Représentations du tutorat et du rôle des tuteurs des centres d'aide en français des cégeps

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Résumé

Les tuteurs des centres d'aide en français apportent du soutien en écriture aux cégépiens éprouvant des difficultés. Pour mieux comprendre comment ces tuteurs se représentent le tutorat et leur rôle, nous avons sondé par questionnaire 116 tuteurs de 12 cégeps. Des analyses descriptives ont fait émerger des questions à approfondir lors d'entrevues semi-dirigées menées auprès de six tuteurs. Les analyses des données quantitatives et qualitatives ont révélé que les tuteurs se voient comme des apprenants qui offrent surtout du soutien scolaire et motivationnel. La posture de tuteur-apprenant qu'ils adoptent influence leur rapport au tutoré et le soutien qu'ils leur offrent.

Introduction

Le cégep est une structure de formation postsecondaire publique, spécifique au Québec, qui est entre le secondaire (élèves de 12 à 17 ans) et l'université (étudiants de 19 ans et plus) (Gouvernement du Québec, 2021). Près de la moitié des cégépiens sont inscrits à l'un des neuf programmes d'études préuniversitaires d'une durée de deux ans (p. ex. sciences de la santé, arts et lettres), alors que l'autre moitié est inscrite dans un des 110 programmes d'études techniques d'une durée de trois ans (p. ex. soins infirmiers, travail social) (Fédération des cégeps, 2021b; Gouvernement du Québec, 2021). Les cégépiens qui ont de faibles compétences en littératie peuvent vivre des embuches tout au long de leur formation (Cabot et Chouinard, 2014; Demers, 2014). Ainsi, la maitrise de la langue des cégépiens est une préoccupation constante depuis des décennies (Cartier et Langevin, 2001; Fédération des cégeps, 2021a; Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Science, 1993). Pour répondre aux besoins des étudiants en matière de littératie, chaque cégep est doté d'un centre d'aide en français habituellement sous la responsabilité d'enseignants de français (Nolet, 2019). Ouverts à tous les étudiants, ces centres offrent différents services, dont les plus répandus sont les ateliers pour apprendre à utiliser un logiciel de correction, l'aide ponctuelle d'un enseignant, les ateliers de préparation à l'examen ministériel de français (l'épreuve uniforme de langue) et le tutorat, soit un accompagnement individualisé offert par un autre étudiant.

Plusieurs articles rédigés par des professionnels nous informent sur le tutorat dans les CAF (p. ex. Fortier, 2012; Legault, 2014; Masse, 2020). Ces écrits révèlent que les modalités de ce service (fréquence des rencontres, formation et encadrement offerts aux tuteurs, etc.) cherchent à répondre aux besoins locaux, selon les ressources disponibles. Des chercheurs se sont intéressés aux CAF. Par exemple, Désy (1996) s'est intéressée à la façon dont des cégépiens perçoivent le tutorat en rencontrant des tuteurs et des tutorés d'un centre d'aide multidisciplinaire. Plus récemment, Cabot et Facchin (2020) se sont intéressées aux perceptions d'étudiants qui choisissent de ne pas fréquenter le CAF, malgré qu'ils puissent éprouver des difficultés en français. Si ces recherches s'intéressent au point de vue des étudiants, c'est bien parce que les représentations d'une personne guident son action (Fortier et al., 2018). Ainsi, s'intéresser à la façon dont les tuteurs des CAF se représentent leur rôle peut nous amener à mieux comprendre le soutien qu'ils offrent aux tutorés en écriture. En ce sens, cet article poursuit le travail de Désy (1996) en s'intéressant au point de vue de tuteurs, mais il se penche spécifiquement sur les tuteurs des CAF. Plus particulièrement, cet article a pour objectif de décrire et de comprendre comment les tuteurs des CAF se représentent le tutorat et le rôle qu'ils jouent auprès des tutorés.

Cadre théorique

De cette question de recherche découlent deux principaux concepts qui se doivent d'être définis, soit « le tutorat » ainsi que « la représentation du rôle ».

Le tutorat

Le tutorat est ici vu comme un moyen d'apprentissage planifié dans lequel un apprenant plus compétent (le tuteur) veut soutenir un de ses pairs apprenant (le tutoré) dans l'acquisition ou le développement de connaissances et de compétences (Annoot, 2001; Papaïoannou et al., 2015; Topping et Ehly, 2001). Le tuteur peut aussi soutenir la motivation du tutoré et son intégration dans un milieu (Annoot, 2001; Désy, 1996). Le tutorat se veut bénéfique pour le tutoré comme pour le tuteur, qui sont tous les deux des apprenants pouvant bénéficier de leur relation sur les plans affectif, cognitif et métacognitif (Clark et Andrews, 2009; Gatti et Blary, 2017; Topping et Ehly, 2001). Les programmes de tutorat seraient surtout mis en place en milieu scolaire, même si certains dispositifs de formation en entreprise sont désignés comme du « tutorat » (Cohen-Scali, 2008; Fredy-Planchot, 2007). Par exemple, pour Fredy-Planchot (2007), le tutorat est une « situation de travail accompagnée » où un « professionnel confirmé » soutient une « personne novice » dans l'acquisition de compétences nécessaires à son travail tout en favorisant son intégration dans sa nouvelle fonction et dans l'entreprise. Cette façon de voir le tutorat se rapproche beaucoup de la définition que plusieurs auteurs font du mentorat, dont on parle plus fréquemment dans les milieux de travail ou dans d'autres organisations, notamment sportives, communautaires et criminelles (Barrette, 2017; Haggard et al., 2011; Ouellet et al., 2022; Perrier et al., 2015). Plusieurs auteurs relèvent cette confusion fréquente entre le tutorat et le mentorat (Clark et Andrews, 2009; Topping et Ehly, 2001). Pourtant, la relation de mentorat apparait plus hiérarchique que celle de tutorat : le mentor est plus expérimenté et souvent plus âgé que le mentoré, qui bénéficie davantage de la relation (Clark et

Andrews, 2009; Gagnon et Duchesne, 2018). De plus, si le tuteur cherche surtout à soutenir l'acquisition de connaissances et de compétences chez le tutoré, le soutien d'intégration est une clé du mentorat : le mentor aide le mentoré à trouver sa place dans l'organisation et peut lui donner accès à de nouvelles opportunités (Haggard et al., 2011; Ouellet et al., 2022).

Pour situer les représentations des tuteurs des CAF, une vingtaine de textes portant sur le tutorat en milieu scolaire ont été analysés (voir Thomas, 2021). Ces textes proposaient des définitions plus ou moins concises du tutorat, ou en observaient les mécanismes ou les retombées. De ces textes, six dimensions du tutorat ont été isolées et des manifestations de chacune de ces dimensions ont été recensées. Cette synthèse, présentée au Tableau 1, a permis d'élaborer le questionnaire, puis a guidé l'analyse des données.

Tableau 1

Dimensions et manifestations du tutorat retenues (adapté de Thomas, 2021, p. 64-65)

Dimensions du tutorat	Manifestations	Auteurs
1) Le tutorat est un moyen d'apprentissage pour le tutoré.	• Le tutoré augmente le temps consacré à des activités d'apprentissage. • Il obtient une rétroaction immédiate et personnalisée. • Il peut acquérir et consolider des connaissances disciplinaires ou des stratégies d'apprentissage.	Annoot (2001) Barrette (2017) Cordary (2016)
2) Le tutorat est un moyen d'apprentissage pour le tuteur.	• Le tuteur apprend en étant formé à son rôle et encadré. • Il apprend lors des rencontres avec les tutorés. • Il peut acquérir et consolider des connaissances disciplinaires ou des stratégies d'apprentissage. • Il peut acquérir et développer des connaissances ou des compétences en relation d'aide.	Dubé et Sénécal (2009) Gatti et Blary (2017) Morand et al. (2015)
3) Le tutorat unit deux apprenants qui ont un certain écart de compétence.	• Le tuteur est un peu plus compétent que le tutoré. • Ils sont tous deux situés dans la même zone proche de développement.	Baudrit (2007) Papaïoannou et al. (2015) Topping et Ehly (2001)
4) Le tuteur peut apporter un soutien scolaire au tutoré.	• Le tuteur peut réaliser avec le tutoré des activités qui se lient à un cours. • Il peut aborder avec lui des stratégies d'apprentissage. • Il peut l'aider à approfondir des connaissances disciplinaires ou à en acquérir.	Beaulieu et al. (2018) Cordary (2016) Devilliers et Romainville (2013)
5) Le tuteur peut apporter un soutien motivationnel au tutoré.	• Le tuteur peut témoigner de l'empathie au tutoré et faire preuve de bienveillance. • Il peut lui donner des encouragements verbaux et non verbaux. • Il peut l'amener à avoir plus de contrôle sur l'activité, notamment par l'attribution.	Désy (1996) Mackiewicz et Thompson (2013) Topping et Ehly (2001)

	• Il peut aborder des stratégies affectives (gestion du stress/de la motivation).	
6) Le tuteur peut apporter un soutien d'intégration au tutoré.	• Le tuteur peut partager avec le tutoré ses connaissances sur les services offerts par l'école, les programmes d'études, les possibilités de carrière, etc. • Il peut développer une relation signifiante avec le tutoré.	Annoot (2001) Désy (1996) Papaïoannou et al. (2015)

Les représentations des tuteurs

Plusieurs chercheurs se sont penchés sur la manière dont les différents acteurs du système scolaire (enseignants, apprenants, parents, etc.) décrivent leur rôle pour mieux comprendre leurs connaissances, leurs croyances, leur motivation, leurs attitudes, leurs comportements, etc. Ils employaient alors les expressions « perception de soi » (Désy, 1996; Gatti et Blary, 2017), « conception de soi » (Fiasse et Nader-Grosbois, 2011; Paquette, 2001) ou « représentation de soi » (Beauregard, 2006; Ruel, 1987). Or, ces expressions sont peu souvent définies, ce que certains de ces mêmes auteurs déplorent (Fiasse et Nader-Grosbois, 2011; Ruel, 1987).

Pour étudier la façon dont des parents et des enseignants définissent leur rôle, Beauregard (2006) reprend la définition de la représentation proposée par Abric (1989). Selon ce psychologue social, une représentation est :

> un ensemble organisé d'opinions, d'attitudes, de croyances et d'informations se référant à un objet ou une situation. Elle est déterminée à la fois par le sujet lui-même (son histoire, son vécu), par le système social et idéologique dans lequel il est inséré, et par la nature des liens que le sujet entretient avec ce système social (Abric, 1989, p. 188).

Beauregard (2006) précise que la façon dont une personne se représente son rôle peut s'observer sous trois angles : les rôles attendu, joué et souhaité. En adaptant les définitions qu'elle propose au tutorat, on arrive au fait que pour un tuteur, la représentation de son rôle est l'ensemble des opinions, des croyances et des connaissances qu'il a en tant que tuteur quant aux attentes qu'il croit devoir remplir (le rôle attendu), aux pratiques qu'il dit adopter (le rôle joué) ou à celles qu'il aimerait adopter (le rôle souhaité). Ces représentations relèvent de ses expériences scolaires ou extrascolaires (p. ex. ses expériences passées de tuteur ou de tutoré, ses expériences d'apprenant, la formation que lui offre le CAF, ce que ses proches lui ont dit du tutorat, etc.), des attentes institutionnelles et sociales (les attentes du CAF comme celles du cégep ou de la société), et des rapports qu'il entretient avec ses expériences comme avec les attentes institutionnelles et sociales.

Méthodologie

Pour décrire et comprendre comment les tuteurs des CAF se représentent le tutorat et le rôle qu'ils jouent auprès des tutorés, nous utilisons ici des données issues d'une recherche de plus grande envergure menée en 2021 sur les représentations des tuteurs et les dispositifs qu'ils emploient (Thomas, 2021). Cette recherche utilisait un devis mixte séquentiel explicatif (Creswell et Plano Clark, 2011). Dans un premier temps, un questionnaire autoadministré en ligne a été rempli par 116 tuteurs œuvrant dans des CAF ou y ayant œuvré dans les trois années précédant leur participation à la recherche. Ces tuteurs devaient eux-mêmes étudier au cégep au moment où ils avaient commencé à y œuvrer en tant que tuteurs. La majorité des participants s'identifiaient au genre féminin (76 %) et étaient âgés de 17 à 24 ans (94 %). Ils provenaient de 12 cégeps de tailles et de régions variées. En ce qui concerne leur formation, 72 % avaient été formés dans le cadre d'un cours collégial de 45 ou 60 heures, 13 % dans une formation offerte à l'extérieur d'un cours, et 15 % disaient n'avoir reçu aucune formation spécifique. Le questionnaire a été conçu pour la recherche, à partir du cadre théorique retenu. Par exemple, pour sonder les tuteurs sur leurs représentations du

tutorat, les deux premières dimensions du tutorat et leurs manifestations ont servi à formuler 12 items devant lesquels les participants devaient exprimer leur niveau d'accord (p. ex. « Le tuteur apprend lors des rencontres avec les tutorés. »). L'échelle de Likert comprenait cinq niveaux de réponses pour que les participants puissent exprimer une attitude neutre (Angers, 2009). Hébergé sur la plateforme LimeSurvey, le questionnaire complet comprenait 79 items dans sept sections distinctes : 1) Profil du tuteur (données sociodémographiques, cheminement scolaire, etc.); 2) Représentations du tutorat; 3) Représentations du rôle attendu du tuteur; 4) Représentations du rôle joué du tuteur; 5) Représentations du rôle souhaité du tuteur; 6) Dispositifs pédagogiques utilisés dans le cadre du tutorat; 7) Dispositifs didactiques utilisés dans le cadre du tutorat. Le questionnaire a été commenté puis validé par trois expertes dont les axes de recherche sont complémentaires (didactique du français, orthodidactique, programmes d'accompagnement au postsecondaire). Pour s'assurer de la bonne compréhension des répondants, un prétest (Fortin et Gagnon, 2016) a été mené auprès de trois tuteurs de niveau collégial, ce qui a permis d'ajuster certaines formulations du questionnaire.

Après la passation du questionnaire, des entrevues semi-dirigées ont été réalisées auprès de six participants volontaires qui avaient ajouté leurs coordonnées à la fin du questionnaire. Les participants sélectionnés pour les entrevues avaient des profils différents (p. ex. ils étaient plus ou moins expérimentés) et leurs réponses au questionnaire différaient. Quatre femmes et deux hommes, provenant de cinq différents cégeps, ont été sélectionnés. Ils provenaient de cinq cégeps et étaient plus ou moins expérimentés. Une participante (T3) avait été formée dans le cadre d'une formation courte de 15 heures offerte par le CAF, mais les cinq autres avaient été formés dans le cadre d'un cours collégial de 45 ou 60 heures. Deux participants (T2, T5) ont été tuteurs pendant une session collégiale. Deux autres ont œuvré au CAF pendant deux sessions (T1, T3). Les deux derniers participants (T4, T6) ont été embauchés par le CAF de leur cégep une fois diplômés et ils poursuivaient, au moment des entrevues, des études universitaires (respectivement en enseignement du français et en psychologie). Ils avaient trois ans d'expérience chacun. Menées individuellement en visioconférence, les entrevues ont duré 45 minutes en moyenne. Les guides d'entrevue abordaient les mêmes thèmes d'un participant à l'autre, mais les questions étaient individualisées selon les réponses fournies au questionnaire. En outre, ce guide prévoyait que la deuxième portion de l'entrevue était réalisée par une instruction au sosie (Leroux, 2010; Saujat, 2005). Une consigne était alors donnée aux participants : « Suppose que je sois ton sosie et que demain je me trouve en situation de te remplacer auprès d'un tutoré qui veut s'améliorer en écriture. Quelles sont les instructions que tu devrais me transmettre afin que personne ne s'avise de la substitution? » Les participants devaient décrire leur pratique en s'adressant à l'intervieweuse (leur sosie) à la deuxième personne et au futur (p. ex. « La veille de la rencontre, tu enverras un petit rappel à ton tutoré. »). Tout au long de l'instruction, les participants étaient amenés à préciser certains éléments et à identifier les obstacles qu'ils pourraient rencontrer et la façon d'y réagir.

Pour décrire la façon dont les tuteurs des CAF se représentent le tutorat et le rôle qu'ils jouent auprès des tutorés, nous avons analysé l'ensemble des données collectées à l'aide des sections 2 et 4 du questionnaire (25 items). Les analyses statistiques descriptives (fréquences, moyennes et pourcentages) ont été menées à l'aide du logiciel SPSS. Pour mieux comprendre les représentations des tuteurs, nous avons

analysé les verbatims des entrevues par une analyse de contenu, selon la démarche proposée par Van der Maren (2004). Pour repérer les informations pertinentes, classifier et condenser les données, les verbatims ont été codés. La grille de codage se basait sur le cadre de référence. Deux contrecodages (intracodeur et intercodeur) ont été réalisés pour assurer la fidélité du codage. Puis, nous avons observé la fréquence des codes et les relations existantes en eux pour amorcer notre interprétation qualitative des données.

Vu l'objectif de cet article, nous n'avons pas considéré les items du questionnaire relatifs aux représentations des tuteurs concernant leur rôle attendu ou souhaité. Or, les analyses qualitatives des verbatims ont fait ressortir les liens étroits qui existent entre les attentes qu'on a envers les tuteurs, leurs idéaux, et le rôle qu'ils disent jouer.

Résultats

Nous présenterons ici les résultats issus des questionnaires et des entrevues en nous attardant d'abord aux représentations qu'ont les tuteurs du tutorat, puis à celles qu'ils ont du rôle qu'ils jouent auprès des tutorés.

Les représentations qu'ont les tuteurs du tutorat

Les participants se représentent le tutorat comme un moyen d'apprentissage autant pour les tutorés que pour les tuteurs. En effet, si 95,7 % des répondants considèrent que le tutoré apprend par le tutorat, c'est 89,6 % des répondants qui croient que les tuteurs sont aussi en apprentissage. Selon plus de 90 % des répondants, les tutorés apprennent en obtenant une rétroaction immédiate et personnalisée du tuteur (97,4 % en accord) et ils consolident des connaissances nécessaires pour réussir leurs études (93,9 % en accord). Selon plus de 80 % des répondants, le tutorat amène le tutoré à consacrer davantage de temps à des activités d'apprentissage (83,5 % en accord) et peut lui permettre d'acquérir ou de consolider des stratégies d'apprentissage (81,8 % en accord). Les tuteurs, eux, peuvent apprendre autant auprès des tutorés (84,4 % en accord) que des enseignants ou des professionnels qui les forment et qui encadrent leur travail au CAF (83,5 % en accord). Ils peuvent acquérir et développer des connaissances et des compétences en relation d'aide (95,7 % en accord), des stratégies d'apprentissage (91,3 % en accord) ou des connaissances disciplinaires (87,0 % en accord).

Puisque les tuteurs sondés reconnaissent apprendre beaucoup par le tutorat, il est conséquent qu'ils ne se voient généralement pas comme des experts. Aucun répondant ne se dit tout à fait d'accord avec l'énoncé « Le tuteur est un expert disciplinaire », et seuls 11,3 % des répondants se disent plutôt d'accord avec lui. La majorité des répondants sont plutôt en désaccord (37,4 %) ou tout à fait en désaccord (28,7 %) avec cet énoncé, et 22,6 % se disent indécis. Ne se voyant pas comme des experts, plusieurs tuteurs sondés ont même de la difficulté à reconnaitre qu'ils sont plus compétents que les tutorés. En effet, 20,9 % des répondants sont en désaccord avec l'énoncé selon lequel le tuteur est plus compétent que le tutoré, et 34,8 % sont indécis.

Les entrevues menées auprès de six tuteurs permettent de mieux comprendre comment les tuteurs se représentent le tutorat et mettent en lumière le fait que leur posture de tuteurs-apprenants influence leur relation avec les tutorés.

D'abord, tous les tuteurs rencontrés en entrevue se voient comme des apprenants. Lorsqu'on leur demande d'expliciter leur pensée, ils évoquent tous leurs limites en français ainsi qu'en pédagogie. Trois des tutrices rencontrées (T2, T3, T4) refusent aussi de se dire plus compétentes que leurs tutorés. Par exemple, pour la tutrice T4, le tutorat se veut surtout un partage de connaissances :

> Meilleur que… J'ai plus de connaissances sur la langue, oui, mais je n'aime pas le mot « meilleur ». Mais je sais que ce n'est pas ça que tu voulais dire. Mais je veux juste dire que cette hiérarchie-là, je ne la vois pas. J'agis vraiment avec l'élève : il est égal à moi. C'est un partage de connaissances. Moi, je vais prendre des cours de perfectionnement dans autre chose. Comme mon ami, il est bon en cuisine. Il me montre comment cuisiner. Je ne connais rien. Moi, je l'aide en langue. C'est juste un partage d'apprentissage.

Cette tutrice semble surtout refuser une hiérarchie entre les tuteurs et les tutorés : le tutorat est pour elle une relation égalitaire. Cette idée est reprise par trois autres tuteurs (T6, T1, T2). La tutrice T2 explique : « J'ai vraiment voulu essayer d'être un pair, j'ai "camarade" en tête, et non quelqu'un d'autorité qui dit quoi faire. » On comprend ici que le fait que les tuteurs se voient comme des apprenants et veulent être reconnus comme tels par les tutorés teinte la façon dont ils entrent en relation avec les tutorés.

Dans cette relation égalitaire, les tuteurs se sentent libres d'avouer leurs erreurs, leurs doutes et leurs faiblesses. La tutrice T2 affirme que si elle pose une question de grammaire à un responsable du CAF, elle le rapporte au tutoré, « chaque fois, pour qu'il voie que ça arrive à tout le monde de ne pas toujours savoir les réponses ». Elle normalise le doute et l'erreur pour établir une relation égalitaire entre le tutoré et elle. La tutrice T3 croit même que cette attitude est une clé du tutorat : « Je pense que c'est l'aspect le plus important à développer avec le tutoré. Vraiment. De dire : "Regarde, on est vraiment au même niveau-là. Ça arrive moi aussi que je fais des erreurs." »

Parce qu'ils considèrent qu'ils ont aussi des choses à apprendre de la relation de tutorat, tous les tuteurs rencontrés soulignent l'importance de la rétroaction que les tutorés leur fournissent. La tutrice T3 commence la première rencontre de tutorat en expliquant à ses tutorés l'importance de cette rétroaction : « quand vous ne comprenez pas, dites-le-moi […] quand même bien que ça fait six fois que je répète la même affaire, dites-le-moi, c'est moi qui ne suis pas capable de trouver la façon qui va venir vous chercher ». De son côté, la tutrice T5 finit chaque rencontre de tutorat en questionnant les tutorés sur ce qu'ils ont appris et sur leur appréciation de la séance. Tous les autres tuteurs rencontrés évoquent ce retour effectué en fin de séance avec les tutorés. Plusieurs soulignent le fait que la rétroaction que leur offrent les tutorés leur permet de s'améliorer en tant que tuteurs.

Soulignons ici que deux des tuteurs rencontrés (T4, T6) sont plus expérimentés que les autres, mais qu'ils se voient toujours dans une relation égalitaire avec le tutoré. La tutrice T4 cumule trois ans de tutorat au collégial et étudie en enseignement du français. Pourtant, elle ne se voit toujours pas dans une relation hiérarchique avec les tutorés et dit apprendre beaucoup d'eux (dans un extrait cité plus haut, elle décrit le tutorat comme un « partage de connaissances »). Le tuteur T6, étudiant universitaire en psychologie, a aussi plusieurs années d'expérience comme tuteur au collégial. Selon

lui, son expérience lui permet de rentrer plus facilement dans une relation égalitaire avec les tutorés :

> Au début, t'es un peu stressé et tu dis : « Ah, il faut que je montre que j'ai des connaissances, et que je suis capable… » Donc, t'es moins à l'écoute, peut-être, du tutoré. T'as plus l'impression qu'il faut que tu prouves quelque chose. Puis à force, tu te rends compte qu'une des choses qui sont très importantes dans la relation et qui font que la personne apprend, c'est justement qu'elle est en confiance, qu'elle est bien, qu'elle a envie d'être là et de participer. Donc, de plus en plus, c'est quelque chose de donnant-donnant je dirais. Donc oui, plus ça va, moins je me sens en haut des gens.

Ces deux tuteurs expérimentés se distinguent des autres tuteurs rencontrés en entrevue par le regard critique qu'ils ont développé et l'assurance qu'ils ont acquise. D'abord, ils se questionnent davantage sur la pertinence de la démarche et des ressources proposées par leur CAF. Ensuite, ils n'hésitent pas à rejeter certaines ressources ou à ne pas suivre la démarche proposée. La tutrice T4 affirme : « Si je juge que certaines choses sont meilleures pour [mon tutoré], je dois me faire confiance, croire en mes capacités, parce que ça marche bien pour moi, c'est ce que j'ai appris à l'université. » En bref, si ces tuteurs se considèrent aussi comme des apprenants dans une relation égalitaire avec les tutorés, ils se montrent plus confiants dans leurs interventions.

En somme, les tuteurs sondés par les questionnaires se représentent le tutorat comme un moyen d'apprentissage pour l'étudiant aidant comme pour l'étudiant aidé. Les entrevues révèlent que leur posture de tuteur-apprenant influence leur façon d'entrer en relation avec le tutoré. Les tuteurs ne se placent pas dans une position d'autorité. Au contraire, ils avouent leurs faiblesses et leurs doutes aux tutorés, et ils leur demandent de la rétroaction pour pouvoir s'améliorer dans leur rôle de tuteur.

Le rôle joué du tuteur

Les répondants du questionnaire disent offrir surtout du soutien scolaire (80,0 %) et du soutien motivationnel (79,1 %) aux tutorés. Seuls 25,3 % des répondants affirment offrir un soutien d'intégration. Observons plus en détail chaque type de soutien en liant les résultats obtenus au questionnaire à ceux des entrevues.

Le soutien scolaire

En ce qui concerne le soutien scolaire, les répondants disent aider les tutorés à maitriser des contenus essentiels pour leurs cours (82,6 % des répondants) et à faire des activités se liant aux cours qu'ils suivent (69,6 % des répondants). Même si une majorité dit aider les tutorés à avoir de meilleures stratégies d'apprentissage (58,2 %), 20,0 % des répondants n'en sont pas certains et 21,7 % ne le font pas. Les répondants offriraient du soutien scolaire aux tutorés, mais ne font pas nécessairement des activités liées à des cours et ne sont pas certains de les aider à développer des stratégies d'apprentissage.

Dans les entrevues, on apprend que des CAF proscrivent certains contenus. Cinq des six tuteurs rencontrés (T1, T2, T3, T5, T6) affirment qu'il leur est interdit de travailler avec les tutorés sur les contenus littéraires vus dans les cours de français (p. ex. compréhension des textes littéraires, structure de l'analyse ou de la dissertation,

formulation des arguments, etc.) ou de corriger avec les tutorés des textes qu'ils remettent dans ces cours. Le tuteur T6 explique que si les tutorés ont des questions par rapport à leurs cours de français, les tuteurs doivent les inciter à consulter leurs enseignants qui ont tous leurs propres critères. L'interdiction de travailler sur des contenus littéraires peut expliquer le fait que plus de 30 % des répondants ne croient pas faire avec les tutorés des activités qui se lient à leurs cours ou n'en sont pas certains.

En ce qui concerne les stratégies d'apprentissage, cinq des six tuteurs rencontrés (T1, T2, T3, T5, T6) indiquent qu'avec les tutorés, ils effectuent surtout des exercices de grammaire ou de la correction de textes. Le fait qu'ils n'accompagnent pas nécessairement les tutorés pendant l'ensemble du processus de rédaction et qu'ils misent beaucoup sur des exercices de grammaire peut expliquer qu'ils n'ont pas l'impression d'aborder des stratégies avec les tutorés, surtout que l'énoncé du questionnaire s'en tenait à des stratégies d'apprentissage générales (« J'aide le tutoré à avoir de meilleures stratégies pour apprendre -p. ex., comment prendre des notes, décortiquer une question d'examen, planifier un travail. »).

En bref, les tuteurs disent aider les tutorés en français, mais cette aide n'est pas directement liée aux contenus littéraires des cours de français, ces contenus étant pourtant au centre des cours de français donnés dans les cégeps (Fédération des cégeps, 2021a; Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur, 2017). De plus, les stratégies d'apprentissage ne semblent pas toujours au cœur des interventions des tuteurs.

Le soutien motivationnel

En ce qui concerne le soutien motivationnel, 94,8 % des répondants disent témoigner de l'empathie envers les tutorés et faire preuve de bienveillance, et 93,9 % disent encourager les tutorés. Si 87,0 % des répondants admettent aider les tutorés à avoir plus de contrôle sur l'activité, ils sont moins nombreux à aborder des stratégies affectives (p. ex., gestion du stress ou de la motivation). Seuls 33,1 % d'entre eux le font.

Tous les tuteurs rencontrés en entrevue évoquent les difficultés affectives des tutorés en les liant à leurs difficultés en français (p. ex. stress, manque de motivation, émotions négatives envers l'écriture). Or, seules deux tutrices (T2, T3) affirment aborder des stratégies affectives avec les tutorés. Ainsi, lorsque la tutrice T3 a reconnu sa propre anxiété de performance chez un de ses tutorés qui stressait devant la moindre erreur de grammaire, elle l'a aidé « à se gérer » en explorant avec lui ses appréhensions et en l'aidant à se fixer des objectifs réalistes. La tutrice T2 a aussi aidé un tutoré à se fixer des objectifs et à mieux mesurer la progression de ses apprentissages pour qu'il puisse être davantage motivé : « La première chose que j'ai faite, c'est de lui montrer le barème de correction de l'épreuve uniforme de français qu'il y a à la fin, pour lui montrer vers quoi il devait se rendre. » Elle ajoute qu'elle prend le temps de discuter avec les tutorés de l'utilité du tutorat dans la vie scolaire et extrascolaire.

Même s'ils ne croient pas aborder de stratégies affectives avec les tutorés, les tuteurs T4 et T6 disent aussi échanger avec leurs tutorés à propos de leurs émotions et de leur motivation. Pour favoriser la motivation des tutorés, le tuteur T6 les aide à se fixer des objectifs et à mieux évaluer les apprentissages réalisés en revenant sur d'anciens exercices; la tutrice T4 aborde avec les tutorés des raisons pour lesquelles il est essentiel de s'améliorer en français pour qu'ils voient une utilité à la maitrise du

français, donc au tutorat. Il demeure que certains tuteurs expriment des réserves quant au soutien affectif qu'ils pourraient donner plus systématiquement aux tutorés. Ainsi, si le tuteur T6 croit qu'il est selon lui essentiel de parler de motivation et de gestion du stress, il avoue: « c'est tellement loin de ce qu'on nous demande comme mandat que j'hésite à le faire des fois ». Aussi, si le tuteur T1 reconnait que « y'a d'autres sphères [que la grammaire] qui rentrent en jeu quand on écrit un texte », il n'a pas su comment aborder les questions affectives avec ses tutorés : « ça n'a juste pas adonné ».

En somme, même si la majorité des tuteurs ayant répondu au questionnaire ne croient pas aborder de stratégies affectives, plusieurs tuteurs rencontrés lors des entrevues profitent de la relation de proximité qu'ils développent avec les tutorés au fil des rencontres pour discuter avec eux de ce qui nuit à leur apprentissage (p. ex. stress, motivation) et pour les aider à se fixer des objectifs et à mesurer leurs progrès. Or, des tuteurs ne sont pas certains de devoir aborder les stratégies affectives avec les tutorés ou ne savent pas comment s'y prendre.

Le soutien d'intégration

Si seulement le quart des répondants (23,5 %) affirment offrir du soutien d'intégration, plus de la moitié (56,5 %) disent développer une relation signifiante avec les tutorés et devenir pour eux des personnes-ressources. On peut penser qu'il est facile pour les tuteurs d'admettre ce soutien puisqu'il fait le pont entre les soutiens scolaire et motivationnel. En se montrant bienveillants avec les tutorés, en les encourageant pendant qu'ils font des activités scolaires, des tuteurs peuvent développer avec eux une relation signifiante, surtout s'ils travaillent ensemble régulièrement. Or, les tuteurs sont moins nombreux à partager avec les tutorés leurs connaissances sur le cégep (services offerts, possibilités de cheminement, etc.) : seuls 35,2 % des répondants disent le faire.

Les entrevues révèlent que c'est dans le désir de développer une relation de confiance que certains tuteurs apportent du soutien d'intégration aux tutorés. Le tuteur T6 croit que s'intéresser au cheminement scolaire des tutorés fait partie de son rôle :

> Dans l'établissement d'une relation entre l'élève et le tuteur, c'est important de se connaitre un peu et de savoir ce que la personne fait au cégep, quels cours elle prend, pourquoi est-ce qu'elle a des difficultés, est-ce que ça rapport avec son parcours scolaire. […] On se parle des perspectives d'avenir, de la charge de travail, de leurs cours […] Je ne suis pas un conseiller d'orientation, loin de là, je veux juste être là pour les aider si c'est ça qui cause leurs difficultés de français en partie et qui fait qu'ils se dévalorisent, donc qu'ils n'apprennent pas bien.

On comprend que pour ce tuteur, s'intéresser au cheminement scolaire du tutoré est une façon d'entrer dans une relation de confiance avec lui. Cela lui permet aussi de mieux intervenir en comprenant davantage ce qui nuit à ses apprentissages. La tutrice T3 souligne que le contexte d'enseignement à distance qui a prévalu pendant la pandémie de Covid-19 a favorisé le soutien d'intégration, puisqu'elle devenait une personne-ressource pour les tutorés qui n'avaient jamais mis les pieds au cégep :

> Je leur dis : « Regarde, moi, je le connais le cégep, j'ai été un an en présentiel. Si tu ne sais pas il est où un local, si y'a certaines… des questions sur l'horaire de la COOP, à la limite, je peux être accessible, tu m'écris par Mio, via Omnivox, tu m'écris par Mio ».

Elle sait que d'autres personnes peuvent fournir des renseignements aux tutorés, notamment les aides pédagogiques individuels, mais elle croit que c'est plus facile pour les tutorés de s'adresser à elle puisqu'elle a leur âge et qu'elle est facilement accessible.

En bref, si un peu plus de la moitié des tuteurs disent développer une relation signifiante avec les tutorés, ils sont à peine plus du tiers à partager avec eux leurs connaissances sur le cégep. Il demeure que certains tuteurs cherchent à favoriser une relation de confiance avec les tutorés par le soutien d'intégration.

Discussion

Cet article avait pour objectif de décrire et de comprendre comment les tuteurs des CAF se représentent le tutorat et le rôle qu'ils jouent auprès des tutorés. Il en est ressorti que les tuteurs se voient comme des apprenants pour qui le tutorat représente un moyen d'apprentissage, ce qui concorde avec les définitions mises de l'avant (Clark et Andrews, 2009; Gatti et Blary, 2017; Papaïoannou et al., 2015; Topping et Ehly, 2001). La posture de tuteur-apprenant adoptée par les tuteurs, même les plus expérimentés, influence leur façon d'entrer en relation avec les tutorés. Ils cherchent à instaurer une relation non hiérarchique avec les tutorés, expriment leurs doutes et demandent de la rétroaction pour pouvoir s'améliorer. Cette posture peut satisfaire les besoins de plusieurs tutorés, notamment ceux qui veulent développer une relation amicale avec le tuteur et ceux qui s'inscrivent au tutorat pour poser leur question à une personne qui ne les jugera pas (Désy, 1996). Pourtant, on peut se demander si la posture de tuteur-apprenant convient à tous les tutorés des CAF. Selon Cabot (2021), plusieurs cégépiens demanderaient l'aide d'un enseignant ou d'une personne de leur entourage s'ils éprouvaient des difficultés en français plutôt que de chercher de l'aide au CAF :

> Le fait que le professeur soit la source d'aide privilégiée par les étudiants concorde avec des résultats rapportés par Karabenick (2003), indiquant que les étudiants préfèrent recevoir de l'aide de la part de quelqu'un en position d'autorité, c'est-à-dire par une personne perçue comme étant plus âgée et plus compétente qu'eux. (Cabot, 2021, p. 19)

Des cégépiens qu'elle a rencontrés suggèrent que les tutorés des CAF devraient pouvoir choisir de travailler auprès d'un tuteur-cégépien, d'un tuteur-universitaire ou d'un enseignant. Soulignons ici que deux tuteurs rencontrés en entrevue étaient justement des étudiants universitaires qui s'étaient d'abord engagés dans le tutorat lors de leurs études collégiales. Comme les autres tuteurs rencontrés en entrevue, ils se voyaient dans une relation non hiérarchique avec les tutorés et disaient apprendre beaucoup auprès d'eux. Or, ils se montraient plus confiants dans leurs interventions et plus critiques devant la démarche et les ressources proposées par leur CAF. En ce sens, même si ces tuteurs expérimentés adoptent une posture de tuteur-apprenant similaire à celle de tuteurs moins expérimentés, on peut penser que leurs tutorés ne les considèrent pas comme leurs pairs.

En ce qui concerne leur rôle, les tuteurs sondés par les questionnaires disent surtout offrir du soutien scolaire et du soutien motivationnel. Ils aident les tutorés à acquérir et à consolider des connaissances disciplinaires en leur fournissant de la rétroaction, en les encourageant et en les aidant à mieux comprendre leurs forces et leurs faiblesses. Or, ils reconnaissent aborder peu le développement de stratégies. Selon les résultats du questionnaire, plus de quatre répondants sur dix disent ne pas aider le

tutoré à développer des stratégies d'apprentissage ou n'en sont pas certains. Aussi, près de deux répondants sur trois ne discutent pas de stratégies affectives avec les tutorés ou n'en sont pas surs. Les entrevues laissent croire que des tuteurs abordent peu les stratégies d'apprentissage et affectives pour se conformer aux attentes du CAF, lesquelles sont explicites (p. ex. certains contenus sont proscrits) ou implicites (p. ex. les tuteurs ne sont pas formés à offrir ce soutien).

On sait que plusieurs étudiants éprouvent de la difficulté à s'adapter aux exigences des cégeps (p. ex. gestion du temps, habitudes d'études, prise de notes, autonomie) et qu'ils peuvent vivre de l'anxiété lors de la transition entre le secondaire et le collégial (Larose et al., 2019; Turcotte et al., 2018). Cette anxiété peut être encore plus importante devant les tâches de lecture et d'écriture comme celles exigées dans les cours de français, puisque les cégépiens reconnaissent que savoir lire des textes complexes et être capables de bien écrire sont des habiletés nécessaires à leur réussite (Ducharme, 2012; Tardif, 2002, 2004). Puisque développer des stratégies efficaces peut amener les cégépiens à mieux gérer leur stress et leurs apprentissages de façon autonome (Turcotte et al., 2018), le tutorat devrait miser sur le développement de stratégies utiles pour accomplir des tâches de lecture et d'écriture. Une recherche menée dans six collèges américains (Cordary, 2016) a d'ailleurs conclu que les programmes de tutorat visant le développement de stratégies d'apprentissage favorisent la motivation des tutorés et leur permettent de devenir plus autonomes dans leur apprentissage. Les CAF auraient donc avantage à outiller les tuteurs pour discuter avec les tutorés des stratégies facilitant la rédaction de textes semblables à ceux exigés dans leurs cours (p. ex. comment comprendre et analyser des textes littéraires, générer des idées, organiser un plan, choisir le bon vocabulaire, réviser le texte) comme de stratégies plus générales (p. ex. comment bien gérer son temps, s'assurer de répondre aux exigences d'un travail, planifier son étude). Cela suppose de repenser aux objectifs du tutorat et aux attentes formulées envers les tuteurs.

Des auteurs abordent la motivation des cégépiens devant les tâches de lecture et d'écriture (Bousquet et Desmeules, 2017), ou leur motivation devant les cours où ces tâches sont prépondérantes (français, philosophie) (Ménard et Leduc, 2016; Tardif, 2002, 2004). Bousquet et Desmeules (2017) rapportent que selon des enseignants de sciences humaines, un programme préuniversitaire largement offert au collégial, la moitié des nouveaux cégépiens ne sont pas suffisamment intéressés par la lecture et motivés par l'écriture. Selon Tardif (2002, 2004), des étudiantes d'un programme technique révèlent être peu motivées par leurs cours de formation générale (français, philosophie) parce qu'elles n'y voient pas d'utilité concrète. Ménard et Leduc (2016) rapportent qu'en début de session, les cégépiens sont moyennement motivés devant leur premier cours de français, mais que leur motivation décroit pendant la session sur plusieurs indicateurs. Les tuteurs des CAF pourraient intervenir à ce niveau en aidant les tutorés à identifier les facteurs qui nuisent à leur motivation et en discutant avec eux de stratégies de gestion de la motivation. Ce soutien pourrait favoriser l'engagement des tutorés dans les tâches d'écriture et dans les cours où ces tâches sont prépondérantes. Plusieurs tuteurs rencontrés en entrevue misent déjà sur des interventions visant à soutenir la motivation des tutorés : ils les aident à se fixer des objectifs et à mesurer leur progression, et ils s'intéressent à ce qui nuit à leur apprentissage, que cela relève de leurs émotions ou de leur cheminement scolaire. Or, certains tuteurs hésitent à aborder les stratégies affectives puisqu'ils ne sont pas certains que ce soit attendu d'eux

ou qu'ils ne savent pas comment s'y prendre. Il serait sans doute profitable pour les tuteurs et les tutorés que le soutien affectif, notamment ses objectifs et les formes qu'il peut prendre, soit mieux explicité pendant la formation des tuteurs.

Conclusion

À partir de données recueillies en 2021 auprès de 116 tuteurs et anciens tuteurs de CAF provenant de 12 cégeps, nous avons voulu décrire et comprendre la façon dont ces étudiants se représentent le tutorat et le rôle qu'ils jouent auprès des tutorés. Il en est ressorti qu'ils se voient comme des apprenants, ce qui influence la façon dont ils rentrent en relation avec les tutorés. Ils offrent surtout du soutien scolaire et motivationnel, malgré qu'ils abordent moins le développement de stratégies d'apprentissage et de stratégies affectives. Les entrevues ont révélé que le soutien qu'ils offrent aux tutorés se lie au rôle qu'ils souhaitent jouer en tant que tuteurs. Notamment, certains veulent être une personne-ressource pour les tutorés, donc les invitent à leur poser des questions sur le cégep en général. Le rôle joué est aussi lié à ce qu'ils croient être attendu d'eux : ils abordent moins les stratégies affectives parce que cela ne leur est pas demandé ou évitent d'offrir du soutien scolaire par rapport aux contenus littéraires des cours de français, parce que le CAF le prescrit. Comme les représentations des tuteurs se lient aux attentes institutionnelles, il serait intéressant d'explorer les représentations des différents acteurs du cégep, notamment les enseignants qui forment les tuteurs. Ces représentations pourraient être comparées à ce que les tuteurs, eux, intériorisent comme attentes, soit leur représentation du rôle attendu.

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The Nature of Literacy Instruction in Elementary School History Lessons

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Abstract

This paper examines literacy-related practices existing in elementary history classrooms and asks to what extent these practices are compatible with the ideals of historical literacy, i.e. disciplinary literacy specific to history. A total of 50 hours were spent observing nine Finnish classrooms. Data sources included numeric data, field notes and classroom artifacts. The results show that the most common text type used was the body text of a textbook while primary sources were few. The textbook was typically addressed as a neutral source of information. Teachers used visual texts only briefly and to support an existing narrative. None of the teachers modeled reading strategies specific to history. The teacher profiles suggest diverse approaches to literacy but the practices used by teachers point more to content-area and cultural literacy than disciplinary literacy. Implications for elementary literacy and history instruction are discussed.

Introduction

Disciplinary literacy is an umbrella term that includes different literacies, for example mathematical and musical literacies. Literacy specialists as well as subject area specialists have debated over the role and nature of literacy in subject education (e.g. Downey & Long, 2016; Fang 2012; Faggella-Luby et. al., 2012; Howard et al., 2021; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012; Moje, 2008; 2015; Nokes, 2010). Revolving mostly around the concepts of disciplinary and content-area literacy, the discussion has introduced differing views about, for example, when and in which way these literacies should be developed. In the present paper we focus on historical literacy, i.e. disciplinary literacy specific to history. Understanding literacy-related debates in the context of history education requires the introduction of yet another literacy, that of cultural literacy because history education has traditionally been a medium for transferring cultural heritage to the next generation (e.g. Cuban, 2016; VanSledright, 2016).

The social practices and habits of mind developed through disciplinary literacy enable students to join a disciplinary community (Moje, 2015) while cultural literacy prepares students to join a national community (see Smith, 2017). Although the benefits of disciplinary literacy may extend to improving adolescent literacy in general or help students meet college literacy demands (Faggella-Luby, 2012), the main objective of disciplinary literacy, from a subject education perspective, is to offer the tools necessary for understanding the world through the knowledge produced by the disciplines (Gardner, 1999).

The value of historical literacy lies in helping us to understand history but it also has wider implications regarding students' agency (Wineburg & Reisman, 2015). Through historical literacy students become active agents rather than recipients of information. Furthermore, texts are used as evidence rather than respected as authorities. In today's hectic textual space young people need historical literacy to detect mis-and disinformation through, for example, considering the origins and reliability of the text and identifying author's bias (see Wineburg, 2018).

We approach the nature of literacy instruction from the viewpoint of history teaching in Finnish elementary school. The National Core Curriculum in Finland 2014 (hereafter the NCC) emphasizes a disciplinary approach to teaching different subjects. Despite disciplinary literacy objectives of the NCC, at classroom level, the emphasis between disciplinary, content-area and cultural literacy can presumably vary. Our main focus is on disciplinary literacy, more specifically on historical literacy due to its prominent role in history education research (e.g. Nokes, 2010; VanSledright, 2002; Wineburg, 1991) and its standing in the NCC. We use the concepts of content-area and cultural literacy as points of reflection when investigating the nature of literacy instruction in Finnish elementary history lesson.

At the elementary level, teachers work with several disciplines and are also responsible for teaching basic reading and writing skills. They may be inclined to pursue multiple literacy aims. Often referred to as the most text-rich school subject after literature (Downey & Long, 2016; Fang, 2012), history provides an interesting setting for investigating the role of different literacies in elementary classrooms. Although historical literacy has been stated as one of the learning objectives in the NCC (2014), research about the ways that Finnish elementary teachers implement the history curriculum in their classrooms has been scarce (see however, Mård, 2020).

In the present paper, we examine what kind of literacy-related practices exist in elementary history classrooms and ask to what extent those practices align with the ideals of disciplinary literacy specific to history, i.e. historical literacy. We define literacy practices to comprise three elements namely the choice of texts, the activities through which texts are addressed and specific literacy strategies. Observation data from nine Finnish elementary classrooms is employed.

The article explores to what extent the observed literacy practices are compatible with the ideals of historical literacy. In order to answer this main question, two auxiliary questions are posed:

- What kind of texts do class teachers use in history lessons and how are the texts used?
- What kind of activities do history lessons contain?

Next, we give a rationale for supporting a disciplinary approach to teaching literacy within a subject-area context. We continue by describing the differences between disciplinary, content-area and cultural literacy and define a specific form of disciplinary literacy, i.e. historical literacy. Before moving on to methods, we summarize the literacy practices essential for teaching historical literacy.

Theoretical Framework

Our work draws on theorists for whom disciplines are at the core of the learning process (e.g. Gardner 1999; Schwab, 1978). In order to "understand the fruits of the disciplines" it is necessary to understand "the structure which produced them" (Schwab, 1978, p. 242). Further, we lean on social realists such as Young (2009) and Bernstein (1999) who claim that the nature and structure of knowledge varies among disciplines, and consequently among school subjects. It follows that pedagogical choices cannot be detached from the epistemological differences that school subjects and their underlying disciplines have (Shulman, 1987). If disciplines are defined as cultures which both use and generate certain types of texts, then "texts read or written in a given disciplinary culture demand particular kinds of literacy practice relevant to the needs, goals and conventions of those purposes and audiences" (Moje, 2015, p. 257).

Disciplinary, Content-area and Cultural literacy

Disciplinary literacy presumes that disciplinary experts have distinct ways to read and write as well as to communicate, produce and use knowledge (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012), a presumption corroborated by studies on expert readers (summarized by Shanahan et al., 2011). Thus, the aim of disciplinary literacy instruction is to teach strategies and habits of mind specific to a given discipline. Teaching disciplinary literacy should also include the social practices and conventions of a discipline (Moje, 2015) because literacy is one medium to enculturate and socialize people into a discipline (Moje, 2008).

Some literacy experts (see Fang, 2012) view disciplinary learning as primarily a linguistic process, focusing on the vocabulary, patterns and structure of language. However, subject-area specialists call for a wider grasp of the discipline and its epistemic base so that students have the means not only to interpret but also construct knowledge (e.g. Downey & Long, 2016; Krajcik & Sutherland, 2010). From this perspective, the role of disciplinary literacy is to introduce both the language (Schleppegrell, 2004) and knowledge construction of the discipline (Downey & Long, 2016).

On the other hand, the basis of content-area literacy is that reading, understanding and interpreting texts demand the same or similar processes, irrespective of the subject area (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). With a set of common strategies such as basic reading skills (e.g. vocabulary), cognitive text processing strategies (e.g.summarizing) and generic learning strategies (e.g. concept mapping) texts from any content area can be understood (Fang, 2012). Proponents of content-area literacy have expressed reservations about introducing disciplinary literacy too early or for those who have difficulties in mastering the basic reading and learning skills even at a later stage (e.g. Faggella-Luby et al. 2012). Others view disciplinary literacy as a misguided attempt to produce disciplinary experts and question teachers' ability or motivation to teach disciplinary literacy at the secondary level (e.g. Heller, 2010).

However, disciplinary literacy advocates argue that a disciplinary approach to literacy does not seek to create mini-historians or mini-mathematicians (Gardner, 1999; Moje, 2011; Wineburg & Reisman, 2015). Instead, students should know how knowledge in different disciplines is produced so that they are able to evaluate that

knowledge and become active knowledge constructors (Hughes, 2021). Yet, students are not expected to construct knowledge for public use but to generate new private understandings (Husbands, 1996).

These two forms of literacy are not mutually exclusive (Howard et al. 2021; Moje, 2011; Reisman, 2012; Schleppegrell, 2004). Literacy progression models advocating disciplinary literacy (Fang, 2012; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008; VanSledright, 2002) recognize the importance of developing basic reading, writing and comprehension strategies but underscore the importance also introducing disciplinary literacy practices as the latter will benefit the former. Although teaching disciplinary literacy can develop areas of content-area literacy (Reisman, 2012; Schleppegrell, 2004), the same does not seem to apply vice versa. Furthermore, teaching both literacies can be beneficial for even those labelled as struggling readers (Learned; 2018). Although it is difficult to define the exact age at which disciplinary literacy can or should be introduced, there is compelling evidence, at least regarding history education, that even elementary students are able to learn discipline-specific literacy (Hughes, 2021; Nokes, 2014; VanSledright, 2002).

The third form of literacy addressed in this paper is cultural literacy. In Hirsch's (1988) original use of the term, a membership in a culture cannot be attained without knowing a set of essential facts. Although later research has reconceptualized cultural literacy, its original meaning holds significance in history education, which has been – and in some cases still is– used for transmitting fixed, unquestioned narratives about nations and cultures (see Smith, 2017; VanSledrigh, 2016). If the predominant type of literacy in history lessons is cultural literacy, history would be embodied as a list of events, people, topics and narratives to be memorized and celebrated in the name of heritage (see VanSledright, 2016). This type of memory-history (Levesque, 2008) aims to create and maintain a collective memory.

Historical Literacy as a Form of Disciplinary Literacy

School subjects are never replicas or simple reductions of their parent disciplines. Instead, they are developed through a recontextualisation process where pressures and aspirations by the surrounding society shape the subject (Bernstein, 1990). However, because school subjects share the epistemic base of their parent discipline, the strategies and habits of mind used by disciplinary experts are relevant to the school subject.

When studying the reading habits of historians, Wineburg (1991) found that historians first evaluate the author and their bias before moving on to the content of the text. They set the text in a wider historical context and compare it with other texts to make inferences about its content and reliability. Wineburg named these reading strategies as sourcing, contextualization and corroboration. VanSledright (2002) identified a set of questions that are essential when approaching a text in the context of history. The questions address the reliability and usability of sources and vary according to the source type. In simple terms, all historical literacy strategies take the author and the author's motives as a starting point, differing thus from some other disciplines (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). Based on the aforementioned characteristics many history educators emphasize that historical literacy requires abilities which differ from those used in other school subjects or disciplines (Nokes, 2010; Downey & Long, 2016; VanSledright, 2002; Wineburg, 1991).

Historical literacy refers to the ability to use relevant information from various types of resources and not only to possess knowledge, but to build it (Nokes 2010). Developing historical literacy requires students to recognize and use different forms of knowledge. Substantive knowledge refers to the content of history, i.e. names, dates and events set in the past. Procedural knowledge, on the other hand, is concerned with the ways of interpreting the past and is needed, for example, to understand and weigh evidence, gather source materials and compare different accounts (Downey & Long, 2016).

No single classroom activity in itself can be considered a solution or hindrance for developing historical literacy. However, explaining historical content was rated as the least essential teaching practice when high school history teachers, teacher educators and educational researchers defined the core practices for teaching history (Fogo, 2014). Thus, lecturing as a predominant classroom activity can be viewed as incompatible with teaching students to take an active role in knowledge construction, especially if teachers' lectures do not include procedural knowledge.

Developing any disciplinary literacy is dependent on the texts that students engage with. Literacy researchers such as Fang (2012) underscore the importance of introducing "disciplinary texts", i.e. texts produced by disciplinary experts. This definition, however, excludes texts which are not produced but instead used by disciplinary experts. In the context of history these texts are primary sources. To support students' historical literacy, working with primary sources is considered vital (Nokes, 2010; VanSledrigh, 2002; Seixas, 2006; Wineburg & Reisman, 2015), either authentic or as modified (Reisman, 2012). Primary sources can be anything from ancient artefacts to a musical piece, depending on the historical context. Identifying sources as primary (originating from the time in question), secondary (historians' interpretations based on primary sources) and tertiary (e.g. textbooks) helps to develop historical literacy as different questions are posed to different source types (VanSledright, 2002).

Although textbooks may describe the historical context and make links between primary and secondary sources, they can be problematic for the development of historical literacy (Downey & Long, 2016; Nokes, 2010) because of their genre. According to Coffin (1997) history textbooks are written in narrative genres, such as historical accounts and recounts, which present history as over-simplified, mainstream representations. These narrative genres fail to convey the interpretative nature of history, its multiple and often contradictory interpretations. As single narratives are seldom told from the perspective of minorities and marginalized groups, textbook narratives may often strengthen the idea of a superior West (Mikander, 2016). Textbooks have a depersonalized voice, which students interpret as objective and credible (Paxton, 1997). The numerous choices behind producing the texts as well as author's bias remain hidden (Coffin, 1997). The anonymity and perceived objectivity of the textbook lead to authority, which according to Bain (2006) is higher than that of primary sources. Thus, questioning and interrogating a textbook, although possible, becomes less likely.

To summarize the characteristics for instruction aimed at developing historical literacy in elementary school:

- Introducing history-specific literacy strategies: e.g. considering the age, author, author's possible bias and historical context of the source.
- Working with multiple historical sources, emphasis on primary sources, whether written or visual
- Identifying texts as primary and secondary sources
- Introducing multiple perspectives and questioning the authority of single narratives (textbooks, teacher)
- Exposing students to the language of historical knowledge
- Favoring classroom activities requiring students not only to collect information but to construct knowledge
- Providing procedural knowledge

Most of the literacy-related research in history education concerns the secondary level (e.g. Howard al, 2021; Learned 2018; Masuda, 2014; Nokes, 2010; Paxton, 1997; Reisman, 2012, 2015); only a few have focused at the elementary level (Hughes, 2021; Khawaja, 2018; Nokes, 2014; Stolare, 2017; VanSledright, 2002). The focus has mainly been on students' ability to think historically (e.g. Nokes, 2014; Khawaja, 2018; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Rantala & Khawaja, 2018; VanSledright, 2002). These studies show that elementary students are capable of using historical literacy strategies but with considerable differences. Hence, the ability to work with historical texts in a disciplinary way does not develop on its own and students need appropriate guidance.

The existing research on teaching history at the elementary level mostly comprises intervention studies (Nokes, 2014; Stolare; 2017; VanSledright, 2002) or studies about expert teachers (Hughes, 2021). In Stolare's (2017) study an elementary teacher had difficulties incorporating both the concept and the use of sources, even with the support of the intervention project. After the initial stage of the study, the teacher returned to the narrative approach, focusing on substantive knowledge.

In their intervention studies Nokes (2014) and VanSledright (2002) taught elementary students and reported promising results concerning students' approach to disciplinary literacy. Students in both studies changed their views about the nature of history and grasped the difference between primary and tertiary sources such as textbooks. Fewer viewed texts only as neutral sources of information. VanSledright (2002) made the steps of historical inquiry visible to students using a classroom poster. Both authors found it possible to teach historical literacy at the elementary level. However, little is known about whether class teachers working without interventions are able to implement disciplinary literacy in history classrooms.

Method and Materials

Research Context

The context of our study is the Finnish elementary school, where history is taught by class teachers. Students begin to study history usually in the fifth grade, at the age of eleven. History is taught one lesson per week, as opposed to four lessons of Finnish language and literature, which also includes instruction on general literacy strategies.

Class teachers are required to have a Master's degree in education and the majority of in-service teachers are qualified. The five-year teacher education consists of general educational studies as well as short courses on the didactics for each school subject. Teachers can specialize in a school subject by completing half-a-year (25 ECTS) or a full year (60 ECTS) course, the latter qualifies them to teach the subject at lower secondary level as well. However, Finnish class teachers major in general educational sciences, not in any specific school subjects (Rantala & Khawaja, 2021).

All schools are obligated to follow The NCC (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2014) which defines the teaching objectives. The NCC for elementary history states that "the pupils focus on critical analysis of information produced by different actors and the dimensions of historical source material". Historical literacy is stated as an instructional aim and defined as "the ability to read and analyze sources produced by actors of the past and to competently interpret their meaning and significance". There are five content areas defined only in broad terms, giving teachers the possibility to select specific topics. For example, content area 4 "The Start of Early Modern Period" is described as "getting acquainted with the changes taking place in science, arts and peoples' beliefs" (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2014).

Because there are no national tests or school inspections, Finnish teachers have great autonomy on curricular and pedagogical decisions, including whether to use a textbook. In the observed classrooms, mainly three textbooks were used (see Table 1): Forum (from Latin), Ritari (The Knight) and Mennyt (The Past). The first two are structured in a similar way: the chapters include both body text as well as photographs of artefacts, and at the end of each chapter mostly content related questions are presented. Both textbooks also have some "investigative" spreads. The third, Mennyt, has only body text and illustrations but students use an exercise book for assignments which utilizes historical documents. While Ritari and Forum bring up the interpretative nature of historical knowledge in the beginning of the textbook, Mennyt incorporates the idea in the body text.

Study Design and Participants

We observed nine elementary teachers in eight schools during the autumn of 2018 and the spring of 2019. [1]The first author was the primary observer and the second author observed one lesson by eight teachers. By limiting the number of teachers to nine in the study, we were able to observe each teacher eight to ten times. Although fewer visits would have resulted in a greater number of participants, it might have resulted in a more superficial understanding of each teacher's instruction and increased the risk of observing atypical lessons. Although a single case study could provide a truly in-depth approach (see Hartzler-Miller, 2001) multiple participants may reveal more of the diversity of classroom practices.

Our study design is similar to that described by Nokes (2010). We further developed his observation instrument to suit our research context. The instrument was tested five times in the Helsinki region as well as in an elementary school co-operating with but not participating in the study. This testing process necessitated alterations (the number of categories, the length of the coding period).

[1] We have followed the guidelines stated by the University of Helsinki concerning ethical conduct of research.

All nine participants were selected on the recommendations by teachers and administrative staff. Because our aim was to observe history lessons as typical as possible, we did not seek teachers who were especially likely to promote historical literacy or were known for their unusually advanced history instruction (cf. Hughes, 2021). Instead, the criteria for the participating teachers were a few years' work experience and the locale of school Southern Finland. In addition, we included some teachers who had specialized in history (see Table 1).

Table 1
The participants of the study

Teacher	Years of teaching experience	Grade level	Degree in education	Extra credits in history	Number of students	Number of observed lessons (minutes observed)	Textbook used by the teacher	Time period studied
Amy	9	6	Master	none	18	9 (410)	Forum	The middle ages in Europe
Brian	6	5	Master	25 ECTS	20	8 (380)	Mennyt (The Past)	Germanic and Nordic tribes in Roman age; the middle ages
Chris	4	6	Bachelor	55 ECTS	24	9 (395)	Forum	European expansion; European culture and science in the early modern period
Daphne	5	6	Master	none	29	7 (320)	Forum	Middle ages in Europe
Eve	17	6	Master	none	25	10 (440)	Ritari (The Knight) + two others	European expansion; Renaissance art; Finland as part of Sweden
Fiona	8	6	Master	60 ECTS	25	8 (365)	Ritari (The Knight)	Reformation; European expansion
George	18	6	Master	120 ECTS	26	7 (305)	Ritari (The Knight)	Crusades; middle ages in Europe
Henry	15	5	Master	none	22	8 (340)	Forum	Ancient Greece and Rome
Ida	7	5	PhD	none	24	8 (370)	Mennyt (The Past)	Ancient Egypt

The nine teachers worked in eight similar-sized schools (500 students on average). Amy and Henry (all names are pseudonyms) were colleagues. In the absence of national tests and because learning outcomes such as end of year grades are not made public, the schools cannot be described for these parameters. Essentially, Finland has a public education system with little differences between schools. The ethnicity of students is not registered by schools, only the number of students who have Finnish as their second language.

Data Sources

The final instrument (Appendix A) consists of three sections: text types, classroom activities and historical literacy heuristics. The first section includes 16 text types. Each text used during the 5-minute period was coded. The category of "textbook" was coded whenever the textbook was used in the classroom. If the use of textbook included other text types than the body text, for example maps and visual texts, they were coded in their own categories but marked as originating from the textbook. This was done in order to capture the use of textbook in as much detail as possible.

The instrument includes ten categories of classroom activities. Unlike with texts, only the most predominant activity was coded. As for teacher-student interaction, we differentiated between direct instruction, discussion, and Initiation-Response-Feedback (from hereafter IRF) interaction. Direct instruction refers to a teacher-centered approach, where teacher conveys information to students (Wells, 1998). The other teacher-centered activity included in the instrument is asking close-ended questions using the IRF structure, where despite student participation they lack opportunities to influence the direction of the dialogue or to take initiative (Lemke, 1990).

We coded interaction as discussion if teachers or students asked open-ended questions. We acknowledge that the definition used here does not meet the criteria for text-based discussion (see Reisman, 2015). However, our field notes enabled us to look into each discussion in more detail and determine their nature and quality afterwards.

We included Wineburg's (1991) heuristics in the instrument and tested whether it could be used to observe literacy strategies. Whilst testing the instrument only few examples of these strategies were found, making it difficult to draw conclusions on the usability of the heuristics. As the data gathering progressed, we found that identifying sourcing, corroboration or contextualization in fast-paced classroom situations would have required a more specialized instrument. Therefore, the heuristics are included in the instrument but not used as such in the analysis.

We made field notes because the observation sheet could not capture the content or tone of discussions or interaction between students and teachers. On average, each lesson generated 1-2 pages of field notes. The focus was on situations with some relevance to historical literacy, such as details about the texts and instructions for reading etc. Teaching materials, excluding student answers, were collected and included in the data. We interviewed each teacher after the observation period, asking questions about specific events in the classrooms and general questions about planning and implementing history lessons. However, because the scope of the present paper does not allow us to utilize the interview data, the findings concerning teacher thinking are published elsewhere.

Data Analysis

The auxiliary questions addressing classroom activities and use of texts were addressed by using a combination of numeric data, field notes and classroom materials. For example, the use of texts was analyzed by first using the observation sheet to identify all the incidences where a text was used for more than five minutes. Those occasions were then traced back in the field notes providing a description of that specific incident.

We analyzed further the nature of the incidences where a text (other than the body text or teacher's notes) was present for more than five minutes. The aim was to uncover incidences containing any sign of strategies or processes related to historical literacy, such as taking into account the origin, author and reliability of sources. In contrast, incidences where attention was paid only to the content of text were not included in history-specific literacy strategies.

In order to answer the main research question, we constructed teacher profiles using five criteria: (1) incidences where texts were present for more than 5 minutes, (2) incidences of procedural knowledge, (3) the use of textbook, (4) teacher-centered activities, direct instruction in particular and (5) high student participation activities, discussion in particular. High numbers in the first two criteria increased the disciplinarity of a profile. First, engaging with texts in a historically meaningful way requires time. Second, students need procedural knowledge to understand how historical knowledge is constructed. High incidences of textbook use contributed towards a less disciplinary profile because we, similar to Nokes (2010, p. 529) consider a dominant role of the textbook counterproductive for learning historical literacy and consistent with forwarding cultural literacy.

Since historical literacy is embedded in the idea that students are active agents in constructing historical interpretations (Bain, 2006; Downey & Long 2016), possibilities for promoting historical literacy diminish if teacher-centered practices prevail. On the other hand, direct instruction can be an appropriate way to impart information (Wells, 1998), which is acknowledged also in the inquiry-based models for history (see Reisman, 2012). Therefore, while recognizing the value of teacher-centered activities, a moderate approach was considered most desirable when constructing the profiles. Because fixed historical narratives are often forwarded through direct instruction, its predominant role was considered an indication of cultural literacy.

For reliability, we compared observations sheets from lessons, where both authors were present. With texts, a point-by-point comparison was made for each row (i.e. text type, see Appendix A), where at least one observer had coded texts. Rows that had been left empty by both observers were not taken into account. The comparison revealed an 87% agreement on texts. As for activities, instead of comparing rows, we compared each column (i.e. each 5-minute period, see Appendix A) as only the most predominant activity was coded. The comparison revealed an 84% agreement on activities**.**

In what follows, we present the findings of the study by first answering the auxiliary questions concerning the use of texts, activities and literacy strategies. We

then move on to answer the main research question by constructing teacher profiles describing the nature of each teachers' literacy instruction.

Findings

Texts

Textbooks were by far the most used resource in the observed classrooms (Table 2). Teachers used textbooks on an average 45% of the time, with a considerable variation between teachers (30%–56%). Although the textbook number includes all text types originating from the textbook (maps, visual texts etc.), the use of textbook mostly consisted of reading the body text. Most of the visual texts, maps, statistics and non-fiction texts (i.e. all texts other than the body text and teacher's notes) originated from the textbook or the teacher's guide. Fiona and George were exceptions as the visual texts, maps, statistics and non-fiction texts in their lessons originated (84% and 70% respectively) from resources other than the textbook. Generally, the most typical non-textbook texts were videos and visual texts retrieved from the internet through Google search.

Table 2
Texts and activities observed in the classrooms in relation to the total time.

	Teacher								
	Amy	Brian	Chris	Daphne	Eve	Fiona	George	Henry	Ida
Texts (%)									
textbook	43,9	35,5	49,3	50,0	55,7	30,1	47,5	55,9	33,8
Teacher's notes	20,0	14,4	13,9	1,6	7,0	38,3	39,3	22,1	19,0
non-fiction text	1,2	10,5	8,8	3,1	2,3	6,8	36,0	0	22,0
newspaper	0	0	1,3	0	0	0	0	0	5,4
administrative document	0	1,3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
photograph	3,6	0	0	0	3,5	12,3	13,1	1,5	2,7
painting or drawing	4,8	15,7	12,7	9,3	14,0	21,9	37,8	13,2	20,0
lyrics	4,9	2,6	0	9,3	0	0	26,2	0	0
maps	6,0	10,4	1,3	1,6	16,0	9,6	13,1	10,3	2,7
statistics	0	0	0	3,1	0	0	1,6	0	5,4
video	3,6	0	13,9	4,7	14,0	11,0	11,5	0	5,4
buildings and artefacts	4,8	0	6,3	4,7	8,1	9,6	27,9	11,8	8,1
other	0	0	0	6,3	11,0	0	6,6	0	14,0
No texts	30,4	30,2	17,7	26,6	26,1	24,6	18,0	25,0	20,3
Activities (%)									
direct instruction	7,3	22,4	17,7	3,1	33,0	35,6	13,1	13,2	13,5
IRF	13,4	14,5	12,7	28,1	10,2	11,0	0,0	11,8	5,4
giving instructions	8,5	15,8	11,4	17,2	12,5	15,1	16,4	19,1	13,5
reading	14,6	9,2	11,4	15,6	4,5	6,8	0,0	11,8	1,4
discussion	15,9	14,5	5,1	0,0	4,5	2,7	0,0	11,8	2,7
group work	8,5	10,5	17,7	7,8	6,8	8,2	0,0	8,8	9,5
individual work	19,5	2,6	6,3	9,4	12,5	9,6	54,1	8,8	33,8
video	3,7	0,0	10,1	3,1	4,5	5,5	11,5	0,0	5,4
other	0,0	2,6	3,8	6,3	2,3	4,1	1,6	4,4	2,7
no activity	8,5	7,9	3,8	9,4	9,1	1,4	3,3	10,3	12,2
activities in total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: *We coded all texts used in the classroom during the 5-minute coding period. Because there were coding periods with multiple texts, the sum total of percentages does not add up to 100. The corresponding figures for the activities do add up to 100 because only the most predominant activity (at least three minutes) was coded.*

Although textbooks dominated the textual space of the classrooms, we found some exceptions. Fiona relied mainly on her PowerPoint presentations. Therefore, her numbers concerning the use of textbook are relatively low. Brian and Ida on the other hand spent comparatively less time with the body text than other teachers but did utilize many other text types from the textbook. Only Chris (twice) and Ida (once) used newspaper articles in their lesson. Brian was the only one who visited a digitized archive web page and showed a historical source from the archive.

The most common primary sources were pictures of artefacts and buildings as well as paintings and drawings. Written primary sources were introduced only rarely and they originated from the textbook materials. The only teachers to use written primary sources were Brian and Ida, whose textbook provided these sources. Apart from Brian's visit to a digitized archive, teachers did not use written primary sources that did not originate from the textbook, which further underlines the importance of textbook as a resource.

Use of Texts

Generally, teachers addressed textbooks as neutral sources of information. Neither the choice of topics nor the interpretations presented by the authors received any attention or criticism. Out of all nine teachers, only Henry made a critical remark in the classroom concerning the textbook when he objected to the way the textbook's narrative blurred the passage of time. The vocabulary in the texts was addressed by most teachers when encountering unfamiliar nouns such as 'propaganda'. However, words or expressions carrying historical controversy (voyages of discovery), were discussed only by Brian, Chris and Eve. Teachers did not reflect on the choice of verbs (e.g. to invade vs. explore America).

Because the teachers introduced different types of visual texts in the lessons, the textual makeup of the lessons could be described as versatile. However, most of the texts other than textbook or teachers' notes, were used only for a very short time thus making the textual atmosphere hectic (Table 3). The following excerpt from the field notes describes part of a five- minute period where Fiona is teaching about the European invasion of America:

> Photo of a present day Inca as well as some kind of drawing. A photo of Machu Pichu.
>
> All texts so far part of a PowerPoint presentation made by the teacher. Some of texts might be primary sources but students won't be aware of it because teacher doesn't tell anything about the texts. The slides don't have anything written in small print, which would help me to trace the sources.
>
> New drawing, about the Incas, origin not told. Visible for about 10 seconds
>
> New drawing, about Atahualpa and Pizarro, origin not told. Visible for about 15 seconds.

New drawing about gold. Visible for about 5 seconds.

Back to Atahualpa

Fiona's example is an extreme one regarding its fast pace. However, the phenomenon where texts functioned more as fast visual stimuli rather than as sources to be interpreted was discernible in other classrooms as well. As Table 3 shows, incidences where a text was looked at for more than five minutes were relatively few. Brian, Ida and Eve have higher numbers than the average but differ significantly when we examine the agency of those engaged with texts. While all Brian's incidences are related to situations where he alone or together with the students worked with the text, Ida has more incidences where students were given time to work with the texts.

Visual texts were most often used for illustrating a point or for supporting a narrative presented by the teacher or the textbook. Notably, when visual texts were shown as part of a PowerPoint presentation (Fiona and Henry) the origin, purpose and historical context of the texts were omitted.

When and where texts were addressed for more than 5-minutes, history-specific strategies were used rarely (see Table 3). On these occasions, teachers mentioned the age, author or the reliability of the text in passing. Alternatively, the textbook assignment expected students to use history-specific strategies. One of our main findings however is, that none of the nine teachers gave explicit instructions nor modelled how to interpret texts employing historical literacy strategies. Moreover, texts were not consistently identified as primary or secondary sources. Instead, explicit instructions were given on constructing mind maps, structuring longer answers, making PowerPoint-presentations and writing notes, i.e. strategies associated with content-area literacy. An excerpt from the field notes shows how Henry makes use of bolded text in the textbook: "Philip II of Macedonia is written in plain font in the body text, not bolded. Who among the two [Philip or Alexander the Great bolded] was more important?"

Table 3

Incidences where texts were used for durations longer than five minutes and incidences of introducing procedural knowledge*

	Amy	Brian	Chris	Daphne	Eve	Fiona	George	Henry	Ida
Incidences where a text was addressed for more than 5 minutes									
by the teacher	3	8	2	2	6	4	2	2	4
by the students	3	0	0	1	2	0	5	0	7
In total	6	8	2	3	8	4	7	2	11
Out of which incidences with any historical literacy strategy	3	3	1	0	2	0	2	1	4
Incidences of procedural knowledge	7	12	2	1	7	2	2	3	11

**other than the textbook or teachers' notes*

Classroom Activities

The extent of teacher-centered activities (direct instruction, IRF-interaction and giving instructions) varied considerably among teachers (Table 2). Direct instruction was the dominant activity only in two classrooms. Five teachers had a moderate approach to direct instruction (on an average 16% of the time). Amy and Daphne gave direct instruction only 8% and 3% of the time respectively.

A closer look at teachers' talk reveals that the content varied in relation to the type of knowledge that they imparted with. Table 3 shows incidences when procedural knowledge was addressed in some way. Amy, Brian, Eve and Ida introduced elements of procedural knowledge many times more frequently than the other teachers. In general, the incidences of procedural knowledge lasted only for a minute or two. Eve was an exception: she had the longest continuous period when procedural knowledge was addressed. However, out of the total time of observation period, averaging 330 minutes, the proportion spent on procedural knowledge, even in the case of Amy, Brian, Eve and Ida becomes marginal compared with that devoted to substantive knowledge.

Most teachers practiced more IRF interaction than whole class discussion. IRF interaction was used mostly for ensuring that students had comprehended a paragraph or a chapter in the textbook. The questions in IRF sequences were about the recollection of names, dates and the meaning of concepts used in the textbook. Whereas Amy, Daphne and Henry used IRF during or immediately after reading a textbook chapter, Eve used IRF for revising previous lessons' content.

The more a discussion prompted justified interpretations rather than personal opinions, the more relevant it was considered for historical literacy. Daphne and George did not facilitate any discussions. Other teachers' discussions could roughly be divided into three groups: those lacking historical context (Amy and Henry), with some historical relevance (Chris and Fiona) and high historical relevance (Brian, Eve and Ida). However, none of the discussions were structured or long-lasting. Generally, discussions did not last for more than 5 minutes.

What Kind of Literacy?

A profile of each teacher describes the varying role of historical literacy in their instruction. In addition, the role of other literacies in their instruction is described. The profiles start from the teacher with an approach least compatible with the ideals of historical literacy and end with the teacher with most history-specific literacy practices.

Daphne: Going through the textbook chapters. Content-area literacy was strongly present in Daphne's classroom. Typically, students read the chapter out loud and answered questions in the textbook, which was used about 50% of total time. These questions required only reading comprehension as the answers could be found in the text as such. Daphne's numbers for whole class reading (16%) and IRF interaction (28%) are the highest among all nine teachers. The lessons did not contain any procedural knowledge.

Fiona: Teaching history as stories. Direct instruction (36%) and other teacher-centered activities dominated Fiona's lessons but discussion (3%) was almost non-existent. She typically told a historical narrative with the help of PowerPoint slides, where visual texts functioned as illustrations of the narrative. Complemented with

quizzes and copying notes her instruction suggests an emphasis on cultural literacy. There were no incidences of approaching texts in a historically literate way

Henry: Activating students through discussion. Henry regularly encouraged discussions (12%) but the views that students expressed were personal opinions rather than justified inferences and lacked the historical context. The discussions and the infrequent use of fixed narratives decreased the role of cultural literacy although textbook was read frequently (56%). Henry asked about comprehension of concepts more often than other teachers. There was only one incident of a historically literate encounter with a text.

Chris: Versatile texts and group work. Chris was one of two teachers to use texts such as newspaper and music. Video materials (10%) were also present in his lessons. Students actively participated in group work (18%), which however mostly required retrieving information for presentations. Only content-area literacy strategies were utilized. The discussions, although rare (5%), were text-based and stayed within the historical context. Incidences of imparting procedural knowledge and engaging with texts for more than five minutes were rare.

*George: Strong student participation without providing interpretational tools***.** George's concept of the study unit was to let students work independently (54%). Although this gave time for students to interact with texts, the absence of discussion (0%) and group work (0%) did not provide exchange of views. The nature of assignments and lack of procedural knowledge led students to mostly collect and relocate information, thus using mostly content-area literacy strategies. The fact that George used other texts almost as often as the textbook broadened the textual scope of the lessons.

Eve: Tentative interpretation of texts but by the teacher. Eve had a teacher-centered approach, where direct instruction was the dominant activity (33%) and the textbook was the main text (56%). Procedural knowledge was introduced relatively often, and texts were present for long periods. However, most often it was the teacher, not the students who interpreted the texts. Cultural literacy was prominent when Eve lectured about many topics from a Finnish perspective and emphasized the importance of remembering key dates.

Amy: Depending upon textbook chapters but teaching to question other texts. The textual routines of Amy, such as asking students to copy keywords and notes from the teacher's guide, suggests a focus on content-area literacy. However, she used several exercises that touched upon historically literate themes. She welcomed discussions (15%) by asking open-ended questions, but the discussions prompted mostly personal opinions. Procedural knowledge was introduced occasionally (7 incidences).

Brian: providing some disciplinary tools. Brian's lessons were traditional in their structure as reading comprehension was monitored by IRF-interaction (15%) and by other content-area-literacy practices. Although the lessons contained procedural knowledge (12 incidences) and extended periods spent with texts (8 incidences), students were not given many opportunities to interpret texts. The textbook was used for understanding the historical context, but moderately (36%) and discussions (12%) were often of high-level.

Ida: giving time to texts. Ida gave time to all types of texts, including visual texts, more so than any other teacher. Further, students were the ones working with texts. Strategies specific to history were applied on four occasions. Ida introduced both substantive and procedural knowledge (11 incidences) through direct instruction (14%). The textbook (34%) did not have a dominant position as Ida used versatile texts. Ida's activities were high in student participation (47%), but discussion was rare (3%). Nevertheless, most assignments required text comprehension and collecting information.

The profiles suggest that none of the nine teachers' instruction was compatible with the ideals of historical literacy stated in the NCC and described by history educators. Even Brian and Ida, who had the most disciplinary approach could not be described as focusing on disciplinary literacy. History-specific strategies, although present, were an additional, not the main ingredient. In all nine classrooms content-area literacy strategies were employed more than history-specific ones. Choice of activities seem to emphasize text comprehension (whole class reading) and memorization of facts (IRF) instead of introducing multiple views through discussion. Choice of texts (textbook's predominant role in many classrooms) suggests an emphasis on a single, adoptable narrative rather than investigating history through primary sources. Thus, literacy practices as a whole focus more on content-area and cultural literacy than disciplinary literacy.

Teachers with extra credits in history (Brian, Chris, Fiona, George) did not use more history-specific literacy practices than the five other teachers. In fact, Brian who had the least number of history credits among the four (see Table 1) had the most disciplinary approach. Students' grade level did not play a significant role in the results as sixth grade teachers did not have more history-specific practices than the fifth-grade teachers. In contrast, low incident numbers for "introducing procedural knowledge" and "working with texts for more than 5-mitues" (Table 3) appear to be associated with extremely high (Fiona) or low (Daphne) numbers in direct instruction (Table 2).

Discussion

Our findings on literacy practices (i.e. use of texts, activities and strategies) at elementary level are consistent with earlier studies at the secondary level where teachers have emphasized narratives rather than historical literacy (e.g. Nokes, 2010; Hartzler-Miller, 2001). Furthermore, our results corroborate those of Neugebauer and Blair (2020, p. 324), who found that middle school teachers across disciplines used mainly authoritative texts using content-area literacy: students perceived literacy as a "generic or transactional process focused on decoding and searching for information". This emphasis on content-area literacy has been detected also among secondary preservice teachers (Masuda, 2014). However, observation studies at the elementary level that focus on literacy practices are scarce and are single case studies (e.g. Hughes, 2021; Stolare, 2017). To this end the present study is able to offer some new insights.

One of our main findings is that textbooks have a predominant role in history instruction. Similar results have been reported previously but on social studies (e.g. Hintz, 2014; Kon, 1995). These studies together raise questions about the influence of textbooks. In the present study, the Mennyt textbook was the only one pointing out the uncertainty of historical knowledge and introducing multiple perspectives in the body

text. It thus differs from the traditional genre of textbooks (see Coffin, 1997). Our results raise questions about textbook influence. Whereas Hintz's (2014) case study indicates that teachers' beliefs affect the way they utilize a textbook, we suggest the reverse; textbooks might affect teachers' views on what history is about, especially as teachers may work with the same material for many years. It appears that traditional textbooks presenting history as simplified recounts might promote mainly content-area- and cultural literacy. While materials are always subjected to pedagogical decision making, teachers may adopt textbook's perception of history.

In addition to the frequency of using textbooks we examined the way different text types in the textbooks were addressed during the lessons. In general, any text type other than the body text in the textbook received little time. Visual texts originated mostly from the textbooks and teachers' notes and did not function as sources to be worked with, but rather as curiosities or in support of a narrative. Moreover, the instruction included only a few incidences of procedural knowledge and explicit reading instructions concerned general strategies such as constructing mind maps. These results differ from those of Hughes (2021) where an expert elementary teacher intentionally chose visual texts for practicing historical interpretation.

There are reports that expert teachers and researchers are able to teach disciplinary literacy in elementary school by providing procedural knowledge and introducing domain- specific literacy strategies (Nokes, 2014; Hughes, 2021; VanSledright, 2002). We, however, found that history teaching carried out without support from researchers or intervention projects included only few incidences of procedural knowledge. In addition, explicit reading instructions concerned only general, not history-specific, strategies. On the whole, the literacy practices of nine teachers from eight different schools emphasized more content-area- and cultural literacy than disciplinary literacy. For students this emphasis means that they may learn to decode, summarize and memorize texts but not to construct knowledge through disciplinary practices and principles (e.g. Hughes, 2021; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). In the context of history, without a disciplinary gaze students' possibilities to evaluate the reliability of texts and historical claims is compromised. Next, we reflect on the possible causes behind the minor role of disciplinary literacy in the observed classrooms.

The Finnish educational context allows us to rule out some of the reasons proposed previously as hindering factors for implementing disciplinary literacy in classrooms. As mentioned earlier, there are no standardized tests in Finland (cf. VanSledright, 2014), teachers have full pedagogical autonomy and elementary teachers are highly educated. Because general literacy strategies are taught in the lessons on Finnish language and literature, teachers are expected to focus on disciplinary literacy in various subject areas (cf. Moje, 2008). Yet, as our results suggest, literacy instruction by most teachers in history lessons did not have a disciplinary approach. Why, then, did the teachers seem pressed for time, trying to cover as many textbook chapters as possible?

While acknowledging the complexity and variety of possible explanatory factors, we suggest that the idea of cultural literacy (Hirsch, 1988) may play an important role. Although the NCC does not require extensive content coverage, the tradition of teaching memory-history (e.g. Levesque, 2008) seems to be strong. In a

recent study (Authors, 2021), the majority of Finnish student-teachers in the sample viewed that the goal of teaching history was to familiarize students with general knowledge about historical events and people, i.e. a cultural canon. If passing on a cultural canon takes precedence over disciplinary literacy among prospective teachers, the same might apply to in-service teachers. Our findings imply that content-area- and cultural literacy can and often do coexist in history classrooms. The partnership of these literacies is a logical one: cultural literacy requires remembering information believed to be true and valuable in order to access a given culture (Hirsch, 1988), and content-area literacy is considered an efficient approach for remembering the content of any subject (Faggella-Luby, 2012).

The nature of literacy instruction in classrooms conveys to students how school subjects are perceived: as platforms on which to practice reading and writing, as collections of "facts" or ways of thinking about the world. Although content-area literacy may provide tools to remember events and dates (but cf. VanSledright, 2014) it does little to help to construct and evaluate historical knowledge. Cultural literacy on the other hand may be viewed as a by-product: "such [cultural] literacy should come as a result of probing important issues and learning how to think about them in a disciplined way–not as a consequence of mastering fifty or five hundred predetermined topics each year" (Gardner, 1999, p. 24).

Literacy strategies and approaches, whether content-area or disciplinary, can successfully be used as "not a means unto themselves" but in the service of disciplinary learning (Learned 2018, p. 202). Hence, instead of addressing literacy as something to be "inserted" or "integrated" into subject-area lessons (see Howard et al. 2021; Orr et al., 2014), we view it as an inseparable part of understanding any subject-area.

Teaching disciplinary literacy has been opposed by arguing that it is enough, for example in history, to "be familiar with the biggest of the big ideas" (Heller, 2010). However, from a disciplinary perspective, picking "the fruits of the discipline" (Schwab, 1978) without an understanding of the discipline does not result in "a big picture" but may paradoxically enhance fragmentation of knowledge. Knowing things about history is profoundly different from knowing what history is about.

Conclusions and Implications

The role of textbooks was a predominant one in nearly all the classrooms observed and the use of written primary sources was rare. Teachers used visual texts only briefly and mostly to support an existing narrative. Reading across primary sources to answer historical questions was absent in all classrooms. Three of the nine teachers had more student-centered rather than teacher-centered activities. The majority of teachers included procedural knowledge in their instruction only few times and as a result substantive knowledge was emphasized in teachers' talk. The teacher profiles suggest that elementary teachers had diverse approaches to literacy but all of them employed more content-area- than disciplinary literacy strategies. However, there were substantial differences in literacy practices among teachers using the least and most disciplinