection on their own and others' authentic language in a motivating way (Wilson 2013). Technologies such as the Internet and mobile phones have been applied in ways that change the whole context of modern life, offering learners new interlocutors and ways of interacting, new spaces, new roles, new possibilities, and new structures (as well as new types of surveillance). Learning (like other areas of life such as work) is increasingly seen as being everywhere, from specialized learning apps such as Duolingo to rich, semi-structured, and user-generated materials such YouTube videos; and, conversely, online practices such as sharing photos and gaming may be used for learning goals.

Learning autonomously in such an environment can be challenging, in that a learner needs an awareness of his/her needs to help sift through the diversity of available materials. Technology provides some guidance in this (e.g., via search algorithms that focus searches or suggest alternatives); and this support is supplemented by social resources which are a key part of these new contexts. Duolingo, for example, provides a pre-structured pathway for learners to study and practice a language; however, this is supplemented by a lively online community of Duolingo users who exchange learning tips, hacks, and motivational messages. In this context, autonomous learning involves awareness and facility in using and suggesting technological resources (the app) as well as building (on) social resources (the community), while negotiating between personal aims and community norms (e.g., Chik (2017) describes community members discouraging an inquiring learner from finding games in English which they considered sexist).

All of these elements are constantly changing and affecting each other, and the learner taking control of his/her own learning will apply awareness and skills from other areas of life (online and offline).

Pedagogy and Autonomy

Rather than being a clearly definable goal that can be achieved through clearly definable teaching/learning methods such as self-access or metacognitive training, autonomy has come to be seen more as a guiding concept that is relevant to varied fields of practice within language teaching and learning. Better understanding of the social dimensions of autonomous learning, in particular, has established the relevance of the idea of autonomy to a wide range of modes of teaching and learning. Research into learners' knowledge of the learning process and teacher autonomy is also important in this respect because it helps us to understand both the roles in which learners and teachers are cast within particular modes of teaching and learning and the possibilities for modifying these roles. In this sense, the idea of autonomy serves as a compass within changing and increasingly varied landscapes of teaching and learning. The questions that researchers are now asking, therefore, are less concerned with the modes of practice that are most likely to foster autonomy and much more concerned with the possibilities for any given mode of practice to lead either in the broad direction of autonomy or away from it.

Approaches to fostering learner autonomy tend to depend upon conceptions of autonomy and of learning generally. For example, learner training is based on modeling and practice of learning strategies, whereas an emphasis on awareness and reflection suggests that cognitive engagement will enable the learner to develop autonomy. Alternatively, the element of freedom or motivation may be emphasized in particular approaches to fostering autonomy. Van Lier (2008) sees other-regulation as essential to support the agency of the learner in venturing into his/her "zone of proximal development"; thus the role of the teacher (or other supporter of learning) is to carefully and responsively scaffold attempts by the learner to take control of learning decisions and performance in the second language and to enable the learner to do the same with decreasing support.

The question of how learners come to be autonomous and how this process can be made easier, quicker, or richer is not simply a pedagogical one or restricted to the classroom or other educational settings. As discussed earlier, learning and autonomy may well be practiced and developed outside the classroom, so teaching should be seen in this broader context. Inaba (2013) found that language classes had various influences on students' out-of-class language learning, such as stimulating learners' interests, helping them to find language resources, and prompting them to notice language opportunities and progress in their activities outside the classroom. More broadly still, Jiménez-Raya et al. (2007) see both learners and teachers as finding their way in a landscape of expectations, goals, changing economic conditions, traditions, and ideologies, which may both support and hinder their autonomy: as Gao (2017) points out, teachers may be scrutinized and disempowered in the public

domain and/or may gain support and expand possibilities by collaborating with other teachers, parents, or other stakeholders. Teacher autonomy (including the opportunity and the ability to make informed decisions) affects teachers' work in responding to learners' needs and also enables them to be a model for the kind of active participation that one would hope to see in students. Language teacher educators can help language teachers understand and engage with their roles and those of students within and outside the classroom.

Advising in language learning is a supportive role specifically focusing on autonomy, "helping students to direct their own paths so as to become more effective and more autonomous language learners" (Mynard and Carson 2013, p. 4). Advisors in contexts such as Murray's (2014) Language Café guide students in developing and following personal language learning plans. A classroom teacher, on the other hand, is typically focused more on language development and is working with a group of students (perhaps as many as a hundred learners at once in some contexts). In this context, fostering of autonomy is one element among various others to be balanced and managed. Kuchah and Smith (2011) distinguish between a "pedagogy *of* autonomy," which "engage[s] with learners' pre-existing autonomy" (p. 130) in the service of teaching language – for example, through the use of project work – and a "pedagogy *for* autonomy," which focuses explicitly on developing autonomy as well as language.

General suggestions for a pedagogy for autonomy include being actively involved in students' learning, providing options and resources, offering choices and decision-making opportunities, supporting learners, and encouraging reflection on the learning process (Benson 2011). Little et al. (2017) add to this substantial or total use of the target language (for extensive, authentic use of the language to express students' own meanings), interaction and collaboration, and some kind of student evaluation of learning process and outcomes. In practice, these are often structured by classroom routines such as teacher time – learner time – together time (Little et al. 2017) and with materials such as the logbooks used by Dam's students to record their progress (ibid.).

Crabbe (1993) focuses on specific teacher practices to help learners relate classroom activities to possibilities for learning in other contexts, namely, designing the task and discussing it in class so that learners understand its aims and are encouraged to select interesting material at a suitable level and to reflect on their own performance. As some ideas about learner autonomy have become mainstreamed, curricula and published coursebooks have tended to include similar features, with a strategy training strand sometimes combined with language elements of a book's syllabus. Similarly, accompanying teacher's guides may suggest preparation and feedback for activities with a focus on learning rather than simply management.

Another key component of curriculum is assessment, which can be related to autonomy in various ways. Assessment for learning (Öz 2014) in the case of language learning includes monitoring and scaffolding language learning through the preparation for, conduct of, and especially feedback on assessment. This has the potential to contribute to learner autonomy by giving learners insight into learning goals and helping them reflect on how these relate to their own goals and to their own

progress. Formative assessment is an important part of this process; for example, feedback on an assignment or practice test can be structured to focus the learner on her own progress, and later activities can refer to and build on this earlier feedback, focusing the learner's attention on areas for improvement and ways to address them. The value of such activities for autonomy depends largely on the discussion with learners that goes on around assessments and the use that is made of them for promoting reflection, awareness, responsibility, and informed choice. Self-assessment is often a component in curricular approaches to autonomy, and learner portfolios provide a way to structure self-assessment, evidence, and reflection throughout the course – or indeed during a period of learning outside a course context, as in the case of the European Language Portfolio (Little 2002). By the use of prompts such as "*When I did this, I learnt*. . ." or "*I don't like this because*. . .," learners can gain understanding of their own learning in relation to a "simplified model of the language learning process" (Cotterall 2000, p. 111), rather than being expected to internalize and reproduce a professional discourse of language learning, complete with metalanguage such as "metacognition" or "affective filter."

The point where the integration of learner autonomy into curriculum design becomes more contentious is with assessment *of* autonomy. Frameworks such as EuroPAL's or Tassinari's (2015) dynamic framework have made the evaluation of autonomy more focused and systematic, and for research purposes, it is possible to gather evidence about gains in autonomy. However, as noted earlier this tends to involve qualitative, reflective data rather than "objective" assessment. Self-assessment of autonomy can be useful as a "dynamic, recurrent process undertaken by the learner and supported by a language advisor and/or a teacher within a pedagogical dialogue" (Tassinari 2015, p. 64). Diagnostic or formative assessment of particular aspects of (readiness for) autonomy may involve, for example, giving students a beginning of course questionnaire about their accustomed strategies or awareness or their learning goals and discussing these to clarify these issues for the students as well as for the teacher. Summative assessment of autonomy, on the other hand, is controversial because it can put pressure on learners and teachers to perform in a particular way, possibly even "fake" autonomous behaviors, although, as mentioned earlier, educational programs are typically accountable for language learning objectives rather than for the development of autonomy (Benson 2010). If not a "final grade" for autonomy, perhaps at least the teacher could include in a student's record a comment about (improvement in) degree of autonomy, to affirm the importance of this and as useful information for longer-term reference by future teachers, employers, and the student himself/herself.

An important finding of research on out-of-class learning is that learners (especially in the Internet age) may exercise autonomy in many ways outside formal educational contexts. One challenge is to use this research to inform educational processes and to "engage with learners' pre-existing autonomy" (Kuchah and Smith 2011, p. 130): to leverage the skills, awareness, motivations, and freedoms that they make use of in other areas of their lives. This may involve making connections with nonlanguage learning and/or noneducational environments across different contexts. For example, Nasir and Hand (2008) studied Afro-American students' engagement,

learning, and identity in basketball practice and in mathematics lessons and found that in the former the students were typically given greater access to skills and knowledge, opportunities to take on integral roles, and opportunities for self-expression than in math lessons. Research such as this could inform teacher efforts to help learners become more active participants in their language learning. This applies to regular classroom contexts and to innovative arrangements such as self-organized learning environments (Dolan et al. 2013) or cMOOCs (Siemens 2013).

Future Directions

As noted above, there is a need for further research into how learning experiences outside formal educational contexts can feed into developing autonomy in educational programs, as well as into how learner and teacher autonomy interact in relation to social regulation in different contexts. Technology continues to develop, and this means a constantly changing context for learning, autonomy, and education. Another area which deserves greater attention is the relation between autonomy and plurilingualism (a person's learning and use of more than one language). The Council of Europe, which pioneered the discourse of learner autonomy in the 1970s, has also emphasized in its Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for language learning/assessment that:

> as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. [. . . A] person may call upon the knowledge of a number of languages to make sense of a text, written or even spoken, in a previously 'unknown' language, recognising words from a common international store in a new guise. Those with some knowledge, even slight, may use it to help those with none to communicate by mediating between individuals with no common language. (Council of Europe 2001, p. 4)

In this context, reflection on and deployment of these language resources could form a valuable part of language learner autonomy. In Japan, the Language Café described by Murray (2014) began as an "English Café" but expanded its services and space to cater to learners (both Japanese and international students) of Chinese and French; in Mexico learners may attend self-access centers or courses in more than one foreign language and have different (sometimes complementary) attitudes, skills, and goals in each language, of which advisors should be aware (Zaragoza 2011). Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson (2012) describe how advisors may begin by insisting on exclusive use of the target language and/or guide students toward their own individualized language policies. Lamb and Vodicka (2017) discuss how minority language communities can support learning of a range of languages outside the mainstream in modern urban spaces. The popularity of tandem learning networks (e.g., Turula 2017) has led to a wealth of (primarily online) multilingual spaces for

autonomous learning, and more research is needed on how reflection on differences, similarities, or complementarities between languages and between experiences of learning different languages might help to build learner autonomy.

In terms of research designs, there is a need for more understanding of learner trajectories in context. Chik (2017) points out the various kinds of data stored over time in Duolingo records, profiles, and forums, for example. Longitudinal and/or narrative data can be integrated with other contextualizing data to address the development of autonomy from a complex systems perspective, looking for reciprocal connections between changes at different levels. This is a major challenge for researchers, but it has the potential to provide important and helpful insights.

There is also a need for greater understanding of what the (hoped for) development of autonomy means to learners. Cozens et al. (2005) mention how a learner described the maintenance of a vocabulary log in his course as "collecting rubbish from the sea" (p. 235), whereas a discussion board which supported more input and ownership from the same learner provided a more meaningful context for the class:

> by giving the students the freedom to choose subjects and encouraging criticism, students had performed tasks outside the classroom which were more difficult than those they complained about in class. (Cozens et al. 2005, p. 242)

Emic perspectives which interrelate perceptions of learners and others in different contexts can help to illuminate how personal investment in activities can transform them. Methodologies such as Q-methodology (Cooker 2013), for example, may help to analyze people's diverse experiences of learning and to identify various forms of autonomy as configurations of desire, ability, and freedom.

Conclusion

A key contribution of the concept of learner autonomy in language education is the link it makes between complex and interrelated elements: subjective and objective desires, abilities, and freedoms at different levels in complex contexts. Although this makes autonomy difficult to define and measure, it provides a guiding principle in research and practice. As one aspect of autonomy is intensively researched and developed, the notion of learner autonomy reminds us of links between this and other elements; for example, the focus of self-regulated learning theory on predefined activities, goals, and standards, while valuable, is complemented by a focus on self-direction, emancipation, and social transformation.

Cross-References

▶ Creating a Motivating Classroom Environment
▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment
▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching

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Language Learning Strategies: Insights from the Past and Directions for the Future

37

Osamu Takeuchi

Contents

Abstract

This chapter focuses on second and foreign language (L2) learning strategy research and its applications, reflecting on the past, describing its current state, and determining the implications for future studies. First, a brief outline of the field is provided with emphasis on major topics such as taxonomies of strategies, variations in strategy use, strategy clusters, and the effectiveness of strategy instruction. The importance of the person-task-context configuration is identified

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herein, and, in this relation, a sociocultural perspective is also touched on. Second, major areas of controversies in L2 strategy research are summarized. Subsequently, the possibility of replacing the concept of strategies with that of self-regulation is discussed, and its merits and problems are compared, referring to related theoretical and empirical studies. Based on this discussion, the chapter then argues that discarding the concept of learning strategies altogether is not advisable and that the concepts of strategies and self-regulation in fact complement one another. Consequently, to understand a fuller picture of L2 learning processes, a theoretical framework encompassing both strategies and self-regulation is called for. Finally, future research directions and pedagogical applications are suggested, thereby paving the ways for a better understanding of L2 learning strategies and L2 learning processes.

Introduction

Investigation of second and foreign language (henceforth L2) learning strategies started with studies on "good language learners" in the 1970s, where the primary focus was on elucidating the characteristics that caused some learners to excel in L2 attainment (Naiman et al. 1978; Rubin 1975). Results of these studies consistently indicated that certain types and ranges of learner techniques and behaviors (i.e., learning strategies) were shared by successful L2 learners. They also implied that active participation in the learning process through effective use of strategies made some learners more successful than others in L2 learning. These appealing outcomes sparked further research on L2 learning strategies (e.g., O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990), and by the beginning of the 1990s, strategy research had established itself as one of the main areas of L2 research (Ellis 1994).

One of the reasons for such interest in L2 strategy research is the opportunity it offers for delving into the "black box" of complex L2 learning mechanism, that is, what is going on inside the brain during L2 learning (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015). Its early research thus focused mainly on the cognitive aspects of L2 learning. However, L2 research has since expanded itself into the metacognitive and the social dimensions. The affective component has also been emphasized because at the heart of successful L2 learning lies the agency of the learner that serves as the initial driving force as well as the sustaining power of strategy use. Present-day L2 strategy research, therefore, encompasses all aspects of the L2 learning: its metacognitive, cognitive, affective (agentive), and sociocultural dimensions.

In this chapter, first, an outline of the field is provided with emphasis on taxonomies of strategies, variations in strategy use, strategy clusters, and strategy instruction, all of which have been the main concerns of L2 strategy researchers and practitioners. The importance of the person-task-context configuration is emphasized

herein. Then, major controversies in L2 strategy research – that is, the fuzziness of definitions, weak theoretical underpinnings, and a paucity of methodological rigor – are elaborated on. Subsequently, the possibility of replacing the concept of strategies with that of self-regulation is discussed, and its merits and problems are compared. Based on the discussion, this chapter argues that discarding the concept of learning strategies altogether is in fact not advisable and that strategies and self-regulation, in fact, complement one another. Consequently, to understand a larger picture of L2 learning processes, a theoretical framework encompassing both strategies (employed in a specific setting) and self-regulation is called for. Last, future directions of L2 strategy research and its applications in the L2 classroom are discussed.

Major Topics Relating to L2 Learning Strategies

Classification of L2 Learning Strategies

As described above, investigation in this field started with the identification of learning strategies often used by successful language learners (e.g., Rubin 1975). Efforts to identify these strategies led to attempts to classify them in the early phase of research. For example, Rubin (1981) identified two types of learning strategies: direct and indirect. The former category deals with strategies directly related to L2 learning, such as clarification/verification, monitoring, memorization, guessing/ inductive inferencing, deductive reasoning, and practice. In contrast, the latter category covers strategies not directly related to L2 learning, such as creating opportunities for practice and production tricks.

Another attempt to categorize learning strategies, which is based on J. R. Anderson's cognitive theory in psychology, was made by O'Malley and Chamot (1990). The researchers subdivided a total of 26 identified learning strategies into three categories: metacognitive, cognitive, and social/affective. The category of cognitive strategies contains strategies for more effective learning, such as mental manipulation or transformation of materials to enhance comprehension or retention, while the component of metacognitive strategies includes those used for coordinating learning processes, such as problem identification, planning for learning, increasing learning opportunities, monitoring performance, and evaluating how well one has learned. The category of social/affective strategies deals with strategies used to learn with others and control the social and affective aspects of learning. The first two categories correspond approximately to Rubin's direct and indirect strategies. The addition of a third category, although containing such diverse behaviors as questioning for clarification, cooperation, self-talk, and self-reinforcement, was considered a crucial step in the direction of acknowledging the importance of interactional/communication strategies in L2 learning, which learners use to overcome difficulties in conveying their intended meaning.

Oxford (1990) took the categorization effort a step further and proposed a comprehensive classification system. Under the direct/indirect dichotomy, six categories were included in her system (see Fig.1), in which equal importance was

Fig. 1 Oxford's taxonomy
(Based on Oxford 1990)

Direct Strategies
  Memory Strategies
  Cognitive Strategies
  Compensation Strategies

Indirect Strategies
  Metacognitive Strategies
  Affective Strategies
  Social Strategies
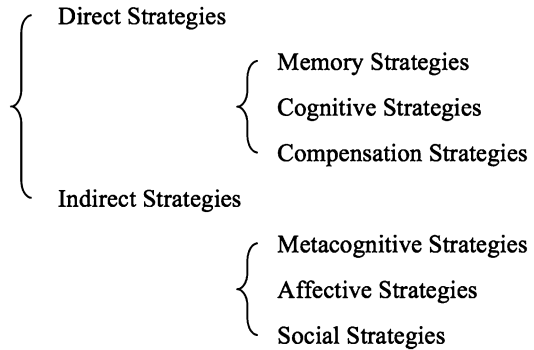
placed on the metacognitive, cognitive, and social/affective dimensions of L2 learning. The very extensive nature of this classification scheme, however, produced the problems at the same time. The most prominent problems were the removal of the theoretical underpinnings of the strategies and possibility of overlapping among the subcategories. The former problem led to the criticisms from several researchers, such as Dörnyei (2005), Ellis (1994), and Skehan (1989), which will be summarized later in this chapter.

The latter issue called attention to the fluidity of roles or functions that learning strategies may play (Cohen and Wang 2018). For example, the metacognitive strategy of planning can be considered a cognitive strategy since planning requires reasoning. Moreover, practicing patterns, a cognitive strategy, could entail the metacognitive moment of planning/evaluation or possibly an affective moment when frustration accompanies the monotonous pattern practice. Thus, a strategy may assume one function at one time, while the same strategy can play another function at another time. This view consequently resulted in the recent idea of paying special heed to examining how strategies actually work rather than to classifying them under a rigid taxonomy system (Cohen 2018; Oxford 2017; Oxford and Amerstorfer 2018; see, however, Véliz 2012, for the relevancy of a conventional taxonomy system in a highly contextualized study).

Variation in L2 Strategy Use

From the 1990s onward, in accordance with the research trend of focusing on the individual learner rather than on the learner in general, increased attention has been paid to variation in L2 strategy use. Influences on strategy use of variables such as age, gender, L2 proficiency, motivation, personality, ethnicity, culture, task types, and learning situation have been empirically examined, and it has been found that these variables generally affect L2 strategy use. For example, several researchers (e.g., Dreyer and Oxford 1996; Peacock and Ho 2003) have shown that the learner's gender often exerts a significant influence on strategy use, with females reporting higher strategy use than males in many cultures. However, some exceptions have

also been reported, with no difference or with males surpassing females in some types of strategy use (e.g., Griffiths 2003; Wharton 2000). Motivation is another variable found to significantly affect strategy use, although the causality involved (i.e., whether motivation spurs strategy use or, conversely, strategy use leads to better language performance, which in turn increases motivation) remains unclear (see Takeuchi et al. 2007, for a review of the influences of various variables).

Another example is the effect of task type. Studies have shown that the type and demands of tasks that L2 learners are engaged in can affect their strategy use (e.g., Ikeda and Takeuchi 2000; Oxford et al. 2004). Still another instance is the influence of the learning situation, that is, English as a second language (ESL) versus English as a foreign language (EFL). Takeuchi (2003), for example, revealed that relatively scarce opportunities for input and output in the Japanese EFL context have resulted in a unique pattern of learner strategy use.

The results of these studies have contributed to the notion that the use of L2 learning strategies is fully situated within a given learning context, and its use and effectiveness depend on the learner him/herself (e.g., age, gender, L2 proficiency, motivation, personality, ethnicity), the learning task at hand (e.g., types, complexity, and difficulty), and the learning context (e.g., culture, SL vs. FL differences). This person-task-context configuration (Gu 2012) of specific learning situations suggests that no learning strategy is inherently good or bad, but has the potential to be used appropriately and effectively in specific learning contexts (Hsiao and Oxford 2002).

Strategy Clusters

In addition to *taxonomy* and *variation*, researchers have increasingly pointed out that successful L2 learners employ more than one strategy at a time in a task (e.g., Macaro 2006; Oxford 2011; Vandergrift 2003), although it is true that strategies sometimes function individually (Cohen 2011). Macaro (2006, p. 328) argued that "for a strategy to be effective in promoting learning or improved performance, it must be combined with other strategies either simultaneously or in sequence, thus forming strategy clusters." In strategy clusters, a metacognitive strategy or a series of meta-cognitive strategies plays an important role because it helps learners plan how they will approach a task and evaluate which strategies work best for them (Cohen 2011).

An example of a strategy cluster can be found in L2 listening comprehension. In this process, the following strategies may be deployed to attain the goal of compre-hension, thereby forming a strategy cluster: using linguistic clues, paying attention to paralinguistic features, guessing unknown vocabulary, employing background knowledge, selecting relevant information, and checking interpretation with the context of the message. This cluster might be combined with another cluster of strategies regarding, for example, responding to what learners comprehend in the case of an L2 interactional task. The combination of these strategies requires the orchestration of clusters of strategies, that is, higher levels of metacognition such as choosing and evaluating strategies from a range of strategies or strategy clusters for attaining a specific goal (Macaro 2006, p. 328). Thus, investigating the

orchestration in a specific learning task, or the orchestrating of "a cycle of cognitive and metacognitive strategies" (Vandergrift 2003, p. 490) to achieve a certain learning goal, has been identified as a critical topic in L2 strategy research.

Strategy Instruction: Approaches and Procedures

Identifying behaviors and techniques of successful L2 learners and then having novice learners emulate them may be a major reason for the onset of research on L2 learning strategies. Accordingly, a variety of approaches and methods of strategy instruction have been proposed. Among these, the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (Chamot and O'Malley 1994) and Styles- and Strategies-Based Instruction (SSBI) (Cohen 2011) are prominent instructional models that have been implemented in school settings around the world. Both models focus mainly on the cognitive aspect of learning.

The CALLA model was originally developed in response to the needs of ESL children in the USA, for whom language problems often resulted in poor academic performance in school. It is an instructional model based on cognitive theory in psychology. The model attempts to integrate instruction in content areas such as mathematics, science, and social studies with the development of the language skills needed for school learning and also with explicit instruction in the use of learning strategies for academic tasks. These skills are taught in a five-stage sequence of preparation, presentation, practice, self-evaluation, and transfer. In the sequence, the responsibility of learning is gradually shifted to the students, thereby helping develop independent and self-regulated learners. The model has been used extensively in L2 classrooms (including ESL, EFL, and foreign languages other than English) and bilingual classrooms. The similarities of this model with the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) model have been pointed out by some researchers (Grenfell and Harris 2017; Oxford and Amerstorfer 2018).

The SSBI model is based on learner-focused language teaching that explicitly combines learning styles and strategy training activities with classroom language instruction. In this approach, students are given the opportunity to understand not only what they can learn in the L2 classroom but also how they can learn an L2 more effectively and efficiently. The model emphasizes both explicit and implicit integration of language learning strategies and language use strategies (Cohen 2011) in the everyday L2 classroom. Instruction in SSBI is based on the following five steps: preparation, awareness-raising, training, practice, and personalization of strategies.

As Rubin et al. (2007) summarized, most of the approaches for L2 strategy instruction, including the two models described above, have observed the following four common steps in their instruction: (1) *assessing* and then *raising awareness* of the strategies that learners are already using, (2) teacher *presentation* and *modeling* of the strategies that learners are going to learn, (3) multiple *practice opportunities* and the incorporation of *scaffolds* that are gradually removed, and (4) *self-evaluation* of the effectiveness of the strategies taught and *transfer* of them to new learning tasks and contexts. This four-stage procedure, as Gu (2019) pointed out, may be easily

adopted by many L2 teachers, because it closely resembles the traditional presenta-tion-practice-production (PPP) language teaching model. In addition to the common four-stage procedure described above, researchers seem to agree that explicit train-ing, that is, directly teaching the purpose and use of an individual strategy, is likely to be more effective than implicit training, and that integrated (curriculum-embedded) and context-specific instruction is more effective than separate and general instruc-tion (Grenfell and Harris 2017).

More recently, a new approach of strategy instruction has been proposed, in which the bottom-up, co-constructive, and recursive natures of instruction are emphasized (Gu 2019). In the Strategic Content Learning (SCL) model, originally developed in educational psychology, pre-selected sets of strategies are not used for instruction. Instead, the teacher and learners collaboratively engage in problem-solving to identify task demands and appropriate strategies to address them. In other words, the strategies to be taught emerge directly from the demands of each task. This also warrants the personalization or differentiation of strategies. It is true that the attempts to validate this approach are fairly limited in existing L2 research, but this can be expanded into a good alternative or a supplement for the traditional approaches of strategy-based instruction because the SCL approach is well grounded in constructivism and sociocultural theories of learning, rather than cognitive roots in the traditional approaches. Furthermore, Grenfell and Harris (2017) contend that many features of SCL already underlie much of the four common steps of strategy instruction described above, thereby proposing the integration of traditional strategy-based instruction with SCL. The resulting approach is called integrated strategy-based instruction (ISBI).

Strategy Instruction: Assessing Its Effects

To assess the effects of these strategy-based interventions, many empirical studies have been conducted. These studies have attempted to ascertain whether L2 learning strategies are teachable to various types of learners in different skill domains and task-settings. Some of these studies have confirmed that learning strategies can be taught to various types of L2 learners and that their L2 capacities and/or learning attitude can be enhanced or improved thanks to strategy instruction (e.g., Aghaie and Zhang 2012; Goh and Taib 2006; Mizumoto and Takeuchi 2009; Nguyen and Gu 2013). Other studies, however, have reported negative or mixed results (e.g., Ikeda and Takeuchi 2003; Rossiter 2003; Vandergrift and Tafaghodtari 2010), producing uncertainty regarding the effect of strategy instruction. Amid this confusion, skeptics (e.g., McDonough 1999; Rossiter 2003) have cautioned L2 practitioners against spending too much time and energy on strategy instruction. Furthermore, doubts on the effectiveness of strategy instruction have been cast due to the methodological limitations of previous research, such as small sample sizes, nonrandom group assignment, the exclusion of contrast groups, the uncertainty of long-term effects, and a lack of valid/reliable instruments for outcome measurement (Plonsky 2011, p. 994). In addition, as explained above, successful strategy use is context- and

learner-dependent. Thus, the effect of strategy instruction may also depend on (1) the context in which strategies are taught and used and (2) the characteristics of the learners involved in it. Accordingly, contextual and learner variables, such as "SL vs. FL" differences, "classroom vs. laboratory" settings, task type, and the age, personality, and proficiency of the participants, are considered influential in determining the effect of strategy instruction (Plonsky 2011).

To partially resolve this confusion, Plonsky (2011) conducted a meta-analysis regarding the effects of strategy instruction in L2 research, in which 16 individual studies and 1,099 learners were involved. Meta-analysis is a statistical procedure that focuses on contrasting and combining results from different empirical studies with the aim of finding patterns among the results or other important relationships that may come to light in the context of multiple studies. His findings indicated a small to medium overall effect (weighted $d = 0.49$) of strategy instruction. Skill-wise, medium to large instructional effects were obtained for treatment groups "in reading, speaking, vocabulary, pronunciation, and strategy use; more modest effects were found for writing and attitude toward language learning; negligible effects resulted from studies with listening, grammar, and general language ability as dependent variables" (Plonsky 2011, p. 1010). The variables found to moderate the effectiveness of instruction included the type of strategies taught, the learning environment, and the length of the intervention.

Plonsky's study reported another interesting finding. Many researchers claim that metacognitive strategy use, which orchestrates the use of cognitive and affective strategies, is an essential component for promoting L2 learning through strategy instruction (e.g., Cohen 2011; Goh and Taib 2006; Nguyen and Gu 2013). However, Plonsky's meta-analysis revealed that although instruction in both cognitive and metacognitive strategies is helpful, it is generally found that strategy instruction is the most effective when the target strategies to be taught are narrowed down.

Plonsky (2019) recently conducted another meta-analysis on the effects of strategy instruction, in which 77 individual studies with a total number of 7,890 learners were included. The overall weighted mean effect size had a d value of 0.66, which is considered a medium effect size (see Adrasheva et al. 2017, for the meta-analysis with a much larger effect size). Compared to his previous study, the 2019 meta-analysis reported a larger effect size. One reason for this result, according to Plonsky, is an increase in our understanding of how to design and carry out strategy instruction. Skill-wise, experimental groups outperformed control groups when the target skill involved speaking ($d = 1.00$), reading ($d = 0.82$), vocabulary ($d = 0.63$), and writing ($d = 0.59$). Regarding listening and general proficiency, the effect sizes were small ($d = 0.06$ and $d = 0.05$, respectively). The weak outcome of listening strategy instruction in this study corroborated the results of Grenfell and Harris (2017)'s study and Hassan et al. (2005)'s systematic review. Plonsky (2019)'s updated study also reported that (1) strategy instruction involving metacognitive strategies demonstrated much larger effects, (2) longer interventions produced larger effects, (3) teaching a single strategy led to larger effects than teaching multiple strategies at once, and (4) the effects of strategy instruction were much stronger with intermediate and advanced learners than with novice learners.

It is true that some researchers have claimed that time in the classroom is better spent learning the L2 itself rather than learning how to learn the L2. The studies summarized above, however, have shown otherwise, namely, that instruction in L2 learning strategies can be beneficial, at least, in some populations of L2 learners and in some domains of L2 language use. Consequently, many researchers in the field confidently continue to work on L2 strategy instruction, thereby contributing to its further expansion and refinements (e.g., Chamot and Harris 2019; Grenfell and Harris 2017; Oxford 2017; Oxford and Amerstorfer 2018).

Controversies in L2 Strategy Research

Definition of Learning Strategies

Around the turn of the century, a new perspective, a sociocultural one, was introduced into L2 strategy research (Gao 2007; Norton and Toohey 2001). Studies based on this perspective emphasize the importance of the situated learner. The use of learning strategies therefore can be uniquely dependent on the sociocultural contexts in which the learning is situated. The most prominent change in climate at this time, however, was that conventional L2 learning strategy research began to be criticized from various perspectives (e.g., Dörnyei 2005; Ellis 1994; McDonough 1999; Skehan 1989; Tseng et al. 2006). Due to these criticisms, interest in L2 learning strategy research was "at an all-time low" (Gu 2012, p. 330) despite the strenuous efforts of several prominent experts in the field (e.g., Cohen 2011; Griffiths and Oxford 2014; Oxford 2011), some of whom have maintained that "interest in language learning strategies remained vibrant" (Griffiths and Oxford 2014, p. 1).

One of the criticisms concerning L2 strategy research was related to the diversified conceptualizations of learning strategies or the fuzziness in the definition of this term. Ellis (1994), for example, contended that "definitions of learning strategies have tended to be *ad hoc* and atheoretical" (p. 533). In another instance, Tseng et al. (2006) lamented this lack of shared definition by asserting that, "there was no coherent agreement on exactly what the defining criteria for language learning strategies are and regrettably the situation remains the same today" (p. 80). One notable debate here is whether L2 learning strategies should be regarded as either observable behaviors or internal cognitive operations or both. Tseng et al. insisted that "a phenomenon is highly unlikely to be both behavioural and cognitive in nature" (p. 80), although Gu (2012) rebutted this contention by arguing that it is not a matter of categorical distinction but of a "graded degree of membership" (p. 335).

Another noteworthy debate was what distinguishes strategic learning from regular learning. Dörnyei (2005) pointed out that the distinction depends on how particular learners assume a certain behavior or technique as "appropriate" for the improvement of their L2 abilities. For example, reading aloud L2 passages many times, which is reported to be a popular L2 learning behavior in East Asian countries (Takeuchi 2003), can be strategic if the learner thinks this strategy is appropriate for

attaining a specific purpose and uses it intentionally. Learning strategies conceptualized in this manner can then only be defined in terms of a learner's intentions and his/her efforts, which has resulted in, according to Dörnyei, the unstable definitions of L2 learning strategies.

Several rejoinders to the criticisms described above have been made thus far. For example, Grenfell and Macaro (2007, p. 26) responded to such criticisms by pointing out several problems in Dörnyei's claims. Furthermore, Oxford (2017, p. 48), in a rigorous survey that produced 33 definitions of learning strategies, offered one single but encompassing definition that might solve some of the problems pointed out by the critics. Dörnyei and Ryan (2015), in an update on Dörnyei (2005), however, still remain uncomfortable about the absence of consensus in the definition of L2 learning strategies.

Theoretical Underpinnings

The weak theoretical underpinnings of L2 strategy research have also been pointed out by several researchers (e.g., Dörnyei 2005; Skehan 1989). In fact, according to Dörnyei, an ambiguous or blurred taxonomy of L2 learning strategies, which has caused confusion among researchers and practitioners, can be attributed mainly to this issue of under-theorization. The most widely recognized taxonomy of L2 strategies (Oxford 1990), for example, includes the category of compensation strategies (i.e., strategies used to compensate for limitations in L2 use). These strategies, however, are related to language use rather than learning (Cohen 2011). Dörnyei (2005, p. 168) thus argued, "the two processes are so different both in terms of their function and their psycholinguistic representation that they are best kept separate." Note, however, that even in language use, L2 learning opportunities exist.

Another confusion (Dörnyei 2005) derived from the weak theoretical underpinnings in L2 strategy research is the inclusion of the category "social/affective strategies" (i.e., strategies used to learn with others and to control the social and affective aspects of learning) in O'Malley and Chamot's widely used taxonomy (O'Malley and Chamot 1990), which is based on J. R. Anderson's cognitive theory in psychology. The "social/affective" category encompasses such miscellaneous behaviors as "cooperation," "questioning for clarification," and "self-talk," none of which are directly related to the cognitive basis of this taxonomy. In fact, Hsiao and Oxford (2002) confirmed that the explanatory power of the taxonomy was increased if this category was divided in two separate categories, which is, according to Dörnyei (2005), one indication of under-theorization in L2 strategy research. However, as O'Malley and Chamot themselves admitted, the category of social/affective strategies was not their main concern from the beginning, and thus it is not surprising that this specific category received less theorization in their classification system.

The criticisms described above have led to the contention that there is no consensus on strategy categorization (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015). Oxford (2017), however, countered this line of contention by arguing that L2 learning strategy research needs to have a somewhat eclectic theoretical foundation because it may

include behaviorist, cognitive, metacognitive, communicative, and sociocultural dimensions, thereby producing a "web of interlocking theories" (p. 60). This eclectic nature of strategy research inevitably results in the difficulty of straightforward categorization based on one single theoretical perspective. In a different vein, Macaro (2006) also responded to the lack of consensus regarding strategy categorization by abandoning the attempt to achieve an "all-encompassing definition of a strategy" (p. 320) and instead choosing to list a series of features essential for describing a strategy: location, size, abstractness, relationship to other strategies, explicitness of goal orientation, and transferability.

Methodological Rigor

Strategy research has also been under fire regarding the ways in which studies have been conducted. Tseng et al. (2006) criticized the research instruments used to assess strategy use. Among these instruments, the most prominent is the *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL) (Oxford 1990). The SILL has been the mainstay of L2 strategy research (Dörnyei 2005; Oxford 2011). It is also an easy-to-use inventory for L2 teachers to assess learners' strategy use, and, accordingly, it has been used widely. The inventory is made up of six subscales based on Oxford's taxonomy of learning strategies and includes 50 items (ESL/EFL version) in total. Scale scores are obtained by calculating the mean of the item scores within each subscale. Its scale descriptors contain 5-point Likert scales, ranging from "never or almost never true of me" to "always or almost always true of me."

Tseng et al. (2006) criticized the instrument by asserting that "the scales in the SILL are not cumulative in nature and computing mean scale scores is psychometrically not justifiable" (p. 83). They argued that the items in the SILL focus on specific strategic behaviors, not on general trends and inclinations corresponding to a certain learner trait behind a scale. Thus, "one can be a generally good memory strategy user while scoring low on some of the items in the memory scale" (Dörnyei 2005, p. 182). In other words, the instrument does not ensure that each item in the scale has a linear relationship with the corresponding underlying trait of learners. In addition, the SILL adopts scale descriptors indicating frequencies of strategy use. Consequently, a high score on the SILL can be achieved by using as many different strategies, as frequently as possible. A high score therefore does not guarantee that the learner is an adept strategy user, but rather that the learner is a frequent user of many different L2 learning strategies. In fact, research has suggested that unsuccessful learners frequently use a variety of strategies, but in an unconnected or random way (e.g., Vann and Abraham 1990). With L2 strategy use, what matters most is the quality, not quantity, of the strategies employed, and "the more, the better" is not always the case (Yamamori et al. 2003). Thus, the casual use of the SILL or SILL-type inventories for research can be problematic regarding psychometric properties. Instead, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) recommended the use of the *Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire* (MSLQ), which they believe is more psychometrically robust and theoretically valid (see Teng and Zhang 2016, for the problems concerning the MSLQ).

Yet another problem related to strategy inventories is the misuse of statistical procedures for Likert-type scale data (Griffiths and Oxford 2014). Likert-type scales, which have been utilized frequently in strategy inventories, produce ordinal data rather than interval or ratio data. For the former type of data, non-parametric statistical tests (such as Wilcoxon signed rank tests), rather than parametric ones (such as *t*-tests), are considered appropriate for use in terms of statistical robustness. Many studies in strategy research, however, have assumed that Likert-type categories constitute interval measurement and accordingly have applied little caution when using parametric statistical procedures, which are optimized for interval or ratio data. Such a misuse of statistical procedures might have caused problems in data analysis in existing strategy research, although Griffiths and Oxford (2014) insist that statisticians have emphasized "the minimal difference caused by using parametric tests rather than non-parametric tests when analysing results of scales with non-equal intervals" (p. 4). In this connection, the use of the Rasch model (Bond and Fox 2015), which converts ordinal scales into interval ones, might be a viable solution to avoid the misuse of statistical procedures and increase the robustness of the analyses involved in the use of strategy inventories.

Strategy inventories have also been criticized for their lack of context. They tend to ask learners to generalize their actions across task-settings or contexts (or even across past experiences). The results consequently reflect learners' perceived strategy use rather than their actual use of strategies in specific tasks. As many researchers have pointed out (Oxford 2017; Takeuchi et al. 2007), however, the influence of task-setting or context on L2 strategy use is enormous. Thus, avoiding the decontextualized use of a single pre-existing strategy inventory has been called for in recent research (e.g., Oxford 2017; Woodrow 2005).

As described above, the conventional use of inventories such as the SILL might fail to capture the reality of L2 learners' strategy use. To grasp its real and dynamic use in context, Macaro (2006) proposed a theoretical framework in which he defines learning strategies in terms of a goal, situation, and mental action. He then argued that the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of strategies derives from the way they are used in tasks and learning processes. This framework introduced a rationale for studies using a strategy inventory in a specific task-setting or context (Hsiao and Oxford 2002; Ikeda and Takeuchi 2000). The use of a scenario-based questionnaire, which embeds the responders in a specific kind of task-setting by providing them with L2 learning-related scenarios, has also been proposed recently regarding the use of affective and meta-affective strategies (Gkonou and Oxford 2016). In addition, some attempts to adapt the SILL to a specific population in a specific context have been made. For example, in the context of primary and secondary ESL learners in the USA, Ardasheva and Tretter (2013) showed how the SILL could be adapted based on recent conceptual controversies to yield a more robust, population-specific measure.

The studies mentioned above indicate that the criticisms of the lack of context in the use of strategy inventories can be solved through the creative efforts of professionals in the field. In this connection, researchers (e.g., Gao 2007; Grenfell and Harris 2017; Oxford 2011; Woodrow 2005) also have argued for an increase in the use of qualitative

research methodologies such as analyzing think-aloud protocols, interviews, conversations, and narratives, all situated in specific task-settings, thereby providing contexts for strategy use to which researchers, practitioners, and learners can refer. Likewise, a sociocultural approach to L2 strategy research is also called for to paint a holistic picture of L2 learners' strategy use in context (Gao 2010; Oxford 2017).

L2 Learning Strategies and Self-Regulation

Replacing Learning Strategies with Self-Regulation

Reflecting on the variety of debates outlined above, Dörnyei and his colleagues have proposed abandoning the concept of L2 learning strategy and replacing it with that of self-regulation (Dörnyei 2005; Tseng et al. 2006). This proposed change entails shifting the research focus from concrete techniques or behaviors (i.e., learning strategies) to the underlying capacity or the trait behind the use of strategies, be it self-regulation or another. This shift might coincide with Chamot and Rubin's (1994) contention that the successful learners cannot be described by their use of strategies alone (behaviors) but rather by their ability (trait) to understand and develop a personal set of effective strategies. Macaro (2001) also agreed with the existence of some underlying trait of successful learners by contending that L2 learners with proactive tendencies appear to learn best.

   To promote this line of inquiry, therefore, Tseng et al. (2006) developed a survey instrument measuring self-regulatory capacity using action control strategies, based on volitional research in educational psychology. In their study, these strategies were situated in one skill domain, that is, L2 vocabulary learning. The newly developed instrument, the *Self-Regulating Capacity in Vocabulary Learning* (SRCvoc), is made up of five components: commitment, metacognitive, satiation, emotion, and environmental controls. The SRCvoc attempts to measure the intentions and abilities to learn L2 vocabulary rather than the learning techniques or behaviors involved in doing so.

Complementing Learning Strategies with Self-Regulation

One thing that needs to be pointed out here is that although Tseng et al. (2006)'s work offered the field a new way of research, most of the studies relating to the SRCvoc by then were either validation or adaptation studies (e.g., Mizumoto and Takeuchi 2012), indicating that "self-regulation has not greatly expanded in its scope since this time" (Rose et al. 2018, p. 158). Furthermore, several researchers have taken exception to giving up on the concept of learning strategies altogether and replacing it with that of self-regulation. Gao (2007), for example, argued that Tseng et al. (2006)'s model of self-regulation and the models of strategy use are in fact complementary, as they measure the beginning and end product of the same event, respectively. Stated differently, a model of self-regulation is "about looking at the

initial driving forces," while those of strategy use examine "the outcome of these forces" (Rose 2012, p. 95), both of which constitute *strategic learning*. As Dörnyei (2005) himself admitted, the SRCvoc does not measure strategy use (i.e., the end product) but rather the learner's underlying trait (i.e., the beginning) that will eventually result in strategy use. Thus, considering the still-outstanding necessity of investigating the end product, especially for the purpose of learning/teaching, research on strategy use in a specific task-setting is still worth conducting, even after the introduction of self-regulation. As Oxford (2017) and Rose et al. (2018) contend, learning strategy use undoubtedly remains an essential component, even in the face of self-regulation (see also Thomas and Rose 2018, for recent developments).

Correspondingly, evidence indicating that Tseng et al. (2006)'s model of self-regulation is not immune to criticisms and that it needs a complementary scheme for more effective explanation of L2 learning processes has also been mounting. Rose (2012), for example, showed that the taxonomy introduced in Tseng et al. (2006)'s model suffers from the same "fuzziness" in definitions for which strategy research has been criticized. He argued, based on his empirical inquiry, that "environmental control may not be a separate category of control in itself, but a self-regulatory mechanism or strategy to control other forms of motivation" (p. 95). He nevertheless posited that self-regulation is a useful concept in exploring strategic L2 learning. Furthermore, Ranalli (2012), by comparing alternative concepts of self-regulation, argued, "depending on the model one adopts, self-regulation is not only compatible with the study of specific strategies but useful for shedding new light on strategy research and integrating it with research in other related areas" (p. 357).

Based on these arguments, Oxford (2017), Ranalli (2012), and Rose et al. (2018), among others, have maintained that hastily discarding L2 learning strategy research as a field is not advisable, nor is it beneficial for L2 learners, either. Instead, as Rose (2012) insisted, research frameworks encompassing both self-regulation and strategy use in specific task-settings need to be introduced to understand the whole picture of L2 learning processes. One example of such frameworks is the Strategic Self-Regulation (S^2R) model proposed by Oxford (2017). The model attempts to explain L2 learning through the concept of self-regulation; the use of tactics, strategies, and meta-strategies; and several types of knowledge underlying the use of meta-strategies. The model includes strategies for three key dimensions of L2 learning that learners can regulate: cognitive, affective, and sociocultural-interactive. Covering all three dimensions are the mental processes, that is, meta-strategies, that help learners manage their strategy use. Another feature of this model is the inclusion of tactics in addition to strategies. Tactics are the specific manifestations of a strategy by a learner in a certain setting for a specific purpose. In other words, tactics are highly specific uses of strategies. Strategies, on the other hand, are more abstract, broad, and general and can give rise to many kinds of tactics depending on the learning situation and the purposes of an L2 learner. The S^2R model can be an appropriate theoretical foundation encompassing both self-regulation and strategy use in specific task-settings or skill domains, even though this model has not yet been adopted widely (Rose et al. 2018) and that some concerns could be raised for the usefulness of distinguishing strategies from tactics in its application in the classroom.

Recently, empirical attempts to connect the constructs of strategies and self-regulation have also been emerging. Among them, one example worth mentioning is Teng and Zhang (2016), in which the writing strategies of 790 undergraduate students learning English in China were investigated by using a newly developed questionnaire. The questionnaire, *Writing Strategies for Self-Regulated Learning Questionnaire* (WSSLQ), is based on the concepts of both self-regulation (the driving forces) and L2 strategy research (the outcome of the forces). The study successfully validated the questionnaire by showing self-regulation as a higher-order construct, which explained the correlations with lower-order writing strategies, thereby demonstrating the compatibility of the two concepts. It also verified the relationship between strategy use and EFL writing proficiency.

Another example is Ziegler (2015)'s large-sampled ($N = 572$) study of grades 4–9 EFL students in Germany, in which the relationships of the SRCvoc construct with the motivational characteristics of self-regulated learners (motivated learning strategies) measured by the MSLQ motivation scale were investigated using regression analyses. The results showed that the SRCvoc predicted each of the MSLQ characteristics significantly, thereby confirming the SRCvoc as a reliable and valid measure for the behaviors exhibited in the performance phase of the self-regulated learning cycle. At the same time, Ziegler (2015)'s study established an empirical link between the constructs of strategies and self-regulation, consequently providing the evidence to support the complementarity of the two constructs.

Yet another example was a recent study on the use of writing strategies by 37 Japanese EFL university students (Sasaki et al. 2018). In the study, the self-regulatory assumption of Oxford (2017)'s definition of learning strategies was adopted and the use of three writing strategies interacting with other relevant cognitive and environmental variables was investigated longitudinally using a mixed methods approach. The results revealed that the self-regulatory perspective was useful in modeling the systematicity and individuality observed in strategy development, thus lending support to the complementarity of the concepts of strategies and self-regulation.

Conclusion: Future Directions of L2 Strategy Research and Its Applications

As shown above, evidence that the concepts of learning strategies and self-regulation are compatible and may even be complementary has been mounting. Dörnyei and Ryan (2015), in an update of Dörnyei (2005), also agreed with this movement toward complementarity. Research on L2 learning strategies, as well as its applications in the classroom, is thus unquestionably worth conducting even after the introduction of self-regulation into the field. This chapter accordingly concludes with some descriptions of possible future directions of L2 strategy research and its applications in and outside of the classroom.

First, future research should focus on a specific population in a specific task-setting and context, since strategy use depends largely on learners, tasks, and contexts. In this

connection, the sociocultural perspective (including activity theory and collaborative learning) as well as that of complex dynamic systems theory (Larsen-Freeman 2016) might provide a better landscape for strategy research as they place special emphasis on L2 learning in a specific context. Future research should also pay heed to such theoretical frameworks as self-regulation and learner autonomy to better investigate how strategy use and other higher L2 learning processes are related to each other. By examining the use of learning strategies situated in a solid theoretical framework, a better general understanding of L2 learning processes can readily be obtained.

Second, strategy research should observe the trend in the direction of qualitative data collection methodologies including narratives, interviews, diaries, journals, portfolios, and think-aloud protocols. In particular, longitudinal data collection using these methods would be welcome. Furthermore, qualitative data analysis using such methods as the grounded theory approach might become prevalent (Oxford 2017). However, conventional quantitative research using strategy inventories will undoubtedly continue to be conducted, focusing on a specific population in a specific domain, task-setting, and context. Similarly, to assess learners' strategy use, strategy inventories will continue to provide valuable information to L2 practitioners, especially at the beginning and evaluative stages of strategy instruction.

Use of advanced statistical procedures such as decision tree analysis (e.g., Mizumoto and Takeuchi 2018), structural equation modeling (SEM) (e.g., Ardasheva 2016), and the Rasch model and the use of effect sizes might also gain momentum. Decision tree analysis is a form of predictive modeling in which learner behavior is analyzed, and future courses of action are decided. SEM is a type of multivariate statistical procedure used to analyze structural relationships between measured variables and latent constructs. The Rasch model introduces a method of converting ordinal scales into interval ones, while the effect size is a quantitative measure of the strength of a phenomenon, which is presumed to be free from the effect of sample size. Statistical procedures such as these could yield the ways to circumvent various problems pertaining to the traditional use of statistics in the field. In addition to the improvement of quantitative procedures, mixed methods approach, which combines quantitative and qualitative methods, will also be used widely.

Third, assessment issues in strategy instruction, along with concrete instructional techniques, could become prominent topics in the field. Improvement of L2 abilities through strategy instruction is the original motive behind L2 strategy research. However, assessment of the improvements has not drawn due attention thus far. For the successful implementation of strategy instruction, the advancement of assessment methods is indispensable. Thus, more accurate measurements of the self-regulatory capacities, L2 abilities, learning attitudes, emotions, and acquisition/transfer of strategies need to be further explored in future studies. Concrete techniques of strategy instruction (including needs analysis, strategy selection, sequencing, combination, presentation, and evaluation) as well as materials development and the use of technology (Ranalli 2018) also need to be further investigated. The investigation should, of course, be situated in a specific skill domain, task-setting, and learning context, so that more appropriate implementation of strategy instruction would become possible.

Cross-References

▶ Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
▶ Language Learner Engagement: Setting the Scene
▶ Metacognition and Self-regulated Learning (SRL) in Second/Foreign Language Teaching

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Imagined Communities, Identity, and English Language Learning in a Multilingual World

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Contents

Abstract

This chapter discusses the construct of "imagined communities" as a way to better understand the relationship between second language learning and identity. It is argued that language learners' actual and desired memberships in "imagined communities" (Anderson B, Imagined communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism. Verso, London, 1991) affect their learning trajectories, influencing their agency, motivation, investment, and resistance in the learning of English. These influences are exemplified with regard to five identity clusters: postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered

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identities. We discuss the relevance of "imagined communities" for classroom practice in English education and conclude with a reflection on the future of English language teaching in our increasingly multilingual global community.

Keywords

Imagined communities · Imagination · Identity · English language teaching · Investment · Poststructuralism

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses ways in which language learners' actual and desired memberships in "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991) affect their learning trajectories. We will begin by explaining the notion of "imagined communities" with reference to language and identity. Then we will show how the process of imagining and re-imagining one's multiple memberships may influence agency, investment, and resistance in the learning of English in terms of five identity clusters: postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered identities. We will argue that the notion of "imagined communities" has great potential for bridging theory and praxis in English language education and for informing critical and transformative language pedagogy.

The theoretical framework adopted in the present chapter is best viewed as poststructuralist (Norton and Morgan 2013). While the terms poststructuralism, postmodernism, or critical inquiry serve as an umbrella for a variety of theoretical approaches adopted by different researchers (McNamara 2012), in the present chapter we will use the terms interchangeably emphasizing similarities that they all share. Of particular importance to us is the postmodernist focus on *language* as the locus of social organization, power, and individual consciousness, and as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991). *Learning*, in turn, will be seen as a situated process of participation in particular communities of practice, which may entail the negotiation of ways of being a person in that context (Wenger 1998). Thus, "because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity" (Wenger 1998, p. 215), a process of becoming, or avoiding becoming a certain person, rather than a simple accumulation of skills and knowledge. While the situated view of learning as socialization has been productive in the second language acquisition (SLA) literature, so far it has focused predominantly on learning that takes place as a result of the learners' direct engagement in face-to-face communities. Learning that is connected to learner participation in a wider world is now receiving greater attention (Lam and Warriner 2012; Warriner 2008). Yet we humans are capable, through our imagination, of perceiving a connection with people beyond our immediate social networks. Our orientation toward such imagined communities might have just as much impact on our current identities and learning as direct involvement in communities of our everyday life. We argue that the notion of *imagination* as a way to appropriate meanings and create new identities, developed by Anderson (1991) and Wenger

(1998), allows us to transcend the focus on the learners' immediate environment, as the learning of another language, perhaps more than any other educational activity, reflects the learners' desire to expand their range of identities and to reach out to wider worlds (Barkhuizen 2016; Darvin and Norton 2015; Kramsch 2009; Motha and Lin 2014; Xu 2012).

Our discussion of the role of imagination in second language learning draws on three complementary sources: Anderson's (1991) view of nation-states as imagined communities, Wenger's (1998) view of imagination as a form of engagement with communities of practice, and Markus and Nurius' (1986) view of possible selves as the link between motivation and behavior. In his work on the role of language in the creation of nation-states, Anderson (1991) traces ways in which the invention of printing technology in the capitalist world gave new fixity to language and created languages-of-power, different from older vernaculars. The nation-states, in turn, were conceived around these languages, as imagined communities "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991, p. 6). Anderson's (1991) analysis presents imagination as a social process, emphasizing the fact that those in power oftentimes do the imagining for the rest of their fellow citizens offering them certain identity options and leaving other options "unimaginable."

Wenger's (1998) situated learning theory provides a complementary perspective to that of Anderson, presenting imagination as both an individual and social process. In his view, imagination is a distinct form of belonging to a particular community of practice and a way in which "we can locate ourselves in the world and history, and include in our identities other meanings, other possibilities, other perspectives" (Wenger 1998, p. 178). In this, Wenger's (1998) insights converge with the well-known psychological theory of *possible selves* (Markus and Nurius 1986) which represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming, thus linking cognition, behavior, and motivation. For both Wenger (1998) and Markus and Nurius (1986), possible selves, linked to memberships in imagined communities, shape individuals' present and future decisions and behaviors and provide an evaluative and interpretive context for such decisions, behaviors, and their outcomes.

Norton (2001) has incorporated Wenger's (1998) views into the study of second language learning and education, suggesting that learners have different investments in different members of the target language community, and that the people in whom the learners have the greatest investment may be the very people who provide (or limit) access to the imagined community of a given learner. Kanno and Norton (2003) have extended with work in a special issue of the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, with the title, "Imagined communities and educational possibilities." Kanno (2008) makes the case that it is not only individuals, but schools, which have imagined communities. In her study of four schools in Japan, which serve large numbers of bilingual students, she examined the relationship between the schools' visions for their students' future, their current policies and practices, and their students' identities. She found that it is

the least privileged bilingual students who are socialized into the most restricted imagined communities, when it is precisely this group that would benefit from an education that promotes a wider set of options for the future.

Most recently, Darvin and Norton (2015) demonstrate that students' participation in specific language practices can be explained through their investment in particular imagined communities and through their access (or lack thereof) to these communities. With reference to their model of investment, incorporating identity, capital, and ideology, they compare the case of a female language learner, Henrietta, in a poorly resourced Ugandan village, with the case of a male language learner, Ayrton, in a wealthy neighborhood in urban Canada. Their findings suggest that the imagined identity of each learner was inextricably linked to the levels of capital (social, economic, and cultural) available to them and the ideologies with which their participants' learning experiences were associated. While Ayrton's learning was supported by access to high levels of capital in the context of neoliberal ideological practices that sustained his imagined cosmopolitan identity, Henrietta's dreams of assuming an imagined identity of a knowledgeable global citizen were challenged by limited access to capital and a hegemonic ideology that reproduces the global North/South divide.

The goal of the present chapter is to build on the previous arguments demonstrating how nation-states may shape the imagination of their citizens and how actual and desired memberships in various imagined communities mediate the learning of – or resistance to – English around the world.

Imagined Communities and Identities

In what follows, we will discuss the membership in imagined communities in terms of five identity clusters that have relevance to English as an international language: (1) postcolonial, (2) global, (3) ethnic, (4) multilingual, and (5) gendered identities. While separating the identities into these five subcategories for purposes of clarity and better focus, we acknowledge that much of the time these multiple facets of learners' selves, what Higgins calls "millennial identities," are inseparable (Higgins 2015). Thus, for example, postcolonial identities are centrally concerned with questions of ethnicity, while ethnicity may be implicated in the construction of multilingual identities. Our survey does not aim to be comprehensive or all-inclusive; rather, with a choice of one or two examples from diverse contexts, we aim to illustrate how languages – and identities linked to them – lose and acquire value in the linguistic marketplace through the work of imagination.

Postcolonial Englishes

Anderson's (1991) lucid analysis makes it clear that in the modern era, nations are no longer created in blood but imagined in language. Hebrew offers an extraordinary example of a language that served to unify Jews from all over the

world who otherwise had little if anything in common, sometimes not even religion. At present, postcolonial contexts offer a particularly fertile area for examination, since newly imagined national identities and futures are often tied to language. Due to British colonial history and, more recently, to American cultural and linguistic imperialism, English is implicated in this process of re-imagination more than any other language (Phillipson 2009). In the era of globalization, postcolonial nations and subjects are required to take a stance with regard to the role that English as a global language will play in their future.

Even a brief look at these decisions demonstrates that English – and identities that can be fashioned out of it – is imagined differently in different contexts. One of the key issues in Africa, for instance, is the language of the literature and thus of the national narrative, and numerous African writers have expressed their views on this issue in press and at the conferences on the role of English in African literature (Miller 1996). This attention to the written word is not surprising, since, according to Anderson (1991, p.134), nationalism is conceived in the print-language, not a language per se. What is surprising is the opposing stances taken by individuals in seemingly similar contexts. Thus, in 1977 a well-known Kenyan writer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, publicly refused writing in English, after having published four successful novels as well as numerous essays, plays, and short stories in that language. In doing so, Ngugi decried his allegiance with the language of Kenya's colonial past, in which the poorest and most oppressed citizens of the country could neither read nor communicate. Instead, to transcend the "colonial alienation" of the African intelligentsia from its own people, he chose to write in the local language Gikuyu, which at the time had not developed traditions of written narrative. In contrast, another famous African writer, Chinua Achebe, argues that while English is a "world language which history has forced down our throats" (Achebe 1965, p. 29), it is also the language that made it possible for Africans to talk to one another and to create national rather than ethnic literatures.

Miller's (1996) insightful analysis indicates that these diametrically opposed visions of African national identities and English are not incidental for they carry with them different visions of the future of African nation-states. While Ngugi imagines Kenyan future as a revolutionary change within the country, Achebe's vision encourages African unity and places Africa on a par with other countries in a global community. Notably, Achebe's view does not entail an uncritical appropriation of English as spoken and written by some imaginary native speakers; rather, Achebe intends to indigenize the language declaring: "...let no one be fooled by the fact that we may write in English for we intend to do unheard of things with it" (1988, p. 50). Instead of re-imagining themselves, Achebe and other like-minded writers re-imagine English and refashion their relationship to it, creating hybrid work that, like Nuyorican bilingual poetry, can no longer claim allegiance to one language only and draws on multiple languages and literary traditions (Miller 1996; for an in-depth discussion of the tensions between English and indigenous languages in postcolonial Africa, see Obondo's chapter in this volume).

Scholars in other postcolonial contexts are also grappling with the social and cultural power of English in their nation-states. In Brazil, for example, Carazzai

(2013) and Sanches Silva (2013) studied the construction of teacher identity in the states of Santa Catarina and Mato Grosso du Sul, focusing on investments in learning and teaching English in a context where Portuguese is the dominant language. They found that investments in the English language and the teaching of English are best explained in terms of student teachers' imagined identities, as well as the opportunities afforded to them for both face-to-face and virtual interaction with English speakers internationally.

English and the Global Marketplace

In contrast to postcolonial contexts, in which developing countries are seeking to address their ambivalent relationship to English, other countries for whom English is not a postcolonial language aim to promote Standard English in order to align themselves with the Western powers and gain an entry into the global market. A striking example of foreign language education as a mirror of national allegiances is seen in Eastern Europe where, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the newly emerged countries aim to refashion themselves as democratic and capitalist. An important aspect of this social and economic change involves language education reform, which has eliminated or severely limited Russian as a primary foreign or second language, and established English (followed by German and French) as key to national prosperity and global cooperation. While prior to 1989, international contacts of Eastern European and Soviet citizens were restrained and supervised, and the opportunity to use the foreign languages rather limited, the dissolution of communist regimes offered unlimited possibilities for international collaboration – and a pressing need to engage in them in view of the breakdown of the Soviet economy. New political and economic futures involve new national identity options – in particular those of "citizens of the world" – and, as a result, lead to a significant increase in foreign language learning motivation. While Russian, the language of the Big Brother, was often resisted in Eastern Europe, English is now receiving a warm welcome, and former teachers of Russian are being retrained as teachers of English (Dovchin 2018).

Hungary provides an excellent example of this trend towards English and other European languages. The country's re-alignment with the West has resulted in a marked increase in numbers of those enrolled in foreign language public and private schools, as well as those who take certification exams in these languages. In 1996, three times as many people took foreign language proficiency exams as in 1987; this trend documents both the growing interest in foreign language education and realization of the importance of certified knowledge (Medgyes and Miklosy 2000). The growing preoccupation with foreign language competence is continuously in the public eye as the one and only issue on which three different Hungarian governments elected since 1990 came to an agreement. The media frequently discusses the insufficient language competence of the average Hungarian, employers publish increasing numbers of job advertisements in English to filter out the "linguistically deficient," the book store windows are adorned

by language books and dictionaries, and the streets of major Hungarian towns display "Learn English Fast and Easy" language school ads (Medgyes and Miklosy 2000). It is not surprising then that even Hungarians who previously did not see the relevance of English – or any other foreign language – to their personal and professional future, are reconsidering their attitudes and re-imagining themselves as sophisticated multilinguals, engaged members of the European Union. On the other hand, as citizens of any small nation, they also exhibit ambivalence as to the possible involvement with NATO and the West and fears that English may come to contaminate and displace their own language (Medgyes and Miklosy 2000).

Research in Israel provides another example of the increased symbolic value of English within the global marketplace, and the communities that are imagined by English language learners. Kheimets and Epstein's (2001) study suggests that English is crucial in the professional and social integration of scientists from the former Soviet Union in Israel. As more and more professional meetings, Internet communication, and publications take place in English, it is English, rather than only Hebrew, that is instrumental for successful transformation of the Soviet scientists into Israeli ones. Quantitative results of the study revealed significant differences between those who studied English and those who studied either German or French regarding feelings of personal self-actualization and job satisfaction, and both statistical tests and personal interviews demonstrated that command of English was the determining factor for risk of losing a job. For example, a successful physicist the authors interviewed for their study said that he pities Russian scientists who do not speak English as they have no professional future ahead of them, and advised all Russians who would like to continue being scientists in Israel to study English as intensively as they can.

Ethnicity and the Ownership of English

Even in countries in which English is the dominant mother tongue, research suggests that there exists much ambivalence about who constitutes a "legitimate" speaker of English (Norton 2018). An American writer David Mura (1991, p. 77), a third generation Japanese-American, once remarked in despair that "in the world of the tradition, [he] was unimagined." The utter invisibility of second and third generation Asian-Americans in the media led his classmates and later co-workers to constantly challenge his "ownership" of English which clashed, in their mind, with his Asian features. To researchers in language education, this practice does not come as a surprise: in many English-speaking contexts, the "ownership" of English by white immigrants is contested to a significantly lesser degree than that by racialized newcomers.

Miller's (2000) ethnographic study of ESL students' socialization into the mainstream in an Australian high school demonstrates that white and fair-haired Bosnian students assimilate quickly, establishing friendships with the English-speaking students and appropriating a range of discourses in English, while the dark-haired Chinese students remain isolated from the mainstream. The Chinese

students in her study stated that they had felt discriminated against, because neither their peers nor teachers acknowledged their legitimacy as L2 users of English in the same way they acknowledged the legitimacy of their European immigrant classmates who resemble Australians physically. Similarly, Norton's (2013) research with immigrant women in Canada documents the case of the Vietnamese woman, Mai, who perceived a "perfect Canadian" as one who was both white and English speaking. During the study, Mai described the alienation that her nephews experienced as Chinese/Vietnamese people in Canada and explained how the eldest child, Trong, had chosen to change his name from a Vietnamese one to an Anglicized one. Mai had objected to this practice, and had said to her nephews that they should not reject their heritage, explaining, "With your hair, your nose, your skin, you will never be perfect Canadians" (Norton 2013, p. 186). Like Mura and the Chinese students in Miller's study, Trong would remain unimaginable as a mainstream Canadian.

It would be highly erroneous, however, to posit that all newcomers in Australia, Canada, USA, or Britain aim to speak standard English and emulate its white middle-class speakers. Ibrahim (1999) points out that African students in a high school in Toronto are learning to re-imagine themselves as Black, rather than Sudanese or Nigerian, and, by speaking what he calls Black Stylized English (BSE), position themselves with regard to the racial divide constructed by the North American society around them. Similar arguments are brought up by Bailey (2000) with regard to Dominican American students in the USA who adopt African American English vernacular as a language of solidarity with their African American peers while simultaneously using Spanish to differentiate themselves from the same peers. This and other work suggests that in order to understand the learners' investments, we need to examine their multiple communities and understand who can and who cannot be imagined as a legitimate speaker of a particular language variety in a specific context.

The extent to which identity options are seen to be publicly visible and politically valued is implicated in the kinds of communities that language learners imagine and desire for themselves. In this regard, the media is central in the shaping of ethnic and racial identities, in particular with regard to language: while powerfully presenting and endorsing some identity options, the media can also make some identity options "invisible" or, at least, devalue and delegitimize them (Dovchin 2018). The work of Stuart Hall (1992) has been particularly influential in documenting the ways in which the media reproduces a limited range of identities for minority citizens. With respect to questions of race, he notes that it is the "silences" that are highly meaningful; what "isn't there" says a great deal about what is or is not valued in a given society. In short, as supported by the more recent work of Motha (2014), it appears that ethnicity and race play an important role in institutional and individual imagined communities of "legitimate" speakers of English.

As English language learners re-imagine their futures in a changing world, the question, "Who owns English?" is becoming more strident and contested. Cheung et al. (2015) volume on language teacher identity examines, for example, how the disempowering discourses of native speaker superiority can shape

feelings of inadequacy and professional illegitimacy among non-native speakers of English. On a more promising note, however, Yu-Jung Chang (2011) has examined the graduate student population in the USA, focusing on two nonnative English-speaking international students in an English-speaking graduate school. Through the lens of investment and imagined communities, Chang argues that the students were able to exert their own agency "to fight their academic battle" (p. 228) and selectively invest in areas that would increase their market value in their current and imagined communities. Such research supports the views of Moussu and Llurda (2008), who make a powerful case that every language user is a native speaker of a language, and that NNEST, the non-native English speaker label, itself reflects Anglo-centrism.

English Language Learner or Multilingual Speaker?

Complementary to debates over who may be considered a "legitimate" speaker of English are debates over the framing and positioning of English language learners. Given the power of English within the larger global community, English language learners, the "marked" case, are often positioned within a deficit framework that limits the kinds of identities and communities that can be imagined by and for these learners. In English-speaking countries, in particular, those who have learned English as a second, third, or fourth language are often seen as non-native speakers, limited English proficiency students, interlanguage speakers, or language learners. As English language learners grow up, they become ever more sensitive to the label "ESL" (Toohey 2018).

Several scholars have challenged the "deficit" model, pointing out that in the world where more than a half of the population is bi- and multilingual, to be monolingual rather than bilingual is in fact the marked case (Cook 2002; Pavlenko 2003; Selvi 2014). Instead of reproducing the native/non-native speaker dichotomy, these scholars proposed to bridge the fields of bilingualism and SLA and see previous "non-native speakers" as bilinguals and as legitimate L2 users (Cook 2002; Ortega 2013). However, while scholars continue battling against the monolingual bias on the pages of learned journals, the researchers' plight remains ignored by the general public, which typically does not read scholarly disquisitions. Thus, the monumental task of "imagining" diverse – but nevertheless legitimate – "owners" and users of English falls on the shoulders of public individuals: politicians, media personalities, and in particular writers.

The theme of re-imagining of language ownership dominates the pages of cross-cultural memoirs and fiction published in the United States, from Richard Rodriguez's *Hunger of Memory* and Hoffman's *Lost in Translation*, to Chang Rae Lee's *Native Speaker* (Pavlenko 2001). This is not surprising since in 1999 alone, the US National Book Award in Fiction for an English language novel went to Ha Jin, a native of China, who had begun learning English at the age of 21, and four out of eight Guggenheim fellowships for fiction went to foreign-born non-native speakers of English (Novakovich and Shapard 2000). Award-winning prose and

poetry by bilingual writers, such as Julia Alvarez, Andrei Codrescu, Jerzy Kosinski, Kyoko Mori, or Bharati Mukherjee, have completely changed the landscape of North American literature, redefining what it means to be an American writer.

The re-imagining of linguistic membership and ownership takes place in the work of these and other bilingual writers in two ways. On the one hand, by composing their work in English the authors appropriate the language, implicitly claiming their right to it. On the other, some also proclaim their linguistic rights and allegiances explicitly, stating, like Eva Hoffman (1989), that English is the language of their inner self. The written medium is ideal for this discursive battle over legitimate ownership: while in spoken interactions, opinions of some L2 users may be discounted by others due to their physical appearance or traces of accent in their speech, published texts constitute excellent equalizers and unique arenas where accents are erased and voices imbued with sufficient authority. Consequently, many contemporary bi- and multilingual authors and scholars explore the links between their multiple languages and selves in ways that were previously non-existent and/or impossible: challenging the essentialist notions of self, deconstructing various ethnic, national, colonial, and gender identities, creating new discourses of hybridity and multiplicity, and imagining new ways of "being American" – and bilingual in the postmodern world. We can only hope that these hybrid and multilingual identities will find their way into the public media, so that new generations can learn to imagine themselves as members of a linguistically diverse world, rather than one dominated by standard English.

English and Gendered Identities

Cutting across postcolonial, global, and ethnic identities in relation to the learning of English is gender as a system of social and discursive relations (Appleby 2014; Cameron 2006; Higgins 2010; Pavlenko et al. 2001). Their conception of gender, which extends beyond female-male divides, is understood to be a system of social relationships and discursive practices that may lead to systemic inequality among particular groups of learners, including women, minorities, elderly, and disabled. Research demonstrates that in different contexts English may offer language learners the possibility of imagining different gendered identity options for themselves. On the one hand, many women around the globe see learning English as a way of liberating themselves from the confines of gender patriarchy (Haghighi and Norton 2017; Kobayashi 2002; McMahill 2001). A survey of 555 high school students in Japan found that female Japanese students are significantly more positive toward – and more interested in – learning English, training for English-language-related professions, and traveling to English-speaking countries, than their male counterparts (Kobayashi 2002). As a result, in 1998, according to the Japanese Ministry of Education, 67% of foreign language majors among the university students were female, with English being the most popular choice. This trend is not surprising, since young women continue to be marginalized in mainstream Japanese society, and English teaching and translation offer them a socially sanctioned occupational

choice, a profession that is "lady-like" – although not well paid. Further, McMahill (2001) argues that many young Japanese women consider English to be intrinsically linked to feminism and thus are motivated to learn it as a language of empowerment. Such findings are consistent with more recent research. For example, Haghighi and Norton's (2017) study of English Language Institutes (ELI) in Iran found that the number of female students at ELIs was far greater than that of male students, partly because ELI's represented the opportunity to provide "gender equity" for Iranian women.

On the other hand, Norton (2013) suggests that immigrant women in Canada do not necessarily consider English to be the only key to social mobility and enhanced opportunity. At times, and in particular workplaces, a greater mastery of English may lead to decrease in productivity and lack of support from colleagues if the dominant language of the workplace is not English (Norton 2013). In other contexts, immigrant women may choose not to attend English classes because of cultural constraints that require them to prioritize their roles as housekeepers, mothers, wives, and caretakers. Still others may choose not to attend English classes if they feel that the English curriculum is not consistent with their desires for the future. Norton (2001) makes that case for two immigrant women who removed themselves from their English classes because their teachers did not appear sympathetic towards their investments in particular imagined communities. While Felicia from Peru was heavily invested in the local Peruvian community, Katarina from Poland was anxious for validation by a community of professionals. The central point, Norton argues, is that an imagined community presupposes an imagined identity – one which offers an enhanced range of possibilities for the future.

Another important theme related to issues of gender concerns the emerging body of work on sexuality, sexual orientation, and identity in the field of English language teaching. The work of scholars such as King (2008), Moffatt and Norton (2008), Moore (2016), and Nelson (2009) explores the extent to which sexual orientation might be an important identity category in the language classroom. Of central interest is the way in which a teacher can create a supportive environment for learners who might be gay, lesbian, or transgendered. Nelson, for example, contrasts a pedagogy of inquiry, which asks how linguistic and cultural practices naturalize certain sexual identities, most notably heterosexuality, with a pedagogy of inclusion which aims to introduce images as well as experiences of gays and lesbians into curriculum materials. The implications for the imagined identities and imagined communities of LGBTQ students and teachers are profound.

Re-imagining English Teaching

The discussion above raises the question of the implications of "imagined communities" for language classrooms. Drawing on the Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of identity and investment, Darvin notes that teachers need to reflect on the extent to which classroom events and practices are indexical of more

systemic ideological practices and suggests the following questions for research on language teaching (Darvin 2015, p. 597):

(i) To what extent do teachers recognize and respond to the material, unequal lived realities of learners and their multiple identities?

(ii) What dominant ideologies and systemic patterns of control circumscribe the realities and experiences of language learners and teachers? How does the worldview of teachers position learners?

(iii) To what extent and in what ways do teachers recognize the linguistic and cultural capital that language learners bring to class?

Scholars internationally are responding to the kinds of questions raised by Darvin (2015). In Hong Kong, for example, Hafner (2014) describes a compelling study in which university students incorporated digital literacy into their learning of scientific English, and created imagined identities for themselves as they sought to engage non-specialists in their course projects. Students were required to develop a project in which they conducted a simple scientific experiment and then reported their findings in two formats – one as a multimodal scientific documentary shared on YouTube for an audience of non-specialists, and another as a written lab report for an audience of specialists. Hafner describes ways in which the students combined a range of modes to develop the appropriate identities with which to engage the general, non-specialist audience. Drawing on Ivanič, Hafner describes the "discoursal identities" of the students, which ranged from that of scientist and investigative journalist to that of curious traveler. Each of these identities indexed different purposes, from educating the audience to entertaining it, and the students needed to harness diverse semiotic modes, including image and sound, to achieve the desired effects.

Turning to teachers of English in the Mexican context, Sayer (2012) provides a vivid account of the practices adopted by three non-native English teachers in Oaxaca, who sought greater legitimacy in their classrooms and communities. One teacher, Carlos, for example, made highly innovative use of role-play in the classroom, providing students with the opportunity to experiment with a variety of English speaker identities in the classroom's "Black Horse Restaurant." Although the students struggled with some grammatical expressions, Carlos noted that the students sought to apply in practice what they had learnt in theory. Sayer notes that the three teachers' engagements with English did not simply comprise their competence at manipulating the linguistic forms of English, but rather evoked "their whole biographical history with the language" (p. 79), such as opportunities to travel outside Mexico. The teachers' knowledge of English as both a linguistic system and a social practice was implicated in their identities as legitimate English teachers in the Mexican nation-state.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the relationship between imagined communities, identity, and English language teaching in terms of postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered identity clusters. We have argued that recent explorations

in language policy and sociolinguistics indicate that in postcolonial contexts, national identities are often fashioned in relation to English as a global language. While some countries may renounce English as a language of colonialism, others may take a neutral stance, neither privileging nor discouraging English, and yet others may choose to appropriate and indigenize English, constructing national identities simultaneously through and in opposition to English. The link between national identities and imagined communities plays an important role in language and educational policies, thus confirming Anderson's (1991) thesis about public media playing a key role in shaping the public imagination and creating identities for public consumption. Such research also suggests that in the global marketplace national – and individual – identities are often constructed in relation to English as the language of world economy. Some countries, like Hungary, may encourage a greater role of English as a way to enter the global marketplace and create a more visible national identity, while individual citizens in non-English speaking countries may invest in English for career advancement purposes.

Despite the resilience of English in the field of language education, there has in recent years been increasing interest in the relationship between English, multilingualism, and transnationalism (Douglas Fir Group 2016; May 2014; Ortega 2013), and scholars like Selvi (2014) note that the label NNEST may in fact promote "native speakerism." Other scholars like Makoni and Pennycook (2005) have challenged the very concept that languages have "fixed" boundaries, anticipating the vibrant contemporary debates on translanguaging (García and Li 2014; Li and Zhu 2013). Nevertheless, there are powerful language testing and publishing industries, for whom the standard English of native speakers is often considered the most desirable form of English, and whose practices determine the life chances of millions of English speakers, both native and non-native, worldwide. We conclude with the hope that English language teachers in different parts of the globe may consider the ways in which our own multilingual classrooms can be re-imagined as places of possibility for students with a wide range of histories, investments, and desires for the future.

Cross-References

▶ Creating a Motivating Classroom Environment
▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching
▶ Language Ideologies, Language Policies, and English-Language Teaching in Russia

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Creating a Motivating Classroom Environment

39

Zoltán Dörnyei and Christine Muir

Contents

Abstract

This chapter addresses the complex question of what makes a motivating class-room environment. Understanding the full psychological tapestry of classroom life calls for an interdisciplinary approach and, accordingly, this chapter draws on research from a number of different areas within the social sciences, most notably group dynamics, motivational psychology, and from both educational studies and second language research. The assumption underlying the chapter is that the motivating character of the learning context can be enhanced through conscious intervention by the language teacher, and as such, key facets of this environment will be presented and discussed with this proactive and practical objective in mind. The key concepts which will be addressed include group cohesiveness and

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interpersonal relations, group norms and student roles, teacher leadership styles and the process of facilitation, as well as the main phases of a proactive, motivational teaching practice.

Introduction

Researchers analyzing the effectiveness of second language (L2) education usually focus on issues such as the quality and quantity of L2 input, the nature of the language learning tasks, and the teaching methodology applied, as well as various learner traits and strategies. These are undoubtedly central factors in L2 learning, and they significantly determine the effectiveness of the process, particularly in the short term. If, however, we consider learning achievement from a longer-term perspective, other aspects of the classroom experience, such as a motivating classroom climate, also gain increasing importance. Wlodkowski and Ginsberg (2017) are right to point out that although boring lessons can be very unpleasant and sometimes excruciatingly painful, boredom itself does not seem to affect the short-term effectiveness of learning. After all, much of what many of us currently know has been mastered while being exposed, at least in part, to uninspiring environments or dull practice sequences. Yet, no one would question that attempting to eliminate boredom from the classroom should be high on every teacher's agenda. Why is that? What is the significance of trying to create a more pleasant classroom environment?

The basic assumption underlying this chapter is that long-term, sustained learning – such as the acquisition of an L2 – cannot take place unless in addition to cognitively adequate instructional practices, the educational context provides sufficient inspiration and enjoyment to stimulate language learners' ongoing motivation. Boring but systematic teaching can be effective in producing, for example, good test results, but rarely does it inspire a lifelong commitment to the subject matter. This chapter will focus on how to generate this additional inspiration, that is, how to create a motivating classroom environment. The characteristics of the learning context can be studied from a number of different perspectives. In educational psychology an established line of research has focused on a multidimensional concept describing the psychological climate of the learning context, termed the classroom environment (cf. Fraser and Walberg 1991). Educational researchers have also focused on aspects of classroom management as an antecedent of the overall classroom climate (e.g., Jones and Jones 2016). Adopting a different perspective to describe classroom reality, social psychologists have looked at the dynamics of the learner group in the context of the vivid discipline of group dynamics (e.g., Schmuck and Schmuck 2001), and motivational psychologists have taken yet another approach by focusing on the motivational teaching practices and strategies employed in the classroom

itself (e.g., Schunk et al. 2013). While all these lines of investigation represent slightly different priorities and research paradigms, they are all ultimately interested in the same larger picture and therefore show considerable overlap. The following overview will synthesize these various approaches by focusing on the different psychological processes that underlie and shape classroom life.

Toward a Cohesive Learner Group

One of the most salient features of the classroom environment is the quality of the relationships between the class members. The quality of teaching and learning is entirely different depending on whether the classroom is characterized by a climate of trust and support or by a competitive, cutthroat atmosphere. If learners form cliques and subgroups that are hostile to each other and resist any cooperation, the overall climate will be stressful for teachers and students alike and learning effectiveness likely to plummet. Positive group dynamics, however, have been demonstrated to have measurable positive effects. To overview several recent studies, Chang (2010) reports on positive correlations between group processes – group cohesion and group norms (see also below) – and aspects of L2 motivation, suggesting that these influences might be particularly acute within groups of adolescents as their identities develop and mature (findings also reflected in the education literature, e.g., Wentzel 1999; Schunk et al. 2013). Poupore (2016, p. 724) found a significant relationship between "group work dynamics" – which he defines as "going beyond just the 'closeness' of the group [to include] a sense of accomplishment and goal-directedness, which may not be present in a cohesive group" – and both task motivation and language production. A particularly interesting finding of this study was the importance of nonverbal behavior in this regard. Taking a contrasting approach, Murphey et al. (2012) investigate how "the concept of a present community of imagination offers teachers, researchers, and students a pragmatic framework for understanding group dynamics" (p. 231). They stress the importance of human agency and emphasize the ways in which individuals' understanding of both their past success or failure and their future goals impact on the dynamics of a group in the present. It is of note that both Chang (2010) and Poupore (2016) highlight the need for further research into the effect of these group-level processes on language learner motivation in instructed contexts; indeed, despite the widely accepted benefits, this strand of research remains remarkably underexplored.

Questions as to how both positive and negative patterns of relationships develop, and how negative patterns can be changed once established, have, however, been studied extensively within the field of group dynamics (for a review, see Forsyth 2019), and research into these questions in the field of SLA has produced detailed recommendations on how to develop cohesiveness in the language classroom (e.g., Dörnyei and Malderez 1999; Dörnyei and Murphey 2003; Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998; Senior 1997, 2002, 2006; Scrivener 2012). Intermember relations within a group are of two basic types: attraction and acceptance. Attraction involves an initial instinctive appeal, caused by factors such as physical attractiveness,

perceived competence, and similarities in attitudes, personality, hobbies, living conditions, etc. An important tenet in group dynamics is that despite their initial impact, these factors are usually of little importance for the group in the long run, and group development can result in strong cohesiveness among members regardless of, or even in spite of, initial intermember likes and dislikes. In a "healthy group," initial bonds of attraction are gradually replaced by a deeper and steadier type of interpersonal relationship, acceptance. Acceptance involves a feeling toward another person which is nonevaluative in nature and has nothing to do with likes and dislikes, but rather entails an unconditional positive regard toward the individual (Rogers 1983), acknowledging the person as a complex human being with many (possibly conflicting) values and imperfections.

One of the most important characteristics of a good group is the emergence of a high level of acceptance between members that is powerful enough to override even negative feelings toward some group members. This accepting climate, then, forms the basis of a more general feature of the group, group cohesiveness. Group cohesiveness refers to the closeness and "we" feeling of a group, that is, the internal gelling force that keeps the group together. In certain groups it can be very strong, which is well illustrated by reunion parties held even several decades after the closure of a group. Cohesiveness is clearly built on intermember acceptance, but it also involves two other factors that contribute to the group's internal binding force: the members' commitment to the task/purpose of the group and group pride, the latter referring to the prestige of group membership (cf., elite clubs).

There are a variety of methods through which teachers can promote acceptance and cohesiveness within a class group, and from an L2 teaching perspective, Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) list the following main factors:

1. Learning about each other: This is the most crucial and general factor fostering intermember relationships, involving the students' sharing genuine personal information with each other. Acceptance simply does not occur without knowing the other person well enough – enemy images or a lack of tolerance very often stem from insufficient knowledge about the other party.
2. Proximity, contact, and interaction: Proximity refers to the physical distance between people, contact to situations where learners can meet and communicate spontaneously, and interaction to special contact situations in which the behavior of each person influences the others'. These three factors are effective natural gelling agents, which highlight the importance of classroom issues such as the seating plan, small group work, and independent student projects.
3. Difficult admission: This explains why exclusive club membership is usually valued very highly, and the same principle is intuitively acted upon in the various initiation ceremonies for societies, teams, or military groups.
4. Shared group history: The amount of time people have spent together – "remember when we…" statements usually have a strong bonding effect.
5. The rewarding nature of group activities: Rewards may involve the joy of performing the activities, approval of the goals, success in achieving these goals, and personal benefits (such as grades or prizes).

6. Group legend: Successful groups often create a kind of group mythology that includes giving the group a name, inventing special group characteristics (e.g., a dress code), and group rituals, as well as creating group mottoes, logos, and other symbols such as flags or coats of arms.
7. Public commitment to the group: Group agreements and contracts as to common goals and rules are types of such public commitment, as are wearing school colors or T-shirts.
8. Investing in the group: When members spend a considerable amount of time and effort contributing to the group goals, this increases their commitment toward these goals. That is, psychological membership correlates with the actual acts of membership.
9. Extracurricular activities: These represent powerful experiences – indeed, one successful event is often enough to "make" a group, partly because during such outings students lower their "school filter" and relate to each other as "civilians" rather than students. This positive experience will then prevail in their memory, adding a fresh and real feel to their school relationships.
10. Cooperation toward common goals: Superordinate goals that require the cooperation of everybody to achieve them have been found to be the most effective means of bringing together even openly hostile parties.
11. Intergroup competition (i.e., games in which small groups compete with each other within a class): These can be seen as a type of powerful collaboration in which people unite in an effort to win. This might be furthered by grouping students together who would not normally make friends easily and mixing up the subteams regularly.
12. Defining the group against another: Emphasizing the discrimination between "us" and "them" is a powerful but obviously dangerous aspect of cohesiveness. While stirring up emotions against an outgroup in order to strengthen in-group ties is definitely to be avoided, an acceptable compromise may be to occasionally allow students to reflect on how special their class and the time they spend together might be, relative to other groups.
13. Joint hardship and common threat: Strangely enough, going through some difficulty or calamity together (e.g., carrying out some tough physical task together or being in a common predicament) has a beneficial group effect.
14. Teacher's role modeling: Friendly and supportive behavior by the teacher is infectious, and students are likely to follow suit.

It is not only "live" language classrooms where issues relating to group cohesiveness are important. The rapid increase in online language teaching and learning has created new areas for investigation, and research has begun to address issues of group dynamics in the context of virtual learning environments (VLEs). In this context, negative classroom dynamics have been linked to an unwillingness of students "to share views openly at online forums" (Turula 2013, p. 257), and these studies have demonstrated an equal need for the careful management of these issues (Farooq et al. 2012; Turula 2010, 2013).

Toward a Productive Norm and Role System in the Classroom

When people are together, in any function and context, they usually follow certain rules and routines that help to prevent chaos and allow everybody to go about their business as effectively as possible. Some of these rules are general and apply to everybody, in which case we can speak about group norms. Some others, however, are specific to certain people who fulfill specialized functions, in which case they are associated with group roles.

Group Norms

In educational settings we find many classroom norms that are explicitly imposed by the teacher or mandated by the school. However, the majority of the norms that govern our everyday life are not so explicitly formulated – yet they are there, implicitly. Many of these implicit norms evolve spontaneously and unconsciously during the interactions of the group members, for example, by copying certain behaviors of the leader or an influential member. These behaviors are then solidified into norms, and these "unofficial" norms can actually be more powerful than their official counterparts. The significance of classroom norms, whether official or unofficial in their origin, lies in the fact that they can considerably enhance or decrease students' academic achievement and work morale. For example, in a recent study of Japanese learners of English, Sasaki et al. (2017) found that the class norms/ethos that were shared by class members had considerable explanatory power regarding the students' individual growth rates, with the students' perception of their classmates' normative career aspirations explaining particularly substantial variation. Unfortunately, in many contemporary classrooms, we come across the norm of mediocrity, referring to the peer pressure put on students not to excel for fear of being ridiculed, for example, by being awarded derogatory nicknames.

One norm that is particularly important to language learning situations is the norm of tolerance. The language classroom is an inherently face-threatening environment because learners are required to take continuous risks as they need to communicate using a severely restricted language code, and recent years have seen a renewed focus on developing our understanding of language learning anxiety (e.g., Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014; Şimşek and Dörnyei 2017). An established norm of tolerance ensures that students will not be embarrassed or criticized if they make a mistake and, more generally, that mistakes are seen and welcomed as a natural part of learning. How can we make sure that the norms in our classroom promote rather than hinder learning? The key issue is that real group norms are inherently social products, and in order for a norm to be long-lasting and constructive, it needs to be explicitly discussed between and accepted by all members of the group. Dörnyei and Malderez (1997) therefore proposed that it is beneficial to include an explicit norm-building procedure early in a group's life. They suggest formulating potential norms, justifying their purpose in order to enlist support for them, having them discussed by the whole group, and finally agreeing on a mutually accepted set of class rules, with

the consequences for violating them also specified. These class rules might, for example, then be displayed on a wall chart for reference and in full view of all members. Contrastingly, such norms may be as simple and concise as "Be kind, be specific, be polite," as suggested by Patton (2012, p. 74) in relation to setting up group norms surrounding peer critique. The value of such norm-building effort becomes clear when someone breaks the norms, for example, by misbehaving or not doing something as expected. It has been observed that the more time spent setting, negotiating, and modeling group norms, the less often people will step outside of these lines (and when they do, it is usually the group that corrects them). Having the group on your side in coping with deviations and maintaining discipline is a major help: members usually bring to bear considerable group pressure on errant members and enforce conformity with the group norms.

Group Roles

Role as a technical term originally comes from sociology and refers to the shared expectation of how an individual should behave. Roles describe the norms that go with a particular position or function, specifying what people are supposed to do. There is a general agreement that roles are of great importance with regard to the life and productivity of a group: if students are cast in the right role, they will become useful members of the team and will perform necessary and complementary functions, and at the same time, they will be satisfied with their self-image and contribution. However, an inappropriate role can lead to personal conflict and will work against the overall cohesiveness and effectiveness of a group. Thus, a highly performing class group will display a balanced set of complementary and constructive student roles.

Although listing all the possible roles would not be practicable (partly because some of them are specific to a particular group's unique composition or task), some typical examples might include the leader, the organizer, the initiator, the energizer, the harmonizer, the information-seeker, the complainer, the scapegoat, the pessimist, the rebel, the clown, and the outcast. These roles may evolve naturally, in which case it is to some extent a question of luck whether the emerged roles add up to a balanced and functional tapestry, or alternatively, by their own communications or through using certain teaching structures, teachers might encourage students to explore and assume different roles and adopt the ones that suit them best for strategies and activities. Teachers can make sure that everybody has something to contribute by assigning specific roles for an activity, such as chair, time-keeper, task-initiator, clarifier, provocateur, synthesizer, checker, and secretary (Cohen 1994; Dörnyei and Murphey 2003). Alternatively, a more subtle way of encouraging role taking is to notice and reinforce any tentative role attempts on the students' part, and sometimes even to highlight possible roles that a particular learner on the outskirts of a group may assume. Having students take on explicitly marked roles during lessons has the further advantage that teachers can prepare the students to perform these roles effectively, including providing the specific language routines that

typically accompany a role. Several studies have investigated the benefits of different approaches to group formation and of other key related issues such as team size and longevity, both in the context of general education (e.g., Bacon et al. 1999) and in L2 classrooms (Hassaskah and Mozaffari 2015; Leeming 2014). The highly contextual nature of these issues requires further investigation, although in terms of teacher-assigned versus student-selected groups, Hassaskah and Mozaffari (2015) found no difference in the resulting levels of group dynamics reported (although there was evidence the teacher-assigned group excelled above the student-selected groups in terms of output).

Toward an Optimal Leadership Style

Language teachers are by definition group leaders and as such they determine every facet of classroom life. The study of various leadership styles and their impact has a vast literature, but all the different accounts agree on one thing: leadership matters. As Hook and Vass (2000) succinctly express, "Leadership is the fabled elixir. It can turn failing schools into centers of excellence . . . It is the process by which you allow your students to become winners" (p. 5). The study of group leadership goes back to a classic study more than 70 years ago. Working with American children in a summer camp, Lewin and his colleagues (Lewin et al. 1939) were interested to find out how the participants would react to three very different group leadership styles:

1. Autocratic (or authoritarian) leadership, which maintains complete control over the group
2. Democratic leadership, where the leader tries to share some of the leadership functions with the members by involving them in decision-making about their own functioning
3. Laissez-faire leadership, where the teacher performs very little leadership behavior at all

The results were striking. Of the three leadership types, the laissez-faire style produced the least desirable outcomes: the psychological absence of the leader retarded the process of forming a group structure, and consequently the children under this condition were disorganized and frustrated, experienced the most stress, and produced very little work. Autocratic groups were found to be more productive, spending more time on work than democratic ones, but the quality of the products in the democratic groups was judged superior. In addition, it was also observed that whenever the leader left the room, the autocratic groups stopped working, whereas the democratic groups carried on. From a group perspective, the most interesting results of the study concerned the comparison of interpersonal relations and group climate in the democratic and autocratic groups. In these respects democratic groups significantly exceeded autocratic groups: the former were characterized by friendlier communication, more group-orientedness, and better member leader relationships,

whereas the level of hostility observed in the autocratic groups was 30 times as great as in democratic groups, and aggressiveness was considerably (eight times) higher.

Although leadership studies have moved a long way since this pioneering research, the main conclusion that a democratic leadership style offers the best potential for school learning remains widely endorsed. In educational psychology, therefore, an important research direction has been to operationalize this general style characteristic. Several models for the "democratic" leader/teacher have been offered in the past, yet the most influential metaphor used in contemporary educational research and methodology is the humanistic notion of the group leader as a facilitator.

A Situated Approach to Facilitation

The concept of the teacher as facilitator highlights the importance of the role of the learner in the learning process, framing the teacher's role as a facilitator of learning, that is, providing an appropriate climate and suitable resources to support the student. Thus, teachers are not so much "drill sergeants" or "lecturers of knowledge" as *partners* in the learning process. How this can be achieved in practice depends largely on the developmental phase of the learner group, that is, on how far the class has progressed toward becoming a mature and cohesive social unit. In *The Complete Facilitator's Handbook*, John Heron (1999) offers a relatively straightforward situated system of operation and control concerning the behavior of facilitators.

Heron (1999) argues that – contrary to beliefs – a good facilitator is not characterized by a "soft touch" or a "free for all" mentality. He distinguishes three different modes of facilitation:

1. Hierarchical mode, whereby the facilitator exercises the power to direct the learning process for the group, thinking and acting on behalf of the group, and making all the major decisions. In this mode, therefore, the facilitator takes full responsibility for designing the syllabus and providing structures for learning.
2. Cooperative mode, whereby the facilitator shares the power and responsibilities with the group, prompting members to be more self-directing in the various forms of learning. In this mode the facilitator collaborates with the members in devising the learning process, and the outcomes are negotiated.
3. Autonomous mode, whereby the facilitator respects the autonomy of the group in finding their own way and exercising their own judgment. The task of the facilitator in this mode is to create the conditions within which students' self-determination can flourish.

Heron has found that the ideal proportion of the three modes changes with the level of development of the group. He distinguishes three stages:

1. At the outset of group development, the optimal mode is predominantly hierarchical, offering a clear and straightforward framework within which early

development of cooperation and autonomy can safely occur. Participants at this stage may be lacking the necessary knowledge and skills to orientate themselves, and they rely on the leader for guidance. Within the hierarchical mode, there should be, however, cooperative exchanges with the teacher and autonomous practice on their own. Also, even in this mode the students' consent should be sought for major leader-owned decisions.

2. Later, in the middle phase, more cooperation with group members may be appropriate in managing the learning process. The facilitator can negotiate the curriculum with the students and cooperatively guide their learning activities. The students' acquired confidence will allow them to play an increasing role in making decisions about how their learning should proceed.

3. Finally, when the group has reached maturity and is thus ready for the autonomous mode, more power needs to be delegated to the members so that they can achieve full self-direction in their learning. Learning contracts, self-evaluation, and peer assessment may "institutionalize" their independence.

Thus, to synthesize Heron's (1999) system with the Lewin et al. (1939) study, a group-sensitive teaching practice begins more autocratically to give direction, security, and impetus to the group. Then as the students begin performing, teachers initiate more democratic control of the processes, increasingly relying on the group's self-regulatory resources. When the group further matures and begins to show its initiative, a more autonomy-inviting, almost laissez-faire, leadership style might be the most conducive to encouraging student independence – but of course, this is a well-prepared withdrawal of the scaffolding rather than an abandonment of leadership responsibilities.

With the rise in the popularity of projects and project-based learning in recent years, several practical teaching manuals have been published offering guidance to teachers wishing to adapt to the model of teaching through facilitation as described above (NYC DofE 2009; Patton 2012; NAF n.d.). Although these manuals are written in the context of project-based learning, their approach and advice on teacher leadership styles mirror this rethinking of the teacher-student relationship, in which the traditional professional role is altered to embrace an ethos of co-construction. These manuals also highlight a further key area for successful facilitation, that is, a level of commitment and passion that is not always seen in the "dull learning sequences" highlighted at the start of this chapter. Teachers must model the engagement and effort they would like to see their students exemplify.

Adopting a Motivational Teaching Practice

Although the title of this chapter identifies the motivating aspect of the classroom environment as the focal issue, the term motivation has hardly been mentioned in the previous sections. The main reason for this is that so far we have looked at the characteristics of the whole learner group rather than the individual learner. The term motivation has usually been associated with an individualistic perspective, focusing

on an individual's values, attitudes, goals, and intentions. If we want to talk about the motivation of a whole learner group, it is necessary to also use the group-level counterparts of the concept, such as group cohesiveness, group norms, and group leadership. After all, these latter factors all play an important role in determining the behavior of the learner group and therefore should be seen as valid motivational antecedents. In other words, when we discuss the learning behavior of groups of learners, motivational psychology and group dynamics converge. Having covered the most important group features, the rest of this chapter will draw on findings from more traditionally conceived motivation research. What makes the classroom climate motivating, and how can we increase this characteristic? As posited at the outset of this chapter, the motivational character of the classroom is largely a function of the teacher's motivational teaching practice and is therefore within our explicit control (Guilloteaux and Dörnyei 2008; Papi and Abdollahzadeh 2012). Therefore, the emphasis in the following analysis will be on proactive and conscious strategies that can be used to promote classroom motivation.

After the initial motivational conditions discussed in the foregoing have been successfully created – that is, the class is characterized by a safe climate, cohesiveness, and a good student-teacher relationship – a motivational teaching practice needs to be established. This process comprises three phases: (a) generating initial motivation, (b) maintaining and protecting motivation, and (c) encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation.

Generating Initial Motivation

Although many psychologists believe that children are inherently eager to expand their knowledge about the world and, therefore, the learning experience is by definition a source of intrinsic pleasure for them, classroom teachers tend to have perceptions that are in sharp contrast with this idyllic view. Instead of classrooms full of eager pupils, all they can oftentimes see are rather reluctant youngsters, seemingly unaware of the fact that there should be an innate curiosity in them, let alone a desire to learn. Even if a teacher were to be fortunate enough to have a class of students with high levels of academic motivation, natural variation within any learner group would of course lead to some students favoring the L2 course over all the other subjects they study, with others not. The inescapable truth, therefore, is that student motivation cannot be guaranteed and that a core part of any teacher's role is to try to actively generate positive student attitudes toward L2 learning. There are several facets of creating initial student motivation, curated by Dörnyei (2001a) into five broad groups:

1. Enhancing the learners' language-related values and attitudes: Our basic value system greatly determines our preferences and approaches to activities. We can distinguish three types of language-related values: (a) intrinsic value, related to the interest in and anticipated enjoyment of the actual process of learning; (b) integrative value, related to our attitudes toward the L2, its speakers, and

the culture it conveys; and (c) instrumental value, related to the perceived practical, pragmatic benefits that the mastery of the L2 might bring about.

2. Increasing the learners' expectancy of success: We do things best if we expect to succeed, and, to turn this statement round, we are unlikely to be motivated to aim for something if we feel we will never get there.

3. Increasing the learners' goal-orientedness: In a typical class, too many students do not really understand or accept why they are completing any given learning activity. Moreover, the official class goal (i.e., mastering the course content) may well not be the class group's only goal and, in extreme cases, may not be a group goal at all!

4. Making the teaching materials relevant for the learners: Strategies linking learners' lives inside the classroom to their worlds outside of it are one way to achieve this and can provide an important means through which learners are able to act during lessons in ways congruent with who they are outside of the classroom, that is, this allows students to act authentically in accordance with their true selves. A further layer of authenticity is therefore also created in terms of the relevance of the language being learned and its connection to real-life contexts (Henry et al. 2017; Pinner 2014; Poupore 2014).

5. Creating realistic learner beliefs: It is a peculiar fact of life that most learners will have certain beliefs about language learning and most of these beliefs are likely to be (at least partly) incorrect. Such false beliefs can then function like "time bombs" at the beginning of a language course because of the inevitable disappointment that is to follow or can clash with the course methodology and thus hinder progress.

Once the main aspects of creating initial student motivation have been identified, it is possible to generate or select a variety of specific classroom techniques to promote the particular dimension (for practical ideas, see Wentzel and Brophy 2014; Dörnyei 2001a; Hadfield and Dörnyei 2013).

Maintaining and Protecting Motivation

It is one thing to initially whet the students' appetite with appropriate motivational techniques, but unless motivation is actively maintained and protected, the natural tendency to lose sight of the goal, to get tired or bored of the activity, and to give way to attractive distractions will result in the initial motivation gradually petering out. Therefore, motivation must be actively nurtured. The spectrum of motivational strategies relevant to this phase is not inconsiderable (since ongoing human behavior can be modified in so many different ways), yet the following six areas are particularly relevant for classroom application:

- Making learning stimulating and enjoyable
- Presenting tasks in a motivating way
- Setting specific learner goals

- Protecting the learners' self-esteem and increasing their self-confidence
- Creating learner autonomy
- Promoting self-motivating learner strategies

These motivational dimensions, except for the last one, are more straightforward than the facets of initial motivation described above, and due to space limitations, these will not be elaborated on here (for a theoretical and methodological discussion, see Dörnyei 2001a, b). Self-motivating strategies, however, remain a relatively unknown and underutilized area, so let us look at them in more detail. Self-motivating strategies can be characterized, using Corno's (1993) words, "as a dynamic system of psychological control processes that protect concentration and directed effort in the face of personal and/or environmental distractions, and so aid learning and performance" (p. 16). That is, they involve ways for the learners to motivate themselves and thereby sustain the action when initial motivation is flagging. These strategies are particularly important in second language learning because, due to the extended nature of the process, L2 learners need to maintain their commitment and effort over a long period of time, often in the face of adversity. It must not be forgotten that failure in language learning remains a very frequent phenomenon worldwide.

Based on the pioneering work of Corno (1993), Corno and Kanfer (1993), and Kuhl (1987), Dörnyei (2001a) has divided self-motivating strategies into five main classes:

- Commitment control strategies for helping to preserve or increase the learners' original goal commitment (e.g., keeping in mind favorable expectations or positive incentives and rewards; focusing on what would happen if the original intention failed)
- Metacognitive control strategies for monitoring and controlling concentration and for curtailing unnecessary procrastination (e.g., identifying recurring distractions and developing defensive routines; focusing on the first steps to take when getting down to an activity)
- Satiation control strategies for eliminating boredom and adding extra attraction or interest to the task (e.g., adding a twist to the task; using one's fantasy to liven up the task)
- Emotion control strategies for managing disruptive emotional states or moods and for generating emotions that will be conducive to implementing one's intentions (e.g., self-encouragement; using relaxation and meditation techniques)
- Environmental control strategies for eliminating negative environmental influences and exploiting positive environmental influences by making the environment an ally in the pursuit of a difficult goal (e.g., eliminating distractions; asking friends to help and not to allow one to do something)

An important part of a motivational teaching practice that has a considerable empowering effect is to raise student awareness of relevant strategies and to remind them at appropriate times of their usefulness.

The focus of the field on self-based approaches to motivating language learners (e.g., the L2 motivational self-system, Dörnyei 2005, 2009) and an increasing recognition of the complex nature of the classroom environment have both been highlighted as the reasons for the lack of interest in motivational strategies (Cheng and Dörnyei 2007; Dörnyei and Ryan 2015). However, more recently this trend has reversed, and language learning strategies have again been thrust back into the spotlight (see, e.g., Alrabai 2016; Moskovsky et al. 2013). This recent research has largely confirmed the validity of the motivational strategies put forward in 2001 by Dörnyei (Henry et al. 2017), and although these strategies have not been claimed to be universal across contexts, there is evidence that some may be extrapolated across contexts more easily than others, for example, displaying appropriate teacher behavior, encouraging strong group dynamics and teacher-student relations, and promoting learner self-confidence (see Lamb 2017, for a comprehensive review).

Encouraging Positive Retrospective Self-Evaluation

A large body of research has shown that the way learners feel about their past accomplishments and the amount of satisfaction they experience after successful task completion will significantly determine how they approach subsequent learning tasks. Strangely enough, students' appraisal of their past performance depends not only on the absolute, objective level of the success they have achieved but also on how they subjectively interpret their achievement (which is why, e.g., we find so many people being regularly dissatisfied despite producing high-quality work). However, by using appropriate strategies, teachers can help learners to evaluate their past performance in a more "positive light," take more satisfaction in their successes and progress, and explain their past failures in a constructive way. This latter area is related to the role of attributions, which is an issue practicing teachers are usually unfamiliar with even though it has been a central topic in educational psychology.

The term attribution has been used in motivational psychology to refer to the explanation people offer about why they were successful or, more importantly, why they failed in the past. Past research had identified a certain hierarchy of the types of attributions people make in terms of their motivating nature. Failure that is ascribed to stable and uncontrollable factors such as low ability has been found to hinder future achievement behavior, whereas failure that is attributed to unstable and controllable factors such as effort is less detrimental in that it can be remedied. Thus, the general recommendation in the literature is to try and promote effort attributions and prevent ability attributions in the students as much as possible. In failure situations, this can be achieved by emphasizing the low effort exerted as being a strong reason for underachievement, and if failure occurs in spite of hard work, we might highlight the inadequacy of the strategies employed.

Finally, no account of classroom motivation would be complete without discussion of the controversial but very salient effects of various forms of feedback, rewards, and grades dispensed by the teacher. As these are all forms of external

evaluation by authority figures, they have a particularly strong impact on the students' self-appraisal. Feedback has at least three functions:

1. Appropriate motivational feedback can have a gratifying function, that is, by offering praise it can increase learner satisfaction and lift the learning spirit.
2. By communicating trust and encouragement, motivational feedback can promote a positive self-concept and self-confidence in the student.
3. Motivational feedback should be informative, prompting the learner to reflect constructively on areas that need improvement.

However, we should note that one common feature of educational feedback – its controlling and judgmental nature (i.e., comparing students against peer achievement or external standards) – is considered very harmful (Good and Brophy 2008). While feedback is generally considered a useful motivational tool when applied sensitively, rewards and grades (the latter being a form of rewards) are usually disapproved of by educational psychologists. This is all the more surprising because most teachers feel that rewards are positive things and dispense them liberally for good behavior and praiseworthy efforts or accomplishments. So what's wrong with rewards?

The problem with rewards and with grades in particular is that they are very simplistic devices. Rewards in themselves do not increase the inherent value of the learning task or the task outcome, and neither do they concern other important learning aspects such as the learning process, the learning environment, or the learner's self-concept. Instead, they simply attach a "carrot or stick" to the task, and by doing so, they divert students' attention away from the real task and the real point of learning. When students begin to concentrate on the reward rather than on the task, it is easy to succumb to the "mini-max principle" (Covington 1998), whereby attempts are made to maximize rewards with a minimum of effort. Indeed, we find that many students become grade driven, if not "grade grubbing," surprisingly early in their school career (Covington et al. 2017). Due to their ultimate importance in every facet of the education system, grades frequently become equated in the minds of school children with a sense of self-worth; that is, they consider themselves only as worthy as their school-related achievements, regardless of their personal characteristics such as being loving, good, or courageous. This remains a complex issue, while there is doubtless an important role for goals in motivated learning behavior in school environments, in instances where this success is framed solely around rewards and grades, there is a clear need for caution (for a more detailed discussion, see Dörnyei 2001a; Good and Brophy 2008; Hidi and Harackiewicz 2000; Schunk et al. 2013).

Conclusions

This overview has demonstrated that the motivational quality of the classroom environment is made up of a number of varied ingredients. The inherent complexity of instructed L2 learning environments, and the uncontrollable number of factors

affecting a students' motivation across different levels and different points in time, means that there is no one single recipe which will invariably lead to success. The development of a successful motivational teaching practice should begin with the development of an awareness of the vast repertoire of techniques that are at a teacher's disposal, before a choice being made to identify specific techniques, based on the specific needs of a specific classroom learning environment. There is only one thing that should surely not be attempted, that is, to try to apply all these techniques at the same time. Such a perfect recipe for teacher burnout should rather be superseded by a focus on quality rather than quantity and a recognition of the fact that some of the most motivating teachers often rely on only a few well-selected basic techniques.

Cross-References

▶ Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment
▶ Language Learner Engagement: Setting the Scene
▶ Language Learning Strategies: Insights from the Past and Directions for the Future

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Mediating L2 Learning Through Classroom Interaction

40

Steve Walsh and Olcay Sert

Contents

Abstract

This chapter focuses on the interactional dynamics of L2 English classrooms with an emphasis on how teachers mediate opportunities for learning. In L2 English classrooms, including English as a foreign language, English as a medium of instruction, and content and language-integrated learning settings, teachers require particular skills which allow them to make structures of L2 accessible through their interactional decisions. These teachers, we suggest, need an appropriate level of interactional competence to create opportunities and space where learning can occur. In this chapter, using data from a range of contexts, we present

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transcripts of video-recorded classes and demonstrate the ways in which learning is mediated, space created, and opportunities for learning established through a focus on Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC). We illustrate a variety of interactional practices that evidence CIC, including increased wait time, reduced teacher echo, and various feedback practices including the *shaping* of learner contributions. We also highlight the multimodal and multilingual aspects of CIC and discuss implications for L2 teacher education.

Introduction

In this chapter, we look at the ways in which learning is mediated in L2 English classrooms, where considerable instructional dexterity is needed to ensure that learning opportunities are created and to facilitate engagement and involvement. Teachers working in L2 classrooms require particular pedagogic skills which allow them to make the target language accessible through their interactional decisions. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, these teachers need a certain level of interactional competence in order to create a "safe" learning environment, establish appropriate instructional practices, and create "space for learning" (Walsh and Li 2013).

Using data from a range of contexts, we present transcripts of video-recorded classes and analyze the ways in which learning is mediated, space created, and opportunities for learning established. We also highlight teachers' practices and actions which evidence Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC – Walsh 2013). These include specific practices such as increased wait time, reduced teacher echo, and various feedback practices including the *shaping* of learner contributions. Drawing on recent developments in the field, we will also highlight the multimodal and multilingual aspects of CIC. Of particular interest to our analysis and discussion is the extent to which teachers are able to promote learning according to their ability to manage learner contributions in a positive and focused way. Implications for teacher education and professional development of EMI teachers are discussed.

L2 Classroom Interaction

The main reason for studying interaction in the classroom is that it tells us a great deal about the learning process. By studying teacher-learner and learner-learner interactions, we gain insights into who is participating and how; how language is being used to display, clarify, and understand new concepts; and how meanings are

co-constructed through the give-and-take of interaction (Walsh 2006). In short, given that we are unable to see what students are thinking, we need to look at what they are *doing* and what they are *saying*. The study of classroom interaction provides us with unique insights into learners and learning. In this chapter, we argue that participation and engagement in classroom interaction are evidence of learning; it is by participating with others that learning occurs. This is very much in line with sociocultural perspectives on learning which argue that learning is a process of co-construction entailing the use of language and other tools as a mediating force (c.f. Vygotsky 1978; Lantolf and Thorne 2006). As Kasper and Wagner (2011) argue, language learning "can be understood as *learning to participate* in mundane as well as institutional everyday social environments" (117). Put simply, learning requires language, interaction, and participation in an activity or task.

Among the earliest proponents of the study of classroom interaction were John Sinclair and Malcolm Coulthard. Their seminal and much-cited publication (1975) identified the IRF exchange structure as the basic building block of all classroom interaction, indeed, of most human spoken communication. IRF consists of three parts: teacher **I**nitiation, student **R**esponse, and teacher **F**eedback. It is sometimes also referred to as a recitation script or triadic structure.

An example of the IRF exchange structure is given here:

Extract 1

Teacher:	So, can you read question two, Junya.	**I**
Junya:	[Reading from book] Where was Sabina when this happened?	**R**
Teacher:	Right, yes, where was Sabina. In Unit 10, where was she?	**F/I**
Junya:	Er, go out …	**R**
Teacher:	She went out, yes.	**F**

(Walsh 2001)

The extract opens with the discourse marker "so," an indicator of the opening of a new phase of activity. The teacher's initiation results in Junya reading aloud as requested, followed by teacher feedback in the form of an evaluation, "right." This IRF sequence is then repeated in the subsequent exchange, culminating in positive reinforcement by the teacher "she went out, yes."

We can say, then, that an understanding of IRF is fundamental to an understanding of classroom interaction. It allows us to understand the nature and scope of classroom interaction through a number of basic observations. First, we can see that all classroom interaction is goal-oriented, with the main responsibility for setting goals lying with the teacher; second, teachers control participation partly through the special power and authority they have, but more importantly, through their control of the discourse – through their control of turn-taking, for example, and by selecting topic; third, we note that an awareness of IRF enables us to consider how we might vary interaction more and introduce alternative types of sequence: simply following IRF may result in a rather mechanical, stilted type of interaction; and fourth, the IRF exchange structure gives us an understanding of the way in which all spoken communication proceeds, both inside and outside the classroom.

In the remainder of this section, we offer an overview of the most important features of second language classroom interaction. Four features of classroom interaction have been selected, largely because they typify much of the interaction which takes place in classrooms all over the world.

Teachers' Control of the Interaction

In language classrooms, teachers control patterns of communication by managing both the topic of conversation and turn-taking, while students typically take their cues from the teacher through whom they direct most of their responses. Even in the most decentralized and learner-centered classroom, teachers decide who speaks, when, to whom, and for how long. Teachers are able to interrupt when they like, take the floor, hand over a turn, direct the discussion, and switch topics. As Breen puts it, it is the teacher who "orchestrates the interaction" (1998, p. 119).

Even in the most student-centered classroom, learners do not enjoy the same level of control of patterns of communication, although there will certainly be times when the roles of teacher and learners are more equal, allowing more even turn-taking and greater participation by learners. For much of the time, learners respond to the cues given by teachers: in the form of a spoken response, an action (such as opening a book, changing seats), or a change of focus (from a PowerPoint slide to course-book, e.g., or from listening to the teacher to talking to a classmate).

Speech Modification

Teachers' use of a more restricted code is, in many respects, similar to the spoken language of parents talking to young children: it is typically slower, louder, and more deliberate, makes greater use of pausing and emphasis, and is accompanied by more multimodal features such as gesture, facial expression, and gaze. An understanding of the ways in which second language teachers modify their speech to learners is clearly important to gaining greater insights into the interactional organization of the second language classroom and to helping teachers make better use of the strategies open to them. There are two aspects to this: firstly, teachers employ a different range of linguistic resources to facilitate comprehension and assist the learning process; and secondly, they modify their interactional resources to assist comprehension and help learners "find their way." Discourse markers like *right*, *ok*, *now*, *so*, and *alright* perform a very important function in signaling changes in the interaction or organization of learning.

Apart from the more obvious speech modifications discussed here, teachers use other, more subtle strategies to clarify, check, or confirm meanings. These include confirmation checks, whereby teachers make sure they understand learners; comprehension checks, ensuring that learners understand the teacher; repetition; clarification requests, asking students for clarification; reformulation, rephrasing a learner's utterance; turn completion, finishing a learner's contribution; and backtracking, returning

to an earlier part of a dialogue. These strategies highlight the "jointness" of classroom interaction: teachers and learners work together to co-construct meanings and ensure that the discourse progresses in a smooth manner. This joint enterprise is fundamental to Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC) and will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Elicitation Techniques

Elicitation techniques are the strategies used to get learners to respond. Typically, elicitation entails asking questions. It is by asking questions that teachers are able to control the discourse and get feedback on what students know or understand; these questions, known as *display questions*, are prevalent in most classroom interactions and serve to check understanding, guide learners, encourage participation, and check key concepts.

Apart from display questions, teachers also ask genuine, more open-ended questions, designed to promote discussion and debate, engage learners, and produce longer, more complex responses. These so-called referential questions may result in more "natural" responses by learners, are often longer and more complicated, and may result in a more conversational type of interaction. Referential questions often begin with a *wh*- question such as *who, why, what,* etc. From a teaching and learning perspective, the distinction between display and referential is less important than the relationship between a teacher's pedagogic goal and choice of question. If the aim is to quickly check understanding or establish what learners already know, display questions are perfectly adequate. If, on the other hand, the aim is to promote discussion or help learners improve oral fluency, then referential questions are more appropriate. The extent to which a question produces a communicative response is less important than the extent to which a question serves its purpose at a particular point in a lesson. In short, the use of appropriate questioning strategies requires an understanding of the *function* of a question in relation to what is being taught.

Repair

Repair is an umbrella term for dealing with troubles in interaction, which also includes the ways in which teachers deal with errors. It includes direct and indirect error correction and the ways in which teachers identify errors in the discourse. Clearly, there is a range of types of error correction available to a teacher at any point in time. As with all strategies, some will be more or less appropriate than others at any given moment. The basic choices facing a teacher are:

(a) Ignore the error completely.
(b) Indicate that an error has been made and correct it.
(c) Indicate that an error has been made and get the learner who made it to correct it.
(d) Indicate that an error has been made and get other learners to correct it.

