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ABOUT SFU EDUCATIONAL REVIEW JOURNAL

SFU Educational Review acknowledges the Coast Salish People on whose traditional territories we are privileged to live, work and play.

SFU Educational Review Journal is a graduate student run journal at Simon Fraser University and supports diverse scholarship in the field of Education. Please browse our current issue and archived ones to read about the different types of research that has been featured. We publish two issues per year, with one issue focused on specific themes from the educational field.

All of our issues are published online at *www.sfuedreview.org* and are publicly accessible.

A brief history: The SFU Ed Review published its inaugural first issue in the spring of 2007. Originally, the Ed Review followed a traditional academic journal format; however, in 2012, the Ed Review was redesigned in order to make it more welcoming and accessible. Through these changes the Ed Review hopes to:

- be more inclusive of our academic community;
- promote discussion and reflection;
- provide a medium that better supports diverse scholarship and research;
- provide a format that better supports shorter works.

Ultimately, we are hoping to initiate a medium that will promote better awareness about the current work being pursued in the Educational community, offer a safe environment for peer-to-peer dialogue, and encourage emergent scholars to explore and develop their own voice within academia.

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear SFU Educational Review Members,

What an exciting year we have had so far. As I reflect on the past year and towards the months ahead, I am thankful to the team that has made the journal to what it is today. After the publication of our 2018 general issue and the most recent Special Issue on performative and relational ontologies, our readership has increased from previous years. Our journal is gaining interest from many scholars including Faculty and Simon Fraser University (SFU) Faculty of Education alumni and as such, our team has grown.

I extend my deepest gratitude to Laura, Carolina, Eric, Emerly, Cameron, Daniel and Jacky (for your tireless efforts, enthusiasm and dedication to bring new and exciting research and scholarship to the field. I also would like to thank our reviewers for giving countless numbers to provide comments and feedback to our authors, and finally to the authors choosing to publish with SFU Ed Review.

This general issue highlights educational research from the perspective of language, early childhood education and poetic inquiry. I am excited that we are receiving more submissions that go beyond traditional articles because interpretations of research can be far richer when expressed through different forms. Our next issue is focused on the Internationalization of higher education (HE) and for the first time in the journal's history, we will be accepting, reviewing, and publishing articles in Portuguese, French, Italian, and Spanish. Our next special issue will be in 2020 and if you have ideas on the focus for our next special issue, please send us an email at sfuedr@sfu.ca or chat with us on our Facebook (SFU Ed Review) or Twitter (@sfuedr) page.

In addition to joining the digital space, we have been planning the journal's first symposium to celebrate our authors on October 19, 2019 in the Faculty of Education at SFU. This symposium will feature and spotlight authors' published works and to provide an informal setting for conversation and dialogue to create collaborative relationships between scholars of different fields. The symposium is open to Faculty, graduate students, teachers and educators in and outside of SFU. We will have two keynote speakers and presentations from authors accompanied by food and refreshments. Mark your calendars!

As I conclude this letter, I invite you to browse, experience and read the work from your fellow colleagues and peers and to explore the journal archives for some nostalgic research. We

welcome conversations on new and emerging topics in Education and look forward to engaging with the research community with future issues.

Sincerely,

Poh Tan PhD ’08(Exp. Med), PhD ABD (Educ.)

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MEET THE ED REVIEW TEAM

Dr. Poh Tan is the Editor-in-Chief and is a PhD student in Curriculum Theory and Implementation at SFU, where her research focuses on scientific literacy in young children. Poh obtained her first PhD from the University of British Columbia where her research focused on stem cell biology and mechanisms that regulate blood stem cell transplantation.

Ms. Jacky Barreiro is the Associate Editor and is a PhD student in Curriculum Theory and Implementation at SFU. In the course of her 20 plus years of educational career, she has been a teacher for different grades in the K-12 system in the USA and in Ecuador. At the university level, she has taught in Ecuador, USA, and more recently in Canada. She has also been the principal of two schools in Ecuador.

Daniel Ferraz is the Managing Editor and is a MA student in Educational Psychology at SFU. His thesis focuses on critical psychology in social cultural theory. He joined SFU Ed Review in May 2018 and looks forward to working with the journal team to further develop and improved the journal's online platform for its readers.

Dr. Laura Baumvol is a Lecturer at the Vantage One Program of the University of British Columbia. She has a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics from UFRGS (Brazil), which included a visiting scholar period at Simon Fraser University as a recipient of the Emerging Leaders of America Scholarship Program (Global Affairs Canada). Her research focuses on internationalization of higher education and language practices for knowledge production and dissemination. Laura advocates for the adoption of a critical-pragmatic approach for the inclusion of multilingual scholars in the global academic scenario. Her research interests also include academic literacies, English for Academic Purposes, Content and Language Integrated Learning, and scholarly communication.

Ms. Carolina Bergonzoni a Vancouver-based Italian dance artist, yoga teacher, and Philosophy scholar. Shehas a MA in Philosophy, as well as an MA in Comparative Media Arts from Simon Fraser University and is currently pursuing a PhD in Arts Education. She joins us as Associate Editor and will be involved in the daily operations of the journal.

Eric Ly is a SFU alumni from the Faculty of Applied Science Engineering with an expertise in web programming and coding. Eric helped streamline the journal's website and improved the user-interface for easier navigation of journal. Eric currently works as a software developer for a company based in Vancouver.

Emerly Liu and Cameron Nakatsu are executives of SFU's Education Student Association (ESA). The journal has been collaborating with ESA to organize and implement the journal's Symposium to celebrate its published authors in the year.

Nikita D'Souza is currently a fourth year undergraduate student pursuing a double major in Communications and Sociology at SFU. She joins the team as the journal's Social Media and Digital Marketing Specialist. She has a passion for connecting the journal with the field and to engage in scholarly conversations.

ARTICLES

EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT CHAIR

SUMMER COWLEY

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Abstract

When considering the role of university department chair, one may think of objective tasks, such as budgets, scheduling, and faculty development. However, due to the social interaction required to run a department, the daily work of chair involves emotional self-management in addition to planning and organization. Although the objective tasks of the role of chair have been studied, there is a lack of information regarding chairs' self-management of emotions, a process herein referred to as emotional labour. This study asks: "In what ways do department chairs perform emotional labour at work?" Findings from this study may shed light on the ways in which the role of university department chair in Canada requires emotional work, as well as objective task-completion.

Keywords: department chairs, higher education, emotional labour, emotions

Emotional Labour in the Role of University Department Chair

Consider the work of a university department chair (or head) and various tasks may come to mind. These tasks may include the chair's mandated activities of budgeting, scheduling teaching hours, running departmental meetings, and holding individual meetings regarding grievances, suggestions, and professorial career goals. According to chair job descriptions and university policies (University of Alberta, 2009a, 2009b; University of Toronto, 2003; University of British Columbia, 2016, n.d.; McGill University, 2017), successful completion of these tasks can be measured through balanced finances, manageable schedules, regular departmental planning and discussion, and successful applications for grants, promotion, and tenure. The role may appear to require largely objective reasoning to achieve quantifiable ends. However, the daily work life of a department chair focuses so much on interactions with others (McMaster University, 2000; University of Toronto, 2003; University of Alberta, 2009a, 2009b) that a chair's personal experience of their role may centre more closely around relationship-related successes and failures than the objective tasks assigned to them. That is, the work of being chair may be closely linked to the delicate socially-bound work required to build and maintain positive collegial relationships and develop an excellent personal reputation. In this study, department chairs were interviewed to discuss the role of *emotional labour* (Hochschild, 2003) in their daily work as chair. The objective of this study is to answer the question: "In what ways do department chairs perform emotional labour at work?" Findings from this study help to build knowledge on the emotional effort required to be chair, expanding current conceptualizations of the chairship as a task-oriented role.

In contrast to depictions of the role of department chair as highly administrative, participants in this study emphasized the significance of relationship-maintenance and building through emotional self-management. Participants in this study, in discussing their emotional labour at work, described the ways in which they strove to appear positive, calm, and neutral while at work. An awareness of this potential "ideal" mode of emotional expression may help current and prospective chairs, higher education researchers, and upper administration to understand the experience of the role further beyond its task-oriented nature. By considering the ways in which the participants in this study characterized their emotional self-management, prospective chairs may be able to better understand the hidden requirements of the role, upper administrators may be able to plan further professional development and support for chairs, and chairs' colleagues, staff, and students may be able to more carefully consider the role of chair as emotionally taxing. In short, findings from this study may help chairs and those with whom they interact to consider that department chairs must work to complete their tasks and duties while also working to rein in their emotions at work. Although any consideration of chairs' emotional self-management at work would add to conversations surrounding the nature of the role, one must ask whether such self-management is always beneficial for individual chairs. Is feigned positivity, calm, or neutrality necessarily a worthwhile goal? Throughout the following discussion of this study, one must consider the significance of "masking" emotions (Hochschild,

2003) while in service to others and the possible effects on chairs' sense of being authentic and on their colleagues' perceptions of their authenticity.

Theoretical Framework and Overview

This study uses Hochschild's (2003) framework of emotional labour as a lens. Hochschild (2003) defined the term 'emotional labour' in her study of public service workers, as she noted the effort that they had to expend on portraying a particular affect. Hochschild (2003) describes three factors as relevant to discussions of emotional labour: social exchange, feeling rules, and emotion work. In situations where emotional labour is being performed, we can say that: a) social exchange is constrained to formal avenues whose motives are profit-based; b) socially-constructed norms (feeling rules) exist that define and constrain what emotional expression is appropriate, and c) emotion work is performed by social agents who wish to obey those rules. Hochschild's (2003) description of feeling rules at work focuses on the effort required to meet norms of emotional expression. If "emotion workers" (Hochschild, 2003) did *not* display the prescribed emotions, they would be perceived as not meeting the normative expectations of their roles; they would be seen as doing a bad job.

By commodifying feeling and its expression, institutions are able to shape the ways in which workers express themselves and the ways in which they think about self-expression. In universities, although the 'rule books' are much slimmer than the training manuals described in Hochschild (2003), workers are still held to the standard of an imagined, normative, ideal—in the case of department chairs, this is the ideal of 'the good leader'. The norms surrounding 'the good leader' and their emotional expression represent a standard which chairs in this study described as expected of them in their role. In the transition from regular faculty to chair, the role of chairs changes from focusing on private and individualistic concerns to public and group concerns (Gmelch & Parkay, 1999). Chairs must learn how they are expected to act, including the feeling rules that outline which emotions are appropriate for them to express at work. Investigating the emotional labour that chairs must perform in order to maintain positive work relationships and their professional and personal reputations at work may allow us to better understand the stress that can result from that effort.

From my review of relevant literature, it appears that only one study on this specific topic currently exists—Gonzales and Rincones (2013)—an exploratory study of the emotional labour of one university department chair. Studies that expand on their work, or on chairs' emotional labour in general, have either not been conducted or have yet to be published. My study continues the exploration of the emotional labour of department chairs through interviews often chairs from diverse areas of study at one large research-intensive university in Canada as case-study. Due to varying preferred modes of communication, the chairs in this study provided information via: face-to-face, telephone, and Skype interviews; email correspondence, and (in one case) participant journal entries. The chairs answered questions about the emotional labour they performed as part of their role, the feeling rules that defined how they should and should not express emotions at work, and the ways in which those rules were written and rewritten. The

resulting data were coded, categorized, and analyzed for themes. The analysis of the data culminated in an overarching concept: university department chairs perform emotional labour in order to appear positive, calm, and neutral at work. The chairs generally considered the feeling rules guiding their performance of emotional labour as self-created but, as each chair described a similar set of rules, these rules may be thought of as symptomatic of a set of internalized norms surrounding university administrator emotional expression.

Context for the Study

One difficulty of studying department chair emotional labour is the lack of literature published on the specific topic. Emotional labour has been studied in areas connected to the industry of higher education, including nursing (Muller-Juge et al., 2014), K-12 teaching and administration (Maxwell & Riley, 2016), university instruction (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004), customer service, and business leadership (Kaiser & Kaplan, 2006). In these fields, emotional labour has been described as relevant to the worker's ability to perform mandatory tasks or to navigate significant work relationships. Despite the recorded significance of emotional labour in many areas of work (and non-work life), little attention has been paid in the literature to the emotional labour of department chairs or other university administrators. Gonzales and Rincones (2013) described and analyzed the emotional labour of one department chair in an American university but little other work on chair emotions exists. This is perhaps a reflection of the broader tendency in higher education research to treat universities as sites of thought, objectivity, and knowledge creation (Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Luthar & Šadl, 2008), rather than as sites of emotions or complex social relationships. The areas of research that frame this study are: emotions in higher education; emotional labour in K-12, university instruction, and various other industries; and task-oriented work/ emotional labour in the role of department chairs.

Emotional Labour in Education

The role of department chair is a social one and the regular tasks of a chair are largely performed with or for others, rather than alone and for oneself (DeFleur, Kurpius, Osborne, & Hamilton, 2010). Literature on emotional labour in higher education leadership is limited (Gonzales & Rincones, 2013), in contrast to the wealth of studies conducted on the emotional labour of teachers and course instructors (Bellas, 1999; Berry & Cassidy, 2013; Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Ogbonna & Harris, 2004; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Hargreaves (1998) focuses on the emotional labour of the teachers that leaders must manage and develop and only briefly addresses the emotional labour of educational leaders. Looking slightly further afield, Maxwell and Riley's (2016) study on school principals offers some insight into the emotional labour of these types of educational leaders and finds that regulating emotions through suppression or forced expression affected both burnout and job satisfaction. Zhang and Zhu (2008) conduct a study similar to Maxwell and Riley (2016) but within a higher education context and note the connections between emotional labour, burnout, and job satisfaction in the working lives of college instructors in China. As mentioned, many authors writing about emotional labour in

higher education focus on instructors. Constanti and Gibbs (2004) found that the necessity of performances of emotional labour could lead to exploitation of workers in order to satisfy the students and further the goals of management. Moreover, writing about university instructors, Bellas (1999) points out the differences in the expected emotional labour capabilities of women and men; Bellas notes that, despite the large amount of emotional labour required of Professors, this type of work tends to be undervalued and unrewarded within the organizational context. Writing on the emotional lives of five leaders in an educational context, Beatty (2000) describes emotional self-regulation by leaders as a challenging part of a working in particular organizational cultures and describes emotional regulation as connected to job satisfaction, similar to other authors mentioned earlier.

Department Chair as a Social Role

The role of department chair is a social one. This is partly due to the position of the chairship in a boundary space between upper administration and departmental faculty, where chairs must navigate complex relationships as they carry out their work (Armstrong & Woloshyn, 2017). Within this position of institutional messenger and collegial advocate, chairs may use informal personal connections or professional authority as the attempt to carry out the actions dictated by administrators higher up the hierarchical chain (Berdrow, 2010). While the work required by department chairs to create and maintain collegial work relationships has been described in the literature as significant (Brown & Moshavi, 2002; Leary, Sullivan, & Ray, 2001; Sarros, Wolverton, Gmelch, & Wolverton, 1999), the role of chair is routinely portrayed as challenging because of its complexity, ambiguity, and multifaceted nature (Aziz et al., 2005; Boyko & Jones, 2010; Boyko, 2009; Gmelch & Burns, 1994; Sarros et al, 1999). The complexity and challenge of the chairship extends to a need for the ability to develop and nurture positive departmental atmospheres (Brown & Moshavi, 2002; Leary et al, 2001; Sarros at al, 1999). Additionally, U15 department job descriptions of the role points to a need for chairs with well-developed interpersonal skills (University of Alberta, 2009a, 2009b; University of British Columbia, n.d., 2016; University of Toronto, 2016). Chair job descriptions emphasise building collegial environments, departmental vision, and unity. This indicates that the role requires relationship-building abilities as a vital feature of the chair.

In general, the chairship has been described as difficult to transition into from a general faculty position (Wolverton, Ackerman, & Holt, 2005; DeFleur et al, 2010). Practical tips on how to "survive" and taking on the role of chair and the associated changes to one's work relationships and tasks (Buller, 2012; Chu, 2012; DeLander, 2017; Taggart, 2015). Despite best practices guides, literature on educational leadership lacks a consensus on the best way to lead (Bush & Glover, 2014). Bryman (2007) identifies "13 aspects of leader behaviour that were found to be associated with effectiveness at departmental level" (p. 696) in a review of literature from 1985-2006. Of the 13 aspects discussed, at least five are concerned with the social role of the chairship. These five socially-oriented aspects are as follow: consideration for others, trustworthiness and integrity, fostering open communication, acting as a role model, and creating

a positive and collegial work environment. Bryman's (2007) identification of these socially-oriented factors, along with U15 job descriptions of the role of chair, indicates an apparent significance of social and interpersonal tasks and capabilities for department chairs.

Literature Review Summary

Overall, the emotional lives of department chairs at work are understudied. The same claim could be made about many of the roles of university academics or administrators. In this study, department chairs were partly chosen as a focal point because of their significance to departmental functioning (Czech & Forward, 2010). They were also chosen because of the closeness of their position to the professors, students, and staff in their departments, as opposed to upper administration's more removed position. During the planning stage of this study, it was hoped that department chairs, because of the social nature of their role, might be able to easily recall moments or circumstances in which they had to perform emotional labour as part of their role. In corresponding with ten current chairs, this hope proved to be well-founded.

Methodology and Methods

A case study design for this research question is appropriate because of case study's focus on the significance of context. Merriam (2009) writes that case studies are appropriate when the phenomenon of interest cannot be removed from its context, when the context is within a bounded system, and where data are drawn from multiple data sources. This case study used individual interviews and participant journals (Jacelon & Imperio, 2005) as data collection methods. Ten current department chairs in the natural and social sciences, the arts, and professional faculties were interviewed. The chairs ranged in tenure from 3 months to over 6 years, were female and male, and North American and European in national origins. Data were collected via in-person interviews, participant journals, and skype, telephone, and email correspondence. In-person interviews were 60-90 minutes long, and the secondary Skype/telephone interviews were 45-60 minutes long. One chair chose to keep a participant journal and did so with 10 entries written on weekdays over a two-week period. Data collection occurred from November 2016 through March 2017. The research site was a large, research-intensive university in Canada with over 70 departments. Data were analyzed using Saldaña's (2016) affective methods of first cycle coding, focusing on instances where chairs spoke of emotions and values. Codes were identified and noted line by line in Excel as instances of the *a priori* code of 'emotional labour'; *in vivo* codes of the participants' words in transcripts relating to emotional labour; and emotion and value codes. Codes were organized into categories using a coding table in Excel and a table top method to identify themes (Saldaña, 2016).

Research Site and Participants

This qualitative case study, conducted in the format described by Merriam (2009) and Stake (1995; 2013) was conducted at an institution comprising over 70 departments. The purpose of conducting the study at a large university was to highlight some of the problems for chairs that

scholars in this field have discussed (Boyko & Jones, 2010; Gmelch & Parkay, 1999; Gmelch, Tanewski, & Sarros, 1998), i.e. feeling isolated, bogged down by 'administrivia' in a large and complex bureaucratic structure, unprepared and untrained as managers. The research site was a Canadian university with a student population of over 30,000 undergraduate students and over 7,000 graduate students. Only current department chairs were invited to participate, in an effort to avoid the complicating effects of time on memory. Each department chair who participated in this study was serving a full five-year term. In order to include responses from chairs with as varied a range of demographic backgrounds as possible, Participants were recruited based on variation in experience in the role, and gender. Participants were actively sought out from across the Faculties of: Arts and Science, the professional faculties (Dentistry, Education, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Nursing), and the non-professional faculties. The ten chairs who accepted my invitations were from the natural sciences, arts, and the professional faculties, and varied in previous experience and participation in an on-site leadership development program (Table 1).

Participants				
Chair	**Data sources**	**Participation in leadership program**	**Previous university leadership experience**	**Discipline**
C1	In-person Interview x1	no	no	Arts
C2	In-person Interview x2	no	no	Arts
C3	In-person interview x1, telephone interview x1, participant journal	yes	no	Sciences
C4	In-person interview x1	yes	no	Arts

C5	In-person interview x1, Skype interview x1	no	yes	Professional faculty
C6	In-person interview, email follow-up questions	yes	no	Sciences
C7	In-person interview x1	yes	yes	Arts
C8	In-person interview x1, email correspondence	no	yes	Sciences
C9	In-person interview x1	no	yes	Professional faculty
C10	In-person interview x1		yes	Arts

Table 1. Participant data collection method and demographic information.

Interviews. The interviews that were conducted in this study were semi-structured (Merriam, 2009) in design and each one started with the same 10 questions, addressing emotional labour, emotion work feeling rules, and social exchange, as a guide, leaving me opportunities to ask follow-up questions in response to participants' statements.

Email Correspondence. Six of the chairs chose not to participate in a second interview but welcomed any follow-up questions to be sent via email after the interviews were transcribed. After each interview, the transcript of the recording was sent to the chair, with a request for them to make amendments to the transcripts as they saw fit. Summarizing notes and follow-up questions were also sent at this time. Three chairs sent responses to follow-up questions after the initial interviews via email. The chairs who responded to follow-up questions via email answered two to four written questions.

Participant Journals. The study was designed to include journal entries as a means of learning about chair emotional labour, in the hopes that the reflective act of journaling in relative

privacy might draw out further insights about their daily work (Jacelon and Imperio, 2005). Only one chair chose to complete a participant journal; the other 9 chairs who did not complete journals did not provide a specific reason for no participating in this way but cited a lack of time as a factor in their limited participation choices in general. This chair completed a daily journal entry for two weeks. The chair's journal entries were short and focused on emotional suppression, expression, social exchange and emotions that he experienced at work.

Data Presentation

The chairs in this study exerted effort as part of a daily routine to meet a self-monitored standard of behaviour. The chairs were asked: "In what ways do chairs perform emotional labour at work?". Indicative of the responses of the participants as a whole, one chair said:

> I think emotional labour happens every time I come into the office. Do I go and say hello to everybody in order to create a warmer environment, or do I go to my work? How do I write—what's the tone of my email? If I just want to get things done, what do I actually want to do to make the person that I'm writing to inclined to do something for me? I can't even imagine that- there's very few tasks that do not involve some kind of emotional labour. (C7)

As they performed regular emotional work, the chairs in this study described their attempts to meet a shared idealized standard of a 'good leader' in the university. They expressed a desire to be perceived as calm, confident, fearless, and rational as a leader. The chair gave positive examples of leaders who seemed unfazed by various events, were well-organized, and were open and direct about the challenges faced by the department without being overly negative. Chairs repeatedly described a need to act as a strong advocate and cheerleader for their department within the department and within the institution at large. Negative examples of chairs' emotional expression included situations when people were unable to maintain control of their emotions, or who were unrealistically positive. However, participants described ideal chair emotions as centred around positivity, calmness, and neutrality.

Be Positive

Overall, chairs agreed on the need for expressing positivity and optimism in their role. They emphasised the importance of a "positive attitude... toward the institution, the department, colleagues, just generally positive" (C8), though with an emphasis on finding a balance so that valid critiques could still be made. Chairs described the importance of expressing "positivity, more than anything else, optimism" (C5) as connected to advocacy, saying that "there's a certain sort of boosterism that goes along with it... To celebrate the accomplishments of the faculty, to be enthusiastic about the things that the faculty is doing" (C4) and to "be cheerleaders for our colleagues " (C9). One chair explained the drive to project positivity as related to doing a good job, saying: "if you're enthusiastic about your job and you bring an enthusiasm to your job and an interest in what other people's jobs are, then they'll be enthusiastic as well. And things are way

more efficient if people are enthusiastic" (C8). Negativity was described as undesirable, even in situations where there are "serious resource constraints and budgetary constraints...try to be creative, try to find another solution...But so much negativity? Not good, Negativity is not good" (C3).

However, chairs also noted the importance of acknowledging that not all situations could be addressed with positivity. Speaking of a previous administrator who had been highly positive, even in negative situations, one chair commented that it felt like the person was "making light of [it]...it just seemed disingenuous after a while. Like, 'No. No, No! Nothing is that good all the time'" (C6). The importance of acknowledging negative emotions associated with change and loss, such as sadness and regret, was emphasized by another chair, who said that it "actually helps people to work through the change, so being able to express that and thereby give other people permission to feel that, express that and work through it" (C5). However, chairs emphasized a need for positivity over negativity, including one chair, who said:

> Optimism, I think optimism is hugely important. Is that an emotion? Especially in the last few years of the university its' been so much doom and gloom. We've had so many cutbacks, we've had so much constant—especially in the arts. Attack, attack, attack, attack, people retire, people not being replaced. It just feels like we get so much bad news. So, I think optimism is huge. (C1)

This optimistic public face was not seen as always being an easy feat, with one chair noting the work they put into appearing enthusiastic "...when you're being asked to do something that, say, you don't particularly want to do or particularly agree with...you end up having to sort of mirror the enthusiasm of the Dean"(C4). For the chairs who participated in this study, projecting positivity was seen as an integral part of the work of being chair.

Stay Calm

Aside from enthusiasm and positivity, chairs agreed that it was important to be perceived as in control of their emotions. One chair advised against chairs talking about being too busy, saying that doing so could make a person "come across as not being maybe in charge of yourself, knowing your environment. So then how can you represent us? I have no confidence in him or her. Because he or she feels overwhelmed. It's not good. It's not good for anything" (C3). The importance of projecting a sense of being calm and in control was echoed by other chairs in this study. One chair pointed to a positive example of a past acting chair in the department, saying:

> The thing that I really admire about her and often think about—it's just hard—I don't know what was going on inside, but she was—like some of the most ludicrous things, it didn't matter what came up, you couldn't tell what was going on. She would listen, she was very constructive and calm, and I just really appreciated that because I do think that's, ideally, what I aspire to be like in all situations. To not have a knee-jerk response. (C6)

For this chair, the calmness of her former chair made her a role model for appropriate chair emotional expression. Many chairs in this study emphasized their efforts to remain calm, saying

that in important situations they would exert a lot of self-discipline "to be just incredibly calm and patient and to not raise [their] voice to not overreact to anything" (C1) and, despite their feelings about a particular situation, they would "suck it up. Really remain calm" (C3). The need to be perceived as calm and in control of their emotions ran throughout the chairs' interviews.

Appear Neutral

Chairs talked about the care that they took to give an impression of being not only calm but also of presenting a neutral front where their feelings and biases were more difficult to figure out from the outside. One chair related the perception of neutrality as tied to appearing to be unbiased, saying that "when you're just a faculty member, you can just fiercely, fiercely fight for your program but as the chair, you have to be completely bipartisan" (C1), even when they had their existing biases about various programs in the department. However, that chair and others said that although "a chair does have to be pretty neutral.... Like anything else it can be carried too far. Folks have to know that you care" (C5). A chair who described themself as 'circumspect' said that their more detached emotional engagement "where you're not unfeeling but just sort of less deeply emotionally entangled in something" (C4) was both positive and negative, saying:

> I can see it being sort of a positive and negative. Where you're not unfeeling but just sort of less deeply emotionally entangled in something. It can become harder to empathize maybe and harder to be intuitive and easier to be ambivalent. (C4)

One chair who described herself as more emotionally expressive agreed with the benefits of remaining removed emotionally, saying: "I learned that I'm more effective if I'm a little bit detached. So, if I'm not emotionally invested in something" (C1). Later, when discussing the feeling rules that she lived by as a chair, she reiterated her commitment to detachment, saying: "Detachment is now one of my words that I put into my rules, that I try to stay detached (C1). In fact, all of the chairs in this study believed that they had set rules for themselves and created their own guidelines for emotional expression and behaviour. The chairs described a shared belief in an ideal standard of leader behaviour: be positive, be calm, be neutral.

Feeling Rule Sources

Participating chairs described their self-management of emotional expression as self-guided, with little or infrequent feedback from their colleagues. The chairs were asked about who decided what emotions were appropriate to express at work and one North American chair responded, "That's really me, that's really my own internal assessment" (C1). One chair stated that the guidelines of which emotions should be expressed had origins that were "[p]robably internal. Probably internal. I've not done any kind of self-analysis in any deep way but it seems to come internally. Like, no one tells you how to be chair. They really don't" (C2). Another chair was asked about the origin of the rules about emotional expression and said: "It's me, mostly myself, I think" (C3), and yet another chair said that they would "make a rule for myself" (C9). One other chair stated that she did not receive any external feedback on the rules, saying "I've never really been given feedback about anything being inappropriate. So, I guess it is pretty

much internal and I guess I base it pretty much on my own assessment of how things have gone" (C1). The chairs in this study repeatedly talked about how normal the expectations for emotional expression were:

> The rules are generally what you might expect. We expect people to be positive, business but don't be afraid to crack a joke once in a while, jokes at other people's expense are not cool. But in general, the rules are about what you expect. (C5)

The chairs described the rules as barely interesting at all, commonplace, or expected, saying: "I tend to be an optimistic person anyways" (C8); or "I don't show emotions very often and...very rarely, if ever, lose my temper" (C2). Overall, the chairs seemed to express a shared belief that the feeling rules governing their behaviour were personally-created, self-regulated, and normal. As part of their work as chair, participants in this study self-monitored and self-managed emotional expression in an aim to be perceived in a certain way —as positive, calm, and neutral.

Analysis of Findings

The participants in this study described regular and ongoing work that they had to perform as part of their role in order to manage their emotions at work. Within the data gathered from the 10 participants, a potential standard appeared of 'ideal' chair emotionality as positive, calm, and neutral. The standard within this study paints a picture of department chairs as operating with constrained emotional expression, limited in the range of emotions that they consider suitable at work. Although some of the chairs in this study did describe some misgivings about the emotionality that they felt was required of them within their role, each chair still adhered to the same basic standards of the positive, calm, and neutral chair. The work needed to project a positive, calm, and neutral emotional state required the chairs to notice, consider, and manage their emotions - a task different but not separate from the more traditional notion of the tasks of a "bean counting" department chair (Chu, 2012). In this small qualitative study, participants restricted their emotional expression to display positivity, calmness, and a neutral affect—emotions they believed would be perceived positively by their colleagues. The chairs' individual adherence to the same standard may point to the possible existence of an implicit social norm (Macionis & Gerber, 2008). In order to examine whether a social norm for chair emotional expressiveness exists, further research is required that collects data from a larger number of participants across different disciplines in Canadian universities. Repeating this study on a larger scale might help to determine whether a standard of chair emotional expression exists across institutions and disciplines and, if a standard does exist, whether the standard is the same as the one identified in this study. Further research on this topic might help determine whether the standard described by chairs is a normative standard for chairs in general.

New Managerialist & Neo-liberal Tendencies

Although chairs in this study appeared to share a standard of ideal chair behaviour, literature on educational leadership has not identified an agreed-upon best way to lead (Samad, 2015; Bensimon, Neumann, & Birnbaum, 1989; Bush & Glover, 2014; Bryman, 2007). There

are indications that the lack of agreement may be related to differences in ideological, contextual, or practical aspects of leaders and institutions (Bush & Glover, 2014). Despite the wide range in leadership styles described in the literature and in the practiced leadership styles of participating chairs in this study, the participants appeared to share a standard for leader emotional expression. The positive, calm, and neutral standard for chair emotions may reflect parts of new managerialist leadership, as chairs try to find a way to cheerfully convince colleagues to accept administrative decisions as being for the best. New managerialism is characteristically focused on efficiency, productivity, and profit (Deem, 1998; Deem & Brehony, 2005; Hoyle & Wallace, 2005; Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999). In the last two decades, new managerialism has been indicated as being as significant to educational leadership as the more 'people-focused' styles of charismatic and transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Bush & Glover, 2014; Brown & Moshavi, 2002). Although no firm consensus on a 'best' style of theory of educational leadership exists, findings from this study may point to the practice of leadership by department chairs as leaning towards new managerial/neo-liberal concerns for some time (Deem & Brehony, 2005; Deem, 1998; Deem, 2001; Ferlie, 1996).

Conclusions and Future Work

Participating chairs in this study self-managed emotional expression in order to be perceived as positive, calm, and neutral. To maintain these standards, chairs described ways in which they had to perform work that they had not been formally trained or prepared for, and that they had not expected to have to do. Participants in this study described the role as chair as involving far more work self-managing emotions to navigate collegial relationships and interactions than one might expect from existing descriptions of the chairship as task-oriented. However, despite comments by some of the participating chairs regarding their distaste for the character they felt they were expected to play, the chairs all still chose to project positivity, calm, and neutrality. The possible disconnect between the emotions that chairs feel and the ones that they display might be linked to dissatisfaction within the role. It is possible that, despite chairs' best efforts to remain authentic and honest about their stance on various issues within the department, they may feel forced by their role to filter their emotional responses at work in order to appear objective. That is, the emotional labour required in the role may not necessarily result in a more positive work experience for chairs themselves.

Future work on this topic might focus on the ways in which chairs' adherence to a standard of emotional expressiveness relates to other outcomes, such as stress, job satisfaction, or quality of relationships at work. In order to look at these issues in a broader context, a larger scale study across institutions is required, with a greater number of participants from each discipline group, to attempt to account for any disciplinary cultural differences. Future work on this topic could also expand the participant base to include university administrators in roles other than that of department chair, so as to determine whether a positive, calm, and neutral demeanour is a standard for university administrators in general.

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EXPERIENCING LEARNING MATHEMATICS AND REFLECTION: CALCULUS 12 PARTICIPANTS' STUDY

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Abstract

This study focuses on the assessment strategy that was designed in 2017-2018 academic year in two Calculus 12 classes. Students affect was at the centre of the research questions, thus clinical interviews were used to create data on the relationship with mathematics as well as personal reflections on the learning of mathematics in the given year and overall in students' experience in school. Grounded Theory was used as a research methodology bringing the emerging themes to the surface. The analysis showed that students were interested in reflecting on their learning and the new approach to assessment made a positive change in their relationship with leaning in a mathematics classroom.

Keywords: standards-based grading, assessment, motivation, affect, mathematics, classroom

Introduction

Assessment in mathematics classrooms has been a very hot topic in the field lately, as it appears to be full of tension. There are powerful voices trying to influence the practice of teaching in classrooms and beyond, as there are decades-old discussions with unresolved problems in defining terms and explaining phenomena (Frey & Schmitt, 2007). There is a strong traditional pull of a system of tests and quizzes as historically practitioners have been exposed and graduated from such a system (Buhagiar, 2007; Romagnano, 2001). Furthermore, because of the strong traditional influence, there are instances of masking the old traditions in the innovative kind (Shepard, 2005). This is driven by the fact that assessment has taken place primarily for the purpose of evaluation (McTighe & O'Connor, 2005). The other side of the argument is calling for stepping away from the evaluative nature and aligning a new purpose of assessment: "Classroom assessment and grading practices have the potential not only to measure and report learning, but also to promote it" (McTighe & O'Connor, 2005, p. 10). One part of the argument to change assessment has been feedback, as it is claimed to be most effective function for improving student learning (Guskey & Bailey, 2001; Wiggins, 1998). The above literature influenced an attempt to change assessment in 2017-2018 Calculus 12 class taught at an independent school in Lower Mainland of British Columbia, Canada.

The Study

The main concern coming into the position of change was noticing of students' experiences in a math class. The following graphical representation was produced to illustrate these experiences based on classroom observations of students' behaviour, body language, and reaction to the results to major assessments in the previous offerings of this course:

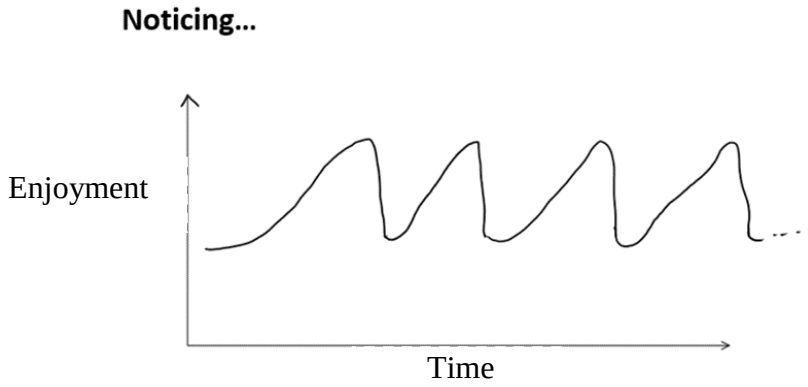

Figure 1. Noticing Illustration

In Figure 1 the horizontal axis is time and vertical axis is confidence, enjoyment, or positive feeling. The dips correspond to an assessment, usually a test given to students. This pattern, once thought about for a while, makes a scary contemplation with a simple calculation: 5 years of high school times an average of 8 tests per course = 40 such dips! If that pattern does teach learners something, it is definitely not a positive correlation with mathematics and their experience with

it. With this in mind, the following assessment method, called the Check-Point System, was devised for the 2017-2018 year. The outline of the course was broken down into major topics and subtopics. Each subtopic became a trackable element for each student, which they could view at any point in time as a shared google sheet. So, instead of a regular marks book, now every student had the profile with their continuous progress, as each of the subtopics was repeatedly assessed. Another option given to students was an interview at the end of each term. In this interview students could showcase that they know a certain subtopic better than their overall mark for it. Below is the screen shot of one such spreadsheet:

Description	CP 1	CP 2	CP 3	CP 4	Total:	T1 Mark: 88	T1 Mark before: 78	CP 5	CP 6	Mid Year: 86	CP 7	CP 8	T2 Total: 86
Topics:													
1.1: Linear and Quadratic Functions	3				3		3			3			4
1.2: Basic Classes of Functions	2.5	3.5			3		2.5			3			4
2.1: Limits, Rate of Change, Tangent Lines													
2.2: Limits, a Numerical and Graphical Approach		3	4		3.5		3			3.5			3.5
2.3: Basic Limit Laws		3.5	4		4		3.5			4			4
2.4: Limits and Continuity			3.5		3.5		3.5			3.5			3.5
2.5: Evaluating Limits Algebraically			4	3.5	3.5		4			3.5			3.5
2.6: Limits at Infinity			3	3.5	3.5		3			3.5			3.5
2.7: Intermediate Value Theorem			3	4	3.5		3			3.5			3.5
3.1: Definition of the Derivative				3.5				4		4			4
3.2: Derivative as a Function				3				4		4			4
3.3: Product Rule								3.5	3	3	3.5		3.5
3.4: Quotient Rule								3.5	3	3	3.5		3.5
3.5: Higher Derivatives													
3.6: Trigonometric Derivatives								4	2.5	3			3
3.7: Chain Rule								3	2.5	3	3.5		3
3.8: Implicit Differentiation									1		3		3
3.9: Related Rates											3		3
4.1: Linear Approximation											3	4	4
4.2: Extreme Values											4		

Figure 2. Sample Tracking Sheet

By the second half of the year it was curious to see what the students thought about this approach and their relationship with mathematics. Situated in the Grounded Theory, the data was given a chance to develop into self-emerging themes prompted by the questions outlined below via semi-formal interviews. The data was coded recursively like in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, cited in Patton, 2002), looking for themes to emerge without a priori theory to either verify, refute, or otherwise build from. In what follows, I outline the environment and participants, method and data, and discuss emerging themes.

Environment

Two Calculus 12 classes had the implementation of the Check-Point assessment practice. These classes totalled 28 students in Grades 11 and 12. The school offers three levels of calculus in our school: Calculus BC, Calculus AP, and Calculus 12. Typically, the latter is chosen by students who want early exposure to calculus and are planning to take it in their university years. Flipped classroom approach together with the discussion-based learning were the primary vehicles of instruction and day-to-day structure of these classes. Students were expected to come to class prepared to have watched the videos and attempted a series of questions (Sterelyukhin, 2016).

Participants

Four students were selected from the cohort of the two classes to be interviewed. (1) Ethan. Ethan is a student who works hard in class. He was put into an Accelerated Program in Grade 8. In this program students complete Grade 8-10 mathematics curriculum in two years. The selection process for this includes the marks for the first three units of Grade 8 and teacher recommendation. The advantage of being in this cohort is staying one year ahead of their peers in a regular stream. This put Ethan in the position of already completing Pre-Calculus 12 last year. Ethan was selected because he was showing excellent results and participation in class.

(2) Nancy. Nancy always found mathematics challenging and had many issues with the subject throughout her career at the school. One way to help herself that she developed over the years is to pay a very close attention to examples and then mimic her work based on those. Nancy was taking Pre-Calculus 12 concurrently with Calculus 12. Nancy was chosen because she was showing excellent results, and it was particularly interesting to enquire about such a turnaround in her success in a mathematics class.

(3) John. John has always shown great success in his mathematics classes throughout high school. He exhibited a natural aptitude and interest in mathematics. It looked like math came easy to him and he was able to construct meaning for himself to the level that allowed him to be very successful in every math course he took thus far. John has also come from the Accelerated Stream. John was selected because of his excellent results on the Check-Points and insights he was offering during class discussions.

(4) Sam. Sam came to the school in Grade 11. She was not exposed to flipped classroom and discussion-based learning before. She was in the Accelerated Program at a different school with the same outcome of finishing Grade 10 math in her Grade 9 year. Sam was chosen because of her good results, participation and in-depth conversations about learning over the course of the year. In addition, prior to the interview, Sam had written a summary of her 13 years of learning math.

Method and Data

As outlined above, these four students were chosen to conduct a semi-formal interview about their learning experience with mathematics as a whole and particularly this year. As the interest was situated in student experiences with the new implementation of the course, the questions prepared ahead of time were adapted from a similar Chris McGregor study which dealt with reducing anxiety in a middle-school mathematics classroom (McGregor, 2018):

(1) What does mathematics mean to you?
(2) What does learning of mathematics mean to you?
(3) What has changed for you this year in math? How do you feel you are different in and with math this year?
(4) How are you feeling about learning math this year?
(5) Describe feelings, emotions, associations that come to mind when you are in a math class. Try to reflect on the whole experience.

Interviews took part during the school day when students either had a spare block or lunch period. A quiet place was found without anybody listening in or distracting. All the interviews were recorded, totalling in over one hour of recording time. After the attempt to transcribe the entire collection of recordings and running into timing constraints, it was decided to listen to the interviews first to see if there were any emerging themes from what was heard. After listening to all the recordings, five themes were identified that emerged from careful listening and reflecting. Then, only the excerpts that corresponded to these themes were transcribed. The focus was in what the students were saying and not the aesthetics of speech, pauses, etc. Therefore, other aspects of the recordings were not coded. The following five themes emerged: *Math vs. English, Coming Back to Topics (Using Check-Points), Social Aspect (Not getting it but the rest did), Negative Experiences From the Past, and Enjoying Calculus This Year.*

Due to the constraints in the length of this paper, we only present two out of the five themes here. Below is the data created with the themes heading each set of transcriptions:

Theme 2: Coming Back to Topics (Using Check-Points)

(2) Nancy:
1 T: Do you have explanations for why particularly this year, particularly this is, do you feel any different, do you, like, what's...?
2 N: I think, well, for Calc I like how I can, you give us a second chance. A lot of the time in most of our courses I don't get a second chance, so I'm one of those people if I get something wrong, I want to prove myself I can get to do better. I think it's just also the way how you teach now, how I like it. But I think if every other course was like that, it would really help me to improve, which is nice.
(3) John:
1 T: Anything else you want to mention that you have not from what we have been talking about?
2 J: Just any final statement?
3 T: Yeah.
4 J: Ahm, I think the check-points have been a big thing for me this year because, like I said earlier, I get time to finish it, but I think it is also nice to go over a concept multiple times, especially for learning purposes, I think it's great, cause there is a lot of times where you spend a whole month working on something and then you write one test on it and then it's just, it's gone, the concept does not re-appear until the final exam and then you, crap the bed on it, cause you have not seen it in forever and it's, makes it quite difficult, that I think that sort of approach which I think is nice about the check-point, because you see it a couple of times at least before the end of the year, so I think it's quite effective for the learning purposes, and also the marks.
(4) Sam:
1 S: Oh, also, another thing that I feel like I appreciated this year was the whole "check-point" method because I know that last year we talked about aiming for mastery, how can you preach that thing, but not actually do it, because when we do old system, you are not aiming for mastery,

taking the test, done, that's it, learning something new and that's it. And with the Check-point system you are learning something seeing oh, lol, ok I got this part wrong, I can aim for a "4" next time you try it again and again, until you get a "4". I like that you let us show that we can understand it.

Theme 5: Enjoying Calculus This Year

(1) Ethan:
1 T: Thinking about this year in particular, has anything change for you in terms of math this year, or has it been all kind of the same?
2 E: I don't know if it is necessarily cause like the accelerated program, not being in it now basically, being with my own peers, it definitely makes more sense this year, I'm able to understand it this year, the thing also is that cause having you as my teacher made it much more enjoyable, Pre-Calc 12 was my least favorite year of math. I seem to understand this stuff, and you can sort of picture it a bit more, compared to past years.
(2) Nancy:
1 N: I would say this year it's kinda the only year that I've actually really enjoyed math. So, which is really interesting I don't know, I find it interesting, so I do take Calc I guess, and Pre-Calc 12. And I take Chemistry, English, and Physics, but out of the like 5 courses I take, I enjoy going to math the most. It is interesting, it all kinda turned. No, I'm just saying that not because you are asking me, but over this year I kinda liked it better. I don't really know exactly what it means to me though, but I did really enjoy it.
2 N: I think... over the years I just kind of kept pushing and kept wanting to do better and then I've noticed if I look at my grade 11 marks to my grade 12 marks, I see like a huge jump in progress and so I do go to tutoring, but I actually go to tutoring for Pre-Calculus and I don't go for Calculus, which is also kinda crazy cause I'm doing better in Calc then in Pre-Calc so I find it like always my tutoring actually helping me and so now, where I am at in when I'm in math today I feel more confident, like, I can go to the board and not be nervous I used to find it very nerve-wracking or talking even sometimes I still do if I don't understand a concept, but now if I get it I don't feel as nervous to like express my ideas.
(3) John:
1 T: Describe the feeling, emotions and associations that come to mind when you are in a math class. Try to reflect on your whole experience, not just this year, but if you were to think about your experience of learning mathematics as a student from grade 1 to now when somebody says "this is math now", what do you feel about it?
2 J: Ahm, I think... In the past I had a little of an embarrassed attitude towards it because I had so much pressure on myself with math in particular, I've always, math has always been, supposed to be, my strongest class, so the pressure was to perform and show that I was not less capable than my peers so I wanted to make sure I always was on top of, putting a little pressure in the back of my head, maybe I did not always follow through studying that I should have to maintain what I wanted, but I've always held math in great priority, compared, especially my other subjects, so I think I've always put a lot of pressure on myself in past years. And I think

this year it's been easier knowing that I have a math course under my belt already, with an ok mark, that I can submit already to university, so that's good, but this year it has been a lot less intense feeling.

Themes and Analysis

In this section we will elaborate on the observations from the data on two of the five themes. It was very pleasing that these five themes emerged so clearly from nearly all the students interviewed as the interviews were only about 15 minutes long on average. Furthermore, the themes did not directly follow from the questions that were asked.

First, we turn our attention to the Check-Point method and the opinions about it. Clearly, for the three students who decided to talk about it, Check-Points made a difference. Nancy, John and Sam all comment on the positive aspects of coming back to topics, being given another chance and maximising the learning. Interestingly, that even though their motivations are quite different (Nancy and John are much focused on the marks and measure of achievement through that, and Sam is centered around understanding), the idea of re-visiting, solidifying, getting rid of the "once and only once" moments has given rise to positive experience in a math class when talking about assessment and evaluation. From this feedback we are confident that our idea to make the assessment process a positive experience has succeeded and clearly is making a difference in not only students' perception of mathematics class, but also in their learning and how they approach it. This echoes McTighe and O'Connor (2005) as it is now widely agreed that the primary purpose of assessment should be to further student learning.

For the last theme of enjoying the class this year one can easily identify the element of less stress and anxiety. Students are telling us that they are more confident in their math learning, feeling that they know it well. They have evidence for such conclusions and are able to track it at all times. This emphasizes the idea that increasing feedback improves achievement (Guskey & Bailey, 2001). Also, knowing that there will be other opportunities to demonstrate their learning along the way decreases the value and the "now and only now" feeling when major assessments are happening. The above connects well with Romagnano (2001) where he dispels a central myth in mathematics assessment, stating that "objectivity would be wonderful if we could have it, but it does not exist" (p. 31). Lastly, assessment should create data of what a learner knows up to the moment of time when the assessment is taking place and feedback from it should prompt a learner to analyse where improvements are needed and to go ahead and make an appropriate change. This enables more opportunity for positive experiences in a math class, and thus the want to keep going, coming back and persevering are more likely to happen, increasing mastery and personal satisfaction from the learning process.

Conclusion

As the process of literature search continued, there were many instances of implementation of different assessment ideas. However, it is evident that assessment practices are influenced by competing philosophies that any single assessment decision is often based on a

sometimes inconsistent mix of the various influences (Frey & Schmitt, 2007). There is a common direction to move away from the traditional approach of points, percentages and grades, as McTighe and O'Connor state:

> Too many educators consider [marks] and scores as feedback when, in fact, they fail the specificity test. Pinning a letter (B-) or a number (82%) on a student's work is no more helpful than such comments as "Nice job" or "You can do better." Although good [marks] and positive remarks may feel good, they do not advance learning (McTighe & O'Connor, 2005, p. 16).

From what we have seen in the data, the study of personal relationship with mathematics and learning of mathematics connects directly with assessment. Students are more than willing to share their experiences with the subject and are very honest when talking about their feelings and emotions. It is very interesting to note that these ideas are centered around assessment as it came up in all the interviews, clearly indicating that there are a number of items to be investigated further. One factor seems to be prevailing from all of this: students need to be asked about their learning of mathematics, what they like, what they do not like, where are their positive moments and where there are negative ones. From a small sample of four students from a pool of 28 between the two classes it is evident that their relationship with the learning of mathematics is much more than just marks and tests.

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TRENDS IN ACCENTEDNESS AND COMPREHENSIBILITY RESEARCH, WITH RESPECT OF L2 SPEECH RATINGS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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Abstract

Accentedness and comprehensibility research has greatly evolved since its infancy in in the 1980s. As language learner trends have shifted from native-like mastery to being comprehensible to listeners, a broader range of factors, such as speaker rates, and lexical/grammatical measures have since been evaluated for research and pedagogical purposes. This paper attempts the break down the major methodological procedures used in accentedness and comprehensibility research, chiefly, by examining the types of speakers and listeners that are most commonly present in studies, the types of stimuli and rating methods, the various features of accentedness and comprehensibility and listener attitudes, to name a few. Finally, this review briefly highlights what new components should be added in order to further our understanding in this field, both for academic interest and practical pedagogical purposes.

Keywords: standards-based grading, assessment, motivation, affect, mathematics, classroom

Introduction

The shift from preferred monolingualism to encouraged multilingualism, both in schools and the global community, has been, in the past few decades, ongoing if not slow. The early 1980s had seen the rise of bilingual education systems erected in schools (of these, most notable are the French immersion school in Canada and the Spanish bilingual schools found throughout the United States). Yet these systems, as well as many other second language (L2) classrooms, still follow in the footsteps of monolingualism, in which students are expected to learn the language, ideally, like a monolingual speaker of the target language (Kramsch, 2009).

These idealizations often ignore the context in which individuals either use their L2, or have acquired it. For example, a speaker's multilingual heritage or their unwillingness to use their first language (L1) do not come into focus in the language classroom as it does on the academic researcher's laptop. This is because the language classroom is, above everything, an evaluation based institution, like any other subject in a school. The target language is relayed by instructors to students who are then evaluated (often in the form of grammar tests or written essays) in order to assess if the target material has been learned. Often pre-existing curriculums set by provincial or federally mandated bodies (such as ministries of education) dictate how a language can be evaluated, and very often, native or nativelikeness is the point of reference. Whether it be students in a bilingual school program, or adult English as a Second Language (ESL) learnings taking classes for proficiency exams such as IELTS or TOEFL, written linguistic competence has always been the major area of interest for Second Language Acquisition (SLA) researchers, which is why evaluations of written grammatical lexical "correctness" have much clearer evaluation techniques, and why methods of evaluating learners' accents or 'accentedness', both in the classroom, and in the research field, are not as clearly defined (see, for example, Genesee's, 1978, explanation on the lack of research on accents in the French immersion classroom).

Indeed accentedness, nativelike pronunciation and even oral comprehensibility have been ignored in the classroom when it came to grading students. However, it should also be noted that from the early twentieth century until about the 1980s, foreign or non-native accent eradication was viewed by researchers and second language teachers as a key objective for L2 speakers of a language, believing that improvement or even the elimination of non-native accents was imperative to comprehensibility (Lippi-Green, 1997; Munro, 2003). More recently though, and especially in the mid 1990s through the work of Munro and Derwing (see: 1995, 1999), multiple factors outside of pronunciation have become targets (such as segmental measures, optimal speaking rate and lexicogrammar) for a more multi-faceted approach to L2 speech. On the whole, as sounding perfectly nativelike was eclipsed by sounding more comprehensible to interlocuters, a more joint approach to accentedness, comprehensibility, and at times other factors such as intelligibility and fluency, have become the basis for L2 speech research. However, while many studies have come to similar conclusions about non-native speech, there is still little consensus in the applied linguistics community about optimal rating scales for measuring speakers or speech features, participant types selected for analysis, or even rater types

used for evaluating speakers. In general, the studies also tended to focus on English as a target L2, which does seem to overestimate the global relevance of English as a world language. Though studies on accentedness and comprehensibility are still evolving, the purpose of this analysis is to observe the direction of this research community with respect to modern trends in language learning.

In this paper, I aim to review, categorize and summarize many of the studies on accentedness and comprehensibility that have been written to date. I will discuss the methodological procedures used by researchers, including the selection of speaker and listener types employed for research, as well as rating tools and stimuli. The variety (or in this case, the lack-there-of) in L2 types will also be discussed. My primary goal is to assess the direction we, as language education researchers, have been headed in the field of SLA research. In my concluding thoughts, I will present what this form of research may be lacking, and what potential changes would need to occur if research on comprehensibility is to advance, in the future.

Some Methodologies Used in Recent Research on Accentedness and Comprehensibility

Speakers

Though L2 backgrounds have differed considerably in accent and comprehensibility studies, L2 English is by far the most common language that was analysed, with, perhaps the exception of the 2014 O'Brien study on L2 German (for more information on this, and all other studies listed here, please see the summaries in Appendix 1). The speakers' 20 different L1 used in the 36 research studies analyzed for this paper are summarized in Table 1.

Speaker L1	**Research Authors**
Mandarin	Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler (1988), Ballard (2013), Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito & Isaacs (2015), Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, & Saito (2015), Isaacs & Thomson (2013), Kang (2010), Kang, Rubin, & Pickering, (2010), Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008), Kennedy, Foote, & dos Santos Buss (2015), Kim (2008), Munro & Derwing, (1995a), Munro & Derwing (1995b), Munro & Derwing (2001), Munro, Derwing, & Morton (2006), Trofimovich, Isaacs, Kennedy, & Saito (2016)
Korean	Kang (2010), Kim (2008), Kang et al., (2010), Sereno, Lammers, Jongman (2016), Trofimovich & Baker (2006)
French	Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al. (2015), Isaacs & Trofimovich (2012), Isaacs & Thomson (2013), Kim (2008), Trofimovich & Isaacs (2008), Saito, Trofimovich, & Isaacs (2016), Saito, Webb, Trofimovich, & Isaacs (2016a), Saito, Webb, Trofimovich, & Isaacs (2016b), Trofimovich, et al., (2016)
Russian	Munro & Derwing (2001), Kang (2010),
Hindi/Urdu	Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, & Isaacs (2015), Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al. (2015), Kang (2010), Trofimovich, et al. (2016),
Arabic	Ballard (2013), Kang (2010), Kang, Rubin, Pickering (2010), Kim (2008), Munro & Derwing (2001)
Serbo-Croatian	Isaacs & Thomson (2013), Kang (2010), Munro & Derwing (2001)
Spanish or Spanish-Basque	Burda, (2000), Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al. (2015), Derwing & Munro (1997), Isaacs, et al. (2014), Kim (2008), Kang, et al. (2010),

	Munro & Derwing (2001), del Puerto, Lacumberri, & Lababex (2015), Trofimovich, et al. (2016)
Turkish	Munro & Derwing (2001)
Taiwanese	Burda (2000)
Ukrainian	Munro & Derwing (2001), Isaacs & Thomson (2013)
Vietnamese	Derwing, et al. (2014), Munro & Derwing (2001)
Japanese	Derwing & Munro (1997), Kang (2010), Kim (2008), Munro & Derwing (2001), Munro, et al. (2006), Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016)
Mongolian	Kim (2008),
Farsi	Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al. (2015), Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al. (2015), Trofimovich, et al. (2016)
English* (with speakers of L2 German)	O'Brien (2014)
Cantonese	Derwing & Munro (1997), Munro & Derwing (2001), Munro, Derwing, & Morton (2006)
Polish	Derwing & Munro (1997), Munro & Derwing (2001), Isaacs & Thomson (2013)
Nepali	Kang (2010), Kennedy, et al. (2015)
Khmer	Derwing, et al. (2014)

Table 1. L1 of Speaker analysed of Non-Native Speech for Accent and Comprehensibility

As can be seen, one of the most widely used L2 speaking groups were Mandarin speakers with some 13 studies relying either fully or partly on Mandarin accented English. Romance languages (mostly French and Spanish) were analysed just as often, most likely for reasons of proximity as most of these studies focused on Canadian or American L2 speakers of English. It should also be noted that not all researchers specified their speakers' L1 which was the case for Chuang (2010) who only stated the use L2 English International Teaching Assistants. Nearly all studies also used L1 English speaker control groups, mostly from university settings from various departments (e.g.: Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler, 1988; Munro & Derwing, 1995a; Munro & Derwing, 1995b; Burda, 2000, Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008; Kang, 2010). In total, some 20 different L1 speakers were rated in these studies, with perhaps the greatest variety in Munro and Derwing (2001) in which 12 L1 groups were recorded (Arabic, Cantonese, Japanese, Mandarin, Persian, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese).

Speakers were most often students, as was mentioned, however, in some cases ITA (International Teaching Assistants) were also evaluated for L2 speech (Chuang, 2010; Hsieh, 2011; Kang, 2010). Speakers' gender ratios also seemed even throughout studies and if not, researchers either used only one gender as was the case with Kang (2010) and Kang et al. (2010) who used only male speakers, or gender disparities were made apparent to readers as was done with Trofimovich, Isaacs, Kennedy, & Saito (2016) when the number of female Hindu/Urdu speakers outnumbered male speakers despite the fact that the number of males to females were roughly equal for their other speaker groups (Chinese and Farsi).

Depending on the intent of the study, age varied little from one study to another, however, most did stay in the adult range for participants and most remained in the university years with few extending to senior years. The youngest participants were, for the majority of

these studies, 19 years of age (Trofimovich & Baker, 2006; Derwing & Munro, 1997; Kang, 2010; Munro & Derwing, 2001; Saito, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2016; Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2012), but even these corresponded to years that individuals would normally start to attend or would already be in university. Nearly all (with the exception again of O'Brien, 2014) were university students either currently in, or previously in, ESL programs. An exception is the 2015 del Puerto, Lacumberri, and Lababex study on high-school level bilingual L1 Spanish/Basque speakers of L2 English, who were all between 14 and 16 years of age. However, their study appears to be one of the only research initiatives specifically linked to accentedness and comprehensibility that used secondary school-aged students and did not employ participants from North America or any other Predominantly English-speaking environment. In short, most speakers were between 20 and 40 years of age at the onset of the studies. Other components of interest to researchers with regards to age have been AOA (age of arrival) (Trofimovich & Baker, 2006; Flege, Munro, MacKay, 1995; Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2013) and LOR (length of residence) (Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2013). This would seem appropriate due to many other studies concerned with "earlier the better" arguments – which, as we will see in a later section of this paper, may offer some evidence to its favor – that seem to give adults little hope for native or nativelike proficiency in their L2.

The number of speakers collected also varied from as few as 3 (Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler, 1988) to over 100 speakers (Saito, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2016; Trofimovich et al., 2016). Depending on the purpose of the study, speakers either varied in their speech production capacities between beginner, intermediate and advanced (Trofimovich & Baker, 2006; Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2013; Saito, Trofimovich, & Isaacs, 2016; Saito, Webb, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2016a; Saito, Webb, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2016b), or represented a more homogenous group of participants.

Listeners

Early on in accentedness and comprehensibility research, listeners were asked to merely rate for accent, comprehensibility, and often added another factor, such as intelligibility, mostly because of Munro and Derwing's (1995a) definition of *intelligibility* (what listeners actually understood, most often evaluated through listener transcriptions of speakers' speech) versus the definition of *comprehensibility* (a rated measure of how well listeners *believed* they understood speakers' speech). Earlier still however, Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler (1988) used listener ratings to determine which speaker rates allowed for most comprehensible speech, in which speech was altered but the accents were mostly homogenous (three L1 Chinese speakers were evaluated). However, from the 1995 Munro and Derwing articles on ward, listeners were mostly used to rate for particular measures of speech (for example segmentals, pitch, optimal speaking speed, lexical, grammatical and prosodic features) to see which of these measures correspond best with either accentedness, comprehensibility, or both. This was because, while accent is often found to be the most salient aspect of foreign speech (Derwing & Munro, 1997; Derwing &

Munro, 2009b), and may contribute to prejudices against L2 speakers (Nguyen, 1993), accent was rarely the root cause of communication breakdown between interlocutors.

In general, it was observed that studies employed roughly equal number of female and male listeners, as was seen with speakers and, just as the number of speaker participants varied, so too did listeners, depending on the goal of the study. For the most part, listener number varied from 18 to over 200, as seen in Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler (1988). Depending on the study, multiple groups with even or uneven numbers of listeners were used. For example, Trofimovich et al. (2012) split their listeners between the aforementioned expert/non-expert groups and used 10 expert listeners and 60 novice listeners, while Munro et al. (2006) used even number of native and non-native listeners. This last study demonstrates that not all listeners used were necessarily native English speakers, as the goal of Munro et al. (2006) was to determine if non-native speakers found other non-native speakers sharing the same L1 more comprehensible than did native speakers of English (according to which the results ascertained negligible significant differences between accentedness and comprehensibility scores between native and non-native listeners). Most studies had between 20 and 40 listeners for rating tasks and these numbers were often related to the number of speakers: often, if there were more speakers, there would be less listeners and vice versa. In cases were the stimuli were very numerous, listeners would be called back for multiple sessions to avoid rater fatigue as was in Munro and Derwing (2001) with features 200 items to be rated, and in Saito, Trofimovich, and Isaacs (2016) which featured 40 files and 11 ratable variables, along with the standard comprehensibility and accentedness rating questions common to nearly all other studies observed here.

In terms of training, listeners did at times receive practice rating exercises in order to habituate themselves to the provided rating scales (see, for example, Munro & Derwing, 2001). However, not all listeners were trained in their tasks. For example, of the studies observed here, Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler (1988), Derwing et al. (1997), Kang (2010), Kennedy et al. (2015) for example did not provide any training to listeners. However, Trofimovich et al. (2012) also trained listeners on a separate day with regards to rating scale use.

Furthermore, because of the general goal of speech research on comprehensibility in particular, all studies focused, in some way, on the communicative capacities of speakers by ways of listener evaluations of speakers' L2 speech (see Table 2).

Raters	**Research Authors**
Native expert	Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al. (2015), Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al. (2015), Isaacs & Thomson (2013), Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008), Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016), Trofimovich & Isaacs (2012)
Non-native expert	Del Puerto et al. (2015)
Native Novice	Chuang (2010), Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al. (2015), Isaacs & Thomson (2013), Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008), Del Puerto, et al. (2015), Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016), Trofimovich & Isaacs (2012),
Non-Native Novice	Chuang (2010), Kennedy, et al. (2015), Munro, et al. (2006)

Table 2. Rater Types for L2 English Speech Production Tasks

These listeners, as seen in Table 2, vary from being either L1 English speakers, L2 English speakers, novice – meaning no training in L2 English speech as defined by Isaacs & Trofimovich (2012) – or expert – defined as have training or a number of years teaching L2 English (Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2012). It should be noted that while all studies used raters, only those seen below focused on, or mentioned using expert vs. non-expert ratings of L2 English speech. In general, many studies found the rating results between expert and non-expert listeners were similar, though Isaacs & Thomson (2013) found greater intergroup reliability among expert raters than among novice raters. The expert/non-expert listener dichotomy is also a reflection of the fact that, for all studies in Table 2, researchers focused on teaching techniques to further advance L2 speech, and in all expert cases, listeners were either experienced teachers or learning to become ESL teachers in the future.

The results obtained from teacher-raters was often intended to lead to better classroom-based innovations in L2 speech. For instance, in their recent study that looked that non-expert vs. expert ratings of L2 speakers of English on comprehensibility, Saito, Webb, Trofimovich, and Isaacs (2016a) demonstrated that teachers would often show better understanding of such speech measures as grammatical complexity, and were also more likely to use a greater variety of speech measures when it came to rating L2 speech than did non-expert raters. The study demonstrated, not only what kinds of elements teachers needed to focus on to improve speaker comprehensibility, but also on more integrative approaches to teaching oral proficiency, through focus on fluency, lexical and grammatical features, rather than just pronunciation, which is what contemporary L2 teaching textbooks appear to focus on (Saito, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2016).

Stimuli Types

Rated stimuli types ranged greatly between groups, but in general could be narrowed down to broader categories: read stimuli, or extemporaneous narratives, with a full list in Table 3. Interestingly, the great majority of researchers in North America that used extemporaneous elicitations used the 2008 Munro et al. suitcase story, about 2 individuals carrying identical suit-cases that then bump into each other and accidentally switch lugged, which may have been more appropriate for adult speakers. This could explain why the adolescent speakers from Spain (del Puerto et al., 2015) used a Mayer (1969) picture story called *Frog, where are you?* This story could have been better suited for younger speakers.

Stimuli types also depended upon the goal of the rating tasks, as demonstrated in Table 3.

Stimuli	**Studies**
Read: Ex: Paragraph or True/False statements	Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler (1988), Burda (2000), Derwing, et al. (2014), Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008), Kraut & Wulff (2013), Munro & Derwing (1995b), Munro & Derwng (2001), Munro, et al. (2006), Trofimovich & Isaacs (2012)
Read: Ex: Meaningful with no context	Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008)
Read: Ex: Not meaningful	Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008),
Extemporaneous: solitary (ex: picture stories)	Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al. (2015), Derwing & Munro (1997), Isaacs & Trofimovich (2012), Isaacs, &

	Thomson (2013), Kim (2008), Munro & Derwing (1995a), O'Brien (2014), Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016), Trofimovich & Isaacs (2012), Trofimovich et al. (2016)
Extemporaneous: partner or group (ex: language exam, interview)	Hsieh (2011), Kang (2010), Kang, et al. (2010), Kennedy & Trofimovich (2013), Kennedy, et al. (2015)
Extemporaneous: delayed repetition	Trofimovich & Baker (2006)

Table 3. Recorded Stimuli for Listener Rating Exercises

Although today, results from accentedness and comprehensibility rely on numerous factors to determine the similarities and differences between those two groups, in earlier studies, in Table 3, researchers chose reading tasks for speakers that would eliminate most grammatical or lexical variances so that listeners focused mostly on phonological aspects of speech. Munro and Derwing's 1995 study was in response to the idea that improving pronunciation is directly correlated with improved comprehensibility. However, their results, and the results of a subsequent 1995 study indicated that listener scores for accentedness were not adequate indicators for comprehensibility assessment, and that listeners pay particular attention to traits such as speech speed when evaluating comprehensibility. As more researchers began to have various dimensions of speech rated in terms of accent and comprehensibility, studies leaned towards the use of extemporaneous narratives in which speech can differ from one level of oral proficiency, and indeed, from one accent group to another.

Stimuli length also varied between studies. In most cases, stimuli were shorter, between 20 to 60 seconds in length such as Trofimovich et al. (2016) who used 30 second sound bites and Kang et al. (2010) who used minute long clips however, some studies such as Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016) used full length recordings for their rating tasks. Depending on the demands of the study, certain recordings were "cleaned up", that is to say, removed of false starts and hesitation markers (for example: Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2012; Isaacs & Thomson, 2013; Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, & Isaacs, 2015; O'Brien, 2014). Some studies went further still. In Baker and Trofimovich (2006) the stimuli (240 sentences) were further treated to muffle content but preserve suprasegmental features that listeners then used to rate accentedness. This was so because accentedness was the key feature, rather than the combination of accent and comprehensibility. Some other studies such as Crowther et al. (2015), Trofimovich et al. (2016), and Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016) used transcriptions of audio files as well as voice recordings to rate particular measures of speech such as lexical and grammatical features.

Rating Scale Types

Ratings scales were common tools among nearly all observed studies in this report (Kim (2008) employed a questionnaire to rate speakers). It should be mentioned as well that not all rating scales were used exclusively to measure accentedness, comprehensibility and their features. Some studies like O'Brien (2014) employed a 4-point scale first for self-assessment ratings, while Crowther et al. (2015), and Trofimovich et al. (2016) used a 9-point scale to assess

how easy or difficult listeners found their rating tasks to be, while the actual measurements of accent and comprehensibility used 9-point and continuous sliding scales respectively.

As can be seen in Table 4, the most common rating scale types were 9-point scales.

Rating Scale	**Studies**
4-point scale	O'Brien (2014)
5-point scale	Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler (1988) Isaacs & Thomson (2013), Sereno, Lammars & Jongman (2016)
6-point scale	Saito, Trofimovich & Isaacs (2015), Isaacs & Trofimovich (6-point)
7-point scale	Burda (2000), Kang (2010), Kang et al. (2010), Kraut & Wulff (2013)
9-point scale	Munro & Derwing (1995a), Munro & Derwing (2001),Trofimovich & Baker (2006), Kennedy & Trofimovich (2008), Munro et al. (2006), Isaacs & Trofimovich (2012), Trofimovich & Isaacs (2012), Isaacs & Thomson (2013) , Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito et al. (2015), Isaacs et al. (2014), O'Brien (2014), Kennedy, Foote, Kurtz, & dos Santos Buss (2015), del Puerto et al. (2015), Isaacs & Trofimovich (2016),
Continuous sliding scale	Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al. (2015), Trofimovich et al. (2016), Saito, Trofimovich, et al. (2016), Saito, Trofimovich, & Isaacs (2017), Saito, Webb, et al. (2016a), Saito, Webb, et al. (2016b)

Table 4. Rating Scale Types for Accentedness and Comprehensibility Studies

This is unsurprising since an often cited 1999 study by Southwood and Flege observed that 7-point scales were more prone to ceiling effects among listeners who were rating longer elicitations, and suggested that, to curtail these effects, 9-point or even 11-point scales would be better suited for rating tasks. As most studies observed here used longer and often extemporaneous recording excerpts, it appears to make sense that they would employ 9-point scales for their rating tasks.

However, in a later study on rating scales on L2 pronunciation, Isaacs and Thomson (2013) noted in their findings that, depending on the exercise type, not only did lower point scales (such as 5-point scales) not produce a ceiling effect, results showed no significant difference on any of the analysed dependent variable measures and rating scale lengths. Listeners also suggested that the 9-point scale might have been too long for the exercise and that the 5-point scale was better suited for the exercise (Isaacs & Thomas, 2013). This led to them concluding that 9 and 11-point scales were not always optimal rating tools for all circumstances. Isaacs, Trofimovich, et al. (2016) also looked at comprehensibility rating scales to be used in L2 English university classrooms to evaluate L2 speech, and finally concluded upon a 6-point scale for raters, and many studies today (such as: Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito et al., 2015; Trofimovich et al., 2016; Saito, Trofimovich, & Isaacs, 2015; Saito, Webb, Trofimovich, & Isaacs, 2015) use continuous or free-moving siding scales that measure from 0 to 1000, but do not show any numeric values to listeners.

Results Found in Recent Research on Accentedness and Comprehensibility

The results of these studies can be grouped into approximately four categories depending on the purpose of the studies. Studies looked at age related issues surrounding accent and

comprehensibility, whether or not experience with L2 speaking influences ratings, and L1 listener attitudes towards L2 speakers. The majority of studies observed here were on identifying features of accent and comprehensibility in order to find where the two differ. This first part looks at any studies regarding age, followed by listener attitudes and finally at the identified features of accent and comprehensibility.

Speaker Age Effects

Flege et al. (1995) concluded that, among other features such as gender and relative use of L2, both age of arrival (AOA) and length of residence (LOR) affected speakers' perceived accents. This prompted further studies which did not always yield the same results. Trofimovich and Baker (2006) looked at AOA versus LOR regarding listener ratings for accentedness. Speakers were split into three groups (beginner, intermediate and advanced speakers of English), though all speakers were at the time of the study – and had been upon arrival to the US – 18 or over the age of 18. It was found that LOR had no significant effect on suprasegmental proficiency, but AOA did. Saito, Trofimovich, and Isaacs (2017) chose speakers with varying AOA because of the belief that L2 speakers who arrived in their L2 environment at an earlier age had better segmental and suprasegmental proficiency. Kennedy and Trofimovich (2013) demonstrated that there was no net difference in ratings of comprehensibility and accentedness scores for first and final semester non-native university students, showing once again that LOR had no impact on ratings while AOA might.

Another interpretation of age-related issues was done by Burda (2000) who looked at listener ages of 72 L1 English speakers. The study assumed that it is possible that older listeners were more tolerant of L2 speech. Of the three age groups (20-39, 40-59 and 60 and older) older listeners were in fact found to have more difficulty understanding L2 speech, though there appeared to be no net significance between listener age groups and measures of accentedness, comprehensibility and intelligibility.

L1 Listener Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers

Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler's (1988) study on non-native accent effects on listener ratings of L2 speech suggested that raters with more positive attitudes towards foreigners tended to rate accentedness less harshly even when speech was faster (which otherwise often lead to harsher ratings for both accent and comprehensibility). Nguyen (1993) suggested that while some researchers have tried to focus more on comprehensibility rather than accent eradication, accented speech comes with many stigmas in society, which would reiterate the previous studies results, and could explain why some studies like Munro and Derwing (1995a) found that while listeners were very accurate in their transcriptions of L2 speakers (indicating high intelligibility), listeners still rated heavily accented speakers more harshly for comprehensibility as well. Using a foreign accent questionnaire, Kim (2008) demonstrated a bias even from L2 speakers towards L2 international Teaching Assistants (TA). The ESL speakers claimed to fear picking up their L2 English teacher's foreign pronunciation.

In a general study on accent, Derwing and Munro (2009a) noted that while there appears to be no correlation between comprehensibility and degree of accentedness, an accent could lead to loss of intelligibility as well as discrimination towards to individual. Chuang's (2010) study on attitudes towards L2 speaking international TAs, demonstrated that for the most part, ITAs were not negatively perceived by their students, but that harsher ratings of accentedness did come from students with negative attitudes towards their foreign accented TAs. Ballard (2013) also found that accent correlated both with comprehensibility and teacher acceptability, and concluded that students should get greater exposure to various accents.

Uses of Expert and Novice Raters

Studies looking at whether "expert" or "novice" listeners make for more accurate ratings have come to various conclusions about whether there are any differences between groups. While some studies observed here, concluded that experienced judges were significantly more accurate in their ratings of L2 speech (Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008), many generally concluded that there was no net difference between ratings by expert, often described as individuals with English L2 teaching experience (Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008; Kim, 2008; Isaacs & Trofimovich, 2012), and non-expert rater, and even the 2008 Kennedy et al. study concluded no net difference for comprehensibility ratings between expert and non-expert raters. This was also found to be true, for example, in Isaacs and Thomson (2013) where there appeared to be a net difference in response time between expert and non-expert listeners (experienced raters took longer to finish the tasks), but there remained no significant difference between rating results.

While in general, studies demonstrated no difference in rating results as seen above, at times, experts could have an easier time understanding L2 speakers, even if they themselves were L2 speakers as was the case with ratings of Spanish/Catalan bilingual speaker in Spain (del Puerto et al., 2015). The point that expert raters either rated differently or in a more detailed manner than novice raters was suggested in the finds of many studies (Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008; Isaacs & Trofimovich, 2012; Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al., 2015). Isaacs et al. (2012), for example selected both expert and novice listeners, so that the expert raters could further elaborate on grammatical structures in their ratings.

Features of Accentedness and Comprehensibility

As was mentioned before, the bulk of the studies observed for this report looked at how and to what extent comprehensibility and accentedness were related, as well as what features of each separated to two. An earlier study of accentedness and comprehensibility by Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler (1988) on L2 speaking rates and comprehension found that heavily accented speech specifically with heavy segmental deviances affected comprehensibility as did faster speech of L2 speakers. As was mentioned, their results were somewhat influenced by rater attitudes towards L2 accented speech, for which subsequent studies noted that comprehensibility itself should be a measure of how much listeners thought they understood the L2 speech (called

"perceived comprehensibility" by Munro and Derwing,1995a) and not a measure of what they actually understood.

The 1995a Munro and Derwing article looked at differences between accent and comprehensibility, as often the two were seen to be completely related. Their study, and their subsequent 1995b study suggested that while the two did correlate with one another (as was again found by Burda, 2000), a strong foreign accent did not impede comprehensibility, but even though listeners might take slightly longer to rate a speaker, this may not be linked to speaker`s accentedness. A 1997 extension of the Munro and Derwing studies looked at grammatical features and phonemic features with regards to accentedness and comprehensibility (again with L1 English raters), and concluded that in order to aid L2 speaking in improving their oral proficiency, teachers should also focus on teaching grammatical and prosodic features as opposed to only phonemic features. These studies would lead to the idea that while ratings for both accent and comprehensibility did correlate, they were independent features, which would be reiterated in a Derwing and Munro (2009a) study on L2 speech in the work place, where comprehensibility was an important factor in listener preferences in L2 interlocutors, but accentedness was less important.

As was mentioned grammatical and prosodic features did correlate with comprehensibility specifically. Other features that have been found to have an effect on both accentedness and comprehensibility were speaker rates (Munro & Derwing, 2001) and semantic intelligibility as seen in Kennedy and Trofimovich (2008) where statements that were intentionally less intelligible were perceived as less comprehensible and more accented than intentionally more intelligible statements (ex: recordings of true/false statements). The Kennedy and Trofimovich (2008) as well as a Munro (2006) study also shifted attention away from comprehensibility as a measure of 'perception of meaning', to a measure of 'ease of understanding'. A further study by Kang (2010) on international Teaching Assistants (ITA) demonstrated that various types of suprasegmentals effect comprehensibility and accentedness independently: accent pitch and word stress were associated with accentedness and speaking rates were associated with comprehensibility.

Further linguistic measures were looked at to see which correspond to accentedness and comprehensibility in Isaacs and Trofimovich (2012). They selected 19 different speech measures from 4 categories – phonology (6 features: segmental error ratio, syllable structure error ratio, word stress error ration, vowel reduction ratio, pitch contour and pitch range), fluency (6 features: total number of pauses, pause error ratio or inappropriate pauses, total number of unfilled pauses, repetition and self-correction, pruned syllables per second, and mean length of run), linguistic resources (4 features: grammatical accuracy, lexical error ratio, token frequency and type frequency) and discourse features (3 features: story breadth, story cohesion and story depth) – of which 18 correlated with comprehensibility ratings, showing that listeners, especially expert listeners, used many linguistic measures such as grammar, vocabulary, fluency in L2, word stress discourse structure, context and familiarity with the speaker's L1, which judging comprehensibility.

A subsequent study on the same 19 measures found that 8 measures significantly correlated with both accentedness and comprehensibility and that raters tended to focus on segmental accuracy such as syllable errors with regards to accentedness, but that these features were less important for comprehensibility. Grammatical and certain lexical errors were linked to comprehensibility ratings. Most studies seem to demonstrate that accentedness ratings are linked to pronunciation, while lexicogrammar as well as phonological features are linked to comprehensibility (Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al., 2015; O'Brien, 2014; Trofimvich & Isaacs, 2012; Saito, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2015; Crowther, Trofimovich, Isaacs, et al., 2015; Saito, Trofimovich & Isaacs, 2015). Further studies focused specifically on one or more of these measures as was the case with Saito et al. (2016a) and Saito et al. (2016b) that looked at lexical features that were most associated with comprehensibility depending on the level of proficiency of each speaker. Comprehensibility for beginner and intermediate speakers was found to be associated with the fluency and accurate use of vocabulary, and for intermediate and advanced L2 English speakers, morphological accuracy, and lexica complexity were associated with comprehensibility scores.

Languages themselves were also linked to comprehensibility in some studies. Crowther et al. (2015) found that certain languages such as Farsi and Hindu/Urdu were rated as more comprehensible and accented to L1 listeners than Chinese groups, with Hindu/Urdu being rated as more comprehensible than Farsi, and Chinese being rated as more accented than Farsi for example. Furthermore, while being familiar with various L1s did (but not always, see Isaacs & Thomson, 2013) demonstrate more consistent, detailed or accurate ratings from listeners (Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008; Isaacs & Trofimovich, 2012; Crowther, Trofimovich, Saito, et al., 2015), sharing an L1 with the speaker did not (Burda, 2000; Munro, Derwing, & Morton, 2006; Kim, 2008).

Summary and Concluding Thoughts

This report has looked at the differences and similarities in accentedness and comprehensibility by ways of rating L2 speech. The purpose of most of these studies was to observe if the two terms were independent of each other. Speakers for these studies were taken from a wide variety of L1 groups, though the most numerous were found to be Mandarin and Romance language speakers. Listeners, or raters, were most often L1 speakers of the target language (almost exclusively English), and could be either expert (individuals with L2 English teaching experience) or novice, with no teaching experience. While the two were often found to be correlated to a certain extent, heavily accented speech was not found to be necessarily incomprehensible. Phonemic features were often found to be related to accentedness ratings. Comprehensibility was most often associated with both pronunciation, such as prosodic features and speaking rate, and so-called linguistic resources (Isaacs & Trofimovich, 2012), such as grammatical complexity and vocabulary.

It was interesting to note that while there are many languages being taught in schools and through private programs, out of the 38 studies conducted with regards to accentedness and

comprehensibility, all except 1, have focused on English as the target L2. Globally, these studies actively advocate taking a step from monolingual approaches to accentedness and comprehensibility. However, by focusing almost exclusively on English, and by using it as a de facto generalization tool for studies on accentedness and comprehensibility, many of these researchers have, perhaps unintentionally, affirmed the dominance of English. Indeed, the fact that almost none of the papers had explicitly stated that they were using *English* acc/comp research (as opposed to general acc/comp research), seems to indicate that English, in this field, is treated as a lingua franca that can be used as a template for all languages, or, on a more sinister level, that no other language is relevant or necessary enough to research. It also excludes so-called 'native' English speakers from testing, as the focus is predominately on the accentedness and comprehensibility of English language learners, rather than English speakers learning other languages. By extension, we, as language education researchers in the SLA field are, without even noticing, perpetuation the myth of English as a global language which is simply, in Kubota's (2016) words, "reinforcing the hegemony of English monolingualism", both in academia, and the language classroom. If we are to further expand on acc/comp research in the future, it would be more prudent to further investigate other L2 languages and compare these results with those found by English accentedness and comprehensibility researchers. Only then could we begin generalizing our results on L2 research, while still maintaining that mantra that all languages be equally important, and all L2 learners be equally valued.

In the following appendix, a number of studies of accent and comprehensibility have been summarized. Specifically, 26 have been selected because they pertain to the results seen above and are found to be the most relevant studies on accentedness and comprehensibility for the sake of this report.

Appendix 1

1) *1988 Janet Anderson-Hsieh, Kenneth Koehler: The Effect of Foreign Accent and Speaking Rate on Native Speaker Comprehension*

In this study, three L1 Chinese and 1 L1 English control recorded read passaged in various speeds which speakers modified themselves because speech synthesizers were not available to the researchers. L1 English listeners were given 6 multiple choice questions to test comprehensibility as well as a 5-point scale to rate accentedness and comprehensibility, though they were not informed that some of the speakers would be non-native, nor did they receive any particular training for the rating tasks. After listeners rated speakers' speech for both accent and comprehensibility, it was found that comprehension scores were significantly higher for the native passages than for the non-native passages and in particular, the scores were significantly higher at the regular rate than at the fastest rate for all speakers. It was also found that the increase in speaking rate from the regular to the fast rate resulted in a greater decrease in comprehension more so for the most heavily accented speaker than for the other speakers, suggesting that speaking rate is more critical for the comprehension of heavily accented speech, and that prosodic errors affected comprehension more than did segmental deviance.

2) *1995 Murray Munro, Tracy Derwing: Foreign Accent, Comprehensibility, and Intelligibility in the Speech of Second Language Learners*

In this study on the relationship between accentedness, perceived comprehensibility and intelligibility in the speech of L2 leaners, listeners were given recordings of L2 university students as well from an English L1 control speaker. All speakers were recorded in a sound-treated room. Listeners, who were L1 English speakers, had taken some linguistics or teaching methodology courses, and had a basic knowledge of phonetics were asked to first rate speakers for accentedness and perceived comprehensibility, and then to transcribe as accurately as possible what they had heard. Results indicated that the strength of the accent was found to correlate with comprehensibility ratings, but having a strong L2 accent did not impede comprehension according to the ratings. Comprehensibility score were also less harsh than accentedness scores. This seemed to suggest that accentedness was a poorer measure of comprehensibility indicating that the two might be independent of each other, which was in opposition with the contemporary idea that improving accentedness directly lead to grater comprehensibility. The study also suggested that further research should focus on grammatical and lexical features of speech and how they correlate with accentedness and comprehensibility.

3) *1995 Processing Time, Accent and Comprehensibility in the Perception of Native and Foreign-Accented Speech*

This was the second Munro and Derwing study on accentedness and comprehensibility that continued from the previous study. L2 speakers recorded read true/false statements with a mean length of 5.9 words per person. This article also looked at processing time as well as ratings for accent and comprehensibility and speech transcriptions. The results indicated that listeners made

more errors while transcribing sentences produced by non-native speakers than by native speakers, and sometimes due to accent, comprehension was fully blocked. The Mandarin speakers' utterances took significantly longer to verify than did native-speakers, and while accentedness and comprehensibility ratings were linked, there were cases were listeners rated accent much more harshly to completely comprehensible utterances. This suggested that even shorter utterances could be rated as comprehensible even when speakers are heavily accented. There was also no relationship between response time and accentedness, though there was for comprehensibility and response time.

4) *1997 Tracy Derwing, Murray Munro, Accent Intelligibility and comprehensibility: Evidence from Four L1s,*

Also an extension of previous study on comprehensibility and accentedness and intelligibility now with varying speaker L1 types. High proficiency L2 speakers from 4 different L1 backgrounds were recorded for accentedness and comprehensibility ratings. Again, transcriptions were made of each recording by listeners, and this time, listeners also rated for grammatical errors, phonemic errors and speaker prosody. Results indicated that being a high proficiency learner did not affect the relationships between intelligibility comprehensibility and accentedness, however individual features of each group, such as grammatical and phonemic errors and prosody still differed. Accentedness was still rated more harshly than was comprehensibility, but accent and comprehensibility scores were related but not dependent of each other. It was also found that even though some aspects of accent were more salient, they did not necessarily interfere with intelligibility. This suggested that improving other aspects of speech such as grammar and prosody could lead to improved comprehensibility more so than improved phonemic features alone.

5) *2000 Angela Burda Language and Age Variables Affecting Measures of Intelligibility, Comprehensibility and Accentedness*

The purpose of the study was to look at if age or native language of the speaker effect listeners' measures of intelligibility, comprehensibility and accentedness. Listeners of various age groups Listeners were in various age groups rated three speakers. Results suggested that accentedness and comprehensibility correlated (as ratings for comprehensibility increased ratings for accentedness decreased), and no age effects existed for either comprehensibility scores or accentedness scores, however, older listeners did have greater difficulty in understanding accented speech, especially at the word and sentence levels, specifically in this study older listeners found Spanish speakers the most difficult to understand

6) *2001 Murray Munro, Tracy Derwing, Modeling perceptions of the accentedness and comprehensibility of L2 Speech: the Role of Speaking Rate*

This study also looks at speaking rate as did the Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler (1988) study due to the fact that the researchers wanted to add an element outside of segmental and prosodic

inexperienced listeners, suggesting that both listener groups used similar criteria to evaluate accent.

9) *2006 Learning second language suprasegmentals: effect of L2 experience on prosody and fluency characteristics of L2 speech, Pavel Trofimovich, Wendy Baker*

This study looked at 5 suprasegmentals from 30 Korean learners of English to see how they contribute to accent, and in particular, if length of residence affects mastery of suprasegmentals. The speakers were grouped into three categories of language proficiency: beginner, intermediate and advanced. Each language group often corresponded to the number of years they lived in their L2 language environment. According to the results of the L1 speakers of English who rated various factors of foreign accent (stress time, peak alignment, speech rate and pause frequency), only stress-time was related to length of residence, and speech rate, pause frequency and pause duration were linked to age of arrival, indicating that more suprasegmental features were linked to age of arrival than the duration of their stay in their L2 language environment. Peak alignment was not related to either age of arrival or length of residence.

10) *2008 Accentedness, comprehensibility, Intelligibility and Interpretability of NNESTs Taesung Kim*

This study looked at the ratings for accentedness and comprehensibility (which was defined here as listener's perceived level of difficulty in understanding L2 speech) of non-native English speaking teachers by other ESL students. First, L2 listeners were asked to fill out a questionnaire on their attitudes towards foreign TAs. Then, L2 listener rated for accent and comprehensibility, and results appear to indicate that while no stimuli were rated as more or less comprehensible, attitudes towards foreign TAs were such that L2 listeners believed that they should be taught by native speakers of English. Accent also appeared to having an effect on perceived comprehensibility because foreign-accented speech was believed to be difficult to understand, even though results suggested that this was not the case.

11) *2010 Relative salience of suprasegmental features on judgement of L2 comprehensibility and accentedness, Okim Kang*

This study focused on how suprasegmentals affect listeners judgements of L2 speakers accented speech. Specifically, the study focused on the speech of L2 accented foreign teaching assistants in the United States in an attempt to isolate the most salient suprasegmentals that affect comprehensibility ratings. It was found that they do in fact contribute independently to listeners' ratings: accent was most often associated with pitch range and word stress and comprehensibility was associated with speaking rates, which demonstrated a linear relationship. TA speech was also often rated as monotonous and flat.

12) *2010 Suprasegmental Measures of Accentedness and Judgements of Language Learner Proficiency in Oral English Okim Kang, Don Rubin, Lucy Pickering*

Using listener ratings as well as measuring instruments to avoid rater bias, this study aimed to identify which features of speech are associated with accentedness and comprehensibility to see which features should be taught in language classrooms to help improve L2 comprehensibility. Speakers were L2 English learner from a variety of language backgrounds were recorded, and files were transcribed as well as converted to .wav formats. Listeners who were all L1 English speakers, rated the L2 speakers were a number of features including pronunciation, grammatical accuracy, vocabulary, speech rate, organization and for the appropriateness of their responses to the task. Results suggested that fluency is an intonational phenomenon, rising tones are associated with comprehensibility and proficiency ratings. The researchers also suggest that in terms of pronunciation instruction, the enhancement of comprehensibility.

13) *2012 Deconstructing Comprehensibility: Identifying the Linguistics Influences on Listeners' L2 Comprehensibility Ratings, Talia Isaacs, Pavel Trofimovich*

The study examined which particular measures of L2 speech contributed to comprehensibility, and was interested in what linguistic measures were most strongly associated with non-expert ratings of comprehensibility and which are associated with expert ratings, and finally, which features distinguish beginner, intermedia and high proficiency L2 levels. All speakers were French L1 speakers which recorded extemporaneous narratives. These were rated for 19 separate linguistics measures (6 features of phonology, 6 features of fluency, 4 features of linguistic resources and 4 features of discourse). Some correlations were found for several measures in each of the conceptual categories of phonology (word stress error ration, vowel reduction ratio) fluency, linguistic resources. Expert raters paid specific attention to grammatical features, and most commented on generic errors, though some pointed to verb errors and sometimes pronoun and preposition errors, and all together, this suggested that experienced listeners rely on many factors when judging L2 comprehensibility such as grammar, vocabulary, fluency in L2 speech. Of the 19 speech measures, 18 significantly correlated with mean L2 comprehensibility ratings, and there appeared to be a relationship between comprehensibility and word stress.

14) *2012 Disentangling accent from comprehensibility, Pavel Trofimovich, Talia Isaacs*

Accent and comprehensibility are portrayed in society as going hand in hand and can create problems for L2 speakers, therefore, this study intends to find which aspects of language belong to accent, and which to comprehensibility. French L1 speakers of English recorded extemporaneous and reading tasks. Each task was normalized and only 23 to 26 seconds were used as stimuli to be rated. The study isolated 19 different language measures for analysis as seen in Isaacs and Trofimovich (2012). L1 English listeners rated for these features and the study concluded that both Accentedness and comprehensibility correlated strongly with 8 of the 19 measures, of those, 6 were strongly associated with both accent and comprehensibility (word stress, rhythm, mean length of run, type frequency, token frequency story breadth), and 2 were unique to accentedness (segmental errors) and comprehensibility (grammatical accurate). Through subsequent regression analysis results, 4 measures were isolated for accentedness (word

stress, rhythm, type frequency, segmental errors) and 4 for comprehensibility (word stress, rhythm, type frequency, grammatical accuracy. Overall, pronunciation features seem to be associated more with Accentedness while grammatical and lexical features were more associated with comprehensibility ratings.

15) *2013 Rater Experience, Rating Scale Length, and Judgements of L2 Pronunciation: Revisiting Research Conventions, Talia Isaacs, Ron, Thomson*

The study examined the effects of ratings scale length and rater experience on listener ratings of L2 speech, with particular interest in 9-point scales, which were thought to be optimal for accentedness and comprehensibility ratings. The speakers were all L2 newcomers to Canada from two different language backgrounds. The tools for the recordings were taken from Munro et al. 2009, and were given to L1 English listeners, half of whom were expert raters and half of whom were novice raters. Listeners were either given a 5-point scale or a 9-point scale, and expert listeners were measured and found to take longer in finishing the exercise than novice raters. There was greater consensus between expert raters, but that overall, there was no net difference between expert and novice rater results. In terms of the scale preferences, some indicated that the 9-point scale was too long for some rating tasks suggesting that 9-point scales were not always optimal for accentedness and comprehensibility tasks. Results seemed to indicate that raters had trouble differentiating between scale steps particularly from the mid range of the scale, which was more apparent with the 9-point scale.

16) *2013 First and final-semester non-native students in an English-medium university: judgments of their speech by university peers, Sara Kennedy, Pavel Trofimovich*

In this study, L2 speakers were rated by two groups of listeners for accentedness, comprehensibility, fluency and communicative effectiveness. In particular, the study looked at whether or not L2 speaking students improve their oral proficiency over time, and if human resource management students, serving as listeners, would rate L2 speakers differently from other rater groups. The results suggested that, for the first question, there was no significant difference between first and final semester L2 speakers. This may suggest that length of residence does not have an effect of speaker proficiency. For the second question, it was found that human resource management students rated accentedness more harshly than did other groups, but the other groups were harsher for comprehensibility than were human resource management listeners. No differences were found between rater groups in their ratings of fluency and communicative effectiveness.

17) *2015 Second Language Comprehensibility Revisited: Investigating the effects of Learner Background Dustin Crowther, Pavel Trofimovich, Kazuya Saito, Talia Isaacs*

This study focuses on L1 effects on listener ratings of comprehensibility, and accentedness in L1 speech. The objectives of the study were to clarify which features of L2 speech contribute to listener perceptions of accentedness and comprehensibility, and whether these features differ as a

function of speakers' L1 backgrounds. Speakers, who were otherwise similar to each other except for having 3 different language backgrounds (Farsi, Hindu/Urdu and Chinese), were selected for analysis by L1 Listeners of English. They recorded extemporaneous speech tasks that listeners then evaluated based on 10 rater categories using a continuous sliding scale. Listeners also rated the exercises themselves so assess to extent to which they understood the categories they rated. Results indicated that for comprehensibility and accentedness. Accentedness was linked exclusively to pronunciation (and its measures), while comprehensibility was linked to lexicogrammar and pronunciation together. Furthermore, comprehensibility was associated with pronunciation for the Chinese group, with lexicogrammar for the Hindu-Urdu groups and with neither factor for the Farsi group. Accentedness was linked to all groups, from segmental issues associated with the Chinese group, segmental issues and intonational and word stress issues associated with the Hindu/Urdu group and segmental and word stress issues for associated with the Farsi group. However, for comprehensibility, only segmental issues were linked specifically to Chinese speakers, whereas lexicogrammar issues were linked to Hindu/Urdu speakers, and nothing was associated specifically with Farsi.

18) *2016 Flawed self-assessment: Investigating self- and other perception of second language speech, Pavel Trofimovich, Talia Isaacs, Sara Kennedy, Kazuya Saito, Dustin Crowther*

This study used accentedness and comprehensibility to observe how speakers' self assessments were compared to L1 English listeners' assessments of L2 speech. In the first half of the study, all speakers self-rated, while in the second part, a portion of the speakers were randomly selected to be evaluated by L1 English speakers on a continuous sliding scale. The results demonstrate that speaker self-ratings related little to their actual performance and that they tended to either over or underestimated their performance, specifically, lower proficiency speakers overestimated themselves, and higher proficiency speakers underestimated themselves. For comprehensibility and accentedness in particular, speakers had discrepancies in judgments compared to L1 English speakers again with people at lower end overestimating themselves and people at upper end underestimating their abilities, however, language backgrounds could not account for these discrepancies. The results of the second part of the study suggest that listeners' judgements were more accurate than speakers' judgements, and for both accent and comprehensibility, discrepancies in self- versus listener assessment were associated with several segmental and suprasegmental features of L2 speech (segmental accuracy, word stress, rhythm, intonation, speech rate) but not with aspects of lexis, grammar, and discourse. In terms of language discrepancies, and the weakest group (Chinese) was more overconfident than Romance and Farsi groups.

19) *Comprehensibility of Native and Non-native German Speech, Mary Grantham O'Brien*

The only study that was found to focus on speakers of L2 German (all other studies focused of L2 English), the researchers looked at how L2 speakers of German rate other L2 German speakers and L1 German speakers. The speakers were from a university German class and

recorded and extemporaneous narration based on a picture study, that was submitted to evaluation by L2 German listeners. The rating tasks focused on phonological, fluency and linguistic resource evaluations, and found that the listeners could distinguish L2 form L1 speakers with regards to all three linguistic features. Listeners rated slower speech as less comprehensible and more heavily accented, as was the case with speech containing many pauses and phonetic errors. However, it was also found that exposure to German L2

20) *2015 Using Listener Judgments to Investigate Linguistic Influences on L2 Comprehensibility and Generalization study, Kazuya Saito, Pavel Trofimovich, Talia Isaacs*

Another study that focuses on finding what features of language are related to comprehensibility and accentedness ratings of L2 speech. The study uses L2 speakers of English who recorded extemporaneous narrations, that were then rated using 11 variables of language. Half of the listeners were L1 English expert raters and half were L1 English novice raters. The speech fragments were normalized, and transcribed so that they could be rated for accentedness and comprehensibility, as well as for several features, as was mentioned, with included pronunciation and fluency, which were rated based on the recordings, and for lexis and grammar, which were rated based on the transcriptions. Both rater groups were found to be consistent in their ratings of all linguistic features except story cohesion, and raters with linguistic and pedagogical experience compared with inexperienced raters overall. The results also demonstrate that rater experience impacts L2 speech judgements that could bias ratings in unwanted ways (experienced listeners were more lenient with comprehensibility and accentedness for example than inexperienced listeners). Accentedness ratings was found to be linked to phonological aspects of speech as opposed to comprehensibility which encompass a wider array of features including pronunciation, lexical features, grammar and discourse structure.

21) *2015 Second language speech production: Investigating linguistic correlates of comprehensibility and accentedness for learners at different ability levels, Kazuya Saito, Pavel Trofimovich, Talia Isaacs*

L1 Japanese English speakers at three levels of proficiency (beginner, intermediate and advanced), were looked at to see which speech measures listeners equated to accentedness and comprehensibility for each group. Results suggested that accent was related mainly to pronunciation features (as was shown in many of these studies over and over) and comprehensibility covered all the measures examined in the study (segmental, prosodic, temporal, lexical, grammatical) indicating a wide array of features necessary to rate comprehensibility. However, per groups, for comprehensibility for beginner and intermediate speakers, listeners were focused whether speaker attained a minimum level of segmental accuracy, fluency level, grammatical accuracy and lexical appropriateness. For intermediate and advanced speakers, listeners focused on segmental precision and grammatical accuracy. Fro accentedness for beginners and intermediate speakers, listeners focused on lexicagrammar and for intermediate and advanced speakers, listeners focused on grammatical complexity.

Segmentals, word stress, intonation and speech rates were found to be important among all three groups in terms of accentedness.

22) *2015 Lexical Profiles of comprehensibility second language speech: the role of appropriateness, abstractness and Sense relations, Kazuya Saito, Stuart Webb, Pavel Trofimovich, Talia Isaacs*

The study focuses on multiple L2 English speakers with L1 French, that were evaluated by listeners of L1 English. Speakers were in groups of beginner, intermediate and advanced language proficiency. In terms of lexis, for beginner to intermediate speakers, vocabulary (fluent, and accurate use of concrete words) was related to comprehensibility, and for intermediate to advanced speakers, comprehensibility was associated with sophisticated uses of L2 lexis (morphologically accurate use of complex, less familiar, polysemous words). The study suggests that multiple traits of lexis need to be taught for speakers in the class room in order to improve comprehensibility.

23) *2015 Lexical correlates of comprehensibility versus accentedness, in second language speech, Kazuya Saito, Straut Webb, Pavel Trofimovich, Talia Isaacs*

This study was a continuation of above study, and further found that lexical properties of speech were associated with successful L2 communication especially in terms of lexical accuracy and complexity, and for accentedness, surface-level details of lexical content (abstractness) and form (variation, morphological accuracy) were linked to accent rather than contextual details. The same measures of speech were analysed (in the form a transcript) as in above study. For details on speakers, listeners and speaking tasks, see above.

24) *2015 Second Language speakers at University: Longitudinal Development and rater Behaviour, Sara Kennedy, Jennifer A Foote and Larissa Kurtz dos Santos Buss*

The goal of the study was to evaluate what is important for non-expert raters in terms of evaluating L2 speech, and the researchers look at whether the L2 speech of university students in L2 settings develops without instruction in speaking or listening, and also how these students' speech in terms of its accentedness, comprehensibility and fluency is evaluated by community members not trained to rate L2 speech (non-expert). Overall the results demonstrate that ratings increased form year 1 to 3 except for lowest rated individuals in the first place (so there was net improvement). The study also showed that listeners themselves believed that accent could be distinct from comprehensibility as was demonstrated by this quote from one of the listeners: 'he has a think accent but he`s not hard to understand (low-rated) and she has a very thick accent but it wasn`t severe enough that it impacted my understanding of her (high-rated)'. In general, year 3 excerpts were rated significantly more favourably than Year 1, and mostly focused on accentedness and less so on comprehensibility. Ratings of segmentals were most linked to accentedness and comprehensibility and pauses and rhythm were more linked to fluency.

25) *2015 The assessment of foreign accent and its communicative effects b naïve native judges vs. experienced non-native judges, Francisco Gallardo del Puerto, Maia Luisa Garcia Lecumberri, Esther Gomez Lababex*

Because previous studies have been sceptical of using L2 listeners as reliable judges of L2 accentedness and comprehensibility, the researchers in this study compared expert L2 listeners with novice L1 listeners. Speakers were high school students from Spain studying English as a foreign language. They recorded extemporaneous narratives passed on pictures from Mayer's (1969) *Frog, where are you?.* Listener were expert L2 speakers who were teachers with extensive training, and novice listeners who were L1 speakers of English from Britain with no background in English teaching. In this instance, expert and non-expert listeners were able to evaluate speakers very similarly, but non-native judges in fact had an easier time understanding speakers than Native judges.

26) *2016 The relative contribution of segments and intonation to the perception of foreign-accented speech, Joan Sereno, Lynne Lammers, Allard Jongman*

This study looks at the relative impact of segmentals and intonation on accentedness, comprehensibility and intelligibility (specifically of L1 Korean accented English speakers), and for the task 2 Korean and 2 English speakers recorded 40 English sentences that were manipulated by combining segmentals from 1 speaker with intonation from another creating for versions: one English control, one Korean control, one English segmental with Korean intonation, and one Korean segmental with English intonation. 40 L1 English speakers transcribed and then rated for accent and comprehensibility. Finally, the results show that segmentals had a significant effect on accentedness, comprehensibility and intelligibility but intonation only had an effect on intelligibility, and this study separates segments from intonation because possibly according to the study, segmental information contributes more to the perception of foreign accentedness than intonation (based on listener ratings).

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LISTENING TO YOUNG CHILDREN: A MOSAIC APPROACH - RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES FROM TWO CHILDREN AND DINOSAURS

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Abstract

The inclusion of children's responses in research of educational settings are important and have been described as a pertinent tool to understand and be aware of children's perspectives that adults may not be aware of (Lundqvist, 2014). Sheridan (2011) further expresses that the "evaluation of quality of early childhood education must include the voices of children" and is an essential part of the overall understanding of early childhood education. The responses and voices of young children reflect diverse forms of communicating, representing and interpreting their thoughts and emotions. This paper will present some models that can help guide the researcher to make decisions about how a child can participate in the research activity. Specifically, I will describe the use of an ethnographic combined with Clark and Moss's Mosaic approach to researching with children.

Keywords: Mosaic approach, listening to young children, ethnography, Reggio Emilia, child-conferencing

Research with Children

As a researcher, I have to consider the most appropriate data gathering tools to address my research question, and I must also consider the abilities, emotions, behaviour and developmental age of my participants. Furthermore, the purpose and objective of the research will determine the type of research study that is taken. Johnson and Christensen (2008) elegantly outlined five different kinds of research undertaken with or about children: 1) basic research, 2) applied research, 3) evaluation research, 4) action research, and 5) orientational (critical theory) research. Both basic and applied research can be considered to be two ends of a continuum "as often research projects have elements of both in varying proportions" (Johnson & Christensen, 2008).

Table 1

Types of research undertaken within the sphere of early childhood research.

Basic research	• Fundamental research to understand brain function and mechanisms • Not immediately applicable to everyday life but applied research is built upon fundamental discoveries leading to advances in practical applications of basic knowledge
Applied research	• Answering and finding solutions to "real-life" questions • Early childhood practitioners and those who study early childhood education are most likely to engage in applied research
Evaluation research	• A form of applied research often undertaken when a new intervention or project has been implemented • Used to determine if new programs should be rolled out for wider participation
Action research	• An example of applied research that occurs in the workplace. • Objective is to arrive at a solution or intervention that can be implemented and evaluated
Orientational research	• Collects information to help strengthen the argument of those who wish to promote a particular ideology • Tends to focus on disadvantaged sections of society and focus on social inequalities

Table 1. Types of research most often employed in the field of early childhood research.

Historical Context on Research with Children

Each type of research mentioned above can be applied to understand different aspects of early childhood learning with varied form of methodologies. O'Reilly, Ronzoni, & Dogra (2013) state that the "views of children and childhood, children's rights and children's abilities inevitably have an influence on the way research is conducted". These views dictate and influence the transition between research 'on' children (as passive participants) to research 'with'

children (active and respected participants) (Rengel, 2014). It was only in the early 19th century when children were regarded as a distinct population, as opposed to being portrayed as mini-adults or blank canvasses; passively absorbing information and mindlessly being moulded by adults (Sameroff, 2010). In the twentieth century, there was increased interest regarding children's behaviour, emotional and cognitive stages and when the United Nations adopted Eglantyne Jebb and Janusz Korczak's Declaration of the Rights of the Child (Maynard & Powell, 2014), attitudes about children began to change. The use of children as research participants (as opposed to subjects) became more common and children's responses were included as an important aspect of educational research. Children's responses can enrich adults' understanding of "how children experience educational settings and their sense of well-being in these environments" (Lundqvist, 2014). Thus, for the context of this paper, I will focus on different methodologies and methods used in the field of early childhood learning to understand and gather children's responses in a research setting.

Children's responses in research of educational settings are important and have been described as a pertinent tool to understand and be aware of children's perspective that adults may not be aware of (Lundqvist, 2014). Sheridan (2011) further expresses that "evaluation of quality of early childhood education must include the voices of children" and is an essential part of the overall understanding of early childhood education.

The responses and voices of young children reflects diverse forms of communicating, representing and interpreting their thoughts and emotions. In Loris Malaguzzi's poem "The Hundred Languages of Children", he asserts that young children (especially pre-verbal ones) have a hundred ways of communicating ("a hundred hands, a hundred thoughts, a hundred ways of thinking, of playing, of speaking") with us and thus, we need to listen and allow and provide materials to the children to be able to speak to us beyond the use of language. The poem "The Hundred Languages of Children is in *Appendix 1*.

According to Eisner (2002), employing different forms of representation utilizes different cognitive skills, and if children are provided resource-rich environments, they will have many opportunities to select tools and materials to create forms of representation of their knowledge (Ade & Da Ros-Voseles, 2010). Drawings, interactions with peers, adults, toys and animals, independent play (object manipulation) and naturally occurring talk (babbling or frequent use of nouns) are forms of data most consistently used to understand young children's responses (McKechnie, 2000). In parallel, to further triangulate the data from the children, often the caregiver's responses are also collected through journals and diaries, scripting, photographs and audio visual. The researcher gains access to a group and carries out extensive observation in a natural setting for a period of months or even years. These methods are the basis of ethnographic study.

Ethnography: sustained, holistic and self-corrective.

Ethnographic studies of preschoolers have been the main research method of choice in the field due to the "sustained nature of ethnography" (Eder & Corsaro, 1999) and by entering

the worlds of children to chart significant phases of their lives, allows the ethnographer to document crucial changes that are essential for understanding socialization processes that would contribute to understanding of children's lives. According to Eder and Corsaro (1999), ethnographic studies of preschoolers are 1) sustained and engaged, 2) microscopic and holistic, and 3) flexible and self-corrective. The features of ethnographic studies in the context of studying young children are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Feature:	Summary
Sustained and Engaged	• Observations are conducted for months, sometimes years • Ability to return to the group for future intervention programs • Long-term and longitudinal studies allow optimal interpretation and understanding of children's lives • Acceptance into a child's world either from an observer or participant-observer • Participation aligns with developmental histories and thus documentation provides insights to the processes of children's worlds
Microscopic and Holistic	• To capture the actions and events as they were understood by the actors (children, educators) themselves, process of interpretation called "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) • Grounded in the specifics of everyday life and partcipant's reflection on them • Moving beyond "thin description", often from an adult perspective to a more holistic intepretation of interactions between children (Geertz, 1973). For example, at a "thin description" level, a preschooler who resists the access of others into their established play routines may be viewed as having troubling behaviour. However, using "thick description", this behaviour is viewed as a way for the child to protect the play space to avoid disruption with their play. In thick description, the child's behaviour is no longer viewed as troubling.
Ethnography is flexible and Self-corrective	• It is dialectical (i.e. feedback method in which initial questions may change the course of inquiry) • Self-correction is built into the processes of ethnographic collection

	• Pertinent when studying young children • Recording and analyzing initial methodological errors is a useful way to gain information for revising procedures to better fit a particular field situation. For example, sometimes it is not known about the children's responses to the researcher's questions, especially when the usual method of communication is different from adults (Gaskins, Miller , & Corsaro, 1992)

Table 2. Features of ethnography as a methodology when studying young children.

Much like young children having "a hundred languages" to communicate, it is important for researchers to understand that listening is a process that is not limited to the spoken word. The phrase 'voice of a child' may suggest the "transmission of ideas only through words, but listening to young children, including pre-verbal children, requires a process which is open to the many creative ways young children use to express their views and experiences" (Edwards, Gandini, & Forman, 1993). By adopting ethnography as a medium for studying young children and collecting their views and experiences as data, one is employing a narrative ethnographical research project (Hohti & Karlson, 2014). Narrative ethnography allows the researcher to follow children's voices from the level of classroom observation to an analysis on narrative data produced through storytelling by the children. By listening to the children, it makes it possible to take on a child's perspective of different issues (Crivello, Camfield, & Woodhead, 2009). When one attempts to understand the perspectives of a very young child, his/her abilities "can be made visible or hidden by the lenses adults use to view them and their lives" (Clark, 2007). These lenses are also employed by early childhood researchers who often choose different methods to document their findings. Multi-methods such as observation, child conferencing, photographs, tours (led by children as an exploratory tool), role play, parents' perspectives, practitioner's perspectives and researcher's perspectives (Clark & Moss, 2001). Although there is research which uses one or two of these listening methods to gain an understanding of children, there is a trend towards adopting a more holistic method of data collection by incorporating many of these methods together. Katy Bartlett (1998) uses the phrase a "mosaic of perspectives" for the process of listening to young children used in her early years work. She describes the importance of a multi-method approach which brings together children's own views with those of family members and teachers Clark and Moss further interpreted Bartlett's work to include a "reflective and interpretative dimension" (Clark & Moss, 2001) and coined this approach the Mosaic approach.

The Mosaic Approach

The Mosaic approach originated from rural development work. It is a participatory learning in action way of "listening which acknowledges children and adults as co-constructors of meaning. It is an integrated approach which combines the visual with the verbal (Clark &

Moss, 2001). A range of imaginative methodologies are used without the written word, a particularly important aspect of researching young children. Inspired by the pedagogical approach of Reggio Emilia in Northern Italy, the approach emphasis is on documentation and children's natural responses.

The Mosaic approach is divided into two stages:

- *Stage 1:* Adults gathering documentation about the children through a collaborative process
- *Stage 2:* Piecing together information for dialogue, reflection and interpretation

Stage 1 incorporates each method and tool used to listen to young children to give the researcher an insight into the child's views and experiences. The strength of this approach is reinforced through the process of dialogue, reflection and interpretation. There are several commonly used tools associated with gathering documentation from a child which include: observations, child-conferencing, photography, drawing, role-play and tours. These are the foundational tools, however, one is encouraged to explore other types of tools to complement each child's interests. It is important to note that applying a single method only gives the researcher one listening tool, and thus, integrating methods from both Stage 1 and Stage 2 gives a complete "pictured" documentation of the child's response and representation of his/her voice. A summarized description of the approach is outlined in Table 3 and based on descriptions as outlined in Clark and Moss (2001).

Table 3

Method	
Observation	Observations of pre-verbal children requires the researcher to "listen" to the child's body language, movements, interactions with the activity, peers and adult and impression of the learning environment
Child-conferencing	Formal structure for talking to young children about an activity or about their learning environment. The setting has to be chosen carefully to consider the comfort level of the child. This method is flexible and can be conducted in a stationary or moving position and can take time, as repeated child-conferencing is conducted as a reflexive tool.
Photographs	Preschool children are provided with cameras to capture their favourite scenes and activities. This gives control to the child as a researcher and allows the researcher to view the world from the child's perspective. It is possible that "taking photographs may be one way of enabling children, who are preschoolers to tell adults more about the important things in their learning environment" (Clark & Moss, 2001). Cameras also offer opportunities for young children to participate and complete a project that they can take pride in. When children chose which photographs they wanted to present to the researcher, the documentation is more authentically child-originated.

Drawing	Semiotic interpretation of the learning environment or activity represented through a child's drawing, often seen as swirls, scribbles and lines. This is an effective method to collect responses from children with speech as they can provide narration through the symbols they have used.
Tours	This is an extension of young children's work with cameras and is used as an explorative tool for them. Tours are led by children and include documentation through children's drawings, recording of their conversations and photographs. This is a child-led way of thinking, beyond the traditional interview room. This can be viewed as a way of moving towards a child agenda for change (Clark & Moss, 2001).
Role play	Play figures and play equipment allowed the children to tell their own narratives about their learning environment. A "story stem" can be introduced to young children where play figures can be used to re-enact a story and complete a narrative (Robinson, 2007).

Table 3. Tools of Communication and Listening from the Mosaic approach.

Each tool is a tile that makes up one's structure to listening. The "voice" of the child can be interpreted through a number of methods of expression. In addition to the children's voices, parents', practitioners' and the researchers' perspectives also build on the understanding of children's feedback in an educational research setting. A parent's perspective puts emphasis on how a caregiver perceives a child's learning and experiences within a learning environment. Parents' voices provide another piece of the Mosaic approach to understanding children's lives, particularly for pre-verbal children. It is also important to include the practitioner's voice because preschool children often spend many hours in their care. Gaining the perspective of the educator will provide another piece to the Mosaic about the daily life of the child. Finally, it is pertinent to acknowledge the researcher as a visible part of the process (Clark & Moss, 2001). Observation notes, field notes and photographs form the basis of the reflection and contribute significantly when combining the narratives from the children and the perspectives of the parents and educators with the views of the researcher.

The Mosaic approach is designed based on a practitioner's approach to teaching in the early childhood classroom, however, its approach is a framework which can be modified to understand and appreciate children's voices from a researcher's perspective. The methods proposed by this approach are sound ways to gather documentation when researching the learning outcomes of young children. Figure 1 illustrates the different "tiles" associated with the Mosaic model and each tile is modular and thus, a combination of tiles are designed based on the mode of communication each child (e.g. A, B, C) uses to communicate and respond to the research activity, in combination with an immersed ethnographic study of the daily routine of that child.

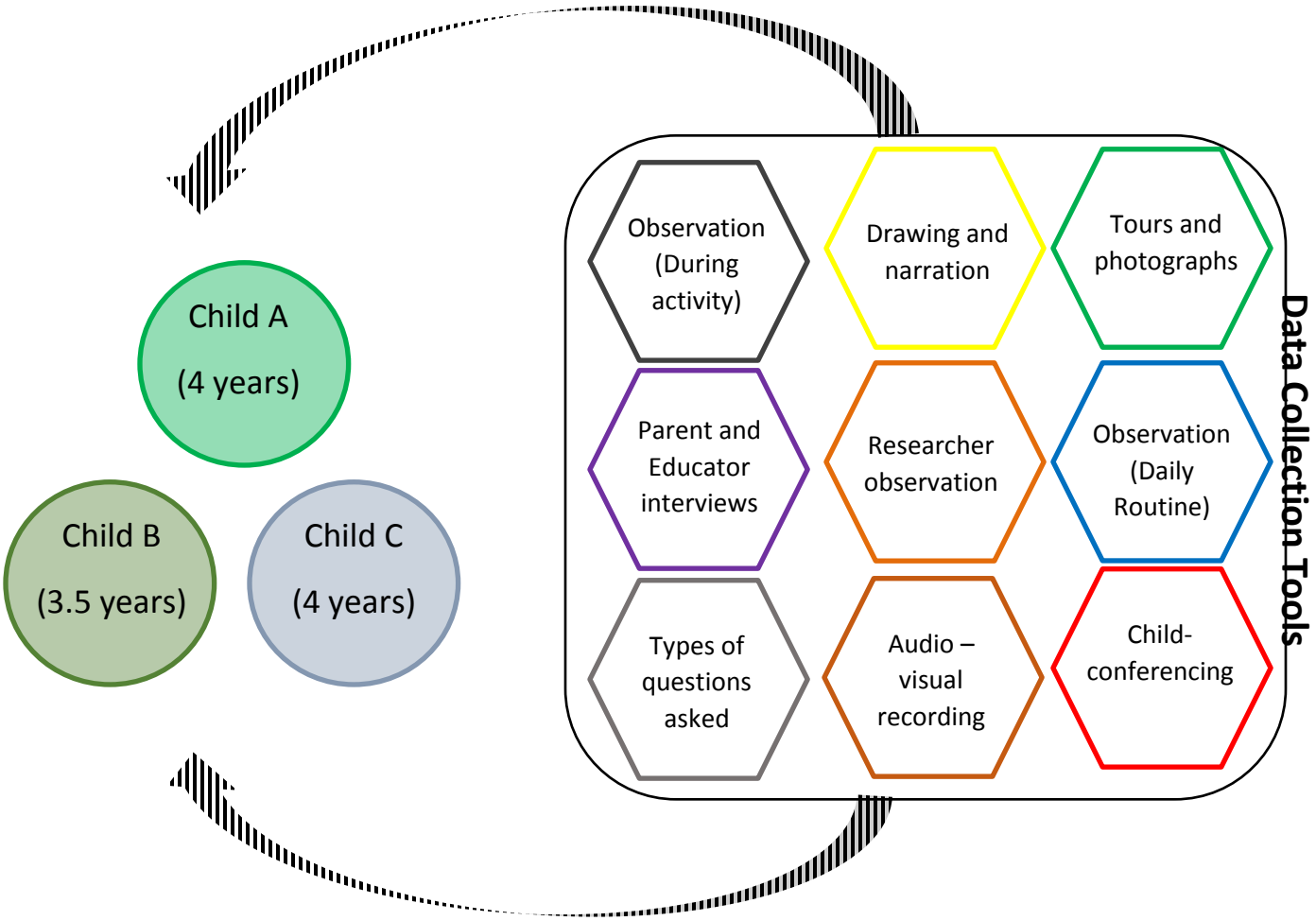

Figure 1. An adapted model of the Mosaic approach for research purposes. Each child (A, B, C) is observed through an immersed ethnographic study by the researcher to establish an appropriate set of methods to gather responses for the research activity.

Application of the Mosaic Approach

As poetically described in the "One Hundred Languages of Children" by Loris Malaguzzi, each child communicates and responds in many ways and the researcher is assured that the responses are captured through the different methods described above. For example, Figure 2 illustrates two different children of the same age who were given the same research activity to experience and evaluate. Both boys were fascinated with dinosaurs and to complement the educator's curriculum on living things, the researcher brought different activities into the classroom once a week to extend from the teacher's lessons about dinosaurs. Examples of some activities include, circle reading on different types of dinosaurs, using our bodies to become dinosaurs (e.g. moving our arms to imitate the jaws of a *T. rex*, stomping our feet to walk like a four-legged dinosaur, placing our bodies close to move in herds), using materials from the kitchen to learn about the process of fossilization, tasting different types of food to learn about the diversity of dinosaur teeth (e.g. using mirrors, we observed which teeth we used to eat

carrots, chicken, bread and other types of food), and simulations of meteor impacts on earth with sand. In addition to the researcher's activities, the teacher continued each exploration and extended into other activities in her program (e.g. writing, singing, language learning) in her classroom between the researcher's sessions to stay authentic to continuously listen to the children. Listening for children's reflections does not occur at specified or convenient times and instead, tend to happen organically when the child chooses to make their implicit learning and reflections, explicit. These brief glimpses occur through different interactions to allow "listening" for reflections to become explicit.

Thus, it is important to allow each child choices to communicate about their learning environment in a different way. It is pertinent for the researcher to observe and be "involved" in the child's daily routines to appropriately select the method that would best capture the child's response to the research activity.

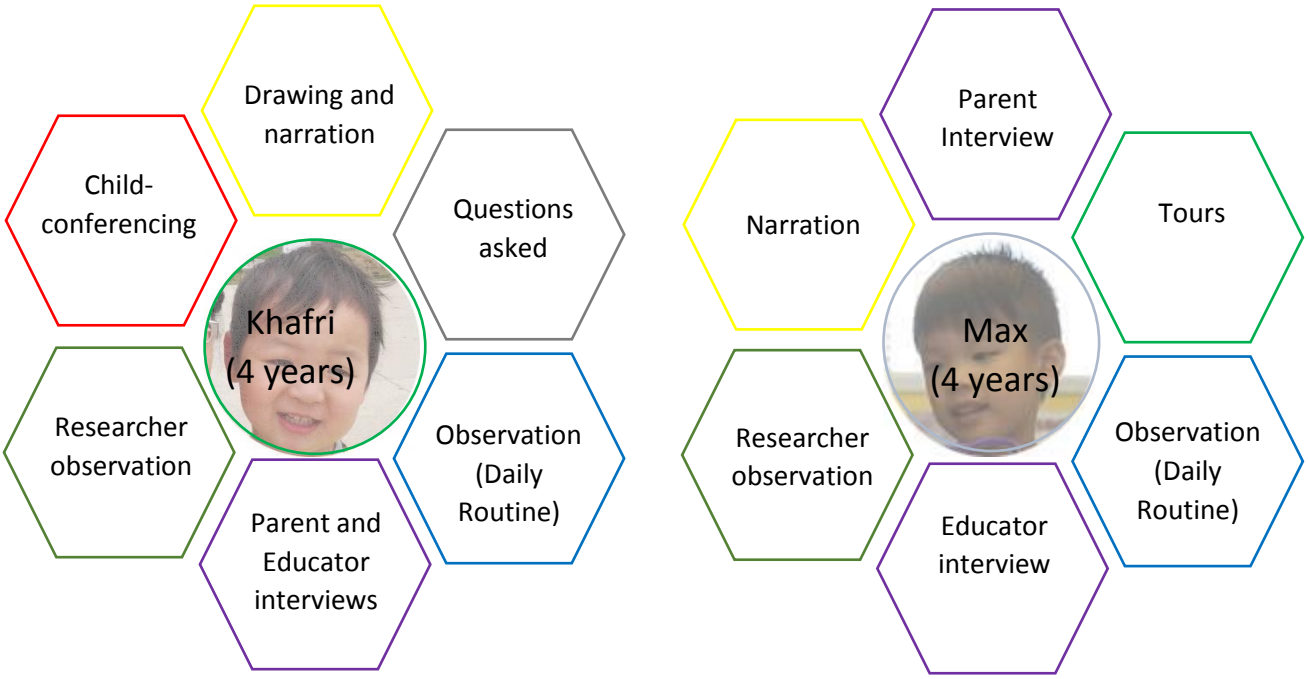

Figure 2. Two children, 4 years of age, communicate through different methods (hexagonal tiles) on a similar research activity. Each set of methods are selected to capture each child's response to the research activity. Notice that Khafri preferred drawing and narration while Max preferred tours.

Each method is flexible and can be moulded to help the researcher obtain specific responses that help address the research question. The themes around narration, role-playing and child-conferencing become a discussion on how the child enjoyed the activity. The responses and methods are child-centered and child-led.

By gathering the data sets from each method, one can start to get information and a visual theme that reveals what activities the child is most frequently interested in. In Table 4 for example, Khafri clearly indicated that he preferred to explore the topic of dinosaurs through

books, hands-on activity and role-playing. More specifically, he is most interested in carnivores, rather than herbivores, as demonstrated by the frequency of Khafri talking about carnivorous dinosaurs through the different communication tiles.

Table 4

 Khafri	Drawing and Narration	Tours and photographs	Observation (Parent/ Educator)	Parent/ Educator Interviews	Child Conferencing	Researcher observation
Dinosaur storytelling	•		•	•		•
Carnivore activity	•	•	•	•	•	•
Herbivore activity			•	•		
Reading about dinosaurs	•		•	•	•	•
Role playing with friends	•	•	•	•	•	•
Playing with dinosaur figures			•	•		•
Colouring dinosaur pictures	•		•	•		

Table 4. Khafri prefers carnivorous dinosaurs and he communicated his interest most frequently through drawing and narration, candid play (observations by parent, educator and researcher) and child-conferencing.

The Mosaic approach allows for differences in perception that might otherwise remain hidden or miss-interpreted, to be made visible to the adult researcher. Useful discussion and "meaning-making of the documentation can come from the parents, educators and researchers' perspectives. (Clark & Moss, 2001).

Limitations of the Mosaic Approach

Similar to other methods in the field, there are limitations to this approach. Children who are more reserved and are uncomfortable with new activities and adults may find this method challenging and constricted. Children's friends may leave the program, breaking the established

friendship formed through the activities. Some children may have undocumented learning challenges and unique behavioural attitudes that make child-conferencing or role-playing difficult. From the educator and parent perspective, this approach may seem to undermine the current teaching paradigm in the classroom and thus, lead to some resistance to participate. Time and commitment from the adult's point of view may be looked upon unfavourably and thus a time for engaging with the child becomes another task or chore to complete before the end of the day.

Several of these challenges may be addressed by incorporating some quantitative methodology to further support qualitative observations. For example, one can adopt an assessment test that measures a young child's understanding. For example, the Woodcock-Johnson III tests for cognitive abilities have been used in the field to measure a child's understanding from different disciplines of study. Specifically, they provide a comprehensive system for measuring general intellectual ability, specific cognitive abilities, scholastic aptitude, oral language, and achievement (Kozey, 2006). Surveys are also commonly used with preschool children to gauge the validity of their responses and are designed using different methods to gather their responses. Since preschool children are pre-verbal and are able to understand images (Read & Fine , 2005), the Wong-Baker pain rating scale (Airey, Plowman, Connolly, & Luckin, 2002) or the Smileyometer scale (Read , MacFarlane, & Casey, 2002) are often used instead of a traditional, numerically-based Likert question. Some research groups have gone beyond images on paper to measure a child's response and adapted survey options to using puppets to assess (Mantzicopoulos, Patrick, & Samarapungavan, 2008) and to measure (Stone, et al., 2014).

Conclusion

There is general agreement in the field that children must have a voice and be able to participate in research. For the scope of this paper, I have presented some models that can help guide the researcher to make decisions about how a child can participate in the research activity. As a researcher, especially with young children as participants, one must be sure to consider a range of factors including the ability, personality and comfort of the child. One must also consider the risk assessment of the field and ethical implications when researching with children (topics not discussed in the context of this paper, however, are important to consider in one's research). Learning and "listening" to the child's voice significantly can enrich our research while building on the respect, trust and cooperation between the researcher and the child.

Appendix 1

The Hundred Languages of Children

The child is made of one hundred.
The child has a hundred languages
a hundred hands
a hundred thoughts
a hundred ways of thinking
of playing, of speaking.

A hundred.

Always a hundred
ways of listening
of marveling, of loving
a hundred joys
for singing and understanding
a hundred worlds
to discover
a hundred worlds
to invent
a hundred worlds
to dream.

The child has
a hundred languages
(and a hundred hundred hundred more)
but they steal ninety-nine.
The school and the culture
separate the head from the body.
They tell the child:
to think without hands
to do without head
to listen and not to speak
to understand without joy
to love and to marvel
only at Easter and at Christmas.

They tell the child:
to discover the world already there
and of the hundred
they steal ninety-nine.

They tell the child:
that work and play
reality and fantasy
science and imagination
sky and earth
reason and dream
are things
that do not belong together.

And thus they tell the child
that the hundred is not there.
The child says:
No way. The hundred is there.

"The Hundred Languages of Children" -Loris Malaguzzi
Founder of the Reggio Emilia Approach (Edwards, Gandini, & Forman, 1993)

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RE-EXAMINING "SILENCE"

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Abstract

As part of a larger study exploring academic discourse socialization of a group of students from diverse academic and cultural backgrounds in an international TESOL graduate program in a Canadian university focusing on how they participate in class, how they perceive different modes of participation of other students in the class, and how this affects their academic discourse socialization process, this study explores 12 EAL students' "silence"/non-oral participation. The study finds that EAL students' "silence" or non-participation was reflection of different factors such as language related issues, concerns about other students, lack of content knowledge, and personality. It was often the case that students' "silence" and/or non-oral participation was a result of combination of those factors. Implications for classroom practices and for meeting EAL students' needs are also discussed.

Keywords: (non) oral participation, silence, EAL, TESOL

Introduction

With the growing enrolment of international students at graduate level in Western universities (OECD, 2017, p. 284–287), it has become critical to consider how international students acquire new social and academic discourses (Morita, 2004). Especially in graduate programs in Western universities which have been receiving an increasing number of students from various parts of the world, it is possible that instructors, local students, and international students may have different academic expectations because of different "cultures of learning" (Jin & Coratazzi, 1996) that each student is used to. This term refers to:

> taken-for-granted frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about what constitutes good learning, about how to teach or learn, whether and how to ask questions, what textbooks are for, and how language teaching relates to broader issues of the nature and purpose of education. (Jin & Coratazzi, 1996, p. 1)

Due to differences in cultures of learning, a major area of interest in the field is oral participation and silence of EAL students in the classroom (e.g., Choi, 2015; Tatar, 2005). In many cases, because of these different cultures of learning regarding oral participation expected in EAL students' home academic cultures and their new academic culture of the Western classroom, EAL students' participation can be seen and/or understood differently by their peers and instructors. In some literature, researchers often call EAL students' apparent lack of participation "silence", which could really be non-oral participation. In order to accommodate increasing number of diverse student body in graduate programs, their participation and the reasons behind why they participate the way they do need to be understood. Therefore, this paper explores EAL students' silence/non-oral participation in a graduate program in a university in Canada.

Silence/non-oral participation

As student discussion is commonly a major classroom activity in Western countries, especially in graduate courses, silence or lack of active participation of EAL students tends to be a concern for instructors (Tatar, 2005). However, researchers find that silence in class holds different meanings for different students- and that there are different modes of participation besides actively participating in class discussions.

Some students stay silent as a face-saving strategy when they have difficulty expressing themselves clearly with their limited language skills and/ or content knowledge (Choi, 2015; Kettle, 2005; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Morita, 2004; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Tatar, 2005). This includes saving their face especially when there are other students from the same country. Studies suggest that students feel more embarrassed of their low performance when in front of other co-nationals (Choi, 2015; Tatar, 2005). Others stay silent as a way of being considerate to other classmates because they might take everyone's time when they cannot express themselves well, or they are less knowledgeable compared to their classmates in some contexts (Kettle, 2005; Liu, 2002; Morita, 2004; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Tatar, 2005). Moreover, they choose to be silent thinking their experiences would not be helpful to their classmates due to

different contexts. Also, some students stay silent to show teachers respect, by not sharing ideas when students have opposing ideas to the teachers' (Tatar, 2005).

There are cases where EAL students stay silent when they feel that other classmates are having meaningless discussions and keep talking because the silent students do not believe it is valuable for the class (Liu, 2002; Tatar, 2005). Some silent students even express their surprise when other students ask basic questions to professors in class (Choi, 2015). It is also interesting to note that while some students believe that they have to try to speak up even if they feel uncomfortable since it is the academic expectation in the western universities (Morita, 2004), others believe that not speaking up does not necessarily mean that students are not engaging in class, and that it is ok to stay silent if they do not feel comfortable (Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002). EAL students cultural background also played a significant role in their participation in their classroom in the Western university such as not orally participating in discussions being humble, or only speaking up only when the information or idea is worth sharing with others (Choi, 2015; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013).

Even if the silence in class makes EAL students look like they are not participating, there are other ways to show that they are engaging in class. Some students show their response to other students' comments through body language, and others participate actively in group projects or online discussions. Furthermore, some students talk individually to professors after class, or email them about the class (Choi, 2015; Lee, 2009; Morita, 2004; Tatar 2005). These clearly show that EAL students do not simply stay silent due to lack of desire to learn or limited English skills. Rather, in some cases, they are just participating non-orally, and silence in classrooms is a complex aspect that needs to be carefully examined.

In addition, the studies mentioned above examine individual students' experiences (Kettle, 2005; Tatar, 2005), or a group of students from the same nationality (Choi, 2015; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Morita, 2004; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013). Considering that classroom interaction depends on the composition of the class such as students' previous educational experiences and backgrounds (Dippold, 2015), it is worthwhile to examine students' perspectives and experiences about their participation in multicultural classrooms from points of views of students from different academic and cultural backgrounds.

Research context

This study was part of a larger study that explored the academic discourse socialization experiences of 14 graduate students in an international TESOL program at a Canadian university. The program was primarily designed for international students, and although in the first cohort all students were from mainland China, the cohorts since then have had students from different parts of the world including but not limited to Iran, Brazil, Korea, Russia, and Canada. As the program is international, it offers a variety of ways to help students transition to the new cultural and academic context of a Canadian graduate program. This support includes the initial five-week orientation to help students prepare for the upcoming graduate program as well as on-going cultural and academic advising and support.

Participants and their recruitment

The participants were recruited through an e-mail explaining the focus of my study, sent out by a program assistant of the TESOL program. I also approached some participants using snowball sampling (Patton, 2002). Upon submission of the consent form attached to the e-mail, participants were contacted through e-mail and were invited to the interview.
The central question of this larger study was: what do students consider as legitimate modes of participation in a TESOL graduate program designed primarily for international students in a Canadian university? The focus was on the students' (non) oral participation and how they negotiate legitimacy of participation. In order to understand EAL students' silence/non-oral participation, this study focuses only on 12 EAL students who participated in the larger study. Below is summary of the participants. I am not disclosing the country of origin of participants outside of China to maintain anonymity, given the few numbers of students and graduates from particular countries. Similarly, in order to maintain anonymity, I asked my participants to pick a pseudonym and used their pseudonyms in the study.

Table 1

Pseudonyms	Status	Area of Origin
Helen	Student in 1st term	China
Jack	Student in final term	China
Emily	Student in final term	North Africa
Michelle	Student in final term	China
Amanda	Student in final term	South America
Gina	Graduate	Eastern Asia
Jenny	Student in 1st term	Eastern Asia
Katherine	Graduate	Eastern Europe
Amy	Student in final term	China
Dianna	Student in 1st term	Southern Asia
Tina	Graduate	China
Sharon	Graduate	Eastern Asia

Table 1. Pseudonyms.

Research Design

To explore the research question and develop a detailed understanding of students' participation in the TESOL program, a qualitative research approach was chosen. Specifically, in order to explore participants' lived experiences in the program, and develop more detailed knowledge about them (Wengraf, 2001), I conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews. I first conducted focus group interviews and then individual interviews with the study participants to discuss further their accounts from the focus group interview. The duration of the focus group interviews were in length of approximately one hour. The individual interviews were conducted about a month after the focus group face-to-face interview depending on the participants' availabilities. The individual interviews varied from approximately 30 minutes to an hour.

Findings

This study found that participants participated in class non-orally or stayed silent for different reasons, mainly for four major reasons. Therefore, below, I will discuss the four major reasons: language related issues, concerns about other students, lack of content knowledge, and personality.

Language related issues

Some participants' accounts suggested that language was a factor that affected their participation. For instance, Amanda, a participant from South America said that she was not shy and she wanted to contribute her ideas and experiences in group discussions, but she could not, due to her lack of academic English skills. She said she had no problem talking to her friends about her daily life, but when it came to talking about academic reading, she could not produce what she wanted to say. This suggests that although she may appear silent when she could not contribute in discussions, she was eager to orally participate.

Concerns about other students

Another factor that influenced the way students participate in class was concerns about other students. Some students' accounts suggested that they sometimes did not orally participate in class discussions because they did not want their classmates to perceive them negatively such as "dominant" students. Some participants from China talked about their cultural background, and according to them, in their classrooms in China, students are normally quiet in class and if someone speaks up in class, they may be seen weirdly because it is not a common classroom practice. Also, some students were worried about getting into conflicts with other students by speaking up. Jack said:

> I get into troubles because of speaking instead of remaining silent I guess. You lose friends because of you talk too much inappropriately instead of remaining silent (Jack, individual interview, December 7, 2017).

This shows that he stayed silent because he considered discussion as a potential risk of arguing with his classroom, which may potentially lead to losing his friends.

Lack of content knowledge

Lack of content knowledge was another factor that affected participants' participation in class. Some students' accounts suggested that even though they were willing to participate in discussions by contributing their experiences and ideas, they sometimes could not due to lack of content knowledge. For instance, Emily said:

> …most of our classmates were local teachers and they were experienced so they had more than I did to talk about. I tried to speak as much as I can, but sometimes I just stayed silent. (Emily, group interview, November 22, 2017)

Similar experience was shared by another participant:

> …they [her classmates] were all teaching, like in public schools. And so their experience was richer in that way because they were able to speak what they were doing and how what we learn in the elective, how they could see in the school… so I think they were all seem confident and talking all the time and I was the one silent or also trying to participate but I wasn't working so I could relate to my previous experience in [a country in South America], I did my best, but I felt it wasn't enough, so it was very challenging. (Amanda, individual interview, December 18, 2017)

These excerpts suggest that despite the fact that they were trying to participate through "talking", like their other classmates, they were sometimes "silent" due to their lack of experience in the specific context.

Personality

Lastly, participants' personality seemed to be a factor which affected their participation in class. Some students talked about their personality, and some students talked about their upbringings. For example, Amy said:

> I think because I'm not a very expressive person but do love listening to other's opinions and it takes me time to organize or structure my answers so sometimes it seems like I was not participating in the discussions, but just want to structure the answer in my brain and then I talk about it. But sometimes after I finish structuring, people just reach to another one or something like that. (Amy, group interview, December 18, 2017)

This shows that Amy being "not a very expressive person" may make her appear "silent" in class, as she is not orally participating, however, she is thinking about the topic, meaning that she is engaged in class discussions.

Discussion

As demonstrated in findings, EAL students' "silence" or non-participation was reflection of different factors that surrounded them. Those factors included language related issues, concerns about other students, lack of content knowledge, and personality. However, it was often the case that students' "silence" and/or non-oral participation was a result of combination of those factors. Face-saving (E.g., Choi, 2015) and lack of content knowledge (E.g., Liu, 2002; Tatar, 2005), which were reported in previous literature as some of the main reasons hindering EAL students' oral participation were also the factors affecting EAL students' oral participation in my study. In contrast, while perceived lack of proficiency in English was another factor hindering their participation in the literature (E.g., Mukminin & McMahon, 2013), this study found that even if a student who was comfortable and competent in speaking English in daily settings was willing to contribute to class discussions, she was unable to do so due to her actual lack of academic English skills. Moreover, although academic culture was also reported as another critical factor for their participation in previous studies (E.g., Lee, 2009), findings from

this study suggest that even students from the same academic culture participate differently depending on their personality. Regardless of how their participation might look in the classroom, in many cases, EAL students were engaged in discussions, but were unable to participate in discussions orally, or chose not to orally participate.

Conclusion

This study provides some implications for internationalizing graduate programs. Considering the significant increase of diverse student body in graduate programs in Western universities, instructors need to be open to different modes of participation including non-oral participation. That way, students who come from different academic backgrounds will be able to contribute their experiences. Also, as lack of academic English skills can hider some EAL students' participation even if they possess high proficiency of English skills and are willing to contribute to class discussions, more support with their academic English skills would be needed. This will allow students with academically, culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds to share and learn from each other's invaluable experiences.

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CAN THE USE OF ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PROMOTE A MORE INCLUSIVE AND EQUITABLE HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL?

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Abstract

In this paper, we present the status quo and challenges regarding the use of additional languages as a medium of instruction in Brazilian higher education. We begin by contextualizing the importance of the process of internationalization at home (IaH) and additional languages in higher education. Next, the teaching of additional languages in Brazil, which has been until very recently relegated to the private sector and accessible only to an elite, is introduced. We then provide an overview of the present state of affairs of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in the country, which is still in its infancy. We move on to describe different ways in which language and content can be integrated in higher education, as well as how EMI can be introduced in disciplinary courses. We finish concluding that EMI can maximize the learning of academic English by Brazilian students and content instructors, as well as encourage a more international higher education and balanced academic mobility by allowing foreign students to study in Brazil while preserving and even increasing the international interest in the Portuguese language. In a country located in the periphery of knowledge production and dissemination, we understand that the adoption of EMI can potentially foster the inclusion of more Brazilians in the global academic and research scenario. It gives them access to the knowledge produced internationally and, at the same time, enables the research produced in the country to be disseminated globally.

Keywords: internationalization at home, additional languages, English as a medium of instruction

Introduction

The contribution of higher education (HE) to poverty eradication, sustainable development, and global progress has been highlighted in official documents issued by the United Nations, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (EFA). In the 2009 World Conference on Higher Education organized by UNESCO, participants prepared an official announcement based on the results and recommendations of the six regional conferences previously held[1]. The guiding principles of the announcement were: social responsibility of HE; access, equity and quality; internationalization, regionalization and globalization; and learning, research and innovation (UNESCO, 2009). With regards to internationalization, the document specified the following items, among others:

1	Promotion of international cooperation in HE, based on solidarity and mutual respect.
2	The role of international university networks and partnerships to enhance mutual understanding and a culture of peace.
3	The encouragement of a more equitable academic mobility to guarantee genuine multilateral and multicultural collaboration.
4	The creation of national knowledge capabilities in all involved countries to ensure more diversified sources of high quality knowledge production, on regional and global scales.
5	Equal access to quality education for all, respecting cultural diversity, as well as national sovereignty.
6	The contribution of cross-border provision of HE to promote quality education and academic values, to maintain basic principles of dialogue and cooperation, mutual recognition, and respect for human rights, diversity and national sovereignty.

Table 1. Items from the 2009 World Conference on Higher Education Final Report. Adapted from UNESCO (2009).

As a result of the United Nations and UNESCO guidelines, in the last decades, public policies for post-secondary education in Brazil have focused on achieving an inclusive university of excellence, involving actions towards democratization of access, improvement of faculty qualification and expansion of graduate programs, as shown by goals 12, 13 and 14 of the National Education Plan (NEP)[2] (Ministério da Educação e Cultura [MEC], 2014a) (Sarmento, Abreu-e-Lima, & Moraes, 2016). Public HE has always been entirely free in the country and until 2016 there were substantial investments in educational policies to promote inclusion, excellence and internationalization (ANDIFES, 2012; MEC, 2014a).

In 2007, the implementation of a program focused on the restructuring of federal universities (REUNI) triggered an unprecedented expansion in public HE. Based on the program, the Association of Directors of Federal Higher Education Institutions (ANDIFES) designed guidelines for the expansion, excellence and internationalization of federal universities

[1]Cartagena de Indias; Macao; Dakar; New Delhi; Bucharest; and Cairo.

[2]For the purpose of translation, Plano Nacional de Educação (PNE) has been modified to National Education Plan (NEP) in this document.

(ANDIFES, 2012). These guidelines indicate the need for institutions' academic adjustment to new demands and global contexts; skilled labor strategic training due to the new social and economic conjunctures; the country's insertion into the new world order of knowledge through the production of science, technology and innovation; and of greater knowledge production and dissemination for the promotion of equality, inclusion and development of responsible citizens (ANDIFES, 2012).

A crucial step for the accomplishment of PNE Goals 13 and 14 (MEC, 2014b) and ANDIFES Guidelines (ANDIFES, 2012) was the implementation of the Science without Borders Program (SwB) in 2011 (Ministério da Ciência, Tecnologia e Inovação [MCTI], 2011), whose goal was the consolidation, expansion, and internationalization of science and technology for the country's sustained development through large scale international mobility of HE students. From 2011 until its discontinuation in 2016, SwB focused on promoting the opportunity for new educational and professional experiences focused on quality, entrepreneurship, competitiveness and innovation in fields considered priority and strategic for Brazil (MEC, 2014b). The Program accomplished an expansion of international outbound mobility of mostly undergraduate students, reaching approximately 93,000 Brazilian students who experienced a variety of cultural, scientific and educational opportunities in different contexts around the globe[3]. However, SwB faced huge hindrances as far as proficiency in the English language is concerned. In the first editions of the Program, most students opted to go to universities in countries whose language of instruction was familiar to Brazilians, i.e., Portugal. For this reason, Portugal was cut out as a destination and students had to be redirected to other countries and were sent abroad for an extra semester to learn English prior to their academic programs.

This paper discusses the role of Additional Languages (ALs), particularly the English language, in the internationalization of post-secondary education, and particularly in Brazil. It addresses the different terminologies adopted by international literature to refer to relatively similar models of content-based instruction, as well as the nuances of content-based teaching and learning and English as a Medium of instruction (EMI) approaches.

Internationalization at Home and Additional Languages

As the seminal work of Knight (2008) demonstrates, different driving forces are involved in the internationalization of educational institutions. For instance, in North American and European countries, social and academic rationales do not always seem to be the main factors, given the strong commercial and market features of HE (Kubota, 2009). In these contexts, attracting foreign students to pay much higher tuition fees than local students has been an explicit and major goal of universities (Garson, 2016) and, consequently, rationales as generation of revenue, the search for financial incentives, and the positioning in international rankings have become preponderant.

In Brazil, however, the process of internationalization takes on a distinct dimension since

[3] A series of criticisms on the SwB were made regarding the lack of indicators to evaluate the program, the high cost of English classes for students who did not have the required English proficiency level, among others.

no tuition is charged in public HE, either for Brazilians or for foreigners. Tuition-free education allows for the emphasis to be placed on the establishment of equitable networks and partnerships between different nations, the qualification of knowledge production in the country, the pursuit of balanced inbound and outbound academic mobility, and more equal access to international practices. Despite the remarkable progress in recent years, especially due to Science without Borders (SwB) program (MCT, 2011), internationalization is still at an incipient stage in Brazil.

Traditionally, academic mobility - defined as a period of study, teaching and/or research in a country other than someone's home country - has been perceived as the only or the most important instrument of internationalizing HE. Over the last two decades, however, academic mobility has started to be part of a broader internationalization process, due to the development of the Bologna process that led to the signature of the Bologna Declaration by 29 countries[4] (European Union, 2009). This is a collective effort of public authorities, universities, stakeholder associations, employers, international agencies and organisations, including the European Commission, to strengthen the quality assurance of European education and to simplify the recognition of qualifications and periods of study among different countries (European Union, 2009). However, access to international experiences is only available to a small minority of those involved in post-secondary education. Recent data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development expects only 3% of students, faculty and staff to experience academic mobility by 2025 (OECD, 2016).

There is a significant increase in imbalance in academic mobility among more and less economically developed countries, with very few accounting for the majority of inbound and outbound flow of students (Egron-Polak, 2017). The United States, the United Kingdom and Canada are countries that receive the greatest number of foreign students, while Brazil and other nations in the Southern hemisphere send far more students abroad. In Brazil, 7,305,977 students were enrolled in undergraduate programs in 2013 (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira [INEP], 2013), while the Science without Borders (SwB) program, the most ambitious and comprehensive mobility program ever, offered around 73,000 outbound undergraduate scholarships from 2011 to 2015[5]. These numbers show that even the most generous outbound mobility program in history accounted for less than 1% of the country's undergraduate students' population. Moreover, SwB only managed to attract a little over 1,000 students from other countries unveiling this unfair imbalance in the flow of students, with developing countries having great difficulty in attracting students from developed ones. Now, with the end of SwB, students' mobility in Brazil has decreased exponentially, and the situation does not seem likely to change anytime soon. Also, Brazilian universities have almost no international students. In 2018, there were over 8 million students enrolled in undergraduate programs scattered over 2,400 HE institutions, and only about 10,000 international students, being most of them from Spanish speaking neighbouring countries (Gimenez, Sarmento,

[4] Currently, 48 countries participate in the Bologna Process (European Higher Education Area, n.d.).
[5] Although the SwB reached only a few fields of knowledge, these figures illustrate the small number of students who have access to mobility programs.

Archanjo, Zicman, & Finardi, 2018). Thus, Portuguese[6] is (nearly) the sole language of instruction, as it will be reported below. As a country of continental dimensions and the only one in the Global South whose main language is Portuguese, Brazil has been left in a kind of academic (and linguistic) isolation. It is not uncommon to encounter professors and students who came back from a mobility program abroad resenting the fact that they do not have opportunities to keep up with the language of the host country, in many cases English, because of lack of opportunities to use the AL.

Hence, if internationalization is a high priority for policy makers and HE institutions, mainly in developing countries, then it must go beyond the system of prioritising only academic mobility and shift to one which benefits a wider audience. Authors such as Teekens (2007), de Wit, Hunter, Howard, & Egron-Polak (2015), and Beelen and Jones (2015) see the development of a process called Internationalization at Home (IaH) as a counteract to the increased emphasis on academic mobility and an alternative for a more inclusive internationalization process. IaH emphasizes the intercultural and international dimension in the teaching and learning processes and research, extracurricular activities, and the integration of foreign students and teachers into local academic life (Knight, 2008). More recently, de Wit et al. (2015) have added as the purpose of IaH "to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and to make a meaningful contribution to society" (p.29).

Likewise, Beelen and Jones (2015) understand that IaH refers to "the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students in domestic learning environments" (p. 69). Therefore, IaH activities do not necessarily involve only a classroom or a university campus, but also the local community. In fact, IaH has been working as a new paradigm for the development of strategic institutional internationalization policies, as it encourages the respect for diversity while developing people "with a cosmopolitan mindset, with communication skills between and across cultures, at home" (Teekens, 2007, p. 6).

Within IaH processes, Additional Languages (AL) play a key role in giving access to students and teachers to international practices while in their own countries and institutions. In a globalized and interconnected world, ALs have become a multifunctional and complex phenomenon which allows individuals to perform actions and connect with each other, with communities and with different cultures (Modern Language Association, 2007).

Using 'additional' rather than 'foreign' considers the contributions of adding a language to the cultural and linguistic repertoire that one already has. Aligning with the guidelines of the International Bureau of Education, an organization associated with UNESCO,

> 'Additional' applies to all, except, of course, the first language learned. An additional language, moreover, may not be foreign since many people in their country may ordinarily speak it. The term 'foreign' can, moreover, suggest strange, exotic or,

[6]Portuguese is one of the official languages of Brazil, widely spoken by most of the population. Aside from Portuguese, the country has also numerous minority languages, including 217 indigenous languages. However, fewer than 40,000 people (or about 0.02% of the population) speak any of the indigenous languages (Rodrigues, 2005). In 2002, Brazilian Sign Language (Libras) was made an official language too.

> perhaps, alien—all undesirable connotations. Our choice of the term 'additional' underscores our belief that additional languages are not necessarily inferior nor superior nor a replacement for a student's first language. (Judd, Tan & Walberg, 2001, p. 6)

Official documents produced by international organizations (European Parliament, 2006; European Union, 2012; UNESCO, 2014) have acknowledged the importance of multilingualism and ALs in students' educational background[7]. In 2014, the Executive Board of UNESCO declared that multilingualism encourages cooperation among nations through dialogue, tolerance and respect for cultural diversity, recognizing the need to implement LEPs for the integration of young people into international exchanges (UNESCO, 2014). The Member States agreed to promote the teaching of at least two additional languages, in addition to the main language of instruction, to ensure the linguistic and intercultural quality of education and to facilitate academic and professional mobility.

In Brazil, the teaching of additional languages has been relegated to the private sector, with over 6,000 private language courses in the country and with an annual increase of 15% (Windle & Nogueira, 2015). There are different types of institutions, covering all price ranges, hence, catering for different social classes, but not all of them. Disadvantaged students may only have access to English classes in regular schools, which, in many scenarios would be good enough, but not in Brazil and causes are manifold. First of all, there is a belief that additional languages are not to be learned in the official regular schools, making teachers demotivated from the start. Second, classes are large and there is usually only one hour of English class a week, making it impossible to acquire fluency. Also, public school teachers are underpaid in the country and, to counterbalance the low salaries, have to take more than one job and work very long hours, leaving no room for professional development. This failure of the regular school system in providing quality AL instruction to all students has been well documented in a book by Lima (2011) entitled "English teaching does not work in public schools? Multiple perspectives". In fact, instruction is a problem not only considering ALs, but first language as well (in the Brazilian case, Portuguese). It is common to hear from working-class students that they are "ashamed to talk to people who have studied, because they don't speak Portuguese correctly" (Bartlett, 2007, p. 554). As Windle and Nogueira (2015) point out, these students believe that if "I don't even speak Portuguese properly, how can I learn English?" (p.188).

As a consequence, the educational practices of ruling-class families "have been marked by a heavy investment in learning English and in international travel to 'first world' destinations for educational purposes since the 1990s." (Windle & Nogueira, 2015, p.176). In 2017 (as well as in previous years), Brazil was the top source country of students in private language courses in Canada, followed by Japan. This has made Brazil one of the target markets for Languages Canada (Languages Canada, 2017).

[7] Recently, the United Nations Secretary-General of the United Nations nominated a specific coordinator for the area of multilingualism in the UN. For more information, see http://www.un.org/sg/multilingualism/index.shtml

In order to make amends for the lack of efficient Language Education Policies[8] in primary and secondary schools, the government launched an AL program in 2012 (MEC, 2012a). The program was first called English without Borders and renamed Languages without Borders (LwB) in 2014 (Sarmento, Abreu-e-Lima, & Moraes, 2016), comprising six other AL. LwB originated from demands of the Science without Borders (SwB) program and caused an unprecedented change in the teaching of ALs in the country's HE system, offering free tuition for distance and face-to-face courses, as well as large-scale administration of proficiency tests to students, faculty and staff of public post-secondary institutions (MEC, 2012b).

Along with LwB actions, a relatively new phenomenon started to take place in Brazilian HEIs: classes in which the medium of instruction is not Portuguese, but an AL (in most cases English). We acknowledge that the supremacy of English has had negative effects in the status of other home and minority languages around the globe (Kubota, 2018). However, we will demonstrate that the Brazilian context has its own peculiarities, and the use of English can actually have a positive impact when fighting linguistic and social inclusion in the country.

Content-based instruction

The importance of ALs, especially English, in post-secondary education is not a novelty. Universities around the globe, including the ones located in English-speaking countries have offered English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses for quite some time:

> The field of EAP has blossomed over the past two decades, largely due to the increase in students studying at English-medium universities, as well as the increase of English in scholarly publication, though not without controversy (Kostka & Olmstead-Wang, 2014, p.2)

EAP is focused solely on the teaching and learning of academic language, more specifically, but not exclusively, on reading and writing skills and courses are taught by EAP tutors, or English teachers who specialize in academic language. This is usually not discipline specific, i.e., students from all areas of knowledge may seat in the same class. However, in the last few years, content and language integrated programs have increased in popularity in non-English dominant countries. Studies in the field of Education and Applied Linguistics use different terms to refer to approaches related to the teaching and learning of content through English or another AL, such as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) - which is considered as an umbrella term (Airey, 2016), Integrated Content Learning (ICL), Content Based Learning (CBL), Immersion Programs (IP), and for English in particular, English as a Medium of instruction (EMI). These terms allude to relatively similar models of content-based instruction which do not have exact criteria of distinction, nor are they based on different theories of learning, as Dalton-Puffer recalls (2012). Airey (2016) proposes a continuum of content and language approaches, as shown in Figure 2.

[8] Cooper (1989) defined Language Education Policies (LEPs) as the "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45).

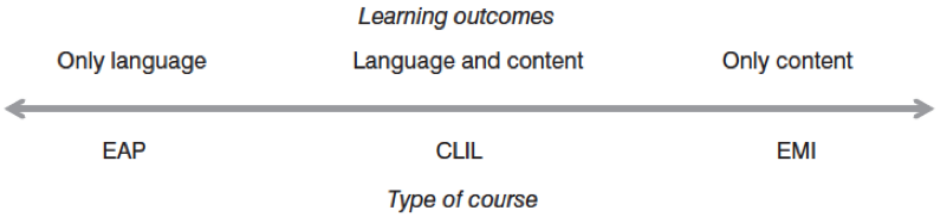

Figure 1. The language/content continuum. Reprinted from Airey (2016, p. 73).

On the left end of the diagram are EAP courses, which, as already stated, are focused only on languages. Between the two extremes, we have CLIL courses, which should have both language and content objectives. ICL and CBL would be located somewhere near CLIL, whether Immersion Programs would lean towards EMI. EMI courses have "content-related learning outcomes in their syllabuses"(Airey, 2016, p. 73), and language learning would be a by-product, and not the main goal. However, Airey (2016) affirms that language and content cannot be separated in this way as they are totally connected. On top of these theoretical differences, it is the tendency to use the CLIL label to refer to the teaching of content and language in primary/secondary education, whereas EMI has been favored in HE in non-English dominant contexts.

EMI has expanded in Europe since the beginning of the Bologna Process in the 1990s. As a result, there has been a rapid increase in the number of programs from different European universities that adopted English as the language of instruction. Authors such as Dalton-Puffer (2012) and Macaro Akincioglu, and Dearden (2016) indicate the rapid global growth of EMI in the last decade. According to Bradford (2016), between 2001 and 2014 the number of EMI graduate and undergraduate programs around the world increased 1000%. In order to map information around provision of EMI across a wide variety of programmes, courses and additional activities offered by Brazilian HEIs, a survey was sent to 270[9] HEI (Gimenez et al., 2018). There were 84 responses to the questionnaire and 66 of them reported having some EMI activity in their campus. A more refined look at the data can be seen in table 2.

	2017	2018.1	2017-2018.1	2018.2/2019		AVERAGE
					TOTAL	(2017-2018.1)
Full undergraduate programme	1	1	2		2	1
Full postgraduate programme	5	5	10		10	5
Undergraduate courses	258	212	470	147	617	235
Postgraduate courses	537	275	812	77	889	406
Extracurricular courses			274	1	275	274
Not specified				7	7	
Other activities in English			90		90	90
Sub-total - English	**801**	**493**	**1,294**	**228**	**1,890**	**1,011**

[9] The 270 institutions are members of FAUBAI, the Higher Education Internationalization Association in Brazil. These are also the most important and prestigious HEI in the country, making it a significant sample.

Table 2. Programmes, courses and activities in English and Portuguese for Foreigners courses. Retrieved from Gimenez et al. (2018).

Table 2 presents the type of activity offered in English[10]. What stands out is that only one full undergraduate program and five full graduate programs are offered in the country. With regards to courses, there were only 235 undergraduate and 406 graduate ones being taught in English. In spite of the low numbers, there was a substantial increase when compared to 2016, when there were only 197 undergraduate and 44 graduate courses in English (Gimenez et al., 2018). Overall, these results indicate that although EMI has been growing in Brazil, it is still in its embryonic stage. But why would EMI be important in a developing country such as Brazil?

Although EMI[11] is mostly concerned with content, Muñoz (2012) points that the greater use of English contributes to establishing an environment that, indirectly, leads to language proficiency development. Individuals construct their dialogical relations in socially co-constructed practices using language (Clark, 1996) and, thus, English learning is grounded in interaction.

The adoption of EMI can bring considerable linguistic benefits because instructors and students can take part in authentic practices that require the use of English. This leads to an improvement in their proficiency for various practical purposes, such as the participation in academic events, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), and exchanges with international research partners.

Authors such as Ammon (2010), Crystal (2012), De Swaan (2001), Montgomery (2013), Lillis and Curry (2010), and Solovova, Santos, and Verissimo (2018) have acknowledged that over the last decades the English language has achieved the status of global scientific and academic lingua franca[12]. English has become a key part of a myriad of knowledge production and practices in HE, acting as a key factor for the internationalization of the research and curriculum. For this reason, when used for teaching and learning in specific fields of study or in content-based programs, many factors need to be taken into consideration. Among these factors, instructors and students' different home languages, the language of the references adopted in the course, as well as the language used to interact outside the classroom.

It is, nonetheless, crucial to discuss what is meant by "language of instruction", since we believe in a paradigm where knowledge is not "transmitted" to students. Therefore, both teaching and learning happen through multiple interactions and collaborations inside and outside the classroom. Considering this, would "medium of instruction" be: (1) the language(s) spoken by the teacher, (2) the language(s) of the references, (3) the language(s) students use to interact with

[10] Data were also collected considering other ALs, however, these have not been made available yet.

[11] This paper focuses on the use of English as a Medium of Instruction. However, instruction in ALs other than English is also taking place in Brazil. In a recent seminar about initiatives to integrate language and content in tertiary education, a professor from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) shared his experience offering a Philosophy course in German, and classes in French have also taken place in the same institution (see https://www.ufmg.br/dri/encontro-sobre-ingles-como-meio-de-instrucao-para-docentes-da-ufmg/).

[12] The supremacy of English over other languages is historically related to the hegemonic power of English-speaking countries, as several authors indicate (Ammon, 2010, Phillipson, 2015). Such questions will not be explored here, since they are beyond the scope of this study.

each other?, or (4) the language of video lessons?[13]. To illustrate the complexity of language and teaching phenomena, Baumvol and Sarmento (2016) based on discussions of Sarmento, Tessler and Baumvol (2015), present some potential configurations of the involvement of English and other ALs in teaching and learning practices in HE[14].

Configuration	Instructor's language	Students' language and learning language	Example
I	L1	L1 to all students. References in AL Students do assignments/take exams in L1	A Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in Portuguese to Brazilian students in Brazil using all references in English. Students interact and do assignments/take exams in Portuguese
II	L1	L1 to all students References in AL Students do assignments/take exams in L1 or in AL	A Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in Portuguese to Brazilian students in Brazil using all references in English. Students interact and do assignments/take exams in Portuguese or English
III	L1	AL to some students (same or different L1) L1 to some students	A Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in Portuguese to Brazilian and German students in Brazil
IV	L1	AL to all students (students share same L1)	A British instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian students in Brazil
V	L1	AL to all students (students share same L1)	A British instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian students in the U.K.
VI	L1	AL to all students (students same L1)	A British instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian students in France
VII	L1	AL to some students (students same or different L1)	A British instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian and German students in France
VIII	L1	AL to all students (different L1)	A British instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian and German students in France
IX	LA	AL to all students (same L1) Students interact and do assignments/ take exams in L1	Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian students in Brazil. Students interact and do assignments/take exams in Portuguese
X	LA	AL to all students (same L1) Students do assignments/take exams in L1 or in AL	Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian students in Brazil. Students interact and do assignments/take exams in Portuguese or English
XI	LA	AL to all students (same L1) Students do assignments/take exams in AL	Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian students in Brazil. Students interact and do assignments/take exams in English

[13] In recent years, there has been a growing popularity of video lessons for learning and improving a broad range of knowledge and skills.

[14] In Table 2, L1 refers to the home or first language, while AL alludes to Additional Language.

XII	LA	L1 to all students	British instructor teaching Physics in Portuguese to Brazilian students in Brazil.
XIII	LA	AL to all students (students share same L1, mas it's different from instructor's L1)	Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in English to German students either in Brazil, or in Germany, or in the U.K. or in France
XIV	LA	Al to all students (students share same L1)	Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in English to British students either in Brazil, or in the U.K., or in France
XV	LA	LA to some students L1 to some students	Brazilian instructor teaching Physics in English to Brazilian and British students either in Brazil or in the U.K.

Table 3. Potential Configurations of AL as a medium of instruction. Reprinted from Baumvol & Sarmento (2016, p. 75-76).

As shown in Configurations I and II of Table 3, in Brazil some courses commonly adopt references in English while the teacher and the students, most of the time, speak Portuguese in class. In these situations, students may end up choosing to take the tests and/or do assignments in English (configuration II). Also, in fields such as Engineering, Medicine and Chemistry, the most important scientific journals and conferences are entirely in English.

It is reported that in Brazilian HE institutions the following educational-relationships are also taking place in both undergraduate and graduate courses: (A) a Brazilian instructor teaching in Portuguese for Brazilian and foreign students (Configuration III), (B) a foreign instructor teaching classes in English for Brazilian students (Configuration IV), (C) a Brazilian instructor teaching classes in English and students taking tests and/or do assignments in Portuguese (Configuration IX), or alternate between Portuguese and English (Configuration X), or even entirely in English (Configuration XI), and (D) a foreign instructor whose first language is not Portuguese teaches classes in Portuguese for Brazilian students (Configuration XII).

Configuration III, in particular, has become increasingly popular in HE due to an increase in academic mobility and in the number of students whose first language is not Portuguese, which includes indigenous[15] and minority languages. For these students, Portuguese becomes the AL, while it remains L1 to the instructor and to the other Brazilian students.

Therefore, a "gradation" regarding the presence of English (or any other AL) in the teaching and learning process can be practiced in HE. It is not a binary issue of whether "there is" or "there is not" use of EMI, but rather a variety of contexts in which English can be used by more (or fewer) participants in more (or fewer) contexts and means within the same classroom.

Conclusion

Studies on integrated content and language instruction in non-English-dominant countries have traditionally been conducted in school settings, and they still represent most investigations

[15] Major affirmative actions in recent years have been giving indigenous students access to HE in the country. However, it is important to point out that Gimenez et al. (2018) found that only 0.3% of undergraduate students, 2% of master's students and 4% of PhD candidates are foreigners.

in the field (Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo, & Nikula 2014, Llinares & Morton, 2017, Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares, 2013). More recently, Asia (Byun et al., 2011; Hu, 2014, Li & Ruan, 2015), Scandinavia (Airey, 2012, Jensen, Denver, Mees & Werther, 2013, Ljsoland, 2011, Söderlundh, 2013) and Spain (Dafouz & Sanchez, 2013, Vázquez & Gastaud, 2013), where EMI practices in HE have been increasingly widespread, have emerged as important research scenarios. Nevertheless, there is still a need to conduct further studies approaching practical issues faced by students and instructors in academic and research activities conducted in English in those contexts.

In Brazil, as shown in Gimenez et al (2018), EMI has been adopted through isolated initiatives of faculty members. Frequently, these instructors have extensive expertise in their fields and insufficient opportunities for pedagogical training and teacher education throughout their careers on issues such as the relationship between content and language. Arnó-Macià and Mancho-Barés (2015), Bonnet (2012), Fortanet (2012), Murray and Nallaya (2016) and Vázquez (2014) examined successful collaborative experiences between instructors from different disciplines and language instructors in non-English-dominant contexts. In the Brazilian context, establishing these partnerships could maximize the learning of content and language by both students and content instructors, who will use English for a myriad of practical purposes while "at home". Undoubtedly, offering classes to improve general English literacy skills, as done in the Languages without Borders program, is essential to broaden the scope of EMI in a non-English dominant context like Brazil and to ensure that EMI does not reinforce exclusion and inequality due to lack of language proficiency. However, it is our understanding that not providing more opportunities to use English and other ALs in Brazilian universities for students who do not have the means to take an English course abroad not only perpetuates social inequality but also helps to produce it. As discussed above, elite families make sure their children have this important symbolic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) which will enable them to function in the contemporary society. According to a teacher who had worked in a number of language courses,

> The difference between upper-class students and poor students, is that English is already a part of the reality for the upper-class students. For the working class students, it is just a dream." (Windle & Nogueira, 2014, p. 188)

Thus, as applied linguists, it is indeed our responsibility to counterpose neoliberal market forces which overemphasize the importance of the English language in detriment of others. Nevertheless, this cannot be done at the expense of working-class students, who have the right to learn ALs as much as those who come from wealthy families.

Finally, EMI can encourage a more balanced academic mobility, since institutions from non-English dominant countries will be more prepared to receive students from different geolinguistic regions of the globe. We find it crucial that Brazilian post-secondary students and faculty understand and express themselves in English, while preserving varied practices in Portuguese and in minority languages. A nation aiming to play a prominent role in the global scenario must have its scientific, academic and cultural results shared with a wider audience, and

the English language would allow that. At the same time, Brazilians need direct and full access to international knowledge, which is predominantly produced and disseminated in English. Those who master this global language are much better prepared even to challenge its supremacy. This will allow the process of internationalization to be more aligned with the guiding principles and purposes established by international and national organizations and documents.

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PHANTOMS AT THE HELM: NOSTALGIC AND UTOPIAN MODES OF THOUGHT IN EDUCATION

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Abstract

Educational institutions have held a central role in utopian projects as the vehicle for implementing utopian principles and fashioning the utopian subject. As vehicles for utopian narratives or projects, educational institutions are simultaneously shaped by utopian modes of thought. Modes of thought are not neutral tools that are used as needed, but rather, they are active in how we understand ourselves, others, and the world. This paper draws out the implications and risks of nostalgic and utopian modes of thought to suggest that their mobilization is problematic in education as it directs education's sight to a distant, illusory past and to an imagined future. The impact of this is an inadequate account for the lived realities of the present. By drawing on feminist epistemology and the work of Jacques Rancière, the paper proposes that a radical attending to the "now," coupled with a politics of location, offers a way for educational theory and practice to engage its relationship to past, future, and present.

Keywords: utopia, feminist epistemology, feminist epistemology

Phantoms at the Helm: Nostalgic and Utopian Modes of Thought in Education

Educational institutions have held a central role in utopian projects as the vehicle for implementing utopian principles and fashioning the utopian subject (Davis, 2003). As vehicles for utopian narratives or projects, educational institutions are simultaneously shaped by utopian *modes of thought*. Modes of thought are not neutral tools that are used as needed, but rather, they are active in how we understand ourselves, others, and the world. They shape what is identified as important for our attention, including *who* is identified as important. Modes of thought are therefore implicated in questions of justice and equity. In considering utopian narratives, this raises a significant question: who is imagined to be a part of these ideal futures? Whose voices shape the ideals that educational institutions imagine for themselves, the communities they serve, and the worlds they share in? Perhaps most significantly, whose voices are left out of these imagined futures? Accordingly, my focus in this paper is not on the centrality of educational institutions in utopian narratives, but on the ways in which utopian modes of thought are taken up in educational theory and practice. Despite the focus on newness and futurity in utopian narratives, my discussion requires holding space for both past and future—for both origins and telos. As such, my exploration here is not only about utopian modes of thought, but also nostalgic thought.

Northrop Frye (1965) offers one way to account for both past and future through his identification of two social concepts that he calls "myths." The first myth is the myth of the social contract that accounts for the origins of society. The other is the myth of utopia that identifies the ideal aims of a society. By considering the ways in which these myths are active in educational theory and practice, my aim is to draw out the implications and risks of nostalgic and utopian modes of thought. I aim to raise questions about the neutrality of these ways of thinking, particularly about the estrangement from the present that they introduce. I will suggest that the mobilization of nostalgic and utopian thought is problematic in education as it directs education's sight to a distant, illusory past and to an imagined future. Consequently, nostalgic and utopian modes of thought inadequately account for the lived realities of the present. I conclude by presenting an alternative way to imagine the future of educational practices. I draw on the work of Jacques Rancière (1991) to propose that a radical attending to the "now," coupled with a politics of location informed by feminist epistemologists, offers a way for educational theory and practice to engage its relationship to past, future, *and* present.

Origin Myths and Nostalgia

Origin myths serve as points of orientation for the history, philosophy, and practice of a given discipline. Origin myths provide a sense of the common and of something shared. Shared origins, however, are not only related to the past, they are necessary for the future. As T.S Eliot (1939) argued, common historical sources and shared origins make the future possible as they provide a common orientation. In other words, shared origins offer a sense of where one has come from, where one is, and therefore, where one is going. Furthermore, origin narratives function as a reference point for identifying and explaining what might have gone "awry" since

departing from that origin. They offer an (imagined) beginning that is often conceived as a "pure" starting point to explain present challenges.

Western education's origin myth lies in ancient Greek civilization and its forms of education. References to these "beginnings" in Western educational theory are extensive and they serve as both a point of orientation for the discipline, as well as a reference for diagnosing current educational flaws. For example, Thomas Huxley (1888) in his reproach of Humanist reforms in education remarked that "the Humanists have brought this reproach upon themselves, not because they are too full of the spirit of the ancient Greek, *but because they lack it*" (emphasis added, p. 22). Similarly, Matthew Arnold (1882) argued that Plato's view of education and studies is "fitted for all sorts and conditions of men, *whatever* their pursuits may be" (emphasis added, p. 7). Arnold goes on to define a kind of 'fall from grace' in education that is instigated by delineating from Greek ideals.

It is not so much the identification of a history or origin that is problematic, but rather, the concern lies with the nostalgia that comes to accompany such identifications.[1] Susan Sontag (1976) argues that nostalgia for a past is a "facet of the modernist sensibility" that has become "increasingly suspect" (p. 45). The suspicion arises from these pasts being so heterogeneous that they become historically "unlocatable" (ibid.). Consequently, accurate historical knowledge becomes an illusion. A singular, shared origin point becomes a phantasm. For Sontag, this illusory quality is precisely what makes nostalgic pasts so appealing as it makes them inaccessible; these 'pasts' become "stimulants to the imagination precisely because they are *not* accessible" (original emphasis, ibid.). Nostalgic pasts are therefore "both models and mysteries" that oversimplify the complexities of past, present, and future. These oversimplified pasts are "imaginative exploitation[s]" that risk "plunder[ing] and parod[ying]" the past (ibid.).

Kieran Egan (2007) echoes these sentiments in his exploration of myth and history. He argues that myth is engaging and seductive but does not allow us to address change very effectively. This inability is because myth serves to establish a feeling of security amidst change, rather than inviting action to adapt to those changes (ibid.). This security is accomplished, in part, by the fact that myths "displace what should be the stubborn particulars from which our historical understanding is built" (Egan, 2007, p. 62). The risks here are significant. To model educational programs based on an inaccessible, oversimplified, and exploitative origin myth that rests on a nostalgic mode of thought results in an educational system that will fail to meet the lived realities of its current participants.

Exposing the Seductive Utopian Narrative

Utopian narratives and myths of origin are intricately linked. Utopian narratives can be marked by nostalgic longings; however, they must adopt a myth of origin to put into relief what is wrong in the present. A utopian narrative must identify something that has been lost, forgotten,

[1] There is an argument to be made about the concept of history and how it is operationalized as static, objective, and singular. I am conscientious of this and consider it problematic; however, it is beyond the scope of this paper to address these perspectives.

or violated that it will accordingly restore or correct. The practice of education is particularly fertile ground for utopian projects given that it engages a mostly captive audience of children, who are at the early stages of their life. In other words, the underlying logic is that a new beginning starts most readily with "new" subjects. For example, Arendt (1968) writes that it seems "natural" to "start a new world with those who are by birth and nature new" (p. 173). Furthermore, the project of education is continuous and is therefore, in principle, committed to innovation, development, dialogue, and contestation. Accordingly, there is much to imagine anew and a commitment to imagining better, *for* better. Lastly, given that educational institutions are primarily public and social institutions, there is not only much to imagine anew, but also *many* who are invested in imagining it anew.

Utopian narratives and ideals have been lauded as important for educational practice. Starkey (2012) argues that utopian visions in education are important for overcoming cynicism, indecision, and despair in educational discourse, raising hope, supporting imagination, and for reconceptualizing schools at both macro and micro levels (e.g., curriculum). Though Starkey warns educators against the possibility of utopian thought being used for indoctrination and coercion, he nevertheless maintains that utopian thought can serve social justice ends when it is coupled with sociological analysis. Along these lines, Wallerstein (1998) argues that utopian narratives can be realistic tools for making decisions toward *alternative*, rather than perfect futures. Though this shift from perfect to alternative futures suggests a more flexible process for imagining and creating the future, including more capacity for ensuring that these futures are guided by a multiplicity of voices and perspectives, the question I posed in the introduction remains: whose voices are included and excluded in shaping these alternative futures? In other words, the question of the present and its lived realities are still poorly accounted for as an "alternative future" still suggests that the current state must be transcended. The question remains as to whose lives, perspectives and voices are left behind and overlooked in the act of utopian transcendence. Accordingly, whether the distinction is between perfect or alternative futures, utopian and nostalgic thinking are seductive; they entice with an answer, a vision of "somewhere better" to aim, perfect or not.

At first, utopias seem to offer endless possibilities—they are seductive and promising in this regard. Utopias, however, are *not* fluctuating and open concepts, but rather operate as final, static ideals. This is because, as Frye (1965) argues, "most utopias have built-in safeguards against radical alteration of the structure" (p. 329). If educators want to forefront dialogue and innovation as they imagine new possibilities and new futures, utopic thinking is not the means for achieving this. Returning to the etymology of "utopia" highlights why utopian modes of thought are not useful tools for educators. As Frye (1965) writes,

> Utopia, in fact and in etymology, is not a place; and when the society it seeks to transcend is everywhere, it can only fit into what is left, in invisible non-spatial point in the center of space. The question "Where is utopia?" is the same as the question "Where is nowhere?" and the only answer to that question is "here." (p. 347)

In other words, utopian thinking remains divorced from the realities of lived experience as it is premised on the idea that it is precisely these realities that must be transcended for utopia to be imagined and mobilized. Utopian thinking therefore struggles to be a realistic tool as it has no mechanism to account for current lived realities and experiences.

Utopian thinking in education is epitomized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's character of Emile. Emile is the figure of "nowhere," in this case the "no one"; Emile is the phantom that utopian thinking instils into educational practice. Emile is fictional, his education imaginary, his achievements illusory. Yet, Emile haunts educational practice and has a profound effect on conceptions of living, breathing students. Emile "haunts" teacher education programs, undergraduate curricula, doctoral seminars, lists of foundational texts for the discipline, and the imaginations of novice and seasoned educators alike. Emile is the phantom child and student that educators have fixed their visions upon across the history of Western educational theory, practice, and training. It is concerning that a phantasmal child is at the helm of utopian educational projects; it speaks to my central concern in this discussion of utopian modes of thought overlooking present realities.

Despite utopian narratives beginning in a diagnosis of the present, they serve to estrange one from the present by projecting and prescribing how it *must* be, or *could* be, with little account of the here and now. This projection serves as a distraction from the way things are and soothes fear and worry about the present by assuring that things do not need to be this way. Consequently, the utopian "life"—in this case, the utopian student, teacher, educational program, and so on—is imaginable only in an abstract or observational manner (Nichols, 2008). As Joshua Nichols (2008) argues about utopian cities, "We cannot imagine ourselves as citizens of these fictive cities precisely because the author does not invite us in *as we are*" (emphasis added, p. 461). Similarly, utopian thought in education struggles to invite participants in *as we are*. Along these lines, Karl Mannheim (1936) writes, "A state of mind is utopian when it is incongruous with the state of reality within which it occurs" (p. 192). An immediate response to this could be agreement: of course, we want a utopian state of mind precisely because it is different from the state of reality that is lacking! However, Mannheim's (1936) definition highlights that utopian thought is marked by incongruity with the present; it thereby risks estrangement from the present by setting itself in opposition to the present. In other words, utopian modes of thought establish a mutually exclusive relationship between present and future where the future is defined by being "not-present." This relationship means that the present can only exist in estrangement as the negative counterpart to the future—the devalued component that serves to establish the value of the future.

This estrangement is fueled by the fact that utopias are by definition *selective*; as Nichols (2008) writes, "the most interesting question concerning utopia is not the possible future that it presents to us but the present conditions that it omits" (p. 462). Rather than addressing and speaking to present wrongs, utopias merely omit them. Furthermore, this selectivity is a kind of confirmation bias where information and ideas are selected that favour and confirm particular beliefs and hypotheses. These selections are by nature political and are not independent from

judgements, beliefs, and attitudes of the present, but rather are *constituted* by them. As Arendt (1968) argues, "A crisis becomes a disaster only when we respond to it with preformed judgements, that is, with prejudices. Such an attitude not only sharpens the crisis but makes us forfeit the experience of reality and the opportunity for reflection it provides" (p. 171). Utopias are therefore not free playgrounds that challenge or move beyond the problems or constraints of the present; their "thinking anew" is not new at all but merely distracts us from the present by pointing to a fictive past and a phantasmatic future. To use Arendt's words, the present is "forfeited" as a result of utopian modes of thought that name the present as lacking and wrongful.

This forfeiture is identifiable in educational practices today. Educational programs such as the *Education for All* (EFA) movement, which was supported and championed globally by UNESCO from 2002-2015, are built on the premise that a particular (singular) kind of education is necessary for people worldwide, an education in which "recognized and measurable learning outcomes are *achieved by all*" (emphasis added, UNESCO, 2015, n. p.). EFA relies on ideas of origin, destination, and universality that maintain that participants in educational programs are interchangeable and inessential to imagining futures. The issue with this is evident when analysed from a social justice lens. Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva argue in *Ecofeminism* (2014), that the "catching-up development path" that guides global development strategies, including educational strategies, is a myth. The myth of "catching-up" assumes that the "good life" can be attained by following the same path of industrialization and technological process that was undertaken by the Western "developed" world (p. 56). Educational projects like the EFA have figured centrally into this catch-up logic as they offer a way to "reach this peak"—a peak that has notably been reached mostly by white men (p. 56). In other words, this peak, or utopian vision of where education should be working toward, is shaped and determined by patriarchal, white supremacist ideals, values, and beliefs. It forfeits the present and in doing so, forfeits the complex and diverse lives that inhabit it moment to moment. Educational futures guided by nostalgic and utopian modes of thought therefore do not invite us in *as we are*, but rather, invite only particular (white/male/able-bodied/heterosexual/etc.) subjects in, while claiming that the future is available to be imagined and inhabited by all equally. Utopian modes of thought offer futures that are only available to some, not all.

Nostalgic and utopian thinking are sustained by a belief in the myth of progress. This myth is based on the assumption that Western society is continually moving towards social, economic, and political improvement (Leonard, 2002). Its logic holds that progress is inevitable and therefore utopian narratives are equated with improvement by the mere fact that they strive for betterment. The assessment of progress is not based on an evaluation of the proposed reforms in relationship to the issue they are supposed to be addressing, but rather, on a belief in the myth of progress. This logic maintains that even if a proposal for educational reform is poor in some respects, it will still be "doing something" and this must be better than "doing nothing." Such a claim is only sustainable if there is an unquestioned assumption that Western society is always already moving towards improvement.

In Stéphane Mosès' (2009) work on Walter Benjamin, he argues that the belief in historical Progress (with a capital P) is quasi-religious. It involves three postulates: "Progress is *that of humanity itself* (and not only of its capacities and its knowledge); progress is *infinite* (corresponding to an endless perfectibility of humanity); it is *irresistible* (automatically following a linear or spiral trajectory)" (original emphasis, p. 115). As Langdon Winner (1979) argues, this assumption leads to little or no need to examine the purpose or goals as it is, by definition, progressive. The belief in the benevolence and inevitability of progress serves to perpetuate and deepen the estrangement that is at the center of nostalgic and utopian thinking; it abdicates responsibility for the 'here' and the 'now' by deferring it to the 'there' and 'then.' It abdicates responsibility for the present by promising that the inevitability of progress will right things. As Sara Ahmed (2010) writes, "the belief that things 'will only get better' at some point that is always just 'over the horizon' can be a way of avoiding the impact of suffering in the world that exists before us" (p. 178). Educators cannot afford to overlook the suffering, injustice, and inequity that exists before and is reflected, maintained, and perpetuated by educational institutions.

Nostalgia, Utopianism, Time and Subjectivity

Nostalgic and utopian modes of thought institute a problematic relationship to time—past, present, and future. I would like to draw out the consequences of this form of relationship to time by bringing in a consideration of subjectivity. I draw primarily on the work of Elizabeth Grosz, (1995) who argues that the spatio-temporal location of subjects as embodied beings is necessary for a subject to be a subject in the world, and Donna Haraway (1991), who argues that a lack of such a location is a "gaze from nowhere," or in other words, the "god-trick." In this section, I consider how an account of time is necessary for subjectivity and thereby suggest that education's relationship to time impacts the subjects it is attempting to shape by undermining the ability of students and teachers to take up subject positions. This is because nostalgia and utopianism introduce a view from "nowhere" that denies a particular perspective on the world and as such, denies a place from which to act, think, and speak.

The estrangement that utopian and nostalgic thinking introduce is an estrangement from particularity. These particularities include not only the dynamic and complex individuals that are impacted by these modes of thought, but the socio-historical particularities of the now. To overlook these particularities is arguably what Donna Haraway (1991) calls the "gaze from nowhere." Haraway (1991) argues that the "gaze from nowhere," a view that is untarnished by concrete particularities, is the pretension of the "god-trick" that has been articulated throughout the history of Western epistemology. As such, it aims to offer the "purest" form of objectivity. However, in "seeing from nowhere" the god-trick abdicates responsibility for the "sights" it engenders and legitimizes. Haraway names this the "god-trick" as only a god could claim such transcendence. Arguably, if educational practice is separated from the particularities of individuals and of current socio-historical realities, we are left with a "disembodied" perspective

that, metaphorically, has "nowhere" to speak from. If one does not have a body, one can claim to "see from everywhere" (Haraway, 1991). [2]

The consequences of the "god-trick" are not abstract and they become most salient when the trick is considered alongside subjectivity. Elizabeth Grosz (1995) argues for the centrality of embodiment to subjectivity. This embodiment is important because it represents particularity—it is a view from "somewhere." It both literally and figuratively grounds sight—and consequently, knowledge—to a body that is located in a particular time and place. This grounding is necessary for a subject to take up a subject position and to have a perspective on the world that then offers a place from which a subject is able to think, act, and speak from. Without a perspective on the world, without a particular subject position to inhabit, there is no place from which to exercise agency and authoring. The "gaze from nowhere" is upheld by the way that utopian and nostalgic thinking conceptualize time as "there" and "then." Consequently, these modes of thought preclude viable subject positions because they prevent an account of "now" time, including its particularities and inhabitants. The relationship that educational practice holds to time is therefore a pressing question given its inextricable tie to questions of subjectivity, agency, and action.

Exorcising Phantoms—Attending to the Now and a Politics of Location

Given the ways that nostalgic and utopian modes of thought haunt the discipline of education and the risks they bring, the question remains as to how alternative, innovative, and new possibilities can be imagined and mobilized so as to avoid these risks. I would like to suggest two possibilities for beginning to answer this question. First, I suggest that attending to "now" builds connection to the moments and experiences of the present and in doing so, attends to the possibilities of every moment. I use Jacques Rancière's (1991) work in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* and the story of Joseph Jacotot as an example of attending to the "now" in teaching. Second, I propose a "politics of location" that counteracts the erasure of particularity by identifying a gaze from "somewhere." I maintain that hope[3] (I use this word with caution) for a better way does not exist in the remembrance of ghosts from the past, nor in the positing of phantoms at the helm.

Jacques Rancière's (1991) story of Joseph Jacotot offers an alternative model to nostalgic and utopic narratives in that it radically attends to the present. Jacotot, an exiled French schoolteacher, was tasked with teaching the French language to Flemish students who knew no

[2] It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss *why* educational practice may be invested in "seeing from everywhere." My brief comments here, however, would suggest that this investment is linked to traditional Western education's history of fidelity to patriarchal ideals of objectivity and rationality. Feminist epistemologists have extensively critiqued such ideals in guiding Western philosophy and thought. See the work of Susan Bordo (1987), Lorraine Code (1991, 2006), Harding and Hintikka (1983), and Genevieve Lloyd (1993).

[3] I am aware of the literature and discourse around the relationship between hope, hopelessness, and utopianism and wish to signal its importance here. It is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper to trace out "hope" in the practice of education. It is important to recognize that the concept of hope is central to utopianism and futurism and that a significant body of work is dedicated to exploring and criticizing this relationship. See the work of Sara Ahmed (2010), Ernst Bloch (1986), and Lee Edelman (2004).

French. Jacotot himself did not know Flemish. It does not take a trained educator to recognize the challenge of the situation Jacotot faced as the instructor. Jacotot decided to task the students with working through a French and a Flemish language version of the *Télémaque,* a 24-volume novel written by Fénelon in 1699. Jacotot's idea was that by comparing translations, the students would learn French. His method was successful; the children learned French, but what is particularly noteworthy is the "lack" of knowledge on behalf of the instructor. There was no shared or common past, incident, or experience that Jacotot could use to build a lesson upon (a "past") and there was no plan to guide Jacotot's actions (a "future"). Rather, "without thinking about it, he had made them discover this thing that he discovered with them" (Rancière, 1991, p. 9). Jacotot had "only given them the order to pass through a forest whose openings and clearings he himself had not discovered" (ibid.). To put it in the context of my aims here, there was no utopian future that the instructor knew ahead of time, no reward far off in the distance that the instructor could seduce students (or perhaps even themselves) with. Kristin Ross (1991) in the introduction to *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* argues that:

> Whether school is seen as the reproduction of equality (Bourdieu) or as the potential instrument for the reduction of inequality (Savary), the effect is the same: that of erecting and maintaining the distance separating a future reconciliation from a present inequality…a distance discursively invented and reinvented so that it may never be abolished (p. xix)

Jacotot's story is an example of what it looks like to collapse the distance, or to refuse *enacting*[4] the distance between past, present, and future. For Jacotot, this refusal was partly a result of the language barrier forcing him to attend to the present in a radical way. Rancière's re-telling of Jacotot's educational undertakings provides a concrete example of practicing a "now-time" educational project. This is not to suggest that Jacotot's approach is *the* correct way, but it allows us to imagine more concretely what a radical attending to the present *could* look like.

In her analysis of Jacotot, Ross (1991) poignantly asks, "What would it mean to make equality a *presupposition* rather than a goal, a *practice* rather than a reward situated firmly in some distant future so as to all the better explain its present infeasibility?" (p. xix) Though Rancière's (1991) concern in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* is primarily with the conception of equality in education, we can ask this question in relation to nearly any educational ideal: What would it mean to make an ideal a practice, rooted in the present, and not in some distant future? What would it look like to "read" the present differently—as unfolding present presence that does not exist as the negative counterpart to the past or to the future?

Walter Benjamin, in his philosophy of history, struggles precisely with such questions of historical temporality. The hope that Benjamin identifies—what he names as "messianic hope"—is particularly relevant in trying to address the risks of nostalgic and utopian modes of thought. This hope must "not be conceived as aiming for a utopia destined to be realized at the *end* of

[4] The idea of "enacting" time is an interesting concept. In some sense, nostalgic and utopian thinking is a kind of enactment, or performance of time, that represents a particular way to practice a relationship to the past, present, and future. Arguably, we are constantly in negotiation with concepts of time and these negotiations impact the way in which we situate and understand others and ourselves.

time, but as an extreme vigilance, a capacity to detect what at each moment shows the 'revolutionary energy' of the new" (emphasis added, Mosès, 2009, p. 109). Here then lies the third term, the other possibility in the wearisome back and forth between pasts and futures: extreme vigilance to what is possible *in every moment*, in the "now-time" that is "governed by the demands of the present situation" and in which the unpredictable, the revolutionary, "happens (or it can happen) at any moment, precisely as each moment of time-grasped as absolutely unique-brings a new state of the world into being" (Mosès, 2009, p. 108). Hannah Arendt (1968) echoes a similar alternative for education. Arendt locates this alternative in what she calls the essence of education: natality, or the "fact that human beings are *born* into the world" (original emphasis, p. 171). Natality implies an education where "we decide...not to expel [children] from our world and leave them to their own devices, *nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us*" (emphasis added, Arendt, 1968, p. 193). In this vigilant attending to the moment and to the possibility that something can happen at any moment, we are positioned to take both responsibility for and action in the present.

In suggesting that we attend to the "now," it is important to distinguish that I am not suggesting giving up the possibility or desire for a "better" or "happier" future. What I am suggesting is that imagining these futures and reflecting on the past must come with an account of the present. The present must not exist as a place that we are trying to escape or move beyond, but rather it must be the starting place to understand the past and to imagine the future.

With an attending to the "now," there comes an attending to the particularities that accompany it. Such an attending is precisely what feminist scholars have proposed as a "politics of location" that argues that the particularities of our individual selves and experiences *matter* (Borsa, 1990). In a politics of location,

> Where we live, how we live, our relationship to the social systems and structures that surround us are deeply embedded parts of everything we do and remain integral both to our identity or sense of self and to our position or status within a larger cultural and representational field (Borsa, 1990, p. 36)

A politics of location resists Haraway's "god-trick" as it can no longer claim to "see from everywhere." This introduces the possibility of particular perspectives on the world from which subjects can see, speak, and act. Haraway's argument for "situated knowledges" is precisely this. It is a demand for "politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims" (Haraway, 1988, p. 589). Situated knowledges, then, not only move educational theory and practice away from the estrangement that utopian and nostalgic thinking present, but also introduce the possibility of taking responsibility that utopian and nostalgic thinking evade. As Haraway (1988) argues, to locate vision and the "embodied nature" of vision means that we can "become answerable for what we learn how to see" (p. 583). Taking responsibility for our "vision"—for what we see, imagine, project into the past and future—is necessary as "vision is

always a question on the power to see—and perhaps of the violence implicit in our visualizing practices" (Haraway, 1988, p. 585).

The re-visioning of educational contexts through epistemologies of situated knowledges has been partially addressed in James Lang's (2011) work. I would like to highlight two of the implications he raises of situated knowledges for education that I think are relevant when considering utopianism and nostalgia. First, the introduction of multiplicity and second, the implication of teachers and students in the production of knowledge.

Lang (2011) argues that to re-vision educational contexts through an epistemology of situated knowledge means a foundational shift toward multiplicity. Educators could no longer refer to "*an* essential educational context but to *multiple* educational contexts" (p. 92). This is because epistemologies of situated knowledges introduce an "inescapable multiplicit[y]" as knowers are situated, or located, in ways that affect *what* we know and *how* we know (Lang, 2011). Similarly, we cannot locate a singular, universal or transcendent form of knowledge or way of knowing. To consider multiplicity alongside nostalgia and utopianism would similarly mean the inability to speak of a singular origin or past in education, as well as the inability to imagine a singular future for education. Educators would have to relinquish the idea that an origin point for education is identifiable in the first place. Educators would be invited to consider the possibility of numerous points, not of *origin or destination*, but of *orientation*. Furthermore, multiplicity projected forward would also mean a framework of orientation where there is no singular end point that educators are aiming towards. This multiplicity is necessary to counteract the estrangement of nostalgic and utopian thinking as it fractures the singular "then" and "there" and introduces the possibility of locating individual subjects in numerous, yet particular, spaces and places.

A consideration of multiplicity leads into the second implication of situated knowledges for educational theory and practice. Multiplicity implicates teachers and students in the production of knowledge as teachers and students are no longer interchangeable with one another; each is a unique individual that is active in the construction of knowledge (Lang, 2011). This implication counteracts the estrangement of nostalgic and utopian modes of thought by legitimizing the perspectives of students and teachers in the here and now. The implication of this for challenging utopian and nostalgic modes of thought is significant. It suggests that envisioning the future is no longer an activity reserved for elite educational theorists and administrators, politicians and ministers of education, nor is it directed at only singular or unified points of destination, but rather, the future is an activity rooted in the lived realities and embodied perspectives of the present, aimed at creating points of orientation to navigate current challenges and obstacles.

From Utopia to Eutopia

Nostalgia and utopianism in educational theory come at a cost. Both are mythic in structure and foster estrangement from the present. They draw our gaze to such faraway places

and times that we risk immobility and a failure to take responsibility for the present. At their very best, they occasion a false sense of movement toward phantoms that haunt the discipline.

This does not, however, suggest that imagining new ways of practicing education is a useless endeavour. Educators have a responsibility not only to imagine the educational project anew, but also to attend to the *ways* in which these re-imaginings are thought. The tools of thinking, the structures of thought, are not neutral or objective; they have consequences on the way we understand others, the world, and ourselves and to how we imagine and mobilize justice and equity. As an alternative to nostalgic and utopian modes of thought, this paper has suggested a practice of education that involves a different relationship to past, present, and future—one that is marked by a vigilant attending to the "now-time" and the possibilities in present moments. Such re-imaginings may indeed bring us to "eutopian" places—eu + topos—a well or happy place.

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WORKS OF ART AND OTHER ACADEMIC PIECES

WHAT IS CONTEMPLATION? THE OPENING OF A DIALOGUE

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Abstract

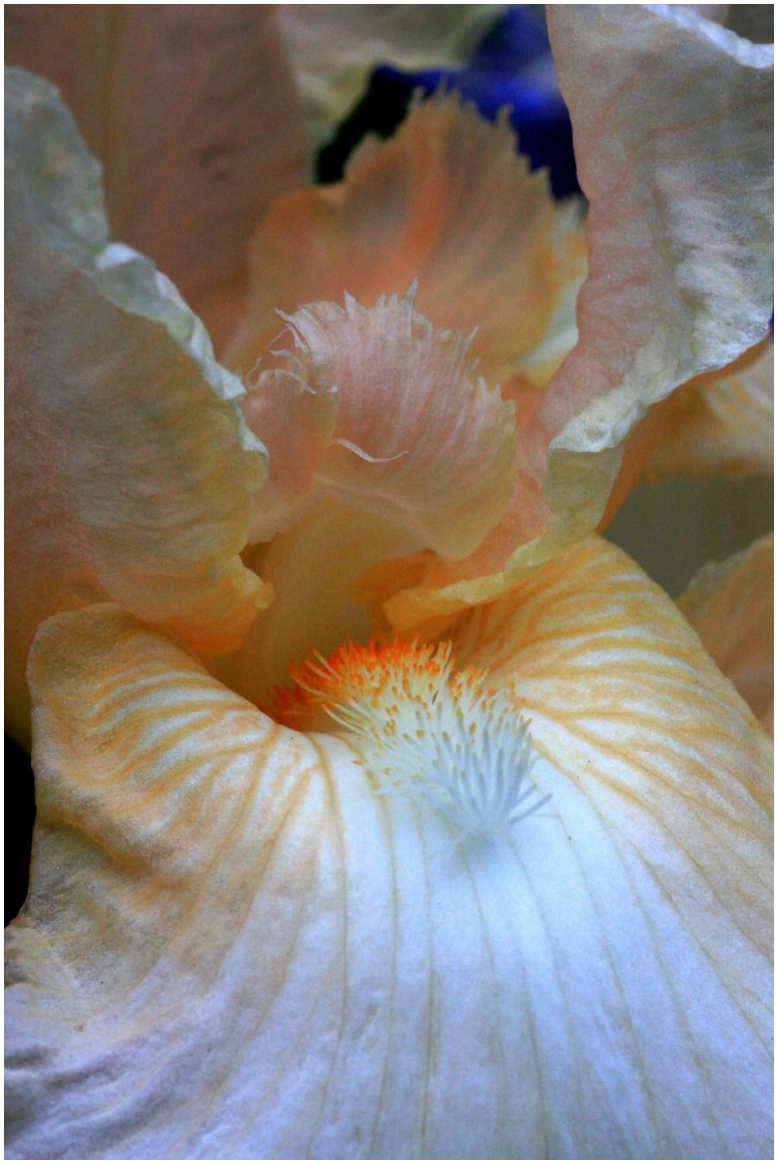
A collection of contemplative musings on contemplation, in word and image.

Keywords: contemplation, meditation, awareness

What is Contemplation? The Opening of a Dialogue

What is Contemplation? (Be)holding

Beholding attentively.
holding devotedly, devoutly.
Loving contemplation
Sand. Flower. Infinity. Eternity.
Auguring down, down, down,
up,
all around.
Into All.



What is Contemplation? *Contemplatio*

This is not just *theōria*.
No deep speculation
Or wandering, meandering.
Rather, absolute stillness.
Contemplatio.
One … without a second.

What is Contemplation? Templed

In the *templum*,
Marked out in that space,
Oriented, situated, contextualized.
Spheres of connection radiating, expanding outward.

What is Contemplation? Immersion

Immersed in a boundless sea.
More than mind and limb
Yet a child of both. And heart.
Wordless, thoughtless, imageless,
resting
in awareness

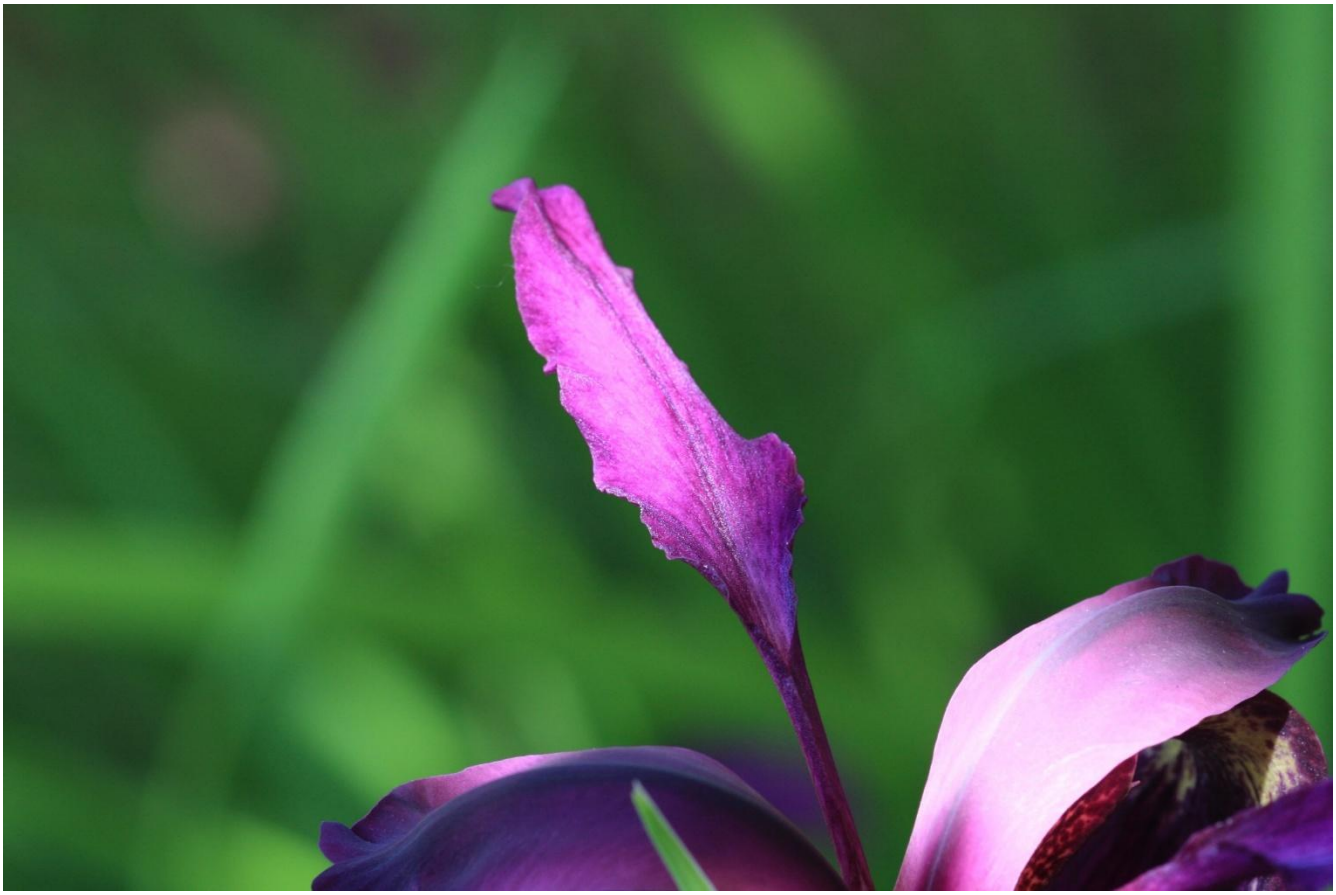
What is Contemplation? Infusion

Infused awareness
(Of) Who I am.

Inspiration.

What is Contemplation? Ineffable

A dawning of the full attentive:
"spiritual awareness of the ineffable Absolute"
Dhyāna.
Transcendent but fully immanent
I integrate and am Integrated
I contain (and am contained in) worlds.



What is Contemplation? Resting

Coming to rest in my own nature
Tat Tvam Asi
Abiding in flowing Awareness: *ekatanata*.
Tada drashtuh svarupevasthanami.
Purusa.

The Conversation Begins: Responses to My Reviewers and the Editorial Team

The reviewers and editor requested some additional background and context:

> "… the editors concur that the piece will need to be accompanied by a reflective piece to give the poem more context. We request the author to provide a 1000 - 1500 word written reflection with some reference to literature to provide the reader a little bit of background."

I am delighted to respond and welcome their opening of the dialogue. My responses here will likely be more explanatory than reflective, and I will proceed stanza by stanza. The poems initially had a few footnotes offering additional information about specific words, but I have changed that now so that all my comments are contained in this essay. Of course, I recognize that readers will bring their own lived experiences and understandings to the poems so that any number possible meanings will be found in "a multi-dimensional space" (Barthes, 2006, p. 44) that exist in the spheres of between. I am also mindful that poetic expression usually does not come accompanied by explanations from the author, although I am happy to provide some explanatory context. Might I suggest that the reader pause and hang out with the poems before plunging ahead into these explanations. David Whyte (2016, 19:38) suggests we need to be "cultivating a relationship with the unknown…. We have to understand that half of life is meant to be hidden from you at any one time…. Half the time you're not supposed to understand what is going on until it makes itself fully known, until it comes to fruition. We're constantly naming things too early."

The field of contemplative inquiry in postsecondary education has been growing dramatically in the past 15 years or so. In 2006, the editors of *Teachers College Record* published a special edition on contemplative practices and education. Membership in the Association for Contemplative Mind in Higher Education has grown significantly since the mid-1990s; the Association has published its own journal since 2014. In that same year, a Master of Education program (Contemplative Inquiry and Approaches in Education--CIAE) designed by Drs. Heesoon Bai and Laurie Anderson began in the Faculty of Education at SFU (Johnson, 2014; SFU Faculty of Education, 2019; Todd, 2013).

Contemplation itself has been a vehicle for spiritual inquiry in the wisdom traditions of east and west for thousands of years. There are a variety of contemplative and meditative approaches extolled within these traditions. Today, meditative approaches are widely practiced. Komjathy (2015) provides a wonderful sourcebook on contemplative literature across traditions. A key question, I think, in this rapidly expanding field of contemplative inquiry is simply this: what is contemplation? (This is an assignment given to students in the CIAE program.) I have been doing research on this question since 2014 and have temporarily abandoned my essay-format attempts at an answer in favor of a more poetic response; poetic expression, not surprisingly to some, seems to be a better vehicle. The wisdom traditions are filled with poetic expressions of contemplative experience and insight.

What is Contemplation? (Be)holding

This stanza points to the relationship of attention and devotion in contemplation. Attention is obviously a key element of contemplative practice, and Oliver (2004, p. 56) and Scott and Bai, (2017) have focused on the significance of devotion in developing a one-pointed consciousness. One might also refer to pages 84–85 and 130–133 of Hadot (1995).

The phrase 'loving contemplation' comes from the work of Gregory of Nyssa, who, along with other Greek Fathers, developed a Christian conception of contemplation out of the Greek concept of *theōria,* St. Paul's use of *gnosis*, and the Hebrew concept of *da'ath* that combined experiential knowing and love. See Keating (2006, pp. 19 ff) and Mateo-Seco and Maspero (2010, p. 528) for discussions of this concept.

The following line is a nod to William Blake's (2019, p. 77) poem, "The Auguries of Innocence," which the next line picks up. That line is both a play on words with the word 'auger' and an allusion to drilling down into the depths of consciousness. I chose the word "auguring" intentionally. The Latin *templum* refers to the temples of the oracles, the "area for the taking of auguries" (Contemplation, n.d.).

The remaining lines, and the last word of the title bring us to the consideration of contemplation as both a practice and a state of being. In that state of being, consciousness has slipped the boundaries of narrow confinement to find itself spreading expansively in all directions, uniting itself with all.

What is Contemplation? *Contemplatio*

I struggled with the first line here for months and still do. An earlier version read "This is not *theōria*"; it now reads "This is not just *theōria.*" I jettisoned and hauled back 'just' several times, but for now I have once again hauled it in, although part of me still wants to toss 'just.'

Kowalzig (2006), among many others, points to *theōria* (θεωρία) as referring, in the pre-Socratic era, to attending a religious festival or the enactment of a state religion or the interaction between oneself and what one views (spectating), a concept that preceded and partially informed later Greek philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagorus. *Theōria* is discussed by several ancient Greek philosophers, most notably Plato and Aristotle, who held it to be a primarily intellectual endeavor (Bénatouïl & Bonazzi, 2012).

In Books V to VII of the *Republic*, Plato (2000) outlines *theōria* as the prime activity of the philosopher. Drawing from the earlier conception of *theōria* relating to travel to festivals and beholding the spectacles there, Plato argues that the philosopher "journeys to and looks upon Beauty itself" (476b–c).

In the allegory of the cave in Book VII, Plato depicts the philosopher's journey from the darkness of limited terrestrial knowledge to the light of the Forms. The journey is made possible through the development of the intellect and reason.

In *Symposium*, however, Diotima presents *theōria* as a sacred revelation, a theme that is also present in *Phaedrus*. There, in Socrates' second speech, he says:

> Those that are immortal, when they get to the top, pass outside it and take their stand on the outer surface of the heaven; the revolution of the cosmos carries them around as they stand there and they theorize the things outside the heaven. (Plato, 1993, 247b–c).

The sights here are "blessed," "holy"; the Forms are seen as divine; it is what Nightingale (2006) refers to as "a sort of religious revelation" (p. 177). This revelation is the sense that I wish to capture in my use of the word 'contemplation,' as opposed to it consisting of the operations of intellect and reason. While reason has a place in perhaps confirming any revelations brought on through non-rational means, it is also not enough in the arts of contemplation, just as Virgil, representing reason, has to leave his role as guide to Dante when it comes time to visit *Paradiso*, with Beatrice taking on the role, representing the grace of Divine Love:

> Virgil fixed his eyes on me
> and said: "The temporal fire and the eternal
> have you seen, my son, and you have come to a
> place where I by myself discern no further. (Alighieri, 2003, p. 463)

Aristotle (1976), in Book X of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, sees *theōria* as the highest activity: it is "both the highest [and most continuous] form of activity ... since the intellect [or *nous*] is the highest thing in us, and the objects that it apprehends are the highest things that can be known" (p. 328). It is *theōria* that will lead to the highest happiness and human flourishing (*eudaimonia*). Those dedicated to it "live in conformity with the highest" that lies within them (p. 331). Robert Bellah (2011) suggests that that there are indeed two models of that can be said to emerge from Aristotle's work: pure contemplation "of the divine" (p. 594) and intellectual understanding of various subjects. It seems, however, that the intellect plays a central role in both models. It is this conception of *theōria* as contemplation that gives me pause.

Hadot (1995) argues that in the 'spiritual exercises' of the Greek schools, "'meditation' [was] the 'exercise' of reason …. Greco-Roman meditation … is a purely rational, imaginative, or intuitive exercise that can take extremely varied forms" (p. 59). It is also this notion of the reason, imagination, and intuition that gives me encouragement to keep *theōria* in the vessel. (See Keator, 2018 for an extended discussion of *contemplatio and theōria* in the context of contemporary contemplative inquiry in higher education.)

Rodowick (2014) points to *theōria* as viewing, speculating, and contemplating. He adds that, for example, while Pythagorus promoted *theōria* as an intellectual study of phenomena, there was also the understanding that through *theōria* "one attained active assimilation to the divine Intellect or *nous* present in all of us" (p. 9). Heidegger (1977) provides an etymology of *theōria*, writing that "… for the Greeks, *bios theōrētikos* the life of beholding, is, especially in its purest form as thinking, the highest doing" (pp. 163–164).

Plotinus and the other Neoplatonists develop the Platonic move toward *theōria* as a spiritual endeavor. It is their work that inspires the Greek Fathers to transform the concept to the Latin *contemplatio*, infusing it with the element of devotion; contemplatio now becomes a spiritual practiced focused on awareness of God (Keating, 2006). Among the Latin Fathers who

were informed primarily by Plato's work, Augustine bridged reason and the process of 'divine illumination.' Shand (2004) points out that

> He was not concerned then with theoretical philosophizing as an end in itself, but with the way in which truth in philosophy would lead one down the path to the attainment of religious goodness and closeness to God…. Unlike for Plato, such eternal truths would not be accessible to our limited temporal intellect or reason operating alone were it not for God assisting us with divine illumination…. In the contemplation of eternal truth we satisfy a condition for moving nearer to God, but the conditions will not be complete unless we also go through a moral and spiritual purification.
> (p. 13)

The key element for me here is the process of moral and spiritual purification. If *theōria* includes these elements, then I will gladly include it in my conceptualization. If not, then I jettison it; currently, it is still on board, although a bit tenuously. I am reminded of Thomas Aquinas' experience during a Mass near the end of his life when he experienced a prolonged spiritual ecstasy. He had not yet completed his masterpiece the *Summa Theologica*. When asked by his secretary to return to the theological work, he refused: "Reginald, I cannot, because all that I have written seems like straw to me" (Davis, 1993, p. 9).

The last line in this stanza honours the non-dualist positions found in the contemplative traditions of east and west: Plotinus; the Advaita Vedantists (my own contemplative practice rests in the Raja/Ashtanga yoga tradition); the mystical union present in the works of Teresa of Ávila, John of the Cross, Meister Eckhart, and other Christian mystics; the emptiness of Buddhism; *Fana* of the Sufis. See the first two chapters of Huxley's (1944) *The Perennial Philosophy* for a fascinating anthology of source material on this topic).

What is Contemplation? Templed

The word 'temple' has its origins not only in the Latin *templum*, but stems from a PIE root *tem*, meaning to cut out a space; the Greek *temenos* refers to a "sacred area around a temple" and was applied later to "any place regarded as occupied by divine presence" (Temple, n.d.). As Heidegger (1977) notes: "The Latin *templum* means originally a sector carved out of the heavens and on earth, the cardinal point, the region of the heavens marked out by the path of the sun. It is within the region that diviners make their observations …" (p. 165).

The third line is an acknowledgement of what might be seen as a critical or poststructuralist perspective, seeing contemplation, not as divorced from context and place, but situated. The last line is a recognition of the inner experience of expansion of consciousness. Yogananda (1969) expressed his experience of *samadhi* as follows:

> My body became immovably rooted; breath was drawn out of my lungs as if by some huge magnet. Soul and mind instantly lost their physical bondage, and streamed out like a fluid piercing light from my every pore. The flesh was as though dead, yet in my intense awareness I knew that never before had I been fully alive. My sense of identity was no longer narrowly confined to a body, but embraced the circumambient atoms. People on distant streets seemed to be moving gently over my own remote periphery. … (p. 149)

What is Contemplation? Immersion

This stanza continues the theme of expansion of the previous one. It also acknowledges the role of embodied knowing. Snowber (2017) writes:

> Wherever I danced, it emerged out of my relationship to God or as I like to now call, the Beloved, where all my cells were vibrating. Dance was akin to lovemaking with Creator. The women mystics became my mentors, and here I still take inspiration. St. Theresa of Avila, a sixteenth century Carmelite mystic, speaks of our bodies as the leaves of God and she says, «How does the soul make love to God? The heart has divine instincts — it just needs to be turned loose in the sky». (p. 129)

The stanza also reprises the theme of transcendence alluded to in the first two stanzas, again focusing on the centrality of awareness.

What is Contemplation? Infusion

The word 'infusion' is an acknowledgement of the Christian concept of infused contemplation. Merton (2003) writes of it as contemplation "…infused by [God] into the summit of the soul, giving it a direct and experimental contact with Him" (p. 73). This is an utterly transcendent experience, going beyond thought, and characterized by "… a quality of light in darkness, knowing in unknowing. *It is beyond feeling, even beyond concepts*" (p. 72). It is, I suggest, this experience that gives rise to a deeper life breath that infuses our blood, cells, and being.

What is Contemplation? Ineffable

Carrying on from the previous stanza, one might appreciate that such experiences are ineffable; I acknowledge by quotation the words of Louis Dupré's (2005) entry on "Mysticism" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*. The Sanskrit word *dhyāna* means meditation; it is the seventh step of the eightfold path of Patañjali, as outlined in his *Yoga Sutras*. The sutra (verse) reads "Meditation is the one-pointed attention of the mind on one image." Bryant (2009), in his commentaries, writes: "… when the mind can focus exclusively on [an] object without any other distraction, *dhyāna* has been achieved" (p. 303). The following line takes a panentheistic position that the ineffable Absolute is both transcendent and immanent; the contemplative movement here is one of integration. The final line is a somewhat indirect acknowledgment of Whitman's (2007) line, in his poem "Song of Myself" in *Leaves of Grass* that "I am large—I contain multitudes" (p. 104).

What is Contemplation? Resting

This stanza draws exclusively from the nondualist Yoga-Vedānta tradition. *Tat Tvam Asi* is a Sanskrit sloka from the *Chandogya Upanishad*, translating as "Thou art that" or "That Thou art" or "That art Thou." It is perhaps the most well-known Hindu expression of the unity of the individual (or the individual soul, *atman*) with the Absolute (*Brahman*). The Sanskrit word

ekatanata refers to the continuous flow of uninterrupted attention mentioned above. Patañjali's Yoga Sutra 1.3 states, *Tada drashtuh svarupevasthanam*: "Then [after stilling the changing states of consciousness] the seer abides in itself, resting in its true nature" Bryant, 2009, p. 22; see subsequent pages for detailed commentary). *Purusa* refers to the Self or a transcendental identity; it is a central concept in the Yoga, Vedānta, and Sāmkhya schools of Indian philosophy. Feuerstein (1996) writes: "… the concept of the Self (*purusa*) is not purely a hypthetico-deductive postulate. It is best understood a circumscribing a particular yogic experience of the numinous" (p. 15); he adds "It is sheer awareness as opposed to consciousness-of …" (p. 19). *Purusa* can be said to be a 'witness,' 'seer,' and as 'inactive'; realization of the Self is the state "in which there is the nonseparation of knower, knowing, and known (Chapple, 2008, pp. 28, 27). It is the Ground of Being; it is there one rests.

Contemplation as both doing and being go hand in hand: one gives rise to the other. In my experience contemplation as being realized through contemplative practice requires just that: practice. Regular, disciplined, devoted practice over an extended period of time. Tim Lilburn (1999) writes:

> Poetry gestures to contemplation and contemplation feeds the poetry, modifying language by letting awe undermine it, pare it back, lending the poems a thinness, compunction. This is a land to wait in, watching. Bring anonymity; namelessness has a place here; the land worn to the bone hints into you an interior mimesis of nameless. Bring sorrow. (p. 11)

Note: *The photographs are compositions of the author.*

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