These choices correlate very closely to the work of conversation analysts who recognize four types of error correction in naturally occurring conversation: self-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other repair, other-initiated self-repair, and other initiated other repair (see Sacks et al. 1974).

It is apparent when we look at classroom transcripts that error correction occupies a considerable amount of teachers' time. According to van Lier, "apart from questioning, the activity which most characterizes language classrooms is correction of errors" (1988, p. 276). He goes on to suggest that there are essentially two conflicting views of error correction: one which says we should avoid error correction at all costs since it affects the flow of classroom communication and the other which says we must correct all errors so that learners acquire a "proper" standard. As teachers, we need to decide on the type and frequency of error correction. Again, the strategies selected must be related to the pedagogic goals of the moment. A highly controlled practice activity requires more error correction than one where the focus is oral fluency. Similarly, there are times in any lesson where errors can be largely ignored and other times when they must be tightly controlled.

It is perhaps also true to say that, within the classroom, learners do expect to have their errors corrected. While it may not be appropriate in more naturalistic settings for speakers to correct each other's errors, in classrooms, this is both what learners want and expect. As Seedhouse (1997, p. 571) puts it, "making linguistic errors and having them corrected directly and overtly is not an embarrassing matter." Rather than deciding whether we should or should not correct errors, teachers would do well to consider the appropriacy of a particular strategy in relation to their intended goals. By adopting more conscious strategies and by understanding how a particular type of error correction impacts on the discourse, teachers can do much to tailor their error correction to the "moment" and promote opportunities for learning. Learning opportunities are moments in the interaction where learners are given an opportunity to develop a response, modify an answer, comment on a previous contribution, and so on. Teachers play a key role in promoting such opportunities through their interactional strategies such as the use of increased wait time; a reduction in teacher echo (where teacher contributions are repeated for no obvious reason); and the use of clarification requests to check and confirm understanding. The point we are making here is that opportunities for learning are *created* by teachers in their interactions with learners (c.f. Walsh 2002).

Classroom Interactional Competence

The construct communicative competence (CC, Hymes 1972) revolutionized our understandings of spoken communication and contributed greatly to advances in language teaching methodology, especially concerning speaking (Canale and Swain 1980). As can be inferred from the literature on testing, one major disadvantage of CC is that it focuses on solo performance, as if communication operated at the level of the individuals (Kramsch 1986; Young 2008). Yet, communication is not the sum of the abilities of individual speakers but a joint enterprise which requires the

speakers' as well as the listeners' collective and reciprocated competence. Thus, whereas listeners play a key role in demonstrating understanding and in clarifying meaning, checking, etc., it is the speakers' responsibility, for example, to adjust their speech to the needs their interlocutors make apparent. Essentially, in any conversation (or indeed any spoken interaction), speakers and listeners have equal responsibility to "make it work," and their ability to do this depends very much on their level of *interactional competence* (IC) (Kramsch 1986), rather than on their CC (Walsh 2011).

Young's (2008) definition of IC as "a relationship between participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are employed" (p. 100) stresses the relationship between "the *linguistic* and *interactional* resources" used by interlocutors in specific contexts. Clearly, this relationship is an important one and includes, for example, interlocutors' ability to take a turn, interrupt politely, and acknowledge a contribution, in addition to their ability to make appropriate use of vocabulary, intonation, verb forms, and so on. It is the relationship between linguistic, interactional and multimodal resources which is crucial to effective communication.

Interactional competence as a concept has its roots in diverse research traditions, including linguistic anthropology and conversation analysis (see Hall 2018; Hellermann 2018; Pekarek Doehler 2018 for a review of the roots of the concept and a discussion on its role in understanding L2 development). Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2016) argue that IC involves the development of "methods" for action, that is, "systematic procedures (of turn-taking, repairing, opening or closing a conversation, etc.) by which members of a social group organize their interactional conduct in mutually understandable and accountable ways" (p. 2). It has become a central phenomenon and a research agenda to look into and give implications for broader applied linguistic matters in L2 research, including the development of L2 IC (e.g., Pekarek Doehler and Pochon Berger 2016; Cekaite 2017; Balaman and Sert 2017; Watanabe 2017), teaching of L2 IC (e.g., Barraja-Rohan 2011; Waring 2018), testing L2 IC (e.g., Galaczi 2013), and, to the interests of the current chapter, L2 Classroom Interactional Competence in teaching and teacher education (e.g., Walsh 2006, 2011, 2013; Sert 2015, 2019a).

Taking a variable approach to the analyses of classroom interaction, Walsh (2006, 2011) has developed the notion of Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC), defined as the ability "to use interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning" (2011, p. 158). We can say that learning is mediated through the use of particular strategies which create opportunities for learning (see above) and ensure that a teacher's use of language and pedagogic goal are convergent, that they work together. The concept of CIC encompasses those features of classroom interaction that make the teaching/learning process more or less effective. These features are (a) maximizing interactional space; (b) shaping learner contributions (seeking clarification, scaffolding, modelling, or repairing learner input); (c) effective use of eliciting; (d) instructional idiolect (i.e., a teacher's speech habits); and (e) interactional awareness. It can be argued that all these interactional features become meaningful as long as they coincide with the pedagogical goal of the

moment (Walsh 2006). For instance, explicit corrections in a speaking activity when the focus is on meaning and fluency (i.e., what Walsh calls classroom context mode) may be obstructive as it may be interruptive. This variable approach and the sensitivity toward local contingency in classroom talk have influenced more recent studies which have paid significant attention to multimodal and multilingual aspects of classroom interaction (Sert 2019b).

While it is true to say that CIC is highly context specific, not just to a particular class and subject matter, but to a specific moment in the discourse, there are a number of features of CIC which are common to all contexts. First, teachers may demonstrate CIC through their ability to use language which is both convergent to the pedagogic goal(s) of the moment and appropriate to the learners. Essentially, this entails an understanding of the interactional strategies which are appropriate to twofold teaching goals and which are adjusted in relation to the co-construction of meaning and the unfolding agenda of a lesson. This position assumes that pedagogic goals and the language used to achieve them are inextricably intertwined and constantly being re-adjusted (see, Seedhouse 2004; Walsh 2003; Walsh and Li 2013).

Participation is key to CIC's notion of space for learning, defined here as the ways in which teachers not only create opportunities for participation but increase student engagement (both at the individual and whole class levels), promote dialogic interaction, and enhance affordances by allowing increased wait time. While participation alone cannot be equated with learning, the view taken here is that it affects learning in some way by providing opportunities for reflection and thought (C.f. Kasper 2006). Indeed, by affording learners space in teacher-led interaction or in autonomous group work, they are better able to contribute to the process of co-constructing meanings – something which lies at the very heart of learning in and through interaction (Walsh 2011; Walsh and Li 2013).

Recent work on L2 CIC has described the ways epistemic (e.g., Sert and Walsh 2013), multimodal, and multilingual (Sert 2015) resources help us understand learning and teaching events in L2 classrooms. Using data that includes EFL classrooms in Luxembourg and Turkey, Sert (ibid.) examines the verbal and multimodal features of teacher-student interaction including gaze, gestures, and orientations to classroom artifacts. It builds on the knowledge base of L2 teachers' interactive skills by showing that the ways (1) teachers respond to students' use of first language(s), (2) manage interactional troubles, (3) visualize their actions through gestures, and (4) display awareness of unwillingness to participate have pedagogical and interactional consequences.

Research on CIC has recently been enhanced in a variety of settings by tracking the development of teachers. Escobar Urmeneta and Evnitskaya (2014), for instance, describe how CIC is enacted by participants while developing a teacher-led discussion based on data from a bilingual Catalan-Spanish secondary school classroom in Barcelona. Their findings reveal that teachers' deployment of multimodal resources favors learner-initiated turns leading to sequences of mediation and remediation, "providing the students with opportunities for the appropriation of language and content" (Escobar Urmeneta and Evnitskaya 2014, p. 178). In a Turkish EFL teacher

education context, Sert (2015) tracks the development of preservice language teachers over a year using analyses of teacher-fronted classroom interaction as well as reflective writing and observation reports. His research provides empirical evidence for teacher development, showing how the same teacher becomes aware of this phenomenon and finally employs interactional resources that engage students, including embedded and embodied correction techniques in addition to embodied vocabulary explanations (see Sert 2017 for detailed analyses). For a comprehensive review of research on the use of self-evaluation of teacher talk and CIC, see Walsh (2006, 2011) and Sert (2019a).

Against this background, the following section will illustrate some features of CIC using previously published extracts based on classroom data from Luxembourg, Spain, and Turkey. The analyses will illustrate how teachers open space for interaction and shape learner contributions (extracts 2, 3, and 4), use multimodal resources including hand gestures (extract 5), and draw on multilingual resources to manage student participation and enhance L2 use (extract 6). Each extract will also illustrate the aforementioned characteristics of classroom interaction, namely, teachers' control of the interaction, speech modification, elicitation techniques, and repair.

Data and Analysis

In extract 2, taken from a Turkish EFL setting with a 9th-grade class, the teacher is using a short video clip from the animation film Wall-E (played before the start of the sequence), to elicit from students the differences between what they have seen on the video and today's world. In this extract, we consider how the teacher opens up space for interaction through the use of wait time, by allowing thinking time, by asking elaboration questions, and by providing minimal responses that help the students come up with complex formulations in L2 and engage with the topic.

Extract 2 (part of this extract was published in Sert 2015, p. 28)

```
01    T2 : what is the differences,
02         from our conditions and these years.
03         (2.0)
04         flying chairs? (.) any-thing else?
05         (2.5)
06         yes?
07    L3 : er when we do robots in the fu↑ture ehm they will do
08         everything that people [want] to do ↑now.
09    T2 :                         [ yes]
10         yes (.)is it ↑goo:d (.) do you think?
11         (0.5)
12    L3 : ↑no(.)because er (0.4)it will make peo↓ple la↑zy.
13    T2 : yes. ((nods head))
14    L3 : so i don't think it's good.
```

Lines 1 and 2 include T2's question on the comparison between today and the future, based on the video that had already been watched in class. Having received no response for 2 s, T2 provides an example (flying chairs?) with a rising inflection at the TRP (transition relevance place – the point at which a next turn could occur) and then asks for alternatives in turn-final position (any-thing else?). Another wait time in line 5, combined with the resources used by the teacher to open up space for interaction, elicits student talk in line 7, which is initiated by the turn-allocation practice of the teacher in line 6. In lines 7 and 8, first starting with a hesitation marker, L3 successfully provides a response. This long turn is followed first by a minimal acknowledgment token and then with an elaboration question (is it ↑goo:d), which is then followed by a yes/no interrogative question that requires the student to take a stance in turn-final position in line 10. Such a question opens space for interaction and helps the student to provide understanding in L2 and thus engage further with the topic at hand. Following a short thinking time in line 11, not having been interrupted by the teacher, L3 aligns with the question format and uses a negative response marker with a rising intonation, followed by an account success-fully formulated with a conjunction in line 12. Note that the intonation counter in turn-final position in line 12 has successfully been interpreted by T2, as she minimally contributes in line 13, allowing a further formulation of stance by the student prefaced with "so" in line 14.

Extract 3 comes almost immediately after extract 2 and displays how T2 engages more students in interaction. As is the case in the previous extract, there are long student turns, instances of engaging questions and a stepwise topic development. Also note that content feedback by the teacher and reformulations of student utterances help to "shape" (Walsh 2013) learner contributions, leading to a mean-ingful dialogue.

Extract 3 (previously published in Sert 2015, p. 29)

```
01     T2 : yes? ((walks towards L9))
02     L9 : er people are fat.
03     T2 : people are fat because they don't do anything,
04          (0.5)and,
05     L10:          (only eat)
06     T2 : yes? ((walks towards L10))
07     L10: people are overweight because they are just eat↓ing.
08          (0.9)
09     T2 : and just talking=
10     L10: =yes(1.5)but er this life style is i think good
11          (0.9)<you ↑don't make(0.5)er: (0.8) something (0.4)
12          diffi↓cult> (0.6)
13     T2 : yes=
14     L10: =al- >all things are easy<.
15     T2 : ↑but you don't do any↓thing (.) you just sit (.) and
16          eat(.)and drink.
```

In line 01, T2 initiates the first pair part of an adjacency pair by allocating the turn to L9, who makes a comment on the physical appearances of the people on the video. In line 3, T2 aligns with L9's comment, providing an account. Following half a second of silence, L10 completes the teacher's turn, and the teacher then allocates the turn to her. In line 7, upgrading the word fat to overweight, L10 provides a comment, producing a similar grammatical format as in the teacher's turn in line 3, which shows the importance of teachers' turn formulations. Following a wait time in line 8, T2 provides turn completion with a turn-initial conjunction (and just talking=), which proves to be a rich resource to elicit more student talk and thus active participation, as L10 holds the floor for quite a long time from lines 10 to 12. After producing a continuer in line 13, T2's utterance in line 15 provides embedded (changing "something" to any↓thing) and delayed correction while also providing content feedback.

Extract 2 and 3 displayed how a teacher opens space for interaction and engages students to produce meaningful and contingent utterances in English. In the next extract below, we consider the CIC-related practice of *shaping*. Shaping involves taking a learner response and modifying it in some way, rather than simply accepting it. For example, a response may be paraphrased, using slightly different vocabulary or grammatical structures; it may be summarized or extended in some way; a response may require scaffolding so that learners are assisted in saying what they really mean; it may be recast (c.f. Lyster 1998): "handed back" to the learner but with some small changes included. By shaping learner contributions and by helping learners to really articulate what they mean, teachers are performing a more central role in the interaction while, at the same time, maintaining a student-centered, decentralized approach to teaching. It is, arguably, one of the hallmarks of good teaching and requires considerable mental agility on the part of the teacher.

An example of shaping is presented in extract 4 below (Escobar Urmeneta and Walsh 2017). The extract 4 is taken from a biology lesson on amoebas. The class is a group of 10 12-year-old Catalan/Spanish bilingual students from a state-funded school in central Barcelona. The main classroom practice in this extract is checking a true-false exercise designed to review previously covered content.

Extract 4 (Escobar Urmeneta and Walsh 2017, p. 190)

```
1    TEA:    JAU (.) the first one?
2    JAU:    ((reads)) amoebas have a nucleus and a cytoplasm. e:::
3    TEA:    is it true or false?
4    JAU:    true
5    QUI:    no false false
6    TEA:    why? is true or why is false?
7        you have to tell me why (it)-
8    MIQ:    it's true
9     TEA:     why it's true? ((turns to RIC and JAU))
10    JOA:     becau::se
11    JAU:     I found i::t ((looks at TEA))
12        ((raises shoulders and hands, slightly shakes head))
```

```
13    JOA:     they are::
14    TEA:     ((laughs, shakes head)) no no
15    JOA:     they are::
16    TEA:     this is not a reason ((looks at JAU))
17     JOA:     <eukaryotic cells>
18     TEA:     very good ((nods))
19          amoebas are:: or have got eukaryotic cells.
20          so=
21    ARN:     it's-
22    TEA:     =they have got a nucleus and a cytoplasm.
23          it's true
```

The extract opens with a plenary correction of the homework revision exercise. The teacher immediately nominates JAU (line 1); in subsequent lines, different students self- select by offering "true" or "false" responses (5, 8). Not satisfied with these apparent guesses, the teacher seeks clarification (6–7), asking a wh-question to elicit further responses. In line 9, the teacher orients to two other students, asking the same "why" question and receiving an inappropriate response (11). JOA, meanwhile, is constructing her own response which she does over 4 lines (10, 13, 15, 18). Note the stretching (indicated::) over these lines, an indication that JOA is searching for words and resulting in the correct formulation `eukaryotic cells` (18). At this stage, the teacher provides an evaluation and confirmation that the response is correct (19). The teacher then reformulates or shapes JOA's multiple utterances into one utterance (19) before going on to explain the meaning of `eukaryotic cells` at 22: `they have got a nucleus and a cytoplasm`.

Of interest in extract 4 is the extent to which the process of "shaping" contributions occurs by repairing learner input, modelling, scaffolding, or seeking clarification in order to help learners to go beyond themselves or reconduct the flow of talk in the desired direction. In a decentralized classroom in which learner-centeredness is a priority, these interactional strategies may be the only opportunities for explicit teaching and occur frequently during the feedback move as shown in extract 4.

What is evident, both from the discussion here and from previous studies, is that feedback is one of the most important interactional practices a teacher can master since it has the greatest potential to influence learning. The ways in which teachers acknowledge a contribution, evaluate it, and make modifications are a skill which requires detailed understanding and practice. For many teachers in the world, feedback is generally evaluative, consisting of a brief response token such as "very good," "right," "excellent," or the echoing of the correct response (see Waring 2008 for an analysis of explicit positive assessments). While this kind of feedback does have its place, more subtle types of shaping are necessary if we are to really help learners communicate their intended meaning. Acknowledgement tokens (typically discourse markers such as *right, ok, great, excellent,* etc.) may actually close down an interaction and signal the end of an exchange, and its disproportionate use may turn students excessively dependent from the teacher.

Recent research in the field of L2 classroom interaction extended its scope to cover multimodal and multilingual aspects of teaching and learning practices. The

resulting contributions of these interests to the construct of CIC have been the addition of new features to teachers' interactional repertoires. Sert's (2015) work proposes that effective use of gestures (i.e., multimodal aspects; also see Sert (2017)) and successful management of code-switching (i.e., multilingual aspects) should also be considered as one aspect of CIC. These recently proposed features are inextricable from the basic features of CIC, in particular from convergent use of language to the pedagogical goal of the moment, shaping learner contributions (seeking clarification, scaffolding, modelling, or repairing learner input), and effective use of eliciting. The extracts that follow will demonstrate how multimodal (extract 5) and multilingual (extract 6) aspects of CIC are manifested.

In extract 5 below, we exemplify multimodal aspects of CIC manifested through the deployment of hand gestures in providing an explanation for a phrase in L2 (each other). The data comes from an EFL classroom taught by a novice teacher who went through a video-based microanalytic and reflective teacher education program (IMDAT; see Sert 2015, ▶ Chap. 8, Language Ideologies, Language Policies, and English-Language Teaching in Russia) in Turkey.

Extract 5 (previously published in Sert 2015, p. 161) (Figs. 1 and 2)

```
1     T:  er: do you think they ar- (.)they know each other?
2         do they know each other?
3         (0.6)
4     S1: ich=other mea:ns?
5         (0.5) ((T looks at L1))
6     T:  each other.
7     S1: each other.=
8  →  T:  °you and me°.=
          #1. --> #2.
          + hand gestures
9     T:  =[((repeats the gesture))
10    S1:  [↑huh::=
11    T:  =((nods))
12        do they know each other?
13        yes: (.) seda?
```

Fig. 1 Each other

In extract 5, in lines 1 and 2, T starts a prediction activity at the warm-up stage. In line 4, rather than providing an answer to the question posed by the teacher, S1 asks what "each other" means (ich=other mea:ns?). Such learner initiatives (Waring 2011) can be commonly found in language classrooms, and they may display a knowledge gap to be addressed by the teacher. Such a question requires the teacher to temporarily shift from her main pedagogical goal and create a learning opportunity for the students, by being responsive to the emergent student initiative. This teacher seems to manage the knowledge gap successfully in the subsequent turns, in particular by employing relevant multimodal resources, e.g., using her hand gestures. In line 5, she establishes mutual gaze with the student and then repeats the phrase to repair the mispronunciation of the learner (*each* other). S1 then she repeats the phrase in the way that the teacher has pronounced it in line 7. In line 8, T demonstrates the meaning of "each other" by using hand gestures, pointing to S1 and herself repeatedly, and synchronizes her verbal production (°you and me°.) with this multimodal explanation. In line 9, T immediately repeats the gesture again, overlapping the student's information receipt in line 10 [↑huh::=), a change of epistemic state token (Heritage 1984) that may indicate understanding. The teacher closes the sequence with a head nod and immediately moves back to the main pedagogical agenda with her question in line 12 (do they know each other?).

Extract 5 demonstrates a number of features of CIC. After mediating the production of the phrase with a focus on its pronunciation, we can argue that the way T explained the phrase was a successful moment of teaching, which led to a "change of epistemic state," thus a micro-moment of learning (Markee and Seo 2009). How the teacher succeeded in this is of significant importance here, which is by highlighting the meaning of the phrase through her gestures, and effective use of gestures has earlier been found to be an important aspect of CIC (Sert 2015; Matsumoto and Dobs 2017). Using this one single extract, we cannot, however, claim that this is evidence of "language learning" as we need longitudinal evidence. In order to demonstrate evidence of language learning and to present analyses from this particular classroom (Sert 2017), we now turn to another aspect of CIC, namely, the management of multilingual resources in language classrooms.

The following extract, extract 6, which comes from an EFL classroom in Luxembourg, shows that a student's L1 response to a question in L2 does not always

need to be policed (Amir and Musk 2013) immediately due to a target-language-only policy, but can be managed by the teacher in a way that leads to the maintenance of L2 use as the medium of classroom interaction and through the use of multilingual interactional resources. This can be done while also acknowledging the use of L1s. This is in line with recent research on the value of multilingual resources in EFL classrooms (e.g., Ziegler et al. 2012, 2013, 2015) and adds to the current debate and discussions on the use of L1 in language classrooms (Chavez 2016; Cai and Cook 2015; Hall and Cook 2012). The extract comes from a tenth-grade classroom in a public school in Luxembourg, based on data collected in 2010.

Extract 6 (previously published in Sert 2015, p. 123)

```
01    Sam:    "they treated (.) to hurt him".
02    Tea:    they th↑reatened.
03    Sam:    threatened. ((some students laugh))
04    Tea:    what does that ↑mean to threaten?
05        (2.1)((starts writing on the board))
06 →       lara do you know?
        +looks at Lar while saying her name and keeps writing
07    Sx :    (     )
08 →  Lar:    drohen.
        to threaten
09        (0.7) ((Tea keeps writing))
10 →   Tea:    yes: bedrohen drohen.
11        (3.9) ((writes drohen bedrohen on the board))
12 →       so how would ↑you:: explain this in english?
13        (0.9) ((turns his body towards the class))
14        to th↑reaten:.
15    Lar:    er: (1.6) to:: (0.8) tell somebody that you are
16        going ↓to: (2.0)£↑hurt him£.
17    Tea:    e↑xactly: yes:(.) to put somebody: (.) under pressure
18        by telling him that you:, are going to ↑hurt him.
```

Before the episode presented here starts, Sam has been reading a text aloud. In line 02, Tea repairs Sam's pronunciation of the word threatened, followed by a repetition from Sam, which triggers student laughter. The teacher analyses this as a vocabulary problem, and in line 04 he asks the meaning of the word (what does that mean to *threaten*?). During the 2.1 s silence in line 05, the teacher writes the word on the board and while writing asks Lar whether she knows the meaning of the word. In line 06, Lar provides the meaning of the word in one of her L1s, in German (drohen). The teacher accepts this contribution in German and repeats the L1 word also using its synonym (yes: bedrohen drohen) by also writing it on the board, making it visible for all the students in the classroom.

In this sequence, thus far, the teacher demonstrates the students that it is fine to draw on one's multilingual resources in responding to questions that check

knowledge (see Sert forthcoming, 2019a, for a collection of comparative cases). However, starting from line 12, the teacher also displays his preference as "paraphrasing the L2 word," since he requests an explanation of the word from Lar (so how would ↑you:: explain this in english?). It is important that he uses "so" at turn-initial position, which shows that an understanding has been displayed, but it needs to be elaborated now, so that it is demonstrated in L2 (see Koole, Sert 2019a). In response to this, starting from line 15, Lar explains the word "threaten" in English. The way the teacher manages the student's use of L1 displays his CIC in that while he's responsive and accepting to the use of L1, his management of the activity still encourages the student to produce an L2 explanation, hence successful management of multilingual resources.

Discussion and Conclusion

The centrality of classroom interaction for language teaching and learning has been acknowledged by researchers coming from different disciplinary standpoints, including the interactionist paradigm (see Lyster 2015), sociocultural theory (e.g., van Compernolle 2014), and conversation analysis (e.g., Markee 2000). What the findings from all these different theoretical positions have shown us is that a focus on classroom interaction is crucial for understanding how learning and teaching practices manifest themselves in classrooms and beyond. Language learning is mediated and co-constructed, and successful teaching and learning practices become observable through an analysis of talk and interaction. This has multiple implications for researchers, teachers, and teacher educators. As we stated at the beginning of this chapter, we can understand learning more fully by looking at what interactants do and say and by studying how specific strategies mediate, or influence, learning in some way.

The analyses of extracts have revealed various aspects of CIC. Opening space for interaction, shaping learner contributions, and the use of multilingual and multimodal resources, as has been illustrated, encourage student participation and enhance L2 production. Considering that we learn in and through participating in interaction (Pekarek Doehler 2010), student engagement becomes key for creating opportunities for learning. Future research on L2 classroom interaction, then, is very important in that we need to document teaching practices that facilitate learning opportunities. The microlevel description of teaching practices through research in a wide range of contexts will contribute to the already growing body of research on classroom interaction. More research is required from different geographical locations, with students representing different proficiency levels, performing diverse classroom activities.

One obvious contribution, in relation to the growing body of research on the phenomenon, is teacher education. Teacher education programs should integrate findings from L2 classroom interaction research into their training framework to first increase teachers' language awareness and then to encourage teachers become more reflective and critical. This involves the use of previously published transcripts

as well as the use of audio and video recordings in teacher education. In order to communicate these findings to teachers, however, teacher educators first need to be aware of the value of classroom interaction for language teaching and learning, for which MA and PhD programs in TESOL and Applied Linguistics play an important part.

Reflective teachers who are not involved in ongoing or preservice teacher education can also make use of findings from classroom interaction research. They can even go beyond solely being dependent on published work and training and use their own classroom recordings for critical reflection. What we say and how we say it as well as how we enact actions visually become more important than the materials we use, the methods we employ, and the context we create for learning in classrooms. It is not the teaching methods and materials that in isolation grant successful learning experiences, but how we communicate content is what matters primarily for our students. Being a reflective teacher, then, should involve listening to or watching our own teaching and learning from it, mainly by putting student engagement at the center of the reflective process.

Cross-References

▶ The *What* and *How* of English Language Teaching: Conversation Analysis Perspectives

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Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment

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Abstract

This chapter presents a theoretical framework for how and why technology can actually enhance language learning. Then the chapter provides a step-by-step process for making decisions about technology use. Teachers must understand outcome goals for the class or curriculum, identify learning activities that allow students to achieve those outcomes, and only then select one or more technology platforms that can deliver those learning activities via task-based assignments. Evaluation of each potential technology should be based on the affordances of the technology. Best practices and examples are provided. In addition, the chapter addresses how technology fits in with the overall language learning environment, including the physical environment, the social/cultural environment, the instructional environment, and the assessment environment. This chapter uses accessible language and is based on the assumption that readers are teachers who do not currently make extensive use of technology.

Introduction

Using technology to assist second or foreign language learners is much in demand by students, but many language teachers are not sure where to start in incorporating technology. Their own teachers in years past often used little or no technology, and today's teachers often feel less sophisticated than their students in simply understanding the potential of today's technology for teaching and learning. These teachers feel outside their "comfort zones" when they encounter terminology such as computer-assisted language learning (CALL), mobile-assisted language learning (MALL), and technology-enhanced language learning (TELL). In addition, most academic literature about using technology for English language teaching reports on experimental one-time tests and provides little guidance on how technology can be incorporated into the curriculum over the long term (Chwo et al. 2016). Rather than make an attempt and risk failure, many teachers simply avoid questions of using technology and continue their traditional teaching methods.

Technology, of course, is just one part of the overall learning context the students encounter (Marek and Wu 2014, 2016, 2017). This complex environment includes physical things like the classroom, desks, and comfort (heat/air conditioning). It includes the attitudes of the teacher in managing the classroom – authoritarian, critical, supporting, and engaging. It includes the homelife, jobs, and social relationships of the students that support or distract from learning, and the environment includes the lesson plan and learning activities required to complete the class.

Technology must be part of the lesson plan, used for student learning activities. It always supports a learning activity, but should not be thought of as an activity, in and

of itself. For example, the very simple technology of using a PowerPoint presentation is not, itself, the learning activity. A lecture or student presentation enhanced by bulleted text, diagrams, graphics, or photographs is the learning activity. In a similar way, more advanced technology assists a learning activity, but technology is the "means to an end, and not the end in itself." Furthermore, this "means to an end" is not the technology itself but the beneficial functions of the technology that result in improved motivation of the students and improved learning outcomes.

So, when considering creating a technology-rich learning environment, remember that the goal is not to simply use more technology. The goal is to improve learning by using technology to enhance learning activities and thus result in outcomes that are more beneficial. The question remains, however, "how do we do this?".

This chapter provides the answer, leading us through this confusing jungle of ideas in a way that is clear and straightforward. This chapter will help us find the right path toward creating a technology-rich English language learning environment for our students.

It will first look at the theoretical framework for how and why technology can actually improve language learning. Then it will present a step-by-step process for making decisions about what technology to use and how to use it. Every school, academic program, and subject is different, but the chapter will conclude with a list of best practices that will allow us to incorporate technology into our classrooms in a way that is effective for language learning and appreciated by our students.

Why Does Technology Work?

The last several decades have seen great changes in the understanding of how people learn, which helps us understand how to best use technology for learning. These changes are the result of the growth of the field of psychology, which has resulted in a changed understanding of how people receive new information and fit it in with what they already know (Bruning et al. 2011). What psychologists have learned is that lecture/memorization does not promote long-term deep understanding of the subject matter. Many people probably remember the experience of cramming for a test, but forgetting the information within a few days. This is because memorized information from lecture stays near the surface of a student's memory and is not incorporated deeply, making it easily forgotten when no longer needed for a test.

The modern understanding of psychology reveals that for students to develop mastery of subject matter, they need to "connect the dots" to understand how new information fits with what they already know, because information that is connected becomes knowledge the student can use. The more connections that are made between the new information and what the learner already knows, the better the learner can make use of the information and employ it as usable knowledge, not simply memorized facts. This is called "cognitive psychology," which means understanding how people think and learn (Bruning et al. 2011). When scholars apply this

perspective to teaching and learning, it is called "constructivism" because it is based on the understanding that students need to connect new information to what they already know, in order to "construct" knowledge and have a deep understanding. The term "social constructivism" recognizes that we learn effectively by interaction with others.

Constructivism requires a very different approach to teaching and learning than lecture/memorization. It changes both the Eastern Confucian philosophy and Western professorial tradition that the teacher is the source of all knowledge. Instead, the teacher is now a guide who helps students discover and understand new knowledge for themselves (Bruning et al. 2011). It is easy to understand that, for example, when students in a physics laboratory repeat famous experiments of the past, it strengthens their understanding far beyond what they would have learned from simply memorizing facts from a lecture.

As a result, we need to take this understanding of how students learn into account when we make our decisions about technology. For example, students have been found to dislike an instructional design that is essentially watching a lecture outside the classroom via video technology (Hung et al. 2017). Constructivism suggests that using hands-on active technology will do the best job of helping students absorb and apply new information (Nunan 1997).

The next section will address how foreign language teachers apply this concept to the English language classroom, as a practical matter.

Learn by Doing

First, we need to talk about the basic principles of "active learning." Then we will look at how we apply these principles to technology.

Students benefit from extensive opportunities to make "hands-on" use of the language they are learning. Of course, this means using English almost exclusively in the classroom (and the authors know of some English teachers who do not do this). It also means, however, offering students learning materials and activities that provide authentic experiences using and interacting in English, but are not too hard for the students. In this way, students experience success while using English and are motivated to continue learning.

This focus on social interaction is important because in the past, many English classrooms have focused on grammar and other fine details, even though native speakers often do not speak with perfect grammar. Knowles (1980), a pioneer in the theory of social learning, said that it brings together all the concerned individuals, institutions, and associations into a social system that extends the opportunities for learning. There is abundant research showing that social interaction is part of understanding, retention, reproduction, and motivation (Bandura 1970).

Successful social interaction in English, therefore, allows students to test their skills and assess their ability against their peers, teachers, and other English speakers they encounter. Therefore, social interaction is a fundamental aspect of effective learning.

The authors call this "organic" language learning (Marek and Wu 2011) because it is natural and almost automatic. When learners understand almost all of the messages they receive, they learn subconsciously by filling in any gaps of occasional new vocabulary or correcting grammar to be better understood (Krashen 1988, 2003). This is how children learned their native language. People always use simple language with very young children, who actively "fill in the gaps" of words they do not know, to become more and more capable language users.

This active learning based on interests of the learner can be emulated for older learners, an instructional philosophy known as "student-centered active learning" (Huang and Xia 2010; Myron 1949). We will see in the next section that the right technology choices can greatly benefit student-centered active learning.

Learn via Technology

The benefit of using technology for English learning is that it can provide authentic and organic opportunities for student-centered active learning. Of course, which technology we choose and how students use it are important factors, but the broad availability of authentic source material in our Internet-connected world provides rich opportunities for language learning.

Some students may already be doing this on their own. They visit English websites, watch English videos, and read social media posts. Sometimes it is just for fun, but sometimes it is for the purpose of improving their English. Either way, it is likely that they do learn organically about the culture, grammar, and vocabulary of native English speakers (Lai and Gu 2011).

With this background, it becomes clear that there is good justification for moving away from lecture/memorization and into active learning, incorporating technology. This still leaves many questions, however, about how to make this a reality, especially for teachers who are not confident in their technology skills.

What Is "Technology-Rich"?

Most students are surrounded by technology in their daily lives. They use it naturally and automatically for social interaction, recreation, and seeking out information (Ushioda 2013; Wang et al. 2014). Often called *digital natives* (Prensky 2001), these students "account for a substantial portion of the total enrollment in higher education" (Sarkar et al. 2017, p. 1) and not only accept but desire a similar level of technology in their formal learning, because they are so used to it. In basic terms, a "technology-rich" classroom means that a lot of technology is used, both for in-class activities and for homework. Under this definition, most, if not all, elements of the class employ technology in some form or another. The author's definition, therefore, of a technology-rich learning environment is *surrounding students with technology that benefits learning*, because traditional methods of instruction, even though used for centuries, now seem alien to today's students.

In the process of surrounding students with technology that helps them learn, however, teachers need to make sure that they are not using technology *only* for the sake of using technology. In the kind of technology-rich learning environment that benefits students, all of the technology needs to contribute to learning in a specific and planned way. If the technology is just for show, and does not contribute to learning, then it has no merit. A swamp of meaningless technology will just trap students in the quicksand of worthless time and effort and reduce their motivation for learning, because they are already surrounded by technology and are skilled at making judgments about what is beneficial and what is not.

So, the technology-rich environment will include technology for several kinds of learning activities. Each separate use of technology must be planned and selected to contribute to the learning experience, supporting the students as they achieve beneficial learning outcomes.

The Overall Environment

Although the primary subject matter of this chapter is technology, it is important to understand that technology is just one part of the overall language learning context. In addition to the technology itself, the overall context (Marek and Wu 2014) includes:

- The physical environment, such as the classroom, buildings, desks, and air conditioning/heat
- The instructional environment, such as the assignments, teacher's philosophy about the usefulness of technology for language learning, and learner self-perceptions
- The assessment environment, including classroom and standardized tests
- The social/cultural environment, including the perceptions of parents and the broader culture about using technology for language learning, classroom social interactions, and vast number of social and cultural factors outside the classroom which influence teachers and students

These categories can also overlap. For example, an online learning community could be considered to be part of the technology environment, but it is also primarily a social experience for the students. Similarly, competing against other students in game-based learning is also a social interaction, because of the competition, the comparing notes about the game, and even about the bragging rights. The social interaction is the learning activity, and the technology is the tool to accomplish the activity. The technology, therefore, is about the social connections among people, not just about hardware and software.

It is also valuable for teachers planning to begin or expand the use of technology for learning to reflect on their own teaching philosophies, perceptions of technology, and past experiences. It is beneficial for teachers embarking on such an undertaking to be aware of their own strengths and weaknesses.

Now that the basic concepts of teaching and learning that underlie use of technology have been reviewed, it is time to consider how to make wise decisions about English instructional technology.

Set-by-Step Process

Choosing technology to incorporate into English language teaching is not JUST about choosing technology. Before choosing the technology, it is necessary to know what the technology needs to accomplish. This means performing a thorough analysis of the existing curriculum, the way students use mobile technology, and the instructional goals of the course, so that the technology will fit seamlessly and not be a distraction. This section provides a step-by-step process for making these decisions, summarized in Fig. 1.

Outcome Goals

Any instructional program needs outcome goals for students. Teachers often know these goals implicitly, through their expertise in the subject matter; however, universities and governments often require more formal assessment processes by which goals are set formally, and evaluation is conducted to see whether students are actually accomplishing these goals. Standardized testing, which is common in learning English as a foreign language (EFL), tests proficiency, but also should effectively represent outcome goals, because the score on the test should measure degree of completion of corresponding outcome goals. Academic programs should probably also have additional goals beyond simply passing the test. Once overall outcome goals for the academic program are known, goals for individual classes can be determined, formally by the department or informally by the individual teacher.

It is important, however, to make sure that the goals are not overly optimistic. English learning is incremental, and even students who are well motivated by enjoyable technology will take time to make major progress. This is why physicians

Fig. 1 Instructional technology design process

1. Identify outcome goals based on marketplace requirements
↓
2. Choose instructional activities
↓
3. Select technology by affordances
↓
4. Develop complete lesson plans
↓
5. Teach the class
↓
6. Evaluate success
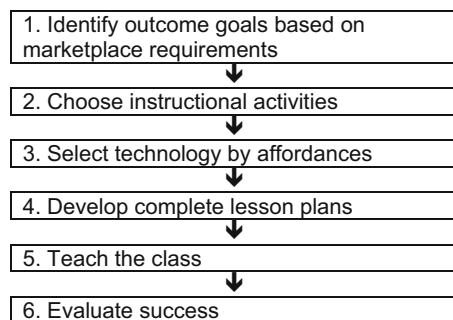
study medicine for close to a decade before they can work independently as a doctor. For many English students, a full semester of learning may only result in slight improvements, regardless of whether they use technology for learning or not, and their level of improvement may or may not be statistically significant in quantitative analysis.

Nevertheless, it is important that we are able to measure whether students achieve realistic goals. Goals stated in ways that can be measured are called "objectives." So for each general goal, we must decide how to measure success. Maybe the general goal is for students to be able to interact in English with business customers from other countries. Passing standardized tests can provide one measurable objective, but other objectives are also appropriate. Objectives, such as oral fluency, reflective writing, critical and higher-order thinking, oral fluency, portfolio creation, comfort level doing presentations to groups, cross-cultural understanding, and intercultural communication ability and knowledge, come to mind as examples. For whatever our course objectives, we must know how we will evaluate success.

This means planning how to evaluate success at the end of the semester, *before* we begin teaching, exploring the broad range of criteria that should be examined. In business, these are called key performance indicators (KPIs). In evaluating language learning, one or more KPI measurements may be needed for each measureable objective.

Instructional Activities

For the moment, do not think about technology, but just about the overall way of teaching the class. Each of the main outcome goals for the class will need one of more categories of learning activities. Depending on the class, these activities may include reading a textbook, brief sections of lecture (20 min or less, please), discussion, student presentations, drill and practice, and other activities. The overall lesson plan for the semester combines these activities together into a logical mixture.

In keeping with the strategy of student-centered active learning, we should develop activities that will allow students to learn by doing. Yes, introduction of new knowledge may be more traditional, using textbooks and some lecture, but activities are also needed that will cause students to be active in applying their new knowledge again and again until they have mastered it. This curriculum/instructional design process can be used with any instructional philosophy, but the authors recommend student-centered active learning as the best framework for instructional technology.

The best way to structure these language learning activities is by using tasks, known as task-based language teaching (TBLT) (Candlin and Murphy 1987; Ellis 2009). We can also think of it as task-based instructional design. Tasks are specific things that the students need to accomplish, or problems they need to solve, by a certain deadline, and have clear connections to the outcome goals of the class. In addition, students need to be held accountable for completing the task. In most cases, being accountable means that it contributes to their grade.

It is also helpful to have a feel for how long each task will take an average student to complete. Reading a chapter may take an hour of continuous attention. Vocabulary flash cards can be done a few at a time, requiring as little as a minute or two per session. This knowledge will help later, when consideration of technology begins.

Some of these tasks may be assigned multiple times, such as for the drill and repetition component of a typical language learning lesson plan. Sometimes known as a learning cycle or a learning spiral (Loertscher and Rosenfeld 2007; Wu et al. 2012), this kind of task is repeated multiple times, with students improving their outcome each time.

One way to perform these repeated tasks is by game play, a process called "gamification" (Hamari et al. 2014). Computer and smartphone games should be planned so that students enjoy playing the game, which motivates them to play more. "Winning the game" means that they have achieved competence or mastery of the particular learning task that is the focus of the game level. Because they have repeated the cycle of learning many times, it is more likely that they can make use of the learned knowledge. Although gamification is usually discussed in terms of games played via technology, many teachers also use games effectively as in-person classroom activities.

Where a course uses repeated tasks, remember that students will need more assistance, advice, and support from the teacher at the beginning, but the teacher should give them less support as the number of repetitions grows, to encourage them to be independent and to solve problems on their own. This technique is called scaffolding (Lee 2003; Van de Pol et al. 2010), and it leads to improvement of student confidence and ability over time.

Again, many teachers make these decisions about goals and learning tasks implicitly, because they know their subject matter. In spite of this, it is best to write them down, so that they are fixed and clear, and beware of the mind-set that "we've always done it this way." Make sure to review the educational context regularly, starting again at the beginning with the teacher's own outcome expectations, those of the students, and those of prospective future employers.

Select Technology

Now that decisions are made about the outcome goals and the resulting learning tasks, it is *finally* time to evaluate which tasks can be delivered, performed, or facilitated by technology. Because there are *so* many technology choices in the world, this step in the instructional technology design process can be intimidating. The analysis of goals and learning tasks just completed will help a lot, but it is still a question of what criteria to use in making technology choices.

Affordances. One of the most important criteria to use is to evaluate the possible technology choices by their "affordances. These are "the qualities or properties of an object that define its possible uses or make clear how it can or should be used" (Merriam-Webster n.d.). In English teaching, the affordances are the benefits or capabilities the teaching tool or method offers. In evaluating the individual choices

for CALL/MALL/TELL technology, the affordances can be thought of as the effectiveness with which an individual learning task can be performed. For any given learning task, some technology choices will serve better than others will.

For example, technology can help with learning tasks requiring repetition. Transferring the role of repetition to the technology can allow the teacher to focus on higher-level instructional functions during the classroom meetings of the class. Technology can also help in tasks requiring social interaction, which tends to engage and motivate students more.

While thinking about the affordances of the technology, also think about the affordances of other ways of performing the learning tasks. We should always ask ourselves which tasks can best be performed during classroom meetings, i.e., in-person rather than via mediated communication.

This thinking will lead to a combination of ways in which students perform learning activities. Many of them will likely be performed via technology, but maybe not all. For some activities, the use of technology may be minor, such as turning in assignments electronically rather than by "hard copy" paper.

Familiarity and Need for Induction. Another important factor in selection of the best technology is familiarity. When a technology required for class is new and unfamiliar, the students tend to become easily frustrated. Common social media platforms, such as Facebook or LINE, will probably be familiar to students, who will only need to learn how to use them for the purposes of the class. On the other hand, if the best technology to deliver learning tasks is a custom platform, or one that is rarely used by typical students, significant time will need to be devoted to introductory training in how the system works and how they are to use it. This is known as "induction training." If the induction training for an unfamiliar app is inadequate, the students may feel lost and helpless, decreasing their motivation. Therefore, we must plan for both the initial training of how the system works and is used for class and also for the scaffolding that students will need to assure themselves of their understanding at early stages of using the technology.

Student Use Patterns. A third criterion to consider is how the students will use the technology. It may be mobile technology, such as on a smartphone, or a desktop computer system at home or in a computer lab. Maybe students will be assigned to create a video, instead of a classroom presentation.

In each case, consider whether the intended use matches with the daily lives of the students. For example, research has shown that students sometimes consider use of their smartphones for class as an intrusion on their privacy and that students often have the expectation or unwritten rule that their mobile phones are for social and leisure purposes (Chwo et al. 2016). On the other hand, students often see use of smartphones as a fashion statement. Which model they have, and which apps they use, often conveys social status. Similarly, excelling in game apps used for learning could become a prestige factor in the class, which could be a positive element.

Even more important is the question of *how* the students will use the technology. Several studies have concluded that students often use their mobile technology in ways that are different from what their teachers and technology designers anticipate (Nah 2011; Petersen et al. 2013; Stockwell and Hubbard 2013; Ushioda 2013). The

findings show that when they have brief moments of leisure, or are bored, young people make quick checks of their text messages, chat apps, or Facebook; or Google bus schedules or other needed information, etc. The reality is that students are unlikely to use their brief moments of smartphone access for learning, even though they have learning apps on their phones that are designed to use in brief sessions. Furthermore, the same research shows that students expect to set aside scheduled times for learning tasks, including their mobile technology learning.

This shows that smartphone tasks may work better when they can be performed repeatedly in short bits of time, such as drill and repetition. On the other hand, technology that will be used at desktop computers at scheduled times may be better for longer tasks requiring more concentration, such as introduction of new knowledge.

It is necessary to create an overall instructional design that motivates learners, regardless of their proficiency level. For low-proficiency students, this means tasks via technology that are only a little bit harder than their proficiency level (Krashen 1988, 2003; Vygotsky 1978). For more advanced learners, it means tasks that are not perceived as too easy. Easy tasks could mean that the time spent is not valued by the students. Remember that the key benefit of using carefully selected technology is the motivation of the students.

In order to fit the lifestyles of all students, technology should ideally also be usable from desktop computers, smartphones, tablet computers, etc. This means that it needs versions that work via Windows, iOS, Android, etc.

Task and Technology Mix. The outcome of this process is that the teacher will be able to create a curriculum map that shows measurable outcome objectives, the learning activities designed to accomplish those objectives, and tasks that will make up those learning activities. Figure 2 presents a hypothetical example.

Note that *every learning activity* in the figure has at least some technology involved. Some are as simple as PowerPoint slides. Some use authentic source materials from the Internet. Some require extensive hands-on activity from the students. In this way, students are using multiple forms of technology, each of which is natural and fits well with the lifestyle of university students, making it a rich environment of technology.

Again, good teachers always use a structure similar to this, although it may not be documented in writing. This represents the next step beyond "what are we going to find for the students do this semester" to a kind of planning that is more based on strategies and outcomes.

Novelty vs. Sustainability. The academic literature is clear that use of technology that is short and not repeated can produce different results from technology use that is employed long term. In the short term, learners may actually do better because the technology is new and interesting, but as time passes, the use of technology becomes routine and ordinary and the students do not feel as interested.

When students perform better because of new experiences, it is called the "novelty effect" or the "Hawthorne effect" (Noland 1959). Clark and Sugrue (1995) determined that it requires eight weeks for the novelty factor to drop to a minimal level. For researchers, this means that experimental use of instructional

Outcome Objectives ➜	Learning Activities ➜	Tasks and Technology
Demonstrate an awareness of and sensitivity to verbal and non-verbal behavior appropriate for students and instructors	Presentations with class feedback on verbal and non-verbal behaviors	In-class presentations using PPT, with rubric for classmate feedback on verbal and non-verbal behavior
Show critical thinking ability	Individual writing	Short essays on open-ended topics assigned by teacher and turned in electronically
Articulate clearly organized ideas and supporting evidence	Conversation and oral presentations	Group voice chat via LINE with feedback from classmates
Develop ability to recreate the written thoughts of others through vocal delivery	Presentations showing reading comprehension	Students choose BBC news article (topic of their choice) and summarize to small groups in class
Understanding key terminology	Teacher-guided definitions	Lecture with PPT with classroom discussion
Problem Solving	Case study and scenario discussion	Online learning community discussion, guided by teacher
Develop a sense of the cultural aspects of the peoples who speak the target language	Guest speakers; in-class games	Native speaker classroom guests "Live" or via Skype with Q&A; Game-based assessment via *Kahoot*
Use vocabulary appropriate to the target audience	Dictionaries & resource books; Drill & repetition	Gamified smart phone app developed by university

Fig. 2 Sample educational objectives, activities, tasks, and technology. (Adapted from Marek and Wu 2016)

technology needs to last for eight weeks or more. It means that "sustainable" technology that is designed with the intent of long-term use is likely to be better for the students (Chwo et al. 2016; Levy 1997).

There is a completely different perspective to also consider in instructional design. If students perform best when their technology tasks feel "fresh," then we should arrange our schedule so that students never feel bored with the technology tasks.

Imagine doing four categories of things with technology in a class. The first has 6 individual learning tasks during the semester, the second has 3, the third has 15, and the fourth has only 2 tasks. That is a total of 26 tasks using technology. Maybe we should assign all six tasks in the first category close together, then move on to the three tasks in the second category, etc., or maybe it is better for those six tasks to be spread out every 2–3 weeks, alternating with tasks from other categories. We must decide based on our own circumstances.

In scheduling learning tasks, the teacher must balance the motivation resulting from the novelty of doing fresh new things with the benefits of extended regular

repetition of the task. How complicated the categories of technology are to learn may affect decisions about how to mix the categories together. There is no perfect answer, but understanding the students and understanding the technology in detail will help determine what is best.

Lesson Plans

When the "big picture" planning above is completed, the next step is to create the detailed lesson plan. We must decide how the multiple learning activities will be scheduled on a weekly or daily basis throughout the semester, on what class meeting will give each specific assignment be made to students, on what days will they be due, what will happen in each individual classroom meeting, and similar questions. This is a standard thing that teachers always do, but the inclusion of more technology in the class may require more detail.

Remember that tasks performed via technology should be part of the lesson plan and the curriculum, rather than a "sideline" or optional tasks, and students should be held accountable for completing their technology-assisted tasks. This echoes Kennedy and Levy (2009) who advocated that when technology is used, it must be "an essential part of the course it is designed for and. . .beneficial to all the students for a sustained period of time, not just an extra option that appeals until the novelty wears off, and is useful to only some of them" (p. 457).

Teaching the Class

The first time any new instructional approach is used, issues may appear that need to be addressed the next time the course is taught. Many teachers feel that they need to teach a course two or three times before the lesson plan and operation of the class is perfected.

When teaching the new technology-rich version of a class, watch for student reactions and for any issues or problems that come up. In some cases, the teacher can address them as soon as they are discovered. In other cases, make notes about things to change next time the course is taught.

It can also be valuable to ask the students directly what they think. Maybe one of the final essays or group discussion topics of the semester could be "what advice do you have for the next time I teach this class?" Some of the answers may not match the instructional philosophy or goals, but the students will likely also have some good ideas.

Evaluating Success

As indicated above, evaluation must be an ongoing process. As soon as the course begins, be watching for anything that needs to be "fine-tuned." When the semester is over, go back to the measurement plans made when establishing the goals and measurable objectives, before the semester began.

What lessons result from these measurements? Think back to what cognitive psychology and constructivism say about how students learn. We can learn things like whether the use of technology helped students be active learners, whether it helped them "connect the dots" between new information and what they already knew, whether it helped them "learn by doing" so that learning was natural, not artificial, whether it helped students feel confident about their learning, and whether they were motivated to learn. The answers to each of these questions will help improve the class next time it is taught.

Thinking About Success. It is not unusual for projects or activities that were not 100% perfectly successful to thought of as "failures." The truth of even a very successful activity is that while most things worked well, a few things were probably not perfect. In classroom teaching, even when a class is quite successful, there are always things that could be better. There is always room for improvement. If improvements are needed, it simply means that success is incomplete.

NEVER think of anything related to teaching as a "failure." Always think in terms of "improving the level of success."

Best Practices

The authors hope that this essay results in reader's understanding on how to create a technology-rich teaching and learning environment and inspires them to employ a wide range of technology to address a wide range of teaching goals and learning benefits. It is hard to list best practices that apply to every single use of technology, but the following sections address the things that are most important to keep in mind.

Explain the Benefits

We must explain to our students WHY we are using the technology we have selected, and how it will benefit them, with particular focus on convenience and usefulness. We want to promote the perception by our students that their use of technology is helpful to their learning, convenient, and a preferred way of learning, compared to traditional classroom drill and memorization. Without being too academic, the teacher needs to share the insights about the affordances of the technology in clear terms, to show that the learning activities are clearly focused to the goals of the class, rather than simply games or interacting with friends.

Dörnyei (2005) attributed motivation in language learning to students imagining themselves in the future, achieving their future L2 self, and functioning successfully in a cosmopolitan international society. Explaining the benefits of the technology helps demonstrate to the students that they are engaged in learning activities that will be effective in helping them achieve their personal goals.

Select Technology that Students Relate to Well

Remember that many studies using technology for English language learning report problems that could have been prevented by better planning. Every problem decreases student engagement and motivation. If there are too many problems, students will disconnect completely. It is easy to get frustrated or even mad when technology does not work the way it should, and everyone has ideas about how technology "should" work.

When it is said that students must relate well to the technology, it means *both* that it is "user friendly" and easy to use but also that there are no problems with the functioning of the technology system. Computer programs and mobile applications, both pre-existing and those designed especially for our curriculum, should be intuitive, meaning that it is obvious how the system works, without requiring extensive training or tutorials. The system must be free of technical bugs and must function acceptably within the bandwidth and processor chip capability of the devices students will use.

In research, it is common to do a pilot test of a survey questionnaire, to determine any problems. A similar pilot test of planned technology, operated under the same conditions as would be used when implemented for actual English learning, can help uncover hidden flaws. In computer programming, this is called a "beta test."

Even if we, as teachers, are not very comfortable with the technology initially, we need to work to be an expert user of the proposed technology options. Combined with studying research reports about technology affordances in the academic literature, this will fully allow us to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the systems we are considering.

Make It Part of the Curriculum and Part of the Grade

The overall context of our use of technology for English language teaching should be that it is part of the regular curriculum and lesson plan of our class, performed for a grade so students will be accountable for the work, rather than an optional or "extra credit" activity. As we have seen, short-term uses of technology may produce dramatic results, due to the novelty of the situation (Clark and Sugrue 1995; Noland 1959), but students are less likely to remember what they have learned over the long term, unless the use of technology is a standard component of the class, used repeatedly during the semester.

Remember to use task-based assignments with clear instructions, deadlines, and monitoring by the teacher. In this way, we will activate both the instrumental and integrative motivation of the students (Gardner and Lambert 1972). Integrative "it is a good idea and is worth doing" motivation results from the student's perception that the technology is engaging and beneficial. Instrumental "I have to do this because it is a requirement" motivation reinforces the willingness to use the system.

In addition, seek out technology that will serve the needs of students as the class is taught again and again, semester after semester. Plan for technology that we can use every time we teach the class for at least five years.

Don't Abandon Your Students to Technology

Too many research studies have thrown participants into a technology system without support from the teacher (Wu and Marek 2016). They were given an assignment to complete and then did not hear from the teacher/researcher again until the deadline grew near. For example, if our technology is chosen to allow interaction in English, an assignment that simply says "talk to each other in the app about this subject and report back in one month" will likely result in student procrastination, superficial remarks, little critical thinking, and a last-minute "hurry up" push to meet the deadline.

Rather, in this example, we should give them a series of progressive discussion tasks with short deadlines that will lead them to the final report. In each case, there should be grade consequences if they do not complete the task by the deadline. We should use scaffolding to initially give them a lot of instructions and feedback, but slowly reduce our level of support as they near their final deadline.

We should place as much emphasis on the "people issues" as we do on the technology itself. Remember that technology is a tool for social interaction and that social environment may include the teacher as well as the students all interacting together. Think about the students' comfort zones, monitor their work carefully, intervene as needed if they get off track, and give them regular feedback about HOW they are performing their tasks.

Give Your Students Encouraging Feedback

As indicated in a previous section, which said that teaching a class is never a "failure" but rather an "incomplete success," students need positive feedback that will help them achieve greater success, as opposed to negative criticism. Motivation, in large part, is the result of success in a learning task. More success means more motivation, which is why teachers must take care never to give students assignments they consider to be "too hard."

For example, if a student is making a speech or presenting in class, the teacher/ evaluator should highlight the things the student did well. However, rather than saying "you made these mistakes," corrective comments are better framed in terms of things to work on and do differently next time, thus emphasizing improvement rather than failure. This feedback strategy is based on a beneficial learning orientation versus a less advantageous performance orientation (Bruning et al. 2011).

The feedback we provide, or the feedback programmed into our technology application, should always be encouraging in order to minimize negative feelings and attitudes of students, recognizing accomplishments while highlighting areas needing improvement.

What about a student who really IS failing? The unfortunate answer is that motivation and engagement in learning still happen within the learner. The teacher can only influence them. If the learner is not interested in help or advice from the teacher, the teacher has little influence. The teacher's job is to create an environment and context in which the student can experience success, with each new success building on previous accomplishments. Nevertheless, if the student refuses to be engaged, the teacher can only make the offer of help, and the student must bear the final responsibility.

Final Thoughts About a Technology-Rich Environment

Now that the "how to" elements of incorporating rich technology into the language classroom have been addressed, please take a step back and think about how technology fits in with the overall learning environment. As mentioned near the beginning of this chapter, a learning environment is a complex system. In fact, it has so many variables that it is impossible to control for all of them (Marek and Wu 2014). Some things can be controlled by the teacher, some are more under control of the school, and some are social or cultural and may be beyond our direct control.

The teacher certainly controls the factors making up the instructional environment, such as the lesson plan, assignments, technology, and grading, as has been discussed in detail. The school has the primary responsibility for the physical environment, such as the classroom itself, computer labs, library resources, etc.

But the social and cultural environment plays a much larger part in learning than is often admitted, some of which is part of the instructional environment and some part of the social environment of the student's own life (Marek and Wu 2014). The student's personal social environment includes cultural context, family considerations, peer pressure, job demands, life goals, age, language experience, and procrastination. The institution's environment includes the physical setting, but also things like administrative policies, faculty ability, funding, accreditation, and marketplace expectations.

How does technology fit with these many variables, many of which are outside the ability of the individual teacher to control directly?

First, technology is part of the overall instructional design, which must address student needs and promote desired outcomes, based on sound educational philosophy, and within available resources. This means that the technology will allow students who apply themselves to achieve the established outcome goals. In turn, this means that the technology must serve the needs of the instructional design and be consistent with the overall internal and external context and environment. So, if we have fully made use of the instructional and technology design recommended in this chapter, and made the best theory- and affordance-based decisions at each step, the students can be expected to learn effectively via the technology we have chosen.

Equally important is that technology, if it works well, enhances the student's motivation. It does this by being enjoyable to use and also when students perceive

that the technology is helpful to their learning. If it is useful for their learning, they experience success, which leads to increased confidence. Greater confidence leads to greater motivation, and over time, greater motivation means studying harder and achieving improved ability (Wu et al. 2012).

Overlapping Technology

When technology is richly integrated into the curriculum, it may be that multiple independent technologies are used, each addressing a different function or category of learning tasks. In their real-world nonschool lives, people communicate, interact, and learn via multiple platforms – books, magazines, newspapers (and news websites), television, social media, email, mobile apps, and many other sources of information and interaction. Technology chosen to implement our curriculum and complete learning tasks may need to permit multiple overlapping platforms in order to replicate a natural, organic environment.

These multiple overlapping effective technologies are what creates a technology-rich English language learning environment, but it also means that teachers need to "normalize" the role of technology. This means that technology is used as part of the standard operating procedure of the class, not just as a special stunt. It means that the equipment works well, without bugs or problems (waiting in an audience while someone tries to solve a computer problem is deadly). It also means that technology should be planned to maximize the chances that students can use the technology with ease and in comfort, without problems that interfere with the learning process.

Learning management systems, like Blackboard, Sakai, and Desire2Learn, to name a few, have already learned this lesson about incorporating multiple technology tools and making them easy for students to use. Originally created with desktop users in mind, learning management systems have evolved to be more "mobile-friendly" while pulling together typical functions preferred in learning technology, such as discussion boards, chat rooms, file repositories, daily/weekly lessons, and testing, and providing privacy and security protection that public websites, applications, and social media cannot.

Conclusion

The authors hope that this discussion has been valuable in laying out a road map and rationale for planning and selecting learning technology in a way that is infused broadly across the instructional design. Teachers, individually, need to get to the point in their personal professional development where the infusion of meaningful technology into their classes is automatic as their normal way of teaching.

Learning via technology is not a "gimmick" or something that exists off to the side of the normal instructional interaction. It is a way of thinking and a way of life for the students and therefore should be a way of life for faculty. It is a process of

strategic planning, requiring both research and critical thinking, but the evidence is clear that a technology-rich language learning environment contributes to improved student confidence, motivation, and ability.

Cross-References

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▶ Creating a Motivating Classroom Environment
▶ Language Learner Engagement: Setting the Scene
▶ Instructed Second Language Acquisition and English Language Teaching: Theory, Research, and Pedagogy
▶ Metacognition and Self-Regulated Learning (SRL) in Second/Foreign Language Teaching
▶ Teacher Learning and Technology-Enhanced Teacher Education

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Part V

Constructs of Language in ELT: Breaking the Boundaries

Constructs of Language in English Language Teaching: Section Introduction

42

Xuesong Gao

Abstract

Chapters in this section address English language teachers' professional concerns in language teaching with updated research findings and conceptualizations of language. These concerns include traditional ones such as pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and writing. They also inform language teachers' efforts to respond to challenges of emerging significance, including teaching English language learners with special education needs, using multimodal texts in teaching, and integrating language with subject content teaching.

Chapters in this section address the constructs of the English language, the primary focus of English language teaching. Chapters in the previous edition of this handbook noted that a shared understanding of what language is has yet to be developed in the field, although most scholars have problematized the understanding of language as "a clearly demarcated and somewhat static construct that can be decontextualized and described without reference to its context and users" (Davison and Cummins 2007, p. 777). Chapters in the first edition presented a dynamic view of language, which has significant implications for language teaching. As an example, functional views of language enable researchers and practitioners to

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reconceptualize the relationship between text and context and redraw the traditional boundaries between the two.

The traditional deconstruction of language teaching into the teaching of four skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening) is also challenged by the rise of multimodal texts that language users have increasingly had to deal with in the last decade, as these skills can no longer be considered discrete and separate from each other when enabling learners to deal with multimodal texts. Furthermore, the theorization of language, showing marked changes as bottom-up descriptions of how language is used in practice, plays an increasingly influential role in determining the target language use that language learners are encouraged to imitate (e.g., Ellis 2019).

Apart from continuing the discussion from the previous edition, chapters in this section update readers with recent research findings and conceptualizations of language to address professional concerns in language teaching, e.g., the traditional topics of teaching vocabulary, grammar, and writing. These chapters attempt to prepare English language teachers for new challenges in teaching, including teaching English to language learners with special educational needs and integrating language with subject content in teaching.

In the first chapter of the section, Deterding and Lewis consider the nature of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and argue that a native-speaker model for pronunciation can no longer be promoted in teaching English in many contexts. Consequently, language teachers need to know which features of pronunciation they should focus on in teaching to help their learners develop intelligible Englishes for ELF communication. The authors examine quite a few features of variant pronunciation such as reduced vowels to see how they affect intelligibility, before they come up with suggestions for English language teachers to deal with these likely problematic features in ELF communication without referring to a fixed model of pronunciation.

Barclay and Schmitt's chapter focuses on vocabulary learning and teaching, a persistent professional concern for many English language teachers. It addresses quite a few traditional but nevertheless highly significant issues in vocabulary learning and teaching, such as the incremental nature of vocabulary learning, the role of memory, and a systematic approach to vocabulary learning and teaching. The chapter reiterates the principles and instruments for developing effective vocabulary teaching activities and tasks, hoping to help teachers organize and implement systematic vocabulary learning programs for their students. In contrast, Derewianka moves beyond the traditional structurally focused grammar and presents new models of pedagogic grammar that emphasize students' meaning-making in specific contexts. These grammars highlight the communicative needs that language learners have when operating in academic, civic, and vocational contexts. The chapter illustrates the application of these meaning-oriented pedagogic grammars with an extensive description of an English language unit of instruction. It serves as a good guide for those who are interested in implementing more contextualized approaches to teaching grammar.

Goh's chapter stresses the importance of understanding features of spoken texts in language learners' listening processes. Instead of focusing on individual utterances,

she argues that language teachers need to prepare language learners for the task of listening to and understanding language at a discourse level. Since this helps language learners to improve their listening by giving them an awareness of the listening process, skills, and strategies for listening, Goh's chapter draws attention to the various discursive features of particular spoken texts and highlights what opportunities these texts have for language learners to develop particular skills and strategies for listening to and understanding them. The features of spoken texts that language learners may learn about to enhance their listening can also help them recognize the differences that spoken and written texts have with regard to linguistic features and develop their critical awareness of using language differently in different communicative events.

Such communicative events include academic writing, the central concern of Starfield's chapter, which problematizes the notion of academic writing as a generic skill for language learners to learn. Starfield argues that learners need to appreciate academic writing as shaped by complex interactions between social, institutional, and historical forces. The chapter reviews various approaches to researching and teaching academic writing such as academic literacies, English for academic purposes, and genre approaches. Recent studies have also enabled researchers and practitioners to develop new understandings of plagiarism and intertextuality and appreciate the significance of identity in academic writing.

Zhang and Zhang's chapter conceptualizes the connection between metacognition (or cognition about cognition) and self-regulation in the field of second language education, as both constructs have been used to explain individual variations in language learning achievements and thus have become target skills that language teachers are encouraged to foster among language learners through pedagogical intervention. The chapter clarifies the relationship between the two apparently different constructs, with the aim of strengthening the research-practice nexus since improved understandings of the two may benefit language teachers in preparing and delivering effective teaching to strengthen language learners' capacity for strategic language learning and improve their ultimate language learning outcomes.

Other chapters in this section add further insights with regard to the complexity of language use and learning that individual language learners need to go through. Hafner's chapter highlights the changes that digital communication technologies have brought about in people's reading and writing for communication, since digital texts are hypertextual, multimodal, interactive, and plurilingual. In response to these communicative needs in digital contexts, language teachers need to prepare language learners for interacting with others in new contexts such as a global online affinity space (social media). It must be noted that in these global online affinity spaces, language learners learn new ways of communicating, relating to each other, and being. Given the rich learning opportunities for new forms of interaction and communication, language teachers are compelled to incorporate digital literacies in language teaching through a variety of pedagogical strategies including structured participation in online affinity spaces, telecollaboration, or virtual exchange projects.

While Hafner addresses an emerging learning need of language learners in response to technological advances, Kangas focuses on a group of language learners

that has long been neglected in language learning research. English learners with disabilities have been disadvantaged not only by policies and practices that do not address their language learning needs but also because they are not given sufficient attention in research. It has been a popular perception that these learners do not need opportunities to learn another language because educators should prioritize the provision of special educational services. As a result, these learners do not develop their language, and consequently their academic studies are further compromised. For this reason, it is essential for language educators to develop appropriate bilingual programs for learners with special educational needs; this is a matter of social justice.

The last two chapters in this section present new understandings of language or language in use. Dolgova and Tyler outline usage-based theories of language, which highlight meaning as foundational to human interaction, and present an overview of pedagogical attempts to use these theories in language teaching, including corpus-based approaches. The chapter highlights the key tenets and concepts that have been applied in language teaching with great success, e.g., genre-based and content-based instruction. It also points out the need for many English language teacher education programs to reconsider their implicit assumptions of language and incorporate applications of usage-based theories into their program content.

Lo and Lin's chapter presents the integration of content and language in programs where language learners use English as the medium of instruction to learn non-language subject content. These programs aim to improve language learners' learning of language and content and their successful delivery depends on how well prepared language teachers and learners are for the challenge of addressing linguistic demands when learning language and content simultaneously. The authors use their extensive research on relevant practice in Hong Kong to illustrate the different models and practices that may be adopted to help language learners overcome relevant challenges and achieve the dual objectives of such programs. The discussion in the chapter has important implications for language and subject teacher education as well.

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Pronunciation in English as Lingua Franca

43

David Deterding and Christine Lewis

Contents

Abstract

Taking into consideration the nature of English as a lingua franca (ELF), a native-speaker model for pronunciation is no longer crucial in international English classrooms. Therefore, it is essential to reevaluate which features of pronunciation English teachers should prioritize in order to ensure that their pupils develop a high level of intelligibility in international settings. We specifically consider the usage of reduced vowels, especially [ə], that occur in the weak forms of many function words and the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words. Through analysis of 40 1-min extracts from a corpus of interactions between speakers from Southeast Asia, we try to determine the frequency of reduced vowels, and we attempt to estimate what impact the relative absence of vowel reduction has on intelligibility. Using the same corpus, this chapter also explores some other variant pronunciations which led to misunderstandings. Finally, we conclude the chapter with a discussion about how teachers of English in ELF contexts should approach vowel reduction and how they should handle the absence of a fixed model of pronunciation in ELF-based teaching.

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Introduction

Nowadays, speakers of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in places such as Africa,
Asia, and Continental Europe far outnumber so-called "native" speakers of English
(Seidlhofer 2011). Consequently, it is becoming increasingly accepted that it is
unnecessary and even inappropriate for ELF users to be required to closely mimic
the pronunciation of speakers from the traditional centers of English such as Britain
and the USA (Deterding 2010). While it is vitally important for ELF speakers to
ensure that they are easily intelligible to listeners in a wide range of contexts, close
imitation of a traditional accent should not be their main objective. Speaking in
accents such as RP (Received Pronunciation) British English or GA (General
American) English is generally unnecessary in order to achieve highly competent
speech with an excellent level of intelligibility, and in some cases mimicking native
speakers is actually unhelpful. For example, Cruttenden (2014) notes that speakers in
Britain often omit the [t] in phrases such as *west region* and *just one* (p. 314),
insert a
glottal stop before the final plosive in words such as *stop* and *back* (p. 184),
and omit
the weak vowel in the first syllable of words such as *polite* and *solicitor* (p. 334),
but
he questions whether learners of English should be imitating these patterns. Further-
more, there are some patterns of native-speaker vowel reductions in function words
which may not be essential for international intelligibility. For example, native
speakers generally pronounce *the* as [ðə] before a consonant but [ði] before a vowel,
and they say *to* as [tə] before a consonant and [tu] before a vowel (Roach 2009,
pp. 90–93). But how important is this distinction between [ðə]/[ði] and [tə]/[tu] for
maintaining intelligibility in ELF contexts?

Even though English learners in ELF environments should no longer be required
to master all the details of one specific native-speaker accent, this does not mean that
an alternative single global ELF model of pronunciation is emerging. The ELF
approach encourages a process of achieving mutual understanding rather than
adherence to a fixed model of speech. Typically, expert ELF speakers are proficient
in accommodating to the needs of their listeners to ensure that successful commu-
nication is achieved (Jenkins 2000, p. 168). Since they generally refrain from
targeting a specific single model of pronunciation, there is also considerable flexi-
bility in how individual words can be pronounced. Indeed, scholars who propose
adhering to the ELF framework generally celebrate diversity in pronunciation,
encouraging learners of English to maintain certain features of their own styles of
speech as long as they are intelligible. It is a fundamental misconception to suggest
that proposals for ELF-based teaching are promoting a new worldwide standard
for the pronunciation of English (Jenkins 2007, p. 20). ELF-based teaching focuses
on enabling learners of English to make themselves easily understood, not on
requiring them to imitate a fixed style of speech.

However, even though a single model of pronunciation is not envisaged in ELF-based teaching, some nonstandard features of pronunciation seem to recur among a wide range of different ELF users, and maybe some of these features could be regarded as part of an emergent ELF style of pronunciation (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006). One of the most salient of these is the use of full vowels instead of reduced vowels, something that is found in many different new varieties of English (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, p. 129), particularly in function words such as *and*, *as*, *at*, *from*, *of*, and *to* and also in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words such as the initial syllables of *compare* and *advice*. In fact, it seems that avoidance of vowel reduction may actually sometimes enhance intelligibility in ELF settings. For example, speakers who avoid vowel reduction in the unstressed first syllables of polysyllabic words would be unlikely to have their pronunciation of *vacation* misheard as *vocation*; and speakers who avoid the contraction of *has* to [z] would never produce an ambiguous utterance like "only one man's left" that could have two opposite meanings: either one man departed ("has left") or one man stayed ("is left"). It seems that avoiding vowel reduction and also using the strong forms of some function words can sometimes be beneficial in enhancing intelligibility.

This chapter reviews some of the proposals for teaching pronunciation in the ELF classroom, summarizing the features of pronunciation that various researchers regard as important. Then we analyze the usage of vowel reduction in 40 1-min extracts from recordings of speakers from various countries in Southeast Asia engaged in a find-the-difference activity. This analysis estimates the occurrence of full and reduced vowels in function words and the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words, and it seeks to determine how the pronunciation of potentially reduced vowels by these speakers might have affected the intelligibility of their speech. To this end, we consider some misunderstandings that occurred in these 40 interactions. Finally, we make some recommendations for teaching pronunciation in ELF contexts, considering what features of pronunciation teachers should be focusing on and briefly suggesting activities that might be valuable in the classroom.

Features of Pronunciation for ELF-Based Teaching

While strict adherence to native-speaker norms of pronunciation is often regarded as unnecessary, that does not mean that pronunciation is unimportant for international intelligibility. Indeed, Deterding (2013) has shown that pronunciation was implicated in about 86% of tokens of misunderstanding that occurred in a corpus of ELF interactions in Brunei Darussalam, so good pronunciation is clearly vital. However, not all aspects of pronunciation are equally important, and teachers of English in ELF contexts do not need to insist that their students closely imitate all the fine details of a native-speech accent. Teachers should focus on features that are important for clear speech, and they can be more relaxed about variation in areas of pronunciation that have little impact on intelligibility.

Even though this approach is commonsense and many English teachers might accept it, especially those teaching in ELF contexts, the problem remains that there is

less agreement about exactly which areas of pronunciation should be the focus of attention. In addition to the features mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, Cruttenden (2014) suggests that there are some other details of native-speaker pronunciation that learners of English do not need to imitate. Under this category, he proposes that learners should not be required to learn the use of syllabic consonants in words such as *bottle* and *button*, as [əl] and [ən] at the end of these words are perfectly acceptable. He also states that there is no need to mimic the devoicing of final consonants in prepausal position in words such as *leave*, *breathe*, and *peas* (Cruttenden 2014, p. 193), as these words can be pronounced with the underlying [v, ð, z] with no detriment to intelligibility. In addition, he suggests that it may be acceptable for the consonants at the start of words such as *thin* and *this* to be pronounced as plosives. Furthermore, he notes that the functional load for the distinction between /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ is low, as few words of English are distinguished by means of a contrast between just these two sounds, so it may be acceptable to use [ʃ] in place of /ʒ/ (Cruttenden 2014, p. 342). Indeed, it seems unlikely that [juːʃəli] could be heard as anything other than *usually*, and *pleasure* could only be misheard as *pressure* if the /l/ in the initial cluster is pronounced as [r].

The proposals of Jenkins (2000) are rather more radical than those of Cruttenden. She has suggested a Lingua Franca Core (LFC) of just those features of pronunciation that she claims are essential for maintaining international intelligibility. She has argued that non-core features should be free for learners of English to realize as they choose, noting that variable pronunciation of the non-core features allows speakers the flexibility to maintain their own distinct accent while at the same time ensuring that they are highly intelligible (Jenkins 2007). The LFC proposed by Jenkins includes all consonant sounds (except the dental fricatives), aspiration on /p, t, k/, maintenance of initial and medial consonant clusters, a clear distinction between long and short vowels, and standard use of tonic (nuclear) stress. In contrast, non-core features that do not need to be taught include the dental fricatives, vowel quality, the weak forms of function words, stress-timed rhythm, and the exact pitch movement associated with intonation (Jenkins 2007, pp. 23–24). While she originally regarded word stress as "a gray area" (Jenkins 2000, p. 150), she subsequently included it as part of the non-core (e.g., Jenkins 2007, p. 24), and Cruttenden (2014, p. 352) notes that the importance of word stress represents one of the key differences between his proposals and those of Jenkins.

Of particular relevance here is the exclusion by Jenkins (2007) of the weak forms of function words from the LFC. Cruttenden (2014, p. 345) similarly suggests that it is unnecessary for learners of English to use the weak forms of English, and he argues that use of vowel reduction in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words is not essential. While Roach (2009, p. 89) agrees that nonnative speakers of English can be understood perfectly well when they only use the strong forms of function words, he suggests (2009, p. 72) that the contrast between strong and weak syllables is essential for the intelligibility of polysyllabic words, so he disagrees with Jenkins and Cruttenden in this respect.

Here, we will consider the vowel reduction which may occur in two contexts: in the weak forms of function words such as *and*, *at*, *for*, and *to* and in the unstressed

syllables of words such as *balloon* and *calendar*. But before considering some data that evaluates the frequency of occurrence of vowel reduction in some ELF data and its role in maintaining intelligibility in those interactions, we should elaborate on what is meant by vowel reduction.

Vowel Reduction

A reduced vowel is articulated in the center of the mouth, and it only occurs in unstressed syllables. The most frequent reduced vowel is the schwa, /ə/, which is a mid-central lax vowel that is produced without much energy (Roach 2009, p. 65); however, /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ can also function as reduced vowels (Cruttenden 2014, p. 273).

One crucial role for a reduced vowel is to ensure that the syllable in which it occurs is not prominent. This serves to enhance the salience of syllables that have full vowels and thereby allows the key words of an utterance to be identified (as most function words have reduced vowels). It also facilitates the perception of word stress which is crucial (at least for native speakers) in enabling words to be successfully identified. In this respect, we might note that word stress is signaled by a number of factors, including pitch movement, duration, and loudness in addition to vowel quality (Roach 2009, p. 74). However, Cutler (2015) notes that very few contrasts in English, such as that between *INsight* and *inCITE*, are signaled solely by means of the pitch, duration, and loudness of the syllables, as nearly all contrasts between words with initial and non-initial stress involve vowel quality contrasts. For example, the noun/verb pairs *CONvert* vs *conVERT* and also *RECord* vs *reCORD* differ over whether the first syllable has a reduced vowel or not. Indeed, Richards (2016, p. 2) notes that native speakers tend to focus primarily on the quality of the vowels in determining the stress pattern of words.

Though the incidence of reduced vowels seems to play a crucial role in perception for native speakers of English, it is not clear if their role is as important in many new varieties of English. For example, Deterding (2007, p. 28) has noted that the first syllables of words such as *adventure* and *compare* tend to have a full vowel in Singapore English, and Deterding and Salbrina (2013, p. 53) reported that every single one of the 53 speakers of Brunei English that they investigated had a full vowel in both *that* and *had* in the phrase "that had just escaped."

The question then arises about the importance of vowel reduction in maintaining intelligibility in international settings. How frequent is the use of full vowels in function words and the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words in ELF conversations? And does this use of full vowels lead to any loss of intelligibility?

Vowel Reduction in a Corpus of ELF Speech Misunderstandings

Deterding (2013) collected a corpus of 183 misunderstandings in ELF conversations, and of these, only two seemed to occur because of the lack of vowel reduction. These two tokens are shown in Table 1, in which "??" shows that the listener was unable to make any guess about the words indicated and "(.)" indicates a short pause.

Table 1 Misunderstandings involving absence of vowel reduction

No.	Speaker	Listener	Word(s)	Heard as	Context
1	MNg	FBr	you attend a	??	you attend a (.) Brunei school
2	FMa	FTw	agenda	agent now	the main agenda would be to

In Token 1, a male speaker from Nigeria had [ʌ] in the first syllable of *attend*, and a female listener from Brunei was unable to suggest what the word might be; and in Token 2, a female speaker from Malaysia had [æ] in the first syllable of *agenda*, and a listener from Taiwan heard *agent*.

One thing that these results do not tell us is how frequent lack of vowel reduction is in ELF conversations. We now consider a new corpus that has been collected particularly to focus on polysyllabic words, and we investigate how frequent lack of vowel reduction is in function words and the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words in 1-min extracts from the 40 recordings in this corpus.

The Incidence of Vowel Reduction in a Corpus of ELF Speech

The new corpus of ELF interactions is based on two find-the-difference exercises (Lewis 2017). There are 40 conversations between learners of English from nine different countries in Southeast Asia: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. In all cases, participants were paired with someone from a different country, and they compared their picture without seeing that of their partner, trying to identify the differences. Here an analysis of the first 1 min of each recording will be presented, to provide an estimate of the frequency of vowel reduction by these ELF speakers in function words such as *and*, *of*, and *from* and also the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words such as the first syllable of *about* and *control* and the second syllable of *children* and *Japanese*. The first minute was chosen for analysis because it represents the kind of interaction that often occurs in ELF settings, such as asking for directions, booking a hotel, or buying something from a shop, where there is little time for the interactants to get accustomed to the accent of their interlocutor (though, in this case, the participants had been studying together on a course for nearly a month, so they were not actually strangers). We first consider the pronunciation of articles, then other function words with a potential weak form, and finally polysyllabic words.

There is a total of 344 articles in the 40 min of analyzed speech: 88 tokens of *a*, 5 tokens of *an*, and 251 tokens of *the*. The occurrence of a reduced vowel in these tokens is shown in Table 2. (For *the*, occurrences of [ði] were treated as having a full vowel.)

Clearly, a reduced vowel is the norm in articles for these ELF speakers. The full form of *a* [eɪ] only occurs 8 times, while the full form of *the* [ði] occurs in just 16 out of 251 tokens, only one of which is followed by a word beginning with a vowel ("the eldest"), a context in which [ði] is expected in native-speaker pronunciation (Roach

Table 2 Incidence of reduced vowels in articles

Word	Full vowel	Reduced vowel
a	8	80
an	2	3
the	16	235

Table 3 Incidence of reduced vowels in monosyllabic function words

Word	Full vowel	Reduced vowel
and	109	6
at	7	1
but	9	0
can	16	6
for	6	1
from	11	0
of	31	7
that	9	1
to	41	4

2009, p. 90). The three other tokens of *the* preceding a vowel all have [ðə]: "the electric," "the electronic," and "the almost."

In contrast with the pronunciation of articles, reduced vowels are rare in other monosyllabic function words in this ELF data. The pronunciation of a range of function words that have a weak form with [ə] in native-speaker pronunciation (Roach 2009, pp. 90–95) is shown in Table 3. For *that*, only its use as a subordinator was considered, as in native-speaker pronunciation there is no weak form for *that* when it occurs as a demonstrative (Wells 2008, p. 818).

In native-speaker pronunciation, *to* is generally pronounced as [tu] before a vowel (Roach 2009, p. 93). In this data, only four of the tokens of *to* with a full vowel occur before a vowel ("to express," "to attend," "to attach," "to a policeman"). All the remaining 37 tokens of the full vowel for *to* occur before a consonant (e.g., "to leave," "to sell," "to name," "to buy") or before a pause.

Clearly, reduced vowels are largely avoided in monosyllabic function words apart from *a* and *the* in this data, and only *can* exhibits a sizeable number (6 out of 38, i.e., 16%) with a schwa. We might note that use of a reduced vowel in *can* might be encouraged, especially for those with American usage, as it helps to differentiate *can* from *can't*. However, there seems little advantage in using weak forms of the other function words listed in Table 3.

Now, let us consider polysyllabic words which would typically have a schwa in the first syllable in native-speaker pronunciation. Table 4 shows the pronunciation of the first syllable of a range of such words in the current data.

Most of these words have a schwa in the first syllable, especially *about* and *above*. However, a full vowel occurs more often in the first syllable of *alarm*, *another* (though all three tokens of *another* with a full vowel in the first syllable occur with the same speaker, a male from Thailand), *control*, and *remote*.

Table 4 Pronunciation of the first syllable of polysyllabic words which would generally have [ə] in native-speaker accents

Word	Full vowel	Reduced vowel
about	5	21
above	0	2
across	1	1
alarm	3	1
another	3	1
balloon(s)	0	2
control	3	1
policeman	1	1
remote	3	0

Table 5 Pronunciation of the second syllable of polysyllabic words which would generally have [ə] in native-speaker accents

Word	Full vowel	Reduced vowel
calendar	5	1
children(s)	10	4
conference	2	1
difference	0	4
electronic(s)	8	2
husband	3	3
Japanese	4	9
luggage	3	1
person	1	3
seven	1	5
sofa	3	0
ticket	3	0

Finally, let us consider the second syllable of polysyllabic words that would typically have a reduced vowel in native-speaker accents. Table 5 shows a range of such words. The words *father*, *mother*, and *daughter* have been excluded from this list as they always end with a schwa (even if it can be quite long), for there is no other way to say them. In these data, *difference* and *conference* are both treated as bisyllabic words.

We can see that *difference*, *person*, and *seven* all tend to have a reduced vowel in their final syllable and *Japanese* also usually (but not always) has a reduced vowel in its second syllable. In contrast, the final syllable of *children*, *sofa*, and *ticket* tends to have a full vowel and so does the second syllable of *calendar*.

To summarize, in the 40 min of data analyzed here, there is usually a reduced vowel in the articles *a* and *the*, but a full vowel is far more common in other monosyllabic function words. In the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words, a reduced vowel sometimes occurs, especially in the first syllable of *about* and the final syllable of *difference*, but the use of full vowels in unstressed syllables occurs quite often in other words, particularly the first syllable of *alarm*, *control*, and *remote* and the second syllable of *calendar*, *children*, and *sofa*. We will now consider the impact of the relative absence of vowel reduction in ELF interactions for intelligibility.

Misunderstandings

In general, the interactions proceeded reasonably smoothly: the participants success-fully managed to discuss their pictures, and they all effectively identified a range of differences between them, despite pronunciation that sometimes deviated from a native-speaker model, and there were limited clear breakdowns in communication. Nevertheless, a few misunderstandings did occur, and we will attempt to evaluate what might have caused some of them, taking examples from the full recordings, not just the first minute of each that was analyzed above.

In extract (1), a male participant from Thailand and a female from Indonesia were discussing the weather in their pictures, and the Indonesian failed to understand *cloud* uttered by the Thai, hearing *cow* instead. (In this extract, numbers in brackets indicate the duration of pauses in seconds, and "?" shows rising intonation.)

(1)   MThai: There's some **cloud** [kaʊ] (1.4)
       FIndo: Sorry?
       MThai: There's some **cloud** [kaʊ]
       FIndo: Cow? (1.1) w- what do you mean with cow
       MThai: Er::
       FIndo: Cloud? you mean?
       MThai: Yes yes
       FIndo: Oh the cloud no I don't see any cloud

The problem here is clearly that the male participant omitted both the [l] and the [d] from *cloud*, and even though they were discussing the weather, the female participant heard *cow*. Simplification of initial clusters, especially the omission of [l] from clusters such as /kl/, /pl/, and /fl/, is a major source of misunderstandings in ELF interactions (Gardiner and Deterding 2017), and omission of a final plosive can also cause problems when it is a single consonant in the coda of a syllable. We might note that the Thai male had difficulty fixing the problem and simply repeated [kaʊ], though the female Indonesian eventually managed to guess what he meant from the context. It seems the male participant did not know why the misunderstanding had occurred or how to resolve it, as he was not aware of his own patterns of speech.

Extract (2) shows a misunderstanding between female speakers from Vietnam and Laos that also involves the pronunciation of a consonant, this time the sound at the end of the first syllable of *toothbrush*. (In this extract ":" in "s:ome" indicates a lengthening of the [s].)

(2)   FViet: Next to her? There are s:ome **toothbrush** [tʊʔbrʌʃ] (0.4) there are
       toothbrush [tʊʔbrʌʃ] (1.4)
       FLaos: Next to her there are
       FViet: A **toothbrush** [tʊʔbrʌʃ]
       FLaos: Toop? [tʊp]
       FViet: A soop [sʊp] toothbrush [tʊfbrʌʃ]
       FLaos: Toothbrush [tuːθbrʌʃ]
       FViet: Yeah

Just as in example (1), the speaker had difficulty resolving the problem, at one point even changing the initial /t/ to [s], though at the fourth attempt she used [f] for

the consonant at the end of *tooth*, and this seemed to work. We might note that Jenkins (2000) has proposed that realization of the TH sounds may be variable in ELF interactions without impacting on intelligibility, but the evidence from example (2) suggests that only some replacements work: while [f] can be understood as a realization of voiceless TH, a glottal stop [ʔ] is more problematic.

Both examples (1) and (2) involve the unexpected pronunciation of consonants. Now let us consider vowels. An example in which a distinction between long and short vowels caused the problem is extract (3), as the female participant from Indonesia pronounced the vowel in *peaks* as [ɪ] rather than the expected /iː/ and the male from Thailand heard "pics" (something he confirmed in subsequent feedback). In this case, the Indonesian successfully resolved the problem by paraphrasing "peak" as "top of the mountain," illustrating the importance of skills at paraphrasing in international interactions. (<1> and </1> in this extract show the start and end of overlapping speech.)

(3) FIndo: I think I can see three **peaks** [pɪks] of mountains (0.9) <1> three
      peaks of mountains </1>
      MThai : <1> er: </1> in the
      FIndo: Yup
      MThai: <2> the </2>
      FIndo: <2> the top </2> of the mountain i can see three tops of mountains
      MThai: Okay okay

In the examples so far analyzed, there have been no instances in which the use of a full vowel in a monosyllabic function word gave rise to a problem. Pronouncing *at* as [æt] or *of* as [ɒv] does not seem to have any impact on intelligibility in these ELF interactions, and it might even make the speech more intelligible for speakers from Southeast Asia compared to use of a reduced vowel in these function words.

However, in some instances the unexpected use of a full vowel in a polysyllabic word may have contributed to a misunderstanding, especially when it resulted in a perception of shifted stress. Consider, for example, extract (4), an instance of misunderstanding that has been discussed in Lewis and Deterding (2018). (In this extract, "(.)" indicates a short pause lasting less than half a second.)

(4) MViet: How about the **BALloon**? [bʌlʊn]
      FIndo: <1> the? </1>
      MViet : <1> that </1> i have the (.) er two **BALloon** (.) s (1.2) two
      BALloons
      FIndo : BalLOONS? <2> no </2>
      MViet: <2> yeah </2> (.) you don't have it?
      FIndo: No

In this extract it sounds like the first syllable of *balloon* said by the male from Vietnam was stressed, and then his interlocutor, a female from Indonesia, could not understand this word. We might note that the male participant was able to fix the grammar, by adding a final -s onto *balloons*; but he did not know how to change the pronunciation in order to make himself understood. He just kept repeating the word with [ʌ] in the first syllable, though after the third instance, his interlocutor managed to figure it out.

In (4), the stress shift is leftward, to an earlier syllable in the word than that expected in standard pronunciation. Extract (5) shows an example in which a misunderstanding occurred because of the use of a full vowel instead of a reduced vowel and the consequent rightward stress shift. The female participant from Laos subsequently stated that she heard *orchestra bands* spoken by the male from Cambodia as "a crossta man." We note here lexical issues might also have contributed to the problem: *orchestra bands* is a somewhat unusual collocation. Furthermore, the picture just shows three people playing music, and describing three people as an orchestra is a little unexpected. Nevertheless, the main problem seems to be the use of a full vowel and the resulting perception of stress on the second syllable of *orchestra*, though we should note that not only is it a full vowel but it is also an unexpected full vowel, [ʌ] instead of the [e] that might be expected and is actually accepted in one possible realization of *orchestra* (Wells 2008, p. 568).

(5)   MCamb: Er they are (.) **orCHEStra** [ɒˈkʌstrə] **bands** (.) they are s- (.) er
      performing in front of er holiday hotel (0.9) do you have (.) er that picture?
      FLaos: I have er the picture? of a man? (.) climbing up the stairs? of the
      holiday hotel?

However, we should emphasize that a misunderstanding did not occur in all instances of a full vowel occurring instead of the reduced vowel expected in native-speaker pronunciation and the consequent perception of shifted stress. In extract (6), the male from Laos pronounced *calendar* with a full vowel and most prominence on the final syllable, but there is no indication that any misunderstanding occurred in this instance.

(6)   MLaos: A:nd (1) i <1> also have </1>
      FCamb: <1> maybe </1>
      MLaos: A cali- calenDAR [kælɪnˈdɑː] (0.5) hm (0.5)
      FCamb: <2> is it also thing july? right? </2>
      MLaos: <2> and uh the mother </2>

The ongoing investigation will try to determine how often the unexpected use of full vowels in polysyllabic words caused a misunderstanding to occur in these ELF interactions. We now consider the implications of these preliminary findings for ELT.

Discussion

It seems clear that there is no need for English teachers to insist on close adherence to a native-speaker model of pronunciation in ELF-based teaching. There are many minor allophonic variations in native-speaker accents, and it is not necessary for learners of English to mimic them all. Indeed, there is little point on spending valuable classroom time encouraging learners of English to develop these patterns when they do not enhance intelligibility in international settings. For example, native speakers tend to vary their pronunciation of *the* and *to* depending on whether the next word begins with a consonant or a vowel, but most ELF speakers in Southeast

Asia appear not to have this alternation; and it seems to offer little benefit in enhancing intelligibility, so there is no need for teachers to focus on it.

The speakers in the current study avoid vowel reduction in the overwhelming majority of their tokens of monosyllabic function words such as *and*, *at*, *from*, *of*, *that*, and *to*, and there is no evidence that this resulted in any detriment to the intelligibility of their speech. If use of full vowels in function words does not have any impact on intelligibility, there seems to be no need for teachers to encourage their use; and in some cases, full vowels in most function words (though perhaps not in *can*) may actually enhance intelligibility in ELF contexts. Moreover, learners of English who pronounce both *of* and *have* with full vowels are unlikely to write "could of" instead of "could have," a mistake that is nowadays rather common among many native speakers of English.

Although close imitation of native-speaker patterns is claimed to be unnecessary, pronunciation remains vitally important for learners of English, and some features of pronunciation, including simplification of initial clusters or omission of a final [d] in a word such as *cloud*, can be problematic, so teachers of English should try to ensure that their pupils do not exhibit patterns such as these. Furthermore, Cutler (2015) notes that perceived stress is important for identifying words in English, so if the absence of vowel reduction leads to a perception of shifted stress, this can result in misunderstandings occurring. Field (2005) suggests that rightward stress shift is more problematic than leftward stress shift, though we might note that two of the examples given here are counter-examples, as *BALloon* in extract (4) involves a leftward shift and it was misunderstood, while *calenDAR* in extract (6) exhibits a rightward stress but it was not problematic. While the effects of different patterns of stress shift need to be investigated further in data from ELF conversations, it does seem that shifted stress can sometimes be an issue. Furthermore, if use of reduced vowels in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words following native-speaker norms can help avoid misunderstandings arising from the perception of shifted stress, then such use of vowel reduction might be encouraged in the ELF classroom.

Jenkins (2000) has suggested that one advantage of avoiding close mimicking of all native-speaker pronunciation habits is that it can free up classroom time for other more valuable activities, and we can consider what kind of things this might involve. One exceptionally useful activity is to have students record themselves reading a text or having a conversation. In general, learners of English are often not aware of problems in their pronunciation, and when a misunderstanding occurs, while they can sometimes fix the grammar, they frequently do not know what to do to enhance their pronunciation. If they knew more about their own patterns of pronunciation, this might enable them to resolve issues when they find that they are not understood. Though this awareness can develop from students revisiting their recordings after direct feedback from teachers, it is also beneficial for speakers to have the opportunity to evaluate themselves. Students can become more mindful of their pronunciation as they listen for specific pronunciation features in their recorded speech or attempt to transcribe their conversations.

Using classroom time for activities that require students to understand one another can also be of great benefit. Information gap exercises, find-the-difference tasks, dictations, and communicative pronunciation games that use minimal pairs or

near minimal pairs require students to understand one another in order to accomplish the tasks. Some examples of engaging tasks that focus on consonant cluster minimal pairs might include dictations in which students have to hear whether their partner said "the boy is on the *sand*" or "the boy is on the *stand*," an information gap in which learners have to find out if students are "*paying* with money," or "*playing* with money," a find-the-difference in which one person has an image of someone wearing a T-shirt with a *cow* on it while the other person has a T-shirt with *cloud* on it, or a BINGO or matching game in which students have to call out words such as *pan*, *plan*, *planned*, *and*, *sand*, *stand*. Even in monolingual settings, speakers will have to differentiate between these words in their pronunciation when they participate in such activities. When breakdowns in intelligibility occur, students can try to work it out or ask the teacher for feedback to determine the cause. When activities focused on minimal pairs become routine in the classroom, students can see that variant pronunciation can give rise to misunderstandings and they can then work on improving their communication skills to ensure that they are understood in international contexts.

In addition, students should be given tools to help adapt their language to their audience. Changing one's pronunciation to the needs of one's listener is one kind of accommodation, and development of skills in accommodation can be promoted in the English classroom. Students should not just learn how to fix their pronunciation when they find that they are misunderstood, but they might also be encouraged to develop skills in paraphrasing what they say, maybe adopting simpler vocabulary or else finding other ways to express themselves. These are valuable skills that can be encouraged in the ELF-based classroom as we move away from closely imitating increasingly irrelevant native-speaker norms of pronunciation (Walker 2010).

We also need to acknowledge that pronunciation is not the only source of difficulties, as poor listening skills can often be the cause of misunderstandings, and an essential skill for learners of English in ELF settings is to be able to handle a wide range of different accents. Teachers should not just make their students familiar with a single target accent, as they should expose them to a wide variety of materials produced by speakers from different countries around the world. This will enable learners of English to develop the listening skills that will help them function successfully in the kind of ELF interactions in which they are likely to be involved in their future lives. Language learning websites, such as English Listening Lesson Library Online (www.elllo.org), which present speakers from a variety of countries, can provide invaluable ELF-based pronunciation materials; and an increase in resources that celebrate diverse varieties of English will encourage teachers and students to develop listening skills appropriate for ELF contexts.

Finally, these suggestions are more difficult if teachers themselves do not feel that they are empowered to speak in their own variety of pronunciation (Kirkpatrick 2007). With current pronunciation materials which generally focus on native-speaker norms, teachers who elect ELF-based instruction face the problem of sounding different from the model speakers they present in the class. Consequently, there is a need for teacher training, support, and substantially more ELF-based resources. Walker (2010) explores materials and strategies for ELF-based pronunciation teaching that could be a starting place for teacher development, but there is an urgent need for further research and resource development.

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Current Perspectives on Vocabulary Teaching and Learning

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Samuel Barclay and Norbert Schmitt

Contents

Abstract

This chapter reviews key vocabulary research and draws a number of conclusions regarding teaching and learning. Areas addressed include the amount of vocabulary required to use English; what it means to know and learn a word; the incremental nature of vocabulary acquisition; the role of memory in vocabulary

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learning, incidental, and intentional vocabulary learning; and the implementation of a systematic approach to vocabulary teaching and learning. This chapter also introduces principles by which activities can be developed for vocabulary teaching and instruments that will help teachers choose effective tasks. The insights and techniques discussed in this chapter can help teachers develop principled vocabulary programs for their students.

Introduction

Vocabulary learning is a critical part of developing second-language competency. Vocabulary knowledge has been shown to play a significant role in language comprehension and production. It has also been shown to affect scores on general proficiency measures. It is no wonder then that vocabulary development is considered by researchers, teachers, and students alike, to be among the most important tasks of the language learner. Reflecting this importance, there has been a wealth of research in this area in recent years, leading to a robust set of research-led pedagogical principles. This chapter highlights these insights and provides tangible advice on how to teach vocabulary in an effective manner.

The Vocabulary Challenge Facing L2 English Learners

Before pedagogical stakeholders can design principled vocabulary programs, they first need to understand the vocabulary challenge facing learners of English. There are a considerable number of word families in English (a word family consists of a headword [play], its inflections [played, playing], as well as its derivations [playful, playfulness, playfully]). The average dictionary lists many tens of thousands of word families, for example. However, even educated native speakers will know only a fraction of these, perhaps around 17,000 (Goulden et al. 1990). Although this figure is probably unrealistic for all but the most motivated learners, the good news is that it is possible to function in English with vocabularies far smaller than this, the reason being that learners do not need to understand all the running words in a text to comprehend it. A key consideration here, and one of the main areas of vocabulary research, is just how many words are necessary to perform various tasks in English. However, before discussion of that area is possible, it is first important to answer a related question.

What Percentage of the Vocabulary in a Text Is It Necessary to Know?

The percentage of known words in a text is referred to as *lexical coverage*. Some researchers have suggested that coverage of 95% of the lexical items in a text

predicts adequate reading comprehension (Laufer 1989), while others (e.g., Hu and Nation 2000) have suggested a higher figure, 98%. It is probably best to think of these numbers as points on an approximately linear scale, with comprehension improving as lexical coverage increases (Schmitt et al. 2011). Therefore, 95% lexical coverage might be considered a minimal and ≥ 98% an optimal figure (Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski 2010). This equates to 1 unknown word per 20 and per 50 words of text, respectively.

While less research has focused on coverage figures for listening, studies in this area have also found that better comprehension comes with greater lexical coverage. They have also suggested that adequate comprehension is possible with lower lexical coverage than reading. Van Zeeland and Schmitt (2013), for example, found that a great deal can be comprehended with 95% coverage of narrative texts.

It is important to remember that these figures are probabilistic; meeting the coverage targets is no guarantee of successful comprehension. In addition, there will inevitably be individual differences with some learners able to comprehend more with less coverage and some able to understand little with more coverage. Finally, it is also important to remember that discourse comprehension is a multi-faceted construct; there are many other factors that affect the extent to which a learner comprehends a text (see Schmitt et al. 2011). However, with an understanding of lexical coverage requirements, it is now possible to determine the extent of the lexical challenge facing L2 learners.

How Many Words Is It Necessary to Know to Reach the Coverage Figures?

The above showed that to read an authentic text independently, 95% coverage can be taken as a minimal requirement, while ≥98% coverage can be considered optimal. Studies have shown that the latter equates to approximately 8000–9000 word families, while the former can be realized with knowledge of 4000–5000 word families (Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski 2010; Nation 2006). For listening, it seems that comprehension is possible with comparatively less coverage. Thus, 95% coverage can be attained with knowledge of 2,000–3,000 word families. This latter figure is supported by Webb and Rodger (2009), who found that 95% coverage of a corpus of 318 movie scripts could be achieved with knowledge of the most frequent 3,000 word families. All these figures include proper nouns, as it is assumed that these do not pose a great deal of difficulty for learners (i.e., they will be familiar to most or guessable from context). Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski (2010) calculated that proper nouns account for approximately 2.1% of words in a text. Of course, even with understanding of all proper nouns, many words will still be unknown, but with vocabulary sizes of 8,000–9,000 words for reading and 2,000–3,000 words for listening, learners should be able to infer the meaning of novel words from context and understand most of the communicative content of the text.

While the learning goals described in this section may seem prohibitively large, it is useful to remember that many are successful in reaching such levels. These

statistics should provide stakeholders with size targets that need to be attained in order to function well in English in various ways; however, they do not tell us which words students need to know.

Which Words Should Learners Study?

In some situations, the particular words to teach are obvious. For example, beginners in a classroom need, among other things, the words required to operate in a classroom setting, e.g., *book* and *pencil*. ESP learners focusing on a specific field of study, e.g., medicine, will need to learn the technical vocabulary required in that field (*scalpel*, *femur*). This situationally based vocabulary and technical vocabulary are obvious targets for teaching, but it is less obvious what to teach if the goal is a general increase in vocabulary size. In this case, the best criterion to guide target word selection is frequency of occurrence. Words occurring frequently in English are typically the most useful and the first acquired by students. The usefulness of frequent words has much to do with text coverage. That is, knowing a small number of words in English allows coverage of a large proportion of a text. Readers can perform a coverage analysis by copying a text and pasting it into a vocabulary profiler (e.g., *Lextutor*: https://lextutor.ca/). The results will, depending on the intended audience of the text, resemble the findings of Nation (2006). For example, he reports that 82.93% of the words in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* are from the most frequent 1,000 word families of English, which includes function words like *that*, *a*, and *to*. The next 1,000 word families account for 7.21% of the running words in the text. However, another 1,000 word families, the tenth most frequent, account for only 0.24% of the same text (Table 1). This frequency order reflects the order of importance to the average learner, with highly frequent words important and low-frequency words less so. Spoken discourse generally has less diversity when it comes to vocabulary, and so 3,000 word families will cover around 95% of typical

Table 1 Percentage coverage figures for *Lady Chatterley's Lover*

Frequency band (in thousands)	Percentage contribution to total coverage (excluding proper nouns)	Cumulative coverage (including proper nouns)
1	80.88	82.93
2	7.21	90.14
3	3.14	93.28
4	1.78	95.06
5	1.07	96.13
6	0.69	96.88
7	0.61	97.43
8	0.47	97.90
9	0.32	98.22
10	0.24	98.46

Adapted from Nation (2006)

speech (Webb and Rodgers 2009). However, for academic spoken English, the number of word families needed to reach necessary coverage is larger, 4,000 in addition to proper nouns (Dang and Webb 2014). Clearly, the most frequent words in English are an essential foundation to all language users and need to be learned regardless of the effort.

In addition to learning a wide and varied vocabulary of individual words, English learners must also cope with formulaic language. English has a large number of these multi-word lexemes, many of which are opaque (e.g., *pass away*, *bite the dust*, *kick the bucket*, all meaning *to die*). Although it is certainly possible to be communicative without using these, they are a large part of what makes proficient English speakers sound natural and their lexical choices appropriate. In addition, recognizing formulaic language is associated with a processing advantage (Pawley and Syder 1983). Also, as such formulaic language seems to be ubiquitous in English, learners need to be able to fluently decode the meaning of these lexical phrases if they are to read and listen to authentic discourse efficiently (Martinez and Murphy 2011). It is clear then that the lexical challenge facing learners, both in terms of single items and formulaic sequences, is considerable.

Word lists offer a partial solution to this problem. These allow stakeholders to determine which words or sequences should be included in instruction. List selection is important as many are currently available and the most appropriate list will depend on learner needs. For example, the Essential Word List (Dang and Webb 2016) would suit beginners, while the Academic Vocabulary List (Gardner and Davies 2014) could be used with EAP students. Lists of formulaic sequences, common phrasal verbs, for example (Garnier and Schmitt 2015), are also useful tools for materials writers and teachers. These tools, if correctly deployed, offer valuable research-driven evidence around which syllabi can be designed.

The Construct of Vocabulary Knowledge

Perhaps the first step to understanding vocabulary learning is to specify what it means to know a word. The average layperson would probably assume a word known if learners can demonstrate knowledge of its meaning and form (written and/or spoken). While learners may be able to use a word with this level of understanding, such shallow knowledge might be considered as, to borrow terminology employed earlier, minimal. In contrast, optimal knowledge consists of a great deal more. The most frequently used componential taxonomy of lexical knowledge is Nation (2013). The following represents the most extensive description of vocabulary knowledge produced to date (Table 2).

As can be seen by this listing, true mastery involves knowing a variety of word-knowledge aspects. The more aspects of word knowledge known, the more likely it is that it will be used in the right contexts in an appropriate manner. However, Nation's conceptualization should be seen as aspirational rather than prescriptive. It describes all potential aspects of knowledge, rather than those aspects necessary for appropriate use. Indeed, native speakers would not be expected to have knowledge of every dimension at both receptive and productive levels for all words known to them. As such, it would be unwise to expect language learners to develop maximal

Table 2 Dimensions of word knowledge

Form	Spoken	R	What does the word sound like?
		P	How is the word pronounced?
	Written	R	What does the word look like?
		P	How is the word written and spelled?
	Word parts	R	What parts are recognizable in this word?
		P	What word parts are needed to express this meaning?
Meaning	Form and meaning	R	What meaning does this word form signal?
		P	What word form can be used to express this meaning?
	Concepts and referents	R	What is included in the concept?
		P	What items can the concept refer to?
	Associations	R	What other words does this make us think of?
		P	What other words could we use instead of this one?
Use	Grammatical functions	R	In what patterns does the word occur?
		P	In what patterns must we use this word?
	Collocations	R	What words or types of words occur with this one?
		P	What words or types of words must we use with this
	Constraints on use (register, frequency, etc.)	R	Where, when, and how often would we expect to meet this word?
		P	Where, when, and how often can we use this word?

Taken from Nation (2013)

Note: *R* receptive knowledge, *P* productive knowledge

knowledge. Furthermore, although the taxonomy represents a componential description of the vocabulary construct, the various dimensions should not be taken as inherently discrete but as contributing to one predominant construct, that of foreign language vocabulary knowledge (González Fernández and Schmitt under review). Perhaps the most beneficial use of such a listing is as a pedagogical tool for analyzing and/or specifying the goals of a classroom activity or assessment. Additionally, it reminds students that revisiting words known only to the form-meaning level is important, as enhancement of shallow knowledge is just as critical to appropriate use as establishing form-meaning knowledge of unknown lexical items.

The Incremental Nature of Vocabulary Learning

Gaining full mastery of each knowledge type listed above simultaneously is clearly unrealistic. Although currently there is a limited understanding of how some are acquired (e.g., register), it seems clear that certain types are learned before others. For example, Bahns and Eldaw (1993) found that collocational knowledge lagged behind general vocabulary knowledge (cf. Webb and Kagimoto 2009). Advanced learners studied by Schmitt (1998) had little problem with spelling regardless of what else they knew about the words, suggesting that this is one of the first aspects of lexical

knowledge to be mastered by students. These findings were supported by González-Fernández and Schmitt (under review), who found an implicational relationship between different types of knowledge. They report that a learner who has derivational knowledge of a word and knowledge of its different meaning senses will also have knowledge of its collocations and written form-meaning link. Their research showed that the four types of knowledge investigated can be placed in the following order of difficulty: form meaning and collocation < polysemy and derivation. Furthermore, they considered knowledge at both the recognition and recall levels and found recall knowledge indicated the presence of recognition knowledge, but the opposite was not true. This latter finding is supported by Laufer and Goldstein (2004) who found that productive knowledge of both form and meaning is more challenging than receptive knowledge of the same two word-knowledge types.

The above research also suggests that just because some word-knowledge aspects are known does not necessarily mean that others will be. Schmitt and Zimmerman (2002) found that even advanced learners who knew one form of a word (e.g., *philosophy*) did not necessary know all members of its word family (*philosophize*, *philosophical*, *philosophically*). Also, learners might know the core meaning sense of a word, but they are unlikely to know all possible meaning senses (Schmitt 1998). Thus, learning a word must be an incremental process, with the various word-knowledge aspects being mastered at different rates. It follows from this that each of the word-knowledge types will be known at different degrees of mastery at any one time. This is illustrated by Fig. 1, which shows what knowledge of a word might look like.

Just as it is possible to say that a word is known to a greater or lesser extent by the level of mastery of each word-knowledge aspect, so can mastery of each aspect be placed on a continuum between the dichotomous poles *known* and *unknown*, with various levels of knowledge between those two extremes. Even an aspect as seemingly basic as productive knowledge of the written form is learned incrementally, along a cline like the following (Fig. 2).

From this, we see that vocabulary acquisition is not only incremental but also incremental in a variety of ways. First, lexical knowledge consists of different kinds
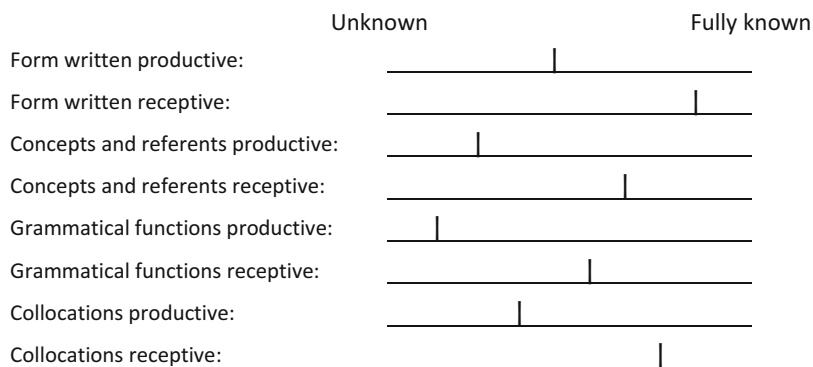
Fig. 1 A graphic representation of potential word mastery by word-type aspect

No knowledge of spelling   Some letters correct   Mostly correct   Fully correct spelling

|-- |

Fig. 2 A graphic representation of cline of mastery for written form knowledge

of word knowledge that cannot be learned fully simultaneously. Instead, learners develop knowledge of different aspects at different times. Second, each word-knowledge type develops along a cline, which means that not only is word learning in general incremental but learning of the individual word-knowledge aspects is also incremental. Taken together, these conclusions indicate that word learning is a complicated but gradual process.

However, it would be wrong to assume that the journey from no knowledge, through partial mastery, to full mastery is one of only incremental progression. It would be pleasing to believe that learners' lexical development is one of linear growth, but teachers and leaners have long known this not to be the case, recognizing that lexical knowledge can also decay (e.g., Fitzpatrick 2012). At present, little is known about this process, other than that it is a common occurrence, presumably happens due to lack of interaction with target vocabulary, and can likely affect each of the word-knowledge aspects. However, although it is possible to theorize that some aspects of word knowledge may be more severely affected than others by a period of reduced input, currently we know very little about the relative speed with which different types of word knowledge degrade. One robust finding from studies in this area is that productive vocabulary knowledge of the form-meaning link is more vulnerable to decay than equivalent receptive knowledge (e.g., Chen and Truscott 2010). However, studies also report some productive knowledge remains on delayed posttests. This suggests that some words are more resilient to decay than others. Research findings are contradictory as to the causes of such comparative resilience, with some suggesting that variables such as word class impact retention (Ellis and Beaton 1993) and others finding no difference between the retention of nouns and verbs (Barclay 2017). In addition to part of speech, there are numerous factors that could potentially influence this process; however, it is unlikely that any one of these is entirely responsible for knowledge maintenance. Therefore, more research is needed in this area before conclusions can be drawn and pedagogical strategies developed to help the mitigation of lexical decay. For the time being, perhaps the best advice for educators is the importance of retrieval and sustained interaction with target vocabulary. Additionally, as once-acquired vocabulary is never truly lost (de Bot and Stoessel 2000), learners should not despair at the natural "ebb and flow of [lexical] knowledge" (Fitzpatrick 2012).

Recycling and Retrieval

The fact that vocabulary is learned incrementally inevitably leads to the implication that, to be truly learned, words must be met and used multiple times. The number of exposures/usages necessary depends on a number of factors, including

how salient the word is, how necessary the word is for a learner's present needs, and whether the word is met incidentally while pursuing some other purpose or studied explicitly with the goal of learning it. This latter distinction is the focus of the next section.

Incidental and Intentional Vocabulary Learning

An important distinction is that of incidental and intentional learning. Although somewhat of a simplification, it is generally true that the former refers to learning that occurs when students are engaged in some other task and the learning of vocabulary is not one of the overt goals. In contrast, the latter refers to learning when (one of) the specified goal(s) is vocabulary acquisition itself. Incidental learning then does not involve an explicit focus on vocabulary, unlike intentional learning that often comprises tasks focusing on target words (Schmitt 2008). Some word-knowledge aspects are best learned intentionally. For example, the use of word cards or flash card software is particularly suited to foundational aspects of knowledge, such as the form-meaning link. This is because such learning leads to high pickup rates (Crothers and Suppes 1967), and the declarative knowledge it produces is especially appropriate for this aspect of word knowledge (Schmitt 2014). In contrast, deeper aspects of word knowledge (e.g., collocation, derivation, etc.) might best be learned through extensive incidental exposure. This is because such exposure aids the development of intuitions regarding appropriacy of use (ibid.). These two learning types should not be seen as conflicting therefore but as complementary pieces of the vocabulary-learning puzzle.

Frequency of Exposure and Retrieval

Frequency of exposure (the number of times an item is encountered) has been found to correlate with acquisition for both incidental and intentional learning. Based on the discussion in the previous section, it should be unsurprising to learn that the number of exposures necessary for acquisition varies greatly depending on the type of learning. Incidental learning typically requires more exposures, while intentional learning requires fewer to reach a learning threshold. Although it would be pedagogically convenient if research could specify a number of exposures after which acquisition will occur, this does not seem to be possible.

Recent research into incidental learning has found that the probability of developing word knowledge from reading does improve with an increase in frequency of occurrence but that there is no threshold past which all unknown words seem to be learned for the various aspects of word knowledge (Pellicer-Sanchez and Schmitt 2010). Furthermore, reading has been found to benefit more than just the form-meaning link. For example, exposure to novel words can lead to the development of multiple aspects of word knowledge. Moreover, the probability of each aspect developing improves with greater frequency of occurrence (Webb 2007a). A similar correlation has also been demonstrated when the stimulus is audiovisual material

(Rodgers 2013). Therefore, greater frequency of exposure can have a positive effect on multiple aspects of vocabulary, but it is not possible to specify an exact number of exposures necessary for such improvement.

Similarly, studies investigating intentional learning have shown that rather than stipulating a requisite number of exposures, more exposures increase the probability of learning (e.g., Peters 2014). One reason why it is not possible to provide a threshold number is that other factors besides frequency of exposure are important for vocabulary learning. In fact, Schmitt (2008, p. 339) concludes that "virtually anything that leads to more exposure, attention, manipulation, or time spent on lexical items adds to their learning." Another reason is that each word varies in terms of the learning burden it poses for a student. The learning burden of a word is the amount of effort needed to learn it (Webb and Nation 2017). This is affected by a number of factors. Some factors are learner-dependent, describing variables relating to the language learner (e.g., motivation, language-learning aptitude, proficiency). Other factors are interlexical and relate to the relationship between known language and the L2 item (e.g., L1, known L2 words). For example, Willis and Ohashi (2012) investigated the learning burden that cognates pose Japanese learners of English. Using the vocabulary size test (Nation and Beglar 2007), they found that cognates were more likely to be known by the participants than noncognates even after other potentially conflating factors were controlled. This shows that cognates have a lower learning burden than noncognates, at least for Japanese learners of English. Other factors can be grouped as intralexical and relate to the intrinsic difficulty some words pose (see Laufer 1997). One final category relates to the learning context and includes variables such as task design and the level of engagement with an item. All of these factors can potentially affect the learning burden, which in turn can impact the number of exposures required to learn a lexical item.

Within this discussion, an important distinction needs to be recognized, that of exposures and retrievals. The former relates to the number of times a participant sees a target item, both before a learner has encoded a word and afterward. The latter, retrieval, refers to the act of recalling a (partially) learned form. Numerous researchers have argued that retrieval facilitates learning and retention to a greater extent than mere presentation of an item (e.g., Baddeley 1990). That is, the number of retrievals is a better predictor of learning and long-term retention than the frequency of exposure. For example, Nakata (2016) found that items retrieved five and seven times are better retained than items retrieved once or three times. However, Nakata also found that considerable knowledge was retained by the one-retrieval group 4 weeks after learning. There are two important points that need to be stressed: first, more retrievals lead to more robust knowledge, and, second, any retrieval of information will benefit retention.

Finally, as the number of encounters necessary to reach the learning threshold likely depends on the factors introduced above, it follows that a teacher cannot predict when Learner A will learn Word B. Therefore, it is pertinent to encourage learners to interact with lexical items (both single words and formulaic sequences) as often as it takes for acquisition to occur, rather than mandating a specific number of encounters.

The Timing of Retrieval

The above section showed that vocabulary needs to be recycled if learners are to retain it. One of the great mistakes many teachers make is to focus on a new word only once, leading to a high probability of that word being forgotten and the time spent on learning it wasted. Nation (1990) suggests that to avoid this waste, it is as important to recycle partially known words as it is to teach new ones. However, there are more efficient and less efficient schedules for recycling and revision. To understand the best timing for this recurring exposure to words, it is necessary to understand how the mind forgets new information. Typically, most forgetting occurs soon after the end of the learning session. After that major loss, the rate of forgetting decreases (Fig. 3).

The forgetting curve in Fig. 3 indicates that it is critical to have a review session in which learners retrieve the words they learned soon after the learning session but less essential as time goes on. This finding suggests that learners should rehearse new material soon after the initial meeting and then at gradually increasing intervals, as illustrated in Fig. 4 (e.g., Ebbinghaus 1885).

This pattern of learning is referred to as spaced repetition or expanding rehearsal. Nakata (2015) provides an empirical example of the benefits of this procedure,
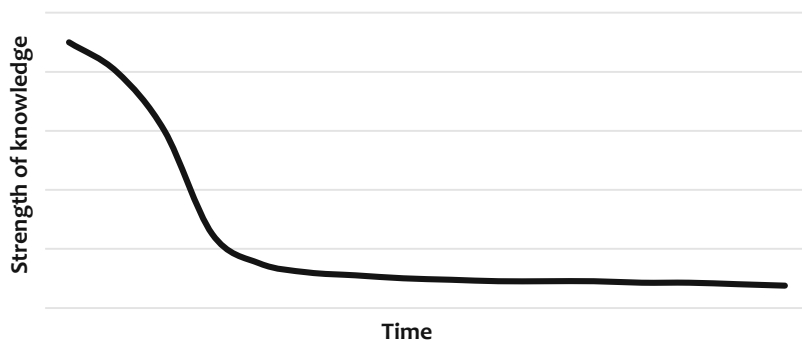
Fig. 3 The typical pattern of forgetting
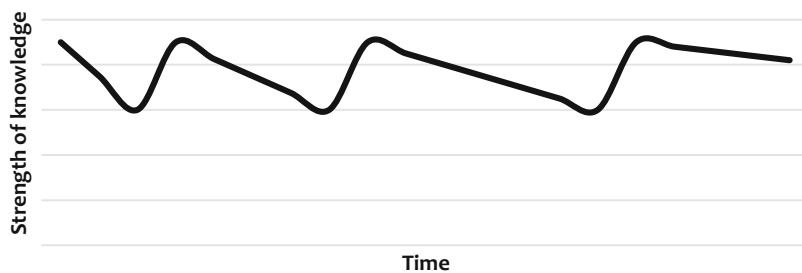
Fig. 4 Forgetting pattern with spaced repetition

showing that learning through short, medium, and long expanding intervals is more robust than learning through massed-retrieval procedures. With the prominence of communicative language teaching and inductive task design, such learning is not currently in vogue; however, the use of lists and flash cards for vocabulary learning, especially if learners employ expanded rehearsal, can greatly facilitate both acquisition and retention of vocabulary (e.g., Nation 2013). Numerous flash card applications are freely available that incorporate spaced repetition algorithms. These automatically program learning so that it is both efficient and effective and take the responsibility for determining the timing of recycling away from the learner, allowing him/her to concentrate on acquiring vocabulary.

A Principled Approach to Vocabulary Teaching and Learning

The background in the above sections leads to several observations that are important for vocabulary pedagogy. First, a learner is unlikely to be able to acquire a sufficiently wide vocabulary through explicit learning alone; there are simply too many words to learn. Second, learning an achievable number of word families (3,000–9,000) can provide considerable rewards in the linguistic abilities they support. A significant percentage of this can be realistically addressed in an explicit manner over time. Third, the most important words to target for explicit attention are generally the most frequent words in English.

Combining these points, one can make a cost/benefit calculation (Nation 1995) concerning what vocabulary to teach. All teaching carries cost, mainly in classroom time but also in teaching and learning effort. The most frequent 3,000 word families are worth this cost, because they are the essential foundation to any language use. If learners need to develop topic-specific vocabulary, then technical words are also likely to be met sufficiently frequently to justify intentional learning (appropriate word lists can help determine this discipline-specific lexis for ESP provision). In addition, the most frequent formulaic sequences are good candidates for explicit attention (e.g., Garnier and Schmitt 2015). Finally, learners who hope to be able to efficiently read authentic English texts would need knowledge of mid-frequency vocabulary (i.e., between 3,000 and 9,000; see Schmitt and Schmitt 2014) which could also be learned intentionally. Beyond this band, however, words occur so infrequently that time is better spent on developing strategies that enable learners to determine the meaning of unknown lower-frequency vocabulary on their own (see Nation 2008).

In addition to this cost/benefit consideration, any single method of vocabulary learning will not address all the word-knowledge aspects that are required for full vocabulary use. We can explicitly address some aspects, like meaning and grammatical characteristics, but aspects like collocation, polysemy, and register are likely to require extensive exposure in many different contexts. Thus, Nation (2007) identifies four areas on which teachers need to focus: meaning-focused input,

meaning-focused output, form-focused input, and fluency development. These will be discussed in relation to vocabulary learning below.

Meaning-Focused Input

This strand involves vocabulary development from listening, reading, or reading while listening. The focus here is on comprehension and enjoyment rather than language learning per se. Importantly, this strand requires that learners are familiar with most items in a text. In practical terms, this means students should have minimal or optimal lexical coverage of the texts that are used. This strand is important because it enables learners to recycle previously learned vocabulary, develop partially known aspects of word knowledge, and practice lexical determination strategies such as guessing meaning from context.

One key to facilitating this strand is maximizing learners' language exposure. Although no guarantee of development, one of the most effective ways to learn English is to live in an English-speaking country. Fitzpatrick and Clenton (2010) showed that study-abroad programs can stimulate lexical development, while research has also shown that longer sojourns can lead to substantial gains. However, spending short periods in an L1 context is probably not a sustainable solution to the lexical acquisition challenge, nor is it a realistic possibility for all learners.

Reading has traditionally been promoted to increase a learner's exposure to English. Typically, this means the use of graded readers or graded online content (see www.erfoundation.org). The provision of comprehensible input via graded reading programs has been found to lead to vocabulary learning (e.g., Al-Homoud and Schmitt 2009). As proficiency increases, learners will naturally wish to move on to more lexically challenging readers and eventually authentic texts. Such texts have also been shown to facilitate learning of individual words (Pellicer-Sanchez and Schmitt 2010) as well as formulaic sequences (Macis 2018). Another possibility is *narrow reading*. This entails reading numerous texts on the same topic. Reading on one subject leads to the increased frequency of topic-specific vocabulary and, therefore, a greater likelihood of acquisition. This latter strategy is a natural choice for ESP courses.

Other sources of exposure are audiovisual content and computer games. TV, film, and online content are good options for providing extensive language exposure as they are abundant and tend to be popular activities. They have also been shown to promote acquisition and knowledge maintenance, particularly if captions are used (Peters et al. 2016). Similarly, computer games are a good source of language exposure and can lead to vocabulary learning (Peters 2017). However, learners with larger vocabulary sizes tend to profit more from these sources of incidental exposure (Montero-Perez et al. 2017). Indeed, although audiovisual material and video games can be useful sources of input, many learners will not have sufficient coverage of authentic audiovisual texts to allow fluent processing. Therefore, to fulfill the requirements of this strand, teachers need to consider the vocabulary level of a learner before recommending activities.

Meaning-Focused Output

This strand involves learning through writing and speaking. This means learners using known (or partially known) language while also compensating for lexical gaps through communication and lexical determination strategies (e.g., using monolingual or bilingual dictionaries). Meaning-focused output can aid lexical development in a number of ways: Encouraging the use of newly acquired vocabulary, promoting the negotiation of various aspects of word knowledge, and contributing to the incremental development of partially known items (Nation and Meara 2002). Including target lexical items for learners to use is one way to ensure that learners are pushed to use items that are only partially known, rather than relying on compensation or avoidance strategies.

Language-Focused Learning

This strand involves the intentional learning of vocabulary. Deliberate learning is an efficient method for gaining a large amount of robust lexical knowledge expeditiously. The word-knowledge aspects covered in this strand tend to be limited to the form and/or the meaning. That is why teachers need to encourage the development of word-knowledge aspects of greater depth during the meaning-focused input and meaning-focused output strands. To encourage effective form-focused learning, the following points need to be considered.

The Choice of Activity

One reasonable way to start is by focusing on the meaning and word form aspects first. Numerous tasks focus on the form-meaning link, for example, using word cards, writing the form of the target word, gap fills, matching, odd one out, and sentence writing. However, research has shown that the type of activity used, and the knowledge type it aims to engender, can affect the extent and strength of acquisition. As we have finite processing capacity, a focus on one word-knowledge aspect will necessarily reduce focus on other aspects. For example, concentrating on meaning and encouraging meaning elaboration through mind maps or sentence writing will, while promoting the learning of semantic properties of the target word, inhibit learning of structural properties (i.e., form) (Barcroft 2002). This is illustrated by Barcroft's (2015) type of processing – resource allocation (TOPRA) model below (Fig. 5).

The thick outer lines represent the finite processing resources of each learner at any one time; these do not move. The inner lines do move and reflect the type of processing required by a task. Thus, a task such as sentence writing, which requires semantic processing, will reduce the proportion of processing capacity devoted to form and mapping. This model therefore predicts that such a task would promote more semantic learning than form learning or mapping. Obviously, an activity cannot focus on all aspects of word knowledge, so it is important for teachers to analyze activities to determine the type of processing it requires and then select tasks
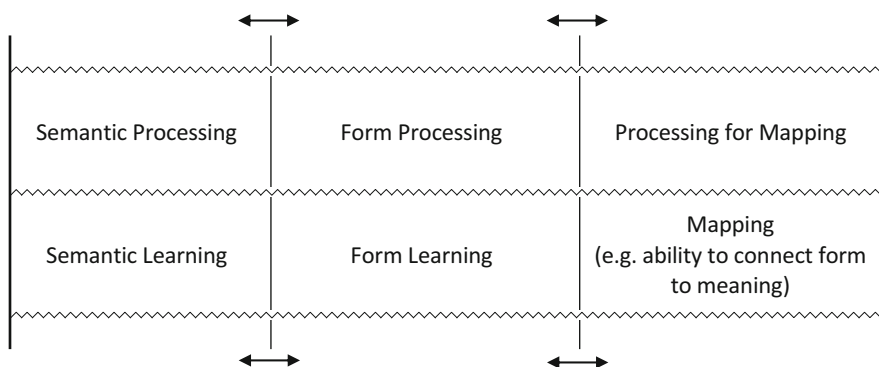
Fig. 5 The TOPRA model. (Barcroft 2015)

based on the type of knowledge most necessary to learners. This conclusion holds for both individual words and formulaic language; research has shown that the focus of a task affects which aspects of idioms are learned, with meaning-focused learning tasks (i.e., L2-L1) leading to better knowledge of meaning and form-focused learning tasks (i.e., L2-L1) fostering better knowledge of form (Steinel et al. 2007).

Another useful tool to help teachers choose learning tasks is the Involvement Load Hypothesis (Laufer & Hulstijn 2001). This holds that vocabulary learning and retention are dependent on the extent of involvement facilitated by a task. Involvement consists of three components:

- *Search* relates to whether learners need to look for the required word-knowledge aspect: Is the meaning of an item provided, or do learners need to attend to it themselves?
- *Need* is how necessary a linguistic item is to the success of a task: Is there a need to engage with the target word to complete a task, is the need for meaning disambiguation imposed by an external source (e.g., the teacher), or is it up to the learner (e.g., by looking in a dictionary)?
- *Evaluation* is the extent to which a task requires the comparison of a lexical item with a context to check appropriacy: Is there a requirement to check words against known words and/or context, and is that requirement provided by an external source (e.g., gap fill) or initiated by the learner?

The total involvement load of an activity is calculated by combining each element. Laufer and Hulstijn (2001) suggest tasks that have greater involvement load lead to more robust learning. A more fine-grained, but similarly user-friendly, approach to task assessment is Technique Feature Analysis (Nation and Webb 2011). This analytical tool contains dichotomous scales relating to research findings on conditions facilitative of vocabulary learning. The instrument contains 18 questions separated into 5 sections (motivation, noticing, retrieval, generation, and retention), with a higher total score associated with a more impactful learning task. Although the validity arguments are yet to be fully explored for either tool, for teachers and

materials writers, they offer a quick method of checking the likelihood of a given task fostering robust knowledge. Thus, they should be used in combination with other tools (e.g., observation) to ensure that pedagogical activities are meaningful.

The Presentation of the Word and Meaning

Research has also considered the effect of different methods of meaning presentation and found some to be more helpful than others. These research findings often differ from common pedagogical practices and accepted EFL orthodoxy, and so it is important for educators and materials writers to consider their own practice in light of the following.

There are numerous ways of presenting the meaning of the target language: L2 definitions, L1 definitions, L2 synonyms, L1 equivalents, and pictures (Nation and Webb 2011). Additionally, combinations of the above are also common (the use of L2 definitions with accompanying pictures, the use of an L2 synonym and an L2 definition). Teachers are often reticent to use L1 equivalents; however, research has shown that they are a highly effective method of meaning presentation. For example, in a study with Israeli learners of English, Laufer and Shmueli (1997) found that words accompanied with an L1 equivalent were learned and retained better than those explained in L2. In spite of the widespread notion that L1 should not be used in the classroom, teachers and materials writers need to recognize that using the L1 for learning the meaning aspects of target vocabulary is efficient and should be considered, especially for lower-level learners.

Research has also explored the presentation of words in and out of context. It is a common assumption that unknown words should be presented in a context that disambiguates the target meaning. However, research has shown that for the initial acquisition of the form-meaning link, discrete presentation of target items is as effective, if not more effective, than presentation in a disambiguating sentential context. For example, in an investigation of Japanese EFL students, Webb (2007b) found no difference between word-pair and word-pair + sentence conditions in terms of acquisition of form-meaning aspects of word knowledge. This finding has been extended to formulaic language. Le-Thi et al. (2017) found no difference between the intentional learning of formulaic sequences in sentential and decontextualized conditions. Context is of course important to the learning of foreign language vocabulary but is particularly meaningful after the initial acquisition of shallow aspects of knowledge. After the learning of form-meaning aspects, single words and formulaic language need to be encountered numerous times in diverse contexts to facilitate the development of knowledge aspects that allow situationally appropriate language use.

A related issue is the number of items that can be learned in any one session. Nation (2008) suggests that for beginner learners, 20 words is a realistic figure but that for proficient learners, this number is as high as 50. Again, there seems to be no number that is applicable to all learners, even those with similar proficiency. This is because the number of words that can be studied and retained will likely depend on learner variables (such as language-learning aptitude and working memory) and task design. Perhaps therefore, best practice might involve setting a realistic minimum that all learners can attain, but not a maximum number of items for study.

Many words are polysemous (have more than one meaning sense) in English, and often some of their different meaning senses have a common underlying trait. *Fork*, as an example, can mean a *fork* to eat with, a *fork* in a road or river, a *tuning fork* for use with music, a *pitch fork* that farmers use to throw hay, or several other things. The *General Service List* (West 1953) indicates that the meaning sense of *implement used for eating or in gardening* makes up 86% of the occurrences, while *anything so shaped*, like *a fork in the road*, makes up 12%. This would suggest that *eating fork* is the most important meaning sense, but in this case, we can capture all of the meaning senses by drawing learners' attention to the similarities between them. By defining the core concept, in this case the shape shared by each of the meaning senses, we maximize the efficacy of the teaching by enabling students to understand the word in a much wider variety of contexts. Analysis similar to West's has also been conducted on the most frequent phrasal verbs in English. This showed that they too can be polysemous. For example, *work out* can mean to plan, exercise, happen, or prove to be successful (Garnier and Schmitt 2015); however, it is not yet clear the extent to which there are core concepts that allow multiple meaning senses to be addressed simultaneously. The best advice, therefore, is for practitioners to address the notion central to multiple meaning senses of phrasal verbs whenever possible.

Teachers can also maximize vocabulary learning by teaching word families instead of individual word forms. Instructors can make it a habit when introducing a new word to mention the other members of its word family. In this way, learners form the habit of considering a word's derivations. To reinforce this habit, teachers may eventually ask students to guess a new word's derivatives at the time of introduction. Including a derivation section as part of an assessment also promotes the idea that learning the complete word family is important.

The Target Words

In addition to the type of learning activity and the manner of item presentation, the choice of the target words themselves can also affect the extent of learning that occurs. Research shows that learning semantically related words (e.g., synonyms, antonyms, co-hyponyms) is less efficient (Tinkham 1997) and less effective (Ishii 2014). Recent studies have also shown that teaching words that have visually similar referents (e.g., spherical objects such as globe, watermelon, football) at the same time can inhibit vocabulary learning (Ishii 2014).

It is key that teachers consider all these points when selecting words for learners to study and when preparing vocabulary-focused activities. Additionally, it is equally important that students are made aware of these principles so that they can effectively organize their own vocabulary study.

Fluency Development

Fluent lexical production is vital for competent speaking and writing (Snellings et al. 2002), while automaticity of lexical decoding is critical to understanding both spoken and written discourse efficiently. Automaticity in lexical production and

recognition can be influenced through pedagogical interventions. For example, continued use of flash card software can shorten the time necessary to recognize a word (ibid., 2002). Furthermore, Nation (2008) suggests that tasks such as 4-3-2, in which learners produce the same oral content in progressively shorter periods, positively influence fluent production of lexis. A further method of affecting lexical fluency is through implementation of an extensive reading program. Longitudinal research has shown that such an intervention can lead to the development of reading speed, which is presumably associated with fluent lexical processing (McLean and Rouault 2017).

Conclusion

Pulling together the areas covered in this chapter, the following principles of vocabulary learning and teaching can be extracted:

- It is essential that learners develop knowledge of the most frequent words in English. Word selection should be made with the needs of the learners in mind. The learning targets presented in this chapter provide realistic objectives that should be communicated to learners.
- The construct of vocabulary knowledge comprises multiple components. It also includes both single words and formulaic sequences. A principled approach to vocabulary teaching and learning needs to take this into consideration.
- Vocabulary learning is incremental. Therefore, it is important for teachers to promote sustained interaction with vocabulary, rather than simply teaching novel words.
- Intentional and incidental learning are complimentary. A systematic approach to vocabulary teaching necessarily includes provision for both.
- The findings of memory research should be used to determine the manner and timing of recycling. One of the most important roles of the vocabulary teacher, therefore, might be recommending and introducing effective vocabulary-learning software.
- The choice of learning task impacts the type of knowledge produced; therefore, the needs of the learners should be used as a criterion for task selection.
- A principled vocabulary curriculum needs a balance of meaning-focused input, meaning-focused output, form-focused input, and fluency development.
- Research has shown that there are more efficient and less efficient tasks for vocabulary learning. These findings should be considered when designing or choosing activities.

This chapter has highlighted insights into the nature of vocabulary and vocabulary learning and discussed ways that research-led practice can be developed. Teachers, learners, materials writers, and researchers all agree that vocabulary is an essential component of competent foreign language use. Considering the number of word families needed to engage with ungraded authentic texts, the ubiquity of

formulaic language needed for natural production and fluent decoding, and the various aspects of the vocabulary-knowledge construct needed for appropriate use, learners face a difficult challenge. The good news is that teachers and materials writers can positively influence the acquisition and retention of foreign language lexical knowledge. However, for this to occur, it is vital that a principled approach is adopted.

Cross-References

▶ A Relevant Pedagogic Grammar for Today's Classrooms
▶ Applications of Usage-Based Approaches to Language Teaching
▶ Pronunciation in English as Lingua Franca

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A Relevant Pedagogic Grammar for Today's Classrooms

45

Beverly Derewianka

Contents

Abstract

This chapter addresses the call for a pedagogic grammar that goes beyond the familiar structurally focused grammars that tend to emphasize form and syntactic correctness. Following a brief discussion of the nature of pedagogic grammars, the ensuing section sketches some of the more influential models of grammar employed in educational contexts. Acknowledging that a pedagogic grammar needs to provide more than a description of grammatical items, the rest of the chapter explores a variety of grammars that have been developing over the

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past several decades whose departure point is the communicative needs of students as they operate in academic, civic, and vocational contexts. A common theme is the kinds of meanings that students need to be able to make if they are to function successfully in particular contexts of use. An extensive description of a unit of instruction illustrating such an approach is provided to exemplify some of the principles informing a meaning-oriented pedagogic grammar. The chapter finishes by considering some of the issues raised in implementing a more contextualized approach to teaching grammar.

Introduction

The teaching of grammar continues to excite controversy: Should we teach it? Why would we teach it? How might we teach it? How much should we teach? What type of grammar? While some teachers and education systems abandoned the teaching of grammar, others persisted, often drawing on inadequate tools for the complex literacy demands made on their students. This chapter makes the assumption that teaching students about language can make a difference – as long as it connects with the real-life needs of the students.

What Is a Pedagogic Grammar?

Defining what is meant by the term "pedagogic/pedagogical grammar" has consumed many publications over the years (e.g., Dirven 1990; Hancock 2009; Odlin 1994), and there is still no firm consensus as to its nature. Little (1994: 99) calls it a "slippery concept," while Michael Swan is quoted as referring to it as the wild frontier between applied linguistic theory and classroom practice (Azar 2012). Traditionally, it has been regarded as a description of linguistic constructions or rules (morphology and syntax) aimed at promoting the acquisition of a foreign or second language (e.g., Nordquist 2017; Zbigniew 2010). In this chapter, however, we will be loosening these boundaries somewhat. The target audience will be broadened to include native speakers of the target language, recognizing that they too need access to a relevant pedagogic grammar. In line with most modern grammars, the scope will extend beyond the sentence to encompass stretches of discourse. No firm line will be drawn between grammar and vocabulary.

A distinction is usually made between a "theoretical" grammar (also referred to by terms such as academic, scientific, or linguistic) and a "pedagogic" grammar (also known as a teaching, learning, or didactic grammar). The former is typically seen as the province of those developing theory, while the latter is responsive to the needs of classroom practice. It is not, however, simply a matter of taking an academic

grammar and simplifying it for learners. Following Bernstein (1996), we could think more of a process of transformation, where theories being produced by linguistic experts can be taken up and recontextualized by syllabus developers, course book writers, and teacher educators and then further "pedagogized" by practitioners in educational institutions (Chen and Derewianka 2009).

In the academic field of knowledge production and theory building, disciplines such as psychology, linguistics, sociology, and anthropology have spawned any number of models of language that accommodate their particular areas of interest. Only a few of these, however, are viable candidates for use in educational contexts. Pivotal players in this field are the educational linguists who seek out models that have the potential to productively support language learning and inform classroom practice. Working in a reciprocal relationship with theoretical linguists and with educators, they interrogate the model, testing its efficacy in real-world contexts and rendering it useful, accessible, reliable, and relevant to teachers and learners.

In the recontextualizing field, the specialized knowledge of linguistic theories is appropriated and refocused by education systems, policy developers, assessment authorities, materials designers, and professional learning providers. These interpret a selected model or models in relation to the needs of their end users and make them available as curriculum guidelines, teachers' and students' reference grammars (organized by grammatical categories), and student course books (typically organized into topics or themes).

In the field of application, educational institutions and practitioners further transform the privileged pedagogic grammar, taking into account such considerations as:

- The learners (their age, their educational background, their mother tongue, their prior familiarity with grammar, and the expectations of students and families)
- Institutional constraints (syllabus requirements, the duration and intensity of the program, the availability of resources, the role of the course book, and the pressure of assessment)

The fidelity with which the pedagogic grammar is implemented is mitigated by such factors as the degree of autonomy accorded to the teacher, their own experience and expertise in grammar teaching, their command of the target language, their familiarity with the model of grammar, and their beliefs about language teaching and learning.

What Are the Options?

Given the number of works available describing the various pedagogic grammars and their associated teaching practices (e.g., Chalker 1994; Derewianka 2001, 2007; Dirven 1990; Odlin 1994), it will suffice to provide here the brief sketch that follows.

Traditional school grammars are arguably what most people think of when they hear the word "grammar." In the past, these involved such practices as parsing

improbable sentences into the "parts of speech" such as noun, adjective, adverb, verb, article, pronoun, preposition, conjunction, and interjection. Traditional grammars provide at least a rudimentary way of thinking and talking about language. They are primarily concerned with the correct use of written standard English. Whether due to inertia or to the appeal of its simplicity, traditional school grammar endures in many of today's ELT textbooks and syllabi.

Rejecting the Latinate, prescriptive basis of traditional grammar, structural linguists in the early twentieth century sought to scientifically describe languages on their own terms, identifying recurrent syntactic patterns in sentences without reference to meaning. In one of its pedagogical manifestations, American structuralism was allied with behaviorist audio-lingual pedagogy which favored imitation, practice, and habit formation and eschewed the rules and explanations of traditional grammar. A structuralist approach identified the basic building blocks of a sentence, which were drilled until mastery was achieved and increasingly complex structures could be introduced. Aided and abetted by the new technology of the tape recorder, students in language labs endlessly repeated structures until they became automatic.

Chomsky's (1965) transformational generative (TG) grammar was seen as a revolutionary challenge to structuralism. Rather than dealing with the acquisition of the surface structure of sentences through imitation, reinforcement, and repetition, Chomsky posited an innate language acquisition device (LAD) located in the brain which contained a blueprint of universal, basic deep structures. Admitting his lack of expertise in pedagogic grammar, Chomsky suggested that "we should probably try to create a rich linguistic environment for the intuitive heuristics that the normal human automatically possesses" (Chomsky 1968: 690). Acting on the assumption that exposure to rich, comprehensible input was sufficient to activate the LAD, theoreticians such as Krashen (1988) advised dispensing with the explicit teaching of grammatical structure – reinforced by studies that purported to demonstrate that the teaching of grammar made no difference to the quality of student writing (e.g., Hillocks 1986). Embracing early versions of the communicative approach, teachers engaged the students in role-plays and scenarios, games, and group work involving the active, collaborative use of language.

In the meantime, teams of linguists were developing a range of scholarly reference grammars that sought to provide a comprehensive, in-depth account of the English language (e.g., Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Quirk et al. 1985). These weighty descriptive grammars draw on insights from several contemporary schools of linguistics and often exploit the affordances of immense electronic corpora to ground their descriptions in authentic data. Such grammars play an important role in the ELT field, providing an authoritative and up-to-date point of reference for the profession. They have served as the basis for a number of pedagogic reference grammars – some for teachers (e.g., Hall and Azar 2011; Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1999; Parrott 2010) and some for more advanced students (e.g., *Collins COBUILD Student's Grammar* and *Longman Student Grammar*). These are sometimes accompanied by exercises to reinforce a particular grammatical point.

While recognizing the value of these descriptive reference grammars, Bourke (2005) points out that a grammar for teaching purposes has to involve learners in

applying their grammar in various contexts of use: "Pedagogical grammar is more than unapplied knowledge in the head; it is the ability to exploit one's grammatical resources in order to make meaning" (p. 96). With this in mind, the rest of the chapter will focus on what a meaning-oriented pedagogic grammar might look like in an educational context.

A Meaning-Oriented Model of Language

While some linguistic grammars regard meaning as a distraction and separate syntax from semantics, most pedagogic grammars pay attention to meaning to varying degrees. Traditional grammar, for example, often simplistically identifies a noun as referring to "a person, place, or thing" and a verb as a "doing word." Teacher reference grammars such as Thornbury (1997) and Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) often include references to what a particular grammar structure means.

Other approaches have gone beyond simply designating the meaning of individual structures and have completely reimagined pedagogic grammars, placing meaning at the center. Early on, for example, Wilkins (1976) devised the notional syllabus to address the communicative meanings that students need to make in order to operate effectively in various situations. Around the same time, Leech and Svartvik (1975) published their communicative grammar of English.

More recently, Cognitive Grammar (CG) regards language as a system of complex semantic networks, shaped and constrained by the functions it serves. Langacker (2008) describes CG as having three basic features, "the centrality of meaning, the meaningfulness of grammar, and its usage-based nature" (p. 8), with grammar consisting in patterns for assembling complex meanings. Boers and Lindstromberg (2006) observe that CG is well suited to L2 learners because of its usage-based approach to language and because it seems far more natural from the perspective of language users. They make the point, however, that until recently, CG has had little impact on classroom practice and has dealt primarily with small-scale controlled experiments confined to polysemous words. Giovanelli (2014) explores the potential value of this new discipline in educational contexts.

Similarly, Rhetorical Grammar pedagogy is concerned with how meaning is created and crafted through shaping language to achieve the writer's rhetorical intentions (Kolln and Gray 2016; Paraskevas 2006). Micciche (2004) describes rhetorical grammar analysis as encouraging students to see writing as a material social process in which meaning is actively made. She contends that this shaping of meaning through writing is intimately connected with a writer's grammatical choices. Students are provided with tools for creating effective discourse and are asked to explain the discursive effects of their choices.

In the UK, Debra Myhill and colleagues (Jones et al. 2012) adopt a contextualized grammar teaching approach focusing on how different linguistic choices create meaning in context. They encourage extending students' repertoires by explicitly showing them "how different ways of shaping sentences or texts, and different choices of words can generate different possibilities for meaning-making" (Myhill et al. 2012: 31). Unlike previous studies, their research offers robust

evidence of a positive relationship between grammar teaching and writing when grammar is conceptualized as a meaning-making resource. Investigating the teaching of language features characteristic of fictional narrative, poetry, and argument, the findings provide empirical evidence that writing is enhanced by explicit understanding of how grammar choices can be used to shape written text to satisfy the writer's rhetorical goals.

In the USA, Uccelli and colleagues (Uccelli et al. 2015) adopt a sociocultural pragmatic-based view that understands language learning as inseparable from social context. Students are guided to develop rhetorical flexibility – "the ability to use an increasing repertoire of lexico-grammatical and discourse resources appropriately and flexibly in an expanding variety of social contexts" (p. 5). They see the expansion of students' academic language skills as an important pedagogical goal and have developed the core academic language skills (CALS) tool to identify high-utility language forms and functions across academic disciplines, including the prevalence of complex morphologically derived words, syntactically intricate structures (such as embedded clauses or extended noun phrases), a range of contrastive and causal connectives used to mark relations among complex ideas, the construction of referential chains, and the overall organization of expository texts.

One of the more influential meaning-oriented pedagogic grammars is that based on Halliday's (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) model of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and the associated genre approach (e.g., Rose and Martin 2012) which explores how language is used in social contexts to achieve particular goals. Halliday sees grammar as a communicative resource for construing meaning – a system of networks representing the meaning potential from which we make choices in response to a particular social and cultural context. What is distinctive about SFG is the notion that language has evolved to serve three major functions in our lives: to represent our experience of the world; to negotiate social roles and relationships; and to organize text into a coherent message. Halliday calls these language functions *metafunctions* and refers to them as *ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*, respectively. Whenever we use language, we employ all three metafunctions simultaneously.

While SFG prioritizes function, it also accounts for the syntactic structure of language. Given a particular function, SFG considers the range of grammatical forms that typically realize that function – not only at the level of the sentence but in terms of building patterns of meaning in texts. It is this capacity to explicate a systematic relationship between context of use, discourse patterns, semantics, and grammatical realizations that makes SFG particularly useful in educational contexts. Students, with guidance, are able not only to recognize a particular grammatical unit but describe its function and interpret its contribution to patterns of meaning in the text as a whole (Macken-Horarik et al. 2018).

As with most other linguistic theories, SFG is too extravagant to be applied in its "pure" form. Through the process of recontextualization, however, educators select and adapt those features most relevant to their particular context. Rather than provide a full outline of SFG here, the following section will present an account of its implementation in an Australian classroom as an example of a meaning-oriented pedagogic grammar. (For those interested in further detail of the theory and its application, see, for example, Derewianka and Jones 2016.)

Implementing a Meaning-Oriented Pedagogic Grammar

The learning sequence described here is intended simply to be illustrative of certain principles rather than to report on research findings. The first part explains how the teacher planned the unit of instruction, followed by a detailed description of how the unit was implemented, focusing first on the structure of the text and then on various grammatical features relevant to the aim of the unit.

While a Hallidayan model of language informed much of the teaching, it is possible to discern commonalities with other meaning-oriented grammars (as discussed above), with contemporary literacy pedagogies, and with enduring good practices from previous eras.

Planning the Unit of Instruction

The upper elementary class consisted of a mixture of ESL learners aged 11–12 years, from recent arrivals to near-proficient speakers of English.

The language learning was integrated into a unit of instruction on the voyages of Captain Cook as part of a module from the History curriculum on the Age of Discovery.

Principle: The language learning is embedded in substantial curriculum content

Principle: The language focus relates directly to supporting students in achieving the task at hand.

The national English curriculum for this age group specifies that students *identify characteristic features used in informative texts to meet the purpose of the text*. To this end the teacher determined that an appropriate task would involve the purpose of 'telling what happened' employing the genre of historical recount with its characteristic language features.

More specifically, the recount would take the form of an explorer's journal entry drawing on Captain Cook's diary, given that the history curriculum required that students work with primary sources.

The teacher's planning included reading through several of Cook's journal entries, noting that they typically consisted of a record of daily episodes documenting the date, time of day, location, and distance covered. Embedded within these recurrent features were less predictable phases such as descriptions of places visited, encounters with native inhabitants, and incidents involving the weather.

From an analysis of these journal entries, the teacher identified some key target language features over which the students would need to develop control in order to achieve the task outcomes.

Principle: the genre and register of the task give rise to the selection of target language features.

She also drew on the requirements of the national History and English syllabi (ACARA) and considered the identified language needs of her group of students. Table 1 summarizes the syllabus requirements, the genre demands of the task, and the related language features that were focused on.

From the above table, it is evident that ideational resources were the primary focus, representing "what's going on." At times, however, attention was given

Table 1 Identifying the language demands of the task

	Genre characteristics	Potential language focus
Ideational resources	*History Syllabus: Present ideas, findings and conclusions using discipline-specific terms* *English Syllabus: Incorporate new vocabulary from a range of sources into students' own texts including vocabulary encountered in research*	
	When representing experience in an historical recount, vocabulary should reflect the specialized language of history and of the historical period.	Collocations of discipline-specific and era-appropriate vocabulary
	History Syllabus: Sequence information about events in chronological order with reference to key dates *English Syllabus: Understand how adverb groups/phrases provide circumstantial details about an activity*	
	The recount genre requires that students represent a series of events in the past.	Events typically involve the use of **action verbs** in the **past simple tense**.
	Historical recounts locate events in time.	Resources for sequencing events include **adverbials of time**.
	English Syllabus: Understand the difference between main and subordinate clauses and that a complex sentence involves at least one subordinate clause	
	Historical recounts typically employ a range of simple, compound and complex sentences.	**Subordinate clauses of time** are a key resource in recounts.
	English Syllabus: Understand how noun groups/phrases and adjective groups/phrases can be expanded in a variety of ways to provide a fuller description of the person, place, thing or idea	
	Detailed descriptions are necessary to document the places, people and objects encountered during the expedition.	Key resources for rich description are the **noun group** and **adjective group**.
Textual resources	*English Syllabus: Understand how texts are made cohesive through the use of linking devices including pronoun reference and text connectives*	
	The recount needs to shape up into a text that flows coherently.	A cohesive text draws on devices such as **pronoun reference**.
Interpersonal resources	*History Syllabus: Examine information to identify different points of view and distinguish facts from opinions* *English Syllabus: Understand differences between the language of opinion and feeling and the language of factual reporting or recording*	
	To engage the reader, the recount needs to project an authorial voice expressing feelings and opinions reflecting a particular point of view.	The **Appraisal system** includes language for the expression of feelings, the appreciation of attributes, and the judgement of human behaviour. Point of view is signalled through the use of **personal pronouns**.

to shaping coherent texts (textual resources) and interaction with the reader (interpersonal resources).

By identifying language features relevant to the task, the teacher was being **proactive** in anticipating the linguistic outcomes to be achieved by the students. This didn't preclude, however, being **responsive** to the needs of students as they arose in the moment, reflecting Hammond and Gibbons' (2005) distinction between "designed-in" scaffolding and "contingent" scaffolding.

The Task

With these language objectives in mind, the teacher developed a sequence of lessons spanning several weeks. This allowed time for deep learning of both the history content and the identified language features relevant to achieving the task.

The main task of the unit was to write an episode from Cook's first voyage as experienced from the perspective of the 11-year-old stowaway, Nicholas Young. Each of these episodes, written by different groups, would be ultimately collated into a journal, along with visuals such as a timeline of Cook's journey, a map, and drawings of artifacts.

Principle: high expectations: high support (Mariani 1997)	This was deliberately designed with high expectations in mind, assuming that the students were capable of composing an extended text if they were provided with high levels of scaffolding.

To that end, the main task was broken down into manageable "mini-tasks":

- An overview of the itinerary covered on a particular stage of the voyage: Date, location, and happenings
- A detailed description of a place investigated
- A detailed description of inhabitants of the place
- A recount of an incident during the day
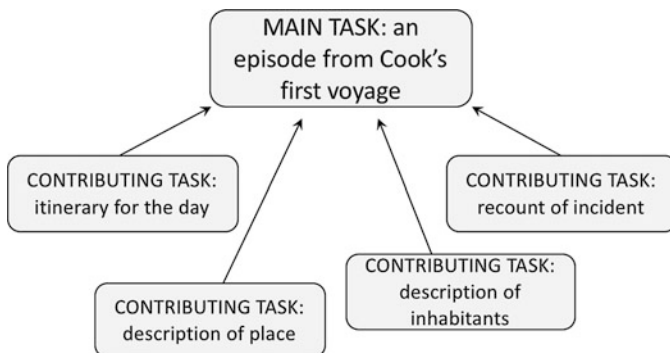
Fig. 1 Breaking down the main task into smaller contributing tasks

A Teaching-and-Learning Cycle

The teacher integrated the students' learning about language into a teaching-and-learning cycle, beginning with developing a basic understanding of the topic: the Age of Discovery and Cook's voyages. She did this through a range of activities such as identifying students' prior knowledge, watching videos, constructing a timeline, and examining maps and images before supporting students in reading selected texts on the topic. The stage of the cycle which dealt with learning about the genre was the main focus for exploring the historical recount genre – its structure and characteristic language features. This was followed by a stage where the teacher and students jointly constructed a text similar to the one the students would be writing independently.
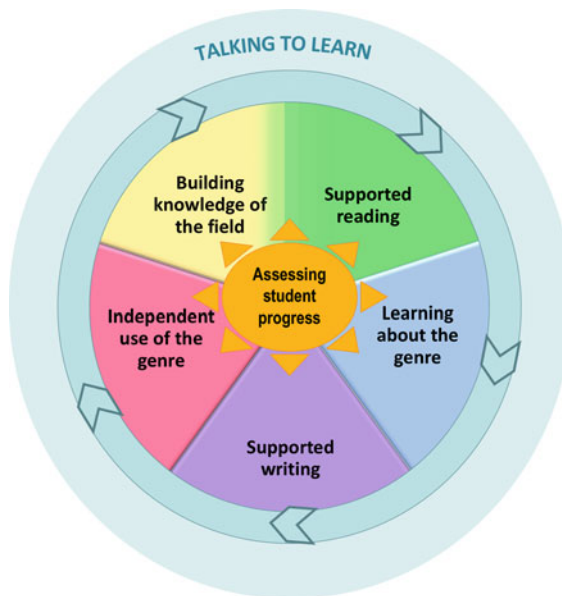
Fig. 2 A teaching-and-learning cycle (after Rothery 1994)

Modeling the Genre

Following an initial introduction to the topic, the teacher cued the students into the main task by modeling an example of the final product toward which the students would be working, often referred to as a "mentor text."

Principle: Students identify the stages through which the text typically moves in achieving its purpose.

After reading aloud the text with the students, ensuring that they understood unfamiliar key vocabulary items, the teacher guided the students to identify and annotate how the text was organized, demonstrating some of the stages they could include when writing their own texts, in accordance with the national English syllabus: *Understand that different types of texts have identifiable text structures and language features that help the text serve its purpose.* As they subsequently worked through the text, the teacher drew their attention in passing to relevant wordings (highlighted) that characterized each stage.

Voyage details, date & location	**On the 22nd in the evening,** we pulled up the anchor and put to sea, but the wind was against us so we sailed to **another bay a little to the south** in order to get our wood and water. …
Description of the countryside	In **a valley between two very high hills**, we saw **a strange rock that formed a large arch**, opposite the sea. … Indeed **the whole country about the bay** is **extremely pleasant**, and would be **a most fertile spot for crops**. **The hills** are clothed with **beautiful flowering shrubs**, mixed with **a number of tall, stately palms** … We came across **various kinds of edible plants**, and **many trees that produced fruit. Sweet potatoes** are grown near the houses.
Encounter with the inhabitants – recount of incident	On our return we **met** an old man who **entertained** us with the military exercises of the natives, which are **performed** with the Patoo-Patoo and the lance. … A stake **was used** as a pretend enemy. The old warrior first **attacked** him with his spear, **advancing** with a most furious look. **Having pierced** him, the patoo-patoo **was used to smash** his head, at which he **struck** with a force that **would have split** any man's skull at one blow. …
Description of inhabitants	The natives in this part are **quite well shaped**, but **lean and tall**. Their faces are like **those of Europeans**. Their noses are **straight**, their eyes are **dark coloured**, their hair is **black** and it is tied upon the top of their heads, and the men's beards are **of a moderate length**. …
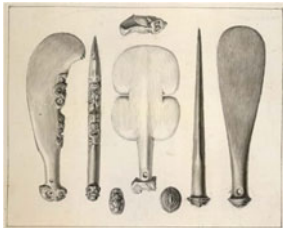
Fig. 3   Annotated mentor text (Adapted from Anderson 1790 pp. 128–139)

Representing Ideas and Events

To prepare students for the language focus, the teacher reinforced the grammar understandings established in previous years when they were introduced to the clause. In this instance, they were approaching the clause from an ideational perspective,

viewing the clause in terms of how it represents "a slice of experience" – typically an event centered around something happening, as prescribed in the national English curriculum descriptor: *Identify the parts of a simple sentence that represent "what's happening?", "who or what is involved?" and the surrounding circumstances.*

Principle: Texts are revisited over time from multiple angles	To this end, the teacher selected an incident (below) from the mentor text that they would subsequently revisit from a variety of perspectives and that would serve as a model for the 'incident' phase of their episode.

Following the first reading, accompanied by illustrations, the students dramatized the incident to demonstrate their comprehension as the text was read aloud. The teacher deliberately chose a text involving only "action verbs" at this stage. Other process types would be introduced later.

With teacher guidance, the students then asked questions of the clause, starting with finding the happening ("did what?"), followed by the participants in the activity ("who or what?"), and any details surrounding the activity ("when? where? how?" etc.). In line with most modern grammars, the initial focus was on relationships within the clause at the group/phrase level ("chunks of meaning") rather than individual words. These were color-coded using color conventions employed throughout the school.

WHO?	DID WHAT?		
Two of the natives	advanced.		

WHO?	DID WHAT?	WHAT?	
They	carried	different kinds of weapons.	

WHO?	DID WHAT?	WHAT?	
The Captain	threw	beads, nails, and other trifles.	

WHO?	DID WHAT?	WHAT?	HOW?
They	took	them	with pleasure.

WHO?	DID WHAT?	WHO?	
They	welcomed	the crew.	

WHEN?	WHO?	DID WHAT?	WHAT?	WHERE?
Just then	one of them	threw	a stone	at the boat.

WHO?	DID WHAT?	WHAT?	
The captain	fired	a musquet.	

WHAT?	DID WHAT?	WHO?	WHERE?
It	wounded	the eldest native	on the legs.

WHO?	DID WHAT?	HOW?	WHERE?
He	limped	hastily	to one of the houses that stood not far away.

Fig. 4 Identifying "chunks of meaning" in sentences

The questions and the color coding were sustained for a considerable time, helping the students to observe that, when representing an event, the clause could be seen as typically having just three main constituents: "a doing or happening," "people or things involved in the happening," and "any surrounding details."

The students were thus 'coming in through meaning' – a perspective that was close to their own experience of the world.	*Principle: 'meaning' is the gateway into grammar before introducing more abstract and technical formal terminology.*

They would later learn to use terms that indicated the function of each "chunk of meaning": a **Process** involving various **Participants** (animate and inanimate) and any surrounding **Circumstances**. Over time – and when appropriate – they would learn that a Process is realized by the grammatical form of a verb/verb group, a Participant can be realized by various forms such as a noun group or a pronoun, and Circumstances can take a variety of adverbial forms.

WHO?	DID WHAT?	HOW?	WHERE?
He	limped	hastily	to one of the houses that stood not far away.
Function			
Participant	*Process*	*Circumstance (manner)*	*Circumstance (place)*
Form			
pronoun	*verb*	*adverb*	*prepositional phrase*

Fig. 5 The functions of each "chunk of meaning" and their grammatical realizations

While in practice it would be possible to employ either functional terms or formal terms, ideally students would be familiar with both.

Connecting Ideas

When the students came to write the 'incident' stage of their episode, the teacher observed that their first drafts contained a disproportionate number of simple sentences.	*Principle: A rough first draft provides a relevant context into which students can immediately incorporate taught language features.*

The students had already learnt that a simple sentence consists of a single main clause. They had also learnt about combining clauses to create compound sentences using coordinating conjunctions. But even though some were using complex sentences, the teacher decided that some explicit teaching would be opportune. To this end, she created a number of cardboard sentence strips based on an incident from *Captain Cook's Apprentice* (Hill 2008). In particular, she focused on subordinate clauses of time, as these are characteristic of an historical recount.

Fig. 6 Sentence strips for a sentence-combining activity focusing on subordinate clauses of time

Principle: Activities that involve problem-solving, group discussion and hands-on application promote learning.	The students in groups then did sentence-combining activities with the jumbled strips, identifying which clauses might logically be joined to form a complex sentence.

They were guided to identify the various **subordinating conjunctions** of time (*since, until, as, while, as soon as, when, after, before, whenever*) and discussed the different meanings they made. They then manipulated the sequence of clauses, noting that the subordinate clause could either precede or follow the main clause, unlike compound sentences. As they redrafted their incident, the students highlighted where they had revised their text to include various subordinate clauses of time and discussed their decision whether to position the time clause before or after the main clause.

Representing Time

Continuing with the "time" theme, the teacher decided to introduce other resources for signaling time – in particular, temporal **Circumstances**. She provided the class with excerpts from one of the primary sources, and, in the role of "text detectives," the students found examples of time expressions.

> **At this time** we saw three water spouts **at once**. **In the evening, at six o'clock**, the northernmost point of land was distant about two leagues. **On the following day** we had a distant view of the country. **At four o'clock the next morning**, we saw a high mountain, which from its shape, was called Mount Dromedary. **In the evening** we were opposite a point of land which rose perpendicular, and was called Point Upright. **On Sunday the 22d**, we were so near the shore as to see several of the inhabitants on the coast. **At noon** we saw a remarkable hill, to which the captain gave the name of the Pigeon House.

Fig. 7   An excerpt illustrating a variety of Circumstances of time (Anderson 1790 p. 184)

The students collated their findings into a chart of time Circumstances that they could refer to when revising their own episodes. While students were comfortable simply recognizing and referring to "time Circumstances," the teacher felt they might also benefit from being introduced to the grammatical forms that realized these Circumstances.

She guided the class to observe that most of the Circumstances were phrases beginning with a preposition (**prepositional phrases**).

> *Principle: 'Coming in through meaning' (time Circumstances) before introducing formal realizations.*

Rather than learning about prepositions as a list of discrete items (which made little sense on their own), the students were learning how they operate within the context of a phrase.

The students also observed that some time Circumstances consisted of single words (**adverbs**), along with a few "others" (which a few students recognized as noun groups).

Function:		
Circumstances of time		
Form:		
prepositional phrases	**adverbs**	**other**
from this time	immediately	this day
till the 22d	repeatedly	next morning
after dinner	still	that night
towards night	soon	the following day
on our arrival	suddenly	every day
in the night	afterwards	about noon
at daybreak	now	
for weeks	then	
during the night		
towards evening		

Fig. 8   Circumstances of time organized into their grammatical realizations

Again, the students reviewed their evolving drafts, inserted appropriate Circumstances of time, and highlighted their revisions.

Representing the Participants: Noun Groups

An important stage in an expedition journal is to document in some detail the people, places, and things encountered. Key resources for representing these Participants are the **noun group**/phrase and the **adjective group**/phrase.

The teacher initially introduced the class to the noun group by modeling how she would create a description of Captain Cook. Using the smartboard, she projected a number of brief excerpts from primary and secondary sources and involved the students in highlighting those words that described Cook. They then sorted these into those relating to his physical appearance and those relating to his character.

Table 2 Attributes describing Captain Cook's physical appearance and character

Physical		Character	
tall	above 6 ft high	ambitious	curious
deep brown eyes	large bushy eyebrows	talented, clever	worked really hard
dark hair curled and tied behind	long nose, extremely well-shaped	compassionate, caring	heroic, brave, courageous
clean-shaven	thin	sensible	modest, bashful, shy
		intelligent	friendly

In line with the syllabus, the students were being introduced to the difference between objective and subjective reporting. That he was tall was a demonstrable fact. That he was compassionate, however, was open to argument, given the harsh floggings that he ordered and reports of his "short temper." Here the lesson was dipping into Halliday's interpersonal function of language and, in particular, the expression of attitudes such as judgment of human behavior (Martin and White 2005) which is dependent on a person's viewpoint, as captured in the national history syllabus concepts of "perspective" and "significance."

The teacher then drew the following table on the board representing the potential of the noun group for rich description. In describing Cook's physical appearance, she provided a sentence starter ("Captain Cook was a...") and then guided the class to select words that answered the probe questions, starting with "who" is being described and building up the noun group from there:

> Captain Cook was **a man**.
>
> Captain Cook was **a dark-haired, long-nosed man**.
>
> Captain Cook was **a dark-haired, long-nosed man with deep brown eyes and large eyebrows**.
>
> Captain Cook was **a dark-haired, long-nosed man with deep brown eyes and large eyebrows who stood six feet tall**.

Captain Cook was . . .

WHICH?	WHAT LIKE?	WHO/ WHAT?	TELL ME MORE	TELL ME MORE
A	DARK-HAIRED, LONG-NOSED	MAN	WITH DEEP BROWN EYES AND LARGE EYEBROWS	WHO STOOD SIX FEET TALL.

Fig. 9 Building up a noun group to describe Cook's physical appearance

This activity was repeated, now with pairs of students developing a similar description, but this time of Cook's character. At this point the teacher started introducing some everyday terms indicating the function of each constituent.

Captain Cook was …

WHICH?	WHAT LIKE?	WHO/ WHAT?	TELL ME MORE	TELL ME MORE
A	TALENTED, COURAGEOUS	MAN	WITH GREAT AMBITION	WHO WORKED REALLY HARD.
Pointer	Describer	Person/Thing	Long Describer	Long Describer

Fig. 10 Building up a noun group to describe Cook's character

When describing the physical features of natives as part of their own episode, the students drew on the model provided of Captain Cook. They collected descriptive words from a variety of source materials related to their episode and wove them into expanded noun groups.

Over time, and when appropriate and useful, the teacher would introduce terms for the formal categories that can potentially realize these functions:

Principle: Introduce formal categories in terms of their function in a larger unit such as a group or phrase..

WHICH?	HOW MANY?	WHAT LIKE?	WHAT TYPE?	WHO/ WHAT?	TELL ME MORE	TELL ME MORE
THOSE	TWO	VERY AGGRESSIVE, DARK-SKINNED	AUSTRALIAN EAST COAST	NATIVES	WITH VERY SMALL LIMBS	WHO WERE OF COMMON STATURE
Function (*'what does it do?'*):						
Pointer	Quantifier	Describer (+ Intensifier) - subjective or objective	Classifier	Person/Thing	Long Describer	Long Describer
Potential formal realizations (*'what form can it take?'*):						
determiner: article possessive demonstrative	numerative	adjective (+ modifying adverb)	adjective noun	noun	prepositional phrase	embedded clause

Fig. 11 The functions of each part of the noun group and their potential grammatical realizations

Principle: Students take responsibility for providing evidence of learning	In later drafts of their episodes, the teacher noted where the students had highlighted their choice of expanded noun groups in describing the fauna and flora:

We saw . . .

WHICH?	HOW MANY?	WHAT LIKE?	WHAT TYPE?	WHO/ WHAT?	TELL ME MORE	TELL ME MORE
	A PACK OF	VERY UGLY YELLOW	NATIVE	DOGS	WITH POINTED EARS	THAT ROAMED THE BUSH

Fig. 12 Student's noun group describing local fauna (based on model)

We found . . .

WHICH?	HOW MANY?	WHAT LIKE?	WHAT TYPE?	WHO/ WHAT?	TELL ME MORE	TELL ME MORE
A		LARGE FLESHY	TROPICAL	FRUIT	OF A DISAGREEABLE FLAVOUR	THAT LOOKED LIKE A PINEAPPLE

Fig. 13 Student's noun group describing local flora (based on model)

They later discussed when the choice of a short, punchy noun group was more effective than a long, rambling one.

Representing the Participants: Adjective Groups

The teacher also drew the students' attention to **adjective groups** as another resource for description. Rather than having a noun as the head word, adjective groups have an adjective as the head.

Superlative:

*These girls were **the most <u>beautiful</u> the gentlemen had even seen.***

Comparative:

*The natives are **as <u>large</u> as the largest Europeans.***

She demonstrated that these typically occur in the context of a relational Process clause, where verbs such as "be" relate the thing being described to its description.

Table 3 Relational Process clauses linking the thing being described to its description

Thing being described	Relational Process	Description
Their skin	is	delicately **smooth**
Their bodies	were	quite **large**
The natives	are	**active** to a high degree
The inhabitants	are	as **modest** in their behavior as the most polite nations in Europe
Their features	were	rather **pleasing**

Representing Processes

Beyond the descriptive resources of the noun group and adjective group, the teacher demonstrated how a reader comes to know human Participants by what they do. Here the teacher referred to the English syllabus indicator that requires that students *understand that verbs represent different processes, for example, doing, thinking, saying, and relating and that these processes are anchored in time through tense.*

We know Captain Cook, for example, as a worthy man who spent the years on board engaging in material Processes ("action verbs"): teaching, instructing, disciplining, admonishing and inspiring men on deck, or mapping, researching, and recording down in the Great Cabin.

Apart from representing activities in the material world, authors often choose to draw the reader into the inner world of the Participants by portraying what they are perceiving, feeling, knowing, or desiring (mental Processes or "sensing verbs").

In *Captain Cook's Apprentice* (Hill 2008), the reader empathizes with Isaac as he sees and hears and knows and feels the panic of his ferry trip on the Thames:

*The boy **knew** danger was coming.*
*He **could hear** it, sitting at the prow of his ferryboat on the broad River Thames ...*
*He **could feel** it, for the boat began to kick and strain as it caught the edges of the rip ...*
*And then he **could see** it. A white foaming cascade as the water swirled through the arches ...*
*And the boy Isaac **knew** what he would do.*
*Isaac **could hear** the roar of water as it fell into the whirlpool below ...*
*Isaac **noticed** the ferryman had shipped his oars for safety ...*
*He **saw** the pointed ribs of the old bridge ...*
*All at once he **felt** himself tipped backwards and forwards ...*
*He **felt** half-drowned ...*

```
He hoped he'd be a good sailor ...
He wished he'd had second thoughts ...
He wished to his gut he had never wanted to go to sea ...
```

The students compared this account of the departure with a similar one from the novel *Stowaway* (Hesse 2000), noting again how the sensing verbs provide an insight into the thoughts and feelings of the young stowaway:

```
I thought it could never be so noisy on a ship.
I half wish Father would come aboard and take me home.
I wish I could just shut my eyes and sleep.
I cannot see from my hiding place but I heard the cry.
I like all animals, but birds are my favourites.
My back burned, remembering the bite of his whip.
I don't wish a quick end to our voyage. In fact, I'd like to go on a very
long time.
I've wondered how John Charlton knew so much about the Captain.
I want only to sleep.
```

Here again, an interpersonal lens can be brought to the reading, in accordance with the History syllabus emphasis on perspective and empathy. The students discussed the different effects of the third person point of view in *Captain Cook's Apprentice* versus the use of first person in *Stowaway* and contrasted Cook's detached observations with the emotional engagement of the novels.

When the students were writing up their episodes, they were encouraged to think about how to engage the reader through their use of interpersonal resources that brought the characters to life and allowed us to experience the voyage through their eyes.

The reader also gets to know the Participants by observing how they interact with others. In the following snatches of dialogue from *Stowaway*, for example, we get very different impressions of Banks, Isaac, and Nick by noting what they say along with how it is said (the choice of verbal Process/"saying verb"):

```
'It's too bad,' Banks fumed. ... 'It will not do, Sir!'
'Can't we have some fun?' pleaded Isaac.
'We shouldn't risk it,' Isaac cautioned.
'I'm truly sorry, sir,' stuttered Isaac.
'Oh, he still don't know nuffing much yet,' teased Nick.
```

The students read aloud such snippets of dialogue in character, voicing the words as indicated by the "saying verb" (*fumed*, *teased*).

In developing their episodes, the students were asked to consider whether to include dialogue, and if so, what might it contribute to the reader's understanding of the characters.

Conclusion

Over the years, the most familiar pedagogic grammars have been those concerned primarily with identifying grammatical structures and rules, typically taught as decontextualized, sentence-level exercises. And this is a perfectly reasonable endeavor, particularly in the case of learners in EFL contexts where such exercises can provide intensive practice and exposure to several examples of a structure. There is a legitimate argument for the production of accurate, intelligible sentences and the employment of a basic shared metalanguage to refer to grammatical items. A contemporary model of language needs to do much more than this, however, if it is to meet the communicative needs of today's learners.

Most meaning-oriented grammars are sufficiently flexible to accommodate shifts in emphasis between a focus on meaning and a focus on form as appropriate. They can handle both control and creativity (Macken-Horarik et al. 2018). Beyond a knowledge of syntax as an end in itself, a meaning-oriented pedagogic grammar asks "what do my students need to be able to **do** with language in this context?" It will provide resources for students:

- To reason about the world; to build knowledge of academic, social, and vocational fields; and to represent different aspects of experience – from the everyday through to the technical and abstract (i.e., field knowledge)
- To interact effectively with a range of audiences, knowing how and when to engage, distance, align, hedge, negotiate, share feelings, express opinions, and make judgments (i.e., tenor resources)
- To shape texts that hang together well, employing the distinctive patterns of spoken, written, and visual modes and their combinations, in a variety of media (i.e., mode variations)

In terms of pedagogy, the point of departure is the construal of meaning. Meaning-making is seen as a social process embedded in a particular context relevant to the learners' needs. Grammar and content are fused. The teacher selects and sequences grammatical features depending on the task, the focus text, the syllabus, and the learners' needs.

Different levels of scaffolding are provided so that all students can use their knowledge of language to meet the literacy challenges of the curriculum:

- Comprehending complex texts
- Appreciating the choices that authors make
- Critically analyzing the impact of such choices
- Consciously employing similar choices in their own use of language
- Creatively innovating on model texts
- Manipulating syntax to create certain effects
- Explaining and justifying their own choices

In implementing a meaning-oriented pedagogic grammar, however, there are a number of issues to be considered.

Is explicit teaching useful? It could be argued that much of the learning illustrated in the above unit of instruction could happen without the explicit teaching of grammar. Evidence is gathering, however, that given a meaning-oriented model of language and meaning-oriented pedagogical practices, a knowledge of how language works and a shared metalanguage can enhance students' literacy, foster deeper content learning, and contribute to increased student participation and interest (Brisk 2015; Hammond 2016; Hodgson-Drysdale 2013; Macken-Horarik et al. 2015; Moore and Schleppegrell 2014; Myhill 2005; de Oliveira 2015).

How much grammar? The aim of grammar teaching is not necessarily to create apprentice linguists, but to provide learners with tools sufficient to successfully undertake a particular task. Ideally, these tools would accumulate over time, extending and deepening students' repertoires. Weaver (1996) suggests that we teach a minimum of grammar for maximum benefits. Similarly, Macken-Horarik et al. (2018) recommend a "good enough" grammar – the knowledge about language that really makes a difference to students' literacy outcomes. Swan (2006) cautions that failure to prioritize can cause valuable time to be wasted on relatively unimportant grammar points. Before including a particular grammatical feature, teachers might ask "Why would I teach this? How will it benefit the students?"

Terminology? Myhill (n.d.) notes that it is possible to draw students' attention to grammatical features without using grammatical terminology by providing opportunities to play with patterns and structures. She points out, however, that using grammatical terminology makes visible what writers do – as long as the terminology itself doesn't become the focus. Using terms to indicate the function and/or the form gives students something concrete to hold onto and provides a shared metalanguage that students can use when discussing texts. Schleppegrell (2013) concurs that the focus should be on using a meaning-focused metalanguage to help students participate in curriculum tasks and make effective discursive choices.

How confident is the teacher? Studies over the past several decades have revealed a concerning lack of teacher declarative knowledge of even basic traditional grammatical items, let alone the more complex grammar typical of authentic texts (Andrews 1999; Myhill et al. 2013). It is understandable that many teachers feel unprepared to teach grammar and resort to relying heavily on course books. Working with a meaning-oriented pedagogic grammar puts even greater pressure on teachers' ability to identify the language challenges facing their students and design appropriate programs to support them in meeting these challenges.

What about different contexts? The learning sequence described above was targeted at relatively proficient ESL students in an Australian context. However, many of the pedagogical principles (as indicated throughout the description of the unit) could be readily modified and applied to the teaching of grammar to less proficient students. EFL students, for example, could still be introduced to grammatical concepts with an initial focus on meaning and function but might need greater emphasis on grammatical form with more opportunities for intensive practice. If working in contexts with constraints in terms of a restrictive syllabus or time

available, the teacher would not need to work systematically through the teaching-and-learning cycle but could still profitably include such scaffolding activities as deconstructing a mentor text or jointly constructing a collaborative text.

It is nevertheless heartening to observe the advances made over the past few decades in realizing the potential of meaning-oriented pedagogic grammars, particularly in regions such as Australia, England, the USA, Scandinavia, South America, and parts of Southeast Asia, where the EFL and L1/ESL communities are drawing closer together and learning from each other while often starting from slightly different places with different constraints. Considerable research effort is going into investigating the linguistic demands of a wide range of contexts and discipline areas from elementary through to tertiary levels. Resources are being developed, professional learning opportunities are being made available, and evidence is being collected of the impact on learners of interventions. Indications are that a more relevant pedagogic grammar for today's classrooms is in the process of becoming realized.

Cross-References

▶ Applications of Usage-Based Approaches to Language Teaching
▶ Content and Language Integrated Learning in Hong Kong
▶ Current Perspectives on Vocabulary Teaching and Learning
▶ English as an Additional Language: Integrating School-Aged Learners Into Mainstream Curriculum

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Comprehending Speech Genres for the Listening Classroom

46

Christine C. M. Goh

Contents

Abstract

Every day we produce different kinds of spoken texts according to our purposes
for using language. These spoken texts serve important pragmatic, interaction, or
interpersonal purposes. To ensure successful communication and personal effec-
tiveness, language learners need to develop competent listening and speaking
skills that will enable them to comprehend and produce various types of spoken
discourses. This chapter explains processes involved in second language listening
and various features of speech and spoken texts. Teachers need a good under-
standing of the nature and characteristics of various types of spoken discourse and
incorporate this knowledge into their teaching. Sensitizing learners to key differ-
ences between spoken and written language will also ensure that they produce
speech that sounds more natural as well as enabling them to listen to and
understand different kinds of spoken texts.

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Introduction

We communicate every day and produce countless spoken texts with their respective communicative purposes, structures, and linguistic features. These spoken texts serve important functional purposes, such as transactional or interactional (Brown and Yule 1983), to facilitate the exchange of goods and services. They also serve important pragmatic, interaction, or interpersonal purposes (McCarthy 1991) where they are used for the creation and maintenance of relationships. To ensure successful communication and personal effectiveness, language learners need to develop competent listening skills that will enable them to comprehend various types of spoken discourses.

The notion of genre as a "purposeful, socially-constructed, communicative event" (Nunan 1991, p. 43) can be particularly useful for teachers who teach spoken language and skills. While the notion of genre has been applied successfully to the teaching and learning of written discourse, it can be applied just as successfully to teaching and learning spoken discourse (Paltridge 2001). The teaching and learning of listening will benefit immensely from not just focusing on individual utterances but emphasizing the features of spoken texts. For example, language learners in academic contexts can benefit greatly from understanding the communicative purposes and the structural and linguistic features of lectures since a large part of their learning is conducted through listening to their teachers and lecturers (Flowerdew and Miller 2004). With rapid technological advances, corpus analysis of substantial amounts of collected spoken discourse samples and research has further enriched the field of spoken discourse and provided a more in-depth understanding of the various speech genres. However, such research findings have not had significant impact on classroom teaching of speaking (Hughes and Reed 2016). Hughes and Reed further highlighted that "the fact that a structure is commonly found in the spoken form of a language has never made it automatically a target for language topics in classrooms and materials" (p. 59). It is therefore timely for language teachers to exploit the opportunities afforded by recent findings to enhance the teaching and learning of listening through greater attention to understanding language at a discourse level.

Listening Comprehension Processes

Learners' comprehension of spoken discourse can be enhanced by focusing on developing learners' awareness of the processes, skills, and strategies of listening. This is particularly important for second language learners where their academic learning takes place through the medium of their second language. They have to comprehend spoken texts such as lectures and group discussion, and success in listening determines their success in communication, interaction, and academics. There has been an increasing focus on teaching listening in many L2 contexts as well as increased research insights about teaching and learning listening (Field 2008; Flowerdew and Miller 2004; Graham et al. 2014; Vandergrift 2004, 2007; Vandergrift and Goh 2012).

Listening comprehension involves various cognitive and social processes. To improve the teaching of listening, it is important that teachers understand the cognitive and social processes involved. One model that can help teachers is Anderson's (1995) model of perceptual processing, parsing, and utilization, where perceptual processing refers to the ability to recognize and encode sounds as words, parsing is the process where words are concurrently recognized as offering meaning through their grammatical or syntactical configurations, and utilization is the ability to draw on background knowledge to elaborate an interpretation of the meaning of the audio input. These processes interact in a recursive manner when an individual listens. It is also useful for learners to recognize how their listening that happens largely inside their heads is a combination of these cognitive processes. Understanding the link between speech processing and linguistic information processing (Vandergrift and Goh 2012) and parsing and word segmentation in processing aural input (Cutler 2000) can help learners learn to comprehend aural input more effectively. Where there is a combination of audio and visual input, as in video recordings or real-time interactions, visual cues will further enhance the processing of the audio input, and an interpretation is derived from the multimodal processing of what one hears and sees. Such an understanding of the cognitive processes of listening by both teachers and students will also make it possible for the latter to learn to manage these processes better through more targeted practice and strategy use.

Research on cognitive processes has also shed understanding on the types of input that has an effect on listening comprehension (Gruba 2006) and on both the top-down and bottom-up processing of information (Rost 2016). Literature to date has shown the usefulness of focusing on not only top-down but also bottom-up approaches (Brown 2011; Vandergrift and Tafaghodtari 2010) in teaching listening comprehension. Being competent in either process is not adequate in helping learners with their listening; the learners need to be able to make use of both types of processes flexibly to meet the different purposes and contexts of listening, taking into consideration their own distinctive characteristics (Vandergrift and Goh 2012; Vanderplank 2014; Yeldham and Gruba 2014). Learners use a range of strategies to help them process the text they hear. For example, they may use prediction, making inferences, and elaboration when trying to understand a text when they are unable to get others to assist them in their comprehension. Learners have also been reported using strategies that identified the types of spoken text to facilitate their comprehension (Wolff 1989) although research in this area is still rather limited to date.

Listening is also a social process. It involves using verbal and nonverbal cues during oral interactions to achieve specific pragmatic and communicative goals. Typically this involves the use of communication strategies for enhancing the quality of the interaction as well as compensating for gaps in the listener's language or background knowledge (Nakatani and Goh 2007). These strategies include asking for clarification, requesting repetition, paraphrasing, and checking comprehension outcomes. In academic contexts, students may use interactive listening strategies during seminar discussions; Lynch (1995) observed two broad categories of questioning strategies that build on old and new information. Old-information

questions ask for clarification of an earlier comprehension difficulty, and the responses by the speakers are characterized by a backward orientation to the just completed discourse. New-information questions or receipt tokens ask the speaker to elaborate further. The speakers' responses thus serve to expand the discourse that is unfolding thereby carrying the discourse forward. The use of interactive listening strategies is an essential part of the social process of listening. Language learners in particular need the strategies to maintain interactions with competent speakers if they do not want conversations to flag or end. They also engage in these social aspects of listening when working on tasks with peers (Vandergrift 1997, 2006; Farrell and Mallard 2006).

In addition to cognitive and social processes, second language listening comprehension and development are also affected by non-cognitive processes that involve affect and motivation. Learner engagement has been shown to be important in long-term strategy development (Graham and Macaro 2008), while individual differences have been shown to influence learners' interpretation of aural input (Brownell 2015). Learners' anxiety levels have also been found to have a disruptive effect on learners' listening processes (Elkhafaifi 2005; Zhang 2013).

Spoken Discourse

Spoken discourse has been analyzed through various sociological and sociolinguistic approaches, and the results are helpful for language teachers who wish to take a systematic approach to teaching discourse and language features for speaking and listening. Such approaches which include conversational analysis, speech act theory, pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics, systemic functional linguistics, exchange analysis, and critical discourse analysis have yielded specific discourse features prevalent in speech. Some key features are adjacency pairs, turn taking, topic and interaction management, and discourse strategies. In addition, prosodic features or suprasegmentals also play an important role in conveying meaning that is beyond lexical and grammatical dimensions to a discourse level (Brazil 1985/1997). Understanding the link between intonation, stress, and meaning-making in the spoken language helps learners to not only construct their messages more accurately but also to be a more effective listener who can listen out for these important auditory cues.

L2 listeners can also benefit from learning about the way spoken discourses are structured. This will provide them with a macro frame to follow an extended piece of discourse as it unfolds. In face-to-face interactions, learners will also be able to anticipate the kinds of moves that their interlocutors will engage in, thereby preparing them to focus the attention selectively on those parts that important information is likely to be conveyed.

One way to enhance learners' listening is to help learners to be familiar with various speech genres that they will encounter in their daily life, both in and out of classrooms (Lynch 2011; Young 1994). According to Richards and Schmidt (2002), a genre is a

...type of discourse that occurs in a particular setting, that has distinctive and recognizable patterns and norms of organization and structure, and that has particular and distinctive communicative functions. For example: business reports, news broadcasts, speeches, letters, advertisements, etc. In constructing texts, the writer must employ certain features conventionally associated with texts from the genre in which he or she is writing. In reading a text the reader similarly anticipates certain features of the text based on genre expectations. (p. 224)

In English for Specific Purposes (ESP) programs, for example, learners often encounter spoken genres such as lectures, seminars, and discussions. These genres have specific structures realized by rhetorical moves and lexico-grammatical features which can facilitate or impede learners' listening processes (Flowerdew and Miller 1992; Goh 2005). Swales (1990) stressed that while such genres shared some common communicative characteristics, there still exist differences between these genres or their sub-genres.

McCarthy (1998) defined speech genres as "particular language events, which unfold in predictable and institutionalized ways and move, stage by stage, towards a recognizable completion" (p. 62). They differ in features such as surface grammar used to indicate social purposes, degree of shared knowledge, established "rules of speaking," participants' roles, and relationships. They also vary in their goal orientation: unidirectional or bidirectional (McCarthy 1998). Unidirectional speech genres are usually concerned with the provision of information from one party to others. Bidirectional speech genres are more concerned with speakers interacting to share ideas and opinions or interacting while engaging in physical activities. Some examples of such speech genres are recount, language-in-action, comment-elaboration, debate and argument, service encounters, and language, learning, and interaction (Carter and McCarthy 1997). From the perspective of listening, unidirectional speech genres would require listeners to engage in one-way listening where they do not have opportunities to get help from speakers to improve their comprehension, while bidirectional genres will offer listeners opportunities to engage in negotiation of meaning and using interaction strategies as discussed previously.

Spoken discourse is considered to be multidimensional (Paltridge 2001). McCarthy and Burns et al. (1996) have proposed considering language production as a continuum with "pure" spoken language at one end and written language on the other end. In terms of "grammatical complexity," written discourse tended to lean toward the "tightly packed and integrated" end, while spoken discourse tended to lean toward the fragmented end. In terms of "detachment/interpersonal involvement," written discourse tended to lean toward the "detached" end, while spoken discourse tended to lean toward the "interpersonally involved" end.

These speech genres are presented as products of speaking in syllabuses and textbooks that students should master. They are often classified according to broad communicative purposes and can be identified by their discourse structure and grammatical features. They have a distinctive staging structure that is goal-oriented (Martin 1992) and easily recognizable. Still, there can be variation in the language used to achieve any particular genre structures. In extended talk, there can also be a mix of genres all due to the context-dependent nature of spoken discourse.

Some factors causing such variation include the topic, speakers' relationship with each other, and the context. Weissberg (1993) also highlighted the hybrid nature of graduate seminars which involves four subgenres: proposal, in-progress reports, preliminary literature reviews, and completed research reports. Each of these subgenres has its distinct rhetorical structure but also share similar rhetorical structure with each other.

Although understanding the various speech genres can be challenging characteristics of spoken discourse, current technological advances have provided researchers with tools to record and study various speech genres. Researchers have therefore gained better understanding of these speech genres and insights into how to teach spoken language. One way to do so is based on the notions of "chat" and "chunks" (Eggins and Slade 2004). Chat segments refer to "highly interactive sequences of spoken language characterized by a rapid transfer of turns from one speaker to the other" (p. 227). As they are spontaneous and highly contingent on their contexts, chats are not easy to teach. Instead, teachers can teach chunk segments which refer to "those aspects of conversation that have a global or macro-structure where the structure beyond the exchange is more predictable" (p. 230). Morton (2009) stressed that the ability to be socialized into their various disciplinary genres separates the more successful from the less successful students.

Spoken Grammar

Research in the past decades has offered insights on the similarities and differences between spoken and written discourse and supported by corpus-based studies, we now have a much deeper understanding of spoken grammar (Carter and McCarthy 2017). Unlike written language, spoken language is produced in real time and involves unique features that help speakers meet the contextual and cognitive demands of processing spoken input in real time (McCarthy 1998). Spoken grammar is not the same as written grammar even though both the spoken and written language share fundamental patterns that are language-specific such as word order and morphological features. Spoken grammar has its own distinctive linguistic features that function at both the utterance and discourse level, impacting pragmatic realizations. Spoken grammar refers to not only tense and aspect but also lexical and syntactic ways of organizing discourse. Having a grasp of spoken grammar can help learners recognize important features in natural spoken discourse and prepares them to distinguish features that are different from written texts.

According to Paltridge (2006), there are seven main differences between spoken and written discourse: grammatical intricacy, lexical density, nominalization, explicitness, contextualization, spontaneity and repetition, hesitations, and redundancy. In terms of grammatical intricacy, although it has been suggested that "sentences in spoken discourse are short and simple, whereas they are longer and more complex in written discourse" (Paltridge 2001, p. 89), Halliday (1985) has argued that spoken discourse, with its clauses being more spread out, can be structurally very complex too.

In terms of lexical density, written discourse has been said to be lexically denser than spoken discourse due to the high level of nominalization (Halliday 1985; Schleppegrell 2001). However, Paltridge (2006) argues that this may not be necessarily true because some spoken texts also contain a high level of content words even though these lexical items are more spread out among the many clauses in spoken discourse. In addition, spoken discourse such as lectures and debates can also have a higher level of nominalization than other less formal types of spoken discourse (Paltridge 2001). It follows that these more formal grammatical features occurring in speech such as news broadcasts, lectures, and conference presentations can make listening comprehension a challenge for second language learners.

Writing is seen to be more explicit than speech because of the lack of gestures or body language (Paltridge 2006). However, one can also argue that this may not necessarily be true as explicitness can also be affected by the text purposes – how explicit writers or speakers want their texts to be or how much they want readers/ listeners to infer from their writing/speech. Nevertheless, compared with written discourse, speech is more dependent on shared knowledge of context although types of formal spoken discourse such as academic lectures would rely less on contextual cues and shared knowledge than other types of spoken discourse where some shared knowledge is expected, such as personal correspondences (Paltridge 2006). In fact, Crystal (as cited in Carter and McCarthy 2011, p. 12) has commented that forms usually associated with spoken grammar exit on a cline because of their dependence on contextual factors.

Spontaneous kinds of spoken discourse appear disorganized, messy, and even ungrammatical. This is often attributed to the fact that speakers are making up the content of the message as they go along. They may reformulate their ideas, leave their utterances incomplete, change topic, or interrupt and overlap one another's turns while speaking. While spontaneous spoken discourse is less structured as written texts, it is not messy or disorganized, but rather it reflects the processes speakers engage in as they focus on the meaning of what they want to convey and the language that is used to convey it. In many instances, what is seen to be ungrammatical may in fact be a unique feature of spoken grammar, for instance, the use of heads and tails (e.g., "She sings well, Liz"). What appears to be messy discourse would appear to be less so if we examine the strategies that speakers use to signal their intention to change topics or to take over a turn. Nevertheless, spoken discourses are not as structured and tight compared with written discourses because there are repetitions, hesitations, and redundancy introduced by the speakers as they plan, formulate, and articulate their speech in real time. Seen from an L2 listening angle, these speech features can in fact be helpful to language learners because pauses and fillers that speakers use will give learners more time to process the utterances.

Technological advances have provided large databases of language or corpora that reveal actual language use in authentic interactions and importantly in context (O'Keeffe et al. 2007). Through examination of such instances of language use and the frequency of their use, research has also provided teachers with tools and materials that can help learners identify collocations, idioms, or chunks and become

aware how to use them appropriately in their speech. At the same time, their listening can also be helped as they become more familiar with lexical items that help to frame, connect, and support utterances and be more aware of how various types of spoken discourse are organized (Knowles et al. 2014; Vandergrift and Goh 2012).

To sum up, research has shown that the distinction between spoken and written discourse cannot be clearly delineated into a binary distinction. Instead of attempting to do so, differences between spoken and written discourses should be viewed as differences along a continuum. Language teachers should be aware of this and select or adapt their teaching materials to reflect the nature of spoken texts that are encountered in our daily lives. They can also help language learners to recognize the features of spoken and written discourse. As genres are typically taught in writing classes, teachers can also adapt some of the teaching strategies for listening instruction and select appropriate samples of natural language in a particular speech genre. Furthermore, while teachers should be cognizant of debates over the teaching of spoken grammar with regard to authenticity of spoken texts and suitability of native-speaker models of spoken grammar (Carter and McCarthy 2017; Prodromou 2008), they can still highlight some grammatical forms that are relevant to language learners who need to spend a great deal of time interacting with speakers from traditionally native-speaker countries or other competent speakers who have acquired native-speaker speech patterns. Some examples of spoken grammar features include situational ellipsis which is common in informal genres of English; discourse markers are frequently found in service encounters, conversations, and extended discourses such as lectures and speeches. In fact, Thornbury and Slade (2006) argued that the teaching of a set of "core grammar," such as conjunctions, deixis, simple past and present verb tense forms, the ability to formulate questions, and heads and tails fillers, would help learners to use the spoken language pragmatically.

Speech Genres for the Listening Classroom

The discussion above shows that listening instruction is closely linked to teaching speaking particularly in the way spoken discourses are used for listening tasks and speaking activities in oral communication classes. One-way listening tasks rely heavily on unidirectional texts to develop listening competence. Selecting the right kinds of spoken texts is therefore of utmost importance as this will provide opportunities for students to not only practice their listening with a variety of texts but perhaps even more importantly to learn about the features of these texts in order to increase their metacognitive knowledge about listening.

An important general consideration is to select and use authentic materials as frequently as possible. Authentic materials for listening are texts that are not produced artificially to teach language but are recordings of natural speech taken from everyday sources. We can find a variety of speech genres for one-way listening development, such as radio and television broadcasts, podcasts on various topics, songs, audio and video recordings, CD ROMs, Internet resources, and situations of performances such as drama and poetry recitals.

Natural speech has the discourse and paralinguistic features presented earlier, and they can be both helpful and problematic to language learners. Teachers can also consider scripted materials that have some degree of authenticity. These would be materials where many of the qualities of natural speech are incorporated, such as normal speech rate, fillers, and repetitions. For less advanced learners, teachers can also ensure that the speech is produced at a normal rate and less "messy" so as to allow students a chance to learn to use listening strategies to cope with gaps in comprehension.

Table 1 below presents some types of spoken discourses that can be used in a listening class and the type of communication associated with each one. Learners can develop listening competence for real-life communication when they have repeated opportunities to practice their listening with these spoken text types. They will also be able to learn about the way each one is organized and the grammatical and lexical features present in each one. An instructional strategy that teachers can adopt is to first identify the types of information and meaning that are typically communicated with these one-way (unidirectional) listening events and plan listening tasks according to real-life authentic listening goals. In the same way, teachers can also identify bidirectional speech genres such as discussions, simulation, and role-play and create pair or group communication tasks for learners to develop skills for interactive listening. These tasks can normally be combined with speaking practice as integrated oral communication tasks.

Table 1 Spoken texts for unidirectional listening practice and development

Audio-/video-recorded spoken texts	Listening focus
a. Recounts: conversations, talks, interviews	Events or incidents from the past and their significance
b. Storytelling: narratives, anecdotes, tales	Setting, characters' actions and motives, a problem and its resolution
c. Language-in-action commentaries, explanations, instructions, demonstrations	Talk as an action takes place
d. Views and perspectives: conversations, interviews, group discussions, forums, talks	Comments and opinions based on questions or topics
e. Debate and argument: expositions and persuasive texts	Views, theories, plans, or recommendations from defined positions
f. Service encounters: conversations, short exchanges, announcements	Transactions of goods and services
g. Learning interaction: lectures, seminar presentations, talks, group discussions, show-and-tell, classroom instruction	Talk within the contexts of academic institutions
h. Information giving: news reports, documentaries, presentations	Reports, explanations, and descriptions of important events and happenings
i. Entertainment and appreciation: songs, movies, TV and radio programs	Interesting content for pleasure, appreciation, and relaxation
j. Problem sharing: conversations, TV talk shows, counselling, interviews	Problems or issues that require help and understanding

Adapted from Vandergrift and Goh (2012)

Implications and Conclusions

Incorporating knowledge of spoken discourses into listening instruction is not without its challenges. One challenge has to do with the lack of focus on spoken grammar in teaching oral language and communication in classrooms. The lack of emphasis on spoken grammar in textbooks meant that many students as well as teachers have never been exposed to spoken grammar and that formal written grammar was used as benchmarks for speaking. Hughes (2013) highlighted that the teaching of grammar in language classrooms tended to be extremely traditional, influenced by the norms of written discourse rather than spoken discourse. Many current textbooks have focused on the teaching of speaking based on written grammar and hence have been lacking in preparing learners for the demands of common everyday speaking in both academic and nonacademic contexts. The teaching of listening is also influenced in this direction when teachers do not make appropriate choices in the selection of spoken texts for listening practice and development.

There is also the debate over explicit teaching of spoken grammar. Whereas traditionally the grammar of speech has been based on British native-speaker norms, the rise of World Englishes has caused debate over the teaching of other nonnative-speaker norms (He and Zhang 2010; Kuo 2006; Timmis 2002). Carter and McCarthy (2017) highlighted that despite the rise of successful users of English (Prodromou 2008), L2 learners may still in fact prefer native-speaker spoken grammar (Kuo 2006).

In addition, Carter and McCarthy (2017) highlighted the gap in understanding spoken grammar used in social and mass media. They spoke of the hybrid nature of its grammar which features grammatical structures associated with both speech and writing. In addition, they also emphasized the need for further corpus studies such as Knight et al. (2014) study on e-language as current corpora are generally limited in either their scale or the variety of language studies. They further argue that with more focus on these e-language genres, we would be better able to place the different e-language genres on a continuum of formality and understand their communicative function in the various e-language genres. This would also have implications for teaching genres for listening and speaking development.

One of the challenges in comprehending spoken discourse is the range of structures for organizing different genres. In calling for the teaching of genre knowledge to learners, Paltridge (2001) highlighted that the teaching of genre analysis should begin with texts that students are familiar with and only moving onto unfamiliar ones when students are adept at the basics of genre analysis. Secondly, texts used should be representatives of specific genres with specific purpose, form, and style. Thirdly, teachers need to emphasize the contextualized nature of texts, making students realize that people make linguistic choices based on reasons beyond the texts.

It is important therefore for teachers to acquire a good understanding of the nature and characteristics of various types of spoken discourse and incorporate this knowledge into their teaching. They not only need to possess knowledge of the nature of

spoken language, but they also need to be able to appreciate its distinctive features. Thus, there is the need to prepare pre- and in-service teachers by raising their awareness and understanding of speech genres during teacher preparatory programs (Lee 2016). Flowerdew and Miller (1996) also talked of the importance of training for teacher educators and students in order to prepare second language students for this whole new culture of learning. Sensitizing learners to key differences between spoken and written language is necessary as the lack of awareness and competence in spoken grammar can lead to stilted ways of speaking. At the same time, learners' expectations and knowledge of spoken texts are similarly affected. Such teaching should strike a balance between teaching more accurate models of spoken grammar taking into classroom norms and published materials (Hughes 2013). When teachers better understand and appreciate the nature and characteristics of speech genres and spoken grammar, they will be in a better position to help their learners speak and hence communicate in a more appropriate manner. Teachers will also understand the importance of focusing on speech genres in their teaching of speaking and listening.

Cross-References

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Student Writing in Higher Education

47

Sue Starfield

Contents

Abstract

Academic writing is a vast and ever-expanding field of study. In higher education in particular with the growth of English medium instruction on a global level, writing for a multitude of academic purposes has become a high-stakes activity. Recently, academic literacies approaches in which writing is no longer viewed as a generic skill to be taught as a set of static rules but rather as shaped by complex interactions of social, institutional, and historical forces in contexts of unequal power have been influential, leading to discussions of the interactions between academic literacies approaches, English for academic purposes (EAP) approaches, and genre approaches. Key themes discussed in this chapter are approaches to researching and teaching academic writing, genre in academic writing, understandings of plagiarism and intertextuality, and the role of identity in academic writing.

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Introduction

The growth of English medium instruction (EMI) in higher education institutions across the globe has focused attention on the teaching and learning of academic writing to an increasingly diverse body of students in a diverse range of contexts. While it is tempting for institutions to seek "quick fix, one-size-fits-all" solutions, research into academic writing continues to indicate that academic writing is highly context dependent and that generic English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses may not easily meet students, academics, and institutions' needs (see, e.g., Coffin and Donohue 2012; Flowerdew 2016; Hyland 2017; Tang 2012; Turner 2012, 2018; Wingate and Tribble 2012).

Since the last decades of the twentieth century, research into academic writing, in line with developments in linguistics and applied linguistics, has taken what has become known as the "social turn," responding to theoretical developments in the social sciences more broadly. As Candlin and Hyland (1999, p. 2) pointed out, the view of writing as a "social act" has "achieved a certain orthodoxy" and "challenge[s] the widely held assumption that academic conventions are universal and independent of particular disciplines" (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons 2002, p. 6).

Within this perspective, understandings of student writing development can be located on a continuum from the more normative to the more transformative (Lillis and Scott 2007; Lillis 2012; Tang 2012). Normative understandings would aim to "demystify dominant Anglo-American discourse practices so as to make them accessible" (Tang 2012, p. 1), whereas responses that have a more transformative intention seek to "problematise and challenge dominant discourse practices and to offer alternative ways of understanding and making meaning within academia" (p. 1).

This chapter explores the implications of these orientations for academic writing research. It both considers perspectives which locate written academic discourse within the "socio-rhetorical" communities in which it is produced and interpreted (see Belcher and Braine 1995; Lillis and Tuck 2016) and perspectives which are more sociohistorical (Prior 1991, 1995, 2001) and political – to do with how power is distributed in society (Clark and Ivanič 1997). These evolving understandings of the notion of social context in academic writing have implications for writing pedagogy as we move from functional views of the relationship between texts and context which believe it is possible to predict from the social context the types of discourses and genres that will be used in a given situation, and which tend to be unitary and mechanistic (Clark and Ivanič 1997; Wingate and Tribble 2012), to views which focus on the complex microcontexts in which academic literacies are negotiated and renegotiated in terms of the power relations between the participants (Lillis and Scott 2007; Lillis and Tuck 2016).

Within this latter perspective, individual writing is seen as shaped by complex interactions of social, institutional, and historical forces (see Bakhtin 1981, 1986) which shape access to the privileged discourses of the academy. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, a specific form of cultural capital is needed in order to produce written discourse worthy of being published, but while all speakers will recognize this authorized, prestige language, they will have very unequal knowledge of and access to its usage, prestigious rhetoric, and genres. In "the stylistic elaboration of literary writers, the references and apparatuses of scholars, and the statistics of sociologists," Bourdieu (1977, p. 649) sees an "authority effect," which confers legitimacy on those who speak the language of authority. Academic discourse or essayist-text literacy (see Gee 1990) can therefore be considered as a very particular instance of a language which has been socially legitimated.

The typical student academic genres of essay, tests, and exams set up and reflect asymmetrical power relations in part through the so-called impersonal language forms (passive, avoidance of personal pronouns, nominalization, aspects of modality) and formal register (adoption of the standard or high variety; complex thematic structure; coded citation practices; conventions of formal written language; field-specific lexis, lexical density) and therefore set up unequal social and identity relations in discourse (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014; Jones et al. 1989). Kress (1993, p. 125) identifies these features as central to the ideology of Western science and "the genre of scientific writing with its insistence on suppressing any mention of the individual."

This chapter focuses on research into the written academic discourse of student writers in higher education settings, mainly, but not solely, on students writing in English as a second language. These studies are providing a richer understanding of the complex institutional, societal, and interpersonal contexts and processes which students – native and non-native speakers of English, undergraduate and postgraduate – negotiate as they strive to acquire written academic discourse. This chapter discusses four overlapping themes:

How research is contesting the notions of discourse community and genre as they have been used to explain the function of the "social" in academic writing

How understandings of academic literacies and EAP as a critical practice challenge accepted views of writing in as much as "all literacies are, in fact, social, intertextual and historical" (Johns 1997, p. 16)

How research into writer identity and voice is reshaping long-held beliefs about the personal and interpersonal in academic writing

How understandings of intertextuality and appropriation are shifting conceptions of plagiarism

Discourse Communities and Genre

Earlier studies of written academic discourse which took a "social" view tended to focus on the identification of specific disciplinary discourses and of the specific genres that academic discourse communities utilize in the communicative

furtherance of their aims (see Swales 1990; Johns 1992), but, while giving recognition to the socially constructed nature of the norms and conventions which regulate written communication in the disciplines (see Ballard and Clanchy 1988), tended to present a view of these discourse conventions as static and monolithic, rather than dynamic and contested (see Bawarshi and Reiff 2010; Chase 1988; Harris 1989; Hyland and Hamp-Lyons 2002; Ivanič 1998; Prior and Bilbro 2012; Starfield 2001; Woodward-Kron 2004). In this view, learning to write is viewed as "one-way" induction and socialization into a discourse community which is governed by a range of norms and conventions, and "writers ... must use the communication means considered appropriate by members of particular ... discourse communities" (McCarthy 1987, p. 234), thus not taking into account the discourses students may bring with them.

Traditional EAP usage of the term "discourse community" has led to writing pedagogies based on the identification of discursive conventions and genres which can then be explicitly taught to new students entering the university (Swales 1990, 2004). Bawarshi and Reiff (2010, p. 44) describe EAP as being in the "linguistic tradition" of genre studies and as adopting a "more pragmatic, acculturation-motivated pedagogy." More recently, Wingate and Tribble (2012) have described this approach as *genre/EAP* (see also Cheng 2007). In the genre/EAP frame, genres are seen as "a relatively stable class of linguistic and rhetorical 'events' which members of a discourse community have typified in order to respond to and achieve shared communicative goals" (Bawarshi and Reiff 2010, p. 45).

EAP/genre analysis has been applied to a range of texts that advanced academic writers typically need to produce such as research articles (e.g., Swales 1990, 2004; Cheng 2006, 2007, 2008, 2015) and theses and dissertations (e.g., Bunton 1999; Paltridge and Starfield 2007; Paltridge et al. 2012; Soler-Monreal et al. 2011). Nesi and Gardner (2012) combine quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide a detailed account of the compilation of the British Academic Written English (BAWE) corpus of 13 major assignment genres across disciplinary groupings and years of study, thus increasing our knowledge of the range of genres in use in higher education in England and countering some of the more static depictions of university tasks in textbooks and EAP courses.

While studies that analyze key academic genres such as the research article and the doctoral thesis continue to grow in number, and courses that adopt EAP/genre frameworks are becoming more common (see Wingate and Tribble 2012; Hyland 2007), less well-studied is the extent to which students are able to transfer genre structures they have previously been exposed to into their own writing. Tardy (2009, p. 102) notes that underlying genre-based approaches is the belief that an "explicit knowledge of a genre's linguistic and rhetorical conventions will facilitate the process of learning to write effectively." Her detailed account of the multiple dimensions of students' genre knowledge development underscores the nonlinear nature of this process and complexifies our understanding of genres and their relationships to discourse communities. She advances our understanding of genre learning through her conceptualization of genre knowledge as the combination and integration of four overlapping knowledge areas: (1) formal knowledge of

lexico-grammatical and structural patterns; (2) knowledge of the process of writing a specific academic genre; (3) rhetorical knowledge which relates to an understanding of the genre in relation to its purpose, audience, and author position; and (4) subject-matter knowledge.

In a series of studies, Cheng (see, e.g., 2006, 2007, 2008, 2015) examined how PhD students in an advanced academic writing course at a North American university utilized features of academic texts from journal articles in their own fields when drafting their own articles. In Cheng (2007), one of the students, Fengchen, was able to explicitly articulate his reasons for choosing particular rhetorical moves and demonstrated awareness of new rhetorical contexts. From a slightly different angle, Mochizuki (2019) examines the role oral interactions play in genre uptake during peer writing conferences for graduate students at an Australian university.

Prior (1995, p. 77) however points out that while EAP researchers have increased our knowledge of the linguistic and rhetorical features of academic texts, "academic discourse and academic environments are complex, constructed and unfolding events and not closed systems susceptible to taxonomic and rule-oriented description." In his view, it therefore becomes difficult to "specify and teach generic 'academic writing tasks.'" More recently, in her study of peer writing conferences, Mochizuki (2017) shows how "needs" and "tasks" can be seen to emerge contingently in specific contexts rather than existing in a predetermined way.

An article titled "If you don't tell me, how can I know?" (Angelova and Riazantseva 1999) captures the more generic induction approach, suggesting that overcoming the difficulties international students face trying to understand the academic literacy requirements at a US university is a matter of making explicit the "hidden" conventions which may differ across cultures. Making guidelines regarding generic expectations clearer may go some way to assisting students' understanding; in practice, however, discrepancies arise between what is stated and the variable kinds of feedback students receive on their assignments, suggesting a lack of consensus among members of the academic discourse community (Starfield 2001, 2004a; Angélil-Carter 2000; Woodward-Kron 2004).

While advocates of more explicit pedagogies recommend the teaching of powerful genres as a response to the difficulties students from historically excluded communities may face in academic writing (Cope and Kalantzis 1993; Delpit 1988), other scholars such as Lea and Street (1998, p. 169) suggest that the normative categories of academic writing such as structure and argument be viewed as exercising a gatekeeping function rather than as "unproblematic generic requirements" (see further discussion below). Luke (1996) also sees the potential for the ideologies inherent in traditional academic genres to co-opt rather than empower students. The research further suggests that explicit induction should not be at the expense of devaluing the multiple discourses students bring with them to the university but that students (and the academy) may benefit from a recognition of these (Casanave 1995; Bangeni and Kapp 2006; Paxton and Firth 2014; Thesen 1997). "Access" to privileged discourse is not simply a matter of its transmission to all students but rather the outcome of complex processes of inclusion and exclusion, regulating access to authoritative discourse. Moreover, as Morgan and Ramanathan

(2005, p. 155) argue, a "politics of access" which sees as its main goal "the modeling of powerful genres and texts … may presume a degree of disciplinary stability and textual uniformity at variance with the co-constructed dynamics observed in discourse communities." Indeed, as Paltridge (2017, p. 19) notes, "student populations are not homogenous, writing requirements and expectations are not one size fits all, and disciplines are not necessarily stable."

While the genre/EAP approach has been critiqued for an overreliance on static descriptions of texts and genres that downplay the role of context, Swales (1998) has proposed a modified form of ethnography that he called textography. Its aim is to provide a more situated and contextualized basis for understanding students' writing in the social, cultural, and institutional settings in which it takes place than might be obtained by just looking at students' texts alone (see also Paltridge et al. 2016). Paltridge et al. (2012) carried out a textography of a new variant of the doctoral thesis – the doctorate in the visual and performing arts – which consists of both a creative and a written component, in order to better understand not simply the texts being produced but how they were valued, what counted as successful texts, and why. They carried out a discourse analysis of the written components of a corpus of these new kinds of doctoral theses but also interviewed both students and their supervisors and concluded that textographies can be helpful to writing researchers seeking to understand the complexities of communities whose discursive practices and genres they are studying and that the ethnographic data in combination with text analysis provided insights that neither technique on its own would have provided.

While the construct of discourse communities has enhanced our understanding of the social nature of academic communication, ethnographic perspectives are able to deepen our understandings of the diverse contexts in which academic genres are produced and received, for, as academic literacies perspectives discussed below argue, academic communities are "complex spaces shot through with multiple discourses, practices, and identities" (Prior 2003, p. 6).

Academic Literacies Approaches

While genre/EAP writing research and pedagogy have typically focused on identifying sets of transferable generic literacy skills which are seen to be applicable in the majority of academic settings (see Benesch 2001; Hyland 2004; Johns 1997; Lea and Street 1998; Prior 1995; Starfield 2001), such approaches can be seen to derive from the induction approach to teaching predetermined genres as described above. In a now seminal article, Lea and Street (1998) put forward a critique of previous approaches to understanding student writing development in higher education in which they identified differing but related approaches.

These approaches may exist concurrently within courses and programs and in individual tutor requirement and may be a source of confusion for students. In the study skills approach, often called remedial (see Benesch 1988), students are viewed as lacking the skills necessary for success, and these "surface skills" (Lea 1999) are then taught in discrete EAP/study skills courses, outside of the disciplines. In the

"academic socialization" or "anthropological" approach (Ballard and Clanchy 1988; Lea and Street 1998), students are exposed to the textual conventions and written genres of disciplinary discourses, but this remains a one-way induction model with writing seen as a transparent medium for the representation of given disciplinary forms. In the third approach, academic literacies are viewed as diverse, contested social practices, and student writers and their teachers are viewed as adopting different identities and positions as they negotiate these contested practices which construct meaning in a discipline rather than simply represent it (Lea 1999; Lea and Street 1998; Lillis and Scott 2007). Literacy practices are thus seen as integrally part of the knowledge-making practices of specific disciplines. Lea and Street argue that the development of students' writing needs to be seen within its broader institutional setting in terms of the dominant social and discursive practices which maintain and reproduce authority and power rather than as solely the responsibility of students themselves.

Whereas traditional needs analysis tends to transform academic genres into "abstract, anonymous structures occurring anytime anywhere" (Prior 1995, p. 55), academic literacies approaches allow us to understand the complex situatedness and particularity of each classroom (Casanave 1995). Critical EAP (Benesch 2001, 2009; Starfield 2013) further challenges needs analysis approaches by arguing that within specific social contexts, students can exercise their right to challenge dominant discourses and unilateral socialization into pre-existing sets of expectations. In her study of L2 students transitioning from an EAP course into their first year at an Australian university, Ong (2017) used an academic literacies lens to explore how the identities and prior experiences students brought with them shaped their success in their degree study to a greater extent than did the skills taught in the EAP course. In this perspective, learning transfer is reconceptualized as adaptive transfer – encompassing students' agency in "reshaping learned knowledge in order to . . . negotiate new and potentially unfamiliar writing situations" (DePalma and Ringer 2011, p. 135).

A number of qualitative case studies of students' academic literacy development have begun to illustrate the complexities of the "induction" into academic discourse which students may undergo. These studies provide a counterpoint to descriptions of discourse communities which have "too often been reduced to identifying the language conventions, and generic forms that supposedly represent the various disciplines" (Zamel 1993, p. 29) as they offer a thick description (Geertz 1975) of the frequently unequal, local contexts in which literacies are negotiated. These studies rely on multiple sources of data collection, including participant and non-participant observation, in-depth interviews with students and their teachers, the analysis of student texts and materials, as well as student insights into their textual choices and teacher feedback to students. While these studies vary in the number of participants involved, whether the participants are native or non-native speakers of English, undergraduate or postgraduate students (Bangeni and Kapp 2006; Cadman 1997; Casanave 1995; Chiseri-Strater 1991; Hewlett 1996; Hirvela and Belcher 2001; Ivanič 1998; Lea and Street 1998; Lillis 1997; Paxton 2013; Paxton and Firth 2014; Prior 1991, 1994, 1995; Spack 1997a; Thesen 1997; Woodward-Kron 2004),

many of the findings stress the mismatch between student and teacher expectations, and that it is often white, male, middle-class anglophone students who are successfully "inducted" into academic discourse communities. Many of the student participants in these studies struggle not only to understand the codified conventions of Western written academic discourse but to negotiate identities for themselves which are recognized by the discourse communities they seek to enter.

In pedagogical terms, working within an academic literacies approach for teachers of writing who are not themselves disciplinary specialists presents a challenge, particularly within the context of the increasing intertextuality, hybridity, and instability of genres (Candlin and Plum 1999). Aspects of the two other approaches may well underlie teachers' repertoires as they assist students to engage with the dominant discursive practices of the institution. Academic literacies approaches suggest raising student writers' awareness of how the texts they write, the individual roles these imply, and the contexts within they write can be analyzed, critiqued, and negotiated (Johns 1997) and appear worth pursuing if we are to move students from reproductive, static approaches to ones which enable them to engage meaningfully with texts, within the contexts in which they are produced and interpreted, and to negotiate successful identities for themselves as writers.

Given the complexities involved in the processes of successful negotiation of complex disciplinary microworlds, a number of writers suggest developing students' strategic competence and/or metacognitive strategies to enable them to begin to negotiate entry into these contact zones (Cadman 1997; Hyland 2004; Johns 1997; Negretti and Kuteeva 2011; Starfield 2004b). This involves developing an awareness of the functions of texts and genres within different disciplines and a familiarity with the discoursal strategies they need to perform particular roles and sustain particular interactions which has also been called "rhetorical consciousness raising" (Hyland 2007, p. 154). A major task of EAP teachers, according to Hyland (2004), is to address students' prior perceptions and assumptions about writing and to build from these to help them unpack the assumptions about writing which are embedded in the disciplines. This view is supported by Johns' (1997) encouragement of her students to approach the new communities they are seeking to join as ethnographic researchers to study their discursive practices. Johns' students are encouraged to compile literacy portfolios – reflective collections of the variety of texts and genres they bring from their primary cultures and languages as well as texts they encounter as they do this research. In this view, students should be helped to analyze authentic genres and be made aware of the choices writers are making and the consequences of these choices (Hyland 2004) and what the textual possibilities are that writers have at their disposal to take ownership of and position themselves in their texts. Johns' (1997, p. 19) view of an academic literacies approach to teaching writing is one in which "literacy classes become laboratories for the study of texts, roles and contexts ... in which students are able to assess their current practices and understandings and develop strategies for future rhetorical situations."

Paltridge and Woodrow (2012, p. 100) identify the importance for EAP practitioners of going "beyond the text" to gain insight into students' experiences not just of learning to write a research thesis but also of issues related to their emerging

identities as doctoral students, their motivations, and relationships with their supervisors as "what, on first sight, may seem like a textual issue often is as much a social and cultural issue." Based on her experience of teaching a linked EAP writing/anthropology course in the USA, Benesch (2001) argues for pedagogies which build community between students through a recognition of difference and of students' multiple and overlapping identities and goals as she encourages her students to collectively negotiate with their professor over their understandings of the professor's expectations. Clearly, academic literacies perspectives encourage a focus on identity negotiation as integral to learning to write.

Writer Identities and Voice

The typical characterization of academic writing as impersonal, objective, and using a formal register which is still commonly adhered to by many students, teachers of writing, writing manuals, and academics has helped to keep issues of writer identity off the academic writing agenda (e.g., Canagarajah 1996; Chang and Swales 1999; Clark and Ivanič 1997; Hyland 2005; Ivanič 1998; Lillis 1997). As discussed above, academic literacies research into both native speaker and non-native speakers' writing has argued for greater attention to be paid to the significance of identity in academic writing and to the ways in which writers, through the linguistic and discursive resources on which they choose to draw as they write, convey a representation of the self (Cherry 1988; Hyland 2005; Ivanič 1998; Ivanič and Camps 2001; Starfield and Ravelli 2006; Tang and John 1999). Ivanič (1994, p. 4) claims that those analysts who have been concerned about how subjects are positioned in discourse have mainly looked at how readers "are positioned by discourse through texts" rather than at "how writers are positioned by the discourse(s) they draw on as they write." The lexical, syntactic, semantic, visual, and material resources writers employ construct "writerly" identities or "voice" as do the various primary and secondary discourses which they bring to the academic writing process (Gee 1990; Ivanič 1998).

Social views of writer identity and voice critique the notion of "individualized voice" as embodied in progressivist writing pedagogy that drew on romantic notions of the creative self and ideologies of the autonomous author (see Ivanič 1998). It has been further argued that teaching which encourages the development of a student's "own" voice can be seen to disadvantage students from cultures which are seen to de-emphasize the role of the individual in favor of the collective (Atkinson 2001; Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999). Social or sociohistorical views of "voice," however, emphasize the socially available repertoires that writers draw on as they write, and that condition the choices writers make, while allowing for agency within this positioning as writers attempt to "expropriat[e], forc[e] it [language] to submit to [their] own intentions" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 294; Ivanič 1998; Lillis 1997; Prior 2001). Language in this Bakhtinian view is always "double-voiced" as the discourses writers draw on bring other "voices" into their writing. In this understanding, a writer's "unique voice" is a combination of these discursive resources (Paxton 2013).

Ivanic's (1998) influential conceptualization of writer identity builds on these views; the "writerly self" or voice can be seen to be composed of several strands which shape the writer's representation of self. These are not discrete but interact at the "moment of utterance" to shape the choices a writer makes when "constructing" a text (Ivanič 1998). The "autobiographical self" refers to resources the writer brings from his or her life history, beliefs, values, and interests and the literacy practices with which he or she is familiar. The "discoursal" self refers to the ways writers textually convey an impression of who they are and the discursive practices they are able to draw on, while the "authorial self" refers to the extent to which writers are able to project an identity for themselves as authoritative (Clark and Ivanič 1997). A fourth, more abstract, aspect of writer identity concerns the "socially available possibilities for self-hood" (Ivanič 1998, p. 28) within specific sociocultural and institutional contexts. Some of these *subject positions* or identities – ways of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting – will have higher status than others (Gee 1990; Ivanič 1998). First-year students, for example, may feel they cannot appear very authoritative in their essays, yet some students, through their personal histories, may be able to bring authority to their writing in ways in which other students cannot (Angélil-Carter 2000; Starfield 2002).

Traditional forms of academic discourse, particularly in the social sciences and sciences, require an "impersonal" style, and part of the "apprenticeship" process is the effacing of prior identities in academic writing in order to join the new "discourse community" (Clark 1992; Starfield 2015). Clark (1992) provides examples of feedback in which the marker explicitly instructed the student not to use the first person singular pronoun in essays and to avoid expression such as "in my view" as the student was "not an established authority." Lea and Street (1998), however, found a good deal of uncertainty over the use of the first person pronoun in student writing: "Even within the same courses, individual tutors had different opinions about when or if it was appropriate" (p. 164). While the Psychology Department at an Australian university actively discouraged the use of personal forms in the students' writing, in computing, originality and a personal stance were encouraged (Candlin and Plum 1999).

Ivanič and Simpson (1992) see referencing conventions as setting up inferior subject positions for students which reinforce students' feelings of inadequacy vis-à-vis the disciplinary authorities. They suggest that it may be legitimate for students to respond by resisting these subordinate identities and questioning these academic conventions. Clark (1992), Ivanič and Simpson (1992), and Clark and Ivanič (1997) recount attempts to work with their students to develop "self-identities" which allow them to express aspects of their values, beliefs, and prior experiences which the academy may not traditionally value. Hewlett's (1996) interviews with black South African students revealed student anger at the perceived negation of their "political" identities by marker feedback which questioned the relevance of students' political comments to the given essay topic. This appeared to be a particularly sensitive issue when the marker was "white and unfamiliar to the student" (p. 94). A number of studies emphasize the importance of understanding students' autobiographical selves in shaping their identities as academic writers as the diverse discourses the

writer is familiar with shape their engagement with university discourses and may be in conflict with them (Angelil-Carter 2000; Paxton and Firth 2014; Starfield 2004a, 2011; Thesen 1997).

> Ivanič and Simpson (1992) report on the struggles of a mature student to "find the I" in order to develop an identity as a writer of academic texts with which he is comfortable. One of the issues raised is the need for student writers to become aware of the "characters" who "populate" (in the Bakhtinian sense) not only the texts they read but those they write too. They contrast this view of academic literacy with the traditional one, in which academic writing is characterized as impersonal and objective. Simpson's [the student] essays are populated by the tutors who set the assignment, the people who wrote the texts he read and who they write about, and Simpson himself and the people he writes about and those who read what he has written. Between Simpson, the student writer, and these various characters, relationships exist which are mostly unequal as they have greater academic authority or "capital" than he has. Unstated "ground rules" (Sheeran and Barnes 1991, p. 1) may ensure that a "student writer has to back up what he [sic] says with quotations from sources, to show that 'it's not just an opinion,' even if the student's personal experience makes him or her a much greater authority than the cited writer" (Ivanič and Simpson 1992, p. 161). Students' struggles to position themselves and take ownership of their arguments in academic discourse may lead to inadvertent plagiarism as their own "voice" blurs with the voice of those whose writings they are reviewing (Cadman 1997).

As mentioned above, studies that have examined students' transfer of writing skills from EAP courses into their disciplinary areas have tended to neglect to consider the previous identities that shape student investment and success in their academic communities. A student in Ong's (2017) study was able to negotiate a more powerful, less novice-like, identity for herself in her new disciplinary context as she drew on her prior academic success in China and her identity as an experienced marketing professional rather than on the skills taught in the EAP course.

How writers come to represent their own voice while constructing a text based on the voices of the authorities is a key element of an academic literacies approach. Paxton (2013) describes the challenges a teacher of writing faces when helping students negotiate a high-stakes genre, the research proposal: can the students who are from developing countries in southern Africa keep the distinctive "voices" they have brought with them to the university from their own contexts or should they be encouraged to adopt the more conventionalized voice of the standard research proposal?

Prior (2001) suggests asking students to consider what kinds of people use particular discourses, in what ways, and when, as part of an attempt to assist students acquire disciplinary academic discourse. Cadman (1997) encourages students to express a personal voice even though conventional genres may not allow this but follows Ivanič and Simpson's (1992) suggestion of helping the student to find the "committed 'I'" or, where the impersonal is required, to move progressively from the personal in early, private drafts to more impersonal styles in the public, polished drafts.

Students need to be helped to understand how writing is not only about constructing relevant field-specific arguments but also about constructing

appropriate social relationships within that specific field – how to develop, through discourse, a persona and a "stance" (Hyland 2005). Tang and John (1999) propose a pedagogy focused on sensitizing student writers to the differing uses of the first person pronoun in academic texts with the aim of developing in students greater "presence" and authority. They stress that students need to be shown that they can make choices around their representations of self in their academic writing and that the impersonal genres are shifting.

Hirvela and Belcher (2001, p. 90) suggest that the concept of "situational voice" – how voice varies according to rhetorical context – may be helpful, particularly to L2 postgraduate students who already have repertoires of voices and identities as successful writers in their L1, so that the new contexts can be seen as extending these, rather than as surrendering to dominant L2 discourses. Closely linked to the development of writerly voice and identity are the constructs of intertextuality and plagiarism. Angélil-Carter's (2000) in-depth study of student plagiarism (discussed below) clearly indicates the extent to which plagiarism is part and parcel of the students' "self-identities" as new writers.

Intertextuality and Plagiarism

Bakhtin (1981, p. 294) describes the richly social and shared nature of all language, emphasizing its intertextual and interpersonal dimensions: "language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others." Academic discourse has been frequently described as decontextualized or context reduced (Cummins 1996). While this understanding holds true when comparing face-to-face conversation with written texts in which immediate contextual cues to meaning are not readily available, what has been neglected is the highly intertextual nature of written academic discourse and the difficulties this may pose for student writers. Fairclough (1992) identifies two main ways in which texts constantly draw on other texts, either through the explicit usage of manifest intertextuality, in which a text explicitly "manifests" the presence of other texts, typically through highly coded citation practices, or via interdiscursivity – the ways in which texts "selectively draw upon orders of discourse – the particular configurations of conventionalised practices (genres, discourses narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances" (p. 194). Within this understanding, for a student writer "expropriating it [language], forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents is a difficult and complicated process" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 294).

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are dynamic processes whereby genres and discourses from different times may intermingle in text production, particularly in student academic writing. Academic discourse communities can be seen as fundamentally intertextual communities – communities which share texts and discourses. In a study of US freshman composition textbooks, Ramanathan and Kaplan (1996) claimed that one of the assumptions underlying the approaches to teaching academic writing that they identified was that strong arguments make intertextual connections.

They conclude that an absence of shared textual histories could further complicate L2 students' success in US discourse communities. Starfield (2002) argues that the amounts of textual or intertextual capital students bring with them to the university may impact on their success.

Intertextuality problematizes the common academic practice of asking students to say things in their "own" words as texts are no longer seen solely as the original works of talented individuals and requires us to "rethink our ideas about plagiarism" (Porter 1986, p. 42). For Hull and Rose (1989), a "fundamental social and psychological reality about discourse – oral *or* written – is that human beings continually appropriate each other's language to establish group membership, to grow, and to define themselves in new ways" (emphasis in the original, p. 151). In her struggle to summarize a text, Tanya [their student] produced a "patchwork" of the original text and of her "own" meanings – "trying on" (p. 151) the language of the original text but also a new academic identity. Howard (1995) refers to plagiarism as "patchwriting" – a survival strategy adopted by novice writers "working in unfamiliar discourse, when they must work monologically with the words and ideas of a source text" (p. 796). This term is now quite widely used to distinguish the academic writing strategies of those learning to cite and refer to the works of others from those of intentional "plagiarizers" (Abasi and Akbari 2008; Pecorari 2008, 2015). Similarly, Keck (2014), Shi (2004), Tardy (2009), and others prefer to refer to "textual borrowing," while for Chandrasoma et al. (2004), students' unintentional plagiarism is construed as "transgressive intertextuality." In addition, there is a growing body of research on the complexities of writing from sources (Hirvela and Du 2013; Pecorari 2015; Thompson et al. 2013; Wette 2010).

In Angélil-Carter (2000) and Abasi and Akbari's (2008) view, plagiarism is not so much the outcome of a conscious effort to deceive as a new student's response to "overpopulated" intertextual worlds in which words seem to belong to more powerful authorities and can only be "borrowed." Students' understandings of what constitutes plagiarism appear to differ widely from those held by their lecturers (Lea and Street 1998; Pennycook 1996). Whereas academics view the issue as being about the correct referencing of sources, for students, plagiarism is linked to their developing identities as writers and their relative lack of authority vis-à-vis the authority of academic texts and is part of a complex process of learning to write according to unfamiliar norms and conventions in a language that is often not their primary language. One of Cadman's (1997, p. 9) postgraduate students from China admitted that she had "never heard of referencing another scholar's work."

Imitation may also be an important stage in a writer's development. Using formulaic language or "chunking" may be a productive strategy in language learning whereby learners internalize and then reproduce chunks of language word for word (Angélil-Carter 2000; Pennycook 1996). Flowerdew and Li (2007) examine "language reuse" among Chinese doctoral students in the sciences who "recycle" formulaic language from previously published papers to compensate for their limited English and do not believe this constitutes plagiarism as the content of their papers is their own. In fact, a number of textual strategies that students may be expected to engage in such as paraphrasing, summarizing, copying down, and so forth closely

resemble plagiarism but are pedagogically legitimated in particular contexts which new students may have difficulty distinguishing (Angélil-Carter 2000).

Currie (1998, p.12) acknowledges that a pedagogy for "apparent plagiarism" would include alerting students to the danger of institutional censure, skills for synthesizing course materials and writing from sources, explicit instruction in citation, and paraphrase and effective reading strategies but concludes that these techniques, while popular in EAP courses, fail to recognize how ambiguous textual borrowing is and how fundamental it is to academic literacy practices and notions of authority and power. She suggests that using imitation explicitly in the initial stages may be useful in finding out from students what strategies they have successfully used previously. Angélil-Carter (2000) also found that certain students, through their prior socialization into patterns of privileged discourse, were able to challenge the strict regulation of citation which the writing of other, less privileged students was subjected to. Those students who came from more middle-class backgrounds, and were assumed to have authority, did not have to demonstrate the same degree of acknowledgment as others. In contrast, a degree of suspicion permeated the reading of less privileged students' essays, particularly when ideas or expression were judged too "sophisticated" in terms of the marker's perception of the student. What markers were prepared to accept as common knowledge or shared ground (i.e., not requiring referencing) varied, and whether students wrote English as a first or second language was also a factor in the degree of scrutiny of the referencing (see also Starfield 2002). Plagiarism is, however, not limited to non-native students but a significant survival strategy for all students as the discourses that they bring with them encounter the entirely textual, highly literate, "overpopulated" worlds of the academy.

Current Debates and Concerns

Are the problems L2 students experience with writing largely due to clashes between cultural expectations around academic discourse, different national rhetorics, and approaches to authority and tradition, "a set of 'cultural norms'" (Ramanthan and Kaplan 1996, p. 23), which many non-native speakers of English may not possess? It has been argued that this approach may be slipping into an unfortunate "othering" of non-native speakers as lacking certain thinking and writing skills (Kubota 1999; Thesen 1997; Spack 1997b; Pennycook 1996; Tang 2012). A number of studies of L1 speakers, particularly those from non-middle-class backgrounds or of women or mature age students, point to dominant Western norms as constructed (e. g., Chiseri-Strater 1991; Ivanič 1998; Ivanič and Simpson 1992). Lea and Street (1998) point to the difficulties students from a range of backgrounds have with dominant literacy practices such as citation, being original, developing an argument, and what counts as evidence and that identities and power relations are implicated in success. Rather than seeing problems as located within students' cultures, there may be a need to acknowledge the textual/intertextual nature of the cultural capital needed for academic literacy success. As Bourdieu (1994, p. 8) noted, academic discourse "is no

one's mother tongue." If student writing and learning are issues at the level of epistemology and identities, all students', regardless of their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, may need support with their writing (Hathaway 2015; Lea and Street 1998; Lillis and Tuck 2016).

How helpful then is the distinction between normative and transformative approaches to understanding students' writing development and what might best facilitate it? Wingate and Tribble (2012) argue that despite the critique of genre/EAP put forward by academic literacies researchers (e.g., Lillis and Scott 2007), there is much overlap in the concerns of both approaches. They suggest that more work is needed to investigate the texts in use in specific disciplinary contexts to bridge more generic EAP approaches and more contextual, academic literacies-informed ones. "Research-based guidelines and principles are needed," they argue, "to replace the existing instructional provision with a writing pedagogy that caters for all novices" (Wingate and Tribble 2012, p. 4). To what extent then in contemporary EMI higher education settings should there be specific courses for, for example, L2 students?

Do dominant writing pedagogies expect of multilingual students in EMI that they "become someone else" (Atkinson 2001, p. 115)? In Prior's (2001, p. 78) view "all activity involves becoming . . . teaching and learning language can never be simply about transferring or acquiring skills, codes and rules." Similarly, Zamel and Spack (1998) emphasize that ongoing negotiation between teachers and learners is at the heart of academic literacy acquisition. Ivanič's research with mature age, native speakers who are not from a culture that is "widely distant" (Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999, p. 55) suggests "becoming someone else" is a challenge they face too and that to reduce these struggles over voice and identity to ones of cultural difference is to neglect fundamental issues at the heart of academic literacy as to how novices gain authorial voice. Shen's (1989, p. 461) struggles to create a new "English self" seem to parallel those of Ivanič's (1998) and Lillis' (1997) native English speakers, some from non-middle-class backgrounds. One of Cadman's (1977, p. 11) students came to see that "cross cultural differences are a matter of degree, not kind."

Conclusion

Academic literacies approaches have been critiqued for not having a sufficient focus on pedagogy (e.g., Wingate and Tribble 2012). While some work has been carried out (e.g., Lea 2004; Paxton and Firth 2014), further research into specific disciplinary contexts or EAP-type settings where academic literacy-inspired and critical approaches are being implemented is called for. Studies such as Ong (2017) which adopted an academic literacies lens to study learning transfer from an EAP presessional course to disciplinary contexts within the university are urgently needed. More generally, studies that use theoretical frameworks and methodologies that allow the exploration of the contexts (macro- and meso-level) that surround and shape text production are also needed. Activity theory (see Mochizuki 2016, 2017, 2019)

and ethnographic approaches (see Paltridge et al. 2016) offer perspectives that writing researchers could fruitfully pursue.

EAP practitioners need to be wary of traditional "models" which may not "represent" the textual worlds students encounter on a daily basis. As argued by Wingate and Tribble (2012, p. 12), "systematic research is also needed to obtain a more nuanced account of the texts produced by learners and expert writers across a wider range of disciplines, and to gain a fuller understanding of successful instructional practice that already exists." Above all, greater engagement in disciplinary discourses and negotiations between "mainstream" teachers and academic literacy specialists is needed.

With the growing interest in genre pedagogies, we also need more studies which focus on genre uptake such as Cheng's studies referred to above. What do students transfer from their genre study and to what extent are they able to exercise creativity and agency while still succeeding in their academic study (Ong 2017; Casanave 2010)?

In a recent piece, Pecorari (2015) asks, somewhat provocatively, whether more research on plagiarism is needed. While arguing strongly that decontextualized surveys of students' attitudes and behaviors will reveal little that is new, she calls for further research into explanations for plagiarism that will shed light on the debate on the influence of "culture" on the writing of students from "non-Anglo" backgrounds (cf. Phan 2006; Liu 2005). Pecorari (2015, p. 96) identifies the most pressing research question in terms of plagiarism and intertextuality as being the need for more knowledge of "how to help students develop their writing in complex intertextual environments." What role, for example, might "patchwriting" or "language reuse" play in academic writing development and what might the implications be at an institutional level for such research?

The ever-expanding universe of academic writing presents multiple, evolving opportunities for researchers and teachers to contribute to our understandings of the learning and teaching of writing in higher education settings.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Literacy as a Pedagogical Goal in English Language Teaching
▶ EALD Students at University Level: Strengthening the Evidence Base for Programmatic Initiatives
▶ English for Specific Purposes: Some Influences and Impacts
▶ English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: The Role of English as Lingua Franca

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Metacognition and Self-Regulated Learning (SRL) in Second/Foreign Language Teaching

48

Donglan Zhang and Lawrence Jun Zhang

Contents

Abstract

Metacognition has been defined as learners' "cognition about cognition" (Flavell (1979) Am Psychol 34(10):906–911), which has also been widely accepted as a theoretical framework for researching language learning and teaching, especially in examining language learner strategies in the field of second/foreign language education. Pedagogical practices in light of such a framework have also been promoted accordingly. Nonetheless, the research literature is short of delineation on the relationship between metacognition and self-regulation. It is especially scant with regard to how self-regulated learning (SRL) is related to second language learning and teaching. This chapter intends to clarify the relationship between the seemingly different constructs, metacognition and self-regulated

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learning, in relation to the learning and teaching of second or foreign languages. It is also aimed at strengthening the research-practice nexus, with a view of helping classroom researchers to be well-informed of the theoretical connections between the two constructs for more stringent research to be carried out for benefiting frontline teachers, whose responsibilities are delivering effective instruction for enhancing learners' language proficiency.

Introduction

Research has been consistent in showing that successful language learners have a very sophisticated understanding of how language works as well as how their language learning endeavor can be expedited through relevant strategic maneuvers that are guided by their well-developed understanding of what they should do; where, when, and how to do it; and why they do it the way they do things for effective learning (Hacker 1998; Haukas 2018; Zhang and Goh 2006). Such systematic thinking of second/foreign language learners is commonly known as learners' metacognition (Goh 1998, 2008; Wenden 1987b; Zhang 2001, 2016). Developing students of foreign/second languages into "metacognitively strong" learners is, therefore, a necessary goal in language learning in various contexts (Zhang 2007, 2011; Zhang et al. 2016). This is the reason why metacognition is crucial to our understanding of learners in the classroom and beyond. Related to this notion is self-regulated learning. Like metacognition, self-regulated learning is a key trait of successful learners, too.

Despite a plethora of the literature addressing the importance of metacognition in the field of second/foreign language teaching and learning (see, e.g., Vandergrift and Goh 2012; Wenden 1987a, 1998; Zhang and Qin 2018), discussions on the role of self-regulated learning are rather limited in the field of second/foreign language education (cf. Hu and Gao 2018; Teng and Zhang 2016, 2018). Even scarcer is discussion on their interrelationships and how they can be both tapped into for benefiting language teaching and learning, with the ultimate aim of developing students into autonomous learners. This chapter intends to clarify the relationship between the seemingly different constructs, metacognition and self-regulated learning, in relation to the learning and teaching of second or foreign languages. The aim of doing so is to strengthen the research-practice nexus, with a view to helping classroom researchers to be well-informed of the theoretical connections between the two concepts for more stringent research to be carried out to benefit frontline teachers, whose responsibilities are delivering effective instruction for enhancing learners' language proficiency and learning capacity (De Silva and Graham 2015).

Key Concepts: Metacognition and Self-Regulated Learning

The two key concepts discussed in this chapter are metacognition and self-regulated learning. Due to their long histories as well as complexities surrounding their definitions, we present them in the following sections under different headings.

Metacognition

In the inaugural issue of the international journal, *Metacognition and Learning*, Veenman et al. (2006) point out that "while there is consistent acknowledgement of the importance of metacognition, inconsistency marks the conceptualization of the construct" (p. 4). Given that the focus of this chapter is on how to relate the significant role of metacognition to second/foreign language teaching, it is not our intention in joining the debate on the conceptualization of metacognition. This has to be made explicit at the beginning so that readers will be getting the right information about what will ensue in this chapter.

In the education psychology literature, metacognition has been typically defined as learners' "cognition about cognition" (Flavell 1979, 1981), referring to learners' knowledge about the cognitive processes that involve them in decision-making before, during, or after performing a learning task. In general, Flavell's conceptualization of metacognition has been widely adopted in the second/foreign language education literature as a theoretical framework in examining the learning and teaching process. Flavell (1981) differentiated metacognition into metacognitive knowledge and metacognitive experience, with metacognitive knowledge primarily being "learners' knowledge or beliefs about what factors or variables act and interact in what ways to affect the course and outcome of cognitive enterprise" (p. 5). Metacognitive experience is what learners go through, especially their affective experience, in the learning process and their thoughts about the way they do things. Most often, metacognition is a higher-level cognitive endeavor in which learners actively monitor their cognitive activities and constantly regulate them for better learning outcomes. Learners' monitoring and regulation processes are often orchestrated in their effort to achieve concrete learning goals or objectives.

Metacognition in real situations takes different specific forms. In his earlier work, Flavell (1976) posited that children undergo cognitive monitoring processes that are essentially a phenomenon of "meta-memory." In the contemporary psychology literature, commonly used terms relating to the notion of metacognition include, e.g., meta-learning (learning about learning), meta-attention (attention about attention), and metalanguage (knowledge about language), among others. These notions are particularly useful when we as teachers notice students who have difficulty in the learning process and we need to ask them to talk about why. Flavell (1979) thinks that metacognition includes broadly three aspects, metacognitive knowledge, metacognitive regulation, and metacognitive experiences, which are further explained below.

Metacognitive Knowledge

Metacognitive knowledge comprises learners' understanding of their own cognitive processing that can affect their cognitive outcomes. This is an area where research activities are rather productive, not only in the field of educational psychology but also in second/foreign language education (see Zhang 2010; Zhang and Zhang 2013). Flavell's (1979) three subcategories of metacognitive knowledge systematically refer to *person knowledge*, *task knowledge*, and *strategy knowledge*. *Person knowledge* is learners' knowledge of variables relating to their' general knowledge about anything concerning them as learners (e.g., personality, ability, capacity, motivation, aptitude, working memory). *Task knowledge* is their understanding of the nature, type, and difficulty of a task and the processing demands placed on them for completing it. In Flavell's words, task knowledge is basically about "how successful you are likely to be in achieving its goal" (1979, p. 907). Knowledge about various types of strategies for solving the problems in learning, both cognitive and metacognitive, is called *strategy knowledge*. Later, scholars added dimensions to this tripartite theoretical framework by including learners' knowledge about when, where, how, and why to use such strategies (see, e.g., Anderson 1981; Schraw 1998).

Following Anderson's (1981) framework, Schraw (1998) further fine-tuned metacognitive knowledge by including three kinds: (1) *declarative knowledge*, or awareness of what strategies and concepts are important in relation to a specific task; (2) *procedural knowledge*, or awareness of how concepts and strategies can be applied for solving problems; and (3) *conditional knowledge*, or awareness of when and why to apply certain knowledge and strategies (see also earlier work by McCormick 2003; Paris and Winograd 1990). In this process, the centrality of learners' executive control of cognition, including planning, monitoring, and evaluating, is acknowledged. Evidently, this is a positive advancement of the tripartite Flavallian model of metacognition. Such theoretical understandings of metacognition have been embraced by scholars incorporated into their own research and practice in the field of second/foreign language education (see Goh 1998; Hu and Gao 2018; Victori 1999; Wenden 1987a, 1998; Ruan 2014; Zhang and Zhang 2018), which will be discussed later in this chapter (see section "Metacognition in Second/Foreign Language Learning and Teaching").

Metacognitive Regulation

Related to, but different from, metacognitive knowledge is the notion of metacognitive regulation, which, in fact, includes anything that is related to the specific embodiment of learners' metacognitive knowledge in practice or any action to take control of their own learning. In this process, learners will inevitably resort to the strategies that they know for achieving their goal. These strategies typically include planning, monitoring, and evaluating. Processes such as planning one's own learning before putting into action to solve a problem, monitoring the learning process and product during learning, and assessing the degree of success of the learning outcome are significant to learners' appropriate adjustment of the learning process for best learning outcomes (Schraw 1998). Second/foreign language scholars have also done sufficient work in order to find out how successful and less

successful learners manage their learning guided by their metacognitive knowledge and how teachers' metacognitive knowledge systems or beliefs would guide them in their decision-making in language teaching (e.g., Haukas 2018; Wenden 1999; Zhang 2016).

Metacognitive Experiences

It has to be emphasized that metacognitive knowledge and metacognitive experiences are not the same in Flavell's (1981) classification. Metacognitive knowledge is a constellation of beliefs and knowledge about learning or how things are or should be learned. Some of these knowledge bases can be faulty and need correction or modification. Metacognitive experiences, however, are "any conscious cognitive or affective experiences that accompany and pertain to any intellectual enterprise" (Flavell 1979, p. 908). They are "conscious cognitive and affective states which involve awareness, unexpected awareness, thoughts, intuitions, perceptions, feelings, and self-judgements of oneself as a cognisor during problem solving and task completion" (Tarricone 2011, p. 130). Metacognitive experiences are likely to occur in situations that stimulate a range of careful, highly conscious thinking that "can be brief or lengthy in duration, simple or complex in content" (Flavell 1979, p. 908). By inference, these experiences occur when students are sensitive to external or internal feedback on their functioning and strategy use during the execution of the learning task (Hattie and Timperley 2007).

Papaleontiou-Louca (2008) identified several attributes that are closely related to metacognitive experiences. She argues that "metacognitive experiences can have very important effects on cognitive goals or tasks, metacognitive knowledge and cognitive actions or strategies" (p. 14). In other words, metacognitive experiences can induce goal orientation and help learners to revise the existing knowledge system. It can be surmised that proper metacognitive experiences help learners to retrieve some of the relevant strategies that can be utilized for achieving their cognitive or metacognitive goals in the learning enterprise. Understandably, the relationships among the three are interactive and iterative. Metacognitive knowledge is informed by metacognitive experiences and also guides metacognitive experiences. Metacognitive regulation is based on metacognitive knowledge and experiences. Metacognitive knowledge is revised because of the feedback loop effects of metacognitive regulation and metacognitive experiences.

Metacognition in Second/Foreign Language Learning and Teaching

Flavell's (1976, 1979, 1981) conceptualization of metacognition does not specifically relate to second/foreign language learning. Nonetheless, he points out the importance of applying metacognition to understanding how various aspects of language development can be deepened, especially with regard to children. He argues that metacognition "plays an important role in oral communication of information, oral persuasion, oral comprehension, reading comprehension, writing, language acquisition, attention, memory, problem solving, social cognition,

and various types of self-control and self-instruction" (Flavell 1979, p. 906). Tarricone (2011) concurs that *person*, *task*, and *strategy* knowledge variables are expected to interact and that such interactions tend to have important effects on "the selection, evaluation, and termination of cognitive actions or strategies and cognitive goals" (p. 129). It is exactly because of such relevance that scholars have discussed the implications of metacognition for, and application to, second/foreign language teaching and learning (see, e.g., Goh 1998, 2008; Vandegrift and Goh 2012; Wenden 1987a, 1998; Zhang 2010, 2016; Zhang and Zhang 2018).

Anita Wenden is best known as the first scholar in the field of second/foreign language learning and teaching to have applied Flavell's (1976, 1979, 1981) model of metacognition to understanding second/foreign language teaching and learning through her research publications (e.g., Wenden 1987a, 1998) and practical manuals (Wenden 1987b, 1991). In relation to second/foreign language education, Wenden (1998) thinks that metacognitive knowledge is "relatively stable information human thinkers have about their own cognitive processes and those of others" (p. 516). Such knowledge includes "beliefs, insights, and concepts that they have acquired about language and the language learning process" (Wenden 1999, p. 34). Wenden has adopted a simplified model of language learners' metacognitive knowledge, where three variables, *person*, *task*, and *strategy* knowledge, are highlighted. Her successful attempts to illustrate how such a tripartite knowledge system can be used for researching language learning and teaching are tremendously influential. A large number of scholars have since continued this line of research and investigated various language skill areas until the present day. These include listening (Goh 1998; Goh and Hu 2014; Zhang and Goh 2006), reading (Zhang 2001, 2010), speaking (Lam 2010), listening (Zhang 2004), writing (Hu and Gao 2018; Ong 2014; Ruan 2014; Teng and Zhang 2016; Victori 1999), language learning in multimedia environments (Qin 2018; Wei et al. 2014; Zhang and Qin 2018), distance education in language learning (White 1995), and language teacher education (Hauka 2018). The findings all consistently point to a very strong relation between learners' metacognition and second/foreign language learning and teachers' metacognition about teaching and their pedagogical practice.

Metacognitive instruction intervention studies have also produced positive results indicating the benefit of raising students' awareness of person, task, and strategy factors at the metacognitive level for effective language learning (Plonsky 2011; Teng and Zhang 2016; Zhang 2008). It has to be pointed out that research into language learning strategies gradually became somewhat dormant after its prime time in the 1990s (e.g., Cohen 1998; Oxford 1990; O'Malley and Chamot 1990). Discussions on the revival of language learner strategy research have been active in recent years (Cohen and Griffiths 2015; Oxford 2016; Rose 2011). A key component of such discussions is metacognition (see Gao 2006; Gao and Zhang 2011; Rose et al. 2018; Zhang 2010, 2016). Research along this line also has significant implications for second/foreign language education and the related enterprise of language teacher education.

Self-Regulated Learning

Self-regulated learning (SRL) is a term that is most often used to describe people's ability to develop a set of skills that enable them to expand their learning capacity. For effective learning to happen, self-regulated learning (SRL) theory posits that personal, behavioral, and environmental factors interact, in which process students intentionally activate, sustain, and adjust their cognition, affect, and behavior to achieve learning goals (Zimmerman and Schunk 2011). The literature in this field is extensively rich, but SRL is usually regarded as an active and constructive process, which involves learners setting goals themselves so that they can monitor, regulate, and control their cognition, motivation, and behavior in the learning environment of which they are members of the learning community. In this way, it can be said that self-regulated learning is, simply put, learning how to learn. Since the 1980s, a number of researchers have proposed a variety of theoretical frameworks and models that outline self-regulated learning in terms of learning targets, guidance, and potential planning mechanisms. However, each model seems to have its own specific definitions; there is a lack of consensus on a uniform definition. These models share much commonality with models of metacognition, especially that of Flavell, which will be discussed in the next section.

Taking Stock of Metacognition and Self-Regulated Learning

In critiquing language learning strategy research, Dörnyei (2005) recommends a number of typical self-regulated learning strategies as a replacement, which are in fact well represented in the metacognition literature. At least five strategies are explained, and they are (1) commitment control strategies for helping preserve or increase one's goal commitment; (2) metacognitive control strategies for monitoring and controlling concentration and for curtailing unnecessary procrastination; (3) satiation control strategies for eliminating boredom and adding extra attraction or interest to the task; (4) emotion control strategies for managing disruptive emotional states or moods and for generating emotions that are conducive to implementing one's intentions; and (5) environmental control strategies for the elimination of negative environmental influences by making an environment an ally in the pursuit of a difficult goal (Dörnyei 2005, p. 113). In this sense, we can surmise that metacognition and self-regulated learning are closely interlinked. Discussions on the interrelationships among metacognition, self-regulation, and self-regulated learning are a recent focus in the field of educational psychology (Kaplan 2008), despite their rarity in the field of second/foreign language education (cf. Zhang and Zhang 2008).

In one typical series of discussions, we can detect some minute differences among the various views on the notions of metacognition, self-regulation, and self-regulated learning. Nevertheless, as a whole, it is clearly discernible that scholars agree that they are interconnected. For example, Kaplan (2008) posits that "metacognition, self-regulation, and self-regulated learning should be considered as subtypes of

the general, abstract phenomenon of self-regulated action ..." and proposes that scholars "search for dimensions along which types of self-regulated action vary" (p. 477). He concludes that "self-regulation itself is not a unitary construct: There is no one set of cognitive, metacognitive, motivational, and behavioural strategies that constitutes the desirable mode of engagement in every setting and task" (p. 483). Based on their review of the literature, Dinsmore et al. (2008) similarly conclude that the three terms (metacognition, self-regulation, and self-regulated learning) are nested within each other and share the underlying notion of "a marriage between self-awareness and intention to act" (p. 404). In their review of the historical roots of the concepts in the writings of Piaget and Vygotsky, Fox and Riconscente (2008) maintain that "metacognition and self-regulation are parallel and intertwining constructs that are clearly distinct yet mutually entailed both developmentally and in their functions in human thought and behaviour. Neither subsumes nor subordinates the other" (p. 386).

In relation to the field of second/foreign language education, we would like to note that probably because of the close relationships among the three constructs, attempts to use self-regulation or self-regulated learning theories in understanding the learning and teaching of second/foreign languages are relatively infrequently reported in the literature. Zhang and Zhang (2008) briefly discussed the importance of metacognition and self-regulated learning in second/foreign language education, but they did not provide any empirical data. In one of the few empirical studies that used self-regulated learning theory for examining foreign language learning, Teng and Zhang (2016) intended to bring self-regulated learning theory into the field by specifically investigating the characteristics of EFL students' self-regulated learning strategies in learning to write through validating a newly developed instrument called *The Writing Strategies for Self-Regulated Learning (SRL) Questionnaire*, with respect to its multifaceted structure of SRL strategies in EFL writing. The sample was 790 undergraduate students from 6 universities in China. Confirmatory factor analyses produced a 9-factor correlated model of EFL writing strategies for SRL. In their further analysis, they confirmed a hierarchical, multidimensional structure of SRL as the best model. Self-regulation was proven to be a higher-order construct subsuming the nine lower-order writing strategies, relating to cognitive, metacognitive, social-behavioral, and motivational regulation aspects. Teng and Zhang (2018) concluded that their empirical data can be taken as preliminary evidence for a transfer of SRL theory from educational psychology to the field of L2/EFL education, particularly L2/EFL writing. Evidently, metacognition and self-regulated learning are also intertwined with motivational control of the learning process (Teng and Zhang 2016).

All of the above discussions point to the significance of the work spearheaded by Wenden. The kind of metacognition under discussion is indeed "a body of knowledge" (Wenden 1999, p. 435), which changes over time. Accordingly, Zhang and Zhang (2013) posit that metacognition is in fact a dynamic system, where "metacognition is something embedded in language learners, intertwined with many variables, both cognitive and sociocultural" (p. 347). Being complex and dynamic, metacognition entails that learners' metacognition has to undergo continuous change

and adaptation, which are to be enacted upon by learners and induced by learning tasks, task environments, and sociocultural-sociopolitical contexts, where learning takes place in its "situated" locales. A dynamic system usually has many different types of elements or variables at different levels in relation to the three key variables: learners, tasks, and strategies. These variables are interlinked with one another and also interact and change constantly in time. Wenden (2002) posits that metacognition is a prerequisite to the deployment of self-regulatory processes in the self-regulation of language learning. As Wenden (2002) states, metacognitive strategies including planning, monitoring, and evaluating are essential to self-regulation, and "if these strategies fail to make contact with a rich knowledge base, they are weak" (p. 50). One may argue that metacognition in effect is inclusive of, and included in, many elements of self-regulated learning theory.

Pedagogical Implications

There are a number of pedagogical implications from what researchers have reported, as shown in our review in the sections above. Understandably, we need to consider both students' and teachers' roles in realizing the goal of developing students into self-regulated learners. We first look at how to help learners; then we move on to examine how teachers and learners can play significant roles, either individually in their own capacities or together as an interrelated system; and finally we discuss how to take stock of metacognition and self-regulation for developing students into self-regulated, metacognitively strong learners.

Focus on Students/Learners

Given the importance of metacognition and self-regulated learning, teachers should encourage learners to use metacognitive strategies to improve their performance on the basis of the metacognitive knowledge they have already acquired. If learners do not have these strategies as part of their metacognitive knowledge, teachers should consider sharing and modeling the strategies to facilitate the transfer of such knowledge to them. Teachers going through the use of metacognitive strategies with students provide opportunities for them to get the metacognitive experiences they need so that they can revise their metacognitive knowledge for better metacognitive regulation in their deployment of strategies for expediting their learning process and enhancing learning effectiveness. Chamot (2005) posits that "evidence that language learners actually engage in metacognitive knowledge and processes is reported in most of the research on language learner strategies, both descriptive and instructional" (p. 124). Therefore, having clear metacognitive knowledge paves the way for students' successful execution of the learning process, as shown in their own self-regulation of what they learn, how, when, and why they learn things that are regarded as important. Given that self-regulation is one of the prerequisite for learning success, developing self-regulated learning capacity becomes a default goal in language learning.

Focus on Teaching Metacognitive Strategies

Metacognitively scaffolded instruction has the potential of approximating the goal of helping learners to improve performance, because through dialogic classroom processes, learners are offered more options to actively engage in meaningful language learning activities that foster self-regulated learning (Zhang 2007). O'Malley and Chamot (1990) suggested a list of planning strategies that range from self-management, advance preparation, advance organizers, directed attention, selective attention, to delayed production. These strategies are what students should have in their possession. Teachers' systematic provision of guidance in how to use these strategies helps language learners to make decisions on future action. Neil Anderson (2002) proposed a metacognitive strategy model that has five steps: (1) preparing and planning for learning, (2) selecting and using learning strategies, (3) monitoring strategy use, (4) orchestrating various strategies, and (5) evaluating strategy use and learning. This can be regarded as a working model. These metacognitive strategies do not stand alone, and there is no rigid sequence, either. Therefore, teaching students to think about their thinking regarding how various strategy combinations would produce the best learning outcome should be a constant pedagogical strategy. This is because "strong metacognitive skills empower second language learners" (Anderson 2002, p. 6). Chamot's (2009) *Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach* (*CALLA*) provides another useful tool for teachers to use conveniently. In reference to the section above, students themselves can also use these frameworks as a guide to train themselves to become "metacognitively strong" learners (Zhang 2007).

Students and Teachers Working Together Toward Learner Autonomy

It is understood that metacognition embraces a range of beliefs, thinkings, understandings, behaviors, and strategies for current and future actions, which are most often systematic (despite occasional slips) (Flavell 1979; see also Zhang and Zhang 2013). Teacher and student interactions around metacognitive knowledge and metacognitive experiences are expected to boost students' understanding of the importance of metacognitive regulation that results in self-regulated learning and learner autonomy. Research shows that teachers' metacognitively oriented instruction or learner metacognitive training helps learners to develop high degrees of self-awareness and efficacy and take active control of their learning (Plonsky 2011). Teachers do so by enabling learners to coordinate their planning, organizing, and evaluating of the learning processes. Their systematic engagement with students in such metacognitive endeavors will reinforce students' metacognitive experiences, which are comprised of metacognitive feelings, metacognitive judgments/estimates, and online task-specific knowledge (knowledge that is being utilized while completing tasks).

Efklides ([2009]) posits that metacognitive experiences are "manifestations of the online monitoring of cognition as the person comes across a task and processes the information related to it" (p. 78). Promoting learner autonomy across language skills is possible only when teachers and students have clear understandings about the dynamic relations among metacognitive elements. In Flavell's model as well as in others, it is commonly understood that metacognitive experiences not only prompt revision of metacognitive knowledge but also of additional metacognitive experiences. Metacognitive strategies induce cognitive strategy use and revision of metacognitive knowledge. Cognitive strategies produce metacognitive experiences. Given that language learning success, to a great extent, depends on learner metacognition, iterative processes above will be a great mobiliser for students who aspire to be self-regulated or autonomous learners. Frontline teachers taking a "metacognitively scaffolded instruction" approach (Zhang [2007]) to teaching and learning various skills (e.g., listening, speaking, reading, writing, vocabulary, and grammar) via different platforms (e.g., iPads, iPhones, and the Internet, among many other platforms) might find it beneficial to their students (Zhang [2016]). It is particularly so when learner autonomy is considered as an ultimate aim of the language instruction program (Gao and Zhang [2011]).

Despite minor differences among scholars on the exact definitions of learner autonomy, most of these definitions share some commonality. For example, Holec ([1981], p. 3) defines autonomy as "the ability to take charge of one's own learning"; Little ([1991], [1996]) lays more emphasis on the control over the cognitive process; Pamberton ([1996]) is of the view that autonomy means that learners take responsibility for the decisions concerning all aspects of this learning; Benson ([2001], [2016]) thinks that autonomy is not so much a goal as an attitude and capacity to exert control over learning. It follows that taking stock of our understanding of students' metacognition and self-regulated learning with particular reference to their learning aims or objectives will be a realistic consideration in order to take learner autonomy as the final aim of language learning and teaching.

The significance of the interactive relationships between self-regulated learning (Wenden [2002]; Zhang [2017]; Zimmerman and Schunk [2011]) and metacognition indicates that learners can draw on their metacognitive knowledge to make decisions for smoother progress toward higher proficiency in the target language as part of the effort toward learner autonomy. The same is also true for practitioners (and researchers) who are committed to developing their students into highly competent second/foreign language learners in classrooms and beyond. Vygotsky's ([1978]) zone of proximal development (ZPD) is significant to our understanding of how stronger learners can assist their less strong peers in making progress. In Vygotsky's theorization, there is a distance between the "actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). Therefore, the teacher and more capable peers, if required, will be able to help less able students to speed up the process of learner autonomy. This is where metacognition and self-regulated learning interact to achieve the common goal of empowering learners (Wilson and Bai [2010]).

Conclusion

This chapter intends to bring together two key notions, metacognition and self-regulated learning, in order to bring to bear how they have been used in research and pedagogy for purposes that were not clearly highlighted in the field of second/foreign language education. Our provision of a theoretical basis for understanding metacognition and self-regulated learning is for establishing the significance of metacognition and self-regulated learning as important lenses through which research, teaching, and learning can be better examined. Self-regulation and meta-cognition have overlaps, but meanwhile, it is evident that they also have some unique foci themselves. Therefore, language teachers may need to be selective when they use these constructs to inform their teaching. Our attempt to clarify the relationship between the seemingly different constructs, metacognition and self-regulated learning, in relation to the learning and teaching of second/foreign languages is to take stock of what we have already known and apply that knowledge to wider educational contexts for improving teaching and learning. Successful second/foreign language learning and teaching is a joint endeavor that has to be undertaken by both teachers and students. Their shared understandings of what it entails when they talk about the enterprise of language teaching and learning, what knowledge base they should develop, how to use that knowledge base for executing the learning and teaching plan, and when, where, and why they have to pool resources together for successful learning to happen are all necessary elements that students and teachers have to consider; it is particularly important if teachers wish to help their students to become autonomous learners. After all, the whole process of language learning and teaching is really to develop students into lifelong learners, who are eager to shoulder responsibilities in order to develop into autonomous learners. Strong metacognitive awareness can easily guide them in their journey to achieve self-regulated learning capacity in order to take charge of their own learning.

Cross-References

▶ Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
▶ Language Learner Engagement: Setting the Scene
▶ Language Learning Strategies: Insights from the Past and Directions for the Future

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Digital Literacies for English Language Learners

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Contents

Abstract

Advances in digital communication technologies have led to important changes in the way that people read, write, and communicate. New forms of representation in the digital context are increasingly hypertextual, multimodal, interactive, and plurilingual. As a result of such developments, many scholars in language and literacy education have called for practitioners to rethink the curriculum and take such digital literacies into account. This chapter takes up this call and describes a digital literacies approach to English language teaching (ELT), which attempts to address: (1) new needs of English language learners (ELLs) in the digital age; (2) new learning contexts, in the form of globalized online affinity spaces, where ELLs can interact with other English speakers. The chapter describes a theoretical model for digital literacies, which sees the affordances of digital tools as enabling new ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking, and being. It then examines the kinds of informal

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learning opportunities available to ELLs in globalized online affinity spaces. Finally, the chapter describes approaches to incorporating digital literacies in the formal ELT curriculum, including: (1) structured participation in online affinity spaces, (2) embedding digital literacies in the language curriculum, (3) digital multimodal composing projects, and (4) telecollaboration or virtual exchange projects.

Introduction

Advances in digital communication technologies over the past 50 years or more have had a profound effect on the way that people read, write, and communicate. An English language learner (ELL) tasked with understanding texts online now has to do much more than simply "decode" their written message. First, such texts go beyond the mode of writing and draw on unique digital affordances of hypertext, multi-modality, and interactivity. Second, in a "post-truth" era of rampant misinformation, the ability to critically evaluate online sources has become an essential element of an effective reading skill. Such observations have led scholars to argue that it is now necessary to rethink language and literacy education in order to take into account digital literacy practices that have emerged (e.g., New London Group 1996). This chapter examines how English language teaching (ELT) practitioners might adopt a "digital literacies" approach that effectively engages with such practices.

A digital literacies approach is one that integrates the use of digital media on an ELT course for authentic communication purposes. Such an approach seeks to expand the focus of ELT beyond traditional conceptions of reading, writing, and communicating to engage with new communication practices like multimodal forms of representation in digital contexts. In addition, a digital literacies approach recognizes the myriad of globalized online affinity spaces that exist "in the wild" and present ELLs with rich learning opportunities as they independently participate in such spaces and interact with other English speakers. It seeks to understand and engage with these informal contexts, seeing them as a resource for English language teachers and learners. In this way, a digital literacies approach addresses both: (1) new needs of English language learners in the digital age and (2) new contexts for language learning. This chapter will first review the concept of digital literacies before reviewing ELT research on digital literacy practices "in the wild" and as part of formally planned ELT curricula.

The Concept of Digital Literacies

Research on digital literacies is founded on theories of literacy developed by scholars in the tradition of the New Literacy Studies (NLS). NLS problematizes the traditional notion of literacy, which sees reading and writing as a purely cognitive

activity, that is, as something that happens in the minds of individuals. According to this traditional view, reading and writing can be taught and learned as decontextualized skills of encoding and decoding language in written form. In contrast, NLS scholars see literacy as always situated in a sociocultural context with participants making use of reading and writing processes to take goal-directed social action. In this view, ways of reading and writing form part of larger social practices and literacy is developed as people learn to participate as members of relevant social groups or communities. Literacy is also seen as multiple, that is, there is no one single way of reading and writing that can be applied in all circumstances. Instead, different kinds of activities require different kinds of literacies: reading a recipe in order to prepare a meal requires a different kind of literacy compared to reading a legal opinion in order to make a decision about whether to proceed with legal action.

Research that has examined digital literacy practices mostly draws on the assumptions of this NLS tradition in order to examine how digital tools are similarly used to take action within a sociocultural context. In a rapidly evolving world, it is interesting to focus on the use of digital tools and consider the transformational effect that they have on practices of reading, writing, and communicating in and out of class. Scholars have referred to these new, digital literacy practices and the skills and competencies required to master them as: new literacies (Coiro et al. 2008b; Lankshear and Knobel 2011); multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis 2000, 2009; New London Group 1996); multimodal literacies (Lotherington and Jenson 2011; see also Early et al. 2015); electronic literacies (Meskill 2006; Warschauer 1999); and, of course, digital literacies (Jones and Hafner 2012; Lankshear and Knobel 2008). In this chapter, "digital literacies" is adopted as an umbrella term to refer to the digital practices investigated by these related strands of research.

For the purposes of this chapter, digital literacies are defined as "the practices of communicating, relating, thinking and 'being' associated with digital media" (Jones and Hafner 2012, p. 13). Such digital practices are considered to be fundamentally different to practices associated with print literacies, so that one can talk about "new" ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking, and being made possible by digital media. To illustrate a few of these dimensions, consider the example of Wikipedia, the "encyclopedia that anyone can edit." First, unlike a printed page, Wikipedia pages provide hypertext links to sources and other Wikipedia entries and the resulting hypertext is one that readers navigate to create a dynamic reading path. Hypertext is a new way of making meaning in digital spaces. Second, Wikipedia pages are collaboratively created and edited and can be updated with additional content by anyone with a user account at any time. In this way, readers become contributors and new kinds of relationships between readers and writers are established. Third, Wikipedia uses a crowdsourcing model to generate knowledge, with a community of amateurs creating the content. This model challenges the traditional way of thinking about knowledge creation as a hierarchical process directed by individual experts. Instead, knowledge creation may now be understood as "flat" and distributed across a collective of networked amateurs.

Digital literacies implicate technical skills and abilities related to the use of new technology: what Lankshear and Knobel (2007, pp. 10–11) refer to as "new

technology stuff." They also implicate new ways of thinking, a worldview or "mindset" that is more oriented towards collaboration, participation, and distributed knowledge: what Lankshear and Knobel (2007, pp. 10–11) call "new ethos stuff." To return to the example, contributing to a wiki not only involves mastering the interface but also developing a new approach to writing that places greater value on the collective co-construction of text. Integrating digital literacies in the ELT curriculum must therefore pay attention not only to new forms/practices (e.g., hypertexts) and how they can be constructed but also associated new ways of thinking and how these affect the practices of reading, writing, and communicating.

Engaging with Digital Literacies in English Language Teaching

One important question for ELT practitioners is why they might need or want to engage with digital literacies in the ELT curriculum. Digital literacies scholars point to a number of related developments: first, that digital tools for communication have become increasingly commonplace, to the point where they are ubiquitous in people's lives; second, that the use of these digital tools has fundamentally changed the nature of language and communication; and third, that effective participation in a globalized society now depends on mastery of the practices associated with such digital communication tools. Given these developments, ELLs today have a profoundly different experience of English communication. As Thorne and Black (2007, p. 149) point out, "for many individuals, performing competent identities in second and additional language(s) now involves Internet mediation as or more often than face-to-face and non-digital forms of communication." Online spaces provide ELLs with a rich and authentic context that can lead to opportunities for autonomous language learning "in the digital wilds" (Sauro and Zourou 2019). At the same time, the language practices of such spaces are often innovative and very different from the practices that students learn in formal ELT contexts (e.g., Schreiber 2015). In general, though, ELT practitioners have been slow to incorporate digital literacies instruction in their practices (Tan and McWilliam 2009), and, as a result, ELLs are poorly prepared for these interactions. Engaging with digital literacies in a more proactive way, by incorporating digital literacies into the ELT curriculum, would go some way to remedying this problem.

The Myth of the Digital Native

One idea that may have done more harm than good in the search for ways of addressing students' digital literacies needs is Prensky's (2001) notion of the "digital native" and the "digital immigrant." Prensky observed that people's use of digital tools might vary according to whether they grew up using such tools or not. He used the metaphor of "natives" and "immigrants" to suggest that digital literacy practices came more naturally to younger people, that is, the "digital natives," for whom using

digital tools was easy and intuitive. Older people, the "digital immigrants," had to make great efforts to learn how the new forms of reading, writing, and communicating worked. They were also prone to using digital tools in counter intuitive ways: one example that Prensky suggests is that digital immigrants might print out emails rather than read them from the screen. It stood to reason that digital native students had a better understanding of how to use digital tools than did their digital immigrant teachers. This idea has been understood to mean that young people at school have no need to be instructed in digitally mediated communication because they are more expert than their teachers.

Yet Prensky rescinded the distinction between digital natives and digital immigrants in a subsequent article published in 2009, where he stated that: "Although many have found the terms useful, as we move further into the 21st century when all will have grown up in the era of digital technology, the distinction between digital natives and digital immigrants will become less relevant" (Prensky 2009, n.p.). Others point to a lack of evidence for key assumptions of the "digital native" idea, for example, the assumption that younger people will make more intuitive and effective use of digital media (Bennett et al. 2008). Nevertheless, the essentializing myth of the expert digital native has taken on a life of its own. It survives as a discourse that often functions to disempower language and literacy teachers who perceive themselves as ill equipped to provide much-needed digital literacies instruction to students. The notion that ELLs will "pick up" digital literacies on their own simply because they were born in the 1990s or later combined with the idea that anyone born before that time is unable to make a meaningful contribution to literacy development is extremely problematic. In order to promote digital literacies in the ELT curriculum, ELT practitioners will need to move beyond this overly simplistic, binary distinction and focus squarely on the actual digital literacies needs of their students.

A Model of Digital Literacies: The Affordances and Constraints of Digital Tools

Teachers interested in embedding digital literacies in the ELT curriculum will need a conceptual toolkit flexible enough to adapt to the rapidly changing world of digitally-mediated communication. As Coiro et al. (2008a) point out, digital literacies "rapidly change as defining technologies change" (p. 14). That is to say, new platforms and communication tools are emerging all the time and it is therefore not enough to master the social practices related to a specific tool, which could easily change as further technological advances are made. Both teachers and learners also need to understand general "affordances," that is, perceived possibilities for action, that are associated not only with a particular platform or tool but more widely as a feature of digital communication. To this end, the framework of digital literacies proposed by Jones and Hafner (2012), which models key dimensions of affordances and constraints of digital tools, is one that may prove useful.

Jones and Hafner's (2012) model is based on the idea that all human action is mediated by tools. With respect to digital literacies, these include digital communication platforms and tools: for example, blogs, wikis, and other kinds of interactive hypertexts, as well as social networks and instant messaging platforms like WhatsApp. Such platforms and tools shape practices of reading, writing, and communicating because they have different affordances and constraints. Here, "affordances" refers to the possibilities for action that a tool allows, while "constraints" refers to possibilities for action excluded by that tool. Furthermore, affordances and constraints not only vary from one tool to another but also from one user to another as different people may perceive different possibilities in particular tools. As an example of how a communication tool can shape a communication practice, consider the use of a microphone, which provides its user with a much louder, more powerful voice. This tool has the affordance that its user can address a large group of individuals at the same time, effectively broadcasting their message to a large audience. At the same time, the microphone constrains other interactions: it is much harder for the user to have a private conversation with just one or two members of the audience.

Jones and Hafner (pp. 5–9) propose that the affordances and constraints of digital tools shape social practices of reading, writing, and communicating on a number of key dimensions: ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking, and being. In other words, digital tools have an effect on: (1) the things that people can do, as digital tools allow people to gain access to large amounts of information or communicate over time and space; (2) the meanings that people can make, which include composing hypertexts with multiple reading paths and multimodal texts that combine speech, writing, sound and image; (3) the relationships that people can have with others, which include one-to-many interactions with large, global audiences; (4) how people can think, as new ways of reading, writing and communicating bring with them new norms and values; and (5) the kind of person one can be or the identities that people can adopt and how these are managed. Hafner et al. (2015) show how the five dimensions of this model can be applied to develop an ELT curriculum that engages with digital literacies. They generate guiding questions for each dimension to extend ELT beyond the traditional four skills and into the digital realm. Those questions are (adapted from pp. 2–3):

1. *Doing*
   How can we effectively manage information with digital tools?
   How can we critically distinguish information from misinformation?
   How can we understand the role of algorithms in serving information?
2. *Meaning*
   How can we effectively communicate:
   • Using hypertext?
   • Using combinations of word, image, graphics, and sound?
3. *Relating*
   How can we use digital tools to:
   • Manage relationships?

- Attract the attention of an online audience?
- Collaborate with peers?

4. *Thinking*

   How should we think about our online communications?
   - As ephemeral conversations?
   - As durable written products?

   What are the mindsets that lead to the most productive uses of digital media?

5. *Being*

   How can we use digital tools to manage impressions?

   What identities are possible in digital spaces?

   How do these identities relate to those that are possible in classroom spaces?

To take the example of the reading skill, a modern ELT curriculum that engages with digital literacies would see reading as involving much more than the simple decoding of written texts. First, as digital tools allow access to vast stores of information, some more reliable than others, the curriculum would address strategies to find and evaluate online information. The way that algorithms in social networks serve such information based on past reading habits as well as our own demographic information and the potential for such algorithms to create self-reinforcing "filter bubbles" would deserve attention. The motives of those who circulate false information, sometimes for the purpose of financial gain, would be examined. Next, as reading now frequently involves understanding linked hypertexts that follow the "logic of the screen" and combine word and image, the curriculum would engage with the kinds of meanings that are made through hypertext links and text-image interactions. Finally, as online texts are frequently interactive and allow readers to enter into a relationship with writers by making comments, the curriculum could address these practices as well. Critical discussion of the way that these digital practices shape the way that people think about reading, writing, and communicating would also be warranted.

This example demonstrates how ELT curricula could be adapted in order to address the digital literacies needed by today's students. By examining how digital platforms and tools shape reading practices with respect to ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking, and being, it is possible to discern important elements of a digital literacies curriculum. Other scholars have similarly concluded that the skills that normally form the focus in ELT courses need to be rethought in the digital age. For example, Shetzer and Warschauer (2000) divide digital literacies into those related to "communication," "researching," and "construction." In so doing, they highlight: (1) the need to understand different forms of synchronous and asynchronous computer-mediated communication (CMC), including problematic effects of CMC on social interaction, such as the "de-individuation effect" (Sharples et al. 1993); (2) the need to be able to find and critically evaluate information encountered on the internet; and (3) the need to create texts that draw on the affordances of hypertext, combine multiple modes, and are frequently collaboratively constructed.

Research on Digital Literacies in ELT

There are two main strands of research into digital literacies in ELT: (1) studies that investigate the way that ELLs interact with digital tools, platforms, and communities, in an autonomous way, out of the classroom or "in the wild"; and (2) studies that investigate the digital literacies needs of ELLs and how these can be catered to as part of a designed curriculum. These two areas can interact: as autonomous language learners find creative and motivating language learning opportunities in online spaces, teachers can consider how such experiences might be incorporated into the language classroom, a process that Thorne (2018) refers to as the "rewilding" of language education.

Digital Literacies "In the Wild": New Contexts for Language Learning

Digitally mediated communication environments provide new contexts where ELLs can interact with other users of English. Often, these are passionate online affinity spaces "where people affiliate with others based primarily on shared activities, interests, and goals, not shared race, class culture, ethnicity, or gender" (Gee 2004, p. 67). Benson and Chik (2010) refer to these as "globalized, online spaces" noting that their content is user generated, often transnationally and translingually constructed, and open up "unprecedented opportunities for long-distance communication across linguistic and cultural borders" (p. 65). ELT research has focused on: (1) fan fiction writing, (2) diaspora communities and social media, (3) YouTube commenting, and (4) online gaming.

Fan Fiction Writing

One digital practice that has been extensively studied is fan fiction writing. This is a kind of writing that pop culture fans engage in, appropriating characters and settings from well-known fictional worlds (e.g., the Harry Potter universe) in order to create new plotlines. The resulting stories can be shared in online spaces like FanFiction. net, where they can be read by other fans, who frequently provide feedback to authors. The kind of writing that we see in such spaces draws on the remix culture (Manovich 2007) that has gained prominence with the rise of digital media. It freely borrows elements of a popular fictional world and builds on these elements in order to create something new. The writing also has a highly interactive character, being shared with a potentially global public and open to comments from other fans all over the world. As such, fan fiction writing incorporates elements of new, digital literacies that involve new ways of meaning and relating.

Black has extensively studied practices of ELLs in online fan fiction spaces. Black (2006, 2007) examines the practices of a single ELL, referred to as Tanaka Nanoko, who participates in FanFiction.net and becomes a very popular writer. Nanoko uses author notes to set up a supportive environment for readers to review her writing, stating "Important note: English is my second language, so please ignore my grammar mistakes and spelling errors" (Black 2006, p. 177). Reader

reviews, that is, comments that she receives from readers, are formative and allow Nanoko to achieve an identity as a multilingual, multicultural writer, an identity that is strongly supported by the readers that she interacts with on the website. Black's analysis also shows that, over time, the quality of Nanoko's writing improves, sometimes in an apparent response to feedback from readers. Black points out that the roles that are sometimes assigned to ELLs in the education system tend to be informed by a deficit view. In contrast, in FanFiction.net Nanoko is able to construct a more positive identity, in which her multilingual and multicultural characteristics are seen as an asset by readers who, for example, admire her ability to use romanizations of Mandarin. As a result of this kind of feedback, the experience in FanFiction.net is a very affirming one.

Beyond fan fiction writing, practices of fan translation, fan dubbing (fans dubbing video content), fan subbing (fans subtitling video content), and "scanlation" (fans scanning and translating manga comics) have also received attention in the literature (see Sauro 2017; Shafirova and Cassany 2019; Vazquez-Calvo et al. 2019).

Diaspora Communities and Social Media

The translingual nature of fan fiction spaces is similar to that of other diaspora communities in online contexts, including on social media. Lam's (2000) research describes the experiences of a Hong Kong teenager ("Almon") living in the United States. Almon sets up a J-pop website that allows him to interact with other fans, a global community of Asians based in a diverse range of sites including Canada, Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, and the United States. Frequent online communication in English leads Almon to develop confidence in his language skills, even though the variety of English that he practices is a hybrid one that draws heavily on features of "adolescent internet talk" (p. 475) rather than standard English. In a subsequent study, Lam (2004) describes the translingual practices of two teenage Chinese immigrants in the United States, who communicate through a bilingual chatroom and adopt a variety of English described as "mixed code of English and romanized Cantonese" (p. 53).

Similarly, Schreiber's (2015) study of Aleksandar, a Serbian university student, shows how he engages in translingual and multimodal practices in his Facebook interactions. Aleksandar uses Facebook to construct a translingual hip-hop identity and as a venue to promote his own hip-hop band. The study again illustrates the way that digital literacy practices involve new ways of meaning that are in stark contrast to literacy practices valued in formal education. A possible implication of case studies like those of Lam and Schreiber is that practitioners of ELT need to develop awareness of the kinds of interactions that their students may be engaging in on social media. Along with this, a more inclusive pedagogical model of English, which includes discourses found in digital media contexts, may be called for. As Schreiber (2015, p. 83) notes "engaging Aleksandar and fostering his growth as a learner and user of L2 English is a matter of understanding that his use of English is about participation in a very real online community, one composed of hip-hop artists around the world who work together to create and promote music."

YouTube Commenting

Benson (2015, 2017) examines how participating in YouTube comments can provide opportunities for language and intercultural learning. His study examines the way that internet users comment on YouTube videos that involve translanguaging, drawing on videos relevant to a Hong Kong Chinese context. As Benson (2015, p. 91) observes, "videos involve translanguaging when both Chinese and English are used or when the use of English or Chinese as a second language becomes a focus of attention." This could happen where Chinese pop stars are interviewed in English, leading to comments and discussion about their use of English and/or intercultural aspects of the communication. Similar kinds of comments might appear (1) where Chinese speakers sing in English (and vice versa), (2) where English speakers teach Chinese (and vice versa), and (3) on Chinese pop songs that have been fansubbed (i.e., translated and subtitled by fans) into English, to name a few more examples.

Benson provides a mixed method analysis of interactions in the comments sections of such videos, focusing on those that involve aspects of language and culture. The quantitative analysis shows a large amount of interaction in the comments, providing favorable conditions for language and intercultural learning. A detailed discourse analysis of selected interactions provides evidence of learning at times. The study therefore suggests that interaction in this kind of passionate online affinity space could be beneficial to language and intercultural learning. In other words, the comments sections of these kinds of YouTube videos do indeed appear to provide a new context for language learning.

Online Gaming

Another digital practice that has aroused considerable scholarly interest is the practice of digital gaming. Digital games, especially "complex" games (Prensky 2006) that are set in an immersive virtual world and involve the player in the co-construction of a game narrative through various problem-solving tasks, possibly in collaboration with other gamers, provide a rich site for digital literacy practices. First, in the game world itself, players interact with numerous texts (e.g., game dialogues), non-player characters, and other players (in multiplayer games), and these interactions can provide opportunities for language learning (Rama et al. 2012). Second, outside the game, players interact in various game-related online spaces, like forums, blogs, and wikis, where they can discuss the game and share tips, for example, by creating and sharing a "walkthrough," which provides a step-by-step solution to problems encountered in the story of the game. An important point to note is that the games themselves and the spaces that evolve around them frequently engage players in an L2, for example, Chinese speakers playing English or Japanese games (Chik 2014), Finnish speakers playing English games (Piirainen-Marsh and Tainio 2009), or Russian speakers interacting with other players in English (Thorne 2008).

Massively multiplayer online games, or MMOGs, provide an especially rich context for language learning. In an MMOG, players connect to the internet in order to join the virtual game world, where they can interact with other players and complete various "quests." Thorne (2008) provides an example of informal language learning

that occurs in the well-known MMOG, *World of Warcraft.* An American gamer encounters a Ukrainian gamer, who initiates a conversation in Russian, having taken the American for a Russian speaker. After some initial confusion, the American experiments with a number of Russian phrases and the Ukrainian requests feedback on English vocabulary he is uncertain about. The analysis of the interaction shows "reciprocal alternations in expert-novice status wherein both participants provided expert knowledge, language-specific explicit corrections, made requests for help, and collaboratively assembled successful repair sequences" (Thorne 2008, p. 321), all features of interaction likely to foster L2 language acquisition.

Chik's (2014) study of ten ELL gamers from China, Malaysia, and Hong Kong identifies a number of practices that tend to support language learning. Of particular interest here is the way that the gamers are commonly involved in the production and consumption of game-related "paratexts" as well as participation in game-related forums and blogs. Chik analyses contributions to Chinese and Taiwanese gaming forums, in which gamers seek advice on the use of digital games for English language learning. The findings show that more experienced gamers are enthusiastic in providing language learning advice, by suggesting a range of titles to try and evaluating their language learning potentials. In addition, gamers regularly post "unofficial Chinese translation of jargon and strategies" (p. 93) to relevant forums and blogs. One gamer is also involved in the collaborative creation of amateur Chinese, or Sinicized, versions of games (detailed observations of such fan translation practices in digital games are provided in Vazquez-Calvo et al. 2019). Chik's study demonstrates how online spaces related to gaming can be supportive of language learning practices.

English Language Learning in Globalized Online Affinity Spaces

Two main themes emerge from the research on globalized online affinity spaces described above. Firstly, literacy practices identified in these spaces can be seen as diverging from those observed in print literacy: they are increasingly interactive, collaborative, translingual, and multimodal and draw on hybrid, non-standard discourses and varieties of language. In Jones and Hafner's (2012) terms they frequently involve new ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking, and being. Secondly, these spaces provide potentially positive contexts for English language learning by providing a space where: ELLs can construct expert identities as plurilingual users of English; ELLs can obtain plentiful feedback on language use and intercultural communication issues; ELLs can obtain informal language advice; ELLs can experience an affirming environment.

Digital Literacies in Formal Language Education: Meeting New Learning Needs

As ELLs are frequently engaged in the kind of globalized online affinity spaces described in the previous section, it becomes necessary to consider how to meet emerging needs that relate to reading, writing, and communicating in digitally-

mediated contexts. Digital literacies can be incorporated into the formal English language curriculum in a range of ways. These include: (1) engaging students in structured participation in online affinity spaces, (2) strategically embedding digital literacies within the curriculum, (3) engaging students in digital multimodal composing projects, and (4) engaging students in telecollaboration or virtual exchange projects.

Structured Participation in Online Affinity Spaces

In structured participation, teachers facilitate learners' participation in online affinity spaces as an important part of the learning experience. One frequently cited approach is Thorne and Reinhardt's (2008) "bridging activities" framework, an approach developed with tertiary level students in mind. In this approach, students bring examples of their out-of-class digital communications to class: whether this be interactions in online gaming virtual worlds, online fan communities, social networks, instant messaging, email, or some other digitally-mediated communication form. As it is the students who select communications that they are interested in, the approach is highly learner centered. In class, students learn a range of methodological tools that can be used to understand the conventions of such communication: qualitative discourse analysis and quantitative corpus analysis, for example. Analysis of the texts that they have brought to class serves to raise students' awareness of the linguistic and multimodal features of the communication. This enhanced awareness prepares students to be better readers, writers, and communicators in the relevant digital context. That is to say that they learn relevant digital literacies, that is, new ways of doing, meaning, relating, being, and thinking associated with the online space in focus.

Another form of structured participation can be seen when a teacher directs learners to participate in particular online spaces selected by the teacher. The aim is to make use of the online space for authentic language practice with a community of target language speakers. Examples from the literature include teachers engaging students with practices of fan fiction writing (Marone and Neely 2017), Wikipedia writing (King 2015), and online news commenting (Hanna and de Nooy 2003). Effective participation in such spaces is likely to require support in understanding particular conventions of the online community, or, as Thorne and Black (2007) put it, coaching students "to recognize contingent and often localized cultures-of-use of Internet communication tools" (p. 143). King (2015) provides an interesting example of a deletion debate, in which students who had submitted an article to Wikipedia must argue against a community member's suggestion to delete the article, and in so doing, must reference particular community values, such as topic notability. Such interactions with community members provide valuable feedback on writing for students and reinforce the notion that they are writing for a real audience. Even when students do not attract the attention of community members in such online environments, the imagined audiences that students invoke when posting their writing to spaces like Wikipedia provide a powerful motivation and make for a meaningful experience.

Embedding Digital Literacies: A Process-Oriented Genre Approach

One challenge for ELT practitioners is to find space for digital literacy practices in an already crowded language curriculum. The idea of "embedding digital literacies"

attempts to address this issue by providing an "approach to the use of digital media in language education, in which digital literacy practices are embedded alongside more traditional literacy practices, as one element of the course design" (Hafner 2014, p. 682). In essence, the strategy is to reconsider the texts, tasks, and activities addressed in the English language course and establish how those texts, tasks, and activities are affected by the use of digital media. The teacher can then identify relevant digital literacy practices and provide students with support in understanding how new forms of representation and interaction are made available by the affordances of digital tools and associated online spaces. Taking this line of thought one step further, Hafner and Miller (2019, pp. 162–167) elaborate a process-oriented genre-based approach to digital literacies, which includes three main steps in instructional strategy. They are:

- Step 1: Identify and situate authentic genres and practices
- Step 2: Examine the role of multimodality and digital tools
- Step 3: Design projects, tasks and materials

The model is intended primarily for an English for specific purposes context but can be applied in other contexts as well. In step 1, the teacher identifies those authentic genres and literacy practices that are to serve as targets, including both products and processes. The teacher also considers how target texts could be shared online with relevant communities and wider audiences. In step 2, the teacher reflects on the role of multimodality and digital tools in the identified products and processes, considering ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking and being (see above, "A Model of Digital Literacies: The Affordances and Constraints of Digital Tools"). It may be that the genres concerned involve digital affordances of hypertext and multimodality. Similarly, the process of genre construction may involve greater interactivity and collaboration by employing tools like blogs, wikis, and collaborative writing environments. Having identified relevant products, processes, and the role played by digital tools, the teacher can proceed to step 3, designing projects, tasks, and materials. This follows a model of genre pedagogy described by Hyland (2004; see also Hyon 2017), which involves (1) context analysis, (2) model analysis; (3) guided composition, (4) extended composition, and (5) comparison. Hafner and Miller's suggested approach thus extends a traditional language curriculum by rethinking the nature of genres and writing processes, in view of advances in digital media.

Digital Multimodal Composing Projects

In response to calls for ELT practitioners to address multimodal forms of representation in contemporary communication (e.g., Kress 2000), one approach that has generated a lot of interest is the use of digital multimodal composing projects (see, e.g., Belcher 2017; Cimasko and Shin 2017; DePalma and Alexander 2018; Hafner 2014; Hafner and Miller 2011, 2019; Jiang 2017; Shin and Cimasko 2008). Such projects engage ELLs in the construction and, potentially, public sharing of multimodal texts of various genres, including web pages, posters, brochures, PowerPoint

presentations, audio essays, different kinds of digital stories, and different kinds of video documentaries. Creating such multimodal texts naturally involves ELLs in understanding the affordances of different modes (Kress 2003), especially image and writing and the way that these interact. Proponents of the approach argue that expanding the scope of ELT to include the combination of modes of representation made possible in digital media is necessary to prepare ELLs to participate in contemporary communication practices. The approach, which draws heavily on project-based learning (Stoller 2006), is thought to bring a range of benefits (Hafner and Miller 2019, p. 156, summarizing Belcher 2017):

- It meets the real-world needs of learners in a digitally mediated world.
- It enhances state-of-the-art language teaching strategies like task-based language teaching and learning, by allowing for the easy integration of multiple skills.
- It engages students with authentic audiences, providing real-world motivation.
- It is "voice-enhancing" and can "embolden struggling writers to express themselves" (Belcher 2017, p. 82).
- It heightens genre awareness as a result of transformation processes that occur in the composition process.
- It increases learner autonomy and encourages independent language practice.

In spite of these benefits, the approach remains controversial, with critics concerned that opening up ELT to focus on multiple modes will cause ELLs to be distracted from their English learning. Nevertheless, the approach has been tried with reported success in a range of contexts, from urban schools and community cenetrs (e.g., Hull and Nelson 2005; Vasudevan et al. 2010) to mainstream university ELT courses (e.g., Hafner and Miller 2019; Yang 2012). There is evidence that the approach can work with low English proficiency learners as well (Tai 2017).

Telecollaboration or Virtual Exchange Projects

Another pedagogical approach that holds promise for developing digital literacies is telecollaboration, also referred to as virtual exchange. According to O'Dowd (2018, p. 1), these terms are "used to refer to the engagement of groups of learners in online intercultural interactions and collaboration projects with partners from other cultural contexts or geographical locations as an integrated part of their educational programmes." For example, teachers could work together to facilitate a project in which students in the United States form teams with students in Germany and work collaboratively on an intercultural communication project, with the aim of developing and sharing a website or other kind of presentation, as in Belz (2002). In addition, intercultural teams could analyze "parallel texts," like short stories, books, or films that are available in both source and target language. As an alternative, students could be tasked with conducting ethnographic interviews with target language speakers (O'Dowd 2006). Such projects normally involve a range of interactions between students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, using various digital tools to both communicate with one another and to construct project deliverables like websites. In this way, they provide rich opportunities for

intercultural interaction with speakers of the target language mediated by digital tools. They can therefore promote language acquisition, intercultural learning, and digital literacies.

Assessment

As the ELT curriculum expands to cover an increasing range of multimodal, collaborative genres and processes, one major issue that remains is assessment. There are two main parts to this problem. The first is that, in primary and secondary school contexts where schools are engaged in the preparation of ELLs for standardized language and literacy examinations, these examinations are geared towards traditional literacies, not digital literacies. As a result, there is a negative washback effect that discourages teachers from devoting time to digital literacies, which may be seen as an interesting add-on but not as contributing to student learning in any meaningful way (an example of this, in a culturally diverse context in Australia, can be found in Mills and Exley 2014). The second part of the problem is that ELT practitioners may themselves feel ill equipped to assess the skills that ELLs need in order to be able to participate effectively in digital practices. Rethinking what is meant by reading, writing, and communicating for the digital age means introducing a range of new skills to be applied to new texts and practices. ELT practitioners, even those who openly embrace digital literacies, are themselves ill prepared for the new communication landscape. Consequently, there is a general need to both develop a metalanguage for digital literacies and train teachers in such digital practices.

Issues for Teacher Education

Increasingly, the language and literacy curricula furnished by governments emphasize the need to develop the skills to effectively communicate through digital media. However, if ELT practitioners are to take up this call then more will need to be done in the area of teacher education and training. One issue is that teachers often demonstrate a lack of understanding of what is meant by digital literacies, that is, social practices of communication in digital media, confusing it with the notion of educational technology, that is, deploying new technologies in order to support language teaching practices (Darvin 2018). A second issue relates to the attitudes of language teachers vis-à-vis technology, which can have a bearing on the way that teachers use technology in their language classes. Tour (2015) found that the informal practices of language teachers reflected varying "mindsets," with teachers perceiving different kinds of affordances in digital technologies. According to her study, "Digital mindsets located within thinking about ICT in terms of support and improvement facilitated practices that were in the main a reproduction of print-based literacies, just more technologised" (p. 135). Taking a digital literacies approach attempts to go beyond existing instructional strategies to engage with the unique affordances of digital tools. This, in turn, requires that teachers perceive value in those affordances.

Jones (2014) identifies a number of steps that ELT teacher education programmes can take in order to address some of these issues. First, he suggests that ELT teacher

education "focus less on 'using technology in teaching language' and more on how technologies are changing the way people use language" (p. 17). Such a focus on the way that technologies shape language use can be addressed not only in courses on pedagogy but also in different kinds of language awareness courses. Second, teacher education can take a practice-based approach, engaging teachers in reflection on their own digital practices, with the aim of enabling them to understand the affordances of digital tools and how these relate to ways of doing, meaning, relating, thinking, and being in their lives. Related to this point, some teachers are using technology for professional development purposes, independently setting up so-called "personal learning networks" (PLNs) in social media for "information retrieval and resources aggregation, cooperation, collaboration, reflections and socialising" (Tour 2016, p. 11). Teacher education programmes can promote such PLNs as a means for continued professional development related to digital literacies. Finally, Jones (2014) notes that teacher education programmes must do a better job of modeling the kind of teaching required for a digital literacies approach. This means using technology in innovative ways, to design meaningful, interactive, and student-centered learning experiences for trainees, rather than reproducing teacher-centered pedagogies online.

Conclusion

This chapter has described a digital literacies approach to using technology in language learning. This is an approach that notes how social practices of reading, writing, and communicating have changed as a result of the affordances of digital tools. Such changes have led to the emergence of new needs for ELLs and rich new contexts for language learning. In the ELT curriculum, digital literacies can be addressed through a range of instructional strategies and approaches, including: (1) structured participation in online affinity spaces, (2) embedding digital literacies in the language curriculum, (3) digital multimodal composing projects, and (4) telecollaboration or virtual exchange projects. These approaches provide teachers with practical ways to engage with the out-of-class digital literacy practices of their students, incorporate digital literacies alongside existing curriculum content, and set up meaningful interactions with target language speakers as part of the language curriculum. The approaches lend themselves well to bottom-up teacher action, in contexts where teachers have sufficient autonomy to introduce innovations. Yet there is a need to also consider how digital literacies can be integrated in schools across the board in a more top-down fashion as well.

At present, there is a considerable amount of research describing digital literacies, especially the multimodal semiotic resources that are available in digital media. Nevertheless, ELT curricula have been slow to adapt and there is still some way to go before one can confidently claim that the digital literacies needs of ELLs are being systematically met. Going forward, ELT researchers and practitioners need to pay continued attention to the development of curricula, the development of valid and reliable means of assessment, and the development of appropriate teacher training

methods. Thus, future research should continue to elaborate understandings of digital genres and the meaning making affordances of digital tools. It should find ways to integrate these understandings into the curriculum by identifying relevant digital skills and strategies and locating these alongside existing skills and strategies. Only when the necessary digital literacies knowledge, skills, and strategies are routinely taught by empowered and confident language teachers, will digital literacies for English language learners be effectively developed.

Cross-References

▶ Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment
▶ Imagined Communities, Identity, and English Language Learning in a Multilingual World
▶ Languaging and Translanguaging for English Language Teaching
▶ Promoting Intercultural Competence in English Language Teaching: A Productive Bilingualism Perspective

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English Learners with Disabilities: Linguistic Development and Educational Equity in Jeopardy

50

Sara E. N. Kangas

Contents

Abstract

This chapter outlines current equity issues that surround the teaching of English learners (ELs) with disabilities. Drawing upon U.S. K-12 schools as the focal context, this chapter critically discusses how ELs with disabilities are often disadvantaged by policies and practices that are misaligned to their educational needs. Compounding this disadvantage are the persistent misconceptions that bilingualism is beyond the cognitive capacity of ELs with disabilities and that special education services are more critical than language services. As a consequence, these language learners are often deprived of opportunities for their linguistic development, which has significant ramifications for their academic trajectories. Thus, this chapter argues that English language teaching

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for ELs with disabilities is laden with social justice issues at every juncture. The chapter concludes with implications for safeguarding the bilingual development of language learners with disabilities.

Introduction

In the U.S. public K-12 education system, a number of fields, namely, special education and English language teaching, were born from civil rights laws and rulings, advocating the rights of diverse students (i.e., Civil Rights Act of 1964; Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974; *Lau v. Nichols* 1974). Although these education fields have been historically separate, special education and English language teaching intersect when students are dually identified as being English learners (ELs) and having disabilities. ELs with disabilities are numbered at more than half a million or 14.7% of the entire EL population in public schools (U.S. Department of Education 2018). ELs with disabilities mirror the larger population of students receiving special education and related services (i.e., speech–language, physical, and occupational therapies): They are typically identified with high-incidence disabilities, such as learning disabilities (LDs), specific language impairments (SLIs), and mild intellectual disabilities (Zehler et al. 2003; U.S. Department of Education n.d.).

Yet, these students' bi- and multilingual abilities in an English-dominant school system set them apart from their monolingual peers with disabilities. Despite the increase of bilingual education programs (Center for Applied Linguistics 2006), the bilingualism of ELs with disabilities – what should be a resource for learning – is seen as an avoidable disadvantage in the context of schooling where the monolingual practices of white children are deemed the norm (Flores and Rosa 2015; Lippi-Green 2012). Unlike their peers without disabilities, for whom there is a growing recognition of benefits, dubbed "the bilingual advantage" (Grosjean 2016), bilingualism can be regarded as overly ambitious and, at times, harmful for students with disabilities (see Genesee 2015; Kremer-Sadlik 2005), which can restrict their access to bilingual supports that would benefit their learning (Kangas 2017b). Beyond skepticism about their ability to develop bilingually, ELs with disabilities are persistently disadvantaged throughout the duration of their schooling by practices that fail to acknowledge the interrelated nature of their second language (L2) and disability needs. With a number of high-stakes decisions stemming from such practices that ignore these students' distinct needs, the ethical and educational consequences are far reaching for ELs with disabilities. Thus, this chapter conceptualizes English language teaching as a context rife with educational inequities for ELs with identified disabilities. With this lens, this chapter will first trace the interplay of policies, conditions, and ideologies informing the experiences of ELs with disabilities throughout their education. After discussing the equity issues at stake

for ELs with disabilities, the chapter will offer implications for key stakeholders in education, research, and policymaking as well as highlight critically unexplored terrain in English language teaching for dually identified students.

Equity Issues for English Learners with Disabilities

Drawing on contemporary and seminal research, the literature in this chapter explores pivotal equity issues that emerge for ELs with disabilities throughout the duration of their schooling from their initial identification to their everyday instructional supports to their potential exiting from language services. In this chapter, the terms *language services* and *language supports* are used interchangeably to describe a wide range of instructional programs (e.g., English as a second language [ESL], transitional bilingual education, etc.) used to support EL populations in schools.

Classification

By far, the bulk of research on ELs with disabilities has examined and problematized classification, or the identification, of ELs with disabilities. Overall, classification processes and procedures have been scrutinized because they may result in disproportionate representation of ELs in special education, which compromises educational justice for these students.

Classification is a legally driven process in the U.S. school system; both EL and disability statuses must be identified by schools because these statuses are protected federally through an amalgam of statutes and court cases regarding meaningful access to learning in public education. For instance, in the groundbreaking case, *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), the Supreme Court ruled that a failure to support students learning English as an additional language in schools was tantamount to discrimination on the basis of national origin – a protected class under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 – because language proficiency is inextricably linked to national origin. Resulting effectively from this case, *EL* became a legal status, signifying which students are entitled to language supports while learning. Individuals with disabilities were likewise recognized as a protected group through the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of (dis)ability, although their access to public schools was secured earlier by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA 1975). With federal legislation prompting the creation of these protected student groups and their respective services, the next logical question was: How can schools properly identify students as members of these groups? This matter has been particularly vexing for students who may have both disability and L2 learning needs.

Within the classification process, diagnostic assessments are the instruments through which English language proficiency (ELP) and most disabilities are determined (U.S. Department of Education 2011; U.S. Departments of Education and Justice 2015). Yet, scholars across a range of fields have highlighted the problematic

nature of using assessments to determine whether or not ELs have disabilities (e.g., Abedi 2010; Klingner et al. 2005; MacSwan and Rolstad 2006). Validity issues, in particular, come to the forefront in the evaluation of ELs for disabilities, as most students are identified as ELs first and then later evaluated for the presence of a disability (Zehler et al. 2003). This typical identification timeline exists because schools are legally required to identify ELs upon their entry into the school system (U.S. Department of Education 2016), a requirement that does not exist for special education needs. Literature has enumerated the possible avenues through which invalid assessment results may occur, including, but not limited to, the utilization of assessments normed for monolingual children (Abedi 2006), administration of assessments in English only (U.S. Departments of Education and Justice 2015), and conflation of second language acquisition (SLA) with particular disabilities (Abedi 2010; Collier 2011; Klingner and Eppollito 2014).

With invalid results looming, identification of ELs as having disabilities, when they in fact may be experiencing the normal process of SLA, can result in their overrepresentation in special education (Klingner et al. 2005); conversely, a failure to identify ELs' actual disabilities can contribute to underrepresentation. For ELs with disabilities, both forms of disproportionate representation occur often in U.S. schools and are troubling because in either case the legal statuses assigned to these students do not mirror their educational needs. In the case of underrepresentation, ELs with actual disabilities fall through the cracks, missing out on the services they need for the disabilities that have not been identified, while in the case of overrepresentation, ELs are placed into special education in error when they are instead learning an additional language.

A number of studies have found that ELs are overrepresented in special education, with certain patterns emerging in relation to the category, or type of disability, student grade level, and even geographic location (Artiles et al. 2005; Ortiz et al. 2011; Samson and Lesaux 2009; Sullivan 2011). Generally, empirical findings indicate an overrepresentation of ELs across many so-called judgmental disability categories – those disabilities identified by school personnel instead of medical professionals. For example, Artiles et al. (2005) found an overrepresentation of ELs for LDs and intellectual disabilities (IDs) in secondary grades, while De Valenzuela et al. (2006) identified more widespread overrepresentation across several disability categories including LD, ID, and emotional disturbance (ED), among several others. Using the nationally representative dataset, Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten Class of 1998 (ECLS-K:98), Samson and Lesaux (2009) uncovered an uptick in the referrals of ELs to special education in elementary school, resulting initially in their underrepresentation in first grade but then later overrepresentation in third grade. In terms of geographic patterns of overrepresentation, particular states, for example, New Mexico and Arizona (New Mexico Public Education Department n.d.; Sullivan 2011), and districts in the southern region of California (Artiles et al. 2005), have evidence of overrepresentation. Taken together, these findings illuminate the distinct patterns of ELs' overrepresentation in special education. Patterns regarding disability categories suggest that some disabilities are more likely to mirror SLA during special education evaluations, whereas findings

regarding ELs' grade level imply that as time goes by, educators may be less likely to assume ELs' learning difficulties are arising from language but rather the presence of disability. Wider-scale overrepresentation in states and districts suggests that current classification practices in these regions are highly problematic, with many ELs identified with disabilities who likely have no disability at all.

Here, it is important to address the argument that ELs are simply more likely to be overrepresented in special education due to their lower socioeconomic status, as one in every four ELs live in poverty (Zong and Batalova 2015) – a factor often associated with higher rates of disability in general (Kraus 2017). Although worth considering, such arguments should be exercised with caution because the inherent assumption is one of deficit thinking (Valencia 1997), in which the problem – in this case the prevalence of disabilities – is attributed to students and their communities, instead of institutional structures embedded within the education system, such as assessment practices.

Indeed, the disproportionality of ELs in special education highlights the potentially problematic role of assessments in classification determinations. For this reason, identification procedures that rely too heavily upon a single assessment have been supplanted with processes that draw upon multiple data sources and/or introduce tiers of interventions prior to any referral for special education evaluation (Albers and Martinez 2015; Esparza Brown and Doolittle 2008). When paired together, systematic interventions and data-driven procedures are often referred to as response to intervention (RtI; American Institutes for Research n.d.). Recommended for students experiencing academic difficulties, including ELs, this three-tiered system introduces interventions and modifications in increasing levels, giving students time to respond to the pedagogical, behavioral, and environmental changes initiated in the classroom before presuming a disability is influencing their performance. If students do not respond to the first tier of interventions, they receive more intensified and tailored supports in the second tier. When schools have exhausted the interventions within the tiers, students are evaluated for a disability. Throughout the tiers of the RtI system, teachers and administrators engage in data-based decision-making to determine whether student learning is responsive to the implemented changes. This system ostensibly ameliorates ELs' disproportionate placement in special education by avoiding decision-making based on a single datum (i.e., a diagnostic assessment score) and by modifying the educational context to respond to students' needs. Relying on multiple data sources, educators can see how evidence converges or even diverges, which will result in a more informed evaluation of the student's abilities, instead of relying on one diagnostic assessment score and its concomitant validity issues. Yet, in a case study of one school's implementation of RtI, Orosco and Klingner (2010) found that despite its purported benefits, RtI was ineffectual in supporting ELs with potential disabilities given teachers' beliefs and training as well as the institution's constrained resources. This finding suggests that RtI holds promise for issues of disproportionality if and only if the multitiered system is implemented with fidelity. If an RtI system exists in name only, however, this will accomplish little in reversing overrepresentation.

Regardless of whether schools decide to use a prereferral system similar to RtI, federal policy (i.e., IDEA 2004) stipulates that the identification of disabilities for ELs should not hinge on a sole assessment score but should draw from multiple data, such as classroom observations, first language (L1) samples and tasks, parent interviews, and teacher perspectives. Among these, L1 data are particularly important for diagnosing disabilities. In fact, the U.S. Departments of Justice and Education (2015) stipulate that ELs should be evaluated in their home language. Such bilingual data can help in ruling out whether a learning difficulty is occurring only in English or in both languages. In the case of the former, difficulties emerging only in English would suggest then that SLA – and not a disability – is influencing the learning of the EL. The latter, however, suggests that a disability may be causing the EL to experience difficulties in both her L1 and L2. Thus, bilingual data – and especially bilingual assessments – can curtail overdiagnosis of ELs with disabilities. However, the use of L1 assessment data does not categorically increase the validity of special education referrals. As MacSwan and Rolstad (2006) identify, faulty assessments can consistently underestimate the L1 abilities of ELs, resulting in their increased placement in special education.

Literature has found, however, that overreferral is not the only hurdle in accurate classification: Underreferal, or underrepresentation, of ELs for disabilities is also a potential risk. When ELs – or any student, as a matter – are underidentified for special education services, these students are essentially falling through the cracks, struggling to learn without the special education services they need. Often educators may delay referring an EL for special education evaluation out of uncertainty or in some cases, out of a desire to avoid the risk overrepresentation and the stigma associated with special education (Hibel and Jasper 2012). Indeed, a "wait and see" approach on the part of schools can be a contributing factor in cases of underrepresentation. Of importance, underrepresentation is just as widespread as overrepresentation. In fact, the same studies that discovered overrepresentation across grade levels and disability categories have also found incidences of underrepresentation (see Artiles et al. 2005; De Valenzuela et al. 2006; Ortiz et al. 2011), complicating the landscape of evaluation processes and procedures for ELs with suspected disabilities.

The issue of ELs' disproportionate representation reflects a larger educational dilemma: Should schools promptly refer ELs to special education and risk misidentifying them with a disability when they are learning an L2? Or should schools delay referral and potentially deprive ELs from receiving the special education support they may need? There is no comforting answer to these questions, as each scenario is accompanied by its own ethical issues that disadvantage ELs. At the federal level, however, schools are prohibited from delaying the evaluation of ELs for disabilities (U.S. Department Education 2016). At the school level, educators are well-aware of the tension of deciding whether to refer ELs or delay their referral for special education evaluation (Hibel and Jasper 2012), demonstrating that classification is mired with validity and procedural tensions that have significant ramifications for students at the intersection of English language and special education.

Educational Services, Interventions, and Accommodations

Even when ELs with disabilities are accurately identified, ethical hurdles await for educators in the form of managing the multiple services these students require. Federal EL and special education statutes mandate that schools provide supportive services for ELs and students with disabilities, respectively, and in cases wherein students are dually identified with both language and disability needs, both sets of laws apply. Yet, empirical evidence has shown that despite federal policies, schools often relinquish one set of services – most often language instruction and support (Kangas 2014, 2017b; U.S. Departments of Justice and Education 2015; Zehler et al. 2003). In fact, so common are the instances in which schools eschew dual services for ELs with disabilities that the U.S. Departments of Justice and Education (2015) issued guidance on the matter, reaffirming that a failure to provide both special education and language services constitutes a civil rights violation. In a comparative case study, Kangas (2014, 2018) investigated how such instances of noncompliance with federal laws were occurring in schools. The ethnographic findings revealed that scheduling and class rosters were created and resources were allocated in ways that reinforced a powerful ideology – that special education trumps language services. These studies uncover an alarming reality in U.S. public schools wherein language programming and supports are deemed unnecessary or even an unrealistic ideal for ELs with disabilities. The basis of these beliefs can be grounded in educators' misinterpretations of EL laws and policies, namely, that EL laws and their deriving policies have a quasi-legal status when juxtaposed with special education, which in the eyes of educators, is more litigious (Kangas 2018). Without the presence of effective EL support, the notion that ELs with disabilities can meaningfully access their education, including special education instruction, is doubtful. Thus, scholarship calls for reform to current service delivery practices, that is, to implement approaches in which EL and special education services are integrated through programming, professional development, and teacher training (Hamayan et al. 2013; Kangas 2014, 2017b). Further, these same scholars advocate changes in the composition of Individualized Education Programs (IEPs), the educational plans that delineate the supports and goals for students with disabilities, to include the language needs of ELs with disabilities – as schools are already required to do by law.

Even when dual services are provided, coordinating these services is a challenging feat in schools (Kangas 2014, 2017a; Zehler et al. 2003). Given the heterogeneity of ELs with disabilities, these services can include any of the following: special education, language education – be it ESL or bilingual education – as well as related services offered by speech pathologists, reading specialists, and occupational and physical therapists. Zehler et al.'s (2003) large-scale survey found that beyond meetings among educators, schools lacked formal systems for coordinating services for ELs with disabilities. These institutional constraints are part of larger cycle in which specialists often work in isolation and the needs of ELs with disabilities are addressed incompletely in piecemeal, a phenomenon referred to as the specialization trap (Kangas 2017a).

One solution for the competing nature of services that continue to vex educators and scholars alike is to reconceptualize service provision from distinct, isolated services to a more integrated enterprise (Hamayan et al. 2013; Kangas 2014). Namely, bilingual special education, a term used to describe special education services in which both L1 and L2 are utilized as the languages of instruction, has been touted as the preferred model of supportive services for ELs with disabilities (Baca and Cervantes 2004). On empirical grounds, there is a paucity of research that measures the effectiveness of bilingual special education; however, there is compelling evidence that instruction in two languages benefits ELs with disabilities. For instance, Thomas et al.'s (2010) study of reading and mathematics performance of ELs with disabilities shows that enrollment in two-way immersion programs (i.e., a bilingual education program wherein students are exposed equally to both L1 and L2) is beneficial to the academic performance of these learners. Specifically, ELs with disabilities in two-way immersion programs outperformed their counterparts in other language programs in both reading and mathematics. Thomas et al.'s (2010) promising findings illuminate the critical role bilingual special education may play in providing more optimal educational experiences for ELs with disabilities.

There are other pedagogical and intervention recourses, however, for schools wherein bilingual programming is unfeasible for ELs with suspected and identified disabilities. Aiming to improve the reading outcomes of ELs with LDs, some studies have investigated exemplary instruction of special educators certified in ESL and/or bilingual education (see Orosco and O'Connor 2014; Orosco and Abdulrahim 2017). These case studies illuminated how with training in both fields, teachers were able to draw upon the linguistic and cultural resources of ELs with LDs during reading instruction. The authors argue that the use of culturally responsive instruction facilitates reading development for ELs with LDs and, thus, serves as an effective framework for narrowing the reading achievement gap between ELs both with and without disabilities and their English-proficient peers.

In addition to culturally responsive instruction, scholars have also advocated the use of empirically supported interventions in- and outside of the RtI framework (Klingner et al. 2014; Moore and Klingner 2012), especially for the development of literacy and mathematics skills. One significant caveat to this recommendation, however, is that schools simply do not implement interventions proven only effective for monolingual English-speaking students; instead ELs who have disabilities and/or who are struggling academically must receive interventions that are tailored to their linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Hamayan et al. 2013; Klingner et al. 2014; Orosco and Abdulrahim 2017). To evaluate whether interventions are appropriate for ELs – with or without disabilities – Hamayan et al. (2013) developed a series of guiding principles for educators to utilize in their instructional planning and decision-making, as listed in Table 1.

Evident in these principles is the need for academic interventions to reflect the linguistic needs of ELs with identified and suspected disabilities. Without such alignment, interventions run the risk of mirroring the inimical tendency of service provision to educate ELs with disabilities as though they are monolingual English speakers.

Accommodations for assessments are likewise prone to the same deficiency; in fact, Abedi (2010) cautioned that most existing accommodations were originally

Table 1 Principles for selecting and developing interventions for ELs

1. L2 input must be comprehensible
2. L2 develops more easily when learners are exposed to and use authentic language
3. Knowledge and skills can transfer across languages
4. Additive programs must facilitate acquisition of both L1 and L2
5. SLA often occurs in expected phases
6. Both academic and conversational language must be developed
7. ELs can need 5+ years to develop English proficiency

Note: Principles are summarized from Hamayan et al. (2013)

created for monolingual students with disabilities, not ELs with disabilities. This is particularly alarming for two reasons. First, ELs with disabilities have a history of academic underperformance, scoring lower than both ELs and students with disabilities in reading and math (Abedi 2010), and, second, accommodations are actually intended to "level the playing field" for students with exceptionalities. For students with disabilities, including those who are ELs, acceptable accommodations are determined by a combination of the following factors: student ability, assessment characteristics, and state policies (Jamgochian and Ketterlin-Geller 2015). However, Liu et al.'s (2013) focus group study found that inconsistencies riddled the process of establishing and implementing accommodations for ELs with disabilities. Educators reported confusion in interpreting macro policies, and further IEP teams, which perform a mediating role in determining what accommodations are permissible, often exclude language specialists (e.g., ESL and bilingual teachers). This finding also suggests that the IEP teams lack sufficient knowledge about both ELs and SLA to ensure that accommodations align with both the disability and language needs of ELs with disabilities. Given the mandate in the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA 2015) to monitor the performance of student subgroups, such as ELs with disabilities, through their participation in academic assessments, accommodations will continue to be a pressing issue. Yet, as Liu et al.'s (2013) and Abedi's (2010) research demonstrates, accommodation policies that are valid for ELs with disabilities are on short supply, resulting in a dubious understanding of these students' academic abilities.

Overall, a message of responsivity is echoed throughout service provision, intervention, and accommodation research: ELs with disabilities must receive services and supports that target both their disability and language needs. To ignore the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of ELs with disabilities, at best, muddies the educational waters, preventing educators from having a clear portrait of these students' needs and, at worst, effectively denies ELs with disabilities access to an education that will foster their academic and linguistic development.

Reclassification

To date, the majority of research – albeit still a modest amount – on ELs with disabilities has examined classification issues and intervention effects. Reclassification, or the exiting of students from language programming, however,

is a relatively unexplored area of research for ELs with disabilities. In fact, only recently have scholars alluded to the troubling policies and practices surrounding the exiting of ELs, especially when these students have disabilities (Linquanti and Cook 2015; Park et al. 2016; Thurlow et al. 2016; Umansky et al. 2017). Reclassification, in itself, is another high-stakes issue in English language teaching; when students are unable to exit language services, they continue to retain their institutional status as ELs. Remaining classified as an EL for 5 years or more – that is, a long-term EL (L-TEL) – often carries along with it detrimental academic consequences, such as restricted curricular access and higher dropout rates (see Olsen 2014; Thompson 2015b; U.S. Department of Education 2016).

On an annual basis, ELs with and without disabilities participate in assessments to determine whether they have made gains in their English proficiency. The criteria for reclassification vary by state with the vast majority of states requiring just one measure of proficiency – an ELP score – and some states requiring as many as four separate measures (Linquanti and Cook 2015). Although all states require an ELP score, additional measures include scores from academic content assessments, course grades, teacher and parent input, among others (Linquanti and Cook 2015). These criteria, in many cases, are applied to all ELs. For instance, in their analysis of reclassification criteria, Thurlow et al. (2016) found that most states lacked differential criteria for ELs with disabilities; that is, the state policies failed to acknowledge the divergent educational needs of ELs with and without disabilities.

Scholars and educators have problematized the institution of uniform reclassification criteria for the entire EL population, wary that such policies could decrease the likelihood of ELs with disabilities achieving satisfactory scores needed to exit language programming (Linquanti and Cook 2015; Park et al. 2016; Schissel and Kangas 2018). This concern is warranted as a recent study by Burke et al. (2016) revealed that ELs with disabilities were 59% less likely to be reclassified in comparison to their EL peers without disabilities. Described as a reclassification bottleneck (Umansky et al. 2017), ELs with disabilities can become "stuck" in language services, unable to meet exit criteria (Schissel and Kangas 2018). This bottleneck, as Umansky et al. (2017) found, contributed to the overrepresentation of ELs with disabilities in secondary grades, with ELs being identified with disabilities but not reclassified. These findings suggest that more flexible and responsive reclassification policies and procedures are warranted for ELs with disabilities. Similar to classification processes, assessment issues abound in the reclassification of ELs with disabilities, including overreliance on a single measure (Thurlow et al. 2016), implementation of inappropriate accommodations (Abedi 2010; Park et al. 2016), and use of assessments not normed for bi- and multilinguals (Park et al. 2016). Unlike policies governing the identification of ELs for special education services, in reclassification, few states require an interdisciplinary team of specialists to make reclassification determinations (Thurlow et al. 2016), suggesting once again that the fuller needs of ELs with disabilities are unlikely informing this critical decision-making process.

A few studies have already identified a substantial overlap between ELs with disabilities and L-TELs (Kim and García 2014; Thompson 2015a, b), indicating that

when ELs have disabilities, they have a verifiably decreased rate of meeting state standards for English proficiency (Burke et al. 2016). In response, scholars are calling on policymakers to amend reclassification criteria in ways that are fair and valid for ELs with disabilities (Park et al. 2016; Thurlow et al. 2016). Here, it is important to acknowledge that ELs with disabilities are a heterogeneous group: Their disabilities run the gamut from cognitive to emotional and from social to physical. As such, some disabilities, but certainly not all, may inhibit ELs from meeting standardized reclassification criteria (Schissel and Kangas 2018). Accounting for the heterogeneity of ELs with disabilities complicates the process of establishing fair exit criteria. Scholars advocating change in reclassification criteria for ELs with disabilities comes on the heels of ESSA (2015), which required state governments to standardize EL reclassification policies and procedures. Standardization may eliminate inconsistencies, but if in the process it erases the disability-related needs of ELs, it will likely exacerbate the disadvantages already experienced in their schooling.

Teacher and Parent Beliefs about Bi- and Multilingualism for ELs with Disabilities

Whether it is assessment or instruction, evident thus far is the stark reality that ELs with disabilities are the recipients of educational practices that often elide their language learning and, at times, their disabilities. Influential in this erasure is the persistent misconception that proficiency in English and certainly bilingualism are lofty – if not harmful – goals for ELs with disabilities. The basis of this belief can be traced to misunderstandings of childhood bilingualism, namely, that learning two or more languages places a cognitive burden on bilingual children and thus should be avoided. This belief presupposes the human brain's natural state is monolingualism, and ergo exposure to more than one language will overburden its capacity for language – what Paradis et al. (2011) call the limited capacity hypothesis. Although recent legislative changes, for example, California's Proposition 58 and Massachusetts's Language Opportunity for Our Kids (LOOK) Bill, suggest that more favorable views of bilingualism are taking form, there are still parents and educators who worry that the purported cognitive load of bilingualism will negatively impact language development and academic performance of children (Baker and Wright 2017; Genesee 2009; Grosjean 2010).

If such concerns exist for bilingual children without disabilities, they only intensify all the more for bilingual children with disabilities, as these children are already believed to have a limited capacity on the basis on their disability. As the false logic goes, due to the presence of an inhibiting disability, these children have a modicum of ability to process and attain multiple languages. In a study of ELs with disabilities in a dual language school, Kangas (2017b) found that educators questioned the expectations for these students to develop bilingually. In fact, school personnel often described ELs with disabilities, and even those without disabilities, as being in a state of semilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981), not having

proficiency in any language. Kangas (2017b) posits that their adherence to the limited capacity hypothesis was ensconced in multiple supposed deficits: The intersection of language, disability, and socioeconomic status of the ELs with disabilities rendered bilingualism as an overly ambitious aim. For this reason, bilingual instruction was not prioritized in the school.

Empirical evidence, however, refutes the so-called limited capacity of ELs with disabilities (see Kay-Raining Bird et al. 2016; Simon-Cereijido and Gutiérrez-Clellen 2013; Thomas et al. 2010). Recall Thomas et al.'s (2010) findings that ELs with disabilities in two-way immersion programs performed higher in mathematics and reading than those enrolled in other programs. Despite such evidence, skepticism regarding the benefits and possibilities of bilingualism comes to the forefront when ELs have developmental disabilities (DDs; Paradis et al. 2011; Park 2014). It is reasoned that certainly these disabilities, which are often considered more severe, diminish a child's capacity for bilingualism. Some studies have shown, however, that far from being harmful, exposure to two languages is beneficial both academically and socially for children with DDs (see Kay-Raining Bird et al. 2016). Yet, access to language services and supports continues to be limited for children with DDs (de Valenzuela et al. 2016), corroborating Kangas' (2017b) findings that bilingual supports are often foreclosed for ELs with disabilities despite the potential for these supports to facilitate academic achievement and linguistic development.

Although educators and parents are motivated by genuine concern, an implicit framework of deficits underlies their reluctance to expose ELs with disabilities to more than one language. This framework, at its core, hinges upon the perceived norms of monolingualism and ableism, which ultimately position ELs with disabilities as having multiple deficits in ways that undermine educational equity. Instead of understanding bilingualism as an asset and resource (Ruíz 1984) for ELs with disabilities, it becomes an additional hurdle. Yet, as research has illuminated, an effort to protect ELs with disabilities from such additional hurdles can inadvertently result in lower expectations for their development and simultaneously constraining their access to the linguistic supports needed for their bilingual development. In short, a deficit framework forecloses opportunities for ELs with disabilities to experience the academic and personal benefits of bilingualism.

Discussion

In tracing the educational experiences of ELs with disabilities from their initial classification to their services and instruction to their reclassification, this chapter demonstrates how ethically laden roadblocks persist throughout the entirety of these students' schooling. At each juncture, educators must navigate equity issues with often little guidance from educational policies and research, which are still only beginning to scratch the surface regarding the needs of ELs with disabilities. In reviewing the literature, a pattern of inequity emerges for ELs with disabilities: Throughout their education, they are perpetually marginalized. This is apparent, for instance, in classification assessment policies and practices whereby ELs with

suspected disabilities are evaluated for a disability in English – a language they are still learning (U.S. Departments of Education and Justice 2015). In reclassification, too, disabilities disappear, as assessment criteria are often applied universally, with little consideration of how ELs with disabilities are different from their EL peers (Schissel and Kangas 2018; Thurlow et al. 2016). Perhaps even more glaring is the pervasive practice of only providing special education supports to ELs with disabilities, governed by the beliefs that language services are legally negotiable and bilingualism is detrimental for ELs with disabilities (see Kangas 2014, 2017b, 2018). These erred assumptions on behalf of educators and parents, although often guided by good intentions, are complicit in the process of remaking these bi- and multilingual students with disabilities into monolingual students with disabilities. Indeed, the erasure of the backgrounds and needs of ELs with disabilities, especially stemming from language, is a moral problem that suffuses English language education. At stake for these students is their language development and academic progress. With concerted efforts from educators, researchers, and policymakers, however, educational practice can be transformed in ways that ultimately safeguards the bilingual and academic development of ELs with disabilities.

Implications for Educators

Although knowledge about ELs with disabilities is still emergent, there are steps educators can take to begin improving the educational landscape for ELs with disabilities. One implication that permeates most – if not all – of educators' actions is the necessity to stop engaging in deficit thinking (Valencia 1997) about the capabilities of ELs with disabilities. Deficit thinking (Valencia 1997) in education occurs when educators attribute the struggling academic performance of students to supposed deficiencies within the students themselves or within their families or communities. Demographically, ELs with disabilities often embody several sociocultural groups that are the recipients of deficit thinking on the basis of their language, race, ability, and even socioeconomic status. Consequently, they are perennially viewed as lacking, "at-risk," and in need of remedial instruction. For ELs with disabilities to have an equitable education, educators must be diligent in cultivating an asset lens through which they see these students. Such a lens would counter the limited capacity hypothesis (Paradis et al. 2011) and encourage advocacy for L1 and L2 services for ELs with disabilities, as bilingualism would no longer be an unrealistic aim.

In addition to transforming assumptions about ELs with disabilities, the current skills and knowledge of educators must also undergo change. Namely, teachers and administrators must strive to enhance their knowledge of both SLA and disabilities. Research has shown that collaborations among EL and special education teachers are prone to fracturing, with each educator succumbing to the specialization trap (Kangas 2017a). Educators broadening their pedagogical knowledge, whether through collaborations, professional development, or teacher education courses, will go a long way for ELs with disabilities. At all times, disability and English proficiency are interacting to influence learning processes for ELs with disabilities,

so should not teaching reflect this reality? If educators develop interdisciplinary knowledge and skills, they will be able to integrate best practices from both ESL/ bilingual education and special education to support the intersecting needs of these students. This knowledge would extend to the development and implementation of IEPs, allowing these educational programs to mirror the multiple needs – not just special education needs – of ELs with disabilities.

Implications for Researchers

As evidenced, there is an exigent need for additional research on ELs with disabilities, but such research must expand current knowledge by investigating new terrains. In specific terms, researchers need to examine the full spectrum of issues that ELs with disabilities encounter throughout their educational experiences, not just during their initial classification, which has received the lion's share of attention thus far. Classification studies are undoubtedly critical in advocating equitable practices for ELs with disabilities, for example, by improving assessment and accommodation practices that continue to dog valid identification of disabilities for ELs. Yet, beyond classification, researchers have only begun to examine other critical issues. As a consequence, ELs with disabilities and their teachers continue to face multiple barriers. Further, extant intervention studies reveal promising findings about improving the literacy and mathematics performance of ELs with disabilities, but still needed is a broader understanding of the everyday instructional practices occurring in the classrooms of ELs with disabilities.

New territories of inquiry include studies that investigate the bridging of special education and EL education, whether in innovative service provision models or in interdisciplinary teacher education programs. Future studies would also benefit from drawing upon the perspectives of ELs with disabilities and their families, as the voices of these individuals often are backgrounded or altogether absent in research. Research would also benefit from examining the heterogeneity within the EL with disability population by investigating how educational conditions and student needs shift across elementary and secondary contexts as well as vary according to students' specific diagnoses and L1 backgrounds. Across all of these underexplored terrains, "success stories" are sorely needed to provide models of exemplary practice for a population that continually receives short shrift.

In future research for ELs with disabilities, not only what is being studied matters but also who is studying it. With multiple intersecting needs of these students, research requires more interdisciplinary collaborations among scholars from special education, applied linguistics, educational policy, and educational psychology, among other fields. Further, with the prevalent disregarding of the bi- and multilingual backgrounds and needs of ELs with disabilities, applied linguists, in particular, should forge new pathways in research for this student population. Their expertise and perspectives will aid in countering this alarming trend in educational practice and will advocate a more balanced understanding of the fuller needs of ELs with disabilities.

Implications for Policymakers

It was not until the codification of ESSA (2015) in just the past few years that ELs with disabilities, as a subpopulation, were the focus of federal policy. In the years leading up to this policy, ELs with disabilities were subsumed into the larger populations of ELs and students with disabilities with each passing of EL and special education laws, respectively. Although federal policies intend to protect these vulnerable populations, in reality, they can marginalize ELs with disabilities by failing to consider carefully these students' needs. This pattern conforms to Crenshaw's (1989) theory of intersectionality, which argues that policies and societal structures marginalize individuals with intersecting minority identities by ignoring how their experiences and needs are fundamentally distinct. This is perhaps most clearly highlighted in reclassification policies, which are determined by state government agencies, that do not distinguish between ELs with disabilities and their EL peers (Schissel and Kangas 2018; Thurlow et al. 2016), thereby potentially creating additional disadvantages for ELs with disabilities.

With the knowledge that ELs with disabilities are subject to inequitable educational practices, policymakers should take great care in crafting legislation that acknowledges the heterogeneity of the EL population. With unique educational needs, ELs with disabilities require special consideration in federal and state policies. Retrofitting policies that fail to acknowledge ELs with disabilities as a distinct group in the first place will likely prove unsuccessful in expanding their educational opportunities, as evidenced in the literature explored above. Further, given the validity issues that hamper accurate assessment of these students, it is incumbent upon policymakers to reconsider the substantial role assessments play in a number of high-stakes decisions, such as diagnosis, progress monitoring, reclassification, etc. The heavy reliance of assessments that are not normed for bi- and multilingual students with disabilities is unconscionable, and thus, laws that reinforce this inequity by requiring the use of such assessments need amending. Especially as many U.S. state governments are determining how they will respond to ESSA's mandates, the language development of ELs with disabilities, in particular, must be safeguarded, as to date research documents a pattern of disregard for the language needs and background of these students.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the current landscape of English language teaching for ELs with disabilities in U.S. public schools, demonstrating the complexities and issues that emerge throughout the education of these students. In particular, it sought to shed light on the ways in which the linguistic development of ELs with disabilities and larger principle of educational equity can become jeopardized by current practices and policies that fail to acknowledge their needs. Although the chapter focused on the U.S. school system, its relevance applies to other contexts with L2 learners with disabilities. Certainly, educators within these contexts will experience

programmatic, legislative, and ideological barriers to teaching L2 learners with disabilities. However, by understanding not only common missteps but also pathways forward, stakeholders can begin to provide an education that supports students' disabilities while also fostering their L1 and L2 development. Such an education would begin to tip the scale of educational equity for a vulnerable population of students.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching
▶ English as an Additional Language: Integrating School-Aged Learners into Mainstream Curriculum
▶ English Language Teaching in North American Schools
▶ Fairness and Social Justice in English Language Assessment

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Applications of Usage-Based Approaches to Language Teaching

51

Natalia Dolgova and Andrea Tyler

Contents

Abstract

In the last few decades, usage-based theories of language (e.g., cognitive and systemic functional linguistics) have started gaining greater recognition in both general and applied linguistic research. These theories' shared focus on meaning

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as the basis of human communication is particularly useful for teaching L2 learners. Furthermore, their comprehensive theoretical underpinnings may serve as a coherent and relevant theory of L2 teaching and learning, thus contributing to stability and systematicity of teaching practices. However, even though the value of these approaches is becoming increasingly recognized by researchers worldwide, the number of studies testing the applicability of these theories to L2 teaching and learning processes is still fairly small. This chapter provides a summary of existing attempts to apply usage-based theories, such as cognitive and systemic functional linguistics, as well as corpus-based approaches, to L2 teaching and instructed acquisition. It outlines key tenets and concepts that have been applied in the L2 context with significant success and provides a number of suggestions for further research and investigation.

Introduction

In recent decades, a number of exciting new developments in the study of language have shifted the focus from decontextualized forms (predominant in generative and structural approaches to language acquisition) to meaning, communication, and context at the center of our understanding of language, i.e., to a focus on how contextualized language is used to make meaning. Approaches taking this perspective are broadly termed *usage-based*. In turn, these new insights point to shifts in language pedagogy that emphasize focus on meaning and natural usage. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of key concepts at the heart of usage-based approaches and how they have been applied in second language (henceforth, L2) teaching. More specifically, the chapter addresses three L2 teaching approaches – cognitive linguistics, systemic functional linguistics, and corpus linguistics. Due to space limitations, it will not be possible to provide an extensive review of each; instead, each subsection will include a brief overview of concepts central to the approach and particularly relevant to L2 teaching. Each overview is followed by a summary of the current state of knowledge reflecting L2 classroom applications of the corresponding approach. The chapter will conclude with a summary of remaining challenges and suggestions concerning how they could be addressed in the future.

We begin by offering a sketch of the construct "usage-based" and how it relates to the theories highlighted in this chapter. The central notion is that language is learned and, in naturalist settings, emerges through use. In terms of L1 learning, a child learns the language through observing and participating in naturally occurring communication. Repeated exposure to situated communication leads to the child constructing generalizations involving how particular words and syntactic patterns are used in communication. A usage-based perspective rejects a representation of a linguistic system controlled by rigid rules, with strict division between lexicon and

grammar; a central goal is to "depict the complexity of language use" (Tomasello 2003, p. 5). There is no definitive usage-based model of language and language learning; rather, a usage-based perspective encompasses a family of linguistic and language developmental approaches – including cognitive linguistics, emergentism, constructionism, and complex dynamic systems theory. They are united by their emphasis on the notion that actual language use is a primary shaper of linguistic form and the foundation for language learning (Ellis et al. 2016).

Frequency of use is understood to reinforce linguistic connections between linguistic forms and their meanings (Bybee 2008, p. 216). The meanings constructed through natural linguistic input are inherently characterized by redundancy, which essentially makes the process of language use more dynamic and facilitative of human communication. Accordingly, all usage-based approaches share the following precepts:

(a) Communication is the primary purpose of language use.
(b) All linguistic units (i.e., morphology, lexical items, syntax, and discourse patterns) have meaning.
(c) Natural language and the speaker's choices correspond with the needs of local context; speakers deploy linguistic resources to create shared meaning.
(d) Language is the result of learning, and usage (for instance, as reflected in collocations and frequency patterns) plays a direct role in facilitating the learning. Tyler (2010, p. 271).

Three usage-based approaches – cognitive linguistics, systemic functional linguistics, and corpus linguistics – arguably represent the most fully developed usage-based models, and this chapter will demonstrate how they relate to these precepts. Specifically, *cognitive linguistics* has the ability to capture unique meanings encoded by lexical, grammatical, syntactic, and discourse features within various contexts; *systemic functional linguistics* highlights connection between speaker's agenda, the available textual choices, and the immediate social factors; and *corpus linguistics* reveals frequency patterns and meanings in natural usage contexts. They have also been widely applied to L2 learning and teaching, and their benefit to L2 teaching has been well documented in research over the course of the last few decades.

A number of other models fall under the usage-based umbrella, e.g., sociocultural theory (SCT) (e.g., Lantolf and Poehner 2014; Lantolf and Tsai 2018), constructionism (e.g., Eskildsen 2009; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015), dynamic systems theory (e.g., Verspoor and Nguyen 2015), and discourse analysis (especially interactional sociolinguistics and conversational analysis). However, these approaches do not attempt to provide full linguistic models. For instance, interactional sociolinguistics and conversational analysis identify essential analyses of how sentential and discourse-level patterns are used to construct meaning and speaker identity, but they do not address a linguistic theory per se. Also, being primarily concerned with a macro-level of language analysis, in many instances, discourse analytic approaches carry a relatively lesser direct value for learners than the other three models captured in this chapter.

To briefly illustrate other existing models, Lantolf and Tsai (2018) have implemented an instructional approach to L2 which is developed within the Vygotskian sociocultural tradition (SCT), a theory of human learning, and combined with key elements of cognitive linguistics. In contrast, dynamic systems theory (DST) provides a fine-grained, nonlinear model of language learning; Verspoor and Nguyen (2015) have combined dynamic systems with cognitive linguistics to create an approach to L2 pedagogy which emphasizes form-meaning pairings and multiple exposures to natural discourse. Since both SCT and DST combine learning theories with CL, we have not treated them as independent usage-based theories. Eskildsen (Eskildsen 2009; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015) has combined conversational analysis with "constructionism." Because constructionism is a subcomponent of cognitive linguistics and the notion of constructions is addressed in this chapter, we have not treated CA as an independent usage-based theory.

The schematic relations between these usage-based theories are captured in Fig. 1 below.

The remainder of the chapter discusses the basic tenets of cognitive, systemic functional, and corpus linguistics and how each of them has been applied to L2 teaching.

Cognitive Linguistics

Key Tenets and Concepts

Cognitive linguistics (CL) assumes the centrality of general human cognition in accounting for the shape of language, as well as for language learning. CL pays attention to how general cognitive processes, such as category formation, pattern finding, and sensitivity to frequency, along with how our cognition is shaped by our bodies, including our perceptual systems, as we interact with the spatial-physical world (Cadierno and Robinson 2009; Ellis and Robinson 2008). Language is taken to be a reflection of these cognitive capacities and processes. CL provides explicit ways to make sense of how such processes link to the ways language is configured and used.

Under CL accounts, making mental contact between a speaker and a listener is the central purpose of communication and language use. All units of language are seen as form-meaning pairings or constructions, thus emphasizing the notion that all language forms are meaningful. Under this perspective, a language speaker actively chooses among available linguistic form-meaning pairs in order to convey his/her specific perspective or conceptualization. The notion of active choice among competing constructions in order to facilitate making mental contact with the listener is closely intertwined with the notion of *construal* or the ability of humans to mentally recreate and present a situation in alternative ways (Taylor 2003, p. 11). Human languages inherently offer a number of tools to help the speaker convey a particular construal of a given situation. For instance, the same event can be conveyed with varying level of details, emphasizing various aspects of a scene, using different types
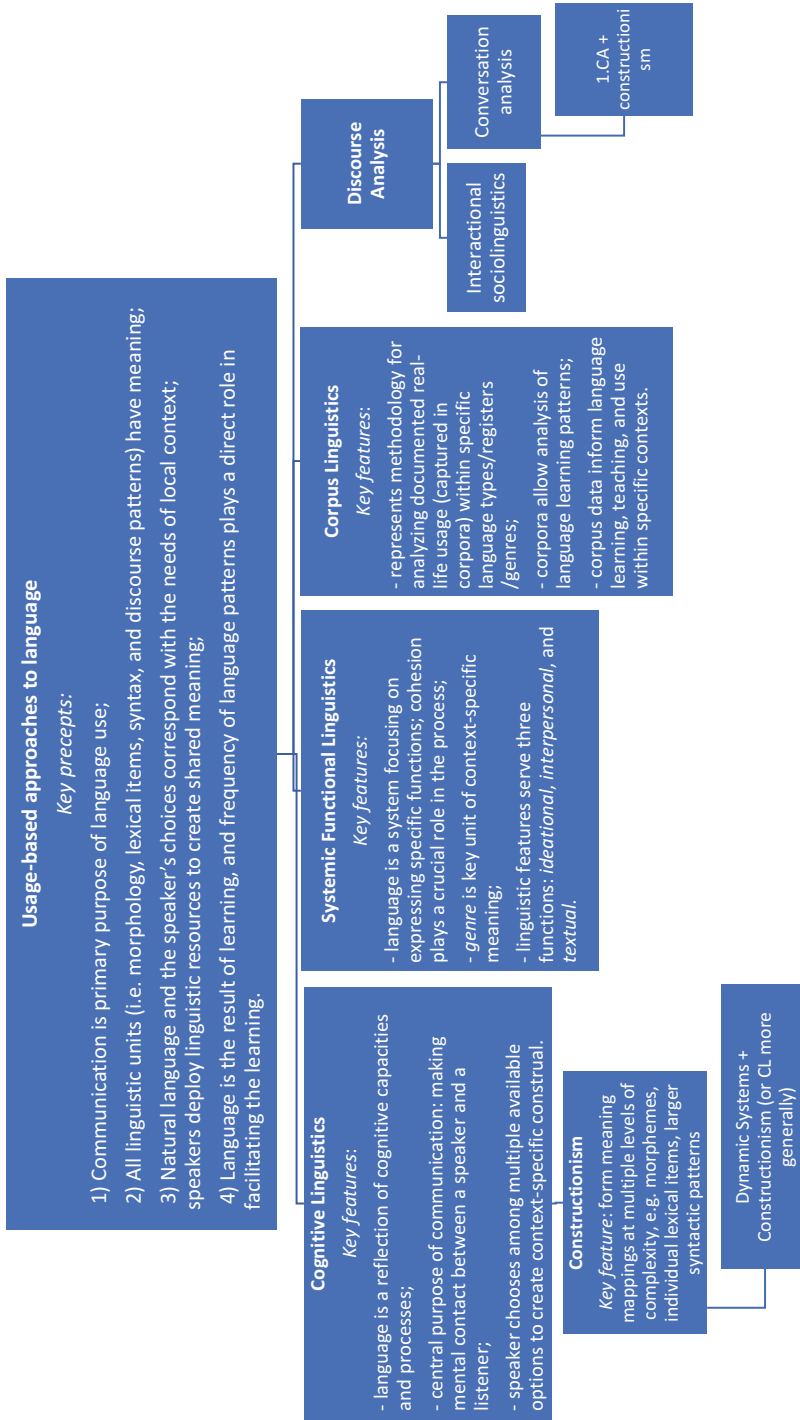
Fig. 1 Schematic connections between usage-based approaches to language

of vocabulary (e.g., standard/neutral vs. emotionally loaded), or different syntactic or morphological constructions. Some linguistic aspects characterizing construal are language-specific and conventionalized; most of the time, such conventions concern standard grammatical features present in a given language. To give a simple example, Japanese treats rice as individualized and countable; English treats rice as a mass noun. It is suggested that this reflects two different conceptualizations of rice, coming from the different status of rice in the two cultures.

The speaker's construal choices are always associated with or produced in response to a specific *usage event*, defined by Langacker (2000) as an "instance of language use..." which involves a user's knowledge of "not only the linguistic expression but also other factors such as ..... the physical, social, cultural, and linguistic context" (p. 9). Conventional responses to specific usage events are often culturally and contextually conditioned, relying on the choice of conventionalized language chunks that match the given situation and adequately express the assumptions encoded in speaker's background knowledge.

The process of learning a second language involves determining structure from usage, i.e., "learning from specific usage events the particular . . . set of constructions that are conventionalized in a given speech community" (Cadierno and Robinson 2009, p. 246). However, since the instructed L2 learner is not usually exposed to the same amount, frequency, or distribution of naturally occurring language input as L1 learners typically are, drawing the former's attention to key characteristics of the novel, target form-meaning(-s) pairings may be particularly useful for the purpose of distinguishing novel constructions in the input that the L2 learner cannot otherwise fully understand or process.

Focusing on language structure through event-specific construal makes the CL paradigm "arguably more comprehensive, revealing, and descriptively adequate" (Langacker 2008, p. 66) than more traditional paradigms currently used in language teaching. Under the CL analysis, the starting point of language acquisition for L2 learners is quite different from that of L1 learners: specifically, the L2 learner comes to the learning situation with a fully formed language (with its own categories and constructions), and it is thus likely that s/he will experience conflict between the established L1 and the target L2 systems. However, despite starting at a different point, L2 learners rely on the same cognitive processes as L1 learners and users (Ellis et al. 2016). Pedagogical interventions may be needed to help L2 learners appropriately sort out the L1 and L2 systems. Because CL provides the tools to explicitly discuss aspects that constitute differences between L1 and L2, CL-based pedagogical applications and interventions are of particular value to L2 learners.

Seminal Publications on Applications of CL to L2 Teaching

A number of research- and pedagogically oriented publications released in the last 20 years addressed different aspects of CL applications to L2 classroom context. This section will highlight their key points and contributions, selectively providing further details regarding the featured grammatical structures and pedagogical interventions.

Early (done in the late 1990s and early 2000s) research reporting CL applications to L2 teaching was largely exploratory in nature. Two volumes of *Applied Cognitive Linguistics* edited by Putz et al. (2001) addressed topics such as (but not limited to) using CL theory for the instruction of the English tense system, phrasal verbs, and idioms and metaphor, as well investigating the role of prototypes and cognitive development for language acquisition.

In this volume, Dirven (2001) presented a CL analysis of English phrasal verbs, providing several conceptually grounded pedagogical recommendations for how such an analysis could be incorporated into teaching practices. Furthermore, Kurtyka's (2001) article addressed the issue of pedagogical applicability of phrasal verbs CL research, citing informal, largely qualitative reports of how such materials were used by a number of English schoolteachers in Krakow, Poland. Even though regularly scheduled school tests did demonstrate an overall improvement in the learners' use of phrasal verbs, the learners' pre- and post-intervention development was not measured, so, such an improvement may have been caused by possible other intervening variables. Kurtyka also reported that "the learners' reaction to the material was rather positive as long as the teachers' instructions included practical, 'tangible' application of the theory presented" (Ibid., p. 48).

Achard and Niemeier (2004) edited a breakthrough volume which illustrated the pedagogical value of CL by providing a greater focus (and a greater range of articles) on using CL to analyze and teach specific grammatical constructions and to address the challenges learners may have with understanding the target language construal. Specifically, the topics covered in this volume included language-specific typology of construing motion events, linguistic relativity and role of background and culture for L2 instruction, and using CL to teach about the polysemy associated with English prepositions. A representative study from that volume is Cadierno (2004), which laid an important foundation for exploring how motion event patterns coded in L1 (i.e., focusing on capturing the manner of motion versus the path of movement) transferred into or affected the articulation of motion events in L2. Using the narrative of "Frog" stories, Cadierno (2004) found that intermediate-level Danish L1 learners of Spanish coded motion events for Spanish similarly to the Danish language pattern, i.e., with elaborate path descriptions as opposed to the Spanish norm of using relatively more general motion description. The key takeaway point is that L1 construal patterns are likely to affect L2 construal and corresponding production.

Reflecting a growing body of research interest focused on teaching of vocabulary and phraseology, Boers and Lindstromberg (2008) published a volume on the topic. Most notably, within this volume, Boers et al. (2008) report findings from several experiments that tested the applicability of CL explanation and visual support to instruction of English idioms and primary metaphors. Unlike many previous studies, this study was more rigorous in nature, being grounded in a solid research design with experimental and traditional instruction groups. Posttest results demonstrated that a CL-based pedagogical approach enhanced with visual representations helped learners retain more vocabulary than traditional teaching methods; this outcome was magnified for lower proficiency learners. Boers et al. also report pedagogical

recommendations regarding combining visual support with verbal explanations, which is a helpful conclusion to keep in mind for future research applying CL theory to L2 contexts.

More recently, Tyler's (2012) book represents a comprehensive overview of the state of the art in applied cognitive linguistics. Opening with a detailed coverage of key CL concepts, the book zooms in on applications of CL theory to L2 teaching in general and on a number of specific studies in particular, the latter focusing on such notoriously problematic (for L2 learners) language aspects as modal verbs, prepositions, and clause-level constructions. The book concludes with suggestions for future work as well as extensive appendices with materials from select studies cited within it.

Finally, two recent edited volumes report multiple studies expanding our understanding of cognitive processes crucial for successful language learning. Ortega et al. (2017) feature studies that support the view that language learning is tied to meaning-making and that creating connections with other interlocutors is inevitably grounded in the local or immediately accessible context. The studies reported in this volume cover an array of languages (besides English) and learning situations. Additionally, Evers-Vermeul and Tribushinina's (2017) edited volume covers a range of studies that in their entirety allow readers to see how language acquisition happening in all learning contexts is grounded in natural language usage. Both of these volumes underscore cognitive and linguistic factors crucial for language development, which in turn carry a variety of implications for language teaching situations.

The sources presented in this section thus far were primarily targeting research-oriented audiences. A question arises: What about teachers and learners? A few publications in the last decade did attempt to meet the needs of both.

Focused on presenting a CL view of language to *learners* of English, Radden and Dirven's *Cognitive English Grammar* (2007) was conceptualized as a textbook in courses in English and general linguistics. It represents a learner-friendly introduction to CL theory and outlines how key CL concepts are captured in relation to English grammar. It aims to serve the learners' needs through the inclusion of multiple examples, explanations, summaries, and suggestions for further reading. While an average student may still experience a significant learning curve processing the information from this book, it is nevertheless a useful resource that occupies a well-documented existing niche.

On the other hand, *teachers* wanting to learn more about incorporating CL principles into classroom activities could benefit from Holme's (2009) monograph, which explored ways of introducing concepts of embodied language and cognition into classroom practices. One of the book's foci was on incorporating elements of the total physical response (TPR) approach into language teaching through the form of providing an embodied demonstration of word stress and intonation patterns. Holme also included suggestions of specific activities that could be incorporated into lessons, supporting the idea that "activities that link movement, stress and rhythm also link language, as a remembered entity, to the use of the body as semiotic device" (Ibid., p. 44).

Similarly oriented toward language teachers, Littlemore's (2009) book begins with explaining the CL-based view of language and proceeds to characterizing a range of crucial CL concepts (such as but not limited to construal, categories, metaphor, and metonymy), in an approachable and easy-to-understand manner. It could be used as a foundation for informing further application of select aspects of CL theory to L2 teaching and/or for developing teaching materials for problematic L2 constructions.

In sum, while CL applications to L2 teaching are still relatively limited in number, they show an early promise of CL to serve as systematic support for L2 instruction ensuring the stability of teaching practices across various aspects of language (de Knop and Dirven 2008; Tyler 2012).

Value of CL for Teaching English Grammar

While approaches highlighted in the previous section indicate the value of CL for multiple areas of language, it has to be specified that CL is particularly useful for teaching contextualized grammatical phenomena, as it provides a clear way to bridge the discrepancy between the L1 and L2 learner systems. CL insights and explanations help present grammatical features as meaningful explanation "packages" easily accessible to language learners. Relative complexity makes a linguistic item either more difficult or more straightforward for L2 acquisition; under a CL analysis, complex grammatical constructions can be broken down into more straightforward points or subcomponents that might facilitate the acquisition process (Achard 2004). Cognitive grammar provides tools for discussion of difficult points of the language and can thus valuably contribute to L2 teaching "by integrating cognitive descriptive insights into compatible well-established models of L2 pedagogy" (Ibid., p. 168). Such an approach provides for an opportunity to teach grammar similarly to lexis, i.e., with a direct focus on meaning behind the use of certain forms. If grammar is treated as a contextually based, rather than a context-independent phenomenon, such positioning fits well with the established importance of recreating communicative context in language instruction (as has been previously argued and demonstrated by research in communicative, content-based, and task-based language teaching, among other instructional paradigms).

The ultimate value of using CL grammar for L2 teaching is that adopting its principles allows the learner to see the perspective of the speaker at the center of a communicative act (Achard 2008). The learner is given an idea that s/he has a choice in linguistic means and is thus encouraged to take a more "active" role in constructing his/her own language, as informed by conditions of the given communicative purpose and context. Such a realization helps recreate a more naturalistic acquisitional context and indirectly bridge the gap between the learner's L1 and L2.

Even though CL grammar is highly useful for language learners, adapting it for L2 instruction is a challenging enterprise, as no CL L2 curricula or textbooks are currently available. Implementing CL instruction, thus, requires deep understanding of the theory on behalf of the instructor and willingness to "translate" the theory into more understandable, learner-friendly language.

One of the most successful applications of CL theory to understanding and teaching aspects of English grammar has been the publications by Tyler and colleagues on the Principled Polysemy model (Tyler and Evans 2003) of English prepositions. The model allows analysis of prepositional meanings as networks of related meanings as opposed to seemingly random lists of senses. Tyler and Evans (2004) presented multiple pedagogical suggestions of how senses of *over* might be taught. Most recently, Tyler et al. (2011) investigated the effects of CL treatment on the instruction of English prepositions using a pre- and posttest research design. Advanced learners of English were presented with a pedagogical presentation informed by CL explanations of the English prepositions *to*, *for*, and *at*. Their posttest scores were significantly higher than the pretest scores, showing that participants expanded their understanding of the three polysemous prepositions following the CL treatment. Extending the investigation, Tyler (2012) reported a follow-up experiment involving both an experimental and a control group. In this study, the experimental group significantly outperformed the control group. These findings provide support for using CL theory in ESL contexts; however, because the study did not investigate relative efficacy of a cognitive linguistic approach in relation to other pedagogical approaches, further research is warranted in this direction.

Moving to more complex grammar, Dolgova Jacobsen (2016) undertook an effects-of-instruction study applying CL to teaching English conditionals. Informed by blending theory analysis of conditionals, her study design compared the effectiveness of CL-informed instruction enhanced by the use of pedagogic tasks. Results demonstrated strong, statistically grounded support for the use of adapted CL theory in L2 classrooms, supporting further research on applications of CL to syntactic phenomena.

Remaining Challenges

As emphasized in previous sections of this chapter, CL has a range of tools that can be of particular use and relevance for L2 learners, such as making form-meaning pairings transparent within authentic usage context and allowing L2 learners to see the perspective of a native speaker. Even though CL-informed approaches have the potential of revolutionizing language instruction by serving as a supportive system for establishing stable meaning connections, a number of challenges for its application still exist.

Because CL is a theory-intensive approach, understanding the theory fully may require a certain commitment and buy-in, which unfortunately limits its accessibility and the degree of receptiveness on behalf of L2 teaching professionals. Furthermore, not enough experimental research has been done so far to demonstrate this theory's direct applicability in L2 contexts. Many studies have been exploratory and/or purely qualitative in nature, while studies with quantitatively oriented design have been relatively small in number and often were not sufficiently controlled. Last but not least, many existing studies applying cognitive linguistics to L2 contexts did not take full advantage of current achievements of pedagogically oriented SLA research. In sum, there still remains room for significantly more research in applied cognitive linguistics.

Systemic Functional Linguistics

Key Tenets and Concepts

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) was started with the seminal publication by Halliday and Hasan (1976) that presented a view of language as a system focusing on expressing specific functions, cohesion playing a crucial role in the process. Subsequent work by Halliday and his followers viewed language as a tool for creating context- and text-specific meaning. A key unit of such context-specific expression is *genre*; depending on the genre, more specific realizations such as register, semantic, and lexico-grammatical contents and phonetic and phonological expression will be determined (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Genre allows to tap into organic cultural knowledge associated with specific text types; thus, the social and the semantic aspects of meaning appear to be naturally intertwined in specific genre constructs. On the expression level, linguistic features can serve three functions: *ideational* (ideas or the meaning expressed by the text itself), *interpersonal* (signaling speaker's position or attitude as well as assumptions about the intended audience of the text), and *textual* (referring to elements creating coherence on the text level, such as concepts of "theme" and "rheme," discourse markers, sentence connectors, etc.). The latter function has been studied extensively through focus on various linguistic choices signaling cohesion, such as nominalizations/grammatical metaphor (Ryshina-Pankova 2010), pronoun use and reference, and elements of syntactic structure such as ellipsis and repetition.

Genre-Based and Content-Based Instruction

Relying on genre as a central element of language use and function has served as a foundation for genre-based and content-based approaches to language learning. Byrnes (2009) claims that SFL-based applications to foreign language teaching "focus on the meaning-making or functional quality of language as a semiotic system and of contextualized language use" (p. 2).

Genre-based approaches have been most popular in the Australian context, where their founders Halliday and Hasan relocated, and have been applied to L1 English instruction as well as the secondary-level teaching of science and history (Christie 1992; Christie and Derewianka 2008; Coffin 2006). A highly representative article is that by Martin (2009); he claims that the foundation behind SFL-based approaches to literacy is, on the one hand, the theory's "focus on grammar as a meaning-making resource" and, on the other hand, "its focus on text as semantic choice in social context" (p. 11). Martin's view of language as a meaning-making system is captured in Fig. 2 below.

Within this system, genre works as a staged goal-oriented social process (Ibid., p. 13). Martin and colleagues developed a framework for mapping multiple genres for the development of L1 literacy in primary and secondary school settings, providing examples of dialogue, history genres, and corresponding explanations

Fig. 2 Levels of language
(recreated from Martin
2009, p. 12)
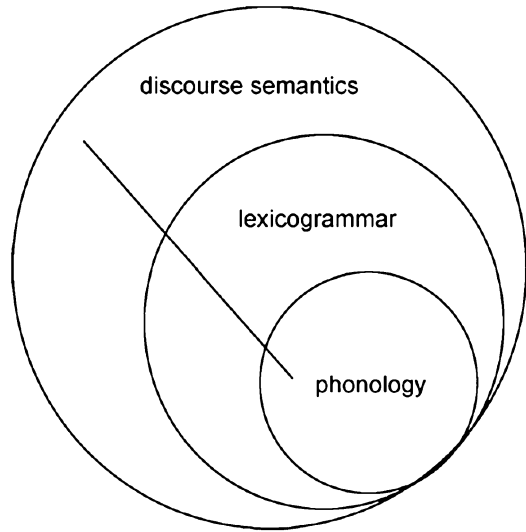
showing how the concept of genre plays a role for learning and outlining a whole typology of genres crucial for secondary school history curriculum. The evidence shared in the article suggests that genre can be used for curriculum mapping and making meaning connections for learners, capturing the configurations thereof throughout different contexts. Martin (2009) concludes with the recommendation to investigate two specific areas: "(i) renovation of the pedagogy to incorporate a focus on teaching grammar and lexis, and graphology and phonology to students developing their meaning potential on these strata; and (ii) renovation of the pedagogy to include a focus on spoken discourse, taking into account the multimodal contexts" (p. 19).

It seems that these recommendations have been followed at least partially in the United States, both in K-12 context and university context. In K-12 settings, Schleppegrell and colleagues have made considerable advances in applying SFL to content instruction. Specifically, in her seminal 2004 work, Schleppegrell analyzed how language works as a system in a K-12 schooling context, defining and outlining common tasks, registers, and genres as demonstrated in science and history instruction. Subsequently, a number of her single- and co-authored works addressed language instruction in content-based settings (cf. approach to teaching language for history instruction (Schleppegrell and de Oliveira 2006), language arts (Moore and Schleppegrell 2014), and academic language in elementary (Schleppegrell 2016) and secondary (Schleppegrell and O'Halloran 2011) educational contexts at large).

Furthermore, over the course of the last 20 years, SFL has been successfully applied to foreign language instruction in the United States, most notably to the instruction of German as a foreign language at Georgetown and Emory universities. Building upon the concept of genre and the corresponding writing tasks reflecting different genre groups, Byrnes and colleagues (e.g., Byrnes et al. 2006, 2010; Byrnes 2009; Ryshina-Pankova 2010, 2016) developed a 4-year genre-based curriculum

that allows students to reach advanced proficiency levels necessary for study at a German university by graduation time. At the center of this curriculum lies the concept of establishing and then articulating connections between the genre, use of vocabulary, grammar choices, and cohesion/rhetorical options. More specifically, each proficiency level (beginning, intermediate, advanced) is associated with mastering a number of key genres and writing tasks that allow for expression of meaning along three trajectories: the *interpersonal*, the *semiotic*, and the *generic*:

- The interpersonal trajectory: from personal, private, and explicitly subjective to impersonal, public, and implicitly subjective
- The semiotic trajectory: from genres congruent with experience to those reflecting about experience
- The generic trajectory: from narratives to explanations to argumentation

(*Georgetown University Department of German* website n.d.)

Through engaging in analysis of texts from all of these perspectives, learners promote their reading, writing, and speaking skills simultaneously. Even though this enterprise has been successful for a number of years, the implementation of this innovative- and research-based approach to language teaching came with a number of challenges, as reported by Ryshina-Pankova (2016). First, all materials had to be revamped in order to create a focus on the genre and literacy orientation while providing culturally relevant and interesting content at the same time. Second, all assessment practices and instruments had to be able to capture different stages of literacy development in alignment with explicit objectives and goals of the program. The restructuring process took a number of years and had to rely on intense collaboration among faculty of all levels and graduate students. Furthermore, successful curriculum requires "constant maintenance and revision," and writing tasks (as well as corresponding grammar worksheets) have be modified to reflect the ongoing challenges and/or program changes and development (Ryshina-Pankova 2016, p. 69). An adaptation of similar curricular principles to other educational settings would likewise require a significant degree of effort and dedication from all involved parties.

Remaining Challenges

While SFL has been widely applied to socially structured contexts of language use and thus can be successful in addressing social factors and speaker's meta-choices (often expressed through syntactic means) in language and content instruction, it lacks the focus on cognitive factors nor does it articulate the motivation behind available grammatical options and their connection to language meaning. In other words, the usage and aspects of meaning emphasized by SFL are the ones associated with the text itself, rather than text-external factors (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Speaker's background or meanings typically profiled by specific language categories do not play significant roles for

SFL-based text analysis (while they do so in CL-based approaches). In that sense, CL and SFL are complementary to each other, as they highlight the motivation and meaning associated with different aspects of language.

Corpus Linguistics

Key Concepts/Theoretical Foundation

Corpus in "corpus linguistics" has been uniformly defined as "a collection of authentic language, either written or spoken, which has been compiled for a particular purpose" (Flowerdew 2012, p. 3), most commonly linguistic or socio-pragmatic. Corpora should traditionally include authentic and/or naturally occurring data, follow "explicit design criteria," and represent language or genres from a particular usage context (Ibid.).

Corpus linguistics is a "usage-based" approach to language because any corpus-associated research or teaching efforts are inherently grounded in documented real-life usage of a given language type/genre. In contrast to CL and SFL, each representing a comprehensive theory of language and essentially acting as a lens to view language through, corpus-based approaches allow for consulting and finding "answers" in authentic usage to inform subsequent decisions that have to do with language teaching, learning, and use. Characterized as potentially revolutionary by Sinclair (2004), corpus-based approaches to language learning and teaching have been gaining greater popularity in the last two decades.

Recent applications of corpus linguistics to language learning and use include designing (Flowerdew 2004; Handford 2010) and using corpora for specialized language research (e.g., research in literature and translation (Kübler and Aston 2010), sociolinguistics (Andersen 2010), forensic linguistics (Cotterill 2010), and health communication (Atkins and Harvey 2010) and learner language research (cf. Ellis et al. 2016), using corpora for informing classroom materials, and incorporating the use of corpora into classroom instruction. Because of space limitations as well as the focus of this volume, this chapter will focus on two main areas – using corpus tools for (a) classroom materials design and for (b) L2 teaching and learning.

Corpus-Based Resources and Materials

Corpus-based applications to material design are grounded in the belief that language teaching materials should be informed by and/or reflect authentic language use. The two key areas where this approach has been most relevant are teaching of vocabulary and teaching of academic language features.

For the first goal – vocabulary instruction – a number of researchers created or designed vocabulary lists or databases that could be used for classroom teaching and assessment of vocabulary. Coxhead's (Coxhead 2000; Coxhead and Byrd 2007) work in creating, refining, and maintaining the Academic Word List (AWL)

represents significant progress in making corpus-based vocabulary resources maximally accessible to a wide range of English learners and teachers. The AWL resource (Academic Word List Information n.d.) comprises 570 specially selected word families and excludes top 2000 most frequent words of English and is linked to an academic corpus (with texts from four disciplines: arts, commerce, law, and science) consisting of approximately 3.5 million words. The goal of the AWL is for it to be "used by teachers for preparing learners for tertiary level study or used by students working alone to learn the words most needed to study at tertiary institutions" (Ibid.). For the latter task, Coxhead provides explicit guidelines, indicating that AWL should be used for receptive (reading academic texts and listening to academic lectures and discussions) and productive (speaking and writing for academic purposes) purposes, as well as for independent study of vocabulary (How to Use This List n.d.).

Nation's (n.d.) *Range* program is linked to the AWL list and allows to analyze the vocabulary profiles in texts, focusing on frequency and content of specific vocabulary in one or several text sources. A similar function can be accomplished through one of the tools available on Cobb's (n.d.) *Compleat Lexical Tutor*; the latter resource, in fact, allows to satisfy a wide range of vocabulary analysis needs, including identifying key words, analyzing concordance lines, and creating cloze tests and flash cards, among other functions. It is not, however, very user-friendly, because the website does not provide an easy tutorial for navigating the busy interface and/or complete step-by-step instructions for using the available vocabulary analysis functions.

Another approach to utilizing corpora for language teaching materials is tied to concordance line analysis. The processes and procedures for engaging learners in such analysis directly are addressed in greater detail in the following section, but in reference to material design, recent literature on the topic has provided multiple suggestions on how to develop teaching materials based on corpus concordance lines (e.g., Thurston and Candlin 1998). A teacher-friendly approach to designing concordance-based activities described in Bennett (2010) includes seven steps: asking a research question, determining the register in question/in focus, selecting an appropriate corpus resource for the register, using a concordancing program for quantitative analysis, engaging in qualitative analysis of available patterns, creating exercises for students, and engaging students in whole-language activity. Similarly, a recent teacher-oriented publication by Liu and Lei (2017) includes detailed background descriptions and procedures for designing student-friendly and effective corpus-based materials and exercises.

Concordance line analysis has also been widely used for studying features of academic language; its application has been particularly prominent in the fields of English for Academic and Specific Purposes (EAP and ESP) for investigating and teaching discipline-specific collocational patterns. For instance, Ward (2007) focused on analyzing the link between common collocations and the overall degree of technicality in engineering context and concluded that students should be taught to recognize collocations and learn them as chunks. Cortes (2004) looked at lexical bundles in published and student writing in history and biology; the results demonstrated that successful use of lexical bundles was crucial for the publication and

ultimate success of a paper and that students should be actively taught such bundles and shown how to use them in their own academic texts; Lee and Swales (2006) also concluded that reliance on corpora, especially self-compiled ones (reflecting one's own field), should be the new direction in EAP dissertation and/or PhD writing classes. Along similar lines, areas of business writing (Nelson 2006), engineering (Mudraya 2006), and mathematics (Anthony and Bowen 2013) have been analyzed using corpus tools, and findings from all of these studies have direct implications for the classroom.

Furthermore, the deficiencies of reference materials and textbooks lacking a grounding in authentic language use have been well documented (e.g., Gilmore 2004). Fortunately, this gap is in the process of being at least partially closed thanks to advances in corpus linguistic research and wide availability of corpora of different types. More specifically, the availability of corpora has given rise to publication of multiple grammar reference books grounded in authentic language use (e.g., Biber et al. 1999; Carter and McCarthy 2006). Additionally, recent Cambridge ESL series, such as *Exploring Grammar in Context* (Carter et al. 2000), *Exploring Grammar in Writing* (Hughes 2005), *Grammar and Beyond* (Reppen 2012), and *Touchstone* (McCarthy et al. 2014), are based on naturally occurring discourse and aim to present grammar and vocabulary patterns as they exist in authentic contexts.

Applications of Corpus Linguistics to Teaching: Data-Driven Learning

One of the most common classroom applications of corpus approaches has been referred to as data-driven learning, or DDL (Cresswell 2007; Geluso and Yamaguchi 2014; Johns 1991), which provides simulation of inquiry by allowing students to pose a research question, observe corpus output, and draw generalizations/rules/conclusions based on observed trends. Data-driven learning has been used to assess the effectiveness of corpus tools for teaching and learning of various target language structures (to name a few: Boulton (2009), focusing on linking adverbials; Daskalovska (2015), focusing on verb adverb collocations; Huang (2014), focusing on abstract nouns; Mueller and Jacobsen (2016), focusing on light verbs and prepositions; Smart (2014), focusing on passive voice). The learning of collocations at large has also been more generally explored by applied corpus linguistic research (Chon and Shin 2013; Hyland 2008). A recent meta-analysis of 64 studies investigating the success of DDL (Boulton and Cobb 2017) provided extensive evidence for its pedagogical effectiveness.

Even though data-driven learning is inductive by its nature, many of current DDL research applications build upon deductive approaches, as well (Flowerdew 2012). The next section provides further details on both.

Deductive vs. inductive approaches to L2 corpus use. The deductive vs. inductive distinction is particularly useful in the sense that the two approaches complement each other.

In *deductive* (i.e., top-down) approaches, learners complete simpler corpus tasks that require them to find results confirming explicit hypotheses about the target

structure. In other words, students may be guided in terms of both the form of their initial inquiry and the options they consider as they pursue possible solutions. It has been recommended by existing studies (Charles 2007; Liu and Jiang 2009) that deductive searching precedes any other type of work with corpus interface because they entail simpler tasks that merely require finding results that confirm an explicit hypothesis about the target structure. In other words, students feel more confident while being guided through this process the entire time.

On the other hand, *inductive*, or bottom-up, approaches assume that learners analyze the data and generate rules based on usage patterns they see (Flowerdew 2009; Gavioli 2005; Meunier 2002). In the extreme version of this approach, students may be acting as researchers, responsible for forming questions and searching for answers using the corpus as a tool. In this relation, Gavioli (2005) uses the metaphor of "spies" to describe ESP students learning about a discourse community in order to infiltrate it.

The benefit of inductive approaches is that students are able to see language usage in context and model their own production accordingly (Hyland 2008). However, inductive learning is associated with a significant learning curve and is thus criticized because of difficulty of use by students. More specifically, Liu and Jiang (2009) highlight the following problems students faced: dealing with copious output, sorting through irrelevant examples, and reading results featuring unknown words.

Being complementary, both approaches represent different types of value for the students. Researchers recommend (Charles 2007; Flowerdew 2012) suggested reconciling top-down and bottom-up instructional approaches/materials for balanced instruction. A combination of both would allow students to focus both on function (while analyzing sentences in context) and on form (while analyzing grammatical and meaning connections within sentences).

Remaining Challenges

Despite the documented benefits of employing corpus tools for language learning and teaching, a number of pedagogical challenges persist. Corpora have been criticized for not always being representative of "real language" and for not relying on the most important texts for the students' learning context. For instance, in relation to vocabulary corpora such as AWL, the criticism is that the occurrence of seemingly general lexical items may vary quite a bit depending on the discipline as far as range, frequency, collocation, and meaning may be concerned (Hyland and Tse 2007).

Furthermore, there exists a well-documented problem of the corpus interface. Virtually all researchers who have written on the topic (for most recent and comprehensive overview, see Chang 2014) point out the students' difficulty with corpus interface and high learning curve associated with it. Challenges with interpreting somewhat short concordance lines and overwhelming amounts of data to sort through may be contributing to students' failure to notice and consider a full range of observable language phenomena, leading to a subsequent difficulty in evaluating

the significance of patterns in data. The fact that many teachers themselves are unfamiliar with the technology compounds difficulties in applying the approach to the L2 classroom.

There have also been some reservations regarding the effectiveness of corpora for students. For instance, Schenk and Cho (2012) indicate that the use of corpus methodology is not always effective, having found that even advanced learners of English did not "substantively apply observations from the corpus to the editing process, despite systematic guidance and extensive prior experience in the English field" (p. 174). In other words, despite realizing the benefits of corpus use, learners did not make a connection between corpus resources and their own final written product. Additionally, Pérez-Paredes et al. (2011) assert that the current state of knowledge does not offer sufficient data on or insight into corpus user experience, which makes it difficult to predict how learners may interact with the corpus findings. Until more comprehensive research findings become available, Boulton's (2009) conclusion that teachers should not rely on corpora as single teaching tools but rather should adopt a more balanced pedagogical approach, combining corpora with other methods, materials, and strategies, remains relevant. Reflecting the opinion of researchers working within usage-based paradigms, Tyler et al. (2018) express optimism that applications and use of DDL are likely going to continue in future years.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight three language learning and teaching approaches that are grounded in natural language usage and that emphasize form-meaning connections and engagement with the contextually available knowledge. Cognitive linguistics, systemic functional linguistics, and corpus linguistics each focus on complementary aspects of language usage: specifically, CL allows to gain insight into meaning-making processes and access the construal of a native speaker; SFL makes it possible to trace textual connections expressed in speaker's meta-discourse and cohesion choices, and corpus linguistics provides learners and teachers with the exposure to naturally occurring input and subsequent opportunity to deduce language use rules from the observed frequency patterns.

As demonstrated by the research reported in this chapter, applications of usage-based approaches to language teaching are hugely beneficial for learners' success; however, due to a currently less mainstream status of these paradigms, they do not yet constitute the core of TESOL training programs. Further efforts on popularizing research on these paradigms and making them more widely incorporated into teacher training programs are necessary in order to ensure teacher buy-in with the subsequent purpose of passing the benefits to the learners.

Furthermore, while existing applications of these three theories already offer sufficient support for their effectiveness, additional research in many other learning contexts would still be necessary in order to establish wider and potentially more specific ranges of their applications. Lastly, pedagogical effect of these paradigms

would be exponentially compounded if they collaborated with each other. For instance, designing pedagogical treatments and materials that combine insights from applied CL or SFL theory with corpus-based learning would be a way to maximize learner exposure to naturally occurring meaning in language and to enhance the effectiveness of potential acquisition. We express hope that these topics will be addressed by future studies.

Cross-References

▶ A Relevant Pedagogic Grammar for Today's Classrooms
▶ Instructed Second Language Acquisition and English Language Teaching: Theory, Research, and Pedagogy
▶ Metacognition and Self-Regulated Learning (SRL) in Second/Foreign Language Teaching
▶ Student Writing in Higher Education
▶ Teacher Learning and Technology-Enhanced Teacher Education
▶ The *What* and *How* of English Language Teaching: Conversation Analysis Perspectives

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Content and Language Integrated Learning in Hong Kong

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Yuen Yi Lo and Angel M. Y. Lin

Contents

Abstract

Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) is characterized by using students' additional language (L2) as the medium of instruction of non-language content subjects. In recent decades, this type of program has been gaining worldwide popularity, especially in English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) contexts, because of the assumption that it can facilitate L2 learning. However, this assumption may not be realized in many classrooms in EFL contexts, where both teachers and students are often not well-prepared to cope with the heavy linguistic demands to learn content and language simultaneously. Owing to a combination of sociopolitical and socioeconomic forces, Hong Kong has a rather long history of practicing some form of CLIL in secondary schools, in the form of English-medium instruction (EMI) education. Following some recent changes in the government's medium of instruction policies, there are different models and

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practices of EMI in Hong Kong schools to accommodate students with different English proficiency levels and also the expectations of different stakeholders. This chapter will illustrate these different models and practices and discuss their implications and challenges for English language learning, content learning, and teacher education.

Introduction

English as an additional language learning can take place in both English language classrooms and content subject classrooms. If it takes place in the latter, it means that English (i.e., students' additional language) is used as the medium of teaching and learning in non-language content areas (e.g., science, history). This kind of education program or approach is commonly known as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Morton and Llinares 2017). It is believed that through providing students with more opportunities to use the target language in authentic and communicative contexts in content subjects, CLIL can facilitate English (or other additional language) learning, without sacrifice in content learning (Genesee and Lindholm-Leary 2013; Lyster and Ruiz de Zarobe 2017). However, this idealized situation is not necessarily found in many CLIL classrooms, where neither teachers nor students are well-prepared to cope with the heavy linguistic demands in CLIL lessons.

Owing to a combination of sociopolitical and socioeconomic forces, Hong Kong has a rather long history of practicing English-medium instruction (EMI) education (Poon 2010). Following the recent changes in the government's medium of instruction (MoI) policies, there are different models and practices of EMI in Hong Kong schools to accommodate students with different English proficiency levels and also the expectations of different stakeholders (Chan 2014). Despite sharing the core characteristic of using an additional language (L2) as the MoI in content subjects, the EMI education in Hong Kong is quite different from the "ideal" form of CLIL, in which content and language learning is "integrated" in the curriculum and in pedagogical practices. That may explain why the EMI education in Hong Kong seems to fail to achieve the dual goal of content and language learning (Lo and Lo 2014). This chapter will first briefly introduce the global spread of CLIL (and other similar bilingual education programs), with special emphasis on its potential benefits to (English as an additional) language learning. It will then provide an overview of the development of EMI education in Hong Kong and illustrate various different models and practices that are currently in place, ranging from "content-rich language classes" to "language-rich content classes" (Lin 2016). It will further discuss the challenges for English language learning and content learning in these various models and, more importantly, the implications for teacher education and

professional development, so that the current EMI practices could maximize the full potential of CLIL. Through discussing these issues with the context of Hong Kong, this chapter can illuminate other contexts practicing similar bilingual education programs (e.g., immersion and CLIL).

The Worldwide Spread of Bilingual Education Programs

In the era of internationalization and globalization, it is inevitable that the majority of the world population are learning language(s) additional to their first language (L1). English, being the global lingua franca and international language, is naturally one of the most popular languages that people learn, especially in EFL contexts, such as Europe and Asia. The important question to ask then becomes "how" to learn an L2, such as English, more effectively. In more traditional or conventional English language teaching (ELT) programs, English is often learned as an isolated subject (e.g., English language, English literature), with specific timeslots in the school timetable. With the development of various second language acquisition (SLA) theories (some of which will be reviewed below), ELT methods and approaches have undergone significant changes, from grammar translation and audiolingualism to the current trend of communicative language teaching (CLT) and task-based language teaching (TBLT) (Harmer 2015). However, such ELT programs are still considered by many as ineffective, and people have been seeking other alternatives or complements. This gives rise to the popularity of CLIL programs (Georgiou 2012).

Although the term CLIL was coined in Europe in the 1990s to refer to the campaign to promote multilingualism and multiculturalism on the continent (Coyle et al. 2010), the term is now being used as an umbrella term to encompass a variety of education programs or pedagogical approaches which attempt to integrate the teaching and learning of content and L2, such as immersion programs, content-based instruction (CBI), and EMI education (Lin 2016; Morton and Llinares 2017). These programs or approaches are characterized by using an L2 as the language of instruction of content subjects. To some, this may seem an "unnatural" practice, as it is assumed that content knowledge should be best or most effectively learned through one's L1 (Bruton 2013). Such an assumption has also gathered some support from empirical research on students' cognitive processing in L1 and L2, which shows that bilingual learners tend to perform higher-order thinking skills in their L1 (e.g., solving mathematics problems) (Cohen 1994) and, when performing the same task in both L1 and L2, their performance in L1 is better than that in L2 (Gablasova 2014; Luk and Lin 2015). Hence, such a move to go against the "natural" way of learning is intended to achieve another equally (if not more) important goal, as perceived by policy makers, educators, and other groups of stakeholders – the learning of an L2. In this regard, the assumption that learning content subjects through an L2 could facilitate L2 learning is grounded on several SLA theories.

Along the line of (comprehensible) input, interaction, and output hypotheses (Krashen 1982; Long 1996; Swain 1995), learning other content subjects in an L2 provides more opportunities for students to be exposed to L2 input, and they are

expected to use the language with their peers and teachers more often, resulting in more L2 interaction and output, eventually facilitating L2 acquisition. In addition, these input, interaction, and output opportunities tend to be more authentic and meaningful, because teachers and students are using the L2 to talk about interesting and relevant content knowledge, instead of the "trivial" themes or topics in isolated L2 lessons which do not offer truly purposeful communication and lack "inherent incentive value" (Genesee and Lindholm-Leary 2013, 5–6). These hypothesized benefits have actually been well documented with years of research on the immersion programs in Canada, where Anglophone students are learning French as the L2 (see Genesee and Lindholm-Leary [2013] for a review). There, immersion students outperform their non-immersion counterparts in L2 learning, without sacrificing their academic achievement or L1 development; and such advantages have been repeatedly seen in different types of immersion programs (e.g., early immersion starting in kindergarten or primary schools vs late immersion starting in secondary schools) and among students with different characteristics (e.g., different socioeconomic status, different levels of intelligence) (Genesee 2004). There is evidence that the L2 proficiency of immersion students, especially concerning their grammatical accuracy, use of vocabulary and productive skills, cannot reach the native-like standard (Lyster 2007). Yet, with the goal of facilitating L2 learning, as compared with more traditional or conventional L2 teaching programs, immersion (as a variant of CLIL) is widely considered as successful.

The success of immersion programs provides strong evidence for the rationale behind content and language integrated learning. That may explain why the recent two decades witnessed rapid spread of similar approaches to other EFL contexts, including EMI in Asian countries and the more recent CLIL programs in Europe. However, the effectiveness of such programs in other contexts appears to be less conclusive, especially with regard to the dual goal of content and language learning (Bruton 2013; Lo and Lo 2014). This may be attributed to the fact that while adhering to similar principle of teaching content subjects in an L2 (very often English), there are differences in the actual program implementation and pedagogical practices, so that some of the hypothesized assumptions about CLIL are not seen in the actual classroom practices. Using Hong Kong as an example, the next section will turn to discuss the various models and practices of CLIL, their associated challenges, and some possible directions for materializing the idealized CLIL programs.

Bilingual Education in Hong Kong: Multiple Models

Hong Kong was a former colony of Britain until 1997 and is now a Special Administrative Region of China. There, over 90% of the population is ethnic Chinese, with Cantonese as their language of daily communication and standard written Chinese as their written language (Li 2017). Since the 1980s, Hong Kong has gradually developed into an international business and financial center, with flourishing international trade, banking and finance service, and tourism industry.

With such political, social, and economic background, the implementation of bilingual education and the MoI policy has been a recurrent issue of controversy, very often with the interplay of different agendas (Tsui 2004). In general, an overwhelming majority of primary schools in Hong Kong adopt Chinese (i.e., spoken Cantonese and standard written Chinese) as the MoI for most subjects, and English is taught as an isolated yet important subject (which occupies six to ten 40-minute lessons each week). This is believed to consolidate students' L1 learning and cognitive development while providing constant exposure to English. On the other hand, most publicly funded universities in Hong Kong use English as the major MoI, mainly because of the need to align with international higher education and to cater for a significant proportion of international students (around 20% at undergraduate level and much more at postgraduate level). While the MoI policies and practices at primary and tertiary levels appear to be largely set, those at the secondary level have undergone some significant changes in recent decades. A thorough review of such policy development (and the rationale behind) is beyond the scope of this chapter (for details please see Lin and Man 2009; Poon 2010). An overview will be provided here so as to understand the resulted various models and practices of bilingual education in Hong Kong.

Before the political handover in 1997, the Hong Kong colonial government adopted the so-called "laissez-faire" policy, in the sense that secondary schools were allowed to decide on their own MoI. With the beliefs that EMI schools could facilitate English learning, the colonial and international language, there was a strong preference (and hence demand) for EMI schools by parents and other stakeholders. Thus, over 90% of secondary schools claimed to be EMI schools, but both English and Chinese were used during lessons, leading to the prevalent phenomenon of "code mixing/switching" (Lin 2006). Soon after the handover, the Hong Kong SAR government implemented the mandatory mother tongue policy in 1998, stipulating the use of Chinese as the MoI from primary one to secondary three (grade 1–9). Facing the strong opposition from the society, especially from schools and parents, the government then allowed 114 secondary schools which fulfilled certain criteria related to school support measures, teacher capacity, and student ability to remain as EMI schools, in which all content subjects (except Chinese-related ones) were taught in English. However, for those Chinese-medium (CMI) schools, they may still offer some EMI education for not more than 25% of the total lesson time, and they were allowed to decide on the MoI from secondary 4 onward. After a decade, following a review of the mother tongue policy, the government announced the "fine-tuning" MoI policy. With effect from 2010 to 2011, this policy gives secondary schools more autonomy in MoI practices, as long as they observe the criteria aforementioned (Education Bureau 2010a).

The above changes in the MoI policies in Hong Kong result in a wide array of models and practices of bilingual education (Chan 2014), including:

(i) Mostly EMI: This type of schools is usually top-ranking schools, admitting students with high English and Chinese proficiency and general academic ability. In this type of schools, nearly all content subjects (except those

Chinese-related ones, such as Chinese language, Chinese literature, and Chinese history) are taught in English for all students in all grade levels.

(ii) Mostly CMI: Contrary to mostly EMI schools, this type of schools usually admits students with low language proficiency and general academic ability. Hence, nearly all subjects in the curriculum (except English language) are taught through Chinese for all students in all grade levels. However, these schools can enrich students' exposure to English through offering some "extended learning activities" (ELA) in English, for a maximum of 15%, 20%, and 25% of the total lesson time at secondary 1, 2, and 3 (equivalent to grades 7, 8, and 9), respectively. Such ELA may take place in different forms. For instance, some schools may choose to teach particular topics or themes of some content subjects through English; some schools may set aside a number of lessons per week or cycle for English enrichment programs, which are designed and taught by content subject teachers in collaboration with English language teachers; and some schools may offer bridging programs for newly admitted students or for students who choose to switch to EMI learning in senior secondary levels (Education Commission 2005).

(iii) MoI switching: In this type of schools, most subjects are taught in Chinese in junior secondary levels, but most subjects are offered in English in senior secondary levels, so as to better prepare students for EMI tertiary education.

(iv) EMI by class: Some schools may admit students with a wide range of diversity. With reference to students' language proficiency and academic ability, these schools may have a number of EMI classes in each grade level. In these EMI classes, most content subjects are taught in English. In recent years, there has been an increasing proportion of non-Chinese speaking students in Hong Kong. Among this group of students, those who are native English speakers tend to go to private international schools. For others who are of South Asian origin (e.g., Nepalese, Pakistani, Thai, Indonesian), they mainly go to publicly funded, mainstream secondary schools. As a result, those secondary schools which admit a significant proportion of non-Chinese speaking students may set up some "international" or EMI classes, so as to cater for the needs of this group of students (Lin and He 2017; Pérez-Milans 2016).

(v) EMI by subject: Some schools may choose to teach one or two content subjects in English, especially in junior secondary levels. It has been observed that secondary schools in Hong Kong are more inclined to adopt English as the MoI for mathematics and science subjects (Kan et al. 2011). Their rationale is probably to minimize the potential adverse impact of EMI teaching on students' academic achievement, since those subjects impose lower demand on students' literacy skills (Short 1994).

It has to be noted that the above models are not mutually exclusive. For example, it may be the case that among the five classes in a particular grade level in a school, two classes are EMI classes, two classes are EMI by subject, and the remaining one is mainly CMI with ELA. The emergence of these various models in Hong Kong is

likely the result of an array of factors. First, as laid down in the government's guidelines, schools have to take into account their resources, teachers' capacity in teaching content subjects through EMI (but mainly restricted to their English proficiency level), and students' language proficiency. Second, schools also need to consider stakeholders' expectations. This mainly concerns parents' (and perhaps some students') preference for EMI education, which is believed to be more effective and prestigious (Choi 2003). Third, while attempting to meet stakeholders' demands for EMI education, schools are also concerned about students' public examination results, which directly affect the university admission rate. It has been shown that students studying through EMI outperform their CMI counterparts in English proficiency but suffer in their academic achievement (Marsh et al. 2000, 2002). However, both English proficiency and academic achievement are essential for university entry, and so students studying in CMI schools have a lower success rate in university admission, mainly because they fail to meet the university English proficiency requirement (Tsang 2008). Given this trade-off between English and academic achievement, schools often face a dilemma when they choose a particular MoI. Finally, with the recent trend of shrinking student population in Hong Kong, some schools may also admit certain group of students (e.g., non-Chinese speaking students) to meet the minimum intake number stipulated by the government. They may then need to adopt suitable MoI practices for this group of students (Pérez-Milans 2016).

These various models and practices of bilingual education are not exceptional to the Hong Kong context, as researchers have reported similar diverse practices in other contexts (see, e.g., Coyle et al. [2010] for a review of different CLIL models in the European context). Such a phenomenon is probably because the core defining characteristic (i.e., integration of content and language learning) is rather broad, and hence different models and practices could be categorized as EMI or CLIL. However, these different models do have different goals, represent varying extents of content and language integration, and have different implications for the roles of teachers. For instance, in mostly EMI schools with most subjects taught in English for all students, the model is more "content-driven," in the sense that the content lessons primarily focus on delivering the subject content through the medium of English. These lessons are usually taught by subject specialists, and hence although they provide a language-rich environment for students to learn English, such language learning normally takes place incidentally. On the other hand, in mostly CMI schools with ELA, the model is more "language-driven," since the ELA aim at enriching students' exposure to English, especially academic English which is related to the subject content they have already learned through Chinese. These ELA usually have clear and explicit language objectives (e.g., vocabulary and speaking skills) (Education Commission 2005) and are often taught by English language teachers, with the support and input from their content subject colleagues. Irrespective of the models, however, the ideal integration of content and language teaching and learning seems to be largely absent. That may partly explain why the effectiveness of EMI in Hong Kong remains inconclusive, which will be discussed in the next section.

Difficulties Encountering EMI in Hong Kong (and CLIL in Other Contexts)

As aforementioned, there may be different factors affecting the MoI policies in an educational system. Research on the effectiveness of EMI education in secondary schools in Hong Kong has so far raised some doubts. The Education Department (1994) found positive effect of EMI education on students' English proficiency, but Ho (1985) and Lo (1991) did not observe such an advantage. Also, the Education Department (1994) concluded that students learning through Chinese outperformed those learning through English in such content subjects as science, geography, and history, but Siu et al. (1979) and Ho (1985) did not find consistent or significant differences in academic achievement among students learning through different languages. However, those early studies suffer from some methodological limitations, such as the short-span experimental design, unclear definition of the MoI adopted (e.g., CMI, EMI, and mixed code), adoption of self-designed tests, and no control over such important confounding variables as students' academic ability. More recent studies adopting 3–5-year longitudinal design tracing a large number of students and controlling for different confounding variables (e.g., Marsh et al. 2000, 2002) tend to suggest that EMI students benefited in Chinese and English language learning but were disadvantaged in content subjects. Synthesizing the results of 24 empirical studies on EMI education in Hong Kong, Lo and Lo's meta-analysis (2014) concluded that students in EMI secondary schools were more proficient in English and performed better on measures of affective variables (e.g., self-concept, motivation, and interest in learning). Yet, they suffered in their learning of other content subjects, especially in science, history, and geography. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the EMI education in Hong Kong may not be able to achieve the dual goal of content and language integrated learning. Such trade-off phenomenon may be attributed to the following factors, which may also be applicable to other CLIL contexts (e.g., Europe).

The first reason concerns the underlying difficulties of EMI or CLIL. It is hypothesized that CLIL enables students to acquire an L2 through intensive exposure to L2 input and output within the authentic context provided by content subjects (Lyster and Ruiz de Zarobe 2017). However, it is also argued that the academic language involved in learning content subjects differs from everyday language. Cummins (2000) contrasted the two as basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) (or conversational language) versus cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (or academic language), seeing them as differing in terms of the cognitive demand and contextual support available. Recent research tends to see BICS and CALP as non-binary but lying on a continuum (Lin 2016). At the same time, researchers drawing on systemic functional linguistics have identified some characteristics of academic language such as the prevalence of abstract subject-specific terms, nominalization and passive voice, as well as occurrence of special genres (Schleppegrell 2004). These subject-specific genres pose difficulties for L2 learners who have to learn content subjects through an L2. Such difficulties become

even more severe in contexts like Hong Kong, where EMI starts in secondary schools. This is because the gap between cognitive and linguistic development widens when students are promoted to higher grade levels (Coyle et al. 2010). That is, the concepts in senior levels are more complicated and abstract, but students have just started to master the (academic) language involved. Thus, if EMI/CLIL teachers simply apply the "immersion" or "language bath" approach without more proactive or explicit language teaching, it would be extremely difficult for students to bridge such a gap (Morton 2010).

The second reason is related to the readiness of students for EMI education. Given the challenging task of learning content and (academic) language simultaneously, it has been argued that students admitted to EMI education should possess a certain level of language proficiency in order to benefit from bilingual education (Cummins 2000). However, this condition may not be fulfilled for some reasons. First, students' level of language proficiency is usually measured in terms of their everyday language. For example, the suitability of students to study through EMI in Hong Kong is estimated by their performance in general English examinations (both school-based and public examinations). Yet, as argued above, everyday language is considerably different from what is required for success in EMI education, and thus it is not sufficient to say that these students are ready to learn content and language simultaneously. Further, students' readiness may be closely related to the proportion of students admitted into EMI schools. Owing to the general preference for English in Hong Kong (and probably in other EFL contexts), over 90% of students were studying in EMI schools before the mother tongue policy. Even after the implementation of compulsory mother tongue education, there were still around 25% of students receiving EMI education, and this proportion has been on the rise again after the fine-tuning policy since 2010–2011 academic year (Kan et al. 2011). Such a relatively large proportion of students studying in EMI schools in Hong Kong inevitably implies a greater diversity of students in terms of their English proficiency since the linguistic capital English is often unevenly distributed across different social sectors in society (Lin and Man 2009). This then imposes great pressure on EMI schools and teachers with regard to the support they need to provide for students.

However, teachers in EMI schools may not have received sufficient training in EMI teaching, which is the third factor to be discussed. Considering the difficulties students face in EMI/CLIL, researchers seem to have reached a consensus on the need for EMI/CLIL teachers to help students master L2 academic literacies, by systematically integrating content and language teaching in content subject lessons (Cammarata and Haley 2018). In this sense, CLIL teachers bear dual responsibility, and they need to know subject matter content, the language associated with the subject matter (i.e., academic language), and how to make these comprehensible to students (i.e., CLIL methodology) (Cammarata and Tedick 2012; Morton 2016). These place high demands on EMI/CLIL teachers, which they may not have been prepared for. In Hong Kong and other CLIL contexts, CLIL is usually conducted by content subject teachers, who were trained as subject specialists only (Wolff 2012).

Thus, many CLIL teachers may not recognize their role in teaching language. For instance, teachers in EMI schools in Hong Kong were observed to construct separate identities as language teachers *or* content subject teachers (Trent 2010), whereas the mathematics and science teachers in CLIL in Malaysia perceived themselves as "content subject teachers" only and did not consider language to be very important in their subjects (Tan 2011). Holding such beliefs, content subject teachers may not feel the need to incorporate language teaching in their content-oriented lessons. Further, without training in language teaching, CLIL content subject teachers often lack language awareness, and they are not well equipped with strategies to teach their subjects in the L2 or help students to learn the content subject through the L2. For example, it has been observed that CLIL content subject teachers are inclined to focus on vocabulary teaching in their lessons, which may suggest that they are not highly aware of other linguistic features of their own subjects (e.g., grammar, sentence structures, genres) (Baecher et al. 2014; Koopman et al. 2014). They also find it difficult to plan content and language integrated lessons (Cammarata and Tedick 2012), and they do not know much about second language acquisition theories or pedagogical practices (Koopman et al. 2014).

From EMI to the "Ideal" CLIL

As can be seen from the previous sections, the current EMI models and practices implemented in Hong Kong, though could be regarded as a variant of CLIL (being treated as an umbrella term), seem to be different from the "idealized" practice of content and language "integrated" learning. Such a situation also applies to other educational contexts where different variants of CLIL are being implemented (e.g., Nikula et al. 2016). This section proposes some possible directions that may facilitate the move toward the ideal CLIL.

Promoting Teacher Education and Professional Development

In the view of the challenges teachers face in the program, one obvious direction to enhance the effectiveness of CLIL is to better prepare or develop CLIL teachers, including both content subject teachers and language teachers and both pre-service preparation and in-service professional development (PD). However, before proposing any teacher education and PD programs, one fundamental question to ask would be what CLIL teachers need.

In this regard, some researchers have put forward several frameworks which summarize the competencies of CLIL teachers, such as the "CLIL Teacher's Competences Grid" (Bertaux et al. 2010) and the "European Framework for CLIL Teacher Education" (Marsh et al. 2010). Several key aspects of competencies can be identified across these frameworks, including (i) understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL, (ii) knowledge about teaching language, content, and their integration, (iii) lesson planning and pedagogy, as well as (iv) intercultural learning. These several components echo what previous studies have observed lacking among content subject teachers in CLIL and hence provide useful indicators when

designing CLIL teacher education and PD programs. Each of these components will be elaborated with relevant literature and empirical studies.

The first component of "understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL" corresponds to CLIL teachers' beliefs and perceptions. As previously discussed, content subject teachers in CLIL may not believe in their roles of language teaching or develop the identity as content and language teacher (Lo 2014; Tan 2011). Considering the importance of teacher beliefs in affecting teachers' practices (Borg 2003), it seems fundamental to help content subject teachers in CLIL agree to their role or responsibility of incorporating language teaching into their content lessons. In view of this, some researchers (Cammarata and Tedick 2012; He and Lin 2018) proposed that teacher education and PD programs for CLIL teachers should introduce the rationale behind and principles of CLIL (i.e., the importance and potential benefits of content and language integrated learning). In this way, CLIL teachers will better understand "language" (English or other L2) is not only a "medium" of delivering the subject content but also an equally important learning goal. They may then believe in their role or at least the value of integrating language teaching in their content lessons. As Cammarata and Haley (2018) learned from their 1.5-year PD intervention study with immersion teachers in Canada, "the development of teachers' knowledge and expertise is simply not enough to ensure that teachers' practice will change . . . as long as their beliefs and perceptions do not align with the novel approach they are trying to familiarise themselves with" (12).

The second component of "knowledge about teaching language, content, and their integration" can be further elaborated with literature on CLIL teachers' language awareness. For instance, it has been argued that CLIL teachers' language awareness should encompass several aspects: (i) awareness of how language construes content; (ii) awareness of how such language may impose difficulties on L2 learners and how scaffolding can be provided; and (iii) awareness of L2 learning theories and pedagogy (Cammarata and Tedick 2012; Hoare 2003). More recently, Andrews and Lin (2018) proposed that the key to understanding CLIL teachers' language awareness is to differentiate between *using* subject-specific language to teach content on the one hand and *teaching* subject-specific language to talk about content on the other. They further drew on Lindahl and Watkins' proposal (2015) of three domains of teachers' language awareness to tease out the important components of CLIL teachers' language awareness, which include (i) the *user* domain, which consists of language proficiency and implicit and procedural knowledge of how to use language in content/discipline-specific ways; (ii) the *analyst* domain, which concerns knowledge about language (forms and functions) and explicit, declarative, metalinguistic knowledge about the language of the disciplines; and (iii) the *teacher* domain, which consists of pedagogical content knowledge, general pedagogical knowledge, and L2 theory knowledge as well as empathy with L2 learner's experience. While Andrews and Lin (2018) focused on CLIL teachers' language awareness, Morton (2016, 2018) proposed a more comprehensive model of knowledge for CLIL teachers, which he called *content and language knowledge for teaching (CLKT)*. This model is inspired by the concepts of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) (Shulman 1987) and content knowledge for teaching (CKT)

(Ball et al. 2008) and encompasses both content and language domains. A detailed elaboration of this model is not possible here, but in general, it proposes that each of the four domains of CKT for content subject teachers in CLIL (including "common content knowledge," "specialized content knowledge," "knowledge of content and students," and "knowledge of content and teaching") should have their analogue in the language domain, thereby forming four language domains (including "common language knowledge," "specialized language knowledge," and so on). These four language domains actually share similar characteristics with the components of teachers' language awareness discussed in previous proposals. Morton argued that this model can act as "a tool for the description and organisation of the types of knowledge that need to be the focus of teacher education and professional development programmes" (2016, 149–150).

The third component of "lesson planning and pedagogy" is closely related to the second component, as teachers' knowledge about teaching language, content, and their integration directly impacts on how they plan and deliver their lessons. As argued earlier, content and language can and should be integrated theoretically, but how they can be achieved pedagogically remains a question and challenge for teachers (Dalton-Puffer 2013). Content subject teachers are not equipped with language teaching and scaffolding strategies, and they often find it difficult to design lessons which integrate content and language teaching (Cammarata and Tedick 2012). To help content subject teachers plan content and language integrated lessons more easily, Cammarata (2016) proposed a framework for planning content-language-literacy integrated curricula, and Lyster (2016) put forward an integrated instructional sequence, with four phases, namely, noticing, awareness, guided practice, and autonomous practice. The former can be regarded as a macro-planning framework whereas the latter a micro-planning one. De Graaff et al. (2007) also proposed an observation tool for effective pedagogy in CLIL lessons. This tool was designed based on some core principles of language learning, including exposure to input, content-oriented processing, form-oriented processing, (pushed) output and strategic language use. This tool can be adopted to observe and analyze CLIL teachers' pedagogy, thereby complementing the lesson planning frameworks mentioned above.

The fourth component concerns "intercultural learning." Alongside with *content*, *cognition*, and *communication*, "culture" is one of the 4Cs in the CLIL conceptual framework proposed by Coyle et al. (2010), and it refers to the development of intercultural understanding and global citizenship. Hence, this is also regarded as one major competency of CLIL teachers. Yet, there has been some critical discussion about whether language learning in CLIL can actually promote intercultural learning, as content subject teaching may not necessarily involve cultural features of the target language, and students learning English, the most common target language in CLIL, may concern more about the instrumental values of the language, instead of English-speaking cultures (Bruton 2013). Comparatively speaking, there has been less literature focusing on this component in CLIL teacher education and PD programs. Perhaps this could be an area in the future research agenda (e.g., how teachers can promote intercultural learning in CLIL lessons).

The above components constitute the content of teacher education and PD programs for CLIL teachers. There are also proposals in terms of the overall design of effective programs. Teachers, especially in-service ones, often attend some workshops or short courses and learn some new ideas, but they may discard these ideas easily if the ideas do not work out or if they do not have sufficient support (Short 2013). Thus, in addition to workshops or short courses that introduce teachers to various aspects of knowledge related to CLIL, many researchers have highlighted the importance of "practice" or "application" of knowledge and reflection (Cammarata and Haley 2018; Escobar Urmeneta 2013), together with on-site support such as lesson observations, conferences with teachers, and feedback from teacher educators (Short 2013). Collaboration among teachers, within schools, or among different schools, during planning, teaching, and reflection processes, is also observed to be conducive to professional learning (Cammarata and Haley 2018; Lo 2015). As it takes time for teachers to internalize the new ideas, try them out, and then reflect on their effectiveness, it is suggested that a professional development program should be spread over the course of one school year (Short 2013). Finally, it has been proposed that a strong professional development program should include a valid measurement of teacher implementation and should trace teachers' progress (Short 2013). Assessment of students' learning progress can also be provided regularly to the teachers, who may then be more motivated to sustain the implementation of new ideas (Guskey 2002).

It may be reasonable to assume that it is relatively easier to design coherent curriculum covering various components for pre-service teachers, given that teacher preparation programs usually span a period of 3–5 years. However, as far as we acknowledge, there have been few studies examining pre-service teacher preparation programs for CLIL or other similar bilingual education programs (see Escobar Urmeneta 2013 for an example). On the other hand, there has been more discussion about PD programs for in-service teachers. One possible reason is that the rapid growth of CLIL in different contexts has imposed huge challenges for in-service teachers, most of whom have not received training in CLIL but have been asked or assigned to teach on the program. Hence, there is a more urgent need to provide training for this group of teachers. At the same time, it may be more difficult to provide training for this group of teachers, as they may have already established some beliefs, perceptions, and practices from their teaching experience, which tend to influence their orientation to learning and changes (Opfer and Pedder 2011). They may also face more contextual constraints, such as school policies, curriculum requirement, and interpersonal relationship (Lo 2017). Hence, more tailor-made programs may be required for in-service teachers in different school contexts, at different stages of their career, teaching different disciplines and with different personal aspirations or experience. This implies a more school-based approach to CLIL teachers' professional development. A promising trend is to promote cross-curricular collaboration between English and content subject teachers in the same school, together with on-site support from teacher educators in the field. Such a combination of school-based learning community and partnership with teacher educators can make PD programs more

effective and sustainable (Short 2013). Hence, the next section will focus on language across the curriculum and cross-curricular collaboration.

Language Across the Curriculum Through Teacher Collaboration

In some literature, language across the curriculum (LAC) is used interchangeably with such terms as CLIL and CBI. However, there are subtle differences between them that are worth mentioning before discussing LAC in detail. LAC actually emerged in the 1970s in Britain as a whole-school approach to address the language and literacy needs of students studying in different subject areas. And these students include both native English speakers and linguistic minority students. LAC emphasizes the practice through which the *use* and *study* of languages take place throughout the content curriculum. In other words, teachers across different subject areas should pay due attention to the language aspects. With the recent emergence of CLIL in EFL contexts, LAC is also gaining popularity as both a concept and a policy "linking different forms and aspects of language education within the school, particularly emphasising the role of language in all subject-matter learning" (Vollmer 2007, 177). Hence, while terms like CLIL and CBI tend to refer to the education program models, LAC tends to describe the curricular and pedagogical approaches (Lin 2016). Adopting the LAC approach, all teachers, language and content teachers alike, are encouraged to put more emphasis on the teaching and usage of language in their subjects. For example, at the curricular level, teachers of different subjects can do curriculum mapping so as to formulate some common language objectives for the students; at the pedagogical level, content subject teachers are encouraged to include both content and language objectives in their lessons, and they will incorporate more language scaffolding and discipline-specific language guidance during instruction. Therefore, instead of expecting students to "pick up" the target language incidentally, LAC is a potential approach to help EFL learners in CLIL to overcome the language barriers and master content and (academic) language simultaneously.

As discussed above, in-service content subject teachers in CLIL may need professional development and support in order to design well-balanced content and language integrated lessons. One source of such support is actually their (English) language colleagues in school. Therefore, one potential way of promoting LAC in CLIL is to promote cross-curricular collaboration between language and content subject teachers (hereafter L2-content cross-curricular collaboration).

Teaching has long been regarded as an individualistic, isolated profession, in the sense that teachers tend to preserve their power, autonomy, and privacy in their own classrooms. However, teacher collaboration has been encouraged because it is believed to be an important element for implementing education innovations, enhancing school effectiveness, facilitating student learning, as well as promoting professional development (Creese 2005; Musanti and Pence 2010; Little 1990). In addition to these general benefits of teacher collaboration, L2-content cross-curricular collaboration has been strongly advocated over the past few decades (Davison 2006) for the specific contextual needs of CLIL. Considering the majority of teachers in CLIL are either content or language specialists, the inherent nature of content and language integrated learning programs actually encourages or urges the two groups

of teachers to collaborate. They can work together to assess students' existing levels and needs so that a suitable curriculum can be designed (Davison 2006). Lo's study (2015) examined the collaboration among English, humanities, and science teachers in a secondary school in Hong Kong. Its findings show that students in classes where cross-curricular collaboration was practiced demonstrated a better understanding and use of the targeted grammatical items (e.g., the use of passive voice) and text types (e.g., a lab report). This could be attributed to enhanced teachers' awareness of students' needs, a more suitable curriculum, and changes in teachers' pedagogical foci in lessons.

Little (1990) argued that the concept of "teacher collaboration" itself is ambiguous in meaning and fluid in nature, as teachers can collaborate in many different ways which may yield different results. With regard to L2-content cross-curricular collaboration, on a more superficial level, L2 teachers may simply proofread the language used in the teaching materials (e.g., notes and test papers) for content subjects, or L2 teachers are consulted by content subject teachers when necessary (Davison 2006; Tan 2011). More in-depth collaboration may be found when cross-curricular planning or even co-teaching is involved (Creese 2005). For example, language and content subject teachers may identify a common theme (e.g., environmental protection; healthy diet), and different subjects then design their lessons and materials based on that theme. In this way, the key concepts and vocabulary items related to the chosen theme can be recycled across the curriculum. Language and content subject teachers may also identify some generic skills that students need across the curriculum and then collaborate to see how these skills could be introduced and reinforced across subjects. Such skills may include the use of graphic organizers (e.g., mind maps), graph plotting, chart reading, and data description skills. Language and content subject teachers may also analyze the language features and requirements of the language and subject curricula and identify some common sentence patterns or genres. They may then further decide how language and content subject teachers can contribute to the teaching of these sentence patterns or genres. For instance, writing recipes in English shares similar language features with writing experiment procedures in science, which provides a potential for cross-curricular collaboration.

Despite the potential benefits of cross-curricular collaboration and the various possible models, Lo's (forthcoming) survey among teachers in secondary schools in Hong Kong reveals that cross-curricular collaboration was largely absent (with 80% of the respondents reporting no experience of cross-curricular collaboration). For those who indicated some experience of collaboration, the majority only experienced some small-scale or informal types of collaboration, such as projects involving subject content written in English, extracurricular activities where both groups of teachers made contribution (e.g., English Day, fun fair), and informal discussion among the teachers themselves. Such forms of collaboration may not be able to maximize the potential benefits of L2-content cross-curricular collaboration. Some possible hindering factors include interpersonal conflicts, communication and coordination problems, as well as such contextual factors as school culture and support from school leaders (Crow and Pounder 2000). Added to these general factors

affecting teacher collaboration, L2-content cross-curricular collaboration is particularly susceptible to subject paradigm or teachers' epistemological beliefs (Arkoudis 2003) and teachers' beliefs in their roles and professional identity (Tan 2011; Trent 2010). The two groups of teachers may also lack common goals and pedagogical foci – L2 teachers tend to put more emphasis on the pedagogy of language teaching, whereas content subject teachers stress delivering the subject content (Creese 2010). In some educational contexts (e.g., Hong Kong), where both language and content subject teachers are responsible for preparing students for high-stakes examination, time constraint, heavy workload, and tight schedule deprive teachers of frequent communication, not to mention collaboration (Lo 2014). These factors tend to hinder consistent and effective practice of L2-content cross-curricular collaboration.

To encourage the practice of L2-content cross-curricular collaboration and to maximize its potential effectiveness, the following ways may help overcome some of the obstacles identified. First, considering the time constraint and workload encountered by teachers, extra human resources can be deployed to release teachers from some of their teaching and/or administrative duties. They can then invest more time and effort into collaboration. Such extra human resources can be made possible with the support of the government or school authority. For example, the Hong Kong government has recognized the potential of cross-curricular collaboration and has allocated extra funding to schools to promote "in-depth collaboration between English language and non-language subject teachers" (Education Bureau 2010b, 3). With extra funding, additional teachers could be hired to reduce the workload of a few teachers, who can then dedicate more time to collaboration. The funding can also be used to buy in consultancy service from researchers or teacher educators to facilitate school-based collaboration.

Second, central leadership may be necessary to initiate and coordinate L2-content cross-curricular collaboration. The school authority may facilitate L2-content cross-curricular collaboration by setting up LAC committee and allocating common timeslots for co-planning meetings and lesson preparation. Once the collaborative team starts to function properly, the leadership can be handed over to the teachers involved. Such a practice may be more likely to result in more consistent and coordinated effort into collaboration.

Third, more support and training (e.g., professional development workshops) can be provided for teachers. Such training should incorporate at least two elements. At the technical level, those training workshops may introduce to teachers some possible ways or models of cross-curricular collaboration, so that teachers may go beyond their existing practices of small-scale or superficial collaboration to more in-depth, interdependent types of collaboration involving co-planning and co-teaching. At the conceptual level, the training should introduce to teachers some fundamental principles and rationales of CLIL and knowledge of teaching language, content, and integration. In this case, L2 teachers may learn more about the language needs of content subjects so that they may have a better idea of how to offer support to content subject teachers. On the other hand, content subject teachers may become more aware of students' language needs in learning content subjects in L2. Equipped with the knowledge of what integration of language and content learning may involve,

both groups of teachers may reflect on their own roles and develop a belief in the effectiveness of collaboration. They will also have more knowledge and skills in mapping their curricula, designing teaching materials, and planning lessons. In this way, they will be in a better position to collaborate with each other for the benefits of student learning.

Conclusion

The trend to facilitate English (and other additional languages) teaching through CLIL seems to be irreversible. This has resulted in various models and practices of CLIL in different educational contexts, such as the variety of EMI practices observed in Hong Kong. Although the rationale of CLIL is well grounded in second language learning theories, its effectiveness is not guaranteed but depends on the implementation conditions and factors. Using Hong Kong as an example, this chapter has reviewed some of these conditions and factors such as students' readiness and teachers' capacity in integrating content and language in lessons. It further discusses the need for teacher education and professional development, as well as promotion of language across the curriculum through collaboration between language and content subject teachers, as possible directions to maximize the effectiveness of CLIL. Critical perspectives that can inform research on student resistance to EMI and CLIL under the global domination of English (Lin 2016) are also missing from the current research scene on CLIL in Hong Kong.

Cross-References

▶ English as an Additional Language: Integrating School-Aged Learners Into Mainstream Curriculum
▶ English Medium Instruction in Higher Education: The Role of English as Lingua Franca
▶ Teaching English as a Third Language

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Part VI

Research and Teacher Education in ELT: Meeting New Challenges

Research and Teacher Education in English Language Teaching: Section Introduction

53

Xuesong Gao

Abstract

Chapters in this section explore how research can contribute to English language teachers' professional development. They present different traditions of research, including action research and heuristic research approaches, as paths for language teachers' professional development. They also illustrate how research conducted according to different approaches such as classroom research, conversation analysis, (auto)ethnographic research, and critical research can help English language teachers enhance their professional practice. Other chapters in the section concern different aspects of language teachers' professional lives and development, including teachers' emotional labor, teacher cognition, classroom instruction, technology-enhanced professional development, and collective efficacy.

Keywords

Action research · Heuristic research · Critical research · Professional development

Chapters in the first edition of this handbook addressed the relationship between research and policy/practice in English language teaching as policy makers and practitioners can be considered as consumers of academic research. Contributors in this edition note that English language teachers need to undertake continuous professional development efforts in response to increasingly complex pedagogical tasks and shifting contextual conditions. To facilitate such professional development, teachers

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develop a wide range of professional knowledge, including "knowledge for practice," "knowledge in practice," and "knowledge of practice" (Cochran-Smyth and Lytle 1999, p. 273). Language teachers need what academic researchers try to generate through research and what language teacher educators attempt to pass on through teacher education programs for practice, such as how language learners learn languages and what teaching methods may work better with a particular group of students. In addition, language teachers need to develop their own pedagogical understandings in teaching and through reflecting on their pedagogical experiences. Such knowledge in practice, or teachers' practical knowledge, may be different from what emerges from academic research, which often contributes to gaps between research and practice.

Language teachers may also generate important knowledge about practice by undertaking efforts to inquire into their own practices. As language teachers can longer be treated as "unthinking practitioners," it has become necessary to appreciate that language teachers are critical consumers of research findings and "autonomous investigators of their own work" (Borg 2010, pp. 395–396). The need to bridge the gap between research and practice requires readers to reconsider how three types of teacher knowledge can be integrated into education programs and professional development schemes to support language teachers' pursuit of effective pedagogical practice.

Chapters in this section address the abovementioned concerns about English language teachers' knowledge. The first six chapters focus on traditions of research in relation language teachers' professional development. In particular, the chapters by Burns and by Freeman and Cameratti present important paths for language teachers to make sense of teaching and enhance their professional practice. The other four chapters (by Zappa-Hollman and Duff, Waring, Stanley, and Chun and Morgan) discuss how classroom research, conversation analysis, (auto)ethnographic research, and critical research can be appropriated by language teachers for professional development.

The rest of the section concerns several critical aspects of language teachers' professional lives and learning. Benesch's chapter highlights language teachers' emotional labor, while Lowen and Sato's chapter reminds readers of the significance of instructed second language acquisition research for language teachers' teaching. Borg's chapter outlines the findings that research has generated about language teachers' cognition. Benitt, Schmidt, and Legtuke's chapter elaborates how language teachers learn to improve teaching as mediated by technology-enhanced programs. The last chapter by Pei, Loughland, Jin, and Nguyen discusses the impact of language teacher education programs on their graduates' collective efficacy in China.

Burns' chapter highlights action research, an increasingly popular form of teacher research that enables teachers to become agentive actors in pursuit of professional development. The chapter elaborates its connection with other forms of research and considers different initiatives that have promoted action research as an important path to English language teachers' professional development. In many senses Freeman and Cameratti's chapter on heuristic research is a complement to Burn's focus on action research, as it opens up a variety of means and paths for English

language teachers to pursue professional development. The chapter reviews a family of educational research approaches that involve researching learning and teaching through intervention, including action research. It outlines the common principles that guide this group of heuristic research techniques, including "action research, design-based research, design-based implementation research, developmental work research, lesson study, networked improvement communities, participatory action research and social design experiments." All these forms of heuristic research attempt to address and solve particular problems or challenges that English language teachers encounter in particular contexts. Instead of generating decontextualized knowledge, these heuristic approaches allow various stakeholders to participate in the research process to describe, explain, and understand what happens in the process. Therefore, they help English language teachers to develop practical and expert knowledge of practice through their participatory inquiry efforts.

Zappa-Hollman and Duff's chapter presents recent qualitative research that examines language learning and use in contexts where English is used as medium of instruction ("EMI"). In response to the rising number of students who speak English as an additional language, English language teachers need relevant understandings to facilitate their pedagogical decisions when teaching these students. The chapter describes how data were collected and analyzed in EMI-related studies and how relevant classroom-based projects can be developed and implemented to enhance teachers' understandings of critical pedagogical issues. In particular, such studies might enable English language teachers to adopt the most appropriate pedagogical approaches that enhance students' interactions to facilitate language development.

Waring's chapter has a much more refined focus on conversation analysis and classroom discourse analysis, which generate significant insights to inform English language teachers' pedagogical decisions with regard to orchestrating turn-taking, managing participation, giving explanations, conducting corrections, developing learners' understandings, and addressing multiple demands in the process. These findings, as argued by Waring, will enrich English language teachers' understandings of what English language teaching should be done in classrooms.

In contrast to the celebration of what qualitative classroom-based research and conversation analysis can offer to English language teachers, Stanley's chapter problematizes ethnographic research so that it can be improved in English language teaching. Stanley suggests that English language teaching researchers need to reject objective cultural models, problematize the written conventions of ethnographic research reporting, heighten awareness of researcher positionality, and adopt a more robust ethical stance in research. The chapter also problematizes autoethnographic research in English language teaching, suggesting that these researchers might have ignored one or more key tenets of autoethnographic research. Specifically, Stanley argues that autoethnographers in English language teaching need to be committed to promoting social justice through research. The chapter concludes rather provocatively with a request for ethnographic and autoethnographic researchers in English language teaching to focus on serving the needs and interest of "the researched."

Likewise, Chun and Morgan continue this critical "turn" in English language teaching research by adopting a unique way to present their argument in their chapter. Through an extended dialogue, Chun and Morgan prompt readers to reflect on critical research and practices in English language teaching. Their dialogue covers a wide range of topics explored in critical English language teaching research including identity, discourse, power, and neoliberal capitalism. They also explore various challenges when promoting critical pedagogies and twenty-first-century literacies that English language teachers and learners need to respond to at present and in the future.

Apart from providing English language teachers with professional knowledge through research, it is also important for researchers to understand emotions in English language teachers' professional lives and better support their efforts to cope with relevant challenges. Benesch's chapter draws attention to how English language teachers' emotions are regulated ('feeling rules') and how teachers respond to such regulation in the form of compliance or resistance (emotional labor). She illustrates both feeling rules and emotional labor by examining teachers' implementation of attendance policy and their emotional responses to students' lateness and absence in an American university. While the attendance policy expects teachers to be both vigilant and flexible about students' attendance, English language teachers undertake multiple emotion-labor discourses to reconcile themselves with students' lateness and absence, which will require teacher educators to prepare English language teachers for similar challenges.

In contrast to Benesch's poststructuralist perspective on emotions in English language teachers' professional lives, Lowen and Sato's chapter helps English language teachers to use research on instructed second language acquisition to inform their pedagogical decisions, even though many teachers may feel it challenging to use second language acquisition theories and research findings in teaching. They illustrate what instructed second language acquisition theory and research can offer to language teachers in teaching, especially with regard to explicit and implicit L2 instruction. They argue that instructed second language acquisition research establishes links between theory, research, and pedagogy by making itself highly relevant for English language teaching.

Making any research findings relevant to language teaching depends on language teachers' cognition—the unobservable dimension of teachers' professional lives, in Borg's words. His chapter reviews relevant debates and current perspectives on language teacher cognition. It addresses concerns about the notion being too mentalistic, cognitive, and individualistic. Borg also discusses methodological issues in examining language teacher cognition and argues that diverse methodological approaches, including both qualitative and quantitative methods, can be adopted to understand how language teacher cognition works. The chapter explores how the notion of language teacher cognition has been promoted to maximize its impact on language teacher education. Given that cognitive changes are at the core of language teacher education efforts, Borg concludes the chapter with an updated definition of language teacher education to reflect the aforementioned theoretical and methodological shifts. To achieve relevant cognitive changes, language teachers need to undertake efforts to pursue professional development.

Benitt, Schmidtt, and Legtuke note the potential that technological advances such as the rise of digital media may hold for English language teachers' professional development. They argue that various technology-enhanced strategies such as organizing online learning platforms, using learning software and educational apps, designing web-based tasks, etc. may be used by language teachers to help learners learn languages. However, the language teachers themselves also need to develop relevant skills, knowledge, and positive attitudes so that they can become competent, critical, and reflective users of the new technology. They also need to reflect on changes to the traditional roles that language learners and teachers are expected to assume in new, technology-enhanced pedagogical environments. The chapter highlights how to develop pre-service language teachers' digital literacies and provides a framework for integrating technology education into language teacher education programs.

The last chapter by Pei, Loughland, Jin, and Nguyen deviates from the focus on language in the previous chapters to focus on the impact of language teacher education programs on the development of their graduates' collective efficacy. Though the theme of this chapter is less closely related to other chapters in this section, it highlights the significance of language teacher education in mediating the implementation of relevant language policies and curricula. The findings from the case study inform the development of policies with regard to language teacher development, which oblige teacher educators and teacher education programs to provide mastery and vicarious experiences, promote collective learning environments and appreciate the influences of affective states on learning for pre-service teachers.

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Action Research in English Language Teaching: Contributions and Recent Developments

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Anne Burns

Contents

Abstract

Action research, as part of a more general movement toward "teacher research," has become increasingly prevalent in the field of English language teaching (ELT) over the last two decades. It can be considered as a form of professional learning for language teachers which takes a socioconstructivist approach in which teachers are seen as agentive actors within their own social contexts. After providing an account of the conceptual features of action research and a brief overview of its origins, this chapter considers how it relates to other forms of research in ELT. It outlines the development of action research within the field of English language teaching. It then considers what various studies have shown about the impact of conducting action research on teachers. The chapter also considers some of the more recent initiatives that have contributed to the spread of this form of research in the field of English language teaching.

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Introduction

Although the concept of action research extends to many fields, such as health care (Koshy et al. 2011), business and management (Coghlan and Shani 2016), organizational and human development (Maurer and Githens 2010), and social work (Winter and Munn-Giddings 2001), the focus in this chapter is on educational action research and more specifically on action research in English language teaching. In the field of English language education, action research is sometimes seen as part of a more general movement toward teacher research, where a variety of different approaches and terminology may be found. Borg (2013), for example, lists the following: action research, practitioner research, collaborative inquiry, critical inquiry, self-study, and teacher research. To these could be added exploratory practice (Allwright and Hanks 2009), reflective practice (Farrell 2018), and exploratory action research (Smith et al. 2014). While each of these adopts somewhat different underlying philosophies, processes, and concepts, they are unified by the central idea of teachers reflecting on their practices and doing research in their own classrooms, teaching contexts, and educational settings.

What Is Action Research?

As the term implies, action research simultaneously incorporates and integrates both action and research. The action component requires some kind of planned intervention, which deliberately puts into place particular strategies, processes, or activities in the research context. Interventions are introduced in response to a perceived issue, puzzle, dilemma, or question that people in the immediate social context wish to understand, improve, change, or mediate in some way in order to create a more positive educational outcome. The issues explored through the intervention might relate to teaching, learning, curriculum/syllabus implementation, or assessment, but aspects of school management or administration are also a potential focus for action research investigations. Areas for action cover a wide range of possibilities, including classroom management, materials or technology, particular language skills (e.g., reading), student behavior, or motivation (cf Wallace 1998, p. 19). From their analysis of 100 classroom studies, Dana and Yendol-Hoppey (2008, pp. 15–48) identified eight areas the teachers they consulted were "passionate" about:

1. Helping an individual child
2. Improving and enriching curriculum
3. Developing content knowledge

4. Improving or experimenting with teaching strategies and techniques
5. Exploring the relationship between beliefs and classroom practice
6. Exploring the intersection of personal and professional identities
7. Advocating social justice
8. Understanding the teaching and learning context

Action may be undertaken individually, by partners, in groups, or across wider institutional or organizational clusters. Working collectively has the obvious advantage of being able to collaborate with others at different stages to share and discuss ideas or findings, plan new actions, talk through various data collection methods, compare results, and establish communities of practice (see Burns 1999).

The research aspect of action research involves systematically collecting data about the progress or applicability of the actions, analyzing what they reveal, reflecting on the implications of the data, and, as relevant, developing alternative plans or actions based on reflection and analysis. Table 1 outlines the various focuses, purposes, and outcomes in different approaches to action research.

Table 1 Focus and purpose of different approaches to action research

	Individual	Collaborative	Institutional	Organizational
Focus	Single classroom	Multi-classroom	Whole department or school	Whole district or organization
Purpose	Investigate personal classroom issues	Investigate complementary or common classroom issues	Investigate common school-wide issues	Investigate organizational issues, factors, structures
Type of support needed	Colleague/mentor Assistance with data collection, organization, or analysis	Substitute teachers Release time Administrative support	Institutional involvement and commitment Effective in-school communication Administrative leadership	Organizational involvement and commitment Effective cross-organizational communication Cross-district partnerships
Potential outcomes	Changes in practice Continuing personal reflection on teaching	Improvements in curriculum or syllabus design and implementation Greater collaboration in professional development	Evaluation of school restructure/change Curriculum/program evaluation School policy re-evaluation	Improved allocation of resources Educational policy evaluation Improved knowledge of new curriculum implementation Improved cross-district professional development opportunities

The action research process is less predictable than in more "traditional" quantitative or qualitative approaches, as the direction and purpose of the investigation may change dramatically as it is carried out. Action research is characterized by a spiral of cycles that minimally involve planning, acting, observing, and reflecting, although like other forms of research, the reality of the experience is likely to be much "messier" than this sequence suggests (see Burns 2010). Perhaps the best known model of educational action research is the one proposed by Kemmis and McTaggart (1988a). They refer to four "moments" that evolve in a self-reflective spiral or loop that is reiterated several times according to the scope and direction of the research:

- Plan – prospective to action, forward looking, and critically informed in terms of (a) the recognition of real constraints and (b) the potential for more effective action
- Action – deliberate and controlled, but critically informed in that it recognizes practice as ideas in action mediated by the material, social, and political "struggle" toward improvement
- Observation – responsive, but also forward looking in that it documents the critically informed action, its effects, and its context of situation, using "open-eyed" and "open-minded" observation plans, categories, and measurements
- Reflection – evaluative and descriptive, in that it makes sense of the processes, problems, issues, and constraints of action and develops perspectives and comprehension of the issues and circumstances in which it arises (Based on Kemmis and McTaggart 1988a, pp. 11–14)

The concepts of improvement and involvement are twin pillars that underpin action research. The critically informed, improvement-oriented components of this model take participants much further than they would normally go in daily teaching in reflecting on the effects and implications of their actions. McPherson (1997) provides a good example of how the focus and purpose of action research might change as a researcher pursues improvement through each successive iterative cycle. McPherson worked with learners recently arrived in Australia who were enrolled in adult immigrant English classes. The account below is summarized from various parts of her article (pp. 26–30):

> My group was diverse in all the ways that make adult immigrant classes so interesting to teach. Ages ranged from 22–58 with equal number of males and females. They came from 15 different countries and spoke 17 different languages. Most had come to Australia because their country of origin was now unsafe for them... My concern was with the wide variation in the levels of spoken and written English...I was uncertain how to manage the class and I felt my planning was very 'hit and miss'...I decided to read the literature on managing mixed-ability groups and to talk to teachers in [my centre] and in community organisations and primary school education about strategies they used...
>
> As a result I decided to focus on developing materials and activities at different levels and to observe the response of the learners to these materials. I documented these observations [using a journal and drawing up diagrams of classroom interaction] and began to realise how

much I tended to 'control' their learning by dispersing materials at 'appropriate' levels. When I allowed the students to take control, they worked with the [materials] in different ways which they found personally effective...

However, at this point I became concerned about another aspect of the class. I observed that the students would not cooperate to undertake joint activities. They were also starting to express exasperation, boredom, irritation and once, near hostility, as I brought to the classroom lessons and activities [about personal experiences] I thought were interesting and relevant, but which they were not prepared to participate in... I decided on a strategy of individual consultation. I spoke to each student about what they were learning, how they were learning and how they could develop their skills. I documented their comments and followed with activities designed to enhance their requested learning areas. I also documented comments on their reactions to my classroom activities...

I began to see emerging patterns and to uncover the reasons for the rejected activities. Student comments and reactions indicated that discussions that revolved around cultural or social difference were not acceptable...On a class excursion, I learned that the students were aware of deep ethnic, religious and political differences because or their experiences of the part of the world they had just left [former Yugoslavia]...I suddenly realised how difficult it had been for them to maintain the veneer of courtesy and civility when I was introducing activities which demanded that they expose and discuss the differences they were attempting to ignore!

As the account by McPherson (1997) suggests, various types of data collection are used in action research. Action research is not exclusively either qualitative or quantitative in its methodological approaches, and a researcher may draw on both forms of data to address the issues being researched and compare them to triangulate the evidence. Burns (2010) categorizes the most commonly used methods across a qualitative-quantitative spectrum as observational and non-observational (Table 2).

To summarize some of the essential concepts and principles of action research:

1. Action research involves a combination of action and research that means collecting data systematically about actions, ideas, and practices as they occur naturally in daily life.
2. Action research is localized and typically small-scale. It investigates problems of direct relevance to the researchers in their social contexts, that is, it is based on specific issues of practice.

Table 2 Observational and nonobservational methods for action research

Observational	Non-observational
Brief notes or recorded comments made by the teacher while the class is in progress	Questionnaires and surveys
Audio or video-recordings of classroom interaction	Interviews
	Class discussions/focus groups
Observation by self or colleague on particular aspects of classroom action	Diaries, journals, and logs kept by teacher or learners
Transcripts of classroom interactions between teacher and students or students and students	Classroom documents, such as materials used, samples of student writing, or tests
Maps, layouts, or sociograms of the classroom that trace the interactions between students and teacher	
Photographs of the physical context	

3. Action research is a reflective process aimed at changes and improvements in practice. Changes come from systematically and (self-)critically evaluating the evidence from the data.
4. Action research is participatory, as the actor is also the researcher and the research is done most effectively through collaboration with others.

Historical and Philosophical Evolution of Action Research

Although Collier (1945), who worked with North American Indian communities, may have been the first to actually use the term "action research" (McTaggart 1991), it was Kurt Lewin who elaborated and developed its conceptual framework (see Kemmis and McTaggart 1988b). Lewin was a social psychologist who applied theories of group dynamics and human relations training to his investigations of social problems in America in the 1940s (e.g., Lewin 1947). Both Collier and Lewin aligned with principles of democratic collaboration with those involved in the social situation in which they worked. Lewin's notable contribution was his construction of a theoretical model, consisting of action cycles of analysis, fact-finding, conceptualization, planning, implementation, and evaluation (Lewin 1947). He also argued that practitioners from the target research communities should be included as co-researchers working with professional researchers. His student and colleague, Alfred Marrow (1969), referred to him in the title of his book as a "practical theorist."

During the 1950s, Stephen Corey led the growing interest in the USA in cooperative action research (Verduin 1967), where teachers and schools worked with external researchers. By the late 1950s, however, action research was increasingly criticized for its lack of rigor and generalizability and was falling into disrepute. Indeed, Corey's own arguments toward action research retained a strong flavor of adherence to the conventional scientific research paradigms of the time. The concepts of action research in this period have been characterized as essentially "technical" and individualistic (see Burns 2011, for further discussion).

Action research received a new lease of life in the late 1960s and 1970s, as interest in curriculum theory (Schwab 1969) and its linkages to a teacher-researcher movement (Stenhouse 1971) grew. In Britain, the work of Lawrence Stenhouse and others in the Humanities Curriculum Project (1967–72) emphasized that curriculum theory, research, and evaluation could not be separated from teaching. Rather than focusing on how research could improve curricula, Stenhouse was interested in how teachers as researchers interacted with the curriculum. Thus, Stenhouse's work tended toward a "practical" model of action research (Grundy 1987). Significant developments that followed were the Ford Teaching Project (1972–75) directed by Stenhouse's colleagues, John Elliott and Clem Adelman, and the establishment of the Classroom Action Research Network (CARN), which continues to this day.

Critical or emancipatory models of educational action research emanated largely from the work of Stephen Kemmis and his colleagues at Deakin University in Australia (Kemmis and McTaggart 1982). Critical action research "promotes a critical consciousness which exhibits itself in political as well as practical action to promote change" (Grundy 1987, p. 154). Critical action research theorists question what they see as the passive foundations of technical and practical models. Critical action research is embedded in notions of the empowerment of practitioners as participants in the research enterprise, the struggle for more democratic forms of education, and the reform of education from the insider perspective. It is to this critical approach that participatory action research is most essentially related (see Auerbach 1994).

These three broad approaches to action research differ, not so much in their methodologies but in the underlying assumptions of the protagonists. Table 3 summarizes the broad differences.

Here it is worth noting also that the philosophical values and methods adopted in action research can be linked to a wider tradition of contextualized or ecological research reflected in the work of social psychologists such as Vygotsky, Bronfenbrenner, Cole, and Wertsch and educationalists such as Dewey (van Lier 2011).

Table 3 Approaches to action research

	Technical AR	Practical AR	Critical AR
Philosophical base	Natural sciences	Hermeneutics	Critical theory
Nature of reality	Measurable	Multiple, holistic, constructed	Interrelated with social and political power structures
Nature of problem	Predefined (problem posing)	Defined in context (problem solving)	Defined in context in relation to emerging values (problematizing)
Status of knowledge	Separate, deductive	Inductive, theory producing	Inductive, theory producing, emancipatory, participatory
Nature of understanding	Events explained in terms of real causes and simultaneous effects	Events described in terms of interaction between the external context and individual thinking	Events understood in terms of political, economic, and social constraints to improved conditions
Purpose of research	Discover "laws" of underlying reality	Discover the meanings people make of actions	Understand what impedes more democratic and equal practices
Change outcomes	Change is value free and short-lived	Change is value bounded and dependent on individuals involved	Change is value relative and leads to ongoing emancipation

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The Development of Action Research in ELT

In the 1980s, action research was barely discussed in the field of ELT and applied linguistics. This is not to say that it was completely unrecognized or that calls for teacher involvement in research were not being made. For example, Breen and Candlin's (1980) proposals that curriculum evaluation should be an integral aspect of classroom teaching and learning foreshadowed shifts toward an action research orientation, while calls for more active participation of teachers in classroom-centered research were increasing (e.g., Allwright 1988; Long 1983). Toward the end of the 1980s, van Lier (1988) was arguing for "ethnographic monitoring" of classroom curriculum processes and, like others, was pointing out that action research had "not so far received much serious attention as a distinct style of research in language teaching" (p. 67).

Nunan's publication, *Understanding Language Classrooms* (1989), subtitled *A Guide for Teacher-initiated Action*, offered, for the first time, a practical guide for the language teacher.

> The intention is to provide a serious introduction to classroom research to language professionals who do not have specialist training in research methods... it is aimed specifically at the classroom teacher and teachers in preparation. (p. xiv)

Work by others, such as Allwright and Bailey (1991), Brindley (1990), Edge and Richards (1993), Freeman (1998), Richards and Nunan (1990), and Wallace (1991), continued to open up the concept of an active and reflective role for teacher educators and teachers, which included the notion of teacher as researcher. It represented a "paradigm shift" (Edge 2001) that now no longer seems controversial. However, at the time it stood in stark contrast to the applied science model, where research and practice were largely regarded as separate pursuits. Perspectives within the field were being revised from a predominantly "theory-applied-to-practice" approach toward a more "theory-derived-from-practice" perspective (cf Graves 1996; Richards and Nunan 1990). Specific treatments of action research within this paradigm emerged in Burns (1999), Edge (2001), and Wallace (1998). While Burns (1999) and Wallace (1998) provided "how-to" accounts that outlined ways to conduct action research, Edge (2001) offered descriptions written by teachers of how they had carried out research within their own social settings, stressing in his preface that "[l]ocal understandings are primary, and it is in the articulation of these understandings that actual educational practice can be theorised (the contribution to theory) and improved (the contribution to practice)" (p. 4).

Action Research Within ELT Research

Borg (2013) notes that his research findings showed that teachers' conceptions of research were aligned to "standard" scientific notions of enquiry. The question of how action research is positioned in relation to the range of approaches adopted in research is one that often confronts and confuses those new to action research.

Action research is sometimes represented as a "third way" of doing research. Brindley (1990), for example, outlines basic (concerned with knowledge for its own sake), applied (directed at specific problems), and practitioner (undertaken by participants in the context of their own work) research. Bailey et al. (1991) distinguish action research from experimental studies, those that "emphasize careful isolation of variables functions and target subjects, a high degree of control over external variables and clearly defined research goal" and naturalistic enquiry, where "the general goal of enquiry is to understand the phenomenon under investigation" (pp. 94–95). Cumming (1994) categorizes orientations to TESOL research as descriptive (concerned with the goals of general scientific inquiry), interpretive (concerned with the purpose of interpreting local institutional issues in their cultural contexts), and ideological (concerned with advocating and fostering ideological change within particular contexts and broader domains), which includes participatory action research. Nunan and Bailey (2009), having outlined major paradigms of quantitative (experimental, survey) and qualitative research (case study, ethnography), devote a separate discussion to action research.

Classroom research, teacher research, and action research have all become familiar terms in recent ELT literature. However, since they are often used interchangeably, the distinctions are not necessarily clear. Bailey (2001) comments that "[action research] is sometimes confused with teacher research and classroom research because in our field, action research is often conducted by teachers in language classrooms" (p. 490). Borg (2013, p. 8) claims that teacher research is a "broader term than action research – while action research (when conducted by teachers) will also be teacher research, not all teacher research follows the procedures which define action research."

It could be argued that whereas classroom research denotes the focus of the research and teacher research refers to the people conducting the research, action research refers to a distinctive methodological orientation to research, a "way of working" as Kemmis and McTaggart (1988b, p. 174) describe it. Allwright and Bailey (1991, p. 2) define classroom research as research that is centered on the classroom, as distinct from research that concerns itself with the inputs (curriculum, materials, and so on) or the outputs (test scores). In its narrowest form, it emphasizes the study of classroom interaction. Allwright and Bailey (ibid) take a broader view, defining classroom research as "a cover term for a whole range of research studies on classroom learning and teaching. The obvious unifying factor is that the emphasis is solidly on trying to understand what goes on in the classroom setting" (p. 2).

Teacher research, that is, research conducted by teachers, may well center on the classroom but does not necessarily do so. For example, a teacher might identify the effects of out-of-class learning on students' communicative competence (see Cortina-Pérez and Solano-Tenorio 2013 for an example). Classroom research is often conducted by academic researchers whose studies relate to questions of classroom teaching and learning. Many of these studies have been conducted in experimental laboratory settings (e.g., Gass et al. 2011) set up for the testing of theoretical hypotheses, although in the last two decades, a greater number of exploratory and descriptive studies located in natural classroom settings have appeared (e.g., Toohey 1998). Action research, on the other hand, is not confined

to the classroom or to teachers. It is implemented in a wide range of settings and not focused exclusively on educational questions. It involves an iterative process of research rather than a specific type of researcher or research location. All three types of research may adopt a wide range of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches to data collection, data analysis, and interpretation depending on the kinds of research issues under investigation.

Impact of Action Research on Teachers

For over two decades, there has been growing evidence, albeit sometimes anecdotal, that action research offers teachers transformative experiences of professional development. Van Lier (1994), for example, citing Bennett (1993, p. 69), noted a range of impacts on teachers:

> Experienced teacher-researchers stated that their research brought them many personal and professional benefits, including increased collegiality, a sense of empowerment, and increased self-esteem. Teacher-researchers viewed themselves as being more open to change, more reflective, and better informed than they had been when they began their research. They now saw themselves as experts in their field who were better problem solvers and more effective teachers with fresher attitudes toward education. They also saw strong connections between theory and practice.

Borg (2013), drawing on some of the more recent literature, indicated that research conducted by teachers develops the capacity for autonomous professional judgments and reduces teachers' feelings of frustration and isolation. It also allows teachers to move out of a submissive position and be curriculum innovators, as well as to become more reflective, critical, and analytical about their teaching behaviors in the classroom. Teachers can also feel less vulnerable to and dependent on external answers to the challenges they face. Doing research can foster connections between teachers and researchers and boost teachers' sense of status.

Teachers' own accounts of their experiences of action research also point to numerous positive outcomes. As an example, Castro Garcés and Martínez Granada (2016, p. 53) note that for them conducting collaborative action research (CAR) meant that:

1. We were able to study together in order to internalize and put into practice the main constructs that supported our research – professional development and CAR.
2. We gained a better understanding of basic concepts and theories related to the teaching of foreign languages as we read and discussed research articles together, met to plan lessons, collected and analyzed data, and talked about our own teaching practices.
3. Writing the journal entries was an opportunity to reflect upon the research process and our attitudes as team members.
4. We could grow professionally in terms of reading and reflecting together as well as sharing positive and negative issues lived in our classes.

5. We moved from having each participant do a piece of work in isolation to planning and working together.
6. The roles we had in the research study were different as well as the level of training; however, it was rewarding to notice that we could learn from each other no matter how much we thought we knew about a topic.

However, skepticism about action research by teachers is long-standing. Commentators from Halsey (1972) onward have pointed to fundamental tensions between action and research and to the differing, and inherently incompatible, interests and orientations of teachers and researchers. Others have questioned whether it is the business of teachers to do research at all, given that they usually have no specialist training (e.g., Jarvis 2002a, b), while the academic status and the rigor of the methodological procedures have also been the subject of debate (e.g., Brumfit and Mitchell 1989). Yet others appear to believe that teachers are not interested or willing to do action research: "I am still to meet a teacher who has been voluntarily involved in it" (Dörnyei 2007, p. 191).

At a more pragmatic level, teachers themselves may well resist calls to become researchers. Action research imposes a double burden of teaching and research, which adds to the already complex lives of teachers. The rewards for doing action research must offset the time and additional efforts involved. As van Lier (1994, p. 33) argued over two decades ago: "if action research is going to make us even more exhausted than we already are, then it will not be a popular or successful activity...It has to enrich our professional life." Some teachers may also question whether the growing insistence by government ministries and other educational bodies that they research their practice is not another way to ensure they become compliant with organizational agendas; as one teacher (cited in Miller 1990, p. 114) observed:

> Well, what I mean is that nothing would please some administrators I know more than to think that we were doing "research" in their terms. That's what scares me about the phrase "teacher-as- researcher"— too packaged. People buy back in to the very system that shuts them down. . . . But I'm still convinced that if enough people do this, we could get to a point of seeing at least a bigger clearing for us.

Despite these reservations, the idea of teachers carrying out action research is perhaps no longer so much in contention or maybe "has come of age" as is argued in Denos et al. (2009, p. ix). Nevertheless, there are many aspects of action research that remain to be more fully understood. Allwright (1997) and Nunan (1997) debated the following issues: What are the standards by which action research is to be judged, and should they be the same as for other forms of research? Should action research conform to existing academic criteria? What ethical considerations need to be brought to bear on research that is highly contextualized in practice? How should action research be reported? What tensions exist between the quality of action research and its sustainability by practitioners? These questions remain current even after two decades. Borg (2013, pp. 228–230) adds further questions including the nature of teacher research engagement, the implications for teacher identity, the attitudes of managers, the design of teacher research support courses, the role in pre-service and in-service teachers' lives of conducting research, and the benefits to them.

On the subject of rigor, validity, and appropriateness, Bailey (1998) suggests that action research should not be judged by the traditional criteria of random selection, generalizability, and replicability, as its central goals are to establish local understandings. A basic criterion for validity will rest on the question: Is what the researcher is claiming on the basis of the data meaningful, believable, and trustworthy (Anderson et al. 1994), and to what extent does this research resonate with my understandings of practice and have meaning in my context? (see Burns 1999). In sum, a major, and continuing, challenge in action research will be "to define and meet standards of appropriate rigor without sacrificing relevance" (Argyris and Schön 1991, p. 85).

Recent Initiatives

Burns (2007, p. 999) concluded that it was only over the previous decade that action research had "become influential in the ELT field," in the sense that it was beginning to pervade the teacher education literature. At the time, however, research activity by teachers and particularly published accounts by them were still extremely limited. Although there were "pockets" of noticeable action research activity in various locations (e.g., Burns 1999 in Australia; Edge and Richards 1993 in the UK; Mathew et al. 2000 in India; the journal *Profile* initiated in 2000 in Colombia; Tinker-Sachs 2002 in Hong Kong, and Wang (2002) in China), there was still limited evidence from teachers internationally of engagement in research.

The last decade, however, has seen several developments which have considerably spurred the teacher research movement, of which action research is a major part. These include a number of key publications that have brought attention to research by teachers and have motivated further interest (e.g., Borg 2013; Burns 2010; the TESOL Language Teacher Research series 2006–2009 edited by Farrell). Other major initiatives have opened up more opportunities for teachers to involve themselves in research programs that provide them with guidance and support and forums for working with other teachers and academic facilitators. These include those funded by Cambridge Assessment English, first in Australia from 2010 (see Burns and Khalifa 2017), and then in the UK from 2014 (Borg 2015) which involve teachers of international students in each of those countries. The British Council has also funded several programs, including in India and Chile (see Smith et al. 2014). The International TESOL Association has offered preconvention workshops for teachers interested in research since 2008. Since around 2013, the professional association, IATEFL, through its Research Special Interest Group has concentrated on strengthening the movement toward teacher research through its daylong preconference events. IATEFL has also sponsored *Teacher Research!* conferences devoted to action research and other forms of investigation by teachers in Turkey since 2015 (see Burns et al. 2017). In 2017, the International Festival of Teacher-research in ELT, initiated by Richard Smith, aimed to unite online (see https:// trfestival.wordpress.com/about/) various disparate teacher research activities across the globe. (See Burns in press for more extended discussion of the development of the teacher research movement over the last three decades.)

Conclusion

From this broad overview, it can be seen that although action research developed relatively early in the twentieth century, it is only in the last two or three decades that it has received attention in the field of ELT field. Although action research, and research by teachers more generally, seems to be gaining more widespread popularity, there remain many questions about appropriate standards and forms of action research, ways of supporting teachers to undertake and publish research, ways it can be promoted and sustained for personal and organizational benefits, and what impact action research by teachers has on teaching practice and on student learning. In the meantime, it is clear that there is a broad movement away from decontextualized and abstract forms of knowledge and enquiry in the ELT field, as in other disciplines. There is a shift toward the concept of language professionals as informed agents rather than merely as recipients of external knowledge. As the term action research implies, it appears to be an approach that is well suited to this change and under the right conditions can be deployed to the benefit of learners, teachers, and language education more generally.

Cross-References

▶ Qualitative Approaches to Classroom Research on English-Medium Instruction
▶ "Research by Design": Forms of Heuristic Research in English Language Teaching

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"Research by Design": Forms of Heuristic Research in English Language Teaching

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Donald Freeman and Claudia Cameratti

Contents

Abstract

This chapter examines educational research approaches that study human activity through time by intervening in those activities. These forms of "research by design" share common features that can be termed "heuristic." Participants engage in defining the focus and designing interventions to address it; the engagement is iterative and it generally leads to understanding (or "theorizations") which can be applied in similar contexts and circumstances. Eight forms of research are examined: action research, design-based research (DBR), design-based implementation research (DBIR), developmental work research (DWR),

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lesson study, networked improvement communities, participatory action research (PAR), and social design experiments. The chapter summarizes these eight forms and reviews key research within each one. It details common principles shared by the eight forms and proposes a framework that defines their "family" resemblance within research in general education and in English language teaching.

Introduction

This chapter examines a family of educational research approaches that focus on studying human activity through time by intervening in it. The first edition of this Handbook (Cummins and Davison 2007) included only one chapter (Burns 2007) that would have come within this scope of what we refer to here as "heuristic" approaches to researching teaching and learning. In 2007, and indeed since then, action research has predominated in the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) (Burns 2011, 2005) as a form of inquiry that is readily adaptable across classrooms and social contexts. Action research has been popularized in the professional literature (e.g., Edwards and Burns 2016; Hassen 2016) as well as through national policies (e.g., in Colombia: Angela Yicely and Liliana 2016; in Korea: Yoon et al. 1999; in Singapore: Soh 2006). In this chapter, however, we move outside of ELT to examine the various approaches that share this heuristic approach to research. Our aim is to detail what we see as common principles within this family of approaches in general educational research and to consider how these approaches play out in ELT.

As with endeavors of this nature seeking to identify common elements across seemingly diverse instances, the terms used quickly become central since they provide the tools for the analysis. We start, therefore, by defining the terms we are using. While we considered the term "paradigm" in a Kuhnian sense (Kuhn 1962; Orman 2016) to name the cluster of ways of researching included in this chapter, we decided on the term "approach." As a term, *approach* has several advantages. It can be used as a noun (as in "research approaches") or a verb (as in the researcher "approaches" the problem), which underscores its flexibility and dynamism. Furthermore, the term includes notions of approximation, of coming closer to but probably not reaching an established end. It suggests dealing with something in a particular way, or using a particular "method" (or "approach") to solve a problem. For these semantic reasons, we have settled on "approach" as our umbrella term. Within the heuristic approach, we refer to the research strategies and procedures as "forms" of research or "practices" in the sense that they have largely been described procedurally at this point. These *forms* or *practices* of research share common features and assumptions that create a "family resemblance" – "a complicated network of

similarities overlapping and crisscrossing" (Wittgenstein 1963, P.I 66) – among them. We call this underlying resemblance, discussed in this chapter, "heuristic."

Defining the Common Features Among Heuristic Forms of Research

The eight forms of research discussed in this chapter are interestingly diverse and flexible; they share a group of principles, we argue, that characterize them as "heuristic." We use the term in two ways: First, the research practices are *heuristic* in the sense that they focus on developing solutions to locally defined problems. Second, they operate *heuristically* through a process of systematic trial and error over time. These two meanings are discussed more fully in following sections.

Heuristic research studies address, and usually attempt to resolve, specific problems or challenges in an activity in a particular social setting (Brown 1992; Schoenfeld 2006). These social settings are often educational ones – classrooms, schools, school communities, and sometimes school districts, local education authorities, or hybrid educational structures like school-university partnerships (Anderson and Shattuck 2012). The goal of the research process is to better understand and improve particular, designated activities in the setting (Cobb et al. 2003). So in this sense the research itself serves as *a heuristic* that generates explanations (referred to by some researchers as "theories") which can be applied to (or enacted in) activities in other similar situations (Tuomi-Grohn and Engestrom 2003).

Curriculum development projects, when they are undertaken in a consultative, iterative fashion, offer good examples of how this heuristic research process plays out (e.g., in adult literacy: Reinking and Bradley 2008). When the curriculum is first developed, it is done in consultation with teachers and others in the educational setting; then this initial version is trialled. Changes are made based on these trials, and the curriculum is revised and taught again. This is the heuristic process of trial and error. Eventually the curriculum can "travel" to other educational settings with similar aims. In this way, the curriculum serves as the intervention; how it is used, and why and how it works, can create a theoretical explanation (MacKenney et al. 2006).

The heuristic research process starts with a *problem* that is articulated by (and not on behalf of) participants, who are often referred to as *stakeholders*. These first consultations generate an *initial solution* to the problem as developed with stakeholder-participants (for a discussion of this process, see Penuel et al. 2013). As the initial solution is tried out in the social setting, it becomes an *intervention* in the ongoing course of activity. The participants (stakeholders and researchers) then evaluate what happens, revise the intervention, and try it out again. Through this *iterative process* of trial, assessment, and adjustment, the intervention is adapted to the social context of the activity in which it is being used (Sannino et al. 2016). At the same time, the activity is influenced by the intervention. The interweaving of existing and new activity generates information (data) about the intervention and how it is designed and about the activity in which it is used (MacKenney and Reeves 2012). In reasoning through this information to understand how the intervention has

worked and how the changes have improved or shaped its effectiveness (as judged by stakeholder-participants), the researchers generate explanations about "what works" about the intervention and why (Vissher-Voerman et al. 1999). Researchers in heuristic approaches contend that these rationales, or *theories*, are what "travel" from one social activity and context to other situations (Sloane and Kelly 2008). In a sense, the rationales capture and represent findings that are "generalizable" or "replicable" from the particular study to other contexts (Tuomi-Grohn and Engestrom 2003).

"Heuristic" in Two Senses

We refer to the entire process as *heuristic* in that it probes an activity in a social context to better understand how the activity functions and why. At the same time, the intervention itself functions as *a heuristic* since its design and implementation are guided by the intent of resolving the initial problem. Together these two dimensions define the research as "heuristic," according to the following key features (see Fig. 1):

- *Stakeholders* working with, and sometimes as, the researcher(s) to articulate
- A *problem* in an activity in their social setting
- For which they develop an *initial solution*.
- As it is carried out, this solution *intervenes* in – and thus becomes a heuristic to better understand – what is happening in the activity.
- The process is *repeated over time* in order to refine the solution. Each iteration generates information about what is happening and why.
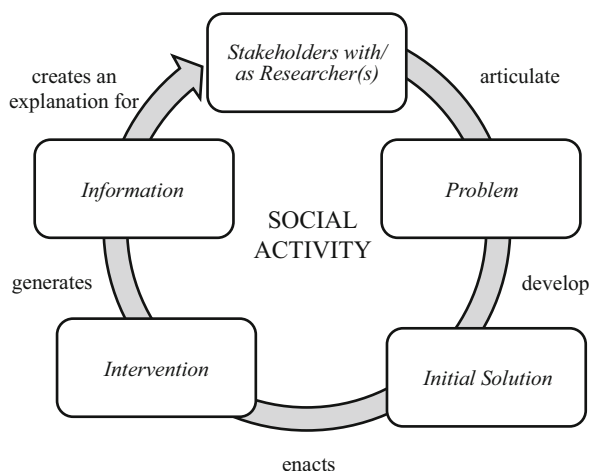
Fig. 1 Key features in heuristic research

- Thus the *intervention* functions *iteratively* to help participant-stakeholders better understand the problem. At the same time, carrying out the intervention generates *information* that helps to *explain* or *theorize* what is happening with and through the change or improvement.

These features help to distinguish forms of research within the heuristic approach from research conducted within the positivist or the post-positivist paradigms (Polkinghorne 1983). While research is broadly concerned with identifying meaningful patterns in information about a phenomenon or situation, the definition of what constitutes valid interpretation of meaning depends on the warrants invoked within the paradigm (Creswell 1998). Within the positivist paradigm, categories in process-product research are generally linked through correlational analyses to suggest or argue for a broad view of causal connection (Dunkin and Biddle 1974). Within the post-positivist paradigm, categories in hermeneutic studies assume meaning through analytic processes that are either couched (or "grounded") in participants' own interpretations or in the researcher's understanding (Strauss and Corbin 1997).

While research grouped within the heuristic approach often uses analytic procedures drawn from hermeneutic work, the approach differs fundamentally in how participation in activity over time is used to understand social phenomena. In heuristic work, these phenomena are seen as sociohistorical, meaning that they happen *in time* (which is why they are "social") and *over time* (which is why they are "historical"). Thus the meaning of the phenomenon arises out of – and its interpretation depends on – these two types of time: the *timing* and the history of the phenomenon *over time*. There is a third sense of time in heuristic work, which distinguishes it from sociocultural studies more broadly. Heuristic studies use interventions; these are introduced into the social phenomenon to understand and improve the activity. These changes are happening *at the same time* as the ongoing activity. In other words, the status quo is being changed at the same time that it is being studied.

These three dimensions of time frame heuristic work. To take a simple example: A teacher is trying out a different way of managing the class. Students often get loud and rowdy just before lunch, and the teacher usually needs to discipline them. The intervention is a different way of responding to students' (mis)behavior. The three dimensions of time are at work here: The *timing* – that misbehavior generally happens before lunch – is one dimension of the problem. The *over-time* dimension are the histories of the individuals and of the class as a group. If some students often seem to act in this way, their particular histories could likewise be relevant. Perhaps these students seem to "set off" their classmates, which brings in the history of the class. When the teacher tries the new way of responding to the students' behaviors, this intervention is happening within this timing and these histories; the intervention is happening *at the same time* as the problem it means to address. In that the teacher's aim is to improve how the class is working, the intervention serves two ends: it alters the class management while creating a contrast between the old and new ways of managing the students.

While positivist and post-positivist research studies seek at the broadest level to document phenomena and activity, heuristic research aims to make changes in social activity in order to understand and to improve it. Heuristic approaches take the research environment (a classroom, school, educational system, work setting, etc.) as a dynamic and emergent system of social activity (Fenwick et al. 2011) that responds to – and thus reshapes – any intervention in it, including those that have been intentionally introduced. The intervention, which is usually initiated through a collaboration among stakeholders, is refined as it is implemented over time in the activity setting. This iterative interaction creates tensions between the social environment and the intervention, which become the focus and the means of the research.

Researching On vs Researching Through

Heuristic approaches start from the assumptions that social settings are dynamic and changing and that participants in these settings understand the activities they do, for better or worse, more or less accurately compared to external perspectives on those activities. Intervening in the setting generates a change, directed to a certain end, and that change becomes a tool for probing, understanding, and for altering activity. In this way then, heuristic approaches recognize or give agency to participants as stakeholders in the intervention-change process. MacKenney and Reeves (2012) distinguish between two types of agency in this heuristic process. In the first, participant-stakeholders are interested in how well the intervention does what it is supposed to; they are *researching on* its effectiveness in meeting its intended goal. The data generated in this process is focused on how to improve the intervention, and the data analysis leads to improving the intervention to better meet the goal. In the second type of agency, participant-stakeholders are using the intervention as a way to probe and understand a problem or phenomenon, which they are *researching through* (be means of) the intervention. The intervention serves in generating data about the problem or phenomenon, and the data analysis leads to a more complete understanding.

Returning to the example above: In using the new way of managing rowdy students, the teacher could focus on the specifics of the new class management strategy – how to name the problem and lay out the choices and consequences in an ordered and commensurate fashion, using the right words and tone of voice, and so on. In using the strategy, each time the teacher may make modifications to better meet the intended goal. In this way, the teacher would be *researching on* the strategy. But perhaps the teacher is drawn to understanding why certain students seem to be ringleaders in the disruption, and so watches how the new way of responding as a class management strategy seems to (re)shape their behaviors. Here the focus would be on *researching* how to better manage disruption *through* the intervention, and the strategy by virtue of being different from the status quo could furnish insight into the students and their reactions.

Reviewing the Family of Heuristic Research

In arriving at the family of heuristic approaches, we identified eight forms of research that share the features discussed previously. These forms of research, which include the following listed alphabetically, seek to address – and attempt to resolve – specific educational problems or challenges in a particular social setting:

1. Action research
2. Design-based research
3. Design-based implementation research
4. Developmental work research
5. Lesson study
6. Networked improvement communities
7. Participatory action research
8. Social design experiments

Although they share common features which create a "family resemblance," they have developed differently. Each form of research arose at particular moment in time and therefore captures a particular way of thinking about how knowledge is generated in and through educational practice. They have each achieved different levels of dissemination in the educational research and the ELT research communities. While some forms are distinctive (e.g., lesson study), others are interrelated with one sometimes extending or deepening an existing form (e.g., action research and *participatory* action research or design-based and design-based *implementation* research; italics added). The following section elaborates these eight forms in more detail (they are organized here by affinity rather than alphabetically).

The term **action research** is usually linked to the work of the social psychologist Kurt Lewin. Writing in the United States in the 1940s, Lewin suggested a form of research organized as a spiral process in which a possible solution to a problem is formulated and tried out, its success monitored, and the proposed solution reformulated in light of insights gained. The revamped solution is implemented and assessed and so on until participants are satisfied or the activity becomes saturated. The central notion in Lewin's thinking was that these iterative trials of design, implementation, redesign, and assessment would lead to closer approximation of a solution to the problem, which anticipated MacKenney and Reeves' (2012) definition of *researching on* the intervention. Through these repeated iterations of, or *research through,* the intervention, the process could generate a deep understanding of what was involved in change and improvement (Hammersley 2004). In this process, which became known as the "action-research cycle," the iterative use of time and social context are intertwined and are central to evolving both a fuller understanding of the problem and its workable solution.

Although the iterative cycle as a heuristic, trial-and-error improvement process is most often associated with action research, the ideas of participation and engagement are equally central. In Lewin's view, action research emphasized a close connection between the actions, inquiry, and change in practical or political activities. This

dynamic relationship, proponents argued, between intervention, change, and the particular activity is centrally important to the research strategy. The agency of participants as stakeholders in the action-research process focuses the investigation on, and feeds the results back into, that activity (Hammersley 2004).

The notion of participants' agency as proactive engagement has evolved into the central recognition of the potential knowledge that practitioners have of social activity like classroom teaching (e.g., Burns 2009 in ELT). Action research rejects classroom research practices that conceive the role of the researchers as an external authority entering the school setting to describe and represent what is happening (Kemmis et al. 2014; Freeman 1998). By virtue of being "insiders"– people living and working in the particular settings – action researchers see participants as having unique access and perspectives on how social and educational life and work unfolds in these settings (see Freeman 2018; also Burns and Khalifa 2017). These participants are actively engaged in all aspects of the research process: orienting the work, to making improvements in the practices in their setting, and conducting the research work themselves (Noffke 1997).

Participatory action research (PAR) is a version of action research focusing explicitly on creating change in social settings. It is defined as "systematic inquiry involving the collaboration of those affected by the issue being studied for purposes of education and taking action or effecting change" (Ballard and Belsky 2010, p. 611–612). PAR grows out of participants' active involvement in all aspects of the research process, which is likewise a central feature of action research highlighted by Kemmis et al. (2014). Since this form of research generally takes place in a specific site, participants must play a central role, not as recipients or clients in the research process, but as those with inside knowledge and understanding to carry the research out. To capture and take advantage of this knowledge, the roles of researcher and participant, as well as the interactions between them, need to change from the conventional, hierarchical view of outside researcher and inside participants to one in which they collaborate in the research process.

The dynamics of PAR reorient the process of knowledge production in research by giving an active role and voice to the participants, as the name suggests. Proponents argue that the approach promotes new understandings and action to effect positive change. Since fully authentic participation means sharing the ways in which the research is conceived, designed, practiced, and brought to life, these commitments are seen to lead to collective ownership and responsible agency in the production of knowledge and improvement of practice (Ballard and Belsky 2010; McTaggart 1991). In this way, PAR is seen as a collective undertaking that acknowledges differences in status, power, and influence among participants in the research endeavor.

First mentioned in articles by Brown (1992) and by Collins (1992), **design experiments** were developed as a type of formative research. The intention was to implement, evaluate, and refine a particular educational design, often a curriculum, based on theoretical principles and prior research. The notion of design experiments introduced the two-planed dialectic to the research undertaking. On one level, the

"design" was seen as a strategy for developing a response in a particular educational situation. On the other level, "designing" these responses and tracking how they played out in actual classroom situations, rather than in laboratory settings, led to the progressive refinement of the design and its effects (Collins et al. 2004). In this way, the designed response contributes to and reshapes the theories on which it was initially based. As Schoenfeld (2006) put it, "The act of creation is one of design. If the creation is done with an eye toward the systematic generation and examination of data and refinement of theory, the result may be considered a *design experiment*" (p. 193; original italics).

These two intertwined processes came to be known as "design-based research" (DBR). As Cobb et al. (2003) defined it, DBR entails "... both 'engineering' particular forms of learning and systematically studying those forms of learning within the context defined by the means of supporting them" (p. 9). They continue, saying that "design experiments are extended (iterative), interventionist (innovative and design-based), and theory-oriented enterprises whose 'theories' do the real work in practical educational contexts" (2003, p. 13). A central premise in DBR, as it was in design experiments, is to acknowledge authentic learning environments as complex contexts where multiple variables are involved. This open-ended dynamism can be seen as feeding lack of predictability, which could be argued from a positivist point of view as threatening the validity of the research process. Conversely, this unstructured messiness can be seen as part and parcel of working with social processes like teaching and learning in human settings. Since these settings cannot be controlled as one would in a conventional laboratory, how the design plays out provides insight into how those who have developed it understand the activity and context.

DBR researchers proceed then, through iterative cycles of design and implementation, using each implementation as an opportunity to collect data that can inform revision and subsequent design. Reflecting on the design and what is happening as it is implemented, both simultaneously and retrospectively, proponents elaborate on their initial understanding of the problem as they gradually articulate a more coherent theory that reflects the design experience and the improvement achieved through the work of the study (Collins et al. 2004). In this sense, the heuristic nature of DBR reflects its attempts to address specific problems or challenges around learning in a particular social setting.

In the last decade, this design-based approach, sometimes called "design thinking," has been expanded to specifically embrace schools, districts, and even national education reforms as educational systems. This expanded commitment is to understanding educational issues and phenomena while implementing changes or reforms at a systemic level in order to improve them. Promoting these twin goals is referred to by proponents (e.g., Fishman et al. 2013; Penuel et al. 2011) as **design-based implementation research** (DBIR). The insertion of the term "implementation" emphasizes the fact that the research is aimed simultaneously at developing large-scale interventions and at improving their implementation (Penuel and Fishman 2012). Penuel et al. (2011) describe "what distinguishes this approach [DBIR]

from both traditional design research and policy research..." as "four key elements: (a) a focus on persistent problems of practice from multiple stakeholders' perspectives; (b) a commitment to iterative, collaborative design; (c) a concern with developing theory related to both classroom learning and implementation through systematic inquiry; and (d) a concern with developing capacity for sustaining change in systems (p. 331).

In developing and testing out of innovations to foster improvements at the school and district level (Penuel et al. 2011), DBIR expands the locus of DBR, which usually focuses on teaching and learning in classroom environments. The systemic orientation of DBIR anticipates another heuristic practice, "network school improvement communities," which are described below.

Following the principles of design-based research, **social design experiments** seek to democratize forms of inquiry that encourage design experimentation as a participatory process of co-construction among different institutional stakeholders. According to Gutierrez and Vossoughi (2010), "Social design experiments [are] cultural historical formations designed to promote transformative learning for adults and children." These "experiments" "... are organized around expansive notions of learning and mediated praxis and provide new tools and practices for envisioning new pedagogical arrangements, especially for students from nondominant communities" (p. 100).

The approach embodies a strongly held political commitment to expanding notions of learning and transformative education for members from nondominant communities. Participants collaborate to transform current educational practices, drawing from their experiences and understandings of the social practices in which they are engaged. "By understanding the individual and her or his cultural means in relation to her or his contexts of development," Gutierrez and Vossoughi argue, "this approach contests the tendency to invoke the Cartesian divide between the individual and the social" (p. 101). For their proponents, social design experiments bring together DBR with an emphasis on participation and who stakeholders are, and how their positioning reflects social and historical context. These concerns are central to the form of heuristic work discussed next.

Developmental work research (DWR) is based in cultural-historical activity theory (Engestrom 2000), which holds that human activity is dynamic, driven social interaction that happens in and over time. "Work" has two meanings in this sense. There is the "work" of the activity and the "work" to improve it, both of which happen in a social context over time. The motive for change efforts arises, proponents assert, "from analyzing the contradictions and possibilities in the object [goal of the social activity] and from projecting a new historical form of the object as an expansive solution to the present tensions" (Engeström 2005, p. 186). Like the foregoing heuristic practices, DWR involves an iterative process of analyzing data, creating representations in the activity system that allow participants to recognize how it functions, and how particular ways of doing things have come to exist. These depictions allow participants to understand where these ways of doing things create tensions and contradictions. The core premise is that through understanding these contradictions, the activities can be improved (Leadbetter et al. 2007).

Through its roots in cultural-historical activity theory, DWR examines how a social activity unfolds over time (its historicity) and the different perspectives participants have through their role in the activity, referred to as the "multivoicedness" of the activity. DWR often focuses on workplaces. It is highly collaborative, engaging stakeholders and researchers in coproducing solutions and transforming the social practices of these institutional spaces. In this way, proponents argue, DWR participants become agents of change within their own activity systems.

A "networked improvement community" is a social group, often in a school or school district, that "arranges human and technical resources so that the community is capable of getting better at getting better" (Bryk et al. 2011, p. 131). This type of network productively organizes the expertise of the community to address "complex educational problems." The focus on improvement acknowledges the complexity of educational systems, the dynamics of classrooms, the distinctive features of school communities, and the high demands placed on educators seeking to respond to learners' individual and collective needs. "Networked improvement" speaks to how educators respond to the complexity of these problems by developing ways of working to support and improve the quality of work across these diverse educational settings (Bryk 2015). Thus a networked improvement community is an intentionally formed social organization with rules and norms of participation that lay out the goals, the plans to address them, and ways to document and evaluate what emerges. These goals and plans evolve into – and come to depend on – a shared language to describe and analyze the problems and the context. The language also supports agreed upon protocols to challenge what is not working (Bryk et al. 2011).

The eighth heuristic approach is **lesson study**. With a long-standing history in Japanese classrooms that proponents trace to the early 1900s, lesson study has been described as both a form of collegial professional development and a research-based process for focusing teaching on student learning. The purpose of a lesson study is agreed upon by the practitioners, usually fellow teachers, who are engaging in the study. They identify a common pedagogical problem or learning goal and collaboratively develop a lesson that one person then teaches, while the others participants observe and document what happens. After this public enactment, the participants gather to share their observations and revise the original plan based on their insights. The observers may later reteach the lesson with their own students following the modified lesson plan. In many cases, multiple iterations of the original lesson plan are created and enacted in order to improve the outcomes and reach the desired goals (Fernandez 2002).

A highlight of the approach, which proponents contend makes lesson study a powerful tool for improving teaching, are the norms of participation that go well beyond the study of the particular lesson itself. The lessons are referred to as "study" or "research" lessons because the teachers systematically examine how the teaching is achieving the agreed upon objective (Fernandez et al. 2003). In this way, the approach can go beyond the study of specific lessons to embrace systematic forms of inquiry into particular types of teaching practices or subject matters. The process of lesson study is directed and undertaken by teachers thus creating peer-learning opportunities. This integrated bottom-up engagement in research is supported,

from a sociocultural point of view, in the ways in which many of the norms and conditions in the Japanese educational system support teachers (Fernandez 2002).

Disseminating Heuristic Research

Publications can serve as social representations of the work of a professional or disciplinary community. Investigating their number and timing can map how, in this case, a particular form of research has taken hold and spread within and across these socio-professional communities. In order to gauge how the heuristic approach has coalesced, we undertook a version of this broad strategy. In a sense, our analysis is an abbreviated form of "reception study" (e.g. Lee, Murphy, and Baker 2015; also Swales 2012; Swales and Leeder 2012). We focused on the eight terms as "social facts" (Freeman 2016), using citation information to chart their uptake across research communities. We searched two databases– the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) database and the Modern Language Association (MLA) International Bibliography– to identify articles that refer to these eight heuristic practices. We used "natural language" searching, reasoning that the terms authors had chosen in their titles and abstracts would provide more direct access to their use of the ideas as social facts (Freeman 2016).

Our intent was to overview each form of heuristic research specifically and to track the dissemination of knowledge within the approach more broadly. Using this bibliographic methodology, we were able first to identify studies that included one of these eight forms of heuristic research. By examining when and where the articles were published, we have been able to organize a timeline and geography that reflects how the heuristic approach has become established as a form of research. Clearly, these particular database searches did not surface all the publication activity associated with these forms of research, and these analyses do not represent a full-fledged reception study (Swales 2012). They do, however, offer a panoramic view of how these eight forms of heuristic research have become established in the fields of educational research generally and in language teaching research.

Insights into the Heuristic Perspective

Development of the Heuristic Approach over Time

The first analysis (Table 1) reflects the development of the heuristic perspective over time through these eight forms of research. Just under half of the studies we identified (3822 out of 8129, or 47%) have been published since 2010. Even the forms of heuristic research, such as "action research" or "lesson study," that have been more widely cited over a longer time show a higher number of publications since 2010. Some forms like "design-based implementation research" or "networked improvement communities" have entered the field of educational research very recently and thus show a smaller number of publications in the last 7 years.

Table 1 Publications associated with the heuristic approach to educational research (listed chronologically)

Research strategy	First appears in databases	# of publications per decade							Total
		1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	
Action research	1959	1	42	137	281	1216	2260	2975	**6912**
Lesson study	1961	–	1	2	0	1	117	250	**371**
Participatory action research	1982	–	–	–	11	67	213	451	**742**
Developmental work research	1989	–	–	–	1	–	–	15	**16**
Design based research	2003	–	–	–	–	–	78	344	**422**
Social design experiments	2009	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	**4**
Design-based implementation research	2011	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	**24**
Networked improvement communities	2015	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	**9**
Total[a]	–	**1**	**42**	**137**	**293**	**1283**	**2551**	**3822**	**8129**

[a]The totals combine entries indexed in the two databases: Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) database and the Modern Language Association (MLA) International Bibliography

"Family" Relationships Among Studies Within the Heuristic Approach

Through this exploration of published research activity, we further see that some strategies have had a longer and more established presence, often through extending or specifying the particular scope and focus. For instance, "participatory action research" seems to have started in the 1980s as a particular specification of "action research" that attends explicitly to perceived power imbalance between researchers and non-researchers. The aim is to contribute to what its proponents have called more resilient ecosystems and communities (Ballard and Belsky 2010). Likewise, "design-based implementation research" (DBIR) has been conceived by its proponents as a form of "design-based research" that aims to simultaneously develop interventions and to improve their implementation. As Penuel et al. (2011) argue, "the [DBIR] approach represents an expansion of design research, which typically focuses on classrooms, to include development and testing of innovations that foster alignment and coordination of supports for improving teaching and learning" (p. 331). Similarly, "social design experiments" differ somewhat from conventional "design-based research" by emphasizing how the research process can be co-constructed through effective partnerships with members of the community (Gutierrez and Jurow 2016).
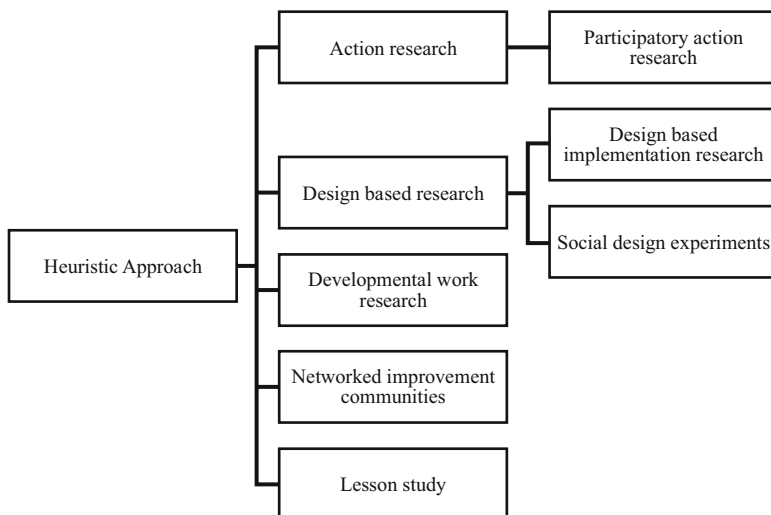
Fig. 2 Family connections among research forms within the heuristic approach

Figure 2 represents these "family" interconnections among the eight research strategies graphically, showing how they have developed over time to build and extend the heuristic approach.

The Geography of Heuristic Studies

This analysis of heuristic forms also offers insight into their geography, where the different strategies arose, and the core text in each one is shown in Table 2. To identify the core text, we simply took the article that is most frequently cited for each strategy.

As is evident above, some of the research strategies (e.g., action research) have been taken up globally in the field of educational research, while others (e.g., networked school improvement communities) have a particular geographical locus. These differences may be due, at least in part, to the length of history and greater volume of publication activity. For example, Lewin's article, "Action Research and Minority Problems," published in 1946 is the progenitor of heuristic work, which is reflected in the almost 7000 citations in publications around the world. In contrast, for example, "networked school improvement communities" was first written about in 2015 and has only nine citations at the time of writing (2018), all of which are with a US focus.

"Lesson study" is an interesting counterexample to this argument that a longer history leads to broader uptake. First written about in English in the early 1960s, the strategy has a comparatively long history, but the number of citations and their

Table 2 Geographical locus and leading references for each form of heuristic research (listed chronologically)

Form	Geographical locus	Most frequently cited reference[a]
Action research	United States; Europe; Australia; Global	Lewin (1946)
Lesson study	Japan and United States	Fernandez (2002)
Participatory action research	United States and Latin America	McTaggart (1991)
Developmental work research	Scandinavia/Global	Engestrom (2000)
Design-based research	United States	Anderson and Shattuck (2012)
Social design experiments	United States	Gutierrez and Vossoughi (2010)
Design-based implementation research	United States	Penuel et al. (2011)
Networked improvement communities	United States	Bryk et al. (2011)

[a]The references in Table 2 were selected based on the number of citations in Web of Science database as an indicator of the spread and uptake of the articles in the educational field

geographical range are modest. We located 371 citations in English-medium journals, 250 or 67% of which have appeared since 2010. The strategy originated in Japan as a form of professional development (Lewis et al. 2006) and was introduced to the Anglophone research community largely through the work of Lewis (Lewis et al. 2004, 2006) and Fernandez (Fernandez 2002; Fernandez et al. 2003). Although it shares the features of heuristic research strategies more generally, lesson study is usually considered a form of professional development rather than of research, which may account for the modest uptake in refereed publications.

Heuristic Research in ELT

To examine how these eight forms of heuristic research have been taken up in language teaching, we employed the same methodology using "natural language" terms to search the two databases. To identify research studies, we combined each of the eight terms with a series of four descriptors: "second language instruction," "English language teaching," "TESOL," and "foreign language teaching."

The results, in Table 3, showed that five of the forms – action research, design-based research, participatory action research, lesson study, and networked improvement communities – have found their way into language teaching research, while three, developmental work research, social design experiments, and design-based implementation research per se, have not. As we found in the general search, *action research* is by far the most prevalent form of heuristic research, while the four other forms that were surfaced in this analysis were

Table 3 Publications in ELT associated with the heuristic approach (Listed by frequency)

Descriptors				
Research strategy	"Second language instruction"	"English language teaching"	"TESOL"	"Foreign language teaching"
Action research	525	98	61	17
Design-based research	27	3	3	0
Participatory action research	12	0	1	0
Lesson study	7	3	1	1
Networked improvement communities	1	0	0	0
Total	**572**	**104**	**67**	**18**

cited much less often. We have included exemplars of the five forms from ELT in Appendix A.

The search process was itself more complicated in language teaching because of the overlap among, and subjective application of, the four descriptors. A study might have been tagged with more than one descriptor, which made the using percentages to represent the relative impact of each of the eight forms inaccurate. The different emphases and nuances among the descriptors identified different numbers of studies. For instance, the search for "design-based research AND second language instruction" identified 27 studies at the time of writing, while the search for "design-based research AND foreign language teaching" resulted in none. These differences are an indication for us of the dynamism of research activity in the language teaching community and the evolving ways in which they choose to represent their work to others in the field.

A Framework for Heuristic Research Work

The combined examinations of work in general education and in ELT allow us to map a loosely held common structure that is shared among the eight forms of heuristic research. We have distilled these shared aspects as *purpose, participants, intervention, time (duration and frequency of interactions), understandings*, and *explanations*. Each aspect represents a decision point in developing and implementing a heuristically oriented study, so we have framed them as questions. The key terms in each question in Fig. 3 connect it to subsequent aspects and questions in the research process. To organize the aspects, we distinguish three domains in heuristic work, each of which addresses the *intervention*. The first domain – *developing the intervention* – concerns the role of the intervention in the specific setting. Decisions include determining *stakeholders*, **who** needs to be involved; the *purpose*, **why** the intervention is needed and makes sense to

(A) DEVELOPING THE INTERVENTION

PURPOSE (WHY)
What do *you* want to do about the problem space:
**Is *your* primary goal to understand it,
or to improve it?**

PARTICIPANTS (WHO)
Who is involved in the intervention and
how?

If there are different roles—defined as inside
vs. outside the problem space— w*ho is
doing what?*

INTERVENTION (HOW)
How will *you* **incorporate the new into
the known** aspects of the situation or
activity?

What drives revising the intervention?

TIME (HOW LONG)
What is the **time span of the study**?
How many iterations are planned?
How will you know when you're done?

(B) ENACTING THE INTERVENTION

UNDERSTANDING (SO WHAT)
What is supposed **to be left at the end** of the process?
What will **endure**? What will **travel**?

DEVELOPING THE EXPLANATION (WHY)
How can the understandings **serve in
other similar situations?**

(C) LEARNING FROM/THROUGH THE INTERVENTION

Fig. 3 Framework for heuristic research work

undertake; and **how** the intervention happens within the ongoing activity of
the participants' social worlds.

The second domain – *enacting the intervention* – positions the participants and
the intervention in time. Introducing time brings decisions about the three dimen-
sions of time in heuristic work discussed previously: when to start the intervention
(timing); of *duration* over time, **how long** will the intervention process run; and
frequency in time, how many times of the intervention will be iterated. Time as the
fundamental characteristic of heuristic work leads to the third domain: *learning
from and through the intervention*. This domain responds to the question **so what**:

What is – or can be – learned from doing the intervention? Focusing on the *understandings* gained from the intervention entails abstracting knowledge from the specifics of the social context to develop *explanations* for what happened with the intervention that can travel to, and be applied in, other similar situations. This third dimension highlights the iterative nature of the heuristic process as new purposes and refinements of the interventions arise from considering what happened. Figure 3 maps the flow of these aspects and the questions and decisions associated with them.

Conclusion: "Heuristic" as Means and as Process

This chapter has assembled eight forms of research that share a "family resemblance" which we have labeled "heuristic." We have defined heuristic research as work that makes, studies, and develops explanations for changes in social phenomena in order to improve practices and outcomes for the participants. These heuristic forms of research arise from a common premise that social environments are more than settings or contexts for the research process, they are the source of issues, means for examining them, and ultimately provide the validation for the work itself. This orientation to working with and through social phenomena is particularly suited to problems and issues in education. The heuristic research process recasts the typical roles of research expert and experiment subject to frame everyone as participants. The process takes time as the central mechanism for the study. All of which reshapes what can be taken from one heuristic study to other contexts. Instead of generalizations, there are descriptions of what has happened accompanied by explanations.

Examining this family of forms of research helps to recognize the basic truth that studying a phenomenon always changes it, even in subtle and unacknowledged ways. Heuristic work simply builds from that truth to reveal the agency of those working in the situation and makes these intentions central to study and change. This makes the work "heuristic" as we have said in two senses: it focuses on interventions as heuristic means to understand what is happening in the social situation and activity, and it uses time, in the form of trial and error, as a heuristic process.

Cross-References

▶ Action Research in English Language Teaching: Contributions and Recent Developments
▶ Autonomy and Its Role in English Language Learning: Practice and Research
▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching
▶ Mediating L2 Learning through Classroom Interaction
▶ Qualitative Approaches to Classroom Research on English-Medium Instruction

Appendix A

Exemplars of publication for different forms of heuristic research in the field of ELT

Form of heuristic work	Exemplar from English Language Teaching	Type of publication
Action research	Burns (2005)	Paper in peer- reviewed journal
	Burns (2009)	Book
Lesson study	Anwar (2015)	Paper in peer-reviewed journal
Participatory action research	Malebese (2017)	Paper in peer-reviewed journal
Networked improvement communities	Li (2015)	Dissertation
Design-based research	Hung (2017)	Paper in peer-reviewed journal

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Qualitative Approaches to Classroom Research on English-Medium Instruction

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Sandra Zappa-Hollman and Patricia A. Duff

Contents

Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of recent qualitative research in classrooms examining language learning and use in educational contexts where English is a medium of instruction (EMI). After describing the typical features of qualitative research, we identify the kinds of issues that are best addressed

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through the collection and analysis of qualitative data and provide a list of key principles to guide the design of a qualitative study. We also discuss some of the caveats or challenges to keep in mind, particularly for classroom-based research projects. Three exemplary classroom-based EMI studies are then presented to illustrate how qualitative research has been used in recent research. Using discourse analysis of classroom interaction and other methods, the studies offer insightful contributions to our understanding of the types of tasks, pedagogical approaches, or interactions (between peers or between students and teachers) that are conducive to language development. The chapter concludes with directions for future research.

Introduction

Since the publication of Duff's (2007) chapter on qualitative approaches to classroom research in an earlier edition of this handbook, the number and range of qualitative studies on English language education has continued to grow. Textbooks devoted to qualitative research methods in education, including those directly relevant to language and literacy education, have also expanded considerably in both number and breadth of coverage (Denzin and Lincoln 2018; Merriam and Tisdell 2015). Qualitative classroom research is now commonly published in mainstream high-impact journals in our field such as the *TESOL Quarterly*, as well as in stand-alone monographs and edited volumes. One reason for the increase in such publications, and indeed in the expansion of theoretical orientations to language teaching and learning, is that scholars now recognize that a deep understanding of the diverse contexts and contingencies in language education, and in the lives of teachers and learners within their institutions and communities, is critical to interpreting participants' beliefs, behaviors, and trajectories. Qualitative research is particularly well suited to this work.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of qualitative classroom research examining language learning and use in educational contexts where English is a medium of instruction (EMI). After describing the typical features of qualitative research, we identify the kinds of issues that are best addressed through the collection and analysis of qualitative data and provide a list of principles to guide the design of a qualitative study. We also discuss some of the caveats or challenges to keep in mind, particularly for classroom-based research projects. Three exemplary classroom-based EMI studies are then presented to illustrate how qualitative research has been used in recent research. Using discourse analysis of classroom interaction and other methods, the studies offer insightful contributions to our understanding of the types of tasks, pedagogical

approaches, or interactions (between peers or between students and teachers) that are conducive to language development. The chapter concludes with directions for future research.

Qualitative Classroom Research: Foundations and Issues

In this section, we briefly consider the following topics:

- What counts as qualitative classroom research (QCR) and why it is important
- Ongoing research paradigm debates in research methodology
- Triangulation of perspectives, methods, and data sources
- Inclusion of macro- and microanalytical interface
- Principles for designing and conducting QCR studies, including advice on how to avoid common pitfalls

What Is Qualitative Classroom Research and Why Is It Important?

Qualitative research is not a single approach but a cluster or continuum of approaches that generally seek contextualized, naturalistic, holistic understandings and interpretations of phenomena that occur in particular types of contexts. Despite some common misunderstandings of it, qualitative research is normally theory driven; it complements rather than competes with quantitative research; it is concerned with social practices as well as people's experiences; and it should be designed, conducted, and reported rigorously (Silverman 2016). The term *classroom*, in turn, is typically understood to include the physical and interactional space where "teachers and learners are gathered for instructional purposes" (Nunan 2005, p. 225). While this does not exclude virtual, online, blended, or flipped classrooms, traditional QCR by default is associated with face-to-face experiences of instruction and learning, although many of the issues surrounding participation, inclusion, interaction patterns, and feedback apply to other learning spaces as well.

A distinction can also be made between classroom-*based* and classroom-*oriented* research: the first type refers to investigations carried out in the classroom and which, according to Nunan (2005), are designed as empirical studies, whereas the second type is conducted outside the classroom per se, "in the laboratory, simulated or naturalistic settings, but which make claims for their relevance of their outcomes for the classroom" (p. 226). A further distinction has also been made by Ellis (2012) between "formal" and "practitioner" classroom research. *Formal* research refers to investigations carried out by an external researcher, typically with the aim of addressing theoretical issues and contributing to both theory and practice beyond that context. In contrast, *practitioner* research is conducted by practitioners (typically teachers) in their own classrooms and is usually framed as action research or exploratory practice (see Ellis 2012, for further elaboration). Practitioner

research is motivated by teachers' own questions about their practice and about student learning (McKay 2006). Evidence of the growing recognition of the significance of practitioner research is found in such journals as *Language Teaching Research* and the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, both of which recently added sections to feature practitioner-led inquiries.

Classroom research focusing on language also normally offers pedagogical implications for (second) language teachers, thereby establishing closer links between theory and practice (Ellis 2012; Harbon and Shen 2015; Lightbown 2000; McKay 2006; Nunan and Bailey 2009). However, this pedagogical commitment is contested by Ur (2014), who proposes that we instead view research-based insights as opportunities to enrich the practitioner's knowledge base. With its decade-long history in English language education and applied linguistics, QCR is now a well-established approach to research that fulfills the important mandate of shedding light on a range of topics and issues that can best be examined with the primary data gathered in situ or, if not collected exclusively within the walls of classrooms, then from members of the class (e.g., via out-of-class interviews and journals) regarding their classroom experiences. (For more comprehensive overviews of second language classroom research approaches and topics, see, e.g., Chaudron (1988); Ellis (2012); McKay (2006); Nunan and Bailey (2009); and van Lier (1988).) The scope and methods of QCR have continued to expand over time. They now include, for instance, a focus on instructional styles and strategies, patterns of student behavior, patterns among teacher and student interaction (e.g., initiation-response-evaluation routines), elements of peer-to-peer interaction and socialization, types of tasks or activities and their effect on interactions and learning, teaching/learning processes and outcomes associated with different types of language and literacy activities, and, more recently, issues related to students' identities, motivation, affect, and use of multiple language repertoires in the classroom. In addition, language ideologies and policies governing language choice within classrooms (e.g., "English-only" vs. "translanguaging") have become a prominent focus in contemporary QCR (Duff 2019; Lin and He 2017), as have exclusionary forms of discourse and interaction that create or exacerbate the marginalization of minority students.

Ongoing Research Paradigm Debates in Research Methodology

A research paradigm can be defined as "a way of looking at or researching phenomena, a world view, a view of what counts as accepted or correct scientific knowledge" (Cohen et al. 2018, p. 8), with its corresponding set of underlying assumptions and methodologies (Rossman and Rallis 2011). Two main views have informed educational research: the "scientific" (objectivist) view and the interpretivist view. The quantitative paradigm, rooted in the so-called scientific view, rests on the assumption that there is an observable, objective reality that can be discovered and explained using natural science methods. In contrast, most qualitative research embraces an interpretivist view and is based on the assumption that multiple realities coexist and that the "truths" are negotiated between the

participants and the researcher(s) (Cohen et al. 2018). These two paradigms have historically been presented in opposition, leading to heated debates in the field about what counts as acceptable, robust research in education, applied linguistics, and the social sciences. Space does not allow for a full discussion of paradigms, which are discussed at length in several research method textbooks and manuals (e.g., Cohen et al. 2018; Creswell and Creswell 2017; Merriam and Tisdell 2015; Rossman and Rallis 2011; Silverman 2016; Paltridge and Phakiti 2015; see also Lukenchuk's (2013) discussion of research paradigms). In the meantime, mixed-methods research in second language education, including in classrooms, has increased in recent years to bridge the traditional dichotomy of qualitative/quantitative paradigms and offers various complementary perspectives and research designs (e.g., Riazi 2017).

Over the last two decades or so, qualitative research in applied linguistics has been deemed a key, legitimate, and – depending on the research question – fundamental approach to inquiry. The growth of qualitative research was spurred by a call for a more "emic" perspective (discussed below) in second language acquisition research and an acknowledgment that the researcher's ideologies are necessarily embedded in (and part of) the meanings co-constructed with research participants (Talmy 2010). This recognition, coupled with the growing impact of social/sociocultural, anthropological, and ethnomethodological theoretical perspectives in education and second language acquisition (Douglas Fir Group 2016), has resulted in a surge in qualitative research and, to a much lesser extent, mixed-methods studies. Another important realization has been that it often takes time ("prolonged engagement") in research sites to make sense of observed teaching/learning practices, not to mention participants' trajectories or transformations. This principle may require a commitment to longitudinal research where the research is of sufficient duration to truly understand the complex factors, processes, dynamics, and outcomes associated with educational practices. Other approaches to research, however (e.g., conversation analysis), may focus on just micro-interactions within a particular activity setting without necessitating either macro-social or (other) scalar perspectives or longitudinal engagement in the research site. Thus, there are many valid research approaches, not all of which subscribe to the same principles of research design, contextualization, analysis, and interpretation.

Given this diversity of approaches to QCR, together with its increasing prevalence, it is not surprising that novice researchers in graduate programs now have more access to training in a variety of qualitative methods, particularly within graduate schools of education and applied linguistics. In this way, they are able to avail themselves of specialized training in a wide range of qualitative research methods courses (e.g., ethnography, case study, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, qualitative data analysis, narrative inquiry, action research), which then is another indicator of the changing status of qualitative research in the field. In the case of QCR specifically, after an extensive review, Ellis (2012) concluded that:

> Second language classroom research has been greatly enriched by a line of enquiry that did not figure at all in Chaudron's [1988] review – namely, research based on sociocultural theory. This has provided rich and rigorous descriptions of classroom interaction by drawing on the techniques of microgenetic analysis and conversational analysis. (p. 338)

Nevertheless, issues concerning the quality of qualitative research design, the robustness of analyses, the reliability or trustworthiness of findings and interpretations, and the effectiveness of reporting, among others, can still be a concern. Indeed, critiques of some qualitative classroom research may be warranted when the studies do not demonstrate a theoretically grounded, systematic, methodical, in-depth, or original analysis or appear to simply contain a few anecdotes or vignettes with little indication of their representativeness or salience or reasons underlying their selection. To avoid or at least mitigate such issues, qualitative classroom researchers are encouraged to follow a principled approach to the design, implementation, and reporting of their studies (see, e.g., Ellis 2012; Nunan and Bailey 2009). In what follows, we highlight – and then exemplify in three studies – some of these principles.

Triangulation of Multiple Perspectives, Methods, and Data Sources

Generally, qualitative research includes the triangulation of perspectives of "insiders" (the "emic" perspectives of participants), such as students, teachers, and program administrators, and those of outsiders (the "etic" perspectives of analysts), such as university researchers. However, the methods used also depend on the type of qualitative research being conducted, the accepted conventions associated with that approach, and the research questions being addressed. In classroom research examining the experiences of English language learners, for example, the following elements might be involved: observations and narrative accounts of what students and teachers are doing during a particular type of activity and what behaviors, knowledge, and oral or written products or artifacts resulting from that activity (Zappa-Hollman and Duff 2017). Ideally, the observations are videotaped or audiotaped, so that researchers can easily review the activities and transcribe and analyze – often now with the aid of qualitative analysis software – portions of the discourse in activities of greatest interest or relevance to the questions investigated. These data might also be supplemented by interviews with the participants about their perceptions of what transpired.

Because researchers may bring to bear their own emic and etic perspectives, particularly if they are closely affiliated with groups or social practices being studied, it is important to understand their *positionality* (also referred to as *reflexivity* or *subjectivity*) in conducting research. Generally, this disclosure takes the form of an explicit account by researchers of their own role or history in a project and apparent influences (both intended and unintended) over the participants, interactions/observations, and findings. The intent is not for researchers to apologize for "contaminating" research sites by their presence but to recognize that researchers are themselves participants or instruments as well as learners in projects who should not pretend to be dispassionate, arms-length, impersonal, ahistorical, and invisible research agents. This view of research sees data as produced or generated by the researcher together with participants, for example, during interviews (Talmy 2010), and not simply the uncovering of external

realities or unquestioned facts or "truths." That being the case, it is incumbent on researchers to provide candid accounts of their own role in selecting research topics, sites, and participants and in framing observations, interview questions, activities, and debriefing sessions. They must also take care in how they report on participants' accounts.

Combining Macro- and Microanalyses

Some classroom research incorporates both macro- and microlevels of analysis in studies of classroom discourse, and, indeed, there is a call for more research that looks across multiple temporal and spatial scales (Douglas Fir Group 2016). Obtaining a macroscopic perspective requires studying the broader social, cultural, and historical contexts for communicative events and uncovering (among other things) attitudes, ideologies, policies, and behavioral patterns within schools and communities. This approach is often found within ethnographies of communication (Saville-Troike 2003) or what is now more commonly referred to as linguistic ethnography (Snell et al. 2016). Studies combined with interactional sociolinguistics or critical theory framed as linguistic ethnography may address issues connected with ideologies of school reform, individualism, bilingualism, multiculturalism, (im)migration, racism, and unequal power relations (Snell et al. 2016). In addition, some of the multiscalar research draws on post-structuralism and critical theory to explore the multiple and sometimes contested identities, perspectives, values, and practices of individuals and groups, the discourses and tensions associated with observed practices, and the sociohistorical factors that gave rise to them and their consequences for (language) learning, social integration, and overall well-being. Thus, a wide range of studies aim to bring together the macro- and microanalyses, noting the larger socio-educational and sociopolitical contexts, discourses, and issues surrounding language education and use, on the one hand, and academic achievement, dimensions of social participation or interaction, senses of "self," and language learning performance, on the other. They may also analyze how the macro is constituted in or by micro exchanges and how points of tension between native and imported (or local vs. newcomer) orientations to schooling are manifested.

However, bringing together these multiple scales of analysis as well as etic and emic perspectives can be very challenging logistically, in terms of data collection, analysis, and concise reporting, particularly in journal articles. As in all empirical research, data reduction as well as exemplification is necessary, often achieved by the principled selection of a limited number of representative or otherwise noteworthy activities, discourse excerpts, and a small number of focal research participants from a larger study, sometimes in combination with a quantification of general patterns across the data set and more macroscopic contextualization. It is then necessary to explain to readers how and why these cases or exemplars have been selected.

Often in educational research, focal teaching/learning activities (sometimes referred to as tasks or projects as well) are selected for close analysis, particularly

as these are seen to constitute a key aspect of (social-) constructivist learning. This focus contrasts with much earlier research that largely examined either teacher talk or teacher-student interaction through iconic question-response patterns. Examples of activities examined in English L2 classroom research using a combination of ethnographic approaches and discourse analysis and framed as academic discourse socialization include oral academic presentations in graduate school seminars, class discussions, and literacy activities in various academic fields (see, e.g., studies reviewed in Kobayashi et al. 2017). Choosing a common but instructionally important activity also allows for comparison across time and contexts.

Principles for Designing and Conducting Qualitative Classroom Research

Here we list a set of principles to be considered when designing and conducting QCR (see also Zappa-Hollman and Duff 2017).

Choosing the Appropriate Design to Answer the Research Questions

As mentioned earlier, the type of research design and methods used need to be driven by the types of questions the researcher intends to address, questions that should be closely aligned with current theoretical and practical issues in the field. The questions then need to be operationalized in a way that suits the aims of the proposed research and are likely to contribute new knowledge to the field. QCR often includes questions related to "why" and "how," for example, why teachers or students do what they do, or how they enact a particular activity, and to what ends. Therefore, the underlying theories and methods should be compatible. If seeking answers to "why?", it is natural that participants will be asked for their own perspectives on their classroom-related behaviors or views and not only inferences drawn from the researcher regarding participants' behaviors. If seeking answers to "how," the observation and analysis of the social and linguistic intricacies of interaction among members of a classroom community would be highly relevant. In short, obtaining rich, "thick" data pertinent to the research questions allows researchers to describe and interpret situations in depth and, in many cases, to include multiple perspectives on observed phenomena.

Providing Sufficient Information About Choices Made and Rationale

Another important aspect in sound qualitative research is that there is transparency in reporting on-site and participant selection, the meanings and operationalization of key constructs, contextualization of observations, researcher reflexivity (as noted earlier), clear explanations about how and when (and for how long) data were collected as well as how the data were analyzed, and justification for particular choices, decisions, and inferences. Sometimes these elements may be so familiar to the researchers, or space in

publications may be so limited that they omit discussion of them. In other cases, because care must be taken not to disclose information that might reveal the identity of participants or sites (which is normally not recommended by research ethics boards), some of this information may be intentionally omitted or changed. However, including sufficient contextual and procedural information helps readers follow the chain of reasoning undergirding the study and instilling confidence in the methods and interpretations, allowing readers to also draw their own conclusions.

Ethical Considerations

Permission to conduct observations in classroom research (whether recorded or not) and to interview participants and examine other kinds of oral/written performance is normally required not only from participants themselves but also from their institutions, according to many widely accepted national and university guidelines for undertaking ethical research (De Costa 2016). However, these permissions may be difficult to obtain from all parties because of the perceived invasiveness of such practices or reluctance to draw attention to participants' abilities, challenges, dispositions, and actions. Furthermore, individuals (and in the case of minors, their parents/guardians) considered most "at risk" (e.g., immigrant or international students struggling with limited L2 proficiency and/or other issues) may be reluctant to provide permissions to participate in studies because they already feel vulnerable (Duff 2002). Longitudinal research may also pose challenges due to attrition or withdrawal from studies for these and other reasons, connected to student mobility, for example. It is therefore often difficult to negotiate and obtain permissions for some types of classroom research from university ethical review boards and from educational institutions and stakeholders for a variety of reasons (Duff and Abdi 2016).

Gaining Access to Research Sites, Mitigating Limitations, and Avoiding Certain Pitfalls

Certain steps can be taken to increase the likelihood of locating research sites and participants and obtaining necessary permissions to proceed with research (per ethical guidelines described above). One factor that can facilitate QCR is to have some history or familiarity with the research site in question, or expertise in the subject matter, possibly from having worked or volunteered there, because of a shared (ethnolinguistic or educational) background with some of the participants or through other personal connections (e.g., acquaintance with particular teachers). Because entering into research agreements requires trust and good faith on the part of researchers and their hosts/participants, as well as sufficient information about research objectives and methods, gaining access to research sites may necessitate providing evidence that the work is valuable and that the researcher is credible and well qualified to undertake the work and that any risks to participants will be managed very carefully and will be offset by the expected benefits (a core principle in research ethics). Naturally, if the research questions come from the stakeholders themselves (e.g., trying to understand why certain instructional

practices are or are not working well, or why certain students might be excelling while others may struggle), there will be greater receptiveness to research proposing to address these very issues. That is, the research needs to be viewed as relevant and meaningful to participants and not just to researchers. In addition, if some form of reciprocity is offered by researchers (e.g., to assist participants in some way, to offer workshops to staff, or to compensate them for their time), there may be a greater willingness to take part in studies.

Some studies (especially dissertations) offer candid reflections on factors that facilitated or impeded qualitative classroom research. These reflections are often cast as limitations, but they can also be important, albeit unexpected, findings as well. Baker and Lee (2011), for example, described a number of issues they encountered in the process of collecting observational data and conducting stimulated recall interviews (SRIs) for the respective doctoral projects in the United States on "the classroom practices and thought processes of English as a second language (ESL) teachers" (p. 1435). While acknowledging that their novice research status at the time might have been one of the reasons for some of the pitfalls encountered (from their perspectives), they also argued that they would have benefited from classroom research studies and methodology texts that provided more detail and guidance about typical situations that can negatively impact the data collection process. Their advice for classroom observations included clearly communicating to the classroom teacher (research participant) the nonparticipatory role of the researcher and employing a series of techniques, such as avoiding eye contact with the teacher and/or actively taking notes, in order to minimize the chances of unintended (and obtrusive) interaction during the lesson observed. For SRIs, among other suggestions, they recommended being aware of the impact that the nature of questions might have on participants in order to avoid, or at least minimize, unintended feelings such as the sense that teachers or students were being interrogated or judged; a strategy they recommended was commencing the interview or SRI session with "what" questions before moving to "why."

In more ethnographic research, where the researcher aims to take up a more participatory role (e.g., as participant observer), clear lines of communication must also be established as to what that role will entail. Otherwise, to give a hypothetical example, cooperating teachers or administrators might expect researchers to address and help ameliorate perceived problems in classrooms or assist students with their work, when in fact it may be the researchers' primary goal to understand the complex interactions that give rise to such problems before suggesting how to remedy them. Thus, it is necessary to establish clear channels of communication about roles, timelines, procedures, and reporting, in the process of building and maintaining trusting, collegial relationships and allaying fears of unwanted judgment or critique.

Examples of Qualitative Classroom Research in EMI Contexts

To illustrate some of the principles discussed above concerning the design and implementation of qualitative classroom research, we first summarize and then discuss three recently published studies. All three were conducted by

established scholars with an extensive publication record of research on the learning of English language students in EMI educational settings that use (or aspire to use) integrated language and content instruction. Given the sustained growth of EMI and content and language integrated learning (CLIL), mostly in Asian and European settings, a focus on this topic is timely and also illustrates research developments in the field. Just a decade ago, there were relatively few publications on qualitative classroom-based research in EFL (or EMI) contexts (Duff 2007), so this trend toward EMI research internationally is very promising. (It is, however, beyond the scope of this chapter to address or critique some of the larger neoliberal issues and imperatives surrounding implementation of EMI globally.)

Topics recently examined in research on the integration of language and content include matters of definition and characteristics of the different pedagogical models available and how these are implemented (often with adjustments that fit the situational contexts), the underlying linguistic ideologies and concomitant language policies (e.g., policies on medium of instruction [MoI]) typically driven by larger political agendas; evaluations of the learning outcomes of CLIL (usually English-medium) instruction, and, more recently, the nature of classroom discourse and its potential to scaffold language learning. The kind of questions typically asked in relation to this last topic (e.g., what types of classroom interaction characterize the CLIL classroom and how do they support students' learning of language and content objectives?) is best addressed via the collection and analysis of rich qualitative data gathered in situ (i.e., in the classroom context), as the following examples show.

After describing the three studies in this section, we then revisit in the Discussion section the principles just reviewed for designing and conducting qualitative research.

Study 1: Subject-Specific Language Learning Through Hands-On Tasks in CLIL Secondary Science

The first reviewed article was authored by Nikula (2015), a scholar in Finland, who has carried out multiple investigations examining the nature of discourse in the CLIL classroom (e.g., Nikula 2010, 2012; Moore and Nikula 2016). Her 2015 study was primarily concerned with examining the opportunities for subject-specific language use and learning that CLIL secondary science classrooms afford to L2 students specifically through their engagement in hands-on tasks. As the author notes, previous research shows that each disciplinary area uses unique genres and registers to construct meaning (e.g., Coffin 2006; Schleppegrell 2004). The CLIL classroom, then, is assumed to provide a potentially rich context for both content knowledge and subject-specific language development (e.g., Llinares et al. 2012; Nikula 2010). However, since most CLIL instruction in Europe is done by content teachers who believe that focusing on language teaching is not part of their role (Bovellan 2014), this belief results in mostly content-driven examples of CLIL implementation (Dalton-Puffer 2011). Echoing Cammarata and Teddick (Cammarata and Tedick 2012), Nikula highlights the need to help

these content teachers reimagine their identities to view themselves as language teachers also. The study is therefore an attempt to not only describe and analyze the nature of the classroom interactions as students engage in task-based learning but also to potentially identify and examine opportunities that the content teachers create to support their students' subject-specific language development.

The study was carried out in two Finnish secondary schools. The participants included a chemistry teacher and a physics teacher from 2 different schools that offer a CLIL (English) strand and their students (13 in the chemistry lesson and 6 in the physics lesson), all Finnish first language (L1) speakers except for 1 chemistry student. The data, derived from a corpus for a larger study, consist of six 45-min audio-recorded grade 7 chemistry and physics lessons. Nikula used discourse analysis to identify and describe instances when either the teachers or the students used subject-specific language.

The main section of the article is devoted to the reporting of data analysis. This is divided into three sections, each corresponding to the three phases of task-based instruction (and thus showcasing an example of research that uses on an activity as the focus of analysis). A total of 20 excerpts of the transcribed lesson observations are included, with a similar number of excerpts coming from each class: 9 from the chemistry class and 11 from the physics class. All excerpts are prefaced by contextual explanations and interpretations, which are further elaborated on in discussions linked to relevant theory and literature.

The findings of this study revealed differences in the nature of classroom discourse, particularly in relation to how the teachers oriented students to subject-specific language use in each of the task phases. In the case of the chemistry class, the pre-task phase was used to explain the task procedures as well as to introduce key specialized concepts. This was done using a combination of general academic language (e.g., *centiliters*, *temperature*, *dissolve*, *crystals*) and subject-specific terminology (e.g., *copper sulfate*). During this phase, the teacher also socialized students to subject culture or disciplinary practices (e.g., reminding them to keep notes of their observations). In the case of physics, it was the post-task phase that afforded most opportunities for students to become socialized to the physics subject language. In this phase, the teacher linked theoretical concepts and terminology to the hands-on task. This typically involved extended discussion sequences between the teacher and students, with opportunities to introduce and clarify concepts/terminology (e.g., "the important thing here was (.) that – getting to know these concepts of (.) wave length and (.) frequency (.) (and) which I hope you know at this point" (p. 24)). In both classes, the hands-on task (i.e., students working on practical experiments) itself served as a chance for practicing "acting" science: the student discourse in this stage was characterized by highly indexical (i.e., dependent on details of the hands-on task and the action of peers) as well as economic language use, something also found in previous work on task-based language (e.g., Seedhouse 1999). Overall, however, the classroom interactions throughout all task phases were characterized as mostly colloquial. Yet, far from viewing these as restricted language practice situations, Nikula reminds readers about the primary focus of the chemistry and physics

lessons: to meet the learning outcomes of the respective subjects. And in this regard, the tasks provided a rich learning context.

In sum, the findings suggest that the pre- and post-task phases complemented the hands-on task phase by providing opportunities for engaging with subject-specific language, with teachers using a variety of strategies to introduce disciplinary terminology. The findings also show that while the teachers and students are oriented to language matters during the tasks, "these are rarely brought into explicit focus, learning subject-specific language thus remaining a matter of socialisation rather than explicit teaching" (p. 25). Nikula concludes that there could be a more explicit focus on language instruction, yet for subject area teachers to do so effectively would require a reconceptualization of their understanding of the relationship between language and content, as well as training on recognizing the typical genre and register features of their respective subjects.

Study 2: Translanguaging as Pedagogical Scaffolding in EMI Secondary Science Classrooms

The second study, by Lin and He (2017), focuses on the practices of translanguaging in a multilingual classroom in Hong Kong. Since García's (2009) seminal publication, the conceptualization of translanguaging as the complex, fluid discursive practices of bi-/multilingual speakers has been extended to also refer to translanguaging as a "pedagogical strategy" (García and Li 2015), a view that Lin and He also share. The study draws on the notion of *trans-semiotizing* as well (Lin 2015), which takes into account the strategic use of other semiotic systems (images, sounds, gestures) by bi-/multilingual speakers alongside their translanguaging practices. Rejecting the traditional view of bi-/multicultural practices as involving two (or more) discrete language systems, the authors find in Lemke's (2016) conceptualization of "dynamic flows" a powerful theoretical lens to analyze translingual, trans-semiotic practices as "unfolding speech/action events across multiple materials, media, and time scales" (Lin and He 2017, p. 237), thus adding spatial, material, and historical dimensions to their analysis of interactions in the CLIL classroom.

The research reported on in this article took place in a grade 9 biology class in a secondary school in Hong Kong that uses English as the MoI. The 14 (all female) student participants were of South Asian background (all L1 Urdu speakers from either Pakistan or India). The participating teacher, in turn, was a Cantonese L1 speaker and thus did not share the same language background as her students. English was also an additional language for her. The main type of data consist of ethnographic naturalistic observations of thirteen 70-min lessons from the focal biology class. The lessons were videotaped by the second author, who fulfilled the dual role of researcher as well as consultant for a school-university collaboration project on CLIL, thus spending significant time in the school (3 days a week) throughout a full academic year. In addition to the recorded lessons, the data set includes observations of interactions between teachers and students from other

classrooms during class time and during recess (and even in some cases outside in the community), plus a collection of examples of student work (e.g., assignments, posters, worksheets). As they analyzed the data, the researchers interviewed two student participants who translated portions of selected translanguaging scenarios from Urdu to English, as well as provided researchers with a helpful English glossary of Urdu words and phrases featured in the scenarios.

The data were analyzed by searching for "translanguaging scenarios," i.e., instances in which the participants used multiple languages while engaged in teaching/learning activities. As reported by the authors, three main themes emerged from their interpretivist analysis. Under the first theme, "translanguaging as pedagogical scaffolding," the authors reported on some of the challenges that teaching and learning through English posed in the classroom; yet these challenges were mediated by the rich multilingual and multicultural resources of students and teacher. Two detailed and highly contextualized lesson excerpts with sequences of translanguaging and trans-semiotizing – described as "translingual chains of meaning" – were included to illustrate how skillfully all interactants mediated teaching/learning by drawing on their respective multilingual/multicultural repertoires. For instance, during a lesson on the digestive system, instead of using examples of local food, the teacher used "samosa," which was more familiar and appealing to the students. This example was used right after one of the students had volunteered a translation of "digest" in Urdu, which the teacher did not dismiss but rather used to prompt further elaboration. While the authors reported that the teacher could have prompted even more instances of translanguaging, the data reveals that her openness to accepting (and, indeed, sometimes inviting) responses in a language she did not speak allowed the students to "affirm their identities" (Cummins 2015). This point is further elaborated on as a second key theme, illustrated through another lesson extract in which the teacher solicits examples of herbivores from students. When they suggest "camel," she acknowledges her ignorance as to whether or not this animal falls under the herbivore category. What follows is another instance of translanguaging, where five students contribute to the discussion (using Urdu as well as English in strategic ways) to confirm that camels only eat grass. Several other rich illustrations of instances of translanguaging, often in combination with trans-semiotizing (as in when the teacher used gestures and/or made drawings to explain shapes or students used their posters to showcase their drawing abilities), were included and were presented as evidence of how translanguaging is also used as a peer learning strategy.

In the conclusion, through a detailed analysis of language-rich scenarios, the authors restate their reconceptualization of translanguaging as a dynamic chain of "speech/action events" (p. 242) where participants make use of their multilingual/multicultural/multisemiotic resources to jointly make meaning. This, in turn, suggests that multilingual CLIL classrooms that reject the traditional monolingual policy in favor of a translingual approach generate more opportunities to create rich learning contexts where learners can authenticate and affirm their multilingual/multicultural identities.

Study 3: A Comparison of Interactional Patterns in Two Different EMI Secondary School Settings

The third study, by Lo and Macaro (2015), was also conducted in Hong Kong, where changes in language policy resulted when the former British-governed territory became a Special Administrative Region of China in 1997. While most schools now use a variety of Chinese as the MoI, schools have the option to switch to English-medium instruction (EMI) in grade 10. Yet, about one fourth of the secondary schools were allowed to retain EMI from grade 7, meaning that some students start EMI instruction in grade 7 whereas most begin 3 years later (i.e., in grade 10). The purpose of this study was to compare the interaction patterns in both types of setting (referred to as "EMI" and "MoI switching," respectively) in order to determine any differences that might impact language learning.

This project was designed as a mixed-methods observational study, and a cross-sectional design was used to compare the two types of setting. The classrooms observed came from one MoI-switching school (school A) and two EMI schools (schools B and C). Eight grade 10 content teachers (two from school A and six from schools B and C) and a total of 320 students participated. The data set includes fifteen 35–40-min video and/or audio-recorded lessons of 11 observations, as well as field notes taken by the first author (Lo).

The quantitative analysis of the transcribed lessons involved three types of analysis: classifying the interactions by speaker (teacher vs. student) to calculate the proportion of talk in each case; identifying the functions of teacher and student talk using Tsui's (1985) analytical framework of 17 function types (e.g., elicitation, information, etc.) and counting the number of initiation-response-feedback (IRF) sequences; and calculating turn distribution. The qualitative analysis was then performed to yield detailed examinations of the discourse patterns and the elicitation techniques used by teachers.

The descriptive statistical analysis, reported in tables and brief data commentaries of main patterns, revealed that teachers in the three schools did most of the talking (over 90%). The MoI classroom, however, was slightly more teacher-centered than its EMI counterparts. The analysis of talk functions showed that most of the interactions across settings fulfilled the function of informing (via teacher lecturing), yet EMI schools included more instances of student talk. That is, MoI classrooms were slightly more teacher-dominant than EMI classrooms, where students had more opportunities to contribute through extended responses. Turn analysis, which involved counting spoken syllables, also showed that students in EMI classrooms produced longer and richer verbal exchanges.

The nature of discourse patterns was examined using Mortimer and Scott's (2003) classification of I-R-E/F (initiation-response-evaluation/feedback) and I-R-F-R-F (initiation-response-feedback-response-feedback). The qualitative findings showed that interaction in EMI schools was characterized by more instances of teacher elicitation and student responses (i.e., more instances of I-R-F-R-F than simple IRF sequences) than in the MoI-switching schools (for reasons discussed below). Additionally, teachers in EMI schools were found to use a wider range of elicitation

techniques beyond repetition (e.g., paraphrasing, expanding, or further specifying questions), which was seen as likely contributing to the richer and more extended student responses observed in those schools. Linking these results to previous research demonstrating that a lack of pedagogical skills in the L2 led to poor/limited classroom interaction in classrooms that used CLIL approaches (Mortimer and Scott 2003; Nikula 2007), the authors speculate that the difference in teachers' elicitation techniques was likely attributable to inexperience with the new instructional approaches on the part of the MoI teachers and students. Teachers and students in EMI schools, on the other hand, would have had 3 more years of instruction in the L2, which might account for the more extended and richer (and slightly less teacher-dominated) interactional patterns. Additionally, drawing on findings of previous research that showed grade 9 teachers in Chinese MoI schools did use elicitation techniques effectively (Lo and Macaro 2012), the authors further speculate that one of the reasons MoI teachers in school A did not use effective questioning techniques might relate to the teachers' (mis)assessment of students' L2 language proficiency as insufficient.

In their summary of findings and implications, the authors point to the lack of negotiation of meaning (Long 1983) and pushed output (Swain 1995) that characterized the nature of the classroom discourse across all schools. There were differences, however, that surfaced as a result of their detailed examinations of interactional patterns and which revealed that overall, the teachers in EMI schools were better equipped to scaffold learner interactions. The authors thus argue that successful implementation of CLIL depends on teachers having the requisite toolkit of strategies and skills conducive to rich verbal exchanges and that this takes time to accumulate.

Discussion

The three studies reviewed above were, as noted earlier, all conducted by well-regarded language education researchers with established programs of research exploring related issues. Thus, they provide a kind of "raw data" for an inductive exploration of exemplary qualitative classroom research on EMI. In what follows, we discuss some of the commonalities among the preceding studies and highlight some of the aspects in either their design, implementation, or reporting that make them noteworthy. We also identify some differences across the studies as well as what might be considered shortcomings or limitations, points sometimes raised by the researchers themselves.

Shared across the studies is a focus on EFL secondary school contexts in Europe and Asia, where English is not the language of the wider community but rather is the MoI of choice. Taken together, these studies illuminate our understanding of the nature of classroom interaction in EMI contexts that draw on CLIL approaches. As mentioned earlier, the choice of topic is timely given the international expansion of CLIL and EMI over the last decade or so (Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2013; Lo and Macaro 2015) and also responds to a shift in CLIL and EMI research from a

concern with descriptions of program types and evaluation of outcomes to a focus on classroom interaction and classroom pedagogy – what Lo and Macaro (2015) describe as a shift from product-oriented to process-oriented research. As pointed out by Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013), the ideal context for such investigations is the classroom, something the three exemplars of classroom-based research clearly demonstrate.

The studies examined important issues either not fully addressed or brought up by previous related research, and they all include important suggestions for pedagogy that are meant to guide future implementations of CLIL in EMI contexts. Nikula's (2015) study highlights the opportunities hands-on tasks provide for introducing and using subject-specific language and practices, with an acknowledgment of the need for better training of content teachers so that they can recognize their potential to scaffold language learning in the content class through a combination of explicit and implicit focus on language. Lin and He's (2017) investigation underscores the pedagogical value of translanguaging practices in highly multilingual/multicultural classrooms even (or especially) when teachers and students do not share the same linguistic and cultural repertoire. Their study also illustrates the powerful role translanguaging can play as a scaffolding strategy for teaching and learning at the disposal of both teachers and students and that translanguaging practices contribute to affirming students' identities (whereas monolingual classroom policies can have the opposite effect). Lo and Macaro's (2015) study warns about the problems that may arise when CLIL is implemented without proper training, particularly in relation to elicitation strategies (i.e., when teachers seek responses from students). Rich learning opportunities – of both language and content – are missed when teachers fail to use a wide range of techniques to promote verbal exchanges, and this is particularly exacerbated when the students' language proficiency in the MoI is perceived as lacking.

None of the above insights, however, would have been obtained without the careful, detailed, systematic examination of the respective teachers' and students' interactions in situ and through the collection of rich information skillfully analyzed *qualitatively*. The studies are characterized by robust datasets collected over a relatively extended period of time (from several weeks, it appears, up to a full school year). All three studies gathered recordings (audio and/or video) of classroom observations as focal raw data. The multiple observations in the same classrooms and/or school settings, for instance, allowed researchers to confirm/disconfirm patterns identified (e.g., descriptions on what constitutes "typical" elicitation strategies or "typical" student language use in the classrooms observed, such as the highly indexical nature of language use in the hands-on phase of the physics and chemistry classes observed by Nikula). In all cases, researchers clearly identified the unit of analysis (the three phases of the tasks, translanguaging scenarios, and teacher questioning techniques, respectively), and their use of discourse analysis strategies, conducted at various levels of delicacy across the studies, made it possible to uncover insights that could only be revealed through using fine-grained analytical tools. Two of the studies used some form of microlevel

analysis: Nikula's consists of in-depth analyses of use of indexical language and identification of discipline-specific vocabulary. The lesson excerpts included in her article followed detailed transcription conventions capturing overlapping speech, pauses, intonation, etc., and this information was highlighted in the analysis when it helped account for interpretations that linguistic data alone would not make visible. Lin and He's detailed lesson excerpts were transcribed noting particular instances of pronunciation and intonation features that significantly contributed to meaning-making in the respective interactions. In their case, the descriptions of gestures accompanying the recorded interactions (e.g., "pointing to her abdomen," "fingers pointing to her canines"), together with the photographs of artifacts (e.g., student posters), provided key contextual information that the researchers used in their interpretation of findings and thus were recognized as fundamental for inclusion in the report.

The studies, while conducted in somewhat different educational contexts, thus, had a number of similarities showing effective implementation of qualitative research in EMI: careful contextualization and description of demographics and participation/site selection criteria (acknowledging some limitations in this regard), definitions of constructs and categories used and their relationship to relevant theoretical frameworks; comparative elements (across content areas or schools), inclusion of content teachers primarily (and thus not English language specialists, which then requires careful interpretation of findings and pedagogical implications), and inclusion of multiple carefully transcribed excerpts of lessons observed, prefaced, and/or followed by descriptive and interpretive data commentaries. Some of these shared elements are shown in Table 1. Differences included the number of schools chosen (one vs. multiple schools), qualitative only versus mixed-methods design, inclusion of interviews versus no (or minimal) interviews, and analysis of artifacts versus analysis of recorded lessons only. With respect to the inclusion of interviews (or not), these three studies contrasted with studies reviewed by Duff (2007) in which interviews were more prominent. It is likely the case that studies that focus more on linguistic or discursive patterns of classroom interaction tend not to focus as much on participants' accounts and perspectives of those interactions, whereas studies that focus more on learners' sense of identity or agency, for example, or feelings of marginalization versus inclusion place a greater emphasis on participants' own accounts of their behaviors and perceptions. Ideally, both types of analysis would be combined, yet it can be challenging to do so within a single study, and especially in high schools, where it can be difficult to interview students due to schedules and other constraints (Duff 2002). Since we judged all three studies to be strong, these varying design features (i.e., in terms of length of observations, number of participants or sites, triangulation of data, and approaches to data analysis) demonstrate the variability that may exist across rigorous studies examining similar phenomena. In addition, the authors themselves (e.g., Lo and Macaro 2015; Nikula 2015) were careful to note some of the limitations of their studies, such as the small number of teachers, subjects/courses, and activities sampled and thus concerns about generalizability.

Table 1 Features of three exemplary qualitative EMI studies

	Nikula (2015)	Lin and He (2017)	Lo and Macaro (2015)
Focus	Subject-specific language use in science tasks	Translanguaging and trans-semiotic practices in the EMI classroom	Comparison of classroom interaction on early and late EMI settings
Contextualization	Detailed	Detailed	Detailed
Observation timeframe	Not stated (likely a few weeks)	1 academic year	11 school visits (specific timeframe not stated)
Design	Qualitative observations	Qualitative ethnographic observations	Mixed methods (quantitative + qualitative)
Dataset	Six 45-min lessons (taught as three 90-min double lessons) in physics and chemistry Data come from larger study (CLIL classroom corpus)	Thirteen 70-min lessons of the focal class; conversations with cultural informants (other South Asian teachers in the school); student artifacts (assignments, worksheets, posters) Data come from larger study	Fifteen 35- to 40-min lessons of three content classes
Research site(s)	Two schools in Finland	One school in Hong Kong	Three schools in Hong Kong
Participants	Two grade 7 teachers of either chemistry or physics 19 students	One focal grade 9 biology teacher 14 focal students	Eight teachers of grade 10 content classes (history, physics, geography, biology) 320 students
Comparative design features	Chemistry vs. physics classes	Not applicable	EMI vs. MoI-switching schools
Discourse analysis	Subject-specific language	Translanguaging; trans-semiosis	Interactional patterns (IRF sequences); teacher elicitation strategies
Interviews and/or member checking	No	Yes, member checking with two student participants (out of 14) in focal classroom	No
Artifacts analyzed	No	Student assignments, worksheets, posters	No
Discussion of limitations	Yes	No	Yes
Discussion of research ethics	No, but steps were taken to mask the	No, but use of pseudonym for focal teacher was explicitly	No, but steps were taken to mask the

(*continued*)

Table 1 (continued)

	Nikula (2015)	Lin and He (2017)	Lo and Macaro (2015)
	identity of schools and participants	stated, and steps were taken to mask the identity of the school and participants	identity of schools and participants
Possible ways of strengthening study	Discussion or measurement of participants' English proficiency levels; Inclusion of participants' (emic) perspectives; Specification of study timeframe; Discussion of ethical considerations; Researcher reflexivity	Discussion of English proficiency levels; Interviews with all (or more) participants	Inclusion of teachers' English proficiency levels; Specification of study timeframe; Discussion of ethical considerations

Conclusion

Qualitative classroom research takes many forms and includes a variety of possible designs, research questions, and approaches to data collection and analysis. For example, researchers may limit the number of participants to just one or a small number of focal participants (whether teachers or students) or may limit the analysis to particular types of focal activities or interactions (e.g., academic tasks, question-response interaction sequences) or linguistic (monolingual vs. multilingual) and multimodal practices. One primary site (e.g., classroom, subject area, or school) may be chosen, or, in a comparative study, additional sites may profitably be included. A variety of theories can also frame classroom research in EMI and other contexts, ranging from the ways in which linguistic or generic aspects of content knowledge develop through scaffolding to socialization within and across particular social practices and to the formation, expression, or contestation of identity through classroom discourse, among other possible themes. This multiplicity of approaches and foci is healthy in a field as broad and complex as English language education and EMI internationally.

This chapter has demonstrated the extent to which QCR has increased in our field and now encompasses more research in EMI than ever before. We have distilled key elements or principles in much contemporary QCR and exemplified these principles by describing in detail three recent studies of EMI classroom discourse. These studies provided high levels of contextualization and operationalization of constructs and units of analysis and provided analytic rigor and explanations. They also had clear pedagogical significance. In providing this review, we hope to offer readers guidance for analyzing existing studies and for

conducting future classroom research in EMI and other English language contexts. Because the three studies examined in detail came from just two regional contexts, in Finland and Hong Kong, where English has a distinct historical and contemporary role in education and society, additional QCR on similar phenomena across a wider range of EFL, English lingua franca, or postcolonial contexts would shed further light on some of the issues associated with EMI in distinct parts of the world. The studies, furthermore, were conducted in secondary schools, in science classes primarily, and thus research at different levels (from elementary to postsecondary) and across a wider range of disciplines would add to the growing body of QCR in EMI. In addition, complementary approaches to QCR drawing on both observation and participants' perspectives tracking English/content learning trajectories over time would be another potentially fruitful direction for future research.

Cross-References

▶ Action Research in English Language Teaching: Contributions and Recent Developments
▶ Autoethnography and Ethnography in English Language Teaching
▶ Content and Language Integrated Learning in Hong Kong
▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching
▶ Mediating L2 Learning Through Classroom Interaction
▶ "Research by Design": Forms of Heuristic Research in English Language Teaching
▶ The *What* and *How* of English Language Teaching: Conversation Analysis Perspectives

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The *What* and *How* of English Language Teaching: Conversation Analysis Perspectives

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Hansun Zhang Waring

Contents

Abstract

This chapter outlines two ways in which conversation analysis (CA) research has contributed to the field of English language teaching (ELT). First, by providing stunning specificities of a range of interactional practices in turntaking, sequencing, overall structuring, and repair, CA research is at the forefront of delineating what is there to be taught in the first place by way of developing learners' interactional competence. Second, classroom CA research in ELT has offered illuminating insights into how turn-taking is orchestrated, participation is managed, explanations are given, corrections are conducted, understandings are developed, multiple demands are attended to and the like. These fine-grained portrayals of teacher practices provide powerful answers to the question of how English language teaching is done in situ. Taken together then, CA has enriched, and is continuing to enrich, our understandings of the what and how of ELT.

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Introduction

It has been over three decades since the official foray of conversation analysis (CA)
into the field of English language teaching (ELT) (e.g., Kasper 2006; Markee 2000;
Wong 1984). As a theory of and approach to studying social interaction, CA was
developed by sociologists Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson in
the 1960s as a radical departure from traditional methods of sociological inquiry (see
Clift 2016 for the latest introduction to CA). Doing conversation analysis involves (1)
collecting audio- and video-recorded data from naturally occurring interaction as
opposed to interviews, field notes, native intuitions, and experimental designs; (2)
transcribing these recordings using notations that capture a full range of interactional
details such as volume, pitch, pace, intonation, overlap, inbreath, smiley voice, the
length of silence, as well as nonverbal conduct; and (3) conducting line-by-line
analyses of these transcripts along with their original recordings guided by the
question of *why that now?* (e.g., why a particular bit of talk or conduct is produced
in that particular way at that particular time?) (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). The goal is
to locate evidence of tacit methods of social interaction in the details of participant
conduct as oriented to by the participants themselves. It is not, as Gardner (2008)
explicates, to "apply 'expert-observer' categories on the data, nor to be driven by
some model of conversation, or my past findings" (p. 230).

Given its specialty in illuminating the nature of social interaction, the relevance
of CA to language teaching seems obvious. After all, helping learners develop the
ability to conduct social interaction or communicate in a second language is a central
goal in language teaching. Not surprisingly, the crossover between CA and applied
linguistics has generated a growing body of promising scholarship, a substantial
amount of which has been devoted to a reconceptualization of learning in the CA for
SLA (second language acquisition) movement. Some well-rehearsed debates around
whether CA can usefully contribute to answering questions of language learning
can be found in a series of special issues of *The Modern Language Journal*
(see 1997–1998, 2004, and 2007). In particular, CA work has been productive
in (1) describing the local interactional process by which learning as a process is
negotiated (i.e., learning opportunities) (Kim 2012) or (2) documenting learning as a
product in the short term (Markee 2008) or over a longer period of time (Hellermann
2008; Waring 2013a).

The focus of this chapter, however, is on the contribution of CA to language
teaching and, more specifically, the "what" and "how" of *English* language
teaching. As such, important work on CA and language learning has been excluded
from the ensuing discussion, along with analyses of ELT (English language
teaching) classroom interaction without a specific focus on teacher practices

(e.g., studies on learner conduct) as well as those on the teaching of languages other than English. My focus is, instead, calibrated to highlight two ways in which conversation analysis (CA) research can contribute to the field of ELT. First, as will be shown, by providing stunning specificities of a range of interactional practices in turn-taking, sequencing, overall structuring, and repair, CA research is at the forefront of delineating at least part of *what* is there to be taught. Second, classroom CA research in ELT has produced fine-grained portrayals of teacher practices that provide powerful answers to the question of *how* English language teaching is done in situ.

CA and the *What* of ELT

As noted above, much of language teaching involves helping learners develop their competence to interact in the second language (L2), for which understanding the nature of such competence – an important component of the "what" of ELT – is a prerequisite. As will be shown, CA scholars have played a pivotal role in (1) critiquing the "what" of ELT as represented in textbooks, (2) specifying the "what" of ELT along with teaching activities, and, finally, (3) conceptualizing the "what" of ELT as a set of interactional practices.

Critiquing the "What" of ELT

Typically, ELT textbook writers would rely on intuitions to determine what the competence to interact in a second language entails. That such intuitions are not always reliable was effectively demonstrated in Wong (2002, 2007), where she evaluates telephone conversations in ELT textbooks for their portrayals of openings and closings against the backdrop of CA findings on real-life telephone conversations (also see Grant and Starks 2001). In a similar vein, after examining some of the most widely used commercial ELT textbook at the time, Gardner (2000) notes "a widespread neglect of the kinds of things people do as responses—the second pair parts—such as acknowledging, agreeing, or disagreeing" (p. 40). Also seeking to gauge the authenticity of ELT textbook conversations based on CA findings, Bernsten (2002) finds that pre-sequences (e.g., *What are you doing tonight?* as a pre-invitation to the actual invitation of *Wanna go to a movie?* should the answer to the question turns out to be positive), the explicit teaching of which was largely absent, rarely occurred and were often inadequately represented even when they did occur as implicit models. Suffice it to say that the gap between how people supposedly communicate as captured in ELT materials and how they actually communicate based on CA findings is a noticeable one and can be detrimental to ensuring that the right learning objects are being presented in the ELT classroom. Citing CA as one of the four approaches with findings that have influenced the language descriptions in published ELT materials, however, Gilmore (2015) laments the weakness of such influence given the various practical challenges.

Specifying the "What" of ELT

Aside from using CA findings as a basis for critiquing ELT texts for failing to accurately represent the "what" of ELT, some have gone a step further by specifying the "what" *with* CA findings (Barraja-Rohan 2011; Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm 2006). Gardner (2000) cites *Beyond Talk* (Barraja-Rohan and Pritchard 1997; now available at https://eslandcateaching.wordpress.com/beyond-talk/) as an "innovative set of materials" (p. 42) based on video recordings and transcripts of unscripted natural conversations designed to teach the skills of conducting real-life conversations through an inductive approach based on CA findings. *Your Turn at Talk* is another CA-based booklet developed by Don Carroll (now available on the LANSI Resources page at www.tc.edu/lansi) to teach conversation skills. Also available as individual articles are discussions on the teaching of specific CA-based interactional practices such as taking turns (Carroll 2011a), doing disagreements (Carroll 2011b; Cheng 2016), making requests (Carroll 2012), conducting telephone openings and closings (Wong 2011a, b), producing responses (Carroll 2016a; Olsher 2011a, b), and angling for an answer (Carroll 2016b). Finally, Wong and Waring (2010) include suggestions of a series of awareness-raising and practicing activities aimed at teaching specific interactional practices based on classic CA findings.

To a lesser extent, CA also contributes to specifying the "what" of ELT in yet another way, i.e., by specifying what *not* to teach. In a revealing study of vowel-marking (adding vowels to word final consonants) among Japanese learners of English, Carroll (2005) shows how this typical Japanese "error" is in fact deployed by the participants as a resource for managing word search and multiunit turns. Indeed, viewing L2 conversations as an exhibit of achievement rather than deficiencies constitutes the theme in Gardner and Wagner's (2004) edited volume that brings together a series of CA studies showing second language conversations as normal conversations, where errors and mistakes are rarely consequential, and where L2 users exhibit great sophistication and versatility in managing various interactional contingencies. This reconceptualized view of L2 competencies can ultimately push us to readjust the focus of our pedagogical targets. In Carroll's (2005) words, ESL teachers "intent on ridding their Japanese students of vowel-marking" should "forget pronunciation drills and ridicule, and instead concentrate on training students to use interactionally equivalent conversational micro-practices" (p. 233). For the latest discussion on the problems and possibilities of teaching IC from a CA perspective, see Waring (2018).

Conceptualizing the "What" of ELT

Developing roughly in tandem with the various empirical attempts at shaping ELT materials and classroom practices with CA insights, the notion of interactional competence (IC) (e.g., Kramsch 1986; Hall 1999; Markee 2000; Young 2011) as a theoretical construct that conceptualizes what needs to be taught in the realm of spoken interaction in ELT has been gaining growing currency in the applied

linguistics literature (Hall et al. 2011; Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016; Salaberry and Kunitz, forthcoming; for a recent discussion on IC, see 2018 *Classroom Discourse* special issue). But what exactly constitutes such competence? If at the core of interactional competence is one's ability to participate in interactions, it should not be surprising that conversation analysis is the obvious candidate to provide the needed specificities of such competence. After all, the goal of conversation analysis is to discover and describe the various practices participants deploy in interactions, and these practices have been usefully encapsulated in a model of interactional practices in Wong and Waring (2010), which synthesizes decades of accumulative and robust conversation analysis findings on the nature of ordinary conversations with regard to turn-taking, sequencing, overall structuring, and repair (see Fig. 1).

Turn-taking practices constitute the foundation of social interaction. In order to participate in any interaction, one must learn when and how to construct a turn, take a turn, and yield a turn. This would involve understanding, for example, that the basic unit of a turn or TCU (turn construction unit) can be as small as a lexical item rather than a full sentence, that speaker transitions occur not after someone stops talking but near the end of each TCU, and that to speak past the initial TCU would take delicate interactional work.

People take turns to get things done, or in CA terms, to perform actions, such as gloating, fishing, advising, or storytelling, or, to put simply, to engage in sequencing practices – the methods through which actions are implemented. The action of responding to a compliment in American English, for example, can be implemented through such methods as "praise downgrade" (e.g., *Not very solid through*, in response to *Good shot!*) or "reference shift" (e.g., *So are you* in response to *You're looking good*) (Pomerantz 1978). Disagreement, on the other hand, is typically produced as a "dispreferred" action with delay, mitigation, and accounts (Pomerantz 1984). Teaching learners how to disagree with such markers, for example, would be an important component of producing an interactionally competent English language learner.

The ability to take part in conversation also requires an understanding of overall structuring practices such as opening or ending a conversation. The various elements
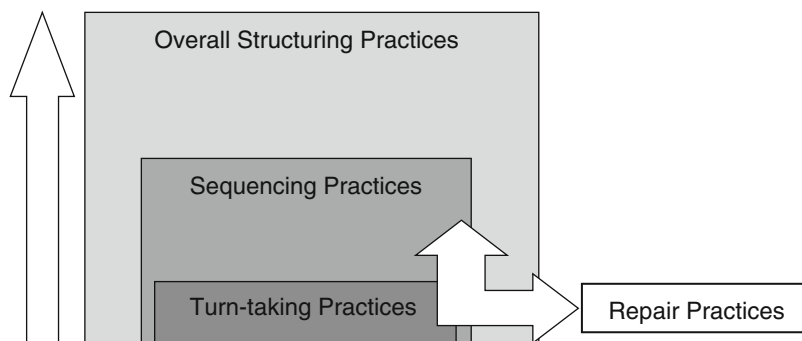
Fig. 1   Model of interactional practices (Wong and Waring 2010)

of phone openings (e.g., summon-answer, identification-recognition, greeting), for example, may seem notoriously simple but intimidating to navigate for novice speakers. Being able to understand that a simple token such as *okay* may be uttered as a pre-closing can go a long way toward preempting awkward situations such as overstaying one's welcome.

Finally, any self-organizing system will have a repair mechanism – one designed to manage the breakdown of operations within the system. In social interaction, we engage in repair practices during moments when we have trouble with speaking, hearing, or understanding. Each repair practice can involve "self" or "other" depending on whose talk is being repaired and who is doing the repairing. Space precludes any in-depth treatment of the full array of intricacies but suffice it to say that doing repair is a profoundly interactional and sequential endeavor – one that cannot be reduced to a list of "useful expressions" such as *Pardon*? or *Could you please say that again*?

In sum, CA has contributed to the "what" of ELT by examining its representation in the textbooks and offering alternatives of such representations both specifically and conceptually. If the development of interactional competence constitutes the goal of ELT at least in the realm of spoken interaction, it behooves us to place the interactional practices of turn-taking, sequencing, overall structuring, and repair at the center of our curriculum.

CA and the *How* of ELT

Besides contributing to understanding the *what* of ELT by specifying the construct of interactional competence, CA also offers revealing insights into how language teaching is done – the *how* of ELT through detailed portrayals of the "amazingly complex and demanding interactional and pedagogical work in the classroom" (Seedhouse 2004, p. 265). Such complex demands are in part captured in the construct of classroom interactional competence (CIC) (Walsh 2006) – the ability to use interaction as a tool to mediate and assist learning but most centrally featured in the notion of interactional competence for teaching (ICT) proposed by Hall and Johnson (2014). In a more recent iteration, Hall (in press) refers to L2 teaching as "specialized professional work" that requires "a range of complex repertoires" comprised of "a wide array of multilingual, multimodal semiotic resources . . . for taking action." Such specialized professional work is demonstrated, for example, in Sert's (2015) book-length account of how multimodal and multilingual resources are integral to a variety of interactional and pedagogical practices in ELT classrooms. It also embodies the pedagogical principles of competence, complexity, and contingency in Waring's (2016) CA-based attempt to theorize pedagogical interaction more broadly. Roughly, ELT classroom discourse studies conducted in the CA framework have produced careful documentations of teacher practices in managing participation and building understanding. Although the two are by no means mutually exclusive, they are treated as separate categories below for ease of presentation.

Managing Participation

An important component of teacher expertise involves managing who gets to talk when and for how long. Given the sociocultural framework wherein participation becomes symbiotic with learning (Young and Miller 2004), some CA work has been devoted to describing teacher practices that promote or curtail participation. Nguyen (2007) shows how one teacher in an ESOL grammar class successfully engages students' co-participation in creating and maintaining rapport. Kääntä (2012) describes "embodied allocation" as a teacher practice for silently (for the most part) selecting the next speaker through gaze, head nods, and pointing gestures. When such embodied allocation is occasionally produced in tandem with talk, as Kääntä notes, it momentarily renders possible a "division of labor" between talk and embodiment. In primary school English classes in Japan, Hosoda and Aline (2013) find that the preference for a selected student to respond is prioritized over that preference for progressivity. Identify shift, as shown in Richards (2006), is one resource for inspiring greater learner participation, where a great deal of unsolicited learner participation emerges when the participants move out of the situated identities of teacher and student. By examining an EFL classroom with young learners in Taiwan, Li and Seedhouse (2010) demonstrate that the story-based, as opposed to standard lessons, allows for a broader variety of interaction patterns, greater frequency of learner initiations, and a wider range of language functions. Using data from two English language classes in China, Walsh and Li (2013) show how space for learning may be created through increased wait time, extended learners turns, and increased planning time. In Waring (2014), the ESL teachers broaden participation by (1) passing the first respondent or by (2) selecting an alternative category of speakers. Finally, Khatib and Miri (2016) explore how teacher talk can cultivate multivocality in an ELT classroom and show that, after attending a critical pedagogy informed teacher education program, the teacher becomes more capable of fostering multivocality by extending wait time, delaying error correction, using referential questions, and so on.

Conversely, conversation analysis work has also showcased how certain teacher practices can curtail learner participation. Markee (1995) shows that counter-questions used by teachers during group work can turn communication-oriented tasks into teacher-fronted activities. Explicit positive assessment (EPA) such as *very good* and routine understanding-checking practices such as *Any questions?* have also be found to carry the potential of blocking participation (Waring 2008, 2012a). Waring (2009) shows that a chain of IRFs serves to suppress learner questions that could have otherwise been raised without substantial delay. By examining how a novice teacher deals with unexpected learner contributions, Fagan (2012) finds that the teacher curtails participation by glossing over learner contribution and assuming the role of information provider. In some cases, however, curtailing becomes necessary for ensuring even participation and preventing someone like "Stacy" in Waring (2013b) for negotiating for more than the fair share of the floor, where such curtailing can be implemented through *sequential deletion* and *minimal acknowledgement+redirection*. Finally, Yataganbaba and Yıldırım (2016) show

how teachers' interruptions and limited wait-time practices affect learner participation and learning opportunities in EFL young learner classrooms.

The management of participation, however, is not always amenable to such clear categorization as "promoting" or "curtailing." Reddington (2018) calls attention to the "participation paradox," or the necessity of *engaging in* and *disengaging from* interactions with individual students to promote extended as well as even participation. In other words, in the reality of second-by-second classroom interactions, promoting the participation of some can mean curtailing the participation of others, and striking a delicate balance between attending to the individual and the larger group is an important component of teacher expertise. Reddington (2018) shows how the teacher in an adult ELT classroom (1) engages participation through the practices of *gearing up for next speakers* and *embodying active listenership* and (2) stops participation through a combination of practices for *closing and connecting contributions*. Balancing the participation between the individual and the group is also a theme in Waring and Carpenter's (forthcoming) study on an ESL teacher's use of gaze shifts upon accepting student response to (1) call attention to what needs to be treated as important information relevant to the entire class and (2) shift back into a wider participation framework where the class as a collective becomes the addressed rather than the unaddressed recipient. Similarly, based on video recordings of 20 English, French, Science, and Social Studies lessons at an international secondary school with a bilingual educational profile in Sweden, St. John and Cromdal (2016) show how, by engaging their gaze and body, the teachers "exploit the instructional benefit" of student questions through "dual addressivity" as they respond to these question in such a way that "meet both individual *and* collective accountabilities" (p. 252). The challenge of managing participation in the ELT classroom also becomes salient when competing voices emerge in response to teachers' elicitations, where whose voice gets ratified is integral to building a culture of participation. Based on 30-h videotaped data from nine adult classrooms teaching English as a second language, Waring (2013c) shows how the teachers manage the competing voices by honoring the emergent (i.e., louder vs. softer voice) or imposed (i.e., nominated vs. un-nominated) hierarchy of the responses as they are produced, using *selective attending* or *sequential attending*.

Finally, the management of participation can become particularly delicate during certain "unforeseen" or "disruptive" moments. In an unusual study on teacher self-talk based on data from upper level ESL courses, Hall and Smotrova (2013) offer a detailed analysis of how, during unplanned moments such as technical difficulties, the teachers' self-talk succeeds in keeping students' focus on the instructional task and receiving self-initiated empathetic responses from the students. Teachers also face the routine task of working with various kinds of student contributions that initiate a shift from the current pedagogical trajectory, and how to strike a balance between maintaining control on the one hand and encouraging student participation on the other constitutes an important pedagogical challenge. Based on videotaped data from the adult ESL classroom, Waring et al. (2016) describe two teacher practices – *ironic teasing* and *invoking learning orientation* – for responding to such student-initiated departures as initiating a side conversation, pointing out a

teacher mistake, offering a response that undermines a teacher question, or volunteering responses when the teacher is seeking contributions from someone else. Engaging these practices, as the authors show, allows the teachers to efficiently restore order, further their agendas, and promote student participation and learning opportunities.

In sum, the ELT classroom CA literature to date contributes to an empirically based understanding of how participation in the ELT classroom may be solicited, maintained, promoted, or curtailed and how the various challenges inherent to this work may be dealt with.

Building Understanding

A sizable body of CA studies conducted in the ELT classroom has been devoted to teacher practices of what may be glossed as "building understanding" – understandings of how the target language works (e.g., pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, what is desirable or inappropriate). To that end, the teachers employ (1) initiating actions such as giving instructions or doing instructing of specific aspects of language (e.g., vocabulary or pronunciation) and, most notably, (2) responsive actions as they work with learner contributions.

Giving Instructions and Doing Instructing

Teachers' initiating activities in building understanding largely consist of directing and informing – what is traditionally viewed as "teaching." Seedhouse (2008) shows what effective and ineffective instruction looks like though a CA analysis and articulates how that understanding may be utilized in ELT teacher training. Markee (2015) analyzes two instruction-giving sequences in two ELT classrooms in the UK and the USA, respectively, and finds that experienced teachers follow a similar structure of delivery at the beginning of lessons (e.g., offering information on grouping, resources, tasks, procedures, timing, etc.) and utilizing a particular range of grammatical resources (e.g., unmodulated imperatives).

The work of building understanding becomes more central in cases where the teaching of specific aspects of language is directly engaged. Nguyen (2016) demonstrates how one teacher effectively uses talk, body, and material artifacts to teach pronunciation in an ESL class in an intensive English program. The teaching of grammar is the focus of two classrooms in another intensive English program, where the teachers used abstract deictic gestures to contrast tenses and metaphoric gestures to represent aspectual concepts (Matsumoto and Dobs 2017). Waring and Yu (2016) detail how engaging life outside the classroom becomes a resource for doing conversation and learning vocabulary in adult ESL classes. In fact, of the different aspects of language, the teaching of vocabulary seems to have received the most attention in CA studies. Lazaraton (2004) finds that an ESL teacher engages iconic, metaphoric, and kinetographic gestures during unplanned vocabulary explanation while relying more on verbal utterances during planned vocabulary explanation, demonstrating that gestures can be a helpful tool for those on-the-spot explanations

that are not anticipated by the teacher. Waring et al. (2013a) explore how in the adult ESL classroom unplanned issues of vocabulary get problematized in situ either unilaterally or bilaterally. In another study that focuses on a co-taught class, the authors show how the unplanned vocabulary items may be explained with either the *analytic* or the *animated* approach (Waring et al. 2013b). While the former engages predominantly verbal and textual resources, the latter activates an ensemble of multimodal means such as gestures, environmentally couple gestures, and scene enactment. Similar findings were documented in Morton's (2015) study based on a corpus of L2 secondary content and language integrated learning (CLIL), where vocabulary explanation tends to be done with a combination of the "animated" and "analytic" formats, and the work of contextualization is accomplished with the content of the class without recourse to external sources.

Teachers also attempt to build understanding by using, for example, a particular type of yes-no question to convey a critical stance in assessment relevant environments, where such critique-implicative questions may serve as a pedagogical resource for providing negative evidence that guides learners toward noticing what is problematic in a range of contexts, including but not limited to learner talk, teacher talk, or what is presented in the textbook (Waring 2012b). The author cautions, however, that while under certain circumstances, these questions may strike the perfect balance of offering help without any overt imposition, they do not appear to be conducive to creating an environment that promotes open meaning negotiation after all.

Finally, building understanding can become particularly challenging in cases where the teacher encounters unforeseen difficulties in explaining a certain language concept or rule. Boblett (2018) shows how such difficulties are managed by an experienced teacher in an adult ESL classroom through exploratory talk, which contains a five-stage sequential structure supported and managed by multimodal means as the teacher calls for attention, states the problem, enters a thinking zone, experiments with ideas and alternatives, and reaches resolution.

Working with Learner Contributions

Aside from giving instructions and doing instructing, an important skill of building understanding entails contingent management of learner contributions. In their study on the interactional management of claims of insufficient knowledge, Sert and Walsh (2013) describe how embodied vocabulary explanations and designedly incomplete utterances (Koshik 2002) may be deployed by the teacher to stimulate learner engagement. Sert (2017) also demonstrates how learner initiatives and emergent knowledge gaps may be successfully handled via practices such as embedded correction, embodied repair, and embodied explanations in EFL classes at a secondary school in Turkey.

Much of the work with learner contributions resides in the F slot of the IRF (initiation-response-feedback) sequence. Using data from various ELT classroom contexts, Park (2014) shows how third-turn repeats are used in meaning and fluency contexts to prompt further talk and in form-and-accuracy contexts to confirm the correctness of the response. In her study on the teacher's deployment of "oh"

in known-answer question sequences in responding to student's answers in Japanese primary school ELT classrooms, Hosoda (2016) shows how the particle is used while reinforcing positive assessments, acting out dialogues with students, and responding to unexpected learner responses. Fagan (2014) describes three practices used by one experienced ESL teacher to systematically and contingently construct positive feedback: giving positive assessment, inviting peer assessment, and implying positive assessments. Negative assessment, on the other hand, is done by foregrounding achievement or offering personal appreciation before correction (Fagan 2015). Finally, Park (2015) focuses specifically on teacher repair for lower-literate adults, where the teacher orients her repair to the learners' state of literacy by offering carefully tailored paralinguistic input.

Interactional work in the F slot is not restricted to giving positive or negative feedback but involves, crucially, shaping leaner contributions toward a desired outcome. Lee (2006) describes how the ESL teacher guides the students toward the correct answer through a series of contingently and purposefully developed display questions and, in particular, uses yes-no questions after learner responses to "pull into view interpretative resources that are already in the room for students to recognize" (Lee 2008, p. 237). Teachers can also engage in parsing (i.e., breaking one item into smaller pieces), intimating an answer (Lee 2007), scaffolding, paraphrasing, reiterating (Walsh and Li 2013), translating, extending, clarifying, summarizing, and so on (Can Daşkın 2015).

Such careful shaping work is often absent in actual practice. In considering a range of methods deployed by teachers in the adult ESL classroom to "promote self-discovery" when dealing with learner errors, Waring (2015) describes two issues that can compromise the efficacy of these practices: (1) not tailoring the practice to learner understandings in situ and (2) prioritizing *what* over *why* (driven by a single focus on correct answers). The author argues that language instructors need to be sensitized to the delicate balance between promoting self-discovery and providing interactionally contingent help. Cancino (2015) also shows, based on data from the Chilean EFL setting, that the success of techniques such as scaffolding and backchannel feedback depends on "whether the teacher interprets the local intricacies of the unfolding interaction in context-sensitive ways," and "poor calibration" of these techniques "were found to hinder opportunities for learning" (p. 127).

Finally, rather than directly shaping learner contributions, teachers can repair their own "failed" questions, as shown in Okada's (2010) study on EFL classroom in Japan, by modifying the failed question in the target language, code-switching into L1, and offering candidate response to the failed question. In the case of learner difficulty as evidenced in their embodied actions in responding to teacher elicitations, the teachers in Sert's (2013) study on two ELT classrooms in Luxembourg employ the practice of epistemic status check (ESC) to move the activity forward.

In sum, in addition to managing participation, an important component of teacher expertise entails helping learners build new understandings of various aspects of the language. Such work, as revealed in CA studies on ELT classroom discourse, involves a complex array of professional *know-hows* in the giving of instructions and deployment of instructing as well as the contingent management of learner

initiatives and responses (also see King (2018) on how such work may be jointly accomplished in a co-teaching context). In other words, CA's account of English language teaching offers a fine-grained depiction of teacher conduct in the moment-by-moment unfolding of classroom reality.

Discussion and Conclusion

Clearly, CA has much to offer by way of specifying or even reconceptualizing at least partially what needs to be taught and how such teaching could be done in the ELT classroom. Various endeavors have been made since the mid-1980s to spotlight the discrepancies between textbook dialogues and real-life interactions and to experiment with utilizing CA-based materials in actual classroom teaching. These rather compelling, but largely disparate, efforts culminated in Wong and Waring's (2010) book-length proposal that encapsulates decades of CA findings on social interaction into a model of interactional practices and offers suggestions for how such CA-based understanding of interaction may serve as a basis for actual classroom teaching through a range of awareness-raising and practicing activities.

What Wong and Waring (2010) essentially suggests is a different way of teaching speaking – one that requires large-scale curriculum innovation and pedagogical restructuring. For this radical shift to materialize in the reality of ELT classrooms is a huge undertaking that is unlikely to be accomplished in a short period of time. First, translating the systematic understanding of what needs to be taught into actual classroom teaching would require more than a few suggested activities. The textbook series that systematically transforms the model of interactional practices into teachable ELT materials for both adults and children is yet to be written. Important efforts have been made in this regard (e.g., *Beyond Talk*, *Your Turn at Talk*), but none seems to have made it into the mainstream ELT textbook market. A huge obstacle is also the lack of familiarity with CA among language teachers (Don Carroll, 17 Sept 2017, personal communication), and this obstacle will remain daunting until CA training becomes an integral component in graduate programs of TESOL and applied linguistics. Finally, key to accomplishing this radical shift is also institutional support. A successful example can be found at the Center for Language and Intercultural Communication (CLIC) at Rice University (http://clicmaterials.rice.edu/course-materials/), where teachers of various foreign languages receive systematic training in CA and are encouraged to develop innovative CA-based materials for their own classes.

It is important to note that teaching interactional practices does not mean abandoning the teaching of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Without these linguistic resources, turn-taking, sequencing, overall structuring, and repair would be nonexistent. In her 2017 plenary address delivered at the American Association for Applied Linguistics Annual Conference, for example, Pekarek Doehler posits that the development of interactional competence entails increasing diversification and efficiency in the deployment of methods for action (e.g., doing a request) and grammar-for-interaction (also see Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016). Grammar,

in other words, is integral to one's development of interactional competence. Thus, how best to integrate the traditional focus of language teaching into the teaching of interactional practices constitutes an important challenge. Some recent effort in applying CA findings to the teaching and testing of interactional competence in earlier instruction to learners with limited linguistic resources can be found in Salaberry and Kunitz's (forthcoming) edited volume.

The "how" of teaching, as revealed in CA analyses of ELT classroom interaction, consists of complex professional work that goes beyond such macro tasks as lesson planning or activity design and such micro activities as informing, questioning, or assessing. In the second-by-second unfolding of classroom interaction, the teacher allocates turns, builds rapport, maintains order, and promotes or curtails student participation while at the same time engaging a variety of verbal and visible resources to teach pronunciation, explain vocabulary, elucidate tense and aspect, sort out tricky problems of understanding, and work with emerging learner initiatives and responses. It is worth highlighting that such professional work cannot be accomplished with talk alone and requires a complex interplay of multimodal resources – a traditionally neglected aspect in teacher training. Notably, a key component of teacher expertise involves managing multiple demands such as engaging student attention while attending to technical problems, attending to the individual without neglecting the group, and striking a delicate balance between maintaining the pedagogical focus and encouraging student participation. Finally, what CA-based analysis of ELT classroom interaction reveals is the highly contingent nature of the teacher's work – the kind of work that cannot be easily captured in simple *do*s and *don't*s. Doing "steering" in the F position of IRF, for example, cannot be reduced to a list of useful phrases or sentence frames, and third-turn repeats do not always accomplish the same type of work regardless of sequential environments.

Recent efforts in documenting such complexities of teacher practices are represented in two edited volumes. Kunitz et al. (forthcoming) includes a collection of conversation analysis studies on classroom interaction, where pedagogical implications of the various findings are specifically addressed. Hall and Looney (forthcoming) bring together a series of studies devoted specifically to advancing understandings of the highly specialized professional work of L2 teaching, such as the embodied practice of teaching writing (Park forthcoming), the orchestration of small group activities (Fagan forthcoming), and the facilitation of storytelling (Reddington et al. forthcoming).

In closing, despite the staggering volume of conversation analysis work produced in applied linguistics over the past two decades, it remains unclear how much of this work has trickled down to the actual classroom of ELT. Although important and innovative CA-based ELT materials are scattered in various journal articles and edited volumes, as noted earlier, the textbook series that fully utilizes CA findings on spoken interaction is yet to be written and brought into the mainstream ELT market. In addition, among the increasing amount of CA-based studies of ELT classroom interaction, few carry specific, tangible, and usable pedagogical implications. This is not surprising given CA's focus on describing and documenting member methods. For classroom CA studies to become truly useful for ELT practitioners, the

pedagogical implications of our findings need to be given serious, not just passing, consideration. We need to be able to articulate how precisely our findings may be translated to teaching and teacher training. One pathway toward achieving this goal is by asking questions motivated by real pedagogical problems (e.g., how to ensure even participation) from the outset while upholding CA's analytical stance of remaining open in finding the answers in the details of participant conduct as we investigate how expert teachers manage these problems. Pedagogically useful findings as such can ultimately form a basis for CA-based teacher training. One current project conceived in just that spirit involves synthesizing and translating a broad range of existing CA findings on pedagogical interaction into evidence-based training materials for teachers (Waring and Creider forthcoming). Based on this synthesis and translation, we propose a *FAB* (*foster an inviting environment*; *attend to learner voice*; *balance competing demands*) framework that offers a step-by-step guide to facilitate a "micro-reflection" of teacher conduct as situated in the complex realities of actual classrooms. The goal is to start what Creider (2016) calls a "micro-revolution" of teacher training, where thoughtful adjustments are to be made word-by-word, pause-by-pause, and gesture-by-gesture in the constant flow of real-time classroom interaction. With that, we are eager to witness CA making a real impact in the language classroom, and we trust that it will.

Cross-References

▶ Feedback for Enhanced English Language Learning
▶ Mediating L2 Learning Through Classroom Interaction

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Autoethnography and Ethnography in English Language Teaching

58

Phiona Stanley

Contents

Abstract

With a view to suggesting ways forward in qualitative ELT research, this chapter surveys two related fields of literature in order to question the taken-for-granted. The first field reviewed is ethnography and here the focus on its intellectual history and what is argued to be its potential for an ongoing "haunting" by a colonizing epistemology (way of knowing), ontology (way of being), and axiology (values system). To counter this threat, four interrelated strategies are suggested for how ethnographic research might be improved in ELT. These are, firstly, a rejection of putatively objective cultural models; secondly, problematizing the written conventions of ethnographic texts; thirdly, greater awareness of researcher positionality; and fourthly, taking a more robust ethical stance in which the purposes and beneficiaries of our research are foregrounded. The chapter then turns to autoethnography, which is the second field of literature reviewed. The genre is shown to be booming in both the research methods literature broadly and also, to a lesser extent, in ELT research specifically. But it is argued that the approaches taken to autoethnography in ELT are somewhat

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different from those taken in other disciplines, and it is posited that ELT auto-ethnographers may be ignoring one or more of the key tenets of autoethnography. While ELT autoethnographers seem au fait with the evocative nature of storytelling and the situatedness of autoethnography in the wider, academic literature, it is argued that an explicit commitment to social justice may be lacking. This chapter concludes by suggesting that, as ELT comprises many non-Western and non-hegemonic voices, it is necessary for the discipline to work toward decolonizing ethnographic scholarship in ways that allow for the needs and interest of "the researched" to be served rather than (mainly) the needs of the researcher.

Introduction

This chapter does not attempt to do justice to all the topics currently being debated in ethnography and autoethnography: this would be both an impossibly huge task and also likely too generalist. Instead, I consider where we are at, as a discipline, in our engagement with these research methods. In doing so, I aim to problematize the taken-for-granted from a perspective of decolonizing scholarship (e.g., Chawla and Atay 2017). That is to say, I think we need to ask ourselves, as ELT scholars, some big questions about the research we do.

We might ask, for instance: *whose* way of knowing matters to us? What do we see as *normal*? *Whose* ways of being, and *whose* values, do we hold up as aspirational? And if we find, as we ask ourselves these things, that the questions make us uncomfortable or if we simply realize that we don't normally ask ourselves such things, I want us to then ask ourselves about these silences or the uncomfortableness itself. Because it is these difficult spaces and these empty spaces that are really what this chapter is all about.

A great deal has been published on ethnography in the last 8 years. Contributions include adjective-prefixed books such as *sensory ethnography* (Pink 2015) and *critical ethnography* (Madison 2012). There are books on fieldwork (e.g., Blommaert and Jie 2010), writing (e.g., Jackson and Mazzei 2009), and politics (e.g., Denzin and Giardina 2015), including qualitative research's contested underpinnings (e.g., Koro-Ljungberg 2016; Kovach 2009).

Similarly, autoethnography is booming. Recent books include more adjective-noun titles: *evocative autoethnography* (Bochner and Ellis 2016), *interpretive autoethnography* (Denzin 2014), *critical autoethnography* (Boylorn and Orbe 2014), and *collaborative autoethnography* (Chang et al. 2012), for example. There are books offering ways forward in contentious areas, such as representational ethics (Spry 2016), engagement with culture (Stanley and Vass 2018), and intersections with feminist methods (Ettore 2016). And, in 2013, the first handbook of autoethnography was published (Holman Jones et al. 2013).

And the above exemplifies only recent *books*. In addition, in the past 4 years, special issues of journals in myriad disciplines have been dedicated to auto-ethnography, and plenty of stand-alone articles and book chapters have appeared. This contrasts markedly with the previous 20 years, in which autoethnography was considered peripheral and was, at times, roundly disparaged (e.g., Delamont 2007).

It is also important to say that the above speaks only to those publications in English and those written in and of the Western, academic center. But auto-ethnography is also alive and well in, for example, Mexico (e.g., Aguirre-Armendáriz and Gil-Juárez 2015; Bénard Calva 2014). In short, then, there is a lot going on in the research methods literature in terms of both ethnography and autoethnography. These are exciting times.

Within ELT in particular, both methods have made significant contributions too, especially in areas such as teacher and learner identity, agency, and gender, to name only a few. These have generally taken critical perspectives and have in common their underpinning interpretivist epistemological paradigm.

But ubiquity and acceptability are not innocence, and this is what I want to problematize in this chapter. Ethnography has a checkered past and a potentially problematic present: its epistemology, axiology, and ontology may be at odds with the ways and values of our discipline (e.g., Crookes 2009). For this reason, in the first section that follows, I discuss ethnography in terms of its roots, its shoots, and its cahoots, by which I mean the sometimes-questionable company it keeps. In doing so, I posit that there is a need for greater interrogation of taken-for-granted assumptions.

I then turn to autoethnography, and in the second section, I consider the ways in which autoethnography seems to be nativizing within our discipline. I deliberately use the middle voice (*it is nativizing*, not we are *nativizing it* or *it is being nativized*; Dreyfus 2017) so as not to apportion blame for the possibility that, as a discipline, I think we may be misinterpreting what autoethnography is and what it is for. Certainly, autoethnography is still quite new in language education research and may be presented as a radical methodological departure (e.g., Méndez 2013; Mirhosseini 2016). This may help explain why ELT autoethnographies differ from those in other disciplines. This is not necessarily a problem, as it is the nature of the academy that terminology tends toward polysemy. But as autoethnography begins its long march through the disciplines, I raise the possibility that there seem to have been some misreadings of its intentions within ELT. For this reason, in the second part of the chapter, I ask: are we taking autoethnography in the spirit in which it is intended and in which it is elsewhere conceived?

Roots, Shoots, and Cahoots: On Ethnography

Etymologically, ethnography is the writing (*grapho*, the ancient Greek verb *to write*) of people (*ethos*) (McCarty 2015, p. 29). But the putative neutrality of *writing about people* (ibid) or *writing culture* conceals ethnography's troubled past and, arguably, its present-day problematic positionality.

Ethnography has its early roots in the descriptive accounts of "missionaries, settlers, colonial officials, and the like" (Pratt 1986, p. 27), from which ethnographers have long tried to distinguish themselves. In common with missionaries' and colonizers' accounts, though, ethnography centered (and arguably still, now centers) the "'seeing man' ... he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess" (Pratt 2008, p. 9). That is to say, ethnography was borne of colonial subjectivity and of a colonizing mind-set in which the Western gaze described, classified, judged, and reduced the exoticized other. For this reason, Erickson (2018) revisits the usual denotative translation (of *ethos*, or *ethnoi*, as "people"), instead proposing the more nuanced "people who were not Greek," noting that "[t]he Greeks were more than a little xenophobic, so that *ethnoi* carries pejorative implications" (p. 39). Given the way ethnography has historically been undertaken, this connotative translation makes more sense.

Leeds-Hurwitz (2013) sketches the early twentieth-century anthropologists who traveled the world to research the mainly so-called primitive cultures in ways that they thought were objective. Such writing sought to hypothesize about and uncover the "truth" of a given way of life, necessarily rooted in a positivist epistemological stance and a discourse that "construe[d] the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest" (Bhabha 1996, p. 92). Within this paradigm, ethnography was a putative "scientific" endeavor, a philosophy of science akin to "social physics" that sought to uncover Humean causality and general laws of social processes (Erickson 2018) within cultures conceived as "fixed, unitary, and bounded" (McCarty 2015, p. 24). This implied, and is implied by, the notion of a genealogy of cultures along a modernist continuum of so-called development, with "Indigenous Peoples at the bottom of the racial hierarchy; primitive and the missing link in the 'puzzle of mankind' ... [and] Western Peoples ... as the epitome of civilized man" (Bishop 2017, p. 3).

The cultures studied by the early twentieth-century anthropologists, including Bronisław Malinowski (d. 1942), Franz Boas (d. 1942), Margaret Mead (d. 1978), and Ruth Benedict (d. 1948), included research on (rather than "with" or "among") the First Peoples of Canada's Baffin Island, the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea, Samoans, and Native Americans. These choices matter because all were non-Western cultures. Although Boas, and later Mead, came to refute the racism underlying early models of ethnography, shifting the focus to societies' internal coherence and coming to rely on the notion of cultural relativism (McCarty 2015), ethnography remained part of the "colonial discourse" and its "apparatus of power" (Bhabha 1996, p. 92). The turn to cultural relativism meant that instead of holding all cultures to a universal standard (e.g., of "development"), societies were, at least in theory, understood and judged through lenses of their *own* meaningfulness. Theoretical concepts underpinning this work included "national character," which was described in order to understand and predict behavior, assuming that "everyone in a particular nation shares certain core characteristics" (Leeds-Hurwitz 2013, p. 24). This relies on an assumption of homogeneity within a given culture and implies structural determinism and the near absence of individual agency. But for all that cultural relativism was theorized, the research was consumed (and, arguably,

also produced) in ways that nevertheless compared and classified cultures in order to explain and justify European and North American settler societies' global dominance. (Seemingly, the facts of colonization, exploitation, and slavery had escaped notice as more plausible explanations for putative Western superiority.)

For some, though, this conceptualization and seeming legitimization of scientistic ethnography has never gone away. This includes ethnography both within the academy and also outside, such as in documentary filmmaking. As I write, in November 2017, the (UK's) *Telegraph* newspaper is running a headline that reports: "British explorer Benedict Allen 'goes missing in jungle' while searching for lost tribe" (Henderson 2017). Peppered with colonial-era tropes, the "researched," the Yaifo people, are labeled a "lost tribe," and Allen describes his purpose as "to create a brief record of their lives." In other words, he is doing an ethnography "of them."

Only Allen has agency in the *Telegraph's* narrative. In contrast to the "researched," Allen is "a very experienced explorer" whose "daring expeditions" involve "a hard hike up through rather treacherous terrain," "paddl[ing] down river for a week or so," and "'just like the good old days' [not taking] a satellite phone, GPS or a travelling companion" (all quotes from Henderson 2017). This discourse seems to be lifted straight from colonial-era narratives in which "British masculinity . . . is constituted in the geography of adventure" (Phillips 2013, p. 55) comprising "fearless endeavour in a world populated by savage races, dangerous pirates, and related manifestations of the other, to be encountered on voyages to dark and unexplored continents" (Bristow 2015, p. 1). The photograph accompanying the *Telegraph* article is similarly evocative of Britain's colonial past. Of it, Hirsch (2017) writes:

> The [*Telegraph*] saw fit to illustrate the story with a remarkable photo of Allen. . . surrounded by four men with black skin, eyes glowering, wearing traditional costumes, including head and face gear. To remove any doubt that this was meant to be interpreted as a threatening scene, the Yaifo people of Papua New Guinea were described in the story as 'quite a scary bunch' and their vocation as 'headhunters.'

In some ways, then, ethnography's past is still present. While Allen was adventuring in the name of making a BBC documentary, some ELT researchers may still imagine that their ethnographies can be "neutral, tropeless discourse that would render other realities 'exactly as they are,' not filtered through our own values and interpretive schema" (Pratt 1986, p. 27).

But this is impossible. And interpretivism is why different researchers may see and record the same thing in very different ways. The historical Redfield-Lewis case illustrates this point: two researchers set out, one in the 1920s and the other in the 1940s, to do fieldwork in/on the same Mexican village. But their accounts, separated by 17 years, came to the opposite conclusions. Assuming that the village of Tepoztlán had not changed beyond recognition between their visits, Erickson (2018, p. 48) asks, "Do the perspective, politics, and ideology of the observer so powerfully influence what he or she notices and reflects on that it overdetermined the conclusions drawn?" Well, yes. Maclure and Stronach (1993) illustrate a similar case

in two texts they call "Jack in two boxes." Jack is a primary school head teacher about whom parallel texts were written by different researchers *drawing on the same interview data*. The two texts show different emphases, different contents, and, ultimately, different findings. The fact that, *even given identical data*, ethnographic accounts can differ so radically suggests that, in ethnography, objectivity is impossible.

However, assumptions about seemingly objective ways of knowing and also about "national character" and other legacies of early ethnography were "assumed to be reasonable until surprisingly recently by the vast majority of researchers" (Leeds-Hurwitz 2013, p. 29). Indeed, the single most widely cited source in social science (Jones and Alony 2007) remains Hofstede's (1991/2005) theory of "cultural dimensions," which lies wholly within this tradition of supposedly "objective" cultural research aimed at describing and classifying national characteristics that are then compared to those of other "cultures" (i.e., nations, although these are unlikely to comprise homogenous, bounded, or meaningful "cultures"). This is problematic because it:

> [P]roject[s] concepts of a culturally superior Centre-Western Self and an inferior Other onto the rest of the world, and . . . represents a discourse of political interference – a mandate for correcting and changing the imagined indolence of the cultures of the East and the South. (Holliday 2009, p. 148)

This is why Moon (2013) strongly critiques this kind of research as "a tool of imperialism" that is "infused with a colonial purpose" (p. 35), while Ono (2013) critiques the tendency of the literature to homogenize the "diversity of ideas, opinions, lifestyles, and behaviours" found across all nations, problematizing this as a practice that "serves to reify notions of difference and commonality" (p. 88).

But, surely, we, nice liberals in a "nice field like TESOL" (Kubota 2002, p. 84), would never fall into this kind of lazy stereotyping when thinking about those we deem others, would we? Actually, it seems we do. While the othering ELT undertakes are not mainly about so-called primitive cultures, our tendency to characterize and reduce in problematic ways has been critiqued, for example, in the ways in which cultural/racial others are discussed in classroom discourses (e.g., Lee 2015; Chun 2016), teacher discourses (e.g., Ronai and Lammervo 2017; Riley 2015), discursive constructions of international university students (e.g., Phan 2017; Tran and Vu 2017), and binarizing, homogenizing, and reducing nonnative- *and* native-speaker teachers (e.g., Aneja 2016; Ellis 2016; Ruecker and Ives 2015).

This has four important implications for ethnographic research in ELT. The first is that we need, as a discipline, to question the way we draw upon putatively objective research about linguacultural identities and the theoretical frameworks drawn from these studies. Critically interrogating our usages of frameworks like Hofstede's "cultural dimensions" would be a good starting point, as would adopting Pennycook's (2001) "problematizing practice" stance toward critical engagement. This means that, rather than establishing a priori how power works in a given setting

and risking structural determinism of judging (perhaps even in advance and from the outside) who has power and who doesn't and critiquing accordingly, one should instead *do* criticality. Thus:

> [R]ather than assuming that the speaker is already marginalized as a member of [a given group of people] and looking for signs of that marginalization in the speech, this approach seeks a broader understanding of how multiple discourses may be in play at the same time. What kinds of discursive positions does the speaker take up? How does the speaker position herself or himself, and how may they also be positioned at different moments according to gendered and cultural positionings? (Pennycook 2001, p. 44)

A second implication is that we must carefully examine our language and voice (Nunan and Choi 2011) when we report ethnography. Linguistic sleights of hand like "the study found" and the passive voice in which the research seemingly conducted itself are weasel words borne of the persistent myth that ethnographic writing is, or should be, or *can* be, neutral, objective, and factual. It cannot. The writing of culture is very much a *positioned* activity, in which the researcher is far from neutral. We are all, as human beings, a product of our *own* ontological, epistemological, and axiological paradigms. As I have written elsewhere:

> We don't see things as they are. We see things as *we* are. When I first started writing, I thought I was capturing fact, pinning it down on the page and holding it still, butterfly-like. Now, I realise my texts say as much about me, the storyteller, as they do about the story. And so rather than hiding (behind) the elusive, illusive pursuit of truth, I'm embracing the fact of my fiction. All writing is a creative process. Like creative non-fiction –in whose handle is flaunted the putative oxymoron of the creative along with the factual– academic writing is a textual creation. It is a storied re-telling, a construction, a *fiction*[.] (Stanley 2017, p. 38)

This is "fiction" in the sense that Borges (1944) uses the term. In Borges's short story *Funes El Memorioso* ("Funes, the memory man"), the central character suffers a fall from his horse and a blow to the head and, as a result, is cursed with the "perfect" memory in which nothing is filtered. In contrast, most "factual" accounts are actually "gross and arbitrary reduction[s] of the world" (Bell 2007, p. 124). In "storying" experience, we necessarily select some elements and discard others, telling a story and drawing conclusions that are as much fiction as fact.

And part of the construction is *representation*: how we portray ourselves and others in our storied retellings. Issues of representation apply whether researchers are mainly outsiders or mainly insiders, and the question of researchers' own paradigms and positionality relative to those of "the researched" is the third implication for ELT researchers. This is to say that even as we may hope to write in emic ways, from the inside, as researchers, we are *always* outsiders to some extent. Outsiderness is sometimes very obviously the case, for instance, if a researcher hopes to conduct an ethnography of Korean ESL students but is not, herself, a Korean ESL student. However, even when the researcher *does* enjoy seeming insiderness along one or more axes of identity, there are still potential problems in fieldwork and representational ethics. This is because identity is intersectional, and there will inevitably be

identity axes along which the researcher is an outsider. Sultana (2007, pp. 378–379) illustrates this problem in her research among rural Bangladeshi women. She, herself, is Bangladeshi and speaks her participants' dialects. But she is still an outsider: she is from Dhaka, is based in the UK, is literate, and was undertaking a research project. She is different socioeconomically from her participants, and she looks different, too. This mattered:

> The fact that I wore shoes, a watch, carried a notebook, had a camera, all placed me in an irreconcilable position of difference. What perhaps generated most interest though was my short hair. . . .My shoes were another spectacle, as I wore sneakers (for my back and foot pain); such shoes are rarely worn by women, even in the city, and such masculine footwear made me an object of scrutiny and fun. Children would point to them and ask why I wore men's shoes.

A similar reflection is provided by Siganporia (2018, p. 123), an Indian musician and musicologist researching among Tibetan musicians in exile in India. She walks the line between "emic" and "etic" research, coining the humorous portmanteau "emetic" (medically, this is a substance causing vomiting, and it describes the sheer difficulty of positionality). Siganporia notes that her own framing paradigms necessarily inform the ways in which she engages with, understands, and ultimately represents her exiled, Tibetan participants, even though they accept her as an ally.

To some extent, too, researchers can *perform* insiderness, for example, by appealing to similarities and downplaying differences. But rather than hoping to *negate* or get beyond outsiderness along one or more axes of identity, researchers should, I think, *manage* their own positionality through reflexivity. This includes be (com)ing aware of one's own paradigm and its difference from the many other epistemological, ontological, and axiological paradigms that might exist.

An example is Western academia, in which powerful norms and unwritten rules govern and toward the acceptance and reproduction of which would-be practitioners are socialized (e.g., Gopaul 2011). By way of illustration, Australian author Robert Dessaix (1994, p. 62), who was a rare, non-Soviet literature student at Moscow University in 1966, describes the nature of that paradigm, pointing out that the system there then was no more constructed or arbitrary than any other, *including that of Western academia*:

> In 1966, Dostoevsky had only just been rehabilitated and for the first time since the early years of the Revolution it was possible to discuss Doestoevsky's Christianity and novels like *The Devils* freely. I say 'freely', but I don't mean by this that all was permitted. In our weekly tutorials with Mr Tiunkin, a frightened rabbit of a man, terrified the Australian in his class might suddenly come out with a heresy he'd then have to deal with, we'd begin with a short lecture[.]. . .Then the class would have what was called a debate. Tiunkin would announce a proposition (for example, 'the figure of Raskolnikov [from *Crime and Punishment*] is anti-revolutionary'), appoint one student to defend it and one to oppose it, and then at the end of the tutorial he, Tiunkin, would tell us who was right and who was wrong and why. It was freedom of sorts. The class paper we had to write was less 'free': it had to be couched in strictly Marxist literary terms and the bibliography had to begin with the letter L for Lenin, then go onto M for Marx, E for Engels, and only then onto A, B, etc. No one minded or thought it odd. We were just giving unto Caesar. Much the same thing happens today in

> Australian tertiary institutions, after all, where, if not in the bibliography at least in the text, we find the obligatory mention of Kristeva, Said, Foucault, Lacan, Irigaray. We just have a wider range of orthodoxies struggling for dominance here—and the public's indifference to all of them is not concealed, just ignored.

Our paradigms, then, informed by our place, positioning, and time, frame our discourses and our thinking about what is "normal." It is therefore problematic to claim, of any research, that it can free itself from the baggage of its place, time, and the individual(s) who created it.

All research and all researchers are products of positioning. This is to say that when Malinowski and others went to live among those they deemed cultural others, for the purposes of their own research (and their careers, and their own learning, and so on), this was far from a neutral thing to be doing. The enlightenment-era "scientific" practices they used and the way they wrote up their studies were also very much positional, paradigm-bound activities. Similarly, Koro-Ljungberg (2016, p. 79) writes:

> Methodologies are choices, often onto-epistemological and theoretical, and cannot be divorced from the values, beliefs, backgrounds, bodies, and affects of the researcher or the research context. Methodologies . . .have power to disempower, empower, and validate and invalidate experiences, data, lives, and material.

Sufficient awareness of researchers' own paradigms, positionalities, and identities, both in and of themselves but also as they relate to those of "the researched," is thus the third implication for ELT researchers.

The fourth, related, implication is about our own purpose in doing the research. ELT is currently undergoing a powerful critical turn, rightfully questioning the way power operates in English language education and hoping to play some role in overturning structural unfairness and oppression. Within this, research methods may seem to be rather more "neutral": practices, findings, and writing may seem to be "beyond" the political. But they are not.

Research methods are inherently political (e.g., Denzin and Giardina 2015), with ethnography haunted by its past and its paradigms. This is Derrida's "hauntology," a portmanteau of "haunting" and "ontology" (Buse and Stott 1999). Ethnography is a practice borne of a particular set of assumptions about the nature of human societies, the nature of knowledge, and the ways in which one should properly, ethically behave. And these assumptions are firmly based in Western ontology, epistemology, and axiology. This is problematic for ELT researchers whose research contexts and participants are very likely not Western. As Michelle Bishop (2017, pp. 7–8) writes, compellingly and importantly, of being an Australian Indigenous woman and also a university-based researcher:

> [There are] many reasons influencing researchers' method choices, including: expectations of the academy; funding requirements; journal constraints; and ideological factors, [but] for me it is a cultural imperative that I utilize Indigenous methodologies. Too often we are forced to work within Western frameworks and expected to operate using the tools of our oppressors. . . .by using such qualitative methodologies instead of Indigenous methodologies, I feel

I would be undermining my axiology, ontology, and epistemology, and effectively endorsing colonial practices. For these reasons, I feel a profound sense of obligation to 'walk my talk'. …[I use Indigenous autoethnography] rather than relying on Western knowledges and paradigms to provide 'proof.'

That ethnography is neither neutral nor universal is, of course, just as true of any other way of knowing: all are borne of specific discourses and paradigms. But as ethnography's assumptions trouble Bishop, might they also trouble the non-Western (or nonacademic? or non-ELT?) "researched" in ELT research contexts? I suspect they might.

What I am critiquing, then, is the unproblematized projecting of the researcher's (or a discipline's) own ways onto the "researched." In this respect, ethnography still uncomfortably echoes the old, colonial depictions of cultural others in that it imports ways of seeing, being, and doing to research contexts in which many of the participants do not share its paradigms. In doing ethical, worthwhile ethnography, we need to ask: to what extent is our research done *with* or *among* "the researched," or are we doing research *to* or *on* "them?" (This is, of course, not about what we *say* we are doing but how people *experience* what we are doing.)

A related question is: how do we represent "the researched" in our texts? To what extent are these texts accessible to "the researched" (whether in terms of paywall academic publishing or jargon-dense textual inaccessibility)? And where our texts *are* accessible, are they interesting and useful to those outside of the academy? Are we "reading" and writing others through their *own* paradigms, their *own* values, and their *own* ways or through our own? Perhaps most broadly of all, we must ask: whose needs are being served in even doing the ethnography? As Suresh Canagarajah and I have noted previously:

The core ethical question in all research is a simple but large one: what is the purpose of doing the study? While the honest (and practical) answer may be selfish—i.e., to get a PhD or to get published—it is to be hoped that researchers also have some greater benefit in mind. This may mean, ideally, benefit to the study participants themselves. (Canagarajah and Stanley 2015, p. 34)

Broad Church or Problematic Polysemy? On Autoethnography

One way of starting to address the issues raised above, of researchers' own positionalities and paradigms, is writing about ourselves and our own identities as these relate to the research we are conducting. For this reason – among other reasons – autoethnography is currently enjoying a boom in the academy in general and also within ELT and language education. (Although as Starfield (2013) points out, the genre is yet to be fully accepted in ELT journals, with most autoethnographic writing still appearing mainly in *forum*-type spaces rather than as full articles.)

Recent autoethnographic texts (whether or not labeled "autoethnographic") have appeared in language education on, for example, the creation of "a multivocal self"

(Choi 2017); language use in "unexpected places" (Pennycook 2012); perceptions of EFL teachers' professional identities, legitimacy, and employability (e.g., Canagarajah 2012b; Iams 2016; Jee 2016); privilege (Vandrick 2009); the reinscribing of racialized hierarchies through a Spanish-language program (Tilley-Lubbs 2016); lived experiences of language policy and planning (Khanam 2016); the alienation of a Polish academic forced to publish in English (Szwabowski 2017); and first-person accounts of informal language learning of Japanese (Casanave 2012; Simon-Maeda 2011), Spanish (Stanley 2015), Chinese (McDonald 2011), and Korean (Jenks 2017). In addition, a handful of edited volumes of autoethnographic-style texts have appeared in ELT (e.g., Belcher and Connor 2001; Casanave and Li 2008; Nunan and Choi 2010).

One characteristic of autoethnography is its distinctive writing style, and Ron Pelias (2013, p. 389) exhorts would-be autoethnographers to:

> Write from the heart of your humanity, be honest, and self-reflexive, recognize the risks for yourself and others in your constructions, allow your body to have a speaking presence, and create a better, more ethical world.

This style of writing echoes the *purpose* of autoethnography, which is to use the personal (the "auto") to provide insights into wider cultural phenomena (the "ethno"), particularly those otherwise hidden aspects of life that are all but impossible to research using other methods.

Autoethnography then, at an epistemological level, is about "creat[ing] verisimilitude rather than making hard truth claims" (Grant 2010, p. 578). But in the (worthwhile) pursuit of insightful engagement with lived experience, autoethnography can easily be critiqued: memory is flawed, experience is subjective, texts are constructed, and narratives are performances of our chosen versions of ourselves.

Additionally, the telling of experience can be rather *too* telling. For instance, when Carolyn Ellis (2004, p. 349) recounts toasting her decision to buy a new Mercedes sports car with her fellow academic partner Art Bochner, there is verisimilitude and insight but also telling glimpses of heteronormativity and materialism (Learmonth and Humphreys 2011).

While autoethnographic writing may be evocative of lived experience and while it may offer unique insights borne of first-person accounts, there may also be a shortage of critical, analytical engagement with normativity, positionality, and partiality, and this, in turn, may result in a questioning of its academic legitimacy.

However, the goal is not "truth" in a positivistic sense or even a conditional, contextualized critical realism in the Bhaksarian sense (e.g., Fletcher 2017). Instead:

> Autoethnographers . . .recognize how what we understand and refer to as 'truth' changes as the genre of writing or representing experience changes. . . .Moreover, we acknowledge the importance of contingency. We know that memory is fallible, that it is impossible to recall or report on events in language that exactly represents how those events were lived and felt; and we recognize that people who have experienced the 'same' event often tell different stories about what happened[.] . . .For an autoethnographer, questions of reliability refer to the narrator's credibility. Could the narrator have had the experiences described, given available

'factual evidence?' Does the narrator believe that this is actually what happened to her or him? ...Closely related to reliability are issues of validity. For autoethnographers, validity means that a work seeks verisimilitude; it evokes in readers a feeling that the experience described is lifelike, believable, and possible ...[Citing Plummer] 'What matters is the way in which the story enables the reader to enter the subjective world of the teller—to see the world from her or his point of view...' ...An autoethnography can also be judged in terms of whether it helps readers communicate with others different from themselves or offer a way to improve the lives of participants ...In particular, autoethnographers ask: 'How useful is the story?' and 'To what uses might the story be put?' (Ellis et al. 2011, p. 3)

Anderson (2006, p. 387) goes further, suggesting the following evaluative criterion for what he terms *analytic* autoethnography:

[T]he defining characteristic of analytic social science is to use empirical data to gain insight into some broader set of social phenomena than those provided by the data themselves. This data-transcending goal has been a central warrant for traditional social science research. ... this means using empirical evidence to formulate and refine theoretical understandings of social processes. ... Analytic ethnographers are not content with accomplishing the representational task of capturing 'what is going on.'

Together, these are very different evaluative criteria than those used for most scholarly writing. However, it is important to note that, in suggesting that we hold autoethnography to a *different* set of standards, I am not suggesting those standards be *lesser*.

Appropriately, this is best illustrated autoethnographically, through a story. I recently coedited *Questions of Culture in Autoethnography* (Stanley and Vass 2018) and discovered, not least from long editorial discussions about papers we rejected, that there are at least three ways in which would-be authors can do autoethnography badly. Here, then, are three problem areas that Greg Vass and I identified in texts purporting to be autoethnography. From these, I inductively identify a set of evaluation criteria for autoethnography (but see also Schroeder 2017; Le Roux 2017 for more complete sets of evaluation criteria).

First, not all would-be autoethnographers can tell an engaging story in which they situate the self and the lived experience; it is simply not that easy (especially for academics?) to spin a yarn. The seeming freedom of "writing from the heart" may appear as an opportunity to rant rather than to narrate, and some of the writings submitted and ultimately rejected from the book read like angry opinion pieces in the "comments" section of an online newspaper. This is simply not what autoethnography is. Related, another issue (and a different rejected submission) was writing that looked, on the surface, like autoethnography: full of punchy slogans about writing from the heart and vague statements about how the writer was feeling. But this type of writing seemed to be, at best, a form of writing as therapy. Now, although the political is never far from the autoethnographic and there are few things quite as theoretical as a good story, "personal" writing does not mean simply grinding an axe of opinion. And nor does the vague writing of fleeting feelings and cribbed sound bites constitute autoethnography. As with any other ethnographic method, there is a need to ground interpretations and inductive theorizing in meaningful data, thickly described.

Second, any individual's so-called "personal" narrative is necessarily situated. (Indeed, the very notion of the "individual" self is a situated, Western ontological position that is far from universal; Iosefo 2018.) This is particularly relevant in ELT, of course, as ours is a transnational, plurilingual, multicultural/intercultural discipline, conceptually located in a globalizing/globalized context of uneven, postcolonial power relations. When one writes one's "own" story, there is a need to draw on the surrounding sociocultural literature for conceptual and political context. To ignore this is poor scholarship, as the autoethnographic explicitly links the personal to the "cultural." In this sense, it is a very different genre from autobiography, memoir, or creative nonfiction. For this reason, in his account of a young Tamil carwash attendant's refusal to engage in a Tamil language conversation in Canada, Canagarajah (2010, p. 43) is careful to provide the surrounding sociocultural details that enable readers to make sense of the story. He writes:

> My use of the honorific Annai wasn't enough to neutralize the many sources of inequality in the encounter. Perched high on my seat in an imposing SUV with an American license plate, I was literally looking down at him standing humbly with his mop and hose. . . .The situation was too unequal for him to enjoy community. . . .This [Tamil, diasporic] community, bound together by its common aspirations, was itself riven by internal differences and conflicts. . . .These tensions were certainly already there in Sri Lanka, but I hadn't had the eyes to see them. . . .Perhaps because the Tamil community in Sri Lanka was tightly structured around a certain hierarchy of values and distribution of resources for such a long time, we had taken them for granted for generations[.] . . .[But in exile,] the subtle tensions in our community had begun to open up deep fissures.

In contrast, some of the writing we reviewed for *Questions of Culture in Autoethnography* told personal stories that were almost entirely decontextualized. Autoethnography is very much scholarship rather than personal writing. The difference from other forms of academic writing is that individual experience is foregrounded, not that the contextual does not matter.

The third and perhaps most contentious criterion is that autoethnography has an overt political agenda: it seeks to right ethical wrongs. This is what Ellis et al. (2011) mean when they ask "How useful is the story?" and "To what uses might the story be put?" An autoethnography may be both compelling to read and well contextualized in the literature, but if it doesn't work toward making the world a better place, it is not legitimate. (This is of course immediately problematic, particularly in our politically polarized times and also with an awareness of the potentially deleterious effects of good intentions (Tilley-Lubbs 2016). But this is a much larger discussion for a separate paper.) This then connects back to the question I posed at the end of the previous section, which is: whose needs and interests are served by our research? In this sense autoethnography is necessarily an activist, change-oriented methodology that seeks to problematize taken-for-granted Western canonical knowledges and empower other ways of knowing, being, and doing. An example is provided by Bright (2018, pp. 33–34), writing about his experiences as a native-speaker teacher of English:

> Sometime during my first year in Vietnam I was told that Vietnamese people couldn't tell the difference between the colours blue and green, with the Vietnamese language having just

a single word for both colours: *màu xanh*. I was told and I believed this. It was the result, I think now, of a kind of popularised trickling-down of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis . . .And I suspect that it was popular and that it did trickle down because it suggested to *us* a reassuring kind of incompetence on the part of *them;* the satisfying superiority of our perceptions and our comprehension of a world that was not, despite what we wanted to believe, ours. Our colours, our words, better than their colours and words. Our words better corresponding with things in the world, with the effect of making us believe that things in the world were ours. Call it what it is, this 'ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority' [citing Said]: Orientalism, Colonialism, Imperialism, Racism.

   And, of course, it's not even really true. And not only in terms of linguistic relativity but also just simple vocabulary. There is, in *Tiếng Việt*, the Vietnamese language, *màu xanh lá cây* (the blue-green of leaves) and *màu xanh nước biển*, (the blue-green of the ocean) and *màu xanh da trời* (the blue-green of the sky) and so on, a way of distinguishing blue and green in language that, it turns out, while different from English colour terminology, is common to many of the world's non-English languages . . .Is this ironic, that it also turns out that rather than being about their inability to name colours properly, this was much more about *our* inability to imagine *them* thinking and naming colours in a different, but no less effective, way to our own?

To me, this autoethnography ticks all three boxes. Bright's storytelling is vivid; his prose is lucid. The account is grounded in a contextualizing literature that explains what is going on at a theoretical level. And, crucially, the text as a whole works toward righting the wrongs of "orientalism, colonialism, imperialism, and racism."

But my concern with some autoethnography in ELT is that we may not be there yet: are we ticking all the boxes? While our autoethnographies may tell good stories (criterion 1) and be grounded in the contextualizing literature (criterion 2), I question the extent to which we are sufficiently committed to a transformative, social justice agenda (criterion 3). As Kubota (2002) has pointed out, in our "nice," liberal discipline, we tend to deny rather than explicitly critique the problematics of power and privilege. And so, while we are starting to *do* criticality as a norm rather than as an exception, we may not be taking this far enough in ELT autoethnography.

As Paltridge et al. (2016) have noted "the chief proponent of autoethnography in writing research thus far has been Canagarajah," we might expect Canagarajah, at least, to be ticking all three boxes, writing autoethnography as it is conceived in the qualitative methods literature. But this does not appear to be the case. Although Canagarajah's (2010) chapter, described above, shows great awareness of power relations within the Tamil migrant community, he nevertheless titles the chapter "achieving community," writing that:

> Underprivileged Tamils don't dislike community. They are keeping their options open to shuttle between communities and construct bonding groups as suits their needs, interests, and situations. Rather than letting conventional forms of identities and values restrict their mobility and creativity, they are forming communities on their own initiative and on their own terms. . . . Rather than being chosen by a community, they choose their communities. (p. 48)

This seems, on the surface, accepting of individual agency and intersectionality. However, Canagarajah implicitly positions as lesser those he labels "shuttlers" and "choosers." People with a "floating identity" (p. 45) and those who are part of "liminal communities" (ibid), lie outside of what is conceptualized, normatively,

as the (legitimate, comprehensible) "community." (p. 41), which positions as axiomatic two ideas: that language maintenance is a good thing and that migrant Tamils are a "community." Indeed, despite questioning the fixity of lingua-ethnic identity as the basis for "community" (2010), Canagarajah has subsequently published extensively on migrant Tamil language maintenance: as a strategic performance of identity (2012a) and as a response to Tamil elders' concerns about heritage language loss (2013), for example. By implication, then, he constructs those "fellow community member[s]" (2010, p. 41) who "refuse to bond" in Tamil (p. 41) as doubly problematic.

It is certainly the case that, in his autoethnographic text, Canagarajah (2010) acknowledges vast power differences in caste, class, and education between earlier, professional Tamil migrants (like himself and the "community families" he interviews) and the later refugee/undocumented arrivals. The problem is that, as a researcher, he is invested in the former group: those who would "achieve community" along lingua-ethnic Tamil lines. This alignment sidelines those lower caste, disenfranchised Tamil migrants who may understandably prefer "to dissociate themselves from the language and community that had once discriminated against them" (p. 43). Canagarajah's text, then, compounds rather than challenging pre-existing unequal power relations. For this reason, it may be necessary to question the extent to which his contribution engages with the social justice activism that the autoethnographic methodology requires.

This is to say that, although autoethnography is starting to appear in ELT, even our "chief proponent" seems to be missing one of the methodology's main tenets. Part of the issue may be that there has, to date, been little cross-pollination between autoethnography in ELT and autoethnography as conducted in other disciplines and in the research methods literature. A few ELT scholars are starting to engage across this divide (e.g., Choi 2017; Stanley and Vass 2018), but it seems we have rather a long way to go.

Conclusion

The two sections of this chapter, taken together, constitute a problematizing of the axiomatic in ethnography, including autoethnography, as these research practices are undertaken in ELT. At issues is the decolonizing of scholarship (e.g., Chawla and Atay 2017): *whose* way of knowing is privileged and normative? *Whose* ways of being, and *whose* values, are prized? And, where these questions are not even asked and these spaces not even contested, and is this evidence of a wider epistemological, axiological, and/or ontological violence (despite what we may tell ourselves about the liberal "niceness" of our discipline)?

In the first section, I reviewed and problematized ethnography's historical baggage, concluding with four implications for ethnographers in ELT. My conclusions are as follows: we must question our use of scholarship derived from questionable academic practices. We must problematize the "voice" in the ethnographic texts we produce. We must be aware of our own paradigm (and its inherent, non-neutral epistemology, ontology, and axiology) as we seek to understand our own

positionality, power, and status relative to those of "the researched." And we must ask ourselves whether our research mainly serves our own needs and interests or those of "the researched."

This last point links into the second section of the chapter, in which I reviewed autoethnography, noting that there seems to be a great deal of disparity in its *purpose* and that some autoethnography within ELT is insufficiently oriented to questioning whose needs and interests are served by research. Sometimes misconstrued as memoir or life writing or as the opportunity to rant in an opinion piece, autoethnography is, in fact, very clear in its agenda. It exists to allow for non-hegemonic (usually subaltern) ways of knowing and meaning-making to exist within the academy. This in itself has a social justice aim: to give voice to people and ideas that might otherwise be voiceless. But autoethnography also exists to redress social justice imbalances more broadly, and as autoethnography begins to appear in ELT, we should be asking ourselves big, difficult questions about how to work in ways that are critical and decolonizing at the very deep levels of knowing, being, and values. Ours is a discipline made up of plenty of non-Western, non-privileged, and non-hegemonic voices, and it is my suggestion that, in undertaking auto/ethnography, we ask ourselves, as a discipline, how we might do research in ways that are more equitable than what has gone before.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching
▶ Feeling Rules and Emotion Labor: A Poststructural-Discursive Approach to English Language Teachers' Emotions

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Critical Research in English Language Teaching

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Christian W. Chun and Brian Morgan

Contents

Abstract

Over the past 30 years, the critical "turn" in ELT has had notable accomplishments with much work yet to be done. The ambition has been to disrupt conventional practices and habits of thought, utilizing this newfound perspective for its transformative potential both within and beyond the classroom. In this spirit, the authors intend to engage readers through a chapter structured in the form of extended dialogues with the additional aim of prompting further discussions on critical research and practices in ELT. This chapter addresses the research conducted from a variety of critical perspectives in ELT and its impacts on actual classroom practices. The authors first explore what it means to be "critical" for current times marked by growing economic disparities, environmental degradation, and hyper nationalism and its concomitant hostilities towards racial, ethnic,

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and religious others. They then situate criticality in the field of ELT with a review of previous research done on language, identity, discourse, and power; they then discuss the emergence of new areas of research, in particular, neoliberal capitalism. The final section concludes by exploring teaching challenges in seeking new critical pedagogies and twenty-first century literacies needed for both teachers and English language learners facing uncertain times in a post-democratic age.

Introduction

Over the past 30 years, the critical "turn" in ELT has had notable accomplishments with much work yet to be done. The ambition of the critical has been to disrupt conventional practices and habits of thought among both teachers and students, utilizing this newfound perspective for its transformative potential within the classroom and beyond including local communities, society, and the larger world. It is in this spirit that we aim to engage readers in the form of extended dialogues (e.g., Ramanathan and Morgan 2009; Haque and Morgan 2009) with the additional goal of prompting further discussions on critical research and practices in ELT. This chapter addresses the research conducted from a variety of critical perspectives in ELT and its impacts on actual classroom practices (e.g., Benesch 2012; Chun 2015, 2016, 2019; Kubota and Lin 2009; López-Gopar 2016; Morgan 2009, 2016; Motha 2014). We first explore what it means to be "critical" for the current times marked by rapidly growing economic disparities, increasing environmental degradation, and hyper-nationalism with its concomitant hostilities towards racial, ethnic, and religious others. We then situate criticality in the field of ELT with a review of previous research done on language, identity, discourse, and power; following with a discussion of the emergence of new areas of research, in particular, the neoliberal stage of capitalism (Chun 2015; Holborow 2012, 2015). The third section articulates important directions for further critical research that addresses Islamophobia, hyper-nationalism, militarism, and refugee identities in ELT contexts. We then conclude by exploring teaching challenges in seeking new critical pedagogies and twenty-first century literacies needed for both teachers and English language learners facing uncertain times in a post-democratic age.

What Does "Critical" Mean in the Present Context?

In this section we discuss what being "critical" may mean to ELT people, and how these differing and at times competing definitions can, and do, affect classroom practices, ideological viewpoints, and visions for changing our societies. The section

identifies important, field-external concepts and key historical influences in this debate with a particular emphasis on competing notions of language. We also discuss the relative marginal status of ELT research and theory within universities and its possible effect on the kinds of critical theories and practices developed.

Christian: When I think of the term "critical," I am reminded of what Jacques Rancière (1998) so astutely observed, "Disagreement is not the conflict between one who says white and another who says black. It is the conflict between one who says white and another who also says white but does not understand the same thing by it" (p. x). So, it is no surprise that the term "being critical," as in critical pedagogy, is heavily contested among researchers and practitioners alike. This is not necessarily a bad thing inasmuch as being critical should invite debates and disagreements over its intended meaning(s). Joe Kincheloe (2005) observed, "all descriptions of critical pedagogy – like knowledge in general – are shaped by those who devise them and the values they hold" (pp. 5–6). For me, one core component and aim of the critical has always been that it actively seeks ways to engage with others, be they teachers, students, and/or the public at large, in the ways in which our societies attempt to control and manage dominant interpretations and representations of the worlds in which we live, which is fundamentally a political project (Freebody 2008). These attempts to co-construct public consent are a hallmark of hegemony and the ensuing common sense understandings (Gramsci 1971). I think that the attempt to understand and name how hegemonic common sense beliefs are constructed about society, government, economy, and the accompanying social relations is an essential element of any critical, dialogic engagement with others who may hold and believe in various hegemonic views although they themselves are not part of the hegemonic dominant class (Chun 2017). And, as I have argued, any meaningful critical practice with students and the public at large must actively listen to those who while are oppressed, nevertheless side with the dominant ruling elite for a number of reasons (e.g., adhering to discourses promoting cultural and moral "values," religion, and/or racism). For example, in my country – the USA – it has been a fault among many who identify as "progressive" or "liberal" to dismiss many in the White working class for their seemingly traditional (i.e., "non progressive") views such as gun ownership and religious beliefs (Bageant 2007; Frank 2016). If we who identify on the Left simply ignore and dismiss people who hold contrary views to our own without actively engaging in dialogue, what is the point of our roles as educators in calling for social justice?

And of course, this raises the issue of what we are actually advocating for. Is it merely just recognizing and naming the interrelated material practices of discourse and power, of political and economic governance, and the accompanying social relations of class, gender, race, and sexuality? Is it only talking and writing about these hegemonic exercises of coercion and consent? What is it we want beyond "social justice" and "change" exactly? Richard van Heertum (2009)) has argued that "critique has come to dominate radical pedagogies without the accoutrement of an alternative vision" (p. 103). In fact, relatively few scholars in the Applied Linguistics/TESOL field have called for any radical or revolutionary change to society, unlike those in the Education field (e.g., Allman 2010; Freire 1970; McLaren and

Jaramillo 2010). What might be some alternative visions for our societies? Would it be merely to alleviate the worst excesses of a global capitalist system, as in the calls for a more progressive social-welfare state? Or would an alternative vision go beyond this? I think these questions need to be asked because as history has shown us, attempts that do not involve meaningful structural changes to the political-economic system will eventually be undone.

Brian: You raise several key questions for our chapter and conclude your section above with possibly the most important one: criticality for whom and for what? Are critical ELT pedagogies and literacies primarily concerned with fostering the capacities for *agency*, a curricular orientation of current interest (e.g., Duff 2012; Miller 2014), or instead with defining and determining the social purposes to which this agency should be applied? Arguably, this could be seen as a false dichotomy in that an alternative vision that is definable and persuasive is crucial for the specific forms of agency that attempt to realize it. I'm reminded of Roger Simon's (1992) powerful metaphor of a "horizon of possibility" – of how particular dreams drive consequent realities in our critical social imaginary. For example, an alternative vision that is fundamentally adversarial in its depiction of current conditions and inequalities will likely emphasize ELT and LTE curricula that reflect what Chantal Mouffe describes as an agonistic orientation to politics and citizenship, one of perpetual yet necessary conflict, which Rancière's notion of *dissensus* signifies for several ELT researchers (Clarke and Phelan 2015; Jordão 2016; Morgan 2016). In contrast, if our alternative vision is informed by ecological values (e.g., Appleby and Pennycook 2017; Guerrettaz and Johnston 2013; Stibbe 2015; van Lier 2004) or by indigenous knowledges (Andreotti and Menezes de Souza 2008; Battiste 2013; Kasun and Saavedra 2016) language curricula and the scope of criticality are likely to shift in accordance with these new priorities. That these alternative visions (i.e., epistemologies, ontologies) may be incompatible with and irreducible to dominant/localized notions of criticality lead back to your crucial point of dialogue and the need to learn how to listen in non-dismissive ways to those whose views challenge our own. Towards this goal, research on ethics and values has emerged as an important dimension of critical work in ELT (e.g., de Costa 2016; Johnston 2003; Miller et al. 2017).

Your related point about the relative lack of a radical or revolutionary social agenda in Applied Linguistics/TESOL is one I have often thought about. One reason for this lack of radical thinking is certainly related to the nature of second/additional language work and the dominant ideologies regarding what it means to know or teach a language. I remember when you and I copresented a paper on critical approaches to English for Specific Purposes (ESP) at the 2017 AILA conference in Rio de Janeiro. One of the questions was on how, in our lessons, we were able to choose between doing critical work versus doing "conventional" language instruction related to academic writing or grammar. It is a question critical practitioners are often asked, and it inferences the still-prevalent tendency in LTE and ELT towards language objectification (cf. Vološinov 1973; Reagan 2004), the tendency to treat language as a system of decontextualized structures and forms – a neutral conduit of meanings in the mind and objects in the world (e.g., *empiricist/idealist* conceptions of language, Olssen et al. 2004; *telementational* and *computational* metaphors, van

Lier 2004, Chap. 2; Ives 2014). Such an approach undermines students and teachers developing a critical and ideological awareness of language (Clarke and Morgan 2011; Jordão 2016; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). At our presentation we answered by saying, in short, that it doesn't need to be seen as a choice. We mentioned the importance of (re)conceptualizing language as a social practice, directly implicated in the negotiation of identities and in co-constructing the common sensical, hegemonic beliefs you noted. Through this openly ideological lens, critical language work can inform and invigorate all aspects of ESP curricula, including form-focused instruction, as exemplified by the critical literacy work of Hillary Janks (2010) and the pioneering work on Critical EAP by Sarah Benesch (2001, 2012). What this type of research also offers is a notion of criticality that is field-internal, certainly informed by broader disciplinary understandings of power and inequality, but firmly grounded in ELT settings and practices. The bigger question is the extent to which these field-internal, localized practices are critical enough for the kinds of meaningful structural changes that you mention. Are the transferable skills that arise from exemplary critical case studies (Chun 2015; Pennycook 2004) sufficient, or are they mostly latent capacities that articulate with other factors of identity and moments of crisis or revolutionary opportunity?

Defining and developing a field-internal approach to critical ELT has other worldly obstacles to consider. Universities, increasingly driven by neoliberal priorities and funding models, provide the determining or normalizing context for research of all forms. In this setting, the conditions of ELT employment are precarious and the status of ELT research is often subordinated to more prestigious disciplines. It's a research environment that can contribute to self-marginalization (Kumaravadivelu 2012), where less valued academic fields such as ELT may seek out and fetishize critical theories from disciplines whose knowledge base is disengaged from the kinds of pedagogical concerns that are foundational to second/additional language work. While recent efforts advancing the value of transdisciplinarity in the field (e.g., Douglas Fir Group 2016) are a welcome development, the conditions of reception are still infused with institutional power relations that limit or domesticate their adoption. We might also consider this as a form of university-based hegemony whose material affects extend beyond to the normalization of particular curricula and certification practices in ELT (Block and Gray 2016; Morgan 2016).

Christian: In addressing the two points raised, first, I would absolutely agree that the research disciplinary field of ELT is viewed by many universities as if not outright "inferior," then certainly a "lesser" discipline in that it supposedly is only concerned with language learning in its strict functional and mechanical aspects. Rather than it being viewed as a discipline deserving of its own department, ELT is usually housed in other departments such as English or Education. One example of the prevailing institutional attitude toward our field was demonstrated when a former colleague at a previous university I worked for, and who is in the Education field, remarked to me during a meeting, "All the courses in your TESOL program are the same, aren't they?" As this illustrates, there exists a hegemony or at least an imposed hierarchy in the university that seems to position any research-based contributions (or in the neoliberal parlance adopted by universities now, "outputs") from ELT as

being merely "practice-oriented" with limited, if any, relevance to any other discipline. This has at least a twofold effect in my opinion. One is that researchers in our field have, as you noted, tended to excessively borrow and even "fetishize," in your words, theories from other disciplines. While this is quite common and indeed unremarkable inasmuch as researchers in other disciplines have done the same – that is, engage in interdisciplinary research work – it seems to me almost solely a one-way street. By that I mean, many critical researchers in ELT (including myself) have adopted theoretical constructs from other disciplines, but how many other disciplinary fields in the social sciences or humanities have done the same from TESOL? I would daresay it is almost non existent. And this dynamic then reinforces the second effect – the perpetuation unwittingly by researchers themselves that somehow ELT is not on the same "level" as anthropology, cultural studies, philosophy, and sociology since it has not generated research-based theories that have been taken on board by these disciplines. Thus, it is a cyclical generation that may help to keep ELT on the margins in the university.

Brian: Regarding this point of "unwitting" disciplinary (self) marginalization, it is interesting to reconsider the earliest critical ELT work we studied in graduate school at OISE and that inspired our teaching in community-based programs. This "first wave" of critical ESL pedagogies was exemplary in its attention to the real world, settlement concerns of adult ESL learners. Often inspired by Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, researchers/practitioners developed a critical consciencization of the language and literacy needs of workplaces (Wallerstein and Auerbach 1987), and the ways in which conventional ESL curricula served to limit the life chances of immigrants and refugees (Auerbach and Burgess 1986; Burnaby and Cumming 1992; Tollefson 1986). Although this work was exemplary for its field-internal attention to adult ESL concerns, I wonder if its pragmatic and worldly emphasis inadvertently reinforced the relatively low status of ELT theorizing in the academy. The next wave of critical ELT, more informed as it was by various postmodern and poststructural theories, could at least be viewed as engaged in the same kinds of disciplinary reimaginings of more prestigious departments and faculties. The following section will provide greater detail on this theoretical transition and its implications for research in the field.

From First to Second Wave of Critical Research

In this section, we introduce the theoretical influences and prominent scholars behind the advancement of a proposed second wave in critical ELT research. Influenced by postmodern, poststructural, and postcolonial theories, second wave research challenged prevailing conceptions of language learner identity and the production and dissemination of knowledge in ELT. The section details further areas of problematization within ELT during this period of critical research and related pedagogical innovation. We conclude this section with a discussion of

theoretical and ethical concerns that arose from second wave activity and that have influenced the current scope of critical ELT work.

Christian: I would like to build on your last point regarding scholars who I would characterize as representing a "second wave" of critical work in ELT, many of whom, as you note, drew upon post-structuralist theories and classroom praxis as formulated in various approaches to critical pedagogy work. This was also in reaction to many of the premises in second language acquisition (SLA) constructs and research that positioned the language learner in often one-dimensional ways. This second wave began in the 1990s with researchers such as yourself, Sarah Benesch, Bonny Norton, Alastair Pennycook, Angel Lin, Ryuko Kubota, and Stephanie Vandrick, who not only questioned and contested the dominant concepts in SLA, particularly with regards to "identity," but also what many of you rightfully viewed as under-addressed or even ignored issues in the ELT classroom. For example, you, Bonny Norton, and Stephanie Vandrick addressed both language learner and teacher identities in the classroom beyond the one-dimensional SLA construct (e.g., Morgan 1997, 2004, 2016; Norton 1997, 2000; Vandrick 1995, 1997). In addition, the debate between ideological and so-called pragmatic approaches were problematized by Sarah Benesch, Alastair Pennycook, and you (e.g., Benesch 1993, 1996, 1999; Morgan 1998; Pennycook 1997). A similar debate regarding the politics of "English only" in the classroom was raised by Auerbach (1993, 1995). Angel Lin and Ryuko Kubota explored how racialized identities were constructed in ELT (Kubota 2002, 2004; Kubota and Lin 2006, 2009), and the accompanying imperialist and colonizing legacies of ELT were examined by Pennycook, Lin, Suhanthie Motha, and Vandrick (e.g., Lin 1999; Motha 2014; Pennycook 1994, 1998; Vandrick 2002). I think what was a common thread throughout all this work of the second wave was about dismantling the notion of the English language learner as having a stable and an essentialist core identity, or what Ibrahim (2009) called the "Old Identity" in much of the positivist research in SLA. In their well-known critique of SLA research paradigms, "On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA Research," Firth and Wagner (1997) argued, "for the SLA researcher, only one identity *really matters*, and it matters constantly and in equal measure throughout the duration of the encounter being studied" (p. 292, italics in the original). This sole identity according to Firth and Wagner was that of the language learner, "at the expense of other potentially relevant social identities" (p. 288). Not only was "the emic relevance of the learner identity. . .not an issue in SLA," but also in fact for many SLA researchers, as argued by Firth and Wagner, language learners were seen by these researchers as "a defective communicator" (p. 288). I believe that in part it was this regressive view of the English language learner as being somehow "defective" in their language communication skills as well as having no other identity other than being a language learner in the classroom that gave rise to the first and second wave of critical ELT. In their work to bring to the forefront the multiple subjectivities of students (as well as teachers!) in the ELT classroom beyond this highly reductive essentialist identity, these critical scholars in ELT contributed several new paradigms in how we

conceptualized language learners and instructors, and addressed the multiple social scales beyond the sole site of the classroom itself.

Brian: Certainly, a new politics of SLA/ELT identities, on the terms you describe, was a prominent dimension of this wave of critical work. In addition to identity work, and largely inspired by postmodern and poststructural thought, critical researchers sought to problematize and politicize *all* field-internal domains and foundations around language teaching and learning, as Pennycook (2001) expertly detailed in his introduction to critical applied linguistics (cf. a politics of knowledge, a politics of language, etc.). Poststructural theory provided critical tools to illuminate the partiality of knowledge, the indeterminacy of language, and the performativity and complexity of identity. This new deconstructive and revelatory impetus, however, was also problematic. Considering identity, once more, the inner world of the "subject-in-discourse" increasingly became a site of curricular intervention, often promoting a kind of "confessional obligation" in ELT and LTE (Morgan and Clarke 2011), supported by way of reflective, narrative, and autoethnographic forms of data now examined to reveal their ideological origins and biases. Though crucial for critical work – particularly in settings of profound difference – this intensified self-questioning or hyperreflexivity (Kubota and Miller 2017) can also be fundamentally destabilizing, challenging the bases on which ELT professionals make curricular and pedagogical decisions, even when embracing a more situated post-method orientation in the classroom (Kumaravadivelu 2008). Again, in regard to our earlier discussion of interdisciplinary hierarchies, forms of epistemic skepticism that are productive in one field – say philosophy or cultural studies – may be less so in fields such as ELT that are intimately and intrinsically engaged in pedagogy and action on the world.

An enduring question for critical ELT comes to mind: "on what basis should we act" in light of the insights and blind spots of poststructural thought, which has underpinned much of the critical energy in the wave you have described. One development – perhaps part corrective, part backlash – has been to revisit and explore a "real" world beyond its varied discursive and textual representations, and one with very real material consequences for the life chances and working conditions of ELT professionals and students. This has led to a greater examination of economic issues and the overall economic restructuring of the social life as encapsulated in the term of neoliberalism, an area in which you have been particularly active and influential in recent years (Chun 2015, 2017). In the next section of our chapter, we can examine this emergent interest and its implications for the ELT field as well as discuss possible responses and strategies for critical research.

The Emergence of the Economic in Critical ELT

In this section we address the emergence, ramifications, and impacts of the neoliberal stage of capitalism in its discourses and practices affecting and imbedding within classroom curriculum materials, specifically the representations found therein and how these discourses may shape classroom discussions and ensuing uptakes of neoliberal identities.

Christian: In the ensuing years since the first and second waves of critical scholars in ELT, other thematic threads have emerged. While there have been the ongoing examinations of race, culture, and identity in critical ELT, one previously unaddressed issue that has come to the forefront is the economy, specifically, the ongoing neoliberal phase of capitalism. From my perspective, it is interesting that with all the work by the aforementioned critical ELT scholars on the politics of identities, only one previously addressed to any significant extent the issue of class identity, and that has been Vandrick (1995, 2010, 2014). Vandrick's focus is grounded in her place of practice, and the privileged international students from affluent backgrounds from countries whose economies are booming, and who had the financial resources to study at expensive Intensive English language programs in a major urban area in North America. Immigrant students, documented or otherwise, who come from impoverished countries and who lack the resources are only beginning to be addressed; for example, Darvin and Norton (2014) compare two students from the Philippines, one of whom lacks the social networks crucial for target language development and improved life chances in the Canadian context.

By now, it's no secret that both private and public universities have been reconfigured into sites of neoliberal policies and practices. This includes the intensive English language programs that bring in much-needed revenue from charging affluent international students high tuition rates to make up for the state budget cutbacks to public universities (Chun 2009, 2015). The term "neoliberalism" is being defined here as the alliance of private corporate and State governance aiming to appropriate public tax money for privately held enterprises for increased profiteering. This takes the form of both discursive and materialized practices which have entered almost every public domain now including universities. Corporate phrases such as "outputs" and "best practices" are now common keywords in academia. Marnie Holborow (2006, 2007, 2013, 2015) was one of the first critical scholars to address the dynamics between neoliberalism, English, and universities. She provided examples of the new terminology adopted by higher education: "universities as competitors and students as the target market, education in global competition...value-for-education...delivering and packaging courses, research outputs, teaching outputs...and the (ubiquitous and vacuous) international best practice and the pursuit of excellence" (2006, p. 91).

I have also addressed neoliberalism in my own work beginning with my 2009 article, "Contesting neoliberal discourses in EAP: Critical praxis in an IEP classroom," in which I explored how the neoliberalized constructs of "emotional intelligence" and "caring capitalism" were presented in the textbooks I had to teach in EAP classes. This continued with my classroom-based ethnographic research with the participant EAP instructor in exploring how discourses of globalization were taken up and mediated by her and the students in class discussions (Chun 2012, 2013, 2015). Likewise, Nelson Flores (2013) has addressed the dangers of complicity with neoliberal agendas with the uncritical championing of plurilingualism as a policy ideal by language education scholars.

Brian: Your classroom-based work on neoliberalism, indeed, addresses an important challenge for critical ELT: the need to articulate field-external theory (e.g., neoliberal governmentality, language commodification, scientific

management, or Taylorism) with field-internal developments and practices, demonstrating both how neoliberal discourses impact our work and how we might mediate or resist them in our local spheres of activity and expertise. This bridging of theory and practice in respect to neoliberalism has informed several ELT/AL publications (e.g., Block et al. 2012; Flubacher and Del Percio 2017; Shin and Park 2016), as well as domain-specific analyses of language policies (McGroarty 2006; Piller and Cho 2013), language testing (Kubota 2011), language course book production (Bori 2018; Zacchi 2016); language teacher education and certification (Block and Gray 2016; Clarke and Morgan 2011; Morgan 2016), and the neoliberal implications of the multi/pluri turn in ELT (Flores 2013; Kubota 2016).

There is definitely more work to be done in terms of understanding economic forms of exploitation in ELT and building on the neoliberal and class-based research it has engendered. Still, we should be cautious about reducing complex power relations around language and identity to one-dimensional economic explanations. The emerging challenges for critical ELT have many sources, perhaps amplified by transcultural global flows (cf. Appadurai's "scapes," 1996; Higgins 2015; Pennycook 2007), yet realized in everyday local classrooms, and often in unanticipated ways. These challenges should be the basis for further critical research in our field.

Further Critical Research

In this section we discuss the possible avenues for further critical research, addressing ELLs in the midst of racism and increased Islamophobia as well as addressing our own teaching practices and possible curricular orientations that support effective engagement with these discourses as they erupt in the classroom. Towards this engagement, we discuss both the programmatic and responsive dimensions of effective pedagogical intervention. We also address the relative power behind teacher interventions and the ethical and professional challenges that are implicated.

Christian: In this current era of increasing Islamophobia, accompanying xenophobic hypernationalism, ongoing wars, and ensuing refugees seeking asylum (see e.g., Nelson and Appleby 2015), what needs to be addressed by critical educators and researchers in ELT classrooms? Although these issues are certainly not featured nor addressed in any ELT curriculum materials that I know of, these topics have a way of "erupting" in class as Hilary Janks (2010) pointed out. For example, when I was on the faculty at a university in Australia, I taught an undergraduate class to students planning to become public school teachers in the greater Sydney area. The course was on language and literacy in the classroom, and in my first class, after having arrived in Australia only a month before, I asked the class if they thought recently arrived immigrants had a "duty" (this was put in so-called scare quotes on my Power Point slide lecture presentation) to integrate into society, in terms of learning their new country's dominant language. After a moment's silence, one student raised her hand and said, "Well, for example, if I go to Saudi Arabia, I would need to wear a head-scarf and follow the local customs there, right? But when *those people* come here to my country, they feel no need to do so. Australia was

founded by the Church of England. It is an Anglican country with Anglican values; yet those people feel they do not have to adapt." Needless to say, I was stunned by her comment. Since I had only been in the country a few weeks and being an outsider, I was hesitant to respond immediately. Even with my many years of practicing critical pedagogy approaches in my classrooms, if I had an immediate nonresponse in this situation, I can imagine other instructors regardless of being critical or not perhaps doing the same. It took me several months to come up with a reply. I think this anecdotal example highlights how difficult it is to address these texts as they erupt (Janks 2010) in class.

Brian: I have had similar experiences in classrooms – also related to Islamophobia but also to homophobia as well as racism, especially in respect to indigenous peoples in Canada. They *are* difficult, and they highlight the challenge for critical pedagogies to be *responsive* to the unexpected – whether as opportunity for consciousness raising (cf. critical moments, Pennycook 2004) or alternatively as *containment*, where the moral authority of the teacher's voice is immediately needed to challenge the eruption of unquestioned and hurtful expressions of discrimination. Still, I'm reminded that critical work is also *programmatic*, a cumulative building up of new frames and understandings through the careful design of courses, assigned texts and study guides, identity affirming classroom relationships (e.g., Cummins 2001), and experiential learning opportunities bridging school and society. The two, of course, are closely related: the programmatic creating – often unconsciously – the conditions for more effective (or transformative) "responses" to occur, i.e., the proverbial "Aha!" moments when the "penny drops" for some students but not for all. This is a significant issue for how we research or design critical ELT pedagogies. One doesn't change an aspect of identity or belief system the same way she or he learns a new verb tense or lexical item. These different scales and pathways of "learning" highlight the curricular need to think of (long-term) possibilities rather than immediate or causally direct outcomes/certainties (Canagarajah and De Costa 2016) or in terms of affordances relatable to the active meaning making (i.e., agency) of students (Morgan and Martin 2014; Piccardo 2017; van Lier 2004, Chap. 4). These cumulative and recursive pathways of learning also have much in common with the conditions that foster a critical philosophy of teaching (Crookes 2015).

Thinking again about your classroom experience above, I wonder what it suggests about how we do critical ELT work in relatively affluent, liberal democratic societies in general. In a couple of my language teacher education courses, I have recently included readings from the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015). Not surprisingly, for international students, the narrative testimonies from the indigenous survivors of the residential school system come as a surprise, given the Canada's cultivated reputation for multicultural tolerance. The biggest surprise, however, is the reaction of longstanding students/ citizens learning about our history of cultural genocide and neglect for the first time. Not only is there an absence of marginalized voices or counter-stories in dominant national narratives, there is also a lifetime of schooling to overcome: myths/ideologies of meritocratic mobility, judicial impartiality, as well as tolerance and openness to racial and ethnic others. I'm reminded of Eve Haque's (2012) discussion of the

"hierarchies of belonging" that underpin the egalitarian assumptions of Canadian society. Ramanathan's (2013) edited book on *(dis)citizenship*, similarly, serves to disrupt dominant narratives regarding the benevolence of migrant receiving nations. Such perspectives are crucial for the types of programmatic interventions that facilitate critical ELT pedagogies.

Christian: Yes, with regards to "containment," where as you say, the moral authority of the teacher's voice is needed to challenge these types of eruptions in class is important; however, to what extent is the appropriate time frame to respond? In the heat of the moment so to speak, when a student such as the one I described above utters such a blatant racist remark – does that warrant an immediate reply? It is difficult to ascertain at times. This is a story I have told many times at TESOL conferences and I'll relate it here: In 1991, an African-American named Rodney King was pulled over by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) for driving over the speed limit and trying to elude the police. Scores of LAPD officers descended upon him after his car was stopped and proceeded to beat him brutally even though he offered no resistance and was unarmed. The incident was captured on video and released to the media. A year later, after 4 LAPD officers were indicted and tried for using "excessive force," a jury, of which 10 members were White, acquitted them of all charges. Within hours, many Black neighborhoods erupted in protest. It happens that Koreatown is between the predominantly Black and Latinx neighborhoods of South Central Los Angeles and the predominantly affluent White neighborhoods of Hollywood, Fairfax, and Beverly Hills. The uprisings spread northward toward the White neighborhoods but were contained at Koreatown, which suffered much damage. I just so happened to have started teaching ESL the year before the verdict was reached, in a private ESL school located near Koreatown. Many of my students at the time were adult Korean immigrants, many of whom worked in Koreatown. In the wake of the uprisings, in fact, one of my students lost his store from looting and arson. That night, and in the ensuing weeks, my students were understandably angry about why this happened to them. A few weeks later, a student uttered a blatantly racist remark in class and I immediately challenged him by saying, "that's really racist!" He stood up and left my classroom, never to be seen again. Should I have waited for tempers to cool down before addressing this remark? How long should I have waited? It is difficult to say, but this had a bearing almost 25 years later on my immediate nonresponse to that Australian student's claim about Muslim immigrants not adapting to her perceptions of Australia's cultural and social customs.

Now as for programmatic, I have found that is also difficult at times, which you alluded to that the penny does not drop for all students necessarily. For example, I am currently teaching a course on language, culture, and identity and one reading we cover in the class is from Kubota and Lin (2009), which is on "White privilege." To give them the framework, I introduce the list by Peggy McIntosh on the 50 privileged aspects and domains for White people. For many of my students who identify as White, this does come as a revelation if they had not previously considered White privilege to any meaningful degree. However, there is sometimes a

student or two who adamantly insist this does not apply to them, nor is it really a "thing," but rather a liberal guilt-inducing "political correctness." Despite a careful programmatic design that aims to carefully introduce such concepts in a scaffolded manner, some students are skeptical nevertheless. For me, this is one of the prime teaching challenges in a critical pedagogy approach in this digital age of social media, trolling, so-called "fake news," incessant debating on Facebook, and so forth. For many of my students now, as they have told me, they receive the majority of their news from the newsfeed on Facebook, which is designed to appeal to their own narrow viewpoints (Chun 2018). How then do we as critical pedagogy practitioners and researchers address these powerful counter-narratives that are now so prevalent on social media and are racist, sexist, homophobic, etc.? I believe this raises important challenges for critical pedagogy theories and practices in this current era of demagoguery and racist nationalism being enabled and disseminated by social media.

Challenges for Critical Pedagogies in the Twenty-First Century

In this final section, we discuss several current challenges for the development of critical ELT pedagogies within contexts of intensified globalization, superdiversity, and the communicative affordances and misrepresentations of social media. The section provides examples of pedagogical innovations that integrate student ethnographies and critical multiliteracies in EAP settings. The section and chapter conclude with the proposal for greater community and social engagement on the part of researchers and educators – a critical *public* pedagogy in response to growing hyper nationalism and intolerance of difference.

Brian: I agree with your point in the previous section that this new digital age of insularity and hyper-partisanship is a prime teaching challenge for ELT and education, in general. Away from broader public shaming or sanction, it becomes too easy for narrow and harmful beliefs to be voiced and amplified. To what extent are we fostering the ability to participate and deliberate effectively in public life, particularly in times of increasing (super) diversity and growing inequalities and prejudices? And how are we addressing this challenge in ways that foreground our areas of expertise in critical ELT? From a curricular or programmatic perspective, perhaps now more than ever, classrooms may become one of the few remaining social sites in which students/citizens can have exposure to diverse perspectives on the world that do not simply reaffirm what they already believe. Not all students (immediately) appreciate this exposure, but arguably it reflects a crucial component of understanding and living with diversity. Also, not all educational stakeholders (politicians, administrators, special interest groups) support this exposure, and teachers often need to be selectively and strategically responsive – rather than explicitly programmatic – in fostering critical perspectives, particularly in repressive and/or precarious work environments.

One way of addressing these types of pedagogical challenges is to design projects and/or assignments, as McPherron and Randolph (2013) have done, in which

ELT/EAP students are encouraged to become critical ethnographers, examining everyday, local practices from an intercultural and ideological perspective. Project-based learning has a productive ambiguity to it: on the surface, project design can appear to reaffirm the ideological values of a broad range of stakeholders (conservative, liberal, radical), framing notions of community service learning, for example, in ways that hide broader power relations and systemic inequalities that make such service necessary (e.g., the "Get Involved" projects, in Monte Mór and Morgan 2014). On a related point, the McPherron and Randolph article shows how some of the students' ethnographic projects became overly descriptive, a cognitive outcome that would reaffirm beliefs in the "essential" ideological neutrality of language teaching. I have received similar projects in my own classes in spite of supplementary readings and assignment instructions that are more socio-politically oriented. Still, project-based learning has a strong transformative potential, especially when we mobilize and utilize EAP students' awareness of persuasion and rhetoric across languages and multimodal-semiotic domains.

As we've talked about earlier, the work of Janks (2010) is well suited for providing students with critical-analytic "tool kits" to recognize and analyze the ways in which texts seek to position readers/viewers. The growing prevalence of fake news, as you note, is an emerging challenge for EAP, in which the norms of argumentation and rhetoric have been grounded in universal/rational epistemologies and strong evidence-based intertextuality (i.e., referencing). In my third-year of content-based EAP course, *Dealing with Viewpoint* (Cooke 2005; Morgan and Vandrick 2009), we have a designated library-created course website that includes tools that support course assignments on various aspects of social media such as the (mis) representation of current events, advertising, and digital genres such as culture jamming. The library site includes tips and resources for identifying fake news as well as a link to Rodney Jones's (2017) blog on *Studying English language in the age of "Post-truth."*

The course is still a work-in-progress, and I hope to integrate more material that looks at the role of emotions in EAP/ELT literacies from a critical perspective (see, e.g., Anwaruddin 2016; Benesch 2012, 2017) as well as create more opportunities for critical plurilingual and translingual components in assignments, drawing on some of the course ideas cited in Bacon's (2017) comprehensive survey of critical literacies. Much of what I'm attempting in the Dealing with Viewpoint course is specific to my EAP setting, in which I have to support students' academic language learning needs while looking for ways in which a more critical or ideological perspective to EAP tasks, assignment design, and required readings might invigorate the same. It is a dialogic process and not exclusively "critical" in the ways we have discussed; that is, to be an effective teacher in this setting, I need to be continuously engaged with EAP and ESP research (see Belcher 2009; Paltridge and Starfield 2016). As well, the course is graded and counts for undergraduate credit, which applies a level of institutional power and conformity that limits the kinds of oppositional responses from students that you noted in your own classroom examples. It's a power differential that I am sensitive to and reminds me of Cummins' (2001) work on coercive versus collaborative relations of power that arise in the interpersonal spaces that teachers negotiate with students. While it is important

to develop guidelines for effective teacher intervention around controversial moments/topics, Cummins' framework suggests that the identity negotiation preceding their eruption may be of equal importance in shaping how our interventions are received or resisted. This personalized dimension of critical literacies and pedagogies informed my research on teacher identity as pedagogy (Morgan 2004).

Christian: Yes, and it is not only students who should engage with differing viewpoints, it is also imperative for us as educators committed to social justice – and not only in the sense of engaging with students in the ELT classroom who hold opposing viewpoints that inadvertently or purposefully perpetuate angry and hateful themes of Islamophobia, homophobia, sexism, racism, classism, and so forth. I see it as crucial in this era of demagoguery and hyper nationalism that we as critical pedagogues must also engage beyond the classroom – that is, with the general public. For me, this is one of the most important challenges for critical educational and language teaching and learning research and practices in the twenty-first century because more than ever before, the ELT classroom, and any classroom for that matter, is no longer (it never was, actually) safely isolated from the issues impacting society. As I write this a mere 10 days after yet another mass shooting in a school in the USA, this time in which at least 17 students and teachers died in a hail of gunfire on school grounds, how can we *not* address what is going on beyond the classroom, for these events, as we have witnessed, now tragically enter the classroom itself – at least in my country, the USA.

How do we develop the critical *public* pedagogy that can engage with and debate these issues at large, without dismissing, for example, gun ownership or political beliefs that some of us might find retrograde? How do we develop the discourse strategies for both inside and outside the classroom to reach students, neighbors, people on the street who may express a viewpoint that aligns with ours, but then in the very next breath a belief or an anecdote about a previous action they committed that appalls us? How can we in effect mobilize their common sense beliefs into a criticality as Gramsci (1971) called for, in this era of so many powerful dominant discourses that continue to divide and rule us? These are the challenges I see continuing for us in this dystopian century.

Brian: Your call for a critical *public* pedagogy is an appropriate point for us to conclude our discussion. The questions you raise suggest crucial guidelines and aspirations for a socially just ELT in these dangerous times. One of the biggest challenges, I see, is the one you raise for critical ELT pedagogues if not all teachers: the timely imperative to step outside our comfortable spaces of professional contact and to engage dialogically with public minds and audiences less "captive." It is indeed a unifying discourse strategy worthy of our attention and future collaboration.

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Feeling Rules and Emotion Labor: A Poststructural-Discursive Approach to English Language Teachers' Emotions

60

Sarah Benesch

Contents

Abstract

Responding to increased attention to emotions in English language teaching, this chapter proposes a poststructural-discursive approach that considers the social context and power relations. After discussion of the assumptions of a poststructural-discursive approach, two conceptual tools are introduced: feeling rules and emotion labor. These tools highlight institutional regulation of emotions and teachers' compliance with or resistance to that regulation.

Feeling rules and emotion labor are illustrated using data gathered from interviews with English language teachers at a US university about the

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university's attendance policy, instructors' own policies, and their reactions to students' lateness and absence. The data revealed that the attendance policy's implicit and contradictory feeling rules of vigilance and flexibility generated emotion labor in the teachers, who were tasked with implementing the policy. As to teachers' responses to lateness and absence, these revealed three emotion-labor discourses: a discourse of teachers' embodied performance, a discourse of students' embodied performance, and a discourse of teachers' emotional in-filling when students were absent. The chapter concludes with implications for pedagogy and English language teacher education to highlight teachers' emotions and emotion labor from a poststructural-discursive perspective.

Introduction

The notable increase in ELT publications about emotions since 2010 signals an affective turn in the field (Appleby 2013; Benesch 2012, 2017; Dewaele et al. 2016; Dörneyei and Kubanyiova 2014; Gabrys-Barker and Bielska 2012; Gkonou and Miller 2017; Pavlenko 2012; Prior 2015; Loh and Liew 2016; Motha and Lin 2013; Takahashi 2013; Warriner 2013; Waterhouse 2012). Interest in emotions may have resulted from attention to identity in ELT, starting in the 1990s in a shift from the then-exclusive focus on language and pedagogy. It may also be that those who have contributed to the affective turn in ELT were influenced by research on emotions in the wider field of education as well as other fields that examine social interaction, such as sociology, history, cultural studies, and geography.

Whatever the reason(s), the intensified focus on emotions in ELT calls for greater theoretical transparency. This is because though publications on emotions might appear as a unified body of work, there are significant theoretical differences that guide research, including methodologies and data analysis. For example, cognitive approaches to emotions, the dominant perspective in educational research, posit emotions as individual emoters' private psychological reactions to external events and situations. Sociocultural approaches, on the other hand, theorize emotions as the effect of encounters between humans and ideas, words, activities, and so on. Given these types of differences, clarity about the theoretical assumptions driving research would facilitate greater understanding of its implications, including appropriate application of the findings to teaching and future research.

This chapter aims to contribute to that discussion by presenting and illustrating one sociocultural perspective on emotions: poststructural-discursive. To situate this perspective within the larger body of research on emotions in ELT, its assumptions will be contrasted with those of the dominant cognitive approach, including differences in how they theorize the relationship between minds and bodies when it comes to emotions. This discussion will be followed by the introduction of two theoretical

constructs that can be used to study emotions from a poststructural-discursive perspective: feeling rules and emotion labor. To illustrate these tools, data will be presented from interviews with postsecondary English language teachers about student attendance in their classes, a topic that connects the physical presence or absence of students' bodies, institutional policies regulating attendance, and teachers' professional training/expectations. Discussion of the relationship between the university's attendance policy and teachers' discourses related to attendance will exemplify the interplay among feeling rules, emotion labor, and the embodiment of emotions.

Equally important, though, is that the theoretical assumptions and data presented in this chapter are meant to illustrate institutional regulation of emotions as well as teacher resistance to and/or compliance with that regulation. In other words, the relationship between emotions and power is central to the discussion.

Earlier Work on Emotions: From Krashen to Norton

Even before identity became an area of interest in ELT, emotions were at times taken up. Going back to Krashen's (1982) affective filter, there has been intermittent attention to the role of emotions though primarily focused on students' rather than teachers'. Krashen's affective filter hypothesis is an early example of the still-dominant cognitive approach which considers emotions as internal features of the human mind.

The affective filter hypothesis claimed that three "attitudinal factors" (p. 31) contribute to successful second language acquisition: high motivation, strong self-confidence, and low anxiety. Krashen further hypothesized that those studying second languages vary in "strength or level of their Affective Filters" (p. 31). The variation was assumed to be due to whether or not these three attitudinal factors were optimal. Those with unfavorable attitudes were seen as having a "high or strong affective filter," while those with favorable attitudes were said to have "a lower or weaker filter" (p. 31).

Though Krashen's hypotheses were criticized for being difficult to test and overly mechanistic, his legacy persisted throughout the 1980s and 1990s, seen mainly in motivation studies. From the perspective of emotion research, most notable about this work is its instrumental approach to the relationship between emotions and language learning. Emotions are sorted into positive and negative categories: those that are considered beneficial for language learning and those that are viewed as impediments. So, for example, generally speaking, anxiety is viewed as detrimental, while enthusiasm is viewed as beneficial. Furthermore, Krashen's assumption that language teachers should reduce students' negative emotions so that learning may take place carried over into late twentieth-century cognitive research on emotions.

It could be argued that research on foreign language classroom anxiety (FLCA), the most studied emotion in language studies, has become more dynamic, situational, complex, and contextual (Şimşek and Dörnyei 2017; Mahmoodzadeh and Gkonou 2015). Nonetheless, despite these adjustments, FLCA research has

maintained its focus on individual learners and their cognition. The role of context beyond the classroom is not considered, including power relations. Instead, emotions continue to be conceptualized as internal features of individuals' minds, sometimes referred to as individual differences.

It was only with the work of Norton (2000) that a shift in understanding of emotions as social phenomena rather than individual characteristics began to be considered. Taking aim at the concept of motivation, Norton questioned its conceptualization as an intrapsychic phenomenon. Her research on English language learning and use among immigrant women in Canada demonstrated that the psychological concept of motivation failed to capture complex relationships among learners, language, and society. She claimed that by conceptualizing motivation as a psychological phenomenon, previous research had ignored the impact of power imbalances on language acquisition and use.

For example, Norton (2000) theorized learner anxiety as "socially constructed within and by the lived experiences of language learners" (ibid). She therefore urged attention to "the conditions of power" (Darvin and Norton 2015, p. 37) that may position learners in "multiple and often unequal ways, leading to varying learning outcomes" (ibid). Norton (2000) claimed that English language learners' willingness to learn and use the target language did not result from a personality type with consistent psychological attributes, but is, instead, mediated by social factors "that may conflict with the desire to speak" (p. 120).

This is a striking contrast to the understanding of emotions posited by Krashen's affective filter and more recent cognitive ELT research. Though Norton does not theorize emotions per se, her work is an important precedent to research that considers emotions not as features of individuals' minds, but, rather, as social constructions.

Theorizing Emotions from a Poststructural-Discursive Perspective

Poststructural-discursive approaches to emotions depart from, one might even say react against, the dominant cognitive paradigm due to the latter's grounding in structuralist assumptions. Emotions are not theorized as internal psychological states that subserve pre-determined goals, as they are in cognitive research. Nor are they viewed as universal, measurable, or unchanging across time and space. In fact, the focus is not so much on what emotions *are* as on what they *do* socially (Ahmed 2004).

Rather than locating emotions within individuals' minds, poststructural approaches theorize emotions as cultural practices, changing across time and space. Emotions from this perspective are effects of human encounters with objects, including ideas, policies, memories, other people, events, activities, places, animals, and so on. These encounters are associated with bodily sensations which, Ahmed (2004) claimed, cannot be distinguished from emotions as if the body and mind were distinct. Instead, Ahmed (2004) conceptualized emotions as "crucial to the very constitution of the psychic and the social as objects" (p. 10). She further explained that emotions "allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects" (p. 10).

Also taking a poststructural perspective, Harding and Pribram (2009) critiqued the rationalism of cognitive approaches, which posit emotional engagement as a process of first experiencing an internal feeling in the body and then appraising that feeling in the mind. The authors questioned this assumption with its positing of emotions as processes that are "integral to the functioning of reason" (ibid). Rather than viewing emotions as handmaidens of individual emoters' reason, the authors emphasized emotions as embodied, but always "mediated by sociocultural circumstances and the historical contexts in which we live" (p. 7). They are not pre-existing, but rather "in the process of being constructed" (ibid).

Given the poststructural assumption that emotions cannot be accessed as if they were features of an unmediated reality, the concern is with how they are constructed discursively. In the research discussed later in this chapter, teachers' emotions will be highlighted using the tools of *feeling rules* and *emotion labor*, discussed next, as a way to access the discursive relationship between emotions and power. The data revolve around respondents' questions about student lateness and absence, an area of teaching involving relationships among bodies, institutional regulations, and expectations/beliefs/training. This aspect of teaching involves power relations in that the policy not only promulgates attendance rules but also implies, through the sanctions it mandates, emotional reactions teachers are supposed to have to student absence and lateness. The data therefore offer an opportunity to study the relationship between teachers' emotions and institutional power with an eye toward compliance and/or resistance to the explicit rules and implicit feeling rules, discussed next.

Tools for Theorizing Emotions from a Poststructural-Discursive Perspective

Feeling Rules

One way to study emotions from the perspective of power is by investigating the regulation of emotions in institutions and workplaces. *Feeling rules* (Hochschild 1983) is a useful tool for carrying out this type of investigation because it reveals power inequities and their affective impact on workers. According to Hochschild (1983), feeling rules, also known as *display rules*, are explicit instructions, formulated by management, about which emotions lower-level workers are expected to display in the workplace, a clear illustration of the regulation of emotions within a workplace hierarchy. Hochchild's (ibid) concern was the negative psychological impact of feeling rules on workers who interface with the public and whose performance is judged in part on displaying emotions specified by management.

For example, Hochschild's (1979, 1983) study of US flight attendants' job training in the late 1970s uncovered explicit feeling rules. Trainees were taught to display particular emotions in the workplace, including cheerfulness before, during, and at the end of flights, by constantly smiling. In fact, they were instructed to practice smiling and taming their anger so that even when passengers were rude or harassing, the flight attendants would display calm and empathy.

A more contemporary example of feeling rules can be found in questionnaires sent or given to customers at the conclusion of a service encounter. In these questionnaires, they are asked to evaluate the behavior of those who served them, including, for example, whether the server was polite and pleasant. These questionnaires, sometimes provided after a flight or room service, for example, indicate particular feeling rules stipulated by management and regulated by customers who fill out the questionnaire (Benesch 2018).

Though the feeling rules Hochschild discovered were explicit, they may also be implicit. In that case, they can be deduced from workplace documents, such as institutional policies, as well as by analyzing prevailing discourses. For example, university plagiarism policies tend to construct student copying as a crime and faculty members as detectives who are tasked with punishing the crime of plagiarism through various sanctions. These constructions and sanctions imply that teachers, the frontline enforcers of the policy, should feel indignant and retaliatory when coming across plagiarism in student writing. It can therefore be deduced that the feeling rules of a plagiarism policy are hypervigilance, indignation, and retribution (Benesch 2017, 2018).

The plagiarism policy example is meant to show that even when they are implicit, the feeling rules of university policies may have an emotional impact on faculty members who are expected to carry out the policies. The emotional impact may be especially strong when the feeling rules conflict with teachers' professional training/ beliefs/expectations. That clash, known as *emotion labor*, is discussed next.

Emotion Labor

Emotion labor, as coined by Hochschild (1983), refers to conflict between workplace feeling rules and workers' so-called authentic feelings. In this formulation, there is an authentic self that can be violated when having to display externally imposed emotions that do not comport with internal ones. In other words, Hochschild's approach to emotion labor was influenced by psychological notions of an essential self that may be compromised when having to display feelings that contradict authentic ones. Her primary concern was the commodification of emotions in workplaces and the impact of that commercial exchange on workers' well-being and nonwork interactions: "[W]hen private capacities for empathy and warmth are put to corporate use, what happens to the way a person relates to her feelings or to her face?" (Hochschild 1983, p. 89).

Poststructural-discursive approaches to emotion labor, on the other hand, do not subscribe to a unitary authentic self that may be violated when having to display so-called inauthentic feelings. In place of a fixed and essential self, Tracy and Trethewey (2005) offered a definition of the self as contextual, a self "whose meaning emerges out of reflexive social interactions with others" (p. 170). Adopting a discursive approach to emotion labor in the "destabilized and multivocal" contemporary world, the authors posited a "discursively constituted self, a self subjected to and by discourses of power" (p. 171).

Zembylas (2005), too, offered a poststructural-discursive revision to Hochschild's positing of emotion labor as unidirectional imposition of feeling rules on compliant workers. Instead, he conceptualized emotion labor as dynamic, multidimensional, and multidirectional, "continually constructed and reproduced through interactions of domination and resistance" (p. 59).

Along these lines, emotion labor as taken up in this chapter is theorized as conflict between institutional regulations/feeling rules and discourses of teachers' training and/or classroom experience. When this clash occurs, there may be confusion (emotion labor) about the most beneficial course of action, including questions about the consequences of obeying or resisting the feeling rules. This type of conflict is discussed in the presentation of data about attendance later in the chapter.

One other contrast between how Hochschild took up emotion labor and how it is used here is that she viewed emotion labor as detrimental to workers' well-being and therefore recommended ways to reduce it. In this chapter, on the other hand, emotion labor is considered to be an inevitable result of unequal workplace power. Therefore, rather than recommending that emotion labor be minimized or avoided, its agentive potential is highlighted (Benesch 2018; Miller and Gkonou 2018). The claim is that emotion labor is a possible tool of activism that can be drawn upon when collaborating with students and colleagues to improve current conditions.

Both feeling rules and emotion labor, then, are useful tools for studying emotions from a poststructural-discursive perspective. By highlighting the relationship between emotions and institutional power, they offer a sociocultural lens, as can be seen next in the analysis of an attendance policy and discussion of interviews with English language teachers about that policy and their reactions to student lateness and absence.

Data Collection: Attendance Policy and Interviews

Attendance Policy

Though attendance might initially appear to be a mundane aspect of teaching, it is a complex matter involving the absence and presence of students' physical bodies, teachers' expectations, the prevailing policy, and relationships among them. When students are late or do not show up for class, their non-attending bodies may be noticed by teachers especially when tasked by an attendance policy with recording or sanctioning lateness or absence. The implicit feeling rules of this type of policy are therefore of interest. To ascertain those rules, I read the attendance policies of several colleges of the City University of New York (CUNY) repeatedly, looking for mandates and contradictions that might have an impact on English language teachers' responses to attendance issues. My assumption was that institutional policies signal ways in which its faculty should respond to student behavior, thereby implying feeling rules (Benesch 2018).

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with 13 CUNY instructors; 2 additional instructors filled out questionnaires consisting of the same questions. Those who were interviewed, or filled out the questionnaire, had responded to an online call through a local professional organization, requesting participation in the study. All respondents were currently, or had been, CUNY English language instructors. The 90-minute semi-structured interviews, conducted between April and December 2014, focused on four topics, including attendance. The criterion for selecting these topics was that they connect institutional policies and teachers' direct interactions with students, thereby potentially joining power and emotions.

The interviewees and questionnaire respondents were nine full-timers and four part-timers teaching in academic ESL programs and two teaching full-time in intensive programs housed in continuing education. All of the full-time faculty were veteran teachers with over 10 years of teaching experience, as were two of the part-timers. Six of the full-timers had been, or were at the time of the interview, ESL coordinators at their colleges. These aspects of their identities are included here to show that a range of responses was sought in attempting to capture prevailing discourses and emotion labor around attendance.

Though a range of responses was sought, no attempt was made to correlate aspects of individual respondents' identities, such as gender, race, or ethnicity, and their responses. Therefore, each data excerpt presented in the next section of this chapter is referred to as "R," and they are numbered consecutively (R1, R2, R3, etc.). Pseudonyms or other indicators of respondents' identities are not included. Instead responses are grouped according to the discourses discovered when analyzing the interviews.

The interviews were based on the following questions: (1) Do you have a policy regarding lateness in your classes? (2) If so, how do you enforce that policy? (3) How do you feel when students are late? (4) How do you communicate to them how you feel about their lateness? (5) Do you have a policy regarding absence? (6) If so, how do you enforce that policy? (7) How do you feel when students are absent? (8) How do you communicate how you feel?

Data Analysis: Attendance Policy and Interviews

Attendance Policy: Feeling Rules

In the research context, a publicly funded, multi-college US university, attendance rules are stricter for ESL courses (sometimes referred to as developmental) than they are for higher-level courses. Each college determines a set number of permitted absences for ESL classes, usually 6 or 7 hours per 15-week semester. If students exceed this number, their instructor may prevent them from retaking the literacy test(s) that placed them in that course. However, despite the enumeration of allowed absences and the sanctions for exceeding that number, the

policies include hedges that suggest room for negotiation of policy terms, as seen in the use of *may not pass* and *in most cases* in the excerpt below from one CUNY college's attendance policy:

> Students in remedial or developmental courses must maintain regular attendance in order to be permitted to take the final examination. Students who miss more than twice the number of classes that meet during a regular week in the semester may not pass the course and in most cases are ineligible to take the final examination. (http://inside.jjay.cuny.edu/compendium/assets/PDFs/Reg.002%20-%20Attendance%20Policy.pdf)

As to the feeling rules of CUNY's attendance policies, they might be characterized as vigilance and flexibility. Vigilance is communicated in the spelling out of an exact number of allowed absences, as seen in the representative excerpt above, and the requirement for instructors to record attendance in ESL classes. Flexibility, on the other hand, comes through in the hedging language with its suggestion of negotiation. Emotion labor related to ambiguity arising from the relationship between vigilance and flexibility is discussed in the following subsections.

Interviews: Emotion-Labor Discourses

The data were read repeatedly in search of emotion-labor discourses. The discourses were grouped into two themes: attendance policy and embodied classroom presence and absence. In the attendance policy category is *discourse of resistance.* In the embodied classroom absence and presence category are the following: *discourse of teachers' embodied performance*, *discourse of students' embodied performance*, *discourse of relationality*, and *discourse of emotional in-filling*. All are presented next with examples of each discourse and its relationship to feeling rules and/or emotion labor.

Attendance Policy: Discourse of Resistance

A lack of consistent enforcement of the attendance rules for CUNY undergraduate students enrolled in ESL classes was evident in the responses of the English language teachers I interviewed. A discourse of resistance to the vigilance implied by the enumeration of allowed absences was more apparent than strict adherence to those numbers. This is not to say, however, that the prevailing attitude was laissez-faire. Rather, emotion labor was apparent in the reporting of ongoing tension among institutional norms and sensitivity to the real challenges of students' lives. Vigilance about the number of allowed absences was reported to compete with questions about how much flexibility was desirable and/or permitted.

The reasons given most often for resistance to the vigilance implied by the university attendance policy were that many CUNY students work and have family responsibilities. Most are dependent on often unreliable subways, buses, and even elevators in the case of colleges located in tall buildings. In fact, several of the teachers who rely on the same forms of transportation as their students expressed empathy for lateness, up to a point. Emotion labor, then, centered on reconciling

vigilance with concern about the challenges faced by urban working-class immigrant students who must balance complicated work, home, and academic lives.

Facing this conflict between vigilance and awareness of their students' complex lives, some teachers reported loosely applying the existing policy regarding lateness (R1), ignoring it altogether (R2 and R4), or creating their own, such as the 15-minute grace period mentioned in R3. Furthermore, the resistance expressed in R1, R2, and R4 is attributed to unwillingness to devote teaching time to monitoring and calculating attendance, though attendance recording is mandatory:

> R1: A loose policy. I'll accept 10–15 minutes because the subways weren't working. That kind of thing. I don't usually mark...I can't be bothered keeping a record to take a grade down.
> R2: I make the announcement at the beginning that (name of institution) has an absence policy. If you were late an hour that's the equivalent of one hour of being late. But I never enforce that. I have to say that I never enforce that. I don't know, I'm not organized enough to do it.
> R3: I have an overarching policy which includes a grace period of about 15 minutes. Our department and many people have various policies. I believe in modern 21st century in a busy urban setting, the students have very busy lives. It's not 19th century Oxford or Cambridge and I feel...I'm not really content with any of those...Somehow my students manage.
> R4: The program I teach in has a lateness policy, which is that 3 lates equals an absence, and 4 absences mean the student is kicked out. I disagree with this policy. I hate it. I cheat on it and do not mark students late when they are at risk of getting kicked out of the program—especially if I know that the student is late for a legitimate reason which they discuss with me... I am not there to coerce them. I do not believe in coercion. I do all I can to teach them motivation, focus, organization in their lives, using brain-based approaches I read about and practice. After that, college students are adults. I respect their agency, their ability to handle their lives and schedules. Students I teach have full-time jobs. They have young children. They are attending school, on top of that, 25 hours a week with me. I could not do what they do. If they are sometimes late, I respect that.

Other responses (R5, R6, and R7) indicated not just resistance to the current attendance policy but also the creation of alternative policies that allowed students to make up the time through additional work (R5) or by completing missed assignments (R6 and R7). In fact, R5 rejects the most serious consequence of the attendance policy (dismissal from the course), declaring, "I still wouldn't throw them out":

> R5: And they're only supposed to be absent 15% of the course hours. And if they're absent more than that I make them write an extra essay. I still wouldn't throw them out.
> R6: I allow them to be absent or miss a class after three times. No questions asked. I designed this policy because I believe that everybody has the right to be sick or to have a problem or to have one of those days when nothing goes right. You cannot face the world. I think that's a fair way of looking at modern living and modern pressures. So they...as long as they make up the work.
> R7: I mean I had a kid who worked two jobs, something ridiculous. And he would come in exhausted or come in late. And he said, "Look, I need the class." I said, "Make it up."

R5's declaration of a refusal to dismiss students indicates that enforcement is mostly left up to individual teachers, coinciding with the feeling rule of flexibility. Given

this tacit flexibility and despite the enumeration of allowed absences, many of the respondents stated a willingness to resist the policy without obvious concern about repercussions, as demonstrated in responses 1–7.

However, others expressed emotion labor over their resistance, indicated in R8 and R9. Whether the emotion labor was related to concerns about being judged as permissive by the interviewer, or more generally, is not clear. Whichever it may be, both responses suggest self-consciousness about being considered too lax. This concern is indicated in R8 by "I probably should be better at enforcing" and "I need to be better about lateness." As to R9, there is a pointed reference to the interview being recorded. The reference to the recording device and the use of "admit" regarding having "bent the rule" indicate ambivalence about a lack of vigilance. On the other hand, R9 also legitimizes resisting the policy out of a sense of social justice, mainly in "extreme and provable" cases of student absence. However, a concern about repercussions of being perceived by students as a permissive teacher is also expressed:

> R8: Well I don't like it [lateness] and so I probably should be better at enforcing, but I think I'm in the middle of teaching and I kind of forget: Ok I need to remind them about that. So I need to be better about lateness.
> R9: And I will admit and I know you're taping it...I have bent the rule if students have some issue and they're willing to do the work with me still. So the answer to that question is really contingent upon the situation. *SB: What kinds of situations arise where you bend the rules?* Sickness. I had a student who was pregnant. I didn't even know she was pregnant. Gave birth. *SB: That's a good excuse!* There have been...it's not often. Because when the word gets out oh she'll just bend the rule then you know... all the effort is out the window. So it has to be something extreme and provable.

Unapologetic resistance to attendance rules, then, was prevalent among interviewees' responses, with the exception of R8 and R9 expressing some worry about not being sufficiently strict. One response, R10, though, communicates the sense that the attendance policy was more on paper than an iron-clad rule and therefore resistible, at least in this respondent's academic department. R10 describes a situation in which a student who contested the instructor's enforcement of the attendance policy might be backed up by a departmental chairperson overruling the instructor. The respondent describes the overruling by a departmental chair as "scandalous" because of the violation of a stated policy:

> R10: The department has a policy of I think it's three lates equals an absence. And they're allowed four absences and after four you fail. And that's supposed to happen, but if then a student would then complain maybe to the chair, but maybe they had six absences: why am I being failed?. They totally back...they talk to the professor and say, "You shouldn't do this." Just I think scandalous. If you have a rule you gotta follow it.

Overall, then, when it came to vigilance about numbers of allowed absences, resistance could be found at the level of instructors and, in one case, a department chairperson. Though instructors told me that they included their college's policy on their syllabi, various strategies were employed when it came to enforcement. In

some cases respondents reported that they didn't bother recording attendance at all. In other cases they negotiated the rules with students, and in still others, they offered opportunities to make up for absence with work.

Perhaps the most important observation, though, is that because the attendance policy exists and instructors are required to take and report attendance, they are continually put in the position of deciding whether to follow the policy or not, including preventing students from taking the exit tests at the end of the course. This is an ongoing aspect of emotion labor and one that will be discussed further in the conclusion.

Discourses of Embodied Classroom Absence and Presence

A different aspect of emotion labor was apparent in respondents' answers to the following questions: How do you feel when students are late? How do you communicate to them how you feel about their lateness? How do you feel when students are absent? How do you communicate to them how you feel about their absence? The responses to these questions were notable for their focus on teachers' and students' embodied performances around lateness and absence and emotional "in-filling" (Parr and Fyfe 2012) in the face of lapsed attendance. These responses and the poststructural-discursive analysis of them are intended to show how emotions might be considered in their relationship to bodies and power.

Discourse of Teachers' Embodied Performance

R11 and R12, discussed next, describe using attendance materials in conjunction with the teacher's embodied performance. R11 describes a way of combining *the giant roster* and body movements to signal disapproval: *a dirty look*, *point[ing] to the board*, and a performance of recording the lateness with an exaggerated motion, *a flourish*, while uttering words that acknowledge the lateness. Equally interesting is that the teacher reported engaging in this embodied performance not primarily to enforce a policy, but, instead, to signal that the lateness was noticed and that the teacher cares about whether or not the student is present:

> R11: If they're late during the freewriting, I just look up, give them a dirty look, point to the board and go back to writing. If it's after that, I take the giant roster out with a flourish and put a big circle around their, you know...and I say, "Hunh, it's 9:40." Because you know I don't want them to imagine that I didn't notice or that I don't care.

In R12, the notecard is the vehicle for taking attendance and calling on students. However, because using the card might be too subtle and fail to communicate to students that attendance is being enforced, the teacher carries out *a big performance* or *a show* of using the card, thereby enacting attendance-taking in a visually obvious way:

> R12: If they're not there and they come in late, I'll check that they were late. So I usually do that especially at the beginning of the semester. I'll make a big performance of taking attendance everyday at the beginning....Part of my enforcement is making a show of it and then if there is a student who's in particular difficulty talking to them after class.

R12's final words about a student's lateness as an embodied signal, in this case that the student might be *in particular difficulty* and therefore in possible need of a face-to-face meeting with the teacher, are characteristic of responses in the next section on teachers' reading students' embodied performances of lateness and absence as meaningful.

Discourse of Students' Embodied Performance

Whereas R11 and R12 offered examples of teachers' embodied performances related to attendance, in this section the emotion labor of noticing students' late-to-arrive and absent bodies is taken up. These responses reveal that the ways in which students perform late arrivals and absence may make an impression on their instructors, highlighting emotions as embodied and embodiment as meaningful.

R13–R16 report ways in which late students' bodily comportment when entering the classroom affect their teachers' reaction to the lateness. For example, in R13, the teacher reported reading students' late-to-arrive bodies for indications of their level of respect. Of particular interest is the teacher's detailed attention to students' gait, hygiene, and speed of entry into the class when late:

> R13: If they come sauntering in, freshly bathed, and relaxed an hour late for class I feel like they're disrespecting me. If they come hurrying in and they get right involved in what we're doing I don't mind at all.

Similarly, R14 notes whether students' bodies are performing either discretion or a desire to *make a spectacle out of themselves*. According to this response, when students make noise coming into the classroom, they draw attention away from the teacher, other students, and classroom activities to their own bodies. This type of *spectacle* transforms lateness from an act that is *bad enough* to a *nuisance*:

> R14: I mean it depends how they're late. You can walk in discretely and not make a nuisance of yourself. But a lot of time students are late cause they want attention. They make a spectacle out of themselves. And I say, Could you please come in quietly? It's bad enough that you're late.

Similarly, R15 expresses a preference for students to be as unobtrusive as possible so that their bodies don't distract, offering specifications about speed of entry, removal of outerwear, body position, and noise level. According to this response, the late body should merge with the present bodies as quickly as possible, following these specifications of bodily comportment:

> R15: I just...I always tell my students just come in quickly, take off your coat and everything, get ready, just slip into your seat.

Like R15, which specifies ways for late bodies to make themselves as unobtrusive as possible by blending in, R16 describes a preference for late bodies to be placed at the periphery of classroom action, away from the already-present bodies. Of particular note is that late students are instructed not to move their bodies between the teacher's

and the other students', a performance that would sever the connection and provoke the teacher's annoyance, though this point was expressed playfully:

> R16: So I tell them...it's on my syllabus. If you're going to come in late you need to take the seat closest to the door. Cause if you walk across while there's some interaction between me and the class, there's no telling what might come out of my mouth to you (laughs).

R17 and R18 focus on not just being unobtrusive, but also silent and self-reliant. The student should not interrupt other students or the teacher, but instead figure out on their own what the class is doing:

> R17: I say things like, "At least try to come in quietly and don't interrupt anyone if we're still freewriting. Just sit down and write about why you were late if you can't figure out what the topic is. Whatever you do don't come up to my desk and start talking to me." Because they do that so often.
> R18: I don't like it when the class is disrupted and also if somebody comes in and we've been working on something and they say, "I don't get it."

Whereas the previous group of responses specified teachers' preferred bodily comportment of late students, the next group of responses (R19–R25) have to do with teachers' descriptions of filling in absence with emotions. They underscore the importance for these respondents that students not go missing without an explanation. Disappearance in these responses was reported to trigger an in-filling of the absence with unpleasant emotions, ones that might have been avoided had an explanation been offered prior to the absence.

Discourse of Emotional In-Filling

R19 and R20 explain that the presence of an absent body triggers a desire to know why the student is not in attendance. The preference therefore is to be alerted ahead of the absence, lateness, or early departure. In R19, unexplained absence is responded to by a query to a classmate or call to the absent student:

> R19: Cause I also expect them to email me if they're gonna miss class, if they're gonna be late, if they have to leave class early. To explain it to me ahead of time.
> R20: I ask students if they're gonna be absent more than a couple of days to give me a call and or emailing. Some do and most don't. But if they're missing for a couple of days I'll either ask their classmates if they know anything or I will call them and find out what's going on. And that works well.

Without a direct explanation from the missing student, via email, text, or phone call, teachers reported that they filled in the absent body with various emotions. These ranged from feeling as if the student doesn't care (R21) to sensing that he or she is *blowing off the class* (R22) in which case the teacher might be inclined to withhold helping that student in the future:

> R21: I feel better if they let me know by email or by calling the office than if they just don't show up. If they don't show I feel that they don't care. Even if it's valid or they're working.

R22: It's that whole thing of like when I feel I can trust a student that is gonna be upfront and honest with me then I don't take it personally at all when they miss. Especially if they've told me ahead of time or even if they tell me afterwards, "Hey I had a family emergency." Fine, I understand. But when a student just misses and I don't know why and they don't tell me then I do start to think the student is just blowing off the class and I'll take it more...I will definitely not feel as in need of giving them any kind of help with their grade or anything in the future.

On the other hand, two responses (R23 and R24) indicated that absent bodies might serve as a signal of trouble or difficulty in the student's life, activating the teacher's desire to investigate further and perhaps find a way to prevent future absence collaboratively. In this regard, in R23, absence and lateness are described as *an opportunity*. The student's absent body triggers the teacher's hope of getting to know the student better as a way to *address something*. Similarly, in R24, absence triggers a sense of obligation to investigate the cause and to *try to correct the situation*:

R23: And in some ways it was an opportunity if they were late or if they missed a class it was a chance to talk to them and to get to know more about them. So there was something also kind of I guess in a weird way something positive about that. A chance to address something.
R24: If a student's absent an awful lot and not doing the work I guess I start thinking, "Well this is a student that's gonna fail the class." And I feel that I have an obligation to try to find out if there's something wrong for one thing. To try to talk to the student. I don't just decide I'm gonna fail the student and not even care about what's happening. So I guess my first feeling would be concern about the student. That I think there's probably a problem here and I would try to communicate with the student. Maybe my main reaction is I feel some concern and feel like I have a responsibility to try to intervene and to try to correct the situation.

Finally, the last response (R25) is notable for its discussion of the emotion labor of enforcing attendance for this inexperienced teacher. Here the teacher poignantly describes the discomfort of addressing a student's absence, grappling with the institutional expectation of approaching the student face-to-face and the potential discomfort and embarrassment for the student. To better understand these issues, the teacher reported reading a book on discipline after which the embodied act of approaching students about absence seemed less intrusive and more caring. Nonetheless, the face-to-face act remained *awkward and anxiety-inducing*, particularly given that it entailed the teacher's more powerful body approaching the student's. The antidote of approaching the student *quietly* enacted sensitivity to the potentially confrontational aspect of attendance enforcement for both the teacher and student:

R25: So it was something I was uncomfortable with it at first. And then when I...from observing other teachers I came to develop a way that... I wouldn't usually address it right away. But I might go up to a student after they came in and, say everybody's working on something, and say, "Hey I noticed you were late today" and see what they say. And I read a whole book on it, *Discipline with Dignity,* that kind of reinforced and also added additional perspectives on this. And then I also had to come around to believe in the fact that I'm helping them when I do this rather than confronting them and calling them out and embarrassing them. I'm trying to help them and this is something that's gonna be helpful

to them. And they want to know that you care about them, that you're asking them about it. So I didn't want to let it go. It was always still a little awkward and anxiety-inducing to have to walk up cause there was a certain amount of confrontation in it. But I would usually try to go up to them quietly.

Conclusion

Feeling rules and emotion labor are tools for conceptualizing emotions from a poststructural-discursive perspective. They can be used to explore how teachers navigate the inevitable conflicts they experience between institutional regulation, their professional knowledge, and their personal preferences. This approach highlights emotions not as private internal features of individuals' minds, but, rather, as the effects of interaction between bodies and power. The findings presented in this chapter, summarized next, illustrate how emotions can be theorized from a social perspective by taking institutional power into account.

The interview questions to teachers about attendance revolved around three issues: policies regarding lateness and absence, how they enforced those policies, and any reactions students' lateness and absence triggered. Examination of CUNY's attendance policies revealed clearly articulated rules around ESL students' attendance. However, while one implicit feeling rule in the policies was vigilance, with teachers expected to record attendance and block students with an excess of absences from retaking literacy tests, flexibility was evident in the hedging language of these policies.

Contradictions between vigilance and flexibility seemed to be a source of emotion labor among the respondents. The data revealed ongoing conflict among institutional norms, teachers' desire for regular attendance, and the reality of their working-class students' lives of juggling college, jobs, commuting, and family demands.

Some respondents reported enforcing the rules, some developed their own, and some disregarded them all together. Some also revealed that they worried about bending the rules though this concern might be attributable to the interview context. However, one response indicated that a chairperson might overturn an instructor's application of the attendance policy's enumeration of the maximum number of allowed absences.

The most interesting data, however, was that gathered under the theme *Embodied classroom absence and presence*. Ways that emotions and emotion labor are embodied can be seen clearly in these responses. Most striking was the extent to which some respondents reported attending to the comportment of late-to-arrive bodies, with specific expectations of the ideal entry. Students were expected to avoid distracting the teacher and fellow students or severing the connection between them. They were to slip into their seats quietly and figure out on their own what the class was engaged in. One teacher also expressed a preference for the placement of students' late bodies on the periphery of the classroom for minimum obtrusiveness.

Equally interesting were the data on teachers' need to know why students were absent so as to avoid unpleasant emotional in-fillings, such as students disliking the class or having been offended by something the teacher had said. Yet other teachers considered absences as opportunities to get to know students better, pretexts for conversations about why they were not present on a particular day and whether there might be ways to improve attendance by addressing any difficulties students might have been experiencing.

Implications for Pedagogy

From a pedagogical perspective, the most important implication of this research might be that teachers could do more to let students know that their late and absent bodies are meaningful, not invisible or insignificant. As one of the respondent's put it, . . .*I don't want them to imagine that I didn't notice or that I don't care.*

Teachers can discuss the emotion labor they experience when students are late or absent to dramatize the significance of attendance beyond the enumeration of permitted absences and latenesses. Rather than being unnoticed, students' presence and absence may communicate a variety of messages of which they may be unaware. Therefore a discussion of the meaning of attendance can alert students to messages their bodies may convey. Becoming aware that teachers notice and care about presence, lateness, absence, and bodily comportment might lead students to understand how they signal interest, lack of interest, disrespect, and so on, through their bodies. There could be greater awareness of the impact of gait, body position, gaze, voice volume, and so on, with discussion of how these might vary according to cultures and social situations.

Teachers could also discuss how they fill in absence with emotions, such as concern and annoyance. They might also reveal that taking and enforcing attendance can be distractions from teaching, including the emotion labor of obeying or resisting institutional feeling rules. Class discussion of these issues could sensitize students to ways that absence and presence are reciprocal and relational, not simply a matter of policies and procedures.

Aside from discussing emotion labor around attendance, teachers can learn about students' beliefs about and approaches to attendance, including any obstacles that might prevent them from attending. This classroom-based research could be carried out by posing the following questions at the start of the semester, followed by classroom discussion:

1. What has caused you to be late in the past?
2. What might cause you to be late to this class?
3. What has prevented you from attending one or more classes?
4. What might cause you to miss my class this semester?
5. How can students in this class help each other maintain their attendance and keep up with the work?

Furthermore, the institution's attendance policy can be shared and analyzed. Using critical discourse analysis, students can study the language, audience, purpose, and penalties. They can be invited to write a policy for the current class, one that comports with their experience and daily lives. This policy might include the issue of social media, such as texting and checking websites. A discussion of social media in the classroom would allow students to consider what it means for one's body to be present while one's mind is elsewhere.

Finally at the institutional level, it might be useful to review attendance policies with colleagues and administrators to ensure that they are fair and reflective of the ad hoc policies being carried out by instructors.

These implications for pedagogy have a shared purpose: to highlight the political role of teachers' emotion labor. Rather than proposing ways to diminish emotion labor, this chapter envisions it as a tool of teacher engagement. Emotion labor is seen not as personal conflict that must be overcome privately, but instead as a signal that current conditions and/or policies might not be optimal and that colleagues and students can be recruited in efforts to improve them.

Implications for English Language Teacher Education

The expanding literature on the role of emotions in English language teaching provides an opportunity to incorporate this area of research into undergraduate and graduate curricula. A good place to start would be to engage students in comparing cognitive and social approaches to emotions in the interest of solid theoretical grounding. Examples of cognitive approaches were discussed in the literature review, and examples of research taking a social approach were cited in the introduction (Loh and Liew 2016; Motha and Lin 2013; Waterhouse 2012; Warriner 2013).

After establishing these theoretical distinctions, the concepts of feeling rules and emotion labor can be introduced, along with examples of situations that might provoke teachers' emotion labor. These include high-stakes literacy testing, responding to student writing, and plagiarism (Benesch 2017). Students can also be asked to imagine other situations that they might find emotionally challenging in their future teaching.

Following discussion of institutional feeling rules and emotion labor, the latter can be taken up as a possible signal of poorly conceptualized policies and/or practices and therefore a potential tool for collaborating with students and colleagues to achieve more appropriate and equitable policies.

Finally, incorporating feeling rules and emotion labor into ELT graduate curricula has the potential to prevent newly hired and veteran instructors from struggling privately to reconcile contradictions between their professional training, scholarly literatures, their classroom experiences, and what they are assigned to do as EL specialists by their institution (Johnson and Golombek 2002; Verity 2000). Were they taught about institutional feeling rules and emotion labor in their professional training courses or graduate studies, that sense of isolation might be avoided.

Teachers could attend to their own emotion labor in the workplace as a legitimate sign of conflict and a signal to reach out to colleagues and/or students to address that conflict collectively in the interest of improving workplace conditions, policies, and practices. This approach to emotions underscores their relationship to institutional power, an area of investigation deserving greater attention.

Cross-References

▶ Building Teachers' Collective Efficacy: An Insight from a Language Teacher Education Program in China
▶ Critical Research in English Language Teaching

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Instructed Second Language Acquisition and English Language Teaching: Theory, Research, and Pedagogy

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Shawn Loewen and Masatoshi Sato

Contents

Abstract

The relationship between instructed second language acquisition (ISLA) research, on the one hand, and English language teaching pedagogy, on the other, is not always clear and is sometimes contentious. While ISLA researchers hope to inform English second language (L2) pedagogy, teachers may feel that theory and research are of limited use in their classrooms.

The goal of ISLA, however, is to make explicit links among theory, research, and pedagogy by empirically evaluating theoretical claims about classroom

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instruction. This chapter explores the insights that ISLA theory and research, particularly from a cognitive-interactionist perspective, can bring to the classroom, while also considering the influence that pedagogical realities can have on theory and research. In particular, this chapter will explore the effects of explicit and implicit L2 instruction, along with the types of L2 knowledge (whether explicit or implicit) that result. Through this exploration, the chapter considers the relevance of ISLA for the English L2 classroom.

Introduction

The relationship between instructed second language acquisition (ISLA) theory and research, on the one hand, and English language teaching (ELT) pedagogy, on the other, is not always clear and is sometimes contentious. This chapter considers the relationship between these overlapping, yet different, domains, beginning with the links between ISLA and ELT and continuing to consider how ISLA can inform the goals of classroom instruction, as well as to provide theoretical and empirical support for instruction pertaining to grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and pragmatics. Hence, the chapter aims to bridge the gap between research and practice in ELT.

The influence of second language acquisition (SLA) theory on ELT pedagogy can be seen as far back as the 1950s and 1960s when behaviorism was the theoretical support for audiolingualism, with its emphasis on drills and habit formation (VanPatten and Williams 2015). Later, in the 1980s, Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell (1983) developed the natural approach and the monitor model (Krashen 1982; Krashen and Terrell 1983), which are arguably some of the first modern theories that apply specifically to SLA. The five hypotheses of the monitor model (acquisition-learning hypothesis, input hypothesis, affective filter hypothesis, natural order hypothesis, and interface hypothesis) were evident in the ELT classroom through the strong and weak versions of communicative language teaching, with a move away from rote language practice and explicit language instruction. Indeed, Krashen recommended that teachers provide an input-rich environment for their students in the classroom. More recently, the influences of focus on form (Long 1991, 1996) and task-based language teaching (Willis 1996) can be seen in the movement to include attention to both communication and linguistic structures in the classroom.

However, not all aspects of SLA theory relate directly to the classroom. Some areas of research, such as universal grammar (White 2015), processability theory (Pienemann 1998; Pienemann and Lenzing 2015), and usage-based learning approaches (Ellis and Wulff 2015), have somewhat limited relevance to the L2

classroom (Ortega 2015) because these theories are concerned primarily with the relationship between the learner's cognitive system, the input that it receives, and how that input is processed and restructured in the brain. These theories typically view cognition as a ballistic system which is generally outside the control of the learner; consequently, there is little that teachers or learners can do to change how the cognitive system functions. As a result, some questions that researchers have about how individuals learn or acquire an L2 will have a limited impact on the classroom even though the answers are important for SLA in general. For example, the role of innate linguistic knowledge in the acquisition of an L2 is of great interest to some SLA researchers (e.g., White 2015), but there is very little that teachers can do to influence any such innate knowledge.

It is true that processability theory, and to a lesser extent UG, may provide insights into the developmental nature of L2 acquisition, which may be reflected in, for example, syllabus design and L2 assessment. For example, the teachability hypothesis is one component of processability theory, and it proposes that "stages of acquisition cannot be skipped through formal instruction" (Pienemann and Lenzing 2015, p. 176). Consequently, the impact of processability theory on ELT pedagogy has, to our knowledge, been limited.

In spite of some non-pedagogically related areas, a large component of SLA research is concerned with what happens in the classroom. In fact, there has been an increase in the use of the phrase *instructed second language acquisition (ISLA)* to specify a field of research that directly investigates what happens in the L2 classroom (see Loewen and Sato 2017). Researchers have defined and used ISLA in a variety of ways over time; however, the current chapter uses Loewen's (2015) definition stating that ISLA is "a theoretically and empirically based field of academic inquiry that aims to understand how the systematic manipulation of the mechanisms of learning and/or the conditions under which they occur enable or facilitate the development and acquisition of a second language" (p. 2). Much of the systematic manipulation of learning conditions occurs primarily within the walls of the L2 classroom; however, this definition also encompasses L2 learning contexts outside the traditional classroom, such as learner self-study and study abroad, because there is still manipulation of the learning context, either by designers of self-study courses or study abroad facilitators. Furthermore, although the traditional classroom has been conducted face-to-face with teachers and learners present physically in the same place, an increasing number of L2 classes incorporate aspects of online instruction, with many classes being conducted entirely online. ISLA is also interested in these online contexts because, again, there is a systematic effort to facilitate L2 learning. For example, computer-assisted language learning (CALL) and mobile-assisted language learning (MALL) are both dynamic areas of ISLA inquiry (e.g., Grgurovic et al. 2013; Reinders and Stockwell 2017). Excluded from this definition are contexts in which individuals, such as immigrants or expatriates, are merely picking up the language as they haphazardly come into contact with it over the course of their daily activities. In sum, ISLA encompasses any situation in which someone (e.g., teacher) or something (e.g., textbook) is involved in helping an individual learn an L2.

The Research-Pedagogy Link

An underlying assumption of ISLA is that there is a relationship between the interests of ISLA researchers and ELT practitioners. This research-pedagogy link has received considerable attention in recent years, with individuals asserting different approaches ranging from close cooperation to benign neglect to even outright hostility. For example, Paran (2017) embraces the idea that communication between researchers and teachers is important and that teachers' practices in the classroom should be evidence-based. In a somewhat less enthusiastic, but nonetheless positive, opinion, Borg (2010) proposes the term "evidence-informed practice" as opposed to "evidence-based practice" to highlight the fact that research often does not, and indeed at times cannot, have a direct impact on instruction in a specific context at a given time. However, some studies have shown that English teachers are willing to incorporate research findings into their teaching (e.g., Sato and Loewen 2019). In spite of these positive views, Paran and Borg, inter alia, acknowledge that teachers are busy and that research is often difficult for teachers to access, even if they have the time and inclination to do so. Consequently, Paran and Borg suggest that teacher training programs should provide preservice and in-service teachers with information about theory and research that can inform their practice.

In contrast, some scholars believe that theory and research are irrelevant for teachers, arguing that teaching should *not* be informed by research. For example, Maley (2016, p. 1) states that there is "no necessary connection" between teaching and research, and he goes on to state that while each research activity may be legitimate in its own right, researchers have little to offer to teachers that is of practical value in the classroom. In a more extreme view, Medgyes (2017) argues that teachers "do not need highfalutin theories and elaborate words to do a decent job" (p. 492). In fact, Medgyes goes so far as to say that "until proven otherwise, the pedagogical relevance of language-related academic research is of dubious value and the role researchers play may be considered parasitical" (p. 496). The argument stems from the fact that researchers who are investigating L2 classroom instruction need to have teachers and students to conduct research on; however, Medgyes contends that teachers can get along fine in the classroom by relying on their intuitions and experiences.

Indeed, critics of ISLA research assert that it is incumbent upon researchers to demonstrate its relevance to the L2 classroom. For instance, Maley (2016) states that "if large-scale studies conclusively proving the effectiveness of research for teaching have been conducted, I have missed them" (p. 14). Furthermore, Medgyes (2017) argues that the value of teaching methods "lies in the extent to which they can promote the achievement of the goals of language education set in the given period or circumstance" (p. 495).

Scholars who argue against teachers' use of research evidence to improve their pedagogy tend not to discuss L2 pedagogical issues that unequivocally exist; most importantly, that L2 learners struggle to develop their L2 skills. Medgyes' example of time-sensitivity of the research-teaching link is that in the past the goal of L2 teaching was to promote reading and writing skills while more current goals entail

communicative skills. Indeed, this is true. However, he does not acknowledge the fact that there is a gap between the goal and pedagogy (unless he intends to dispute such evidence). For example, many L2 learners struggle to develop communicative skills due to traditional grammar-translation methods, no matter how content their teachers may be with their pedagogy. Another example may be the fact that learners in immersion settings often do not reach native-speaker levels of grammatical knowledge while their fluency does not suffer in a similar way. Such developmental patterns were discovered by research (e.g., Genesee 1987; Lyster 1987), and different pedagogical techniques have been scrutinized since then. Hence, it is necessary to know what successful L2 teaching entails when Medgyes says that "teachers can do well without outsiders' [researchers'] intervention" (p. 491). Medgyes does not provide explanation as to what "doing well" means for teachers or, more importantly, for students. This chapter discusses the goals of L2 pedagogy by drawing on empirical evidence.

Research Synthesis

Meta-analyses may be helpful for opening and maintaining a useful dialog between teachers and researchers. Because no single study can provide conclusive evidence regarding the effectiveness of pedagogical practices, the field of ISLA is turning to research syntheses that statistically analyze groups of individual studies on a specific topic. It is important to acknowledge, however, that the purpose of meta-analyses in ISLA is fundamentally different from Medgyes' (2017) definition of research synthesis involving "singling out their most salient features, and translating all this into simplified (and occasionally 'dumbed down') language" for teachers (p. 494). Rather, it is a way of discovering a trend in empirical studies, objectively, transparently, and systematically.

The use of meta-analysis in ISLA began with Norris and Ortega's (2000) analysis of 49 studies investigating the effects of explicit and implicit L2 instruction. Since then there has been an explosion of meta-analyses exploring pedagogical instruction (e.g., Goo et al. 2015; Li 2010; Spada and Tomita 2010). Arguably, these meta-analyses do not prove a pedagogical technique "conclusively"; nonetheless, they do provide stronger evidence about the effectiveness of specific pedagogical interventions, and they also point to areas where effects may vary. For example, Lee and Huang's (2008) meta-analysis of 20 visual input enhancement studies found limited effectiveness for the technique for grammar learning, a result that would suggest that teachers and material writers might want to evaluate their own use of the technique. In contrast, Shintani et al. (2013), in a meta-analysis of 35 studies, found large effects for both comprehension-based and production-based instruction on receptive and productive L2 knowledge. Additionally, the initial advantage of comprehension-based instruction over production-based instruction on receptive tests, which was found on immediate posttests, did not extend to delayed posttests. In fact, production-based instruction outperformed comprehension-based instruction in the long term. These results suggest that teachers should consider including activities that

encourage learners to produce the language. Many ELT teachers may say "of course!" However, importantly, such research evidence provides valuable advice for teachers who believe that input alone is sufficient for L2 learning and that output is merely a by-product of learning.

The Goal of Instruction

Two foundational questions underpinning ISLA are "What are the goals of instruction?" and "How do we help learners achieve these goals?" (Loewen 2015; VanPatten 2017) Students, teachers, and administrators ask these questions as well, even though they might not take the time to reflect fully on these questions. Consequently, students and teachers might continue in the classroom not knowing what target they are aiming at, even though L2 learning goals are frequently implied in teaching guidelines. To this end, understanding the goals of L2 instruction can influence the pedagogy necessary to attain those goals.

In many educational contexts worldwide, the goal of the L2 learning enterprise is for learners to be able to use the L2 for communicative purposes (e.g., Littlewood 2011). As a consequence of this often implicit goal, teachers and learners may feel that as a result of instruction, learners should be able to use the language to speak with other English speakers, to read books and webpages in English, and to understand English movies and music. Of course, there are instances in which students may be studying English only to satisfy instrumental purposes, such as passing university entrance exams, getting good grades in English class, or even becoming a translator, none of which may require communicative competence. However, because of the importance of communicative competence in ELT, the current chapter focuses primarily on this goal.

To help learners achieve the goal of being able to communicate in English, it is crucial for ISLA researchers and, to some extent teachers, to know what type(s) of linguistic knowledge enable individuals to communicate spontaneously with relative ease. As a result, ISLA researchers have theorized and researched the nature of the linguistic knowledge that underlies L2 communicative skills. Although there is some disagreement among researchers about the exact nature of linguistic knowledge, there is general consensus that there are two broad types. Early on, Krashen (1982) described these two types as *learned knowledge* and *acquired knowledge*, which were the result of *learning* and *acquisition*, respectively. More recently, the terms explicit/implicit and declarative/procedural knowledge have been used (Ellis 2009; DeKeyser 2017). Because the differences in these sets of terms are largely theoretical and do not have practical pedagogical implications, the current chapter uses the terms explicit and implicit linguistic knowledge.

Explicit and implicit linguistic knowledge are different and allow learners to engage in different L2 activities. Explicit knowledge consists of what learners know *about* the language, and it often takes the shape of metalinguistic grammar rules known by learners. Explicit knowledge is also verbalizable and available upon conscious reflection. For example, a learner may be able to explain that English

plurals are generally formed by adding –s to a noun. Being able to explain that there are irregular plurals such as *mouse-mice, child-children,* and *ox-oxen* is also explicit knowledge. Similarly, vocabulary knowledge is generally explicit, with learners being able to consciously translate L1 words into English and vice versa. Another characteristic of explicit knowledge is that it is relatively easy to teach and learn. Teachers can explain language rules, and learners, with differing amounts of time and effort, can memorize these rules and reproduce them on tests. To this end, traditional grammar-translation methods are advantageous for developing explicit knowledge.

However, there are several drawbacks to explicit knowledge. The first is that the rules taught in classrooms often do not correspond to the actual grammar of the language (VanPatten 2017). In other words, grammar rules taught in the classroom are often incomplete; additionally, they often do not correspond to linguists' understanding and description of the L2 grammar. The English article system is an example of this issue. English L2 learners are often taught that when an object appears for the first time, an indefinite article (*a/an*) must be used. When the same object appears again, it needs to be preceded by the definite article – *the*. This metalinguistic rule, however, is not always employed systematically. For instance, when someone is looking for a bathroom at a restaurant, they may ask "Where's *the* bathroom?" even though *bathroom* has not been previously mentioned in the conversation. This brief example illustrates that English article use is based on a more complex system related to knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer (Epstein 2001), and yet these additional rules are rarely taught in the classroom, possibly because they are too complicated to teach or the teacher may not be aware of them in their entirety.

A more important problem with explicit linguistic knowledge is that, for several reasons, it does not enable learners to communicate easily in English. First, explicit knowledge takes time to access. In relative terms, this time is very short, but it is long enough that learners are not able to access it efficiently when faced with situations in which they need to communicate spontaneously. If learners have only explicit knowledge of the English plural –s rule, they will need to think about it as they try to add it to a noun when speaking. Learners will also need to consciously parse the –s when they hear English plural nouns in order to accurately comprehend what they hear. When learners consciously concentrate on producing or comprehending specific grammatical structures, they are not able to maintain the stream of linguistic output or process the linguistic input that is needed to produce or comprehend meaningful utterances. These shortcomings do not mean that explicit knowledge does not serve a purpose; indeed, learners can access explicit knowledge in order to produce more accurate written language, or they can pause briefly during conversation to draw on it when they have communication difficulties. Explicit knowledge is also often quite helpful when taking tests in the L2 classroom. On a related note, language educators, including preservice teachers, might want to have explicit knowledge of the target language so as to understand and support their students' L2 learning.

In contrast to explicit knowledge, implicit knowledge underlies communicative competence and allows learners to communicate effectively. Implicit knowledge has

been described as knowledge *of* language. It is not verbalizable or available for conscious reflection, and its use is automatic. It is the type of knowledge that L1 speakers have of their L1, which means that they do not have to consciously think about the grammatical and phonological forms they are using to express their thoughts. For example, L1 speakers of English do not need to think about adding plural *–s* when they want to talk about *dogs* or *cats*; they just do it. Similarly, English learners often ask their native-speaking teacher grammar questions that the teacher cannot answer well; instead, the teacher says "this is just how we say it." In this case, the teacher possesses implicit knowledge of the grammar but not explicit knowledge.

However, it is important to mention that individuals can possess both explicit and implicit knowledge at the same time. If English L1 speakers have been taught grammar rules, such as how to form plurals or different types of conditional sentences, they then possess both types of knowledge. Additionally, L2 learners of English can develop implicit knowledge of their L2 in addition to their explicit knowledge.

One difficulty with implicit knowledge is that it takes time to develop. L1 speakers take several years to develop their ability to use their L1 grammatically. However, L2 learners seldom have the luxury of so much time. Often, L2 learners study English for just a few hours a week, often for only a year or two. Another difficulty is that implicit knowledge is difficult to teach, which is an issue at the core of ISLA research. First, learners need large amounts of exposure to the language, not something that typically happens in just few hours a week. Also, because implicit knowledge is non-verbalizable and not open to conscious reflection, learners are not aware that they possess such knowledge. If someone asks a student what they learned in English class on a specific day, it is more satisfying to be able to reply *I learned the rule for making plurals*, than *I spoke a little bit better* or *I understood the teacher more easily*. Furthermore, implicit knowledge is difficult for teachers to assess, with oral production tests being time-consuming and subjective. Teachers do not have time to analyze grammatical errors during speaking tests. Consequently, the acquisition of implicit linguistic knowledge is sometimes not the primary concern in the L2 classroom.

The question then becomes: Can learners develop implicit knowledge through L2 instruction? Some researchers (e.g., Krashen 1982) have suggested that it is quite difficult, if not impossible, for learners to develop implicit linguistic knowledge through instruction because these researchers believe that explicit knowledge cannot turn into implicit knowledge, in part because the two are qualitatively different. However, other researchers offer a more optimistic perspective, and then the question becomes: How can teachers facilitate the development of implicit knowledge? Currently, one common response to this question is for teachers to recreate in the classroom the conditions under which L1 speakers acquire implicit L1 knowledge. Communicative language teaching and task-based language teaching are two approaches that are based on this proposal. Another response draws on skill acquisition theory to argue that explicit knowledge, which is referred to as declarative knowledge in skill acquisition theory, can be proceduralized and automatized through practice, thereby allowing learners to benefit communicatively from the

explicit knowledge they have learned in the classroom over time (e.g., DeKeyser 2017). For example, de Jong and Perfetti (2011) examined the effectiveness of a fluency-focused oral activity on the development of temporal aspects of spontaneous production. The learners who repeated the same speech several times improved their fluency by reducing the length of pauses, increasing syllables-per-minute, and lengthening stretches of speech. In other words, explicit linguistic knowledge can be taught in the classroom, and through communicatively based practice activities, learners can develop the type of knowledge that supports communicative competence.

Although for ISLA researchers, it might be important to understand the actual linguistic representation of explicit and implicit knowledge or the cognitive processes involved in proceduralizing declarative knowledge; teachers need not worry about such theoretical issues and instead should focus on the broader pedagogical implications for creating learners who can communicate effectively in the L2. To that end, DeKeyser (2017), while reviewing different theoretical stances with regard to types of knowledge, admits that "[a]ll learners, therefore, would be perfectly happy with highly automatized procedural knowledge, and their teachers and employers too, leaving it to psycholinguists to worry about the degree of implicitness" (p. 19). The current chapter supports this viewpoint but would add that teachers, and learners, can benefit from a general understanding of how explicit and implicit knowledge impact L2 proficiency. Additionally, in order to have transferability of research findings to the classroom, researchers need to be clear on the nature of the constructs that are being investigated. For example, an empirical study designed to impact learners' communicative competence that uses a written test as a measure of L2 learning may not deliver useful information for teachers. An example of this issue arose in Norris and Ortega's (2000) meta-analysis, which found that explicit instruction was generally more beneficial for L2 development than was implicit instruction; however, Norris and Ortega asserted that many of the tests used to measure L2 development favored the use of explicit knowledge. Following on from this study, researchers have been more concerned with making sure that their research studies include tests that provide relatively reliable measures of implicit knowledge as well as explicit knowledge.

Because the development of communicative competence, which is supported by implicit knowledge, is important to many L2 teachers and learners, the remainder of this chapter will consider two broad themes: how implicit knowledge might be developed in the classroom and how explicit knowledge might be increased and used to support the development of implicit knowledge. It is assumed that development of explicit knowledge for its own sake, while not inherently bad, is not the primary goal in many ESL/EFL classrooms.

Interaction

One way that ISLA research has tried to balance the development of explicit and implicit knowledge is to advocate instruction that incorporates both types of knowledge during interaction (Loewen and Sato 2018). This theoretical and pedagogical

framework has been most commonly referred to as *focus on form* (Long 1996) or *form-focused instruction* (Ellis 2001; Spada 1997). The premise of the framework is that learners' attention is shifted to specific linguistic structures while their primary focus is on meaning. For example, when conducting an information and opinion gap task in which learners have to discuss the relative merits of various scholarship candidates, and then decide which one should receive the scholarship, learners might be exposed to various grammatical structures (e.g., conditionals) and vocabulary items that are useful for completing the task. During the interaction, learners might need to pause briefly to think about the grammatical forms or vocabulary words they need to use to express their meaning. Thus, learners are shifting between meaning and form.

There are several theoretical accounts suggesting that such attention shifts are beneficial for developing implicit knowledge. From the cognitive-interactionist perspective, the combination of meaning and form during communication helps develop implicit knowledge because it provides learners with the opportunity to notice linguistic items and structures at the very moment they are most needed for communication (Long 1996). Indeed, Schmidt's noticing hypothesis (Schmidt 1995; Schmidt and Frota 1986) posits that very little L2 acquisition happens without learners' noticing specific linguistic features. In terms of skill acquisition theory, practicing using the language, and putting one's declarative knowledge into action, leads to more proceduralized knowledge (Lyster and Sato 2013). Pedagogically, task-based language learning and teaching are supported by theoretical perspectives which advocate that learners benefit from using language during interaction that reflects real-life language use. Such views suggest that teachers, and materials designers, need to incorporate communicative tasks into their classroom activities.

One specific way in which linguistic items receive attention during communicative interaction is through corrective feedback, which provides learners the opportunity to (re)construct L2 knowledge when they receive corrective feedback on their linguistic errors (Lyster et al. 2013). There are several options regarding the nature of corrective feedback that researchers have explored. One option concerns the explicitness of feedback. On the one hand, corrective feedback might be beneficial when it is less obtrusive, such as in the form of a recast in which the learner's error is reformulated by the teacher. On the other hand, sometimes feedback needs to be more explicit for learners to notice it. Another aspect of corrective feedback is whether it provides learners with the correct form or prompt them to produce the correct form on their own. Input-providing feedback can help learners make comparisons with their erroneous utterance but may not involve the learners in much cognitive processing because the correct form is provided for them. Output-prompting feedback, which pushes learners to greater depth of processing as they work to come up with the correct form, may be better for learning; however, output-prompting feedback can be time-consuming and works only if learners already have some (explicit) knowledge of the structure.

In addition to examining learner communication, ISLA research is also concerned with more explicit types of language instruction. What follows is a review of issues that pertain to ELT, especially as they relate to grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and pragmatics. The chapter then ends with a consideration of individual learner differences that affect classroom pedagogy.

Grammar

Grammar has received considerable attention from both researchers and teachers; however, the focus has shifted over time. Although grammar-translation and explicit metalinguistic instruction have not completely disappeared in ELT, there has been considerable acknowledgment that such methods do not produce learners who can communicate effectively in English. However, there has also been a reaction against strong forms of communicative language teaching that do not allow a role for grammar instruction. Consequently, much current theory and research are concerned with form-focused instruction that can help learners develop knowledge of grammar that they can use fluently and accurately.

An important distinction to make regarding the learning of grammar is that of item-learning and rule-learning (Skehan 1998). Item-learning involves the memorization of specific grammatical forms. English irregular verbs are a good example of item-learning. Although there may be a few discernable patterns with these verbs (e.g., *sing/sang, ring/rang*), many of them are idiosyncratic, and learners must simply memorize them (e.g., *bring/brought, is/was*). Thus, learning these verbs is very similar to learning individual vocabulary items. However, much grammar involves rule-learning, such as the rule for the formation of English regular past tense (verb + *ed*). Learners must acquire the patterns that govern the formation of grammatical structures. Many of these structures, such as question formation, negation, and even past tense, are complex, and learners do not acquire them in an all or nothing manner. Rather, learners go through developmental stages as they proceed from no knowledge of the structure to potentially target-like production. The important information for teachers to understand is that not all stages of development for a specific structure are grammatical according to target norms. For instance, researchers (e.g., Pienemann and Johnston 1987) have proposed to categorize the development of question formations into six stages, and indeed, some higher stages may involve learners producing language that is less target-like than their previous production. Nevertheless, production of ungrammatical forms at stage 4 (e.g., *Why you don't have one?*) represents improvement over grammatical forms at stage 3 (e.g., *Can I go?*).

Vocabulary

Applying ISLA theory and research findings on vocabulary acquisition to pedagogy raises several issues that are different from those related to grammar. For example, the emphasis on implicit knowledge, which is important for grammar acquisition, may be less relevant for vocabulary learning because most vocabulary knowledge is explicit. That is, if learners know a word, they are generally able to state its meaning, which is the very definition of explicit knowledge. However, there are some aspects of vocabulary knowledge that are also implicit (Sonbul and Schmitt 2013). For example, the knowledge of word collocation (i.e., which words often occur together, such as *go golfing* or *play tennis*) may not be explicit but may instead develop implicitly over time. Additionally, it is possible to have implicit knowledge

of how common a word is or the domains in which it occurs. However, most research into vocabulary has investigated explicit knowledge.

Other important information that ISLA research has revealed relates to how many words learners need to know and which ones might be more important than others for learners to learn. In particular, Nation (2001) showed that learners need to know roughly 95% of the words in a text to be able to read it with relative ease. Learners are generally able to understand the other 5% due to context. Furthermore, Nation examined word frequency lists to determine which words fall into which frequency bands. He identified 1000 words that occur most frequently in English. He also categorized words at the 2000, 3000, 5000, and 10,000 level. In addition to the 3000 most frequent words, it was recognized that there are some words that do not occur frequently in everyday language but that do occur frequently in academic texts. Different contexts of word frequency are useful for different purposes for ELT. For instance, the frequency in academic texts is particularly useful for learners who envision studying at English-medium universities.

From a pedagogical perspective, another debate is which words should be taught in the classroom. Because class time is limited and only a portion of all vocabulary words can be taught, it is important to prioritize words that are useful for students. On the one hand, the more frequent words are so common that learners might be expected to encounter them outside of the classroom, and so limited class time should not be used to teach those words. This argument may apply to second language contexts where English is spoken in the wider society. On the other hand, in many foreign language contexts, learners do not have rich input outside of the classroom. In these instances, teaching the most frequent words may be important to provide learners with knowledge of common vocabulary.

Another issue in vocabulary teaching is whether words should be learned intentionally or incidentally. Because intentional learning is difficult when there is a need to learn thousands of words during class time, some researchers (e.g., Mason and Krashen 1997) place a strong emphasis on incidental learning in which learners pick up words incidentally, especially as they are involved in extensive reading for pleasure. Thus, teachers might assign books for learners to read outside of class with the hopes that they will pick up new words incidentally. As it turns out, research has shown that both types of acquisition are beneficial for L2 development and useful for L2 teaching.

Pronunciation

In terms of pronunciation, there are several issues that concern ISLA researchers. First, similar to the larger goals of L2 learning, it is important to decide on the goal of pronunciation teaching and learning (Derwing and Munro 2015). In the past, many teachers and learners have viewed English native speakers as the goal for pronunciation, particularly the pronunciation norms of British or American English. However, there are two problems with this goal. First, there are multiple native-speaker dialects to choose from within and across English-speaking communities.

Second, most L2 learners are not able to achieve a native-speaker accent if they start learning after puberty. Therefore, more recently, there has been a push to make intelligibility the goal of pronunciation instruction. From this perspective, what is essential is for learners to be understood by their interlocutors rather than to sound like native speakers.

Although ISLA researchers argue that intelligibility should be the goal for a learner of any additional language, this issue is especially relevant for ELT because of English's status as a modern-day lingua franca. Currently, there are more L2 English speakers around the world than there are L1 speakers; therefore, setting a native-speaker accent as the goal of instruction becomes even less relevant when L2 speakers are interacting with each other. In fact, some ELT scholars suggest that English teaching should adopt a simplified phonemic inventory, getting rid of sounds such as /ð/ and /θ/ because these phonemes can be replaced by /d/ and /t/, respectively, without much loss of intelligibility (Jenkins 2015). That approach may be extreme; however, focusing on intelligibility over native-speaker norms is recommended for teachers.

Another issue is whether instruction makes a difference in the development of L2 pronunciation, and if so, which types of instruction are more beneficial than others. Research into pronunciation instruction has not been as extensive as research into grammar or vocabulary learning, but there is a growing body of research. Indeed, Lee et al. (2015) conducted a meta-analysis of the effectiveness of more than 80 pronunciation instruction studies, finding that, overall, instruction had a strong, positive effect on developing L2 pronunciation. In particular, learners in studies with longer treatments and corrective feedback showed greater gains.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics is another area of language that has received less attention than other areas; however, again there is growing interest in pragmatic instruction, particularly because many English L2 learners are exposed to a limited range of social contexts and situations in which they can acquire pragmatic knowledge. Especially in foreign language contexts, where there is limited opportunity for interaction in the L2 outside of class, learners are confined to using the L2 in the classroom, either with the teacher or other students. Even in second language contexts where English is the dominant language of society, learners may have difficulty finding opportunities to interact with L1 English speakers (Ranta and Meckelborg 2013).

Pragmatic knowledge is generally considered to consist of two components: pragmalinguistic knowledge and sociopragmatic knowledge (Taguchi 2011). Pragmalinguistic knowledge consists of knowing the pragmatic effect of different linguistic elements. For example, English modals, such as *can, may, must*, and *should*, convey different levels of obligation. Knowing that *must* expresses stronger obligation than *should* is an example of pragmalinguistic knowledge. In contrast, sociopragmatic knowledge consists of knowing which situations require which types

of language. For example, students generally need to use more polite language with their teachers than with their fellow students. One difficulty for learners is that pragmalinguistic knowledge and sociopragmatic knowledge develop separately, with the result that even though students might have the sociopragmatic knowledge of the type of language that is called for in a specific social context, they might not have sufficient pragmalinguistic resources to convey the required level of politeness, for example.

Teaching pragmatics is challenging at several levels (Bardovi-Harlig 2017). First, compared to other instructional targets (e.g., grammar and vocabulary), there are a limited number of developed pedagogical materials or references at teachers' disposal. Second, teachers themselves may not possess extensive pragmatic knowledge, especially in foreign language contexts where teachers themselves are English L2 learners. Third, pragmatics is related to learners' social and cultural identity. That is, multiple contextual and social differences affect individual learners' development of pragmatics, such as attitudes, perceptions of situations, and affective dispositions. Overall, similar to the other linguistic features, explicit teaching has been found more effective than implicit teaching (Taguchi 2015). Also, unlike other linguistic features, meta-information is useful for enhancing pragmatic development (Bardovi-Harlig 2017). Consequently, learners can benefit from teachers taking extra time to explain sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic issues pertaining to particular social situations.

Individual Differences

In addition to investigating the issues and challenges related to learning specific areas of language, ISLA research has examined the role of individual differences in L2 classroom learning. It is clear that some individual differences are less relevant for language teaching because there is little that teachers can do to manipulate them. For example, the area of language aptitude and other cognitive abilities such as working memory have been widely investigated in ISLA research (e.g., Li 2017). However, teachers can do very little in the classroom to improve learners' language aptitude or working memory. Although there have been pedagogical suggestions that different types of instruction might be offered to learners with different cognitive abilities, this option may be impractical for individual teachers who most likely have students with a range of cognitive abilities in their classes. A better option might be to vary instruction so that different instructional techniques and activities benefit learners with different cognitive abilities.

Nevertheless, there are individual differences, such as motivation, willingness to communicate, anxiety, and learner beliefs, that teachers can do something about. For example, motivation has long been considered to be a crucial component for L2 learning success. There are different theoretical perspectives on L2 learner motivation, and it is beyond the scope of this chapter to address them. What is important for ISLA, though, is what teachers can do to increase learner motivation so that learners put more effort into their learning. Recent research includes empirical examination

of pedagogical interventions designed to increase L2 learners' motivation (e.g., Dörnyei and Kubanyiova 2014). For example, research into the motivational strategies that teachers use in the classroom has found a correlation between such strategy use and learners' L2 motivation (Papi and Abdollahzadeh 2012). Consequently, teachers can readily use those techniques in their classes. Among many motivational strategies that Dörnyei (2001) lists are setting a clear learning goal for the students, modeling students' learning behaviors, creating rapport with the students, and raising students' awarness of self-regulated learning. In addition, recent research (e.g., Sato and Lara 2019) suggests that helping students create future self-images (i.e., vision) is an effective technique to increase their motivation because self-images can serve as a roadmap for their future learning endeavors.

Related to motivation is the construct of willingness to communicate (WTC), defined by MacIntyre et al. (1998) as "a readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with specific person or persons, using a L2" (p. 547). Theoretically, there is a debate as to whether WTC is a stable personality trait, as L1 research seems to indicate, or if it is a psychological construct that is amenable to manipulation. The current understanding in ISLA is that L2 learners' WTC is dynamic and can be influenced by many factors such as conversational partners, activity topics, and contexts of interaction. Hence, teachers can positively influence students' WTC.

Yet another individual difference that teachers can influence is anxiety. Oxford (2017) argues that removing learners' negative assumptions and increasing their own responsibility for L2 learning lead to positive psychology which in turn affects L2 learning behaviors. Similar to WTC, anxiety is relevant to classroom interaction because if students are anxious, they may not participate in communicative activities (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014). Teachers, therefore, should work to reduce learners' anxiety so as to increase their positive psychology and, thus, to facilitate their L2 learning.

Another individual difference that can be influenced by teachers is learner beliefs. Some studies have shown that learners' expectations about L2 learning affect what they will learn in the classroom. For example, if learners expect explicit grammatical instruction, but are provided with communicative interaction, they may not feel that they are learning anything, especially if the teacher does not explain the importance of communicative practice. To that end, it is important for teachers to be aware that pedagogy favored by learners may not be the most effective and disfavored pedagogy may have positive impacts on L2 learning (Sato 2013).

It is clear that there are some individual differences that affect L2 learners in the classroom, and SLA researchers have spent considerable effort to theorize these constructs. However, with the exception of learner psychology, there has been little research investigating what teachers can do to manipulate these variables in the classroom. In other words, the research has been primarily descriptive and psychometric in nature. Even with motivation, which has a long research tradition, there have only more recently been efforts to find out what teachers can do to increase learners' motivation in the classroom. Thus, future ISLA research would do well to examine different pedagogical interventions that can motivate learners, shape their beliefs, and decrease their L2 learning anxiety.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has argued that there are many benefits to a dialog between ISLA researchers and ELT instructors. ISLA researchers obviously need L2 teachers and learners in order to conduct research. However, they should also listen to teachers' concerns and perspectives in order to better understand the classroom context. Conversely, teachers can benefit from the systematic investigation into ISLA. Obviously, they should not blindly accept all research; however, with the growing number of research syntheses and meta-analyses, teachers are in a better position to benefit from the aggregated effects of ISLA research. Having such input allows teachers to focus on their task at hand, knowing that their practices are informed by evidence about effective teaching.

Cross-References

▶ Feedback for Enhanced English Language Learning
▶ Mediating L2 Learning Through Classroom Interaction

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Language Teacher Cognition: Perspectives and Debates

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Simon Borg

Contents

Abstract

Teacher cognition – the unobservable dimension of teachers' professional lives – has been the focus of empirical and practical interest in language teaching since the mid-1990s. This chapter reviews current perspectives and debates in this field of inquiry. The starting point for the analysis is the term *teacher cognition* itself, with a discussion of concerns about its scope and mentalistic heritage. Further contemporary critiques of language teacher cognition research as predominantly "cognitive" and "individualist" are also addressed, with particular attention to the problematic nature of the latter characterization. Methodological issues in the study of language teacher cognition are subsequently discussed, with an emphasis on the value of methodological pluralism and the role that both quantitative and qualitative research can play. Another theme that is examined is the highly intellectualized and theorized nature of some recent discussions of teacher

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cognition and the impact that such an approach has on the accessibility of the field to a wider audience. The issues discussed in the chapter are explored with reference to a set of contemporary publications on language teacher cognition, and this analysis highlights the predominance of smaller-scale qualitative work in which "cognition" and "belief" remain the dominant concepts. Examples of "theoretical retrofitting" are also in evidence, i.e., the use of more contemporary theories to justify the kinds of research that have been done for some time. The chapter concludes by presenting a contemporary definition of teacher cognition which reflects the various terminological, theoretical, and methodological themes that have been discussed.

Introduction

A simple distinction between thought and behavior is a useful starting point in any discussion of language teacher cognition. Teaching can be described with reference to what teachers say and do – these are observable behaviors. But teaching is not a purely behavioral enterprise; in the same way that icebergs have an exposed surface beneath which lies a significant hidden mass, teachers' behaviors are also powerfully shaped by a complex range of unseen influences. Some of these are obviously external – explicit school policies which prescribe the way learning is organized or assessed, for example – but many are internal to the teacher, such as their beliefs, knowledge, feelings, perceptions, attitudes, and thoughts. Teacher cognition is the established term for describing these personal, unseen aspects of teachers' work. Teacher cognition research seeks not only to describe what teachers know, believe, and so on but also to understand the influence of such unseen factors on what teachers do and how they develop. This connection with professional learning and practice is critical; the study of cognitions as individual entities in their own right (e.g., simply identifying the kinds of beliefs teachers have about a particular issue) is of limited value unless the implications of such work for the broader enterprise of language teacher education are clearly articulated.

I first stumbled across the field of teacher cognition in the mid-1990s. At the time I was starting a PhD on second language grammar teaching and was interested in what teachers do in the classroom. I also wanted to study how teachers' attitudes to and knowledge about language influenced their instructional choices. While at that time a large volume of applied linguistics and more practical teaching methodology literature on grammar teaching and learning was available, it had nothing to say about what teachers did and why, so there was a clear gap in the literature (I discussed this in Borg 1999a). This gap assumed even more significant proportions when I became aware of the extensive literature in education generally on teacher thinking and decision-making (for early analyses, see Clark and Yinger 1977; Shavelson 1976), teacher knowledge (e.g., Carter 1990), and teachers' attitudes and beliefs

(Munby 1984). Teacher cognition was not a widely used term in this educational literature (teacher thinking was the dominant concept early on – see Clark and Peterson 1986). But the intense attention to the mental dimensions of teacher's work which characterized mainstream research on teaching and teacher education in the 1980s and 1990s established very clearly that teaching was a skilled, complex activity and that, far from being mechanical, programmable implementers of instructional programs, teachers were active decision-makers who had a significant impact on what happened in the classroom (and thus on the learning that took place).

Stimulated by such work, *Second Language Teacher Education* (Richards and Nunan 1990) was an early publication that signaled increasing attention to language teachers' mental lives, but it was in 1996, with the publication of *Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching* (Woods 1996) and *Teacher Learning in Language Teaching* (Freeman and Richards 1996), that language teacher cognition really emerged as an important issue for theory, research, and practice. Since then, the volume of research examining different aspects of language teacher cognition has increased exponentially – my own database contains close to 1000 items – and this work has provided insight into many aspects of the unobservable dimensions of language teaching. Borg (2006) remains the most detailed review available (including a historical overview), though a significant volume of additional material has appeared since then (some of which is discussed in Borg 2012). More recently, Burns, Freeman, and Edwards have provided a review of successive conceptual orientations to teacher cognition research which, while not unproblematic (as I discuss below), is also helpful in outlining the development of the field.

In this chapter, while I will draw on a selection of contemporary studies of language teacher cognition, it is not my aim to review any particular body of literature in detail. Rather, my purposes are to enable readers to understand what language teacher cognition is and to highlight some of the conceptual, methodological, and pragmatic challenges associated with this field of inquiry. In addressing such issues, I will also comment on some recent critiques of language teacher cognition research, particularly those appearing in a 2015 special issue of *The Modern Language Journal* (henceforth *MLJ* 99/3). I begin by considering one fundamental issue in language teacher cognition research – the terms and concepts through which its scope is defined.

Terms and Concepts

Teacher cognition is characterized by a multitude of terms and concepts. Early on, there was a need to accommodate the many constructs such as beliefs, knowledge, and attitudes, through which teachers' minds were being described. Very often these subordinate notions were subject to further levels of sub-categorization, so that, for example, we not only had the seven types of teacher knowledge proposed by Shulman (1986, 1987) but various other kinds such as practical knowledge, craft knowledge, personal practical knowledge, case knowledge, situated knowledge, and syntactic knowledge. This proliferation of terms was perhaps understandable given

the novelty of teacher cognition research at the time; looking back, though, it is difficult not to be left feeling that, while academically exciting, the sheer range of concepts and terms available was actually a source of confusion for many who were trying to engage with the field (I still have vivid memories of my often frustrating attempts as a doctoral student to work out what precisely the differences between all these different kinds of knowledge were).

In language teaching, teacher cognition (and its early definition – what teachers think, know, and believe – Borg 2003) has become established as an umbrella term for the unseen dimensions of teachers' work. The broadness of the term (which more recently has gone beyond its earlier parameters to include the emotional dimension of teachers' lives too – see, e.g., Golombek and Doran 2014) is advantageous in that it has provided a framework for what may otherwise be seen as a rather incoherent and "sprawling" (Burns et al. 2015) field of inquiry; the use of a superordinate term also means that researchers can work with the complexity of teacher cognition more holistically rather than trying to separate out, for example, belief from knowledge. *Teacher cognition*, though, is also problematic because its all-encompassing nature means its boundaries are fuzzy and allow for the inclusion of a wide range of non-behavioral aspects of teachers' lives. Thus, while beliefs and knowledge are well-established aspects of teacher cognition, what about, for example, teacher motivation (Richardson et al. 2014), teacher commitment (Al-Mahdy et al. 2018), teacher resilience (Clarà 2017), and teacher identity (Burri et al. 2017)? Given that these themes share a broad concern for teachers' feelings, perceptions (including of themselves), and thinking, they are arguably all part of teacher cognition (I am *not* suggesting that these concepts are isomorphic or interchangeable but simply that they all relate to what teachers believe, think, perceive, or feel). An umbrella term that has no boundaries, though, risks losing its value. Perhaps, then, there may be some value in beginning to consider alternative labels for this field of inquiry. Another reason for this is that (as Burns et al. 2015 note) the term "cognition" remains strongly associated with an intellectual legacy (a cognitive view of the mind) which may not reflect in appropriately complex ways the developments which have been achieved in the study of psychology, teachers and teaching, and indeed human behavior and learning more generally in the last 30 years. Options such as *teachers' minds* (Carlgren et al. 1994) and *teachers' inner selves* (Kubanyiova and Feryok 2015) are available; the former has potential but perhaps remains overly mental in its orientation; the latter, I suspect, lacks (perhaps due to a perceived abstractness or potential spiritual undertones) the mainstream appeal that a replacement for teacher cognition will need to have if the broad popularity of this field of inquiry is to be sustained.

In considering alternatives to a term I have played a central role in establishing, I am not in any way questioning the contemporary value of teacher cognition research. Its goal remains of paramount importance, and I define this as understanding, with reference to the personal, professional, sociocultural, and historical dimensions of teachers' lives, how becoming, being, and developing as a teacher is shaped by (and in turn shapes) what teachers (individually and collectively) think and feel about all aspects of their work. There is, though, as has been argued elsewhere

(Kubanyiova and Feryok 2015), scope for revisiting some of the parameters of teacher cognition research which have perhaps remained stable for too long. One of these relates to the shift of focus from isolated to situated conceptualizations of teachers' minds, which I will now discuss.

From Cognition to Context

One argument in MLJ 99/3 is that, traditionally, teacher cognition research has not been sufficiently holistic and situated. In order to appreciate this position, some understanding of the origins of the field is required. Early studies of teacher cognition in mainstream education were strongly motivated by advances in cognitive psychology, particularly information-processing models which attempted to explain teacher behavior as a series of predictable mental responses to a range of stimuli occurring during lessons. For example, flowcharts were constructed to explain teachers' interactive decision-making (see Shavelson and Stern 1981 for an example). While this focus on teacher thinking and decision-making was at the time innovative, we now recognize the severe limitations of attempts to reduce the complexity of teaching to flowchart-like procedures. This early work, then, was too cognitive and lacked an awareness of the immediate (in the classroom) and more remote (in teachers' lives more generally, past and present) influences on the instructional choices teachers make. This tradition of research on teachers' interactive decision-making influenced early work in the field of language teacher cognition, and Burns et al. (2015) describe the conceptualization of the teacher's mind in such work as "individualist" or "cognitivist":

> The ontological focus of this generation was essentially individualist and cognitivist, examining the beliefs the language teacher held, how and why these beliefs were constructed, and how they related to practice. The individualist particularity of this perspective was grounded in the predominant analytical unit used in this phase of research, namely the decisions and decision-making processes that could be discerned in teacher practice. The context for these decisions was often the processes of language teacher learning during preparatory courses. This focus, which drew substantially on the mainstream teacher cognition and teacher decision-making literature, often lay in the cognitive dimensions of interactive decisions in the classroom, with the metric or unit of study being the particular thoughts, beliefs, and decisions of individual teachers. Studies oriented toward displaying data quantitatively, drawing from mainstream educational research foundations, to describe and create typologies of the content of decisions. Some researchers also employed quantitative analyses such as frequencies and, occasionally, correlational analyses to identify the patterns in those decisions. (p. 589)

"Cognitivist" refers to an approach to teacher cognition research which focuses on beliefs and related concepts without placing these in the broader context (historical, social, professional) of teachers' work. The research noted above that used flowcharts to model teachers' interactive decision-making is a clear example of such work. There is an exclusive focus in such work on identifying cognitive structures and processes. Research which seeks to count the number of

pedagogical thoughts teachers have (e.g., Gatbonton 1999 but see more recent examples below) also falls clearly within this category.

The term "individualist," however, is less transparent. It may refer to the focus on individual, isolated components or units of teacher cognition, such as beliefs or knowledge. Or it might also refer to research which studies individual teachers. It would be unfortunate if the latter were the case and even more so if the disparaging use of "individualist" inadvertently suggested that all studies of individual teacher cognition are cognitivist. The direct links implied between individualist/cognitivist work and quantitative research methods in Burns et al. (2015) are also, I think, unhelpful, and this is an issue I return to later in this chapter. I do agree, though, that there is a strong tradition of language teacher cognition research which focuses on the identification of discrete aspects of individual teachers' cognitions (especially knowledge and beliefs) without an attempt to make sense of these in relation to the immediate and broader contexts that shape teachers' lives.

Burns et al. (2015) also provide examples of studies which reflect an individualist view of language teacher cognition. Here, too, there is room I feel for greater analytical differentiation, as a quick comparison of two studies in their list, Gatbonton (1999) and Borg (1998), will illustrate. Gatbonton (1999) analyzed the pedagogical knowledge of seven experienced ESL teachers in contrived settings (lessons organized for the research in which teachers were given unfamiliar materials to work with). The analysis was largely quantitative, generating categories of knowledge and offering conclusions regarding the number of pedagogical thoughts teachers made each minute. Borg (1998) conducted, in contrast, a detailed qualitative analysis of one EFL teacher's regular work through extended observations, document analysis, and interviews, addressing not just instructional decision-making but teacher cognition more broadly and drawing on the teacher's biography and how this had shaped the professional he had become. It is thus difficult to see how, at any level, these two studies could be classified in the same way.

My conclusion, then, is that while "cognitivist" is a useful way to characterize the study of language teacher cognition which examines specific mental constructs in an abstract or unsituated manner, "individualist" is a less helpful term, particularly given the risk that it may be seen as an antonym for "collective" with the subsequent implication that the study of collective teacher cognition is in some way more desirable. Such research clearly *is* desirable, and analyses of how teacher cognition operates at a collective level with groups of teachers are still relatively rare; Breen et al. (2001) was an early example, while more recently England (2017), which I discuss further later, has examined the "collective beliefs" of a group of language teacher educators in Indonesia. Ultimately, though, it is the individual mind that needs to be understood in making sense of what teachers do, so the argument is not that the study of individual teachers is undesirable; rather, the key point here is that individual teacher cognition does not originate or operate in a vacuum and it is influenced in powerful ways by a range of personal, physical, sociocultural, and historical milieus which interact, in both remote and immediate ways, to shape who teachers are and what they do.

Beyond an individualist perspective, Burns et al. (2015) also describe alternative (and by implication superior) ontological generations of teacher cognition research as social, sociohistorical, and complex chaotic systems. A discussion of these is beyond my scope here, but in essence they represent increasingly elaborate, conceptually and methodologically, understandings of the notion that teacher cognition is a complex, multidimensional, and contextualized phenomenon and that studying it is a dialogic process in which researchers and participants co-construct meanings and understandings discursively. Such options broaden the range of theoretical tools research can deploy in engaging with teacher cognition, though any suggestion that such tools are intrinsically superior should be met with caution.

Methodological Pluralism

There was a time when debates in educational research were characterized by what were called "paradigm wars" – arguments by two fiercely opposed camps on the relative merits and demerits of quantitative and qualitative research, respectively (Gage 1989). Today the field is more pragmatic, and much progress has been made in exploring productive ways of combining qualitative and quantitative elements into mixed methods research (Creswell 2014). One point that troubles me, then, about recent arguments for taking teacher cognition research forward is the implication that qualitative research is the preferred option. In describing the articles in MLJ 99/3, Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015, p. 443) say that they draw from "a range of discursive approaches, such as micro-genetic analysis, narratives, conversation analysis, and grounded theory ethnography." The summary of ontological generations in teacher cognition research provided by Burns et al. (2015) also only mentions quantitative research in the "individualist" category which, as discussed earlier, is presented as a less contemporary approach. The research in MLJ 99/3 is conceptually and methodologically rigorous. I also appreciate that this collection of papers was explicitly positioning itself as distinct from the prevailing tradition of teacher cognition research and thus needed to illustrate the potential for methodological alternatives. It is not helpful, though, to promote the kind of methodological exclusivity in which quantitative work, including at scale, has no role.

Before I explore this point further, though, it is important to acknowledge once again (see, e.g., Borg 2018) the unsophisticated manner in which quantitative approaches to language teacher cognition – particularly questionnaires – have been used. For example, teachers are often asked to respond to a series of Likert scale statements on a particular topic, and these are then taken as evidence of what teachers believe. Given what I have already said about the situatedness of teacher cognition, studies of this kind are clearly limited. One reason for their persistence, though, is that they are easy to conduct. This is particularly the case where instruments are readily available. A good example of such an instrument is that from Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012) and through which we examined (as one part of a larger study using interviews and professional development activities) teachers' beliefs about

learner autonomy. This instrument has subsequently been administered numerous times by researchers in a wide range of contexts (but never, to my disappointment, improved, despite certain limitations that were noted when we first reported it), and I suspect that in many cases, the primary reason for these replications is the need for a quick solution to external pressures: researchers are required to publish, teachers' beliefs are seen to be a fashionable topic, an instrument is available, and a suitable number of responses can be obtained. Journals willing to publish such work are also available. It is, thus, important to understand that the continued production of certain types of limited teacher cognition research is not simply about conceptual or methodological choices but the result of broader but often localized forces in academia which reward research productivity rather than quality.

More positively, though, two other reasons why questionnaire-based studies of teacher cognition remain visible (and useful I would argue) are access and scale. Borg and Burns (2008) collected responses from some 170 teachers around the world about how they taught grammar. The instrument included both closed and open questions and did generate a substantial volume of textual data, but it was of course not possible to provide any broader interpretive context for teachers' responses. A questionnaire, though, was an appropriate tool given our interest in gaining access to a relatively large sample of geographically dispersed respondents. My (at the time) innovative work on teachers' conceptions of research (e.g., Borg 2009) similarly used questionnaires (in combination with qualitative tools) to collect numerical data from number of language teachers around the world. More recently, Borg and Alshumaimeri (2017) used a questionnaire to examine the beliefs and reported practices regarding learner autonomy of some 400 language teachers in an institute in Saudi Arabia. While the value that a qualitative element would have added to the study is acknowledged, qualitative techniques alone would not have allowed us to study teacher cognition on the scale we did and to identify trends in the way that learner autonomy was conceptualized across the institute more generally. This study also reminds us that methodological choices are also often a compromise between what is ideal and what is feasible; we were fully aware that extended observational and interview data would have substantially enhanced our insights; in practical terms, though, this simply was not possible.

Questionnaires, then, can be and are misused in language teacher cognition research; studies are conducted with little sense of their overall contribution to the field and are often methodologically and conceptually weak. Also, I have repeatedly argued (Borg 2018) against studies in which teachers' stated beliefs are contrasted with their practices in the search for anomalies; as Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015, p. 438) note, such studies separate thought and action, "putting them in an almost adversarial relationship by abstracting them from the context that binds them together." However, such problems should not imply that well-designed questionnaire studies, particularly those that attempt to explore an issue at scale, have no role to play in the continuing study of language teacher cognition or no contribution to make to the practice of second language teacher education. A more recent example is Borg and Edmett (2018), which explores the use of teacher self-assessment (which can be conceptualized as teachers' beliefs about their own ability) with a sample of

over 1700 teachers of English. While the analysis highlights several ways in which the tool can be improved, there is clear practical value in examining teacher cognition on such a scale and using the results to design a more effective teacher self-assessment instrument. Given the above arguments, it would be unfortunate if quantitative research were not seen to have a role to play in continuing teacher cognition research or it became associated, disparagingly, with "individualist" conceptualizations of teachers' minds. The value of any piece of teacher cognition research needs to be judged on the practical, methodological, conceptual, or substantive contribution it makes to the field. I am thus supportive of a methodological pluralism that reflects advances in the use of well-established method such as questionnaires, interviews, and observations (Borg 2012), as well as innovative approaches which take inspiration from discursive, narrative, and visual traditions but which also explore the use of more advanced quantitative techniques which have been less widely used in the study of teacher cognition (Williams and Vogt 2014, e.g., include a range of innovative research methods whose relevance to teacher cognition research could be usefully assessed). Mixed methods research is now very well-established in educational research more generally, and there is clearly excellent scope for combining quantitative and qualitative measures in the continuing study of language teacher cognition.

Intellectualization and Accessibility

The final issue I would like to discuss here before I analyze some recent studies of language teacher cognition is the balance between intellectualization and accessibility in teacher cognition research. I would characterize my own contribution to the field as comprehensive, systematic, and rigorous but not particularly intellectualized. A "model" of teacher cognition that has been widely cited (Borg 2006) is also very transparent in the way it describes interactions among prior educational experience, professional learning, teacher cognition, context, and classroom practice. In comparison, for example, analyses of a sociocultural approach to teacher education by Johnson and associates (e.g., Johnson 2009; Johnson and Golombek 2016) or the arguments put forward by contributors in MLJ 99/3 (e.g., Crookes 2015; Kubanyiova and Feryok 2015; Moodie and Feryok 2015) are highly theorized. Academically, of course, this is a strength, and extending the intellectual horizons of teacher cognition research in the ways these contributions do is important in taking the field forward.

I do have concerns, though, about the extent to which a highly intellectualized approach to teacher cognition research makes it a more exclusive domain of inquiry and, hence by definition, one that has reduced (not increased) relevance to its stakeholders and potential audience. The accessibility of the field is important to me because, as I noted earlier, teacher cognition research is not simply an academic undertaking but needs to speak in transparent and concrete ways about the connections between what teachers do, how they learn and change, and their mental lives. So, while I accept the value in broadening the intellectual horizons of the field and

going beyond well-established and sometimes overly familiar (and hence uncritically accepted) concepts such as beliefs and knowledge, it is also important that the introduction of alternatives be communicated in a manner that does not detract from the accessibility that has been one key appeal of teacher cognition research over the years. This is perhaps a key challenge for the field as it moves forward. Concepts such as *intentionality* (Kubanyiova and Feryok 2015) or the even more daunting (to say not just to understand) *perezhivanie* (Golombek 2015) and *obuchenie* (Johnson 2015) can act as barriers to the broader participation by language-teaching professionals in the field of teacher cognition. So too can complex (and, in the case of labels such as "individualist," unclear) accounts of ontological positioning in relation to the "language-teaching mind" (Burns et al. 2015). There is work to be done, then, in finding ways of extending the intellectual boundaries of the field in a manner that is accessible. If this does not occur, the dominance of previously established concepts will persist, and the potential value to the field of these new conceptualizations will be not be realized. My assessment of the contributions of MLJ 99/3 is that while they are academically excellent, there is a slight irony that in "reclaiming the relevance" of teacher cognition research, they are actually making it less accessible (and thus less relevant) to wide range of interested parties.

My rather pragmatic view of teacher cognition research is also shaped by my experience in a wide range of educational contexts where teacher education practices and research are, relative to contemporary perspectives as defined in the international literature, still emergent. Teacher cognition is still very relevant in such contexts; however, relevance is a matter of perception not simply academic argument. If we want teacher educators in particular contexts to engage in a practical way with teacher cognition research and to use this to inform their work, they need access to ideas that they can meaningfully engage with. So, for example, the idea that what we learn is influenced by what we already know (Bransford et al. 2000), and that teacher education should therefore provide opportunities for the exploration of teachers' prior knowledge and beliefs, is an accessible way of introducing teacher cognition to teacher educators. The highly theoretical account of teacher learning in Johnson and Golombek (2016), in contrast, is rather exclusive in its target audience and is limited in its potential for practical impact in the global ELT teacher education sector. Academically, it is powerful work; its limited accessibility, though, illustrates for me the tension between practical relevance and intellectual progress which teacher cognition research needs to address.

To summarize my key points so far, I have argued that:

- The move to extend the intellectual basis of language teacher cognition research beyond its narrow cognitive origins is positive, but it is important not to characterize earlier work in the field in an unduly negative manner compared to the new perspectives that are being promoted.
- While "teacher cognition" is a well-established term, there may be value in exploring alternative labels as the field moves forward. Ideal candidates would capture both the mental and socio-emotional dimensions of teachers' lives but

also retain the semantic and conceptual accessibility that has made "teacher cognition" such an enduring term.

- Methodological advances in teacher cognition research should be pluralistic, promoting innovation and rigor in both qualitative and quantitative investigative strategies.
- Intellectual advancements in the field of teacher cognition research should strengthen its accessibility, perceived relevance, and practical value to practitioners. Overly complex conceptualizations of language teacher cognition will in this respect be counterproductive.

Contemporary Examples

I will now discuss 15 contemporary examples of language teacher cognition research. These were chosen because they were published recently (2016–2017) and appeared in peer-reviewed journals (mostly, but not exclusively, applied linguistics journals of good standing). This analysis is not an attempt to characterize the current state of language teacher cognition research in the way that a literature review would. My goal, rather, is to apply issues from my discussion to a set of contemporary journal articles (see Table 1 for a summary of these).

These studies were completed in a range of different countries, though Iran stands out here with four entries. Ten studies involved practicing foreign language teachers (teachers of English, except for the study in the UK where the participants taught modern foreign languages), while four took place in the context of undergraduate or postgraduate courses. One paper examined teacher educator cognitions (this is a very understudied theme). In terms of focus, four studies examined cognitions in relation to language-teaching methodology generally, while five were about specific areas of teaching (pronunciation and grammar). Interactive thinking was the focus in two papers, while two more examined cognitions in relation to teacher professional development. The two remaining studies examined L1 use and teachers' communication strategies. I have included the latter study (Rahmani Doqaruni 2017) here because it illustrates a tendency to invoke "teacher cognition" without it really being central to the research. The term is prominent in the title of the paper but otherwise (apart from the abstract and keywords) only appears once in the conclusion. The study compares the use of communication strategies in the work of more and less experienced teachers and finds differences in these; while one interview per teacher was conducted "to gain access to the opinions and experiences of the participants" (p. 22), teacher cognition is not a central focus, theoretically or substantively. This paper, then, provides a reminder of the need to avoid using "teacher cognition" in a faddish manner, i.e., to make a study seem more fashionable or topical. Barrot (2016) also merits a specific preliminary comment here. The title refers to "a sociocognitive-transformative perspective," which suggested that this work might be drawing on sociocultural perspectives to the study of language teacher cognition. However, it emerges that "sociocognitive-transformative" refers to a set of principles for language teaching seemingly devised by the author, and the paper examines

Table 1 Recent studies of language teacher cognition

Source	Context	Sample	Focus
Barrot (2016)	Philippines	5 experienced ESL teachers	Teaching methodology
Burri et al. (2017)	Australia	15 PG students	Pronunciation
Rahmani Doqaruni (2017)	Iran	5 experienced EFL teachers	Communication strategies
Couper (2017)	New Zealand	19 EFL teachers	Pronunciation
England (2017)	Indonesia	8 practicing and prospective language teacher educators	In-service teacher education
Liviero (2017)	UK	8 MFL teachers	Grammar teaching
Graus and Coppen (2017)	Netherlands	74 UG and PG students	Grammar teaching
Jackson and Cho (2018)	USA	8 PG students	Interactive thinking
Karimi and Norouzi (2017)	Iran	4 EFL teachers	Interactive thinking
Moodie (2016)	South Korea	18 EFL teachers	Teaching methodology
Tajeddin and Aryaeian (2017)	Iran	10 EFL teachers	L1 use
Lim (2016)	Cambodia	3 pre-service teachers	Pronunciation
Miri et al. (2017)	Iran	12 EFL teachers	Teaching methodology
Wyatt and Ager (2017)	Macedonia	30 EFL teachers	Professional development
Zhu and Shu (2017)	China	One EFL teacher	Teaching methodology

(through interviews) the extent to which five experienced teachers hold beliefs that are in line with these principles. So while this is a study of teacher cognition, its title once again creates expectations (theoretical in this case) which are not fulfilled.

I will now comment briefly on some aspects of the studies' research methods, before examining in more detail the concepts they used and their theoretical positioning.

Research Methods

A key task of teacher cognition research is to make visible the unseen dimensions of teachers' lives. Various strategies for achieving this have been used by researchers, and one simple way of classifying these is in terms of the evidence they use to understand teachers' minds: action (what teachers do), talk (what teachers say), writing (when teachers produce written answers or texts), or visuals

(when teachers draw pictures to portray their cognitions – there are no examples in the papers I discuss here, but see, e.g., Borg et al. 2014). Many variations are possible within these broad categories (e.g., talk can occur or be stimulated in many different research contexts – see below for different kinds of interviews). Table 2 summarizes the research methods used in these studies (which were generally small-scale, with a median sample size of 8).

Nine of the studies used multiple methods, while six relied on a single data collection strategy. In terms of specific methods, authentic observation (i.e., in actual classrooms) and interviews of various kinds (semi-structured, focus group, and stimulated recall) dominate here (this reflects the conclusions of an earlier analysis – see Borg 2012). Briefly, semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann 2008) take place with individuals and unfold as extended conversations which are guided by some predetermined questions but which are flexible enough to build on participants' responses and to explore unexpected lines of inquiry that emerge. Focus groups (Oates and Alevizou 2017) are discussions or interviews in which small groups participate; the goal is to seek insight into collective perspectives through the interactive exploration of issues. Stimulated recall interviews (Lyle 2003) are individual sessions in which respondents have access to a stimulus (such as a video of their own teaching) and which they are asked to comment on or analyze. It is positive to see that the observation of teaching is commonly used as platform for exploring teacher cognition, thus increasing the likelihood that connections between teachers' thoughts and action can be appropriately examined.

A number of other research methods appear less frequently. These include narrative writing (such as asking teachers to keep a reflective journal), think-aloud protocols (asking teachers to complete a task – such as marking student work – and to verbalize their thinking while they do it), and document analysis (e.g., the analysis of lesson plans). Questionnaires are used sparingly.

Within the predominantly qualitative approach in these papers, though, there is some evidence of quantification especially in the studies of teachers' interactive thinking.

For example, Karimi and Norouzi (2017) assess the impact of a mentoring program on teachers' thinking and report that:

> While teachers produced a total of 628 pedagogical thought units before the mentoring program (an average of 1.49 thoughts per minute), the reported pedagogical thought categories after the program was 1306 (a mean of 3.10 thoughts per minute). (p. 43)

The implication here seems to be that the mentoring program had a beneficial effect on teachers because it stimulated more pedagogical thoughts during lessons; the lack of further qualitative insights, though, restricts any claims that this study can make beyond quantifying and classifying the thoughts that teachers reported. I also remain unconvinced that video-stimulated recall interviews can capture in a sufficiently accurate and contextualized manner teachers' real-time interactive thinking and decision-making, even more so when teachers are asked to recall these some days later (in Jackson and Cho 2018, e.g., recall sessions took place after 2–7 days).

Table 2 Teacher cognition research methodology in 15 recent studies

Source	Semi-structured interviews	Authentic observations	Simulated observations	Questionnaires	Narrative writing	Group discussions	Stimulated recall	Document analysis	Focus group interviews	Think-aloud protocols
Barrot (2016)	✓									
Burri et al. (2017)	✓	✓		✓					✓	
Rahmani Doqaruni (2017)	✓	✓								
Couper (2017)	✓	✓								
England (2017)	✓					✓				
Liviero (2017)	✓	✓								✓
Graus and Coppen (2017)									✓	
Jackson and Cho (2018)			✓				✓			
Karimi and Norouzi (2017)							✓			
Moodie (2016)	✓				✓					
Tajeddin and Aryaeian (2017)	✓	✓					✓			
Lim (2016)	✓	✓						✓		
Miri et al. (2017)						✓				
Wyatt and Ager (2017)				✓						
Zhu and Shu (2017)	✓	✓			✓					

Overall, these papers are methodologically fairly conventional; talk (often supported with observation) remains the primary way of gaining insight into language teacher cognition, though some innovation here is evident in the use of group discussions, particularly in order to understand cognitions more collectively. The limited presence of questionnaires may be indicative of a preference toward qualitative work or simply a feature of the particular studies I chose here. The absence of studies employing visual methods is almost certainly, though, indicative of their limited use in language teacher cognition research.

Terms and Concepts

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the terms and concepts being used in language teacher cognition research. Table 3 lists those employed in the studies I am considering here. This shows that the umbrella term "teacher cognition" is most common, followed by "belief." A range of other concepts are also evident; some are quite general such as "concerns" or "perspectives," while others are accompanied by specific definitions. For example, "teacher noticing" is defined as "teachers' awareness of features of second language classroom interaction that may influence student learning" (Jackson and Cho 2018, p. 30).

Overall, there is little evidence in this group of studies of explicit critiques of the ways in which language teacher cognition has been traditionally conceptualized. In other words, concepts such as teacher cognition, beliefs, and knowledge are accepted and applied in their conventional ways. A few exceptions can, though, be noted. One that I mentioned earlier is England (2017). Like several studies in

Table 3 Terms and concepts in language teacher cognition research

Source	Terms/concepts
Barrot (2016)	Belief
Burri et al. (2017)	Teacher cognition and teacher identity
Rahmani Doqaruni (2017)	Teacher cognition
Couper (2017)	Concerns, perceptions
England (2017)	Epistemological beliefs
Liviero (2017)	Beliefs
Graus and Coppen (2017)	Teacher cognition
Jackson and Cho (2018)	Teacher noticing
Karimi and Norouzi (2017)	Pedagogical knowledge; pedagogical thinking
Moodie (2016)	Apprenticeship of observation
Tajeddin and Aryaeian (2017)	Teacher cognition
Lim (2016)	Teacher cognition
Miri et al. (2017)	Teacher cognition
Wyatt and Ager (2017)	Teacher cognition
Zhu and Shu (2017)	Teacher cognition

recent years, this draws on sociocultural theory, emphasizing teacher learning as a social process. This paper is distinctive, though, in its focus on collective teacher cognition:

> Such a perspective identifies shared beliefs and classroom practices of groups of language teachers working in the same context or similar contexts. It represents a shift from "a concern with individual teachers to a conception of teachers learning and developing within a broader context of community, institution, polity, and profession" (Shulman and Shulman 2004, pp. 267–269). (p. 229)

It is good to see that the study of collective beliefs in this paper is positioned as complementary, rather than a replacement for, studies of individual teachers; this is in line with the broadly conciliatory, rather than adversarial, approach I favor in considering the relative merits of conventional and innovative ways of studying language teachers' minds.

Also reflecting recent developments in the field, Moodie (2016) supports his study of how prior experience as learners shapes teachers' beliefs and practices with reference to the call for a sociohistorical perspective on language teacher cognition made in the MLJ special issue mentioned above. However, language teacher cognition research has at many times in the past examined the links between the so-called apprenticeship of observation (Lortie 1975) and teachers' cognitions and practices (e.g., Ellis 2006). Going back even further, Numrich (1996) showed through diary studies how prospective teachers' beliefs were shaped by their experiences as learners and various references to prior learning experience also featured in my early studies of teacher cognition and grammar teaching. One teacher who was not keen on using grammatical terminology in her work related this very clearly to her own experience as a learner, which she described as follows:

> very much grammar, conjugation of verbs, loads of tenses thrown at you, and having to conjugate practically every verb in French into the different tenses. I remember the past historic, but I don't even know what it means, and apparently you can only use it for stories, so why the hell were we taught it in the first place cause we would never use it? We never spoke the language. So, it was just grammar grammar grammar, which I couldn't relate to anything cause I didn't even know my own grammar. (Borg 1999b, p. 105)

This example also illustrates what Moodie calls the anti-apprenticeship of observation, i.e., the way in which prior experience as a language learner gives prospective teachers a model of the kind of teacher they do *not* want to be. Moodie's study examines this issue in detail and is a valuable addition to the literature; but perhaps citing a sociohistorical perspective reflects the perceived need to make reference to contemporary theorizing in the field rather than being reflective of a new perspective on the study of language teacher cognition. I see this as a kind of "theoretical retrofitting" – providing a more contemporary theoretical explanation for the kind of research that has been done before.

A similar phenomenon can be detected in Wyatt and Ager (2017), who also acknowledge arguments made in MLJ 99/3. In particular, they refer to the distinction

between the "acquisition" and "participation" metaphors of teacher cognition research (Kubanyiova and Feryok 2015) as follows:

> They see the former (cognitivist) approach as aiming to 'mine' down to extract knowledge from the 'container' of the human mind, and accuse this approach of treating cognitions as 'reified mental constructs, that is, static and discrete entities that are typically dissociated from action and context, as well as other dimensions of teachers' inner lives' (Kubanyiova and Feryok op.cit.: 437). In contrast, the second (sociocultural) approach, the one they favour and which they describe as 'emergent sense making in action' (Kubanyiova and Feryok op.cit.: 438), takes more of a bottom-up stance. They emphasize that this approach, which studies 'participation' more broadly, centres on exploring 'teachers' situated, dynamic and embodied knowing in action' (Kubanyiova and Feryok op.cit.: 438). (p. 173)

So the basic distinction here is that between the decontextualized, isolated, inert, and abstract analysis of cognitions, such as beliefs, and the deeply situated, complex, and action-oriented view of teacher cognition that I discussed earlier. Wyatt and Ager, though, go on to explain that:

> However, besides having these two approaches as broad resources to draw upon, it seems likely, too, that researchers in this field might be able to combine them interactively, for example if interested in exploring specific dimensions of teacher cognition, such as top-down versus bottom-up conceptualizations of CPD (which suggests a cognitivist approach), while nevertheless remaining sensitive to the language that emerges in the unique sociocultural context of the research and basing categorization on linguistic analysis. Such an interactive approach is the one we have adopted. (p. 174)

The original distinction between cognitive and sociocultural approaches to language teacher cognition research did not position these as complementary, and the suggestion here that they might be combined is conceptually problematic. For example, there is no obvious connection between exploring specific dimensions of teacher cognition, such as top-down versus bottom-up conceptualizations of CPD and a cognitivist view of teacher cognition. Linguistic analysis (in this case, of open-ended questionnaire responses), too, does not necessarily imply a sociocultural approach. I appreciate the source of these difficulties, though; the authors want to acknowledge latest theorizing in the field and are trying to position their study in relation to this (and possibly to guard against the criticism that their survey is "cognitivist"). I am, however, not sure this adds to their work, which is a thoughtful, professionally oriented analysis of the responses provided by 30 teachers to a questionnaire asking for their views about CPD. Its attempt to conform to recent theoretical proposals for teacher cognition research is thus an unnecessary weakness and perhaps another example of theoretical retrofitting (in the sense that surveys of this kind have been used widely for a long time, but now there is a felt need to justify them with reference to new theories of teacher cognition). The benefits of surveys in social research are well documented (e.g., De Vaus 2014), and, as long as they applied responsibly and critically, their continued use in language teacher cognition research need not be accompanied by any sense of guilt on researchers' part.

Burri et al. (2017) also engage with more recent critiques of language teacher cognition research by exploring the links between cognition and identity. In response to the view that its focus on thinking, belief, and knowledge made teacher cognition unduly narrow in scope, Borg (2012) argued that emotions and identity were also legitimate concepts to include in this field of research. Crookes (2015) comments on this position as follows:

> Seen from the point of view provided by the diversity of options in present-day studies of cognition, the intellectual inheritance of language teacher cognition is unduly narrow. One response to this is that a newly expanded range of understandings is already being deployed in this area; Borg's (2012) current view of language teacher cognition encompasses not only what "teachers think, know and believe" (p. 11) but now also "attitudes, identities and emotions" (p. 11), and further states that "identity (. . .) should be recognized as an important strand of teacher cognition research" (p. 11). (p. 490)

Crookes goes on to note, quite rightly, that the intellectual compatibility of different perspectives (such as cognitive and sociocultural) on teachers' minds need to be considered before these can be subsumed under one umbrella heading. However, I do not see any evidence in what he says for Burri et al.'s (2017) conclusion that, according to Crookes, "Borg's (2012) claim of identity being part of cognition needs to be treated with caution" (p. 138). Identity is defined in this paper as "teachers' perception and understanding of themselves and others as second language (L2) instructors (Murray and Christison 2011)" (p. 129). "Perceptions" and "understandings" are obvious dimensions of teacher cognition, and so too, therefore, is teacher identity. This does not mean that teacher identity does not merit its own status as a focus of intellectual inquiry; it does not mean, either, that identity and cognition are synonymous. My argument is, though, that identity, as a kind of belief about self, is clearly part of the broader field of study that we call teacher cognition. Exploring the links between teacher cognition (the superordinate concept) and teacher identity (a subordinate concept) and the separation of the two (as in the model the authors present on p. 138) is not, therefore, conceptually helpful (exploring identity and other specific areas of cognition such as teacher knowledge, would, though, be more feasible). I am not in any way questioning the empirical value of the study. My broader point, though, is that, in seeking to respond to the MLJ 99/3 call (which I support) that the scope of language teacher cognition needs to be broadened, researchers need to be cautious about the kinds of new conceptual hierarchies or distinctions they posit.

Conclusion

Earlier I suggested that it might be useful to consider alternatives to the term "teacher cognition." I have not identified a suitable replacement at this point, so what I will attempt here is a definition which mitigates any excessive focus on mental structures and acknowledges the broader and complex contexts in which teachers' cognitions operate. I thus define teacher cognition research as follows:

> Inquiry which seeks, with reference to their personal, professional, social, cultural and historical contexts, to understand teachers' minds and emotions and the role these play in the process of becoming, being and developing as a teacher.

Since its emergence in the field of language teaching in the mid-1990s, teacher cognition has become a well-established area of inquiry characterized by a large volume of empirical work; theoretically, though, its intellectual legacy in cognitive psychology had remained unchallenged, and from this perspective, the contribution of the papers in MLJ 99/3 has been important. This work has suggested new ways of conceptualizing language teacher cognition, and, while I disagree with the way in which earlier research has been unfavorably (and, with reference to the "individualist" label, unclearly) characterized, MLJ 99/3 has stimulated a consideration of deeper theoretical matters which had been lacking in the field. It is, important, though, that theoretical and methodological developments promote complementarity (by building on existing work), inclusivity (by promoting methodological pluralism), and accessibility (by communicating transparently) rather than seeking a clean break from the past or turning teacher cognition into an overly intellectualized and exclusive niche. Moves in that direction, rather than increasing the relevance of language teacher cognition to a wider range of stakeholders worldwide, would in fact have the opposite effect.

Cross-References

▶ Action Research in English Language Teaching: Contributions and Recent Developments
▶ Feeling Rules and Emotion Labor: A Poststructural-Discursive Approach to English Language Teachers' Emotions
▶ Instructed Second Language Acquisition and English Language Teaching: Theory, Research, and Pedagogy

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Teacher Learning and Technology-Enhanced Teacher Education

63

Nora Benitt, Torben Schmidt, and Michael K. Legutke

Contents

Abstract

Technology and the advancement of digital media not only have the potential to change the way we learn languages, but also the way foreign language teachers learn to teach. Setting up and managing learning platforms, using learning software and educational apps effectively, designing complex web-based tasks, and using videoconferencing in the scope of cooperation projects are just a few examples of digital media use in the foreign language instruction of today's technology-rich schools. However, in order for teachers to become competent, critical, and reflective users of information and communication technology (ICT) in and beyond the

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foreign language classroom, they need to develop knowledge, a certain set of skills, and a positive attitude toward digital media use – a learning process that ideally should start early in pre-service teacher education. Moreover, teachers need to continuously challenge and rethink traditional teacher and learner roles in technology-supported teaching and learning settings. The chapter aims at answering the question of what types of knowledge and skills pre-service language teachers need to acquire in order to become digitally literate. Following an overview of current approaches in technology education, course formats and pedagogical models conducive to a meaningful integration of theory and practice in teacher education that adequately prepare pre-service teachers for competent technology use in the foreign language classroom will be discussed. After a review of current research on key concepts and approaches to the development of pre-service teachers' digital literacies, the chapter concludes with a framework for successful technology education of language teachers comprising aspects from the models and key concepts considered here.

Introduction

Information and communication technology (ICT) provides seemingly endless opportunities to change the way languages are learned and taught nowadays. The literature on technology use in the context of language learning and teaching provides substantial empirical evidence on the potential of digital media as learning tools (e.g., Çiftçi and Savaş 2017; Grgurović et al. 2013; Kurek and Müller-Hartmann 2017) as well as practical advice on how to utilize learning platforms, computer software, educational apps, web-based tasks, etc., in the language classroom (e.g., Dudeney 2007; Dudeney et al. 2013; Stockwell 2012). Furthermore, we have witnessed a substantial growth in online teacher education programs (Murray and Christison 2017). However, the actual use of digital media in schools varies greatly internationally – and so does the technology education in pre-service teacher education programs. In Germany, for example, digital media are still minimally integrated into teaching (Bos et al. 2014, 2016; Initiative D21 2016). The main reasons for this are anchored in teachers' attitudes, their motivations, as well as their confidence – or rather a lack thereof – regarding the use of digital devices for educational purposes (cf. Eickelmann and Vennemann 2017; Liu and Kleinsasser 2015; Kommer and Biermann 2012; Schmid et al. 2017). Unfortunately, this also seems to hold true for language teachers. According to Legutke et al. (2007: 1130), many pre-service language teachers do not feel adequately prepared for technology use through their teacher education program and, therefore, lack

confidence in implementing digital media in their practice. Research has shown that explicit technology instruction leads to higher computer self-efficacy, i.e., increases teachers' confidence in using the computer or other digital devices in their instruction (cf. Liu and Kleinsasser 2015: 120). Also, teachers' views and convictions about the value of technology in language instruction have shown to play an important role. "[T]eachers' beliefs about the nature of knowledge and learning and beliefs about effective ways [are] related to their technology integration practices" (Kim et al. 2013: 82). Therefore, not only teachers' knowledge and skills in terms of technology use but also their beliefs and attitudes should be considered in teacher education programs.

Provided that teachers have the skills and knowledge regarding technology use as well as a positive attitude, they still face the challenge of selecting appropriate content and tools for their teaching. As Schmidt and Strasser (2016: 5) point out, teachers especially need – among a number of other digital literacies (cf. Dudeney et al. 2013) as will be discussed below – a "filter competence" in order to navigate through the vast amount of information and tools available online. Therefore, teacher education programs must not only systematically integrate technology and nurture pre-service teachers' positive attitudes toward media use; they also need to provide teachers with strategic skills on how to find and select appropriate content and tools.

Hence, the key for successful technology use in language instruction lies in teacher education. Even though various formats of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) have already been an integral part of the research discussion in foreign language learning for several decades, the debate about the roles and functions of technology in teacher education is fairly new (cf. Reinders 2009: 231). Recently, the particular relevance of digital technologies has been reflected in several international teacher education standards and frameworks. For the area of foreign language learning, this can be seen in the European Profile for Language Teacher Education (Kelly et al. 2004), in the EPOSTL European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Foreign Languages (Newby et al. 2007), or in the ACTFL's Program Standards for the Preparation of Foreign Language Teachers (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages 2013). Furthermore, standards specifically designed for teaching with digital media have been developed, such as the TESOL Technology Standards (Healey et al. 2008). With such guidance, teacher education should thus, theoretically, be in a position to enable foreign language teachers to meet established educational and competence standards.

At the same time, however, the effectiveness of educating teachers in using digital media and the continued lack of a systematic integration of technology education in educational programs are widely criticized (cf. Arnold and Ducate 2015: 2; Legutke et al. 2007: 1126). As Polly et al. (2010: 863) point out, even though many pre-service teachers take educational technology courses, they still do not apply technology effectively in school, as the "[…] courses are typically disconnected from methods courses and provide only basic technology skills." Consequently, teacher education must provide pre-service teachers with opportunities to use technology within a meaningful context, i.e., combining technology, pedagogy, methodology, and content. As Hauck and Kurek (2017: 284) rightly point out, "the developing

dimensions of digital literacy require a fundamental reconsideration of teacher preparation with much greater focus on digital literacy as a contextualized social practice than on the technical mastery per se." A concept systematically integrating the different types of knowledge is the TPACK (technological pedagogical content knowledge) framework, as will be discussed later on.

This chapter is dedicated to teacher learning and technology-enhanced teacher education. As a starting point, the next section summarizes the key aspects of the discussion on the importance of integrating theory and practice in language teacher education before looking at central terms, concepts, and models in the context of technology use in teacher education.

Integrating Theory and Practice in Teacher Education

Overcoming the gap between theory and practice – or formulated differently, between academia and school practice, knowledge and ability, reflection and action, and thinking and acting – in pre-service and in-service teacher education, as well as the design of fluid transitions between the university education and professional practice, poses central challenges and focal points for research on teacher education internationally (Korthagen and Kessels 1999; Lanier and Little 1986; Shulman 1998). Discussions on (and proposed solutions to) this topic are at least as old as teacher education itself. The general value of, and possible improvements to, linking theory and practice have been discussed for several centuries now, and both concepts have often been antagonistically contrasted with each other. Complaints concerning insufficient practical relevance and the related "practice shock" (Hirsch 1979) often stand against complaints of an "over-academization" of teacher education. Early innovative forms of linking theory and practice go back to the eighteenth century (cf. Tremp 2015). For example, in Switzerland – just to illustrate with one specific country – the concept of the "model school" was introduced in the 1700s to enable pre-service teachers to learn at the location of their future professions and also to allow gradual adjustment into the profession under the guidance of an experienced teacher (master-apprentice principle). Especially since the early 1990s, the debate over the relationship between theory and practice has intensified, and the question concerning how the elements of teacher education (subject sciences, subject-specific pedagogies, educational sciences and studies, and school practical elements) had to be weighted, ordered, related, and institutionally situated moved to the center of much research (cf. Freeman and Johnson 1998; Oser and Oelkers 2001; Vogel and Meyer-Menk 1999; Reinhard 2009). In Germany, a research and development program sponsored by the federal government in 49 German universities has been implemented to support initiatives to examine and strengthen the relationship between theory and practice in teacher education (BMBF 2015). All of these evidence-based approaches to linking theory and practice focus on five interrelated aspects of teacher education:

1. **Personal** (e.g., the collaboration between actors from university and school)
2. **Structural** (e.g., the formation of teacher educational centers at universities, type, and extent of school internships)

3. **Curricular** (e.g., agreement on educational curricula in consecutive phases of teacher education)
4. **Content** (e.g., integrating content and knowledge related to subject matter, subject-specific pedagogy, general educational sciences, and school-based experiences)
5. **Methodological-pedagogical** (e.g., innovative seminar concepts, elements of research-based learning)

Here it becomes clear how complex and multifaceted the establishment of teacher education is – at least one that connects theory and practice in a sensible manner and at the same time interconnects university/scientific demands with pedagogical/school requirements in suitable learning environments that provide pre-service teachers with professional teaching competences.

However, why is the link between theory and practice important for teacher education, and how must it be pedagogically methodologically implemented? Addressing these questions, Korthagen (2016) points out the importance of working with research findings on teacher learning processes and highlights that efficient teacher education takes place in the connection between theory, practice, and person. He concludes that teacher learning is often unconscious learning, multidimensional learning, and multi-level learning, and that not only the connection between theory and practice but, most of all, the connection with the person of the teacher is important (Korthagen 2016: 398). Therefore, the goal of teacher education must be to consider different levels of reflection in the learning process (multi-level structure), to take into account cognitive and motivational-affective dimensions (multidimensionality), and to create awareness for unconscious behavior. An analysis of the research thus leads to the following methodological-pedagogical principles for the design of learning environments that are particularly conducive for effective professional development:

1. Learning opportunities for students that are content-relevant, active, and interconnected with each other in a collaborative and coherent manner (Desimone 2009)
2. Phases of input, trial, and feedback-supported reflection which are interlaced with each other (Lipowsky 2014)
3. Ample opportunity for deep reflection of situations, actions, and options (Korthagen et al. 2001)
4. Integration of individual, practical, motivational, and emotional experiences and ideas of pre-service teachers based on their practical experiences as realistic starting points (Epstein 1990)

Especially in the context of technology education, integrating theory and practice is of utmost importance, since teachers' confidence, attitudes, and beliefs about technology use may change in a positive way through experiential learning opportunities involving different media (cf. Arnold 2017; Eickelmann and Vennemann 2017; Liu and Kleinsasser 2015; Kommer and Biermann 2012; Schmid et al. 2017).

The following section looks specifically into which skills and competences are necessary for pre-service teachers to acquire in their education (and continuing

education) for digital media use in teaching and learning environments. First, the focus will be on different technical terms and concepts prevalent in general teacher education. In a second step, the theoretical framework will be systematically narrowed down to foreign language teacher education, considering to what extent popular concepts and theoretical frameworks from general teacher education may apply in foreign language teacher education.

Terms, Concepts, and Models

In the literature on general teacher education, different concepts are being used to describe teachers' competent use of digital media for instruction. Whereas some scholars speak of "digital competence" (e.g., O'Dowd 2015; Røkenes et al. 2014), "digital literacy" (e.g., Buckingham 2006; Lankshear and Knobel 2006), or "digital literacies" (e.g., Dudeney et al. 2013), others prefer the terms "computer literacy" (e.g., Nawaz and Kundi 2010) or "media literacy" (e.g., Hobbs and Jensen 2009; Potter 2014). Terms that are specifically being used in the context of language teaching and learning are "CALL knowledge and competency" (e.g., Tai 2015). The notion of CALL as well as CALL knowledge and competency as central concepts in the research discussion on language teaching and learning will be further discussed in a separate section below.

Which of the aforementioned terms is most appropriate? A comprehensive framework for the domain of foreign language teaching and learning is offered by Dudeney et al. (2013). They define "digital literacies" as "the individual and social skills needed to effectively interpret, manage, share and create meaning in the growing range of digital communication channels" (Dudeney et al. 2013: 2). Altogether, they speak of 16 different types of "digital literacies" organized under 4 focus points that are supposed to be developed by language learners as well as language teachers:

1. **Language**: print literacy, texting literacy, hypertext literacy, multimedia literacy, gaming literacy, mobile literacy, code literacy
2. **Information**: tagging literacy, search literacy, information literacy, filtering literacy
3. **Connections**: personal literacy, network literacy, participatory literacy
4. **Redesign**: remix literacy

In contrast to the other terms mentioned above, the plural form "digital literacies" seems to do justice to the complexity of the competences and skills involved in using digital media. Therefore, the term "digital literacies" will be used in this chapter. In order to understand the theoretical framework proposed by Dudeney, Hockly, and Pegrum, a few exemplary literacies shall be further explored below.

The first focus comprises different literacies related to receptive and productive language use. For example, Dudeney et al. (2013: 11) define multimedia literacy as "the ability to effectively interpret and create texts in multiple media, notably using

images, sounds and video" (cf. ibid.: 11). As a second example from this category, "mobile literacy" shall be considered, as mobile devices in the context of language learning and use become more and more prevalent (cf. Jarvis and Achilleos 2013). According to Dudeney et al. (2013: 14), mobile literacy is "the ability to navigate, interpret information from, contribute information to, and communicate through the mobile internet, including an ability to orient oneself in the space of the *internet of things* (where information from real-world objects is integrated into the Internet) and *augmented reality* (where web-based information is overlaid on the real world)."

The second focus is related to finding and critically assessing information. In this context, information (critical) literacy is defined as "the ability to evaluate documents and artefacts by asking critical questions, assessing credibility, comparing sources, and tracking the origins of information" (ibid.: 22). The authors further explain that filtering literacy as "an inflection of network literacy, [. . .] is the ability to reduce information overload by using online social and professional networks as screening mechanisms" (ibid.: 25), an essential ability which is also emphasized by Schmidt and Strasser (2016: 5), as previously mentioned.

The third focus refers to literacies related to making connections, which is central to Web 2.0 users. Dudeney et al. (2013: 29) define network literacy as "the ability to deploy online social and professional networks to filter and obtain information (see also filtering literacy, above); to communicate with and inform others; to build collaboration and support; and to develop a reputation and spread influence." Furthermore, a type of literacy that is of utmost importance for the context of foreign language learning and teaching is (inter)cultural literacy, which refers to "the ability to interpret documents and artefacts from a range of cultural contexts, as well as to effectively communicate messages and interact constructively with interlocutors across different cultural contexts" (ibid.: 35).

The fourth and last focus described by Dudeney et al. relates to the ability to (re) design texts and materials. According to the authors, remix literacy is "the ability to create new meanings by sampling, modifying and/or combining pre-existing texts and artefacts, as well as circulating, interpreting, responding to and building on others' remixes within digital networks" (ibid.: 37).

The framework of digital literacies proposed by Dudeney et al. (2013), as briefly summarized above, highlights the complexity of the various types of knowledge and skills involved in dealing with digital media for the purpose of language teaching and learning. (How) can language teacher education possibly face the challenge of integrating all of these literacies? In order to approach this question, the next section will focus on the notion of CALL and its relevance in foreign language teacher education.

CALL in Language Teacher Education

As discussed above, a systematic connection between theory and practice is one key to successful teacher learning in technology-enhanced educational settings. Only if pre-service teachers are provided with opportunities to critically engage in issues of

media use and experience the advantages and challenges involved in dealing with technology will they be able to use digital media successfully. The foreign language classroom is no exception – on the contrary, its specific makeup with the target language being simultaneously the content as well as the medium of instruction requires thorough preparation of technology use: "[T]he success of new technologies in the classroom depends in large part on the teacher's ability to apply them meaningfully, especially in the language classroom where the technology supports not only the delivery of content but also the building of skills" (Reinders 2009: 233). But what exactly makes a language teacher digitally literate? How can the different literacies as suggested by Dudeney et al. (2013) be systematically developed in the context of foreign language teaching and learning? In order to answer these questions, first, a definition of CALL will be provided, before extending the theoretical framework of technology-enhanced teacher education toward a number of concepts and models from other disciplines.

Even though the acronym CALL has been criticized for being outdated and not suitable anymore for contemporary language use via digital media (cf. Jarvis and Achilleos 2013: 2), it is still the most dominant term in the field of foreign language teaching and learning. Hubbard and Levy (2006: 16) distinguish between two types of CALL knowledge and skills relevant for foreign language teacher education. According to their definition, technical CALL knowledge refers to "[s]ystematic and incidental understanding of the computer system, including peripheral devices, in terms of hardware, software, and networking" (ibid.). In contrast to that, pedagogical CALL knowledge means the "[s]ystematic and incidental understanding of ways of effectively using the computer in language teaching." Accordingly, technical CALL skill is the "[a]bility to use technical knowledge and experience both for the operation of the computer system and relevant applications and in dealing with various problems," whereas pedagogical CALL skill refers to the "[a]bility to use technical knowledge and experience to determine effective materials, content, and tasks, and to monitor and assess results appropriately" (ibid.). Even though many teachers may be competent users of digital media themselves, implementing technology meaningfully into teaching is a different story. Competent media use in English language teaching does not only require technical, but also adequate pedagogical knowledge. Hence, Reinders distinguishes three different facets of technology use in ELT: "The distinction is between teachers being able to first, *use* a certain technology; second, being able to *create* materials and activities using that technology; and third, being able to *teach* with technology, based on the idea that knowing how a program works does not equate to knowing how to use it in a teaching situation. This is where the technical focus shifts to a pedagogic one" (Reinders 2009: 231). Accordingly, Tai (2015: 145) defines CALL competency as "teachers' ability to select technology based on its affordance with sound pedagogical strategies to achieve the language teaching objectives." Obviously, CALL can by no means be restricted to learning with the help of personal computers anymore, but implies learning with the help of digital media in general, such as mobile devices (mobile phones, tablets, etc.), and software designed for learning purposes, such as educational apps. Furthermore, the term "learning" within the

CALL framework implies a conscious act. Therefore, Jarvis and Achilleos (2013) suggest shifting from the term CALL to MALU (mobile-assisted language use). "We define MALU as non-native speakers using a variety of mobile devices in order to access and/or communicate information on an anywhere/anytime basis and for a range of social and/or academic purposes in an L2" (Jarvis and Achilleos 2013: 9). However, MALU is not yet a widely adopted acronym.

A concept that has been gaining widespread recognition in educational science as well as in the context of foreign language teacher education in the recent past that is worth exploring in more detail is TPACK (technological pedagogical content knowledge) (Mishra and Koehler 2006; see also Chai et al. 2013; Herring et al. 2016). TPACK comprises different areas of knowledge and systematically links them.

Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPACK)

The TPACK (technological pedagogical content knowledge) framework (Mishra and Koehler 2006, see Fig. 1) represents a suitable theoretical frame of reference and a model for describing knowledge and skills that teachers must possess in order to
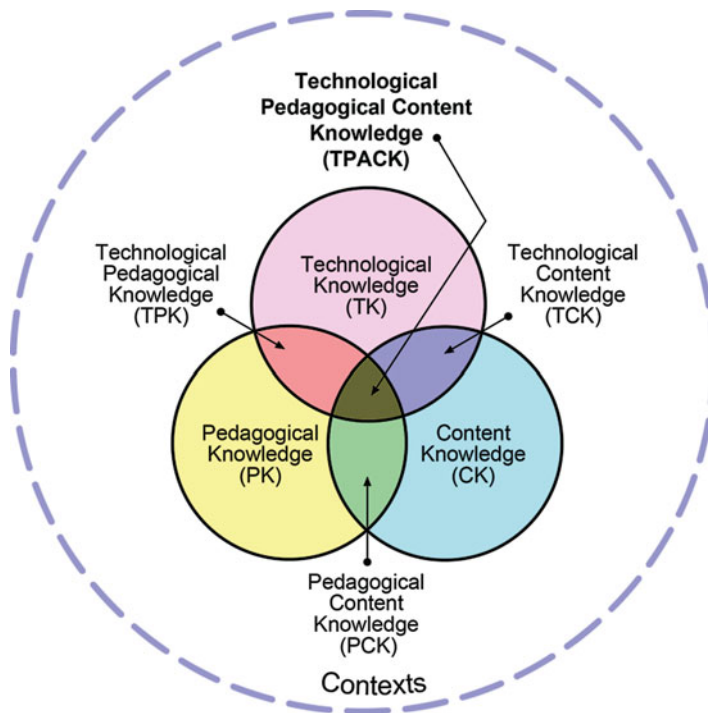
Fig. 1 Technological pedagogical content knowledge framework (Mishra and Koehler 2006). (Reproduced by permission of the publisher, © 2012 by https://www.tpack.org)

utilize digital technology for learning. This framework, an extension of Shulman's (1998) pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) model, provides "a holistic perspective of the knowledge associated with effectively integrating technology into learning environments, accounting for what teachers know and what teachers do" (Polly and Brantley Dias 2009: 46). TPACK reflects the complex and multifaceted relationship between students, teachers, subject matter, and teaching and learning methods and technologies. It emphasizes the importance of the complexities of interactions between technological (e.g., using a computer program to teach pronunciation), content (English phonetics), and pedagogical knowledge (approaches and methods to teach pronunciation) in relation to specific teaching contexts (e.g., elementary school EFL learners in their first year learning the language). A central mission for the further development of teacher education must be to create suitable curricula and learning contexts that allow (pre-service) teachers to systematically develop their TPACK. Through this, they can be prepared to design instruction that demonstrates competence in their subject matter, in pedagogy, and in technology.

The concept of TPACK has also found its way into foreign language teacher education. The key question, however, is how technological, pedagogical, and content knowledge can be trained in the context of foreign language teacher education. In other words, how does the TPACK model relate to issues of teacher competency in CALL? One example of systematically integrating TPACK workshops into language teacher education shall be briefly presented here. Tai (2015) used TPACK-in-Action workshops to develop language teachers' CALL competences. In her study, she relied on self-reported data as well as on observations of teacher behavior after the workshops. The TPACK framework is "used to guide the investigation of teachers' decisions and actions on their technology integration and the understanding of the underlying factors that can foster and hinder their technology integration" (Tai 2015: 141). She describes nine dimensions of CALL competences that could be observed (Tai 2015: 153):

1. **Scaffolding content** (i.e., modeling scaffolding techniques in order to promote learning with technology)
2. **Assess learning** (i.e., using technology to assess students' learning)
3. **Resources content** (i.e., resorting back to resources from workshops, conferences, etc.)
4. **Engage** (i.e., motivating students through the use of technology)
5. **Match affordance** (i.e., selecting technology based on "what the technology can do (affordances) and [cannot] do (limitations)" (ibid.)
6. **Reflect** (i.e., critically reflecting technology use in connection to content and pedagogy)
7. **Collaborate** (i.e., cooperating/team-teaching with others)
8. **Learner-centered** (i.e., allowing learners to be in control)
9. **Connect learning** (i.e., enabling students to connect and cooperate with others)
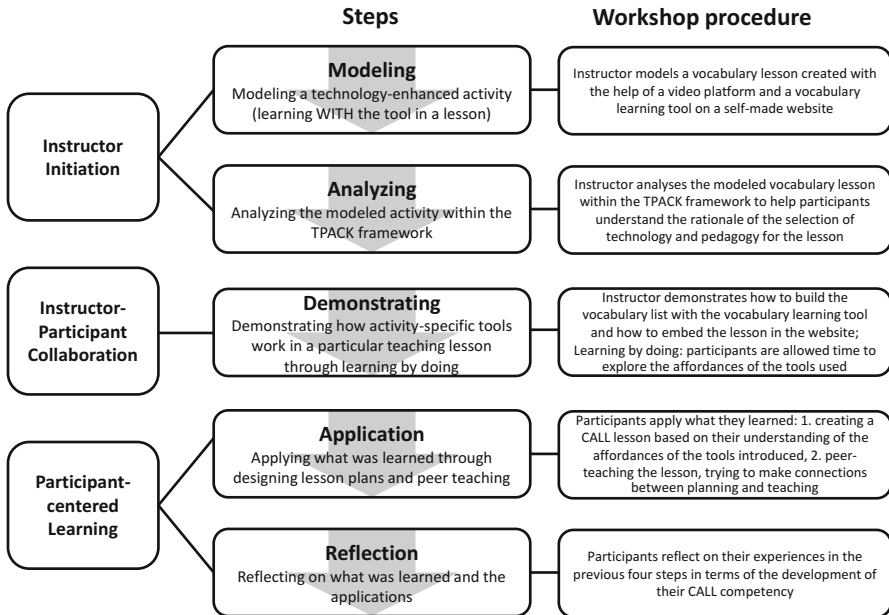
Fig. 2 TPACK-in-Action model. (Adapted from Tai 2015: 143)

Based on her findings, she proposes a model of TPACK-in-Action (Tai 2015: 143), in which she distinguishes between aspects related to instructor initiation, instructor-participant collaboration, and participant-centered learning (Fig. 2).

As the model clearly indicates, the workshop involves several steps that instructor and participants carry out together. Experiential learning opportunities in connection to CALL play a central role in this example of technology-enhanced teacher education. Thereby, the workshop ensures a meaningful integration of theoretical and practical aspect of technology use. The following section will take the discussion on technology-enhanced teacher education and the development of digital literacies to a different level by presenting a model that transcends the boundaries of pre-service teacher education.

The digi.kompP Model

The following model of digital literacy skills for teachers developed by the Virtual University of Education in Austria adheres to the TPACK framework but goes beyond it by further integrating fundamental documents on professional teacher development and technology use (e.g., Krumsvik and Jones 2013; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization 2011). Here, competences are divided into eight categories over three developmental phases. The categories cover general digital competences, subject-specific competences, and school

management competences in the digital field that are prerequisite for today's teaching profession. Overall, they are intended to portray the different, interrelated dimensions and levels of TPACK. In detail, the model is constructed as follows (see Fig. 3):

1. Section A: Digital literacy skills and IT knowledge. Students already start to acquire this knowledge in phase 0 (before university). It mainly includes IT, humans and society, IT systems, and applied IT.
2. Section B: Digital life. Pre-service teachers and recent in-service teachers should learn to teach using digital tools and should be able to deal with questions concerning digital ethics, digital inclusion, etc.
3. Section C: Design digital materials. This section contains competences concerning the design, adaptation, and publishing of digital teaching material. It also includes handling copyright issues and creative commons regulations and evaluating, using, and producing open educational resources, etc.
4. Section D: Teaching and learning with digital media: Pre-service and recent in-service teachers need to acquire the competences to teach with digital media and evaluate digitally enhanced learning environments. This section also contains areas like digital assessment, feedback, and safer internet.
5. Section E: Teaching and learning with digital media in your subject. This section is closely connected to Section D and focusses on the subject-related/subject-specific use of contents, software, media, and tools.
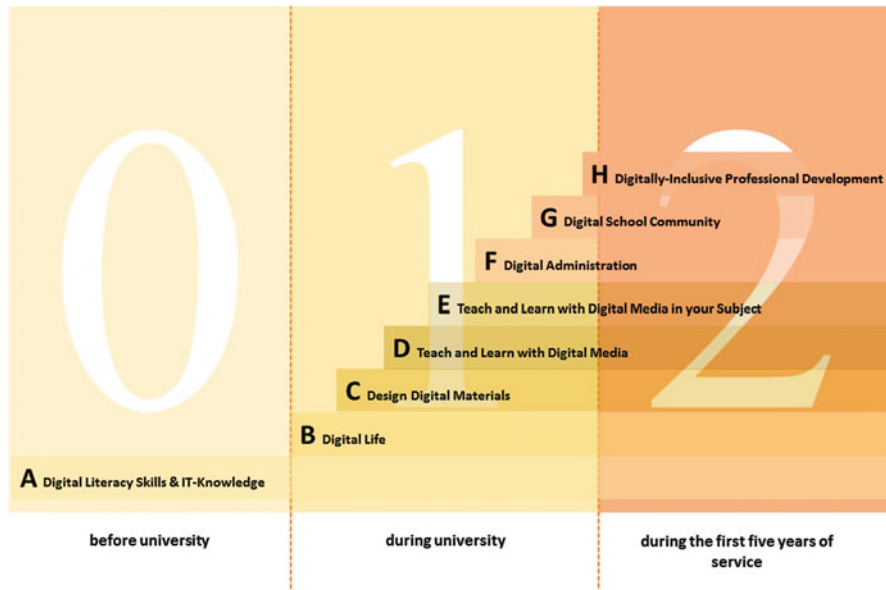
Fig. 3 digi.kompP model: digital literacy skills for teachers. (Model used by Virtual University of Education, Austria, http://www.virtuelle-ph.at/digikomp/, Version 1.0, July 2016, License: CC-BY 4.0)

6. Section F: Digital administration. (Pre-service) teachers need to learn the efficient and responsible use of pupils' data, digital registration, and digital student administration.
7. Section G (mainly in phase 2 during the first 5 years of service): Digital school community. Teachers must develop skills to use digital technology for collaboration within the school's community and beyond (with different stakeholders, parents, etc.).
8. Section H: Digitally inclusive professional development. Teachers' continuing professional development in the field of digital literacy starts in the first 5 years of professional service and should be continued over the entire professional career.

The digi.kompP model clarifies that developing teachers' digital literacies is a complex process that takes several years. It relies on digital skills and IT knowledge the teachers acquire prior to their education and suggests that the development of digital literacies continues through professional development opportunities. However, in this chapter, the main focus lies on pre-service teacher education. Hence, the next section will consider empirical evidence on different approaches to successful technology-enhanced pre-service teacher education before presenting a model seminar in the context of language teacher education and providing a framework of language teachers' digital literacies.

Principles of Technology-Enhanced Language Teacher Education

Research on technology-enhanced teacher education indicates that a number of basic principles and approaches to technology education seem to be particularly promising. After a review of current literature on educating (language) teachers for technology integration, Hauck and Kurek (2017: 280) list the following features of teacher education programs which lead to the successful development of digital literacies:

1. Infused throughout the entire teaching program rather than serving as a one-off course
2. Integrating technology and pedagogy rather than teaching particular tools
3. Using the available technologies as a means to an end
4. Based on modeling and experiential learning rather than on instructive teaching
5. Immersing participants in a community of practice
6. Based on team-teaching and collaborative instruction
7. Fostering the questioning of attitudes and beliefs through reflective practice

These findings are largely reflected in a meta-study conducted by Røkenes et al. (2014), in which the authors analyze 42 peer-reviewed empirical studies carried out between the years 2000 and 2013 regarding pre-service teachers' digital competence for secondary school education. The pre-service teachers studied different subjects, i.e., science, chemistry, biology, mathematics, literacy/literature, foreign

languages, social studies, geography, history, and physical education in ten different countries, i.e., Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Norway, Spain, Taiwan, Turkey, the UK, and the United States (cf. Røkenes et al. 2014: 259f.). Based on their review and analysis of the studies, the authors define eight approaches to successful technology-enhanced teacher education (ibid.): collaboration, metacognition, blending, authentic learning, modeling, student-active learning, assessment, and bridging theory/practice gap; these terms shall be briefly defined below.

"Collaboration" refers to cooperative learning environments, in which pre-service teachers have the opportunity to use synchronous and asynchronous technologies, e.g., forums, social networking sites, weblogs, etc. (cf. ibid.: 260) to raise questions and exchange ideas. "Metacognition" means the pre-service teachers' systematic reflection on their learning processes (cf. Schön 1983) by analyzing and documenting "their thoughts, reactions, and/or consequences of their actions surrounding a situation involving ICT" (cf. ibid.: 261). Røkenes et al. (2014: 262) further list "blending" as an approach to successful technology-enhanced teacher education, i.e., combining online and face-to-face learning settings as well as multimodal approaches to train pre-service teachers in the effective use of technology. "Modeling" refers to "teacher educators, in-service teachers, mentors, and peers promoting particular practices and views of learning" (ibid.). For technology education, this means that teacher educators explicitly demonstrate the use of digital media and provide pre-service teachers opportunities for experiential learning. Moreover, the meta-study suggests "authentic learning" as one of the key principles of successful technology education, through, for example, collaboration with school classes. "Student-active learning" means learning by doing and "involves a shift of pedagogical control from the teacher to the individual where learners are supported, actively engaged, and involved in meaning-making and the learning process" (cf. ibid.: 264). "Assessment" refers to appropriate forms of evaluation, such as digital portfolio assessment with clearly formulated expectations. Finally, "bridging theory/practice gap" means using technology to integrate theoretical and practical elements of teacher education, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

With these key principles in mind, the next section will focus on a model pre-service teacher education seminar incorporating purposeful technology use.

Teaching (with) Technology: A Model Seminar

Various forms of virtual exchanges, such as telecollaborations, have become a vital part of foreign language learning and teaching (cf. Guichon 2009; Müller-Hartmann 2006; O'Dowd 2018). In this section, a specific and comparatively unique format of telecollaboration, i.e., a cross-institutional video conference project in which pre-service teachers of a university seminar cooperate with a partner class (grade 7) of a comprehensive school and their teacher (cf. Benitt and Schmidt 2016), will be presented. Meaningful competence-oriented tasks assume a pivotal function in this

scenario (cf. Schmidt and Strasser 2016: 7); throughout the semester, the pre-service teachers engage in reading theoretical texts about CALL, MALU, and the use of educational apps in the EFL classroom before they put different concepts and teaching ideas to the test in a practical context. Cooperatively, they design a number of tasks and exercises for use with mobile devices (tablets and smartphones) for the teacher and the students of the partner class. The following seminar outline provides an overview of how the seminar is structured (Table 1).

A special feature of the seminar is that pre-service teachers work closely with the school teacher while preparing exercises and tasks and they have the opportunity to observe their ideas being implemented in three different lessons. Moreover, they are provided with regular feedback from an expert teacher and can systematically develop their theoretical and practical knowledge on teaching with mobile devices. Hauck and Kurek (2017) as well as O'Dowd (2015) highlight the particular importance of teacher-to-teacher (tele)collaborations, peer mentoring, and professional networks – the model seminar ensures a close cooperation between the expert teacher and the novice teachers and thereby contributes to overcoming the theory/practice gap as discussed earlier in this chapter.

In the context of the seminar, technology-enhanced teacher learning takes place on two different levels. Firstly, the pre-service teachers make use of the video conference system to observe the tasks and exercises they have developed in a real teaching situation. The skills and knowledge they acquire regarding the operation of a video conference system are useful for their future professional lives, as they may want to organize cooperative projects with a partner class from abroad. Secondly, by trying out, designing, and observing the implementation of the tasks and exercises for use on mobile devices, they are given experiential learning opportunities in order to familiarize themselves with the great potential as well as the challenges involved in using technology in the EFL classroom.

Keeping in mind the aforementioned approaches to successful technology-enhanced teacher education as outlined by Røkenes et al. (2014: 259) as well as the core features of Tai's TPACK-in-Action workshop (cf. Tai 2015: 143) and the features conducive to successful technology education of a language teacher presented by Hauck and Kurek (2017: 280), it becomes apparent to what extent the model seminar outlined above aligns with the demands of successful technology-enhanced teacher education:

1. **Modeling**: Appropriate teacher behavior in terms of technology use is modeled by (a) the teacher of the partner class using mobile devices (smartphones and tablets) and (b) the professor/lecturer using the video conference system.
2. **Blending**: The seminar uses a multimodal approach to teacher education by implementing different media (computers, tablets, smartphones, video conference system).
3. **Analyzing**: The professor/lecturer, in cooperation with the pre-service teachers and the school teacher, analyzes the modeled activities in order to emphasize their purpose for the context of language teaching and learning.

Table 1 Model seminar for technology-enhanced teacher education

Session	Working format	Contents
1	Introduction	Organizational issues: outlining the course requirements, specifying seminar assessment (portfolio), introducing the partner school, introducing the video conference system
2	**Visiting the partner class, meeting teacher and students**	
3	Seminar work (theory)	Discussing potential and challenges of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) and mobile-assisted language use (MALU)
4	Seminar work (practice, cooperative learning formats, designing tasks)	Developing tasks and exercises for different learning levels compatible with the class syllabus, trying out tasks and exercises on mobile devices, sending first drafts to the teacher at the partner school
5	Seminar work (practice)	Incorporating the teacher's feedback, modifying exercises and tasks, sending second drafts to the teacher
6	**Video conference I**	**Implementing lesson materials developed by pre-service teachers, classroom observation, reflection/discussion**
7	Seminar work (reflection, relating observations and experiences to theoretical concepts, designing tasks)	Cooperative reflection of the classroom observation, developing tasks and exercises compatible with class syllabus, trying out tasks and exercises on mobile devices, sending first drafts to the teacher
8	Seminar work (practice, cooperative learning formats)	Incorporating teacher feedback, modifying exercises and tasks, sending second drafts to the teacher
9	**Video conference II**	**Implementing materials developed by pre-service teachers, classroom observation, reflection/discussion**
10	Seminar work (reflection, relating observations and experiences to theoretical concepts, designing tasks)	Cooperative reflection of the classroom observation, developing tasks and exercises, trying out tasks and exercises on mobile devices, sending first drafts to the teacher
11	Seminar work (practice, cooperative learning formats)	Incorporating teacher feedback, modifying exercises and tasks, sending second drafts to the teacher
12	**Video conference III**	**Implementing materials developed by pre-service teachers, classroom observation, reflection/discussion**
13	Seminar conclusion	Seminar evaluation, reflection on video conference project, questionnaire

4. **Demonstrating**: The professor/lecturer demonstrates the use of the video conference system, and the school teacher demonstrates how to use mobile devices in the context of a language class.

5. **Collaboration/"community of practice"**: First of all, the pre-service teachers design exercises and tasks in small teams, i.e., they cooperate with their peers and learn from each other. Secondly, they work together with the teacher of the partner class, receive feedback on the tasks and exercises, as well as give feedback and ask questions about how the teacher puts the materials into practice. Hence, they are involved in a "community of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991).

6. **Authentic learning**: The video conference connects the pre-service teachers to a partner class and provides insights into a real classroom.

7. **Student-active learning/application**: The pre-service teachers do not exclusively rely on theoretical texts, but learn by doing as they try out the tasks and exercises the other teams designed before sending their drafts to the school teacher.

8. **Metacognition/reflection**: Through ongoing reflection-on-action (cf. Schön 1983), the pre-service teachers think about the materials and tasks they developed and analyze the classroom interaction during and after the observation via video conference. Moreover, they incorporate the professor's/lecturer's as well as the partner class teacher's, feedback into their drafts. Throughout the semester, they compile a reflective portfolio to reflect on their experiences and to monitor their learning processes.

9. **Assessment**: The pre-service teachers reflect on their experiences in a portfolio, which functions as the basis of the course assessment.

10. **Bridging theory/practice gap**: Through engaging with theoretical content (required readings) and practical application of mobile-assisted language use, the pre-service teachers acquire technological pedagogical and content knowledge (TPACK).

The model seminar presented above offers one viable way of technology-enhanced language teacher education, in that it connects the concerns of school-based English language learning, of university-based initial teacher education, as well as affordances of ICT. Similar formats for this cross-institutional integration have been proposed (Legutke et al. 2007) and need to be further developed and researched in the future.

Framework of Language Teachers' Development of Digital Literacy

Based on the literature review on CALL and digital literacies, as well as other related concepts, and taking into account the model seminar outlined above, it becomes apparent that developing language teachers' digital literacies is quite a complex process. As previously mentioned, technology-enhanced language teaching and

learning requires teachers and learners to alter their roles (cf. Legutke et al. 2007: 1129; Schmidt and Strasser 2016) – the same holds true for pre-service language teacher education. As Tai (2015) suggests, the instructor and the pre-service teachers have a shared responsibility in developing TPACK and digital literacies within experiential learning settings. The instructor is responsible for modeling the use of digital media, carefully analyzing the technology-based activities in cooperation with the pre-service teachers, demonstrating how the educational tools work in practice, scaffolding the pre-service teachers' learning processes by offering guidance and support, as well as assessing the individual learning progress by appropriate means, e.g., using a portfolio. At the same time, pre-service teachers need to be willing to engage in collaborative as well as experiential learning settings, in which knowledge is applied to – as well as created in – practical contexts. Furthermore, they are responsible for documenting and critically reflecting on their learning processes, beliefs, and attitudes toward technology use, if they are willing to become and remain digitally literate. Authentic learning environments offer pre-service teachers the opportunity to develop their digital literacies in the real world. They can choose to engage in authentic learning in formal contexts (e.g., by participating in a seminar or workshop featuring technology use) or in informal contexts (e.g., using technology and developing digital literacies in their leisure time). The joint efforts of instructors and pre-service teachers will lead to the development of selected digital literacies (Dudeney et al. 2013). The following figure provides a framework of language teachers' digital literacy development comprising the central aspects of this chapter (Fig. 4).

The model is, of course, a highly simplified version of the complex processes involved in developing digital literacies. In addition to the interaction between instructor and pre-service teachers, as well as various forms of interaction among peers, the pre-service teachers' prior knowledge, experience and beliefs about technology use in the EFL classroom also play an important role. Furthermore, developing a complex set of digital literacies as suggested above naturally takes time and cannot be accomplished in a single workshop or seminar. As the digi.kompP model by the Virtual University of Education in Austria (2016) presented earlier in this chapter indicates, the development of digital literacies by far exceeds the boundaries of pre-service teacher education. As Hauck and Kurek (2017: 275) rightly point out, "it is paramount for teachers to, first, be digitally literate themselves and, second, be professionally prepared to assist learners in developing the multiple literacies needed to engage with others online in an informed and meaningful way. Considering the rapid pace of technological change, both endeavours involve a lifelong learning process." Moreover, language teacher educators cannot bear the sole responsibility for equipping pre-service teachers with digital literacies; it rather needs to be a cross-curricular effort that not only transcends the boundaries of different disciplines, but also builds bridges between the institutions. Thus, the meaningful integration of theoretical and practical aspects in foreign language teacher education, as well as a systematic collaboration of all stakeholders involved, is of utmost importance.

INSTRUCTOR

Modeling Media Use
(i.e. implementing various kinds of digital media in instruction)

Analysing Activities
(i.e. jointly exploring the purpose of suggested technology-based activities)

Demonstrating Tools
(i.e. showing pre-service teachers how specific tools work in detail)

Scaffolding Learning
(i.e. supporting pre-service teachers in their learning processes by offering guidance)

Assessment
(i.e. choosing appropriate instruments to assess pre-service teachers' learning)

PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS

Collaborating/Networking
(i.e. working with instructor, peers and with others, e.g. a partner classes)

Experiential Learning
(i.e. learning-by-doing, applying knowledge in practical contexts)

Reflection/Meta-cognition
(i.e. critically thinking about technology and one's beliefs and attitudes)

Authentic Learning
(i.e. developing digital literacies in real-world contexts – in formal as well as in informal settings)

DIGITAL LITERACIES

Language-related literacies
(print literacy, texting literacy, hypertext literacy, multimedia literacy, gaming literacy, mobile literacy, code literacy)

Information-related literacies
(tagging literacy, search literacy, information literacy, filtering literacy)

Network-related literacies
(personal literacy, network literacy, participatory literacy, intercultural literacy)

(Re-)design-related literacy (remix literacy)

Fig. 4 Developing language teachers' digital literacies

Conclusion

As Hubbard (2008: 176) points out, "[t]he future of CALL [. . .] is closely tied to the future of language teacher education because language teachers are the pivotal players: they select the tools to support their teaching and determine what CALL applications language learners are exposed to and how learners use them." As argued in this chapter, language teacher education needs to take place within the framework of a systematic integration of theoretical and practical elements of technology use. Moreover, teachers' attitudes, their motivations, and their sense of professional confidence in terms of technology use play a crucial role. Hence, a central aim of language teacher education must be to help pre-service teachers establish a positive attitude toward the use of technology in (foreign language) learning by scaffolding and reinforcing positive experiences within experiential learning settings. That way, pre-service teachers can critically reflect on their own experiences and motivations, continuously draw on theoretical frameworks, develop alternative courses of action, and, in general, develop a sophisticated use of technology in the classroom (Hampel and Stickler 2005). Additionally, teacher education should challenge pre-service teachers to continuously rethink traditional teacher and learner roles and equip them with more than just technology knowledge. "The challenge for teachers will be more one of helping learners develop the skills to deal successfully with the increased control and independence that technology demands" (cf. Reinders 2009: 236). Therefore, methodologically and pedagogically, it is particularly important that university studies include pre-service teachers in authentic teaching and learning settings enriched by digital media. In short, what is called for are learning environments that not only build bridges between theory and practice but also, simultaneously, promote the growth of technological pedagogical content knowledge as an integrated dimension of language teacher education, taking into consideration dimensions of language, culture, and teacher self.

Cross-References

▶ Building teachers' Collective Efficacy: An Insight from a Language Teacher Education Program in China
▶ Creating a Technology-Rich English Language Learning Environment
▶ Critical Literacy as a Pedagogical Goal in English Language Teaching
▶ Digital Literacies for English Language Learners
▶ Language Teacher Cognition: Perspectives and Debates

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Building Teachers' Collective Efficacy: An Insight from a Language Teacher Education Program in China

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Abstract

This chapter examines how a language teacher education program mediates the development of collective efficacy in its graduates. The case study presented demonstrates the efficacy of traditional teacher education activities such as on-campus pedagogical courses, practicum, and microteaching. More importantly, it focuses attention on how these different activities work together to mediate the collective efficacy of graduates. The implications for the design of

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language teacher education programs include the need for the inclusion of regular mastery and vicarious experiences in teaching, the creation of collective learning environments with positive normative peer pressure, and the importance of the preservice teachers' affective states on their learning.

Introduction

The focus on the impact of teachers on their learners has been partly driven by the growth in accountability regimes in education as well as a recognition of the student as the consequential stakeholder in the system. The paradigm shift to a focus on impact exposes the false binary constructed between so-called teacher-centered and student-centered instruction. Instead, the new paradigm has been labelled, for want of a better term, learning-centered teaching.

The move to a learning-centered paradigm in teaching requires a commensurate change in initial teacher education. This involves moving away from a model where the theory of teaching is learnt at the university and practiced later in schools. Instead, the practice turn in teacher education requires that preservice teachers learn from and through practice (Von Esch and Kavanagh 2018).

Learning through practice should not be an individual endeavor for preservice teacher as it is important that they build both a sense of their self-efficacy as well as collective efficacy. This will allow graduates to work as collaborative members of faculty who can make a strong contribution to student learning outcomes. A focus on learning-centered graduates who have a strong sense of their self and collective efficacy positions initial teacher education and teacher educators as mediators of their students' developing practical understanding. This position is far more important, powerful, and challenging than the clichéd caricature of the lecturer delivering tired manifestos from the safety of the lectern.

Teachers' sense of their collective efficacy is the second most important school-based influence on student outcomes. It has an effect size of 1.57 on student achievement according to Hattie's synthesis of meta-analyses (Hattie 2015). This is a very large effect size given that 0.6 is regarded as large in the educational sphere (Hattie 2009). This is one argument for promoting collective efficacy in language teacher education programs.

Collective efficacy is defined as "the extent to which people believe they can work together effectively to accomplish their shared goals" (Maddux and Gosselin 2012, p. 214).Current research in the TESOL context appears to validate the view that teachers' collaboration enhances teaching practices (Eickhoff and De Costa 2018; Yuan and Mak 2016). This raises the question on how best to prepare future teachers for effective collaboration. The concept of collective efficacy is therefore an important one for language teacher education programs.

Collective efficacy is an extension of the construct of self-efficacy from the broader theoretical framework of social cognition. Social cognition assumes reciprocal causality exists between a person and their environment. Plainly speaking, people may impact on their context while receiving a reciprocal effect on their own cognition, emotion, and behaviors (Maddux and Gosselin 2012). This reciprocal causality has positive implications for teacher collective efficacy as it creates a virtuous cycle of improvement where enhanced collective efficacy contributes to student achievement which then further strengthens collective efficacy (Goddard et al. 2000).

The four key motivational sources of collective efficacy beliefs are mastery, vicarious experiences, social persuasion, and affective states (Maddux and Gosselin 2012). Mastery experiences occur when teachers experience success as a collective. Vicarious experiences are when they witness other teachers experience success. Social persuasion is when their colleagues positively influence their sense of efficacy while the affective relates to how teachers feel about their chance of having a positive impact on student outcomes. A positive relationship between these motivational constructs and collaborative professional learning has been found (Durksen et al. 2017). More research is needed beyond these measures to examine what this actual collaboration looks like in practice (Durksen et al. 2017) as we know it is effective but need to know more on why it is effective. This research might provide clues as to how perceptions of group capability "might be changed to strengthen organizational culture" (Goddard et al. 2004, p. 10).

The strong evidence base for the positive impact of a teacher's sense of self and collective efficacy on their effectiveness suggests that initial language teacher education programs incorporate it as an objective as well as design it into the learning strategies of the course. The next section of the chapter examines how the teacher education activities of microteaching and practicum can serve to mediate a sense of self and collective efficacy in their graduates.

Activity Theory as a Theoretical Lens to Understand the Development of Preservice Teachers' Collective Efficacy

The premise of activity theory is that the development of human consciousness occurs within social activity settings which are mediated by tools and signs (Engestrom 1987; Smagorinsky et al. 2004). In the activity theory framework, tools, community, rules, and division of labor are the social and material structures that enable and constrain human agency (Sewell 1992). Viewed from the perspective of activity theory, human activity is object-oriented and mediated by tools. Tools can be "broadly psychological and/or material" (Douglas and Ellis 2011, p. 467) and be "developed over time within specific cultures." Tools play critical roles in mediating human activities and revealing the social and historical culture in which tools have been developed.

It is important to observe how the object of activity is constructed by exploring what mediates the activity system. Activity theory can capture how the incorporation of tools and artifacts mediate, expand, and even limit the interaction between the subject and the community (Roth et al. 2004). During a language teacher education program, there are multiple systems and conflicting activities of relations involved. Teacher education students' learning to teach EFL (English as foreign language) is part of a complex social activity embedded in a context and shaped by a larger system of people, tools, rules, and division of labor.

For this chapter, it is not necessary to discuss cultural and historical activity theory in full detail. We just want to illustrate and reflect on how several mediating activities were integrated in a language teacher education program with the aim to develop preservice teachers' collective efficacy. Two of these activities were micro-teaching and professional experience.

Mediating Activities of Teacher Education to Develop Self and Collective Efficacy

Many of the learning activities of teacher education owe their presence to the historical legacy or the practice architectures of the field. On-campus courses in pedagogy, microteaching, and peer and expert observation are deployed because they have always been an integral part of teacher education. This is not enough of a warrant for their continued inclusion as the staples of an initial language teacher education program. Instead, a focus on learning-centric graduates requires an examination of the link between these activities and the self and collective efficacy of preservice teachers.

Microteaching was developed at Stanford University in 1963 to help liberal arts students to develop their teaching skills for secondary teaching. Microteaching involves preservice teachers teaching 5–15 min micro-lessons to small groups of 3–10 school students (Turney 1970). Feedback is given by peers, tutors. The microteaching curriculum (Turney 1970) written for the microteaching activity was widely disseminated, adopted, and adapted throughout teacher colleges in the Anglo-Western hemisphere.

Microteaching can offer many opportunities for mastery and vicarious experiences for preservice teachers with its iterative design, teach, reteach process. The collaborative lesson critique that occurs between the teach and reteach phases is critical to the development of a sense of self and collective efficacy in graduates. This development can be enhanced when the preservice teacher receives feedback from the lecturers, who convene their curriculum courses. This was evident in Cliff Turney's adaptation of the Stanford model of microteaching to the University of Sydney in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

> The afternoon evaluative discussions were very fruitful, especially when curriculum lecturers concerned with respective micro-units were present to participate. Though at times

commentary wandered from the specific skill being practised, this group evaluation seemed to the writer to be more valuable than the private student-supervisor critiques observed at Stanford. (Turney 1970, p. 135)

Microteaching is regarded as a preparatory activity for practicum in teacher education. Microteaching is a controlled learning environment where specific skills of teaching may be taught. In contrast, practicum can be a more random learning environment with a wide variance of professional learning experience and outcomes available for the relatively powerless preservice teacher. This troubling variance can be reduced through careful design and implementation carried out by initial teacher education providers. This design needs to build the mastery and vicarious experiences and collaborative interactions that create opportunity for positive normative pressure that build the affective states associated with the development of a sense of collective efficacy.

The variance of the quality of supervision and assessment on practicum stands in stark contrast to the strong focus on quality assurance in on-campus assessment of preservice teachers. Initial teacher education providers and accreditation authorities have attempted to raise the standard of supervision through the provision of mandatory training courses for supervisors (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership 2015). Providers have also implemented peer mentoring and support programs on practicum (Nguyen and Loughland 2018) to reduce the risk of a dysfunctional supervision relationship impacting upon the professional learning of the teacher education student. Peer mentoring programs have the potential to fulfil many of the antecedents of collective efficacy in vicarious experiences, social persuasion, and positive feelings.

Conventional cause and effect research methods that seek to measure the impact of the teacher education program on the individual graduate teacher are not adequate for an analysis of an integrated program design in the service of the establishment of collective efficacy. The next section of this chapter explains why activity theory provided a useful explanatory framework for such a systemic analysis of the collective endeavor of teacher education to take place.

About This Study

Participants

The research was located in a 2-year masters level teacher education program (MLTE) in English and Chinese language at a Faculty of Education in one Chinese Normal University. Historically, these programs have been taught in the departments of English and Chinese language. The challenges of these historical arrangements include a lack of targeted measures for students with weak educational background, less professional supervision and guidance (Zhong and Zhong 2015; Zhou 2015), and

a few quality sites for professional experience. The MLTE program was designed to address these issues through an integrated curriculum of pedagogy, psychology, and instruction, the inclusion of three highly ranked secondary schools for practicum placement. As well, two supervisors were assigned to each preservice teacher with a teacher educator from university and the other a mentor from the secondary schools.

Thirty students enrolled in the MLTE course in September 2017. Fifteen of these will be English language teachers who are the focus of this study. Among the cohort, four MLTE students were purposively selected as key data sources for this study as they were able to express their experiences within the course with some clarity. These students were Susan, Georgia, Zoe, and Lucy (pseudonyms used for confidentiality), while interview with other students were also presented to supplement what we argue how mediated activities promote self and collective efficacy.

Susan was the only one of the cohort with previous experience as a teacher. She took on the role of consultant when other students had problems with their initial teaching practice. Susan organized two instances of practice teaching involving six English majors in June 2018 at the village school where she used to work.

Georgia was a student without any educational background. Her confidence suffered from negative feedback received from her 15-min demonstration lesson at the end of September 2017. She recovered from this early setback with subsequent learning in the program and through interaction with peers.

Lucy was a self-regulated learner. She arranged alternative certification preparation for the first semester from September 2017 to January 2018 as she felt that she was getting limited benefit from the MLTE curriculum. However, she was actively involved in the program in the second semester from March to July 2018 with her participation in on-campus course, practicum at Susan's village school, as well as working with another student to design assessment activities for the latter's teaching at one middle school.

Zoe was a positive and hard-working leaner. She was always engaged in each lesson, raising questions, initiating discussion, and articulating her viewpoints freely and constructively. She hardly gave up when she set a goal, like upgrading to graduate level of education when she was an undergraduate. Besides, she was sociable, joining in a student-initiated teaching team organized by Susan and participating in the field work as long as she was free.

Data Collection

Focus group and individual interviews were the methods used to collect data. A focus group with 11 students in subsequent 3 times was conducted immediately after the preservice students returned from their practical teaching in the village school. The researchers immediately discussed the focus group data using the research questions as a framework. Interviews were conducted with the purposive sampling four MLTE students as the researchers realized that more data were required to answer the research questions. The reflective journals of the teacher education students were used to corroborate researchers' analyses of the focus group data.

Data Analysis

Third generation activity theory was employed to analyze the data. Third generation activity theory has been previously utilized generatively to identify the contradictions and tensions between the university and school activity systems of practicum in teacher education (Bloomfield and Nguyen 2015). In this study, it provides an explanatory analytical framework to deepen understanding of the two activity systems of teacher educators and the preservice teacher within the first two semesters of the MLTE program (see Figs. 1 and 2 below).
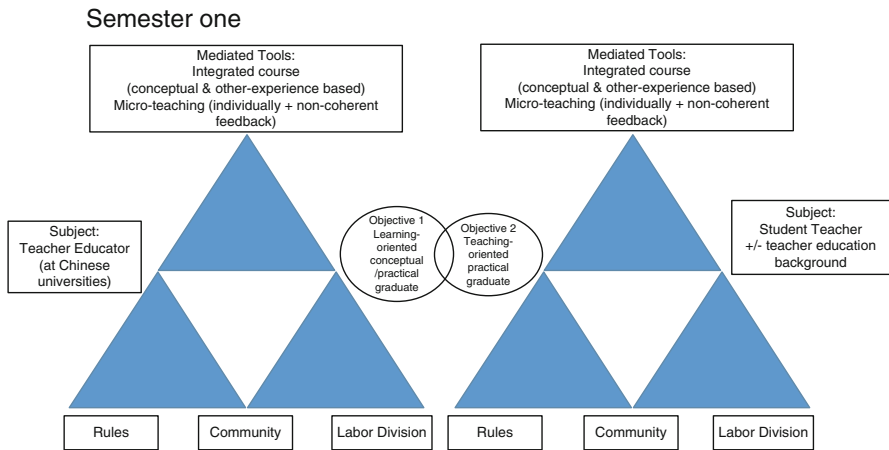
Fig. 1 Language teacher education activity systems semester one
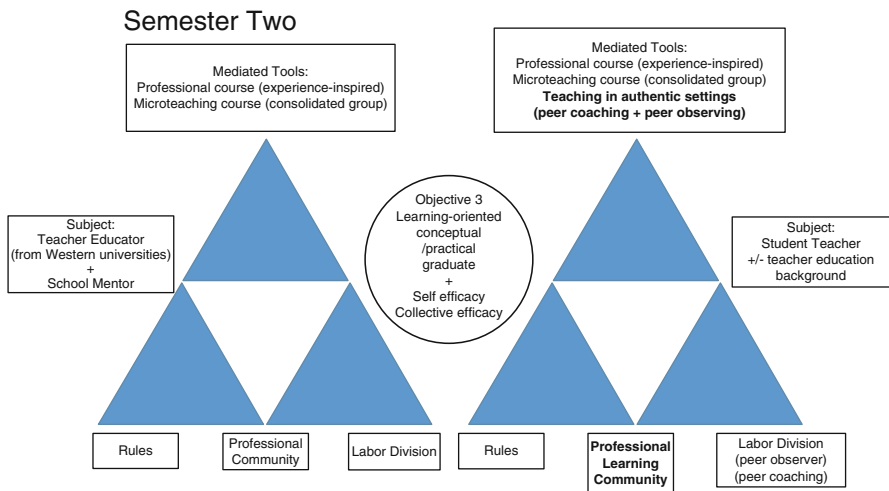
Fig. 2 Language teacher education activity systems semester two

Findings

This section reports on the language teacher education activities introduced during semester one and two of the MLTE program. The tensions between the teacher educators' learning intentions and preservice teacher's learning about teaching are illustrated. Finally, the impact of the teacher education activities on students' sense of self and collective efficacy is examined.

Semester One

In this study, preservice teachers and their lecturers are subjects of their own discrete activity systems. The integrated course and microteaching were common to both activity systems as instruments of mediation.

The integrated course was a combination of pedagogy, psychology, and curriculum and instruction. The design belief for the course was to rearrange three separate courses into one cohesive course with a holistic view of a teacher's school life. The themes within the course are Education and Society, Understanding Students, Curriculum and Instruction, Exam-oriented Education, and Quality-oriented Education.

The objective of the curriculum reform was to produce learning-centered graduates. The preservice teachers' objectives were diverse, which will be illustrated below. Many concepts such as "student differences" are demonstrated and discussed among the lessons by explanation with many cases, which, however, were not directly associated with the preservice teachers. The preservice teachers were divided into two groups by majors. Four microteachings were organized during the semester one. After each demo, university teacher educators and school mentors would give feedback to the preservice teachers. However, the feedback was not given by the same judges. The teacher educator and the preservice teachers shared the same objective of microteaching, that is, to produce classroom-ready practical graduates. However, both parties had different interpretations of what it means to be a classroom-ready graduate. For the teacher, the emphasis was on a learning-oriented graduate, while preservice teachers in this first semester were more concerned at designing and delivering lessons effectively.

The Impact of Semester One Activity on Student Self and Collective Efficacy

Overall, the preservice teachers' sense of their self and collective efficacy was not enhanced through the mediation of the courses in semester one. There was not enough differentiation for the diverse learners of the cohort, they struggled to link the theory to the practice, did not experience collaborative peer relationships, and were confused by the feedback they received in their initial forays into teaching practice.

One topic in the integrated course was about understanding student differences as represented by the objective: "understanding students and pay close attention to their

differences." However, teacher educators rarely model this in their own practice. Preservice teachers who had already taken education-related courses complained that they did not learn any new concepts during the course:

> The concepts delivered by university teacher educators are familiar to me and I felt that my conceptual framework of pedagogy has been little transformed. I intended to learn more about teaching strategies, which can of great help for my future teaching profession and I love to sit and listen for the strategies from the teacher directly. (Winnie, Interview1)

Preservice teachers without an education background complained about the integrated course for a different reason. They felt that they learned concepts only superficially:

> My major was English and I was not a student of teaching. So the concepts delivered by the teacher educators were strangers for me. I could only grasp some key concepts and the related terminologies. I was about to fully understand them before the teacher educators had moved to another one. (Zoe, interview 1)

Preservice teachers also failed to link the theory from the courses to the fieldwork they did one morning a week. The students felt confused when they stepped into the classroom, as the concepts learned in the integrated course did not translate well to practice for them:

> I did not know what to put down and how to put down, and all the information came in a flourish. I wanted to get everything but this is quite beyond my reach. This dilemma made me anxious and uncertain. (Zoe, interview 1)

Zoe's anxiety and uncertainty indicates that she was not clear on what she should be learning in the field.

Preservice teachers also reported challenges with working in groups during the integrated course. The students were grouped voluntarily but they had different experiences of collaboration:

> Some students were not collaborative and aggressive. They had strong desire to express and did not include the partner's ideas into the group presentation. During the group work, some of the pre-service teacher's voices could not be heard by their partners and also the teacher educators. (Hannah, interview 2)

In the microteaching course, the preservice teachers were confused of the different feedback they received from the school mentors during the first semester:

> I followed one school mentor's advice and changed my demo lesson plan accordingly. However, another school mentor gave me different opinions. I felt very desperate and did not know what to follow next time. I felt frustrated and I really wanted to know about it clearly. (Hannah, interview 2)

Susan reported that she felt very nervous before and after the first demo for she had never been taken part in such an activity. As described by Susan,

> Georgia felt depressed before and after the demonstration. She was emotionally low and almost cry after the demo. She could not believe in herself, for she had never taken part in such an activity. She felt too much challenges. (Susan, interview 2)

Preservice Teachers' Strategies to Resolve Tensions

Preservice teachers employed different strategies to resolve the tension between their objective of being classroom-ready and the university objective of being a learning-centered graduate. These strategies included peer observation and taking extra exams.

Zoe reported that she and her partner recorded a video of a preservice teacher, Susan, who had several years of teaching experience before being admitted by the program.

> With Lily, we talked about Susan's demonstration and identify what could be learned from and then enlighten us during the next demonstration. Some teaching ideas were emerging when we talked with each other over the video observation. (Zoe, interview 2)

Lucy had a different strategy. She focused on some teaching and subject-related tests. She gained a sense of self-efficacy through passing the exams. As she reported:

> When I could not understand the concepts and had little interest in the course, for the teacher educators always talked about the concepts. I would get myself involved into preparing various certificates for teaching in Chinese ordinary schools or international schools, or maybe abroad. I passed two tests during semester 1 and I felt that I made great progress. (Lucy, interview 3)

This pattern of preservice teachers seeking alternative activities to augment their degree program was repeated during semester two.

Semester Two

The twin activity systems were boosted by the addition of three western teacher educators and a school mentor to work on campus. Two of the western educators were from Australia who taught courses in English Assessment Literacy as well as Learning Theories (Sociocultural) and English Learning. The third teacher educator was from the USA and taught a course, Professional Development of English Teachers. A school mentor was employed in the microteaching course who gave the students feedback after their demonstration lessons for 9 weeks.

The Impact of Semester Two Activities on Student Self and Collective Efficacy

The authentic tasks and pedagogy employed by the western teacher educators in semester two enhanced preservice teachers' engagement in the professional courses. The pedagogy employed by the western teacher educators was of a constructivist and responsive nature, that is, stimulating preservice teachers' learning based on their

prior experience and background. This pedagogical approach is exemplified in the following vignette of a western teacher educator, Florence, in her course Professional Development of the English Teacher.

Florence had the preservice teachers examine their inside knowledge and experience about teaching through devising metaphors to depict their view of themselves as a teacher. She provided one of her ex-student's metaphor of water flow as the model, leading the class to discuss the attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions on teaching behind this metaphor. The preservice teachers then came up with their own metaphor that they discussed in groups of three. Florence used a whole class plenary so the preservice teachers could examine how they positioned themselves as a teacher, what relationships they would like to establish with their students, and their pedagogy.

The metaphor activity introduced more personal knowledge to the classroom and encouraged preservice teachers' active participation in the dialogical reflection of their personal understanding of what it means to be a teacher. This dialogue helped to create a sense of a learning community in the course. As Susan mentioned:

> I love Florence's course. She respected every student's experiences and involve them in understanding teaching and learning. The more we shared, the more we felt that the whole class is a family, in which we trusted each other and more lovely and inspiring anecdotes on teaching were shared. (Susan, interview 3)

Florence initiated a reflective and sharing dialogue in the language teacher education course that enhanced the preservice teachers' sense of self-efficacy:

> I was not confident of myself and therefore not active in the classroom, but to my surprise, Florence found this. She invited me to join. In the beginning, I felt awkward but gradually I began to take part in the course activities by myself. I felt that Florence's course had a magic power, which can attract every student like a magnetic stone. (Lucy, interview 3)

These preservice teachers not only became more professional through these courses, but they also built up their sense of self-efficacy through participating in the various activities in Florence's course. Susan recalled.

> I felt that Florence was different when she sat on the stairs talking with the students before the class began. It proved that I was right. She was very enthusiastic to invite every student to participate in discussion. I did not know what I wanted to say but after her inquiry, some ideas occurred to me. It is really unbelievable. I became surprised that Florence's espoused theory and theory in action corresponding to each other. (Susan, interview 2)

Lucy also mentioned that she was slow but Max was willing to wait for her and she felt very respected and warm:

> I could not believe that Max, the Australian teacher educator mentioned what I had talked about my background stories before the courses and got them part of the classroom learning. He was smiling and occasionally wait and supporting me with other related questions when I could not answer the question he raised. (Lucy, interview 3)

Lily mentioned that another teacher educator from Australia, Carlie assigned concrete tasks such as designing assessment rubrics during the course. The preservice teachers had to strive to get the product done during the course:

> I felt very confident when I succeeded in designing a rubric for student writing tasks. When my partner and I had difficulties, Carlie would come up and make suggestions for us. When I can get something done by myself, I shall always be cheered up. (Lily, interview 3)

The preservice teachers were able to develop their sense of self-efficacy from these mastery experiences.

The preservice teachers also developed a greater sense of self and collective efficacy during their microteaching course compared with semester one. Lucy mentioned that she felt much more comfortable and began to translate the concepts learned in semester one with the microteaching:

> It seemed that the concepts in semester one began to play a role. When I design a microteaching lesson, I would like to get student difference concept into consideration and was praised by teacher educators. (Lucy, interview 3)

There was more scaffolding provided for preservice teachers in the microteaching course in semester two. Within the fixed groups of three, the preservice teachers talked to relieve their pressure as well as to take advantage of the collective intellect. The preservice teachers established rules for the learning community:

> Although the group was similar to that of the previous semester, it involved more rules and shared the opportunities for everyone in the group. Every member in the group was asked to have a lesson plan and then the group choose one we believe the best, or we work out one based on each piece. Therefore, every student needed to help each other. (Susan, interview 3)

The individual participation and mutual support can help everybody to expand their horizon and involved their peers' knowledge into one part of their own. During this process, the connection between preservice teachers became increasingly intense. They had a sense of being together and enjoyed this working format:

> I enjoyed studying with my group members. We were like a team. In order to improve our work, we would like to spare more time and polish our lesson. Everybody is a good listener and we were also willing to accept each other's suggestion and we knew that this suggestion will be beneficial to all of us. (Zoe, interview 2)

There also emerged another learning community in semester two initiated by Susan. Susan, who used to teach in a primary school in a village in Hebei Province, organized a group of seven of the cohort preservice teachers to teach in that school. Collectively, they learnt about the students and English teaching in that village school. They then prepared and taught lessons both individually and in collaboration with each other, as well as observing and providing feedback to each other after the lessons. Individually and collectively, they built their sense of efficacy teaching with

real students. During this process, mutual trust was established, and every member was open-minded and frank with each other:

> Susan was frankly critical and made some suggestions for me. However, I was willing to accept this. Previously, if someone had a different idea against me, I would be angry. However, in this group, I would not, because I know well that my peers did this just for the sake of me. I like staying with my team members. (Zoe, interview 1)

Zoe also mentioned that she felt puzzled and had no idea of what to do when the students' response was unexpected:

> I felt that I was well-prepared, but when the primary students asked a different question. I felt very awkward when I stood in front of the class. Fortunately, Susan observed me and gave me alternatives after the teaching in the primary school. I felt that I was cheered up. (Zoe, interview 1)

Georgia mentioned that she benefited a lot when her partners reflected on her lessons together on the way back to university from the primary school:

> It was unforgettable. We held the bars on the bus, talking with each other about how we can change our lessons. It seemed that the time went fast and I learned a lot from that casual and informal conversation. I felt much more confident compared with semester one. The micro-teaching in semester one was a challenge and nightmare to me. (Georgia, interview 3)

It seems that this self-organized and self-regulated activity was an important mediator of these preservice teachers' developing sense of self and collective efficacy in the art and science of learning-centered teaching.

Discussion

An activity theory analysis of this case study of a language teacher education program in China provides lessons for other providers who are seeking to innovate with their own programs. The evidence from this case suggests that it is not enough to simply refine the objectives of the program. Instead, it is necessary to align the rules, community, division of labor, and mediating tools with this objective if changes in graduate outcomes are to be achieved. There is also strong evidence from this study that giving preservice teachers agency in their professional learning can provide rich opportunities for the development of their self and collective efficacy.

The teacher educators in this study were like many others in the world who have sought to redesign their language teacher education toward a learning-centered orientation and away from a teaching-centered focus. As teacher educators, their first thought in the redesign was to the courses within. In this respect, they created a new integrated course that the evidence from this study suggested was not

universally popular with the preservice teachers. The course content itself was sound but the preservice teachers felt alienated from it due to a lack of a learning community and unclear rules of engagement.

The rules of engagement for an innovative language teacher education program such as this are important. The preservice teachers in semester one of this study were trying to navigate their path through learning pathways that were logical in the mind of their designers but possibly a little puzzling to these neophytes. The rules of engagement in this instance may have prepared them for the cognitive dissonance common to all learners grappling with new and difficult ideas. This caution is particularly pertinent for these future teachers who will undoubtedly teach students who will experience the same discomforting dissonance in their own classes.

Rules of engagement for this course may have also helped the preservice teachers to better discern the relationship between the theoretically dense integrated course and the more practically oriented microteaching course. It may well be the case that the big ideas of the integrated course were not meant to be applied directly to microteaching. In fact, the rules of the course could have stipulated that the two courses were parallel streams of theory and practice. Alternatively, the rules might have made explicit the pedagogical relationship between the two courses.

The microteaching course also highlighted another tension for the preservice teachers in the division of labor arrangements in the course. The course designers had thoughtfully designed for the inclusion of mentor teachers from nearby top-ranking secondary schools. However, some of the preservice teachers were confused by the contradictory feedback they received from these mentor teachers. Once again, the lack of inter-rater reliability in lesson feedback is not a new issue in teacher education as is the conflation of the role of assessor and mentor in supervision. This tension was resolved somewhat in semester two when the school-based mentor was employed to work on campus where they could build a solid pedagogical relationship with the preservice teachers.

There is also evidence from this study that giving preservice teachers agency in their professional learning can provide rich opportunities for the development of their self and collective efficacy. In semester two, the preservice teachers worked in collaborative groups to complete the preparation and presentation tasks required for the microteaching course. This collaboration provided the intellectual and emotional support that was missing in semester one. This is hardly a new finding, but it does point to the importance of designing for a sense of community in language teacher education. In this context, the community is an important mediator of the development of a sense of self and collective efficacy in graduates.

Further evidence of the value of community to the development of a sense of self and collective efficacy in language preservice teachers was the village school experience instigated by the students themselves. This spontaneous learning provided rich opportunities for peer observing and coaching (Lu 2010), peer interaction (McLaughlin and Talbert 2007), exchanging classroom experiences (Little 2003), as well as their ideas and knowledge (Stoll et al. 2006).This evidence from one case study suggests that it may be worthwhile for teacher educators to provide the space for the development of community collaboration among preservice teachers away

from the institutionalized and codified instances provided on campus. These spaces may be more important in the type of time-poor accelerated intensive graduate programs that are becoming more prevalent in language teacher education faculties.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The implications for the design of language teacher education programs includes the need for the inclusion of regular mastery and vicarious experiences in teaching, the creation of collective learning environments with positive normative peer pressure, and the importance of the preservice teachers' affective states on their learning.

The preservice teachers featured in the case study presented in this chapter valued the mastery experience of practicing their teaching. They were a little uncertain about the direction of the program in the first semester because they could not connect the theory of the pedagogical course to their future workplace. This was remedied somewhat when these students organized their own practicum at the end of semester two. This suggests that mastery experiences in language teaching should be available as early as possible to preservice teachers.

The vicarious experience of witnessing the effective teaching of colleagues is also important to the development of collective efficacy in English language teacher graduates. Microteaching provided these vicarious learning experiences in the case study presented in this chapter. The preservice teachers were able to regularly observe a peer who was at a similar level of professional development in an environment with less pressure than practice teaching in a school. This mediation was more effective in semester two when a mentor teacher from the partner school organized these experiences, so their learning was made more explicit.

The power of the collective engagement in the language teacher education program featured in the case was very evident. The preservice teachers worked together both formally and informally to build their confidence in their developing teaching practices. This has very important implications for the design of language teacher education programs, in that they need to allocate both structured and unstructured opportunities for candidates to work effectively together. This collectivism may be a cultural phenomenon of China that western countries may wish to learn from.

The final implication of the case study is that it is important that preservice teachers' feelings about their progress in the course will have a big impact on their sense of efficacy. In semester one, it was seen that the anxiety of some of the candidates prevented them from learning. This anxiety stemmed from their uncertainty at the nexus between theory and practice in their chosen course. This anxiety can be addressed through attention to early mastery experiences as alluded to earlier in this section. It was evident that positive feelings were created in the students when they achieved success on their self-organized professional experience.

The design and implementation of language teacher education programs can have a positive or negative impact on the development of collective efficacy in its graduates. Collective efficacy is an increasingly important factor in teacher

effectiveness and needs to be nurtured in graduates through the mediation of suitable mastery and vicarious learning experiences. These experiences should be undertaken as a collective and aim to build early, positive feelings about teaching in preservice teachers.

Conclusion

The study examines how a language teacher education program mediates the development of collective efficacy among its preservice teachers. The findings from this case suggest that teacher educators' pedagogy shifting from teaching-centered to learning-centered highly engaged the preservice teachers to various language learning activities. The mediating tools referred as integrated, professional, and micro-teaching course are proved to assist the establishment of self and collective efficacy among the students. The efficacy is more obvious if the preservice teachers are developing agency from the program, such as the village school teaching experience in form of community in this study. They demonstrated both self and collective efficacy from observing and coaching each other's lessons, interacting on the feelings, experience and knowledge, and from teaching in such authentic settings.

Cross-References

▶ Language Teacher Cognition: Perspectives and Debates
▶ Shifting from Teaching the Subject to Developing Core Competencies Through the Subject: The Revised Senior Middle School English Curriculum Standards (2017 Edition) in China
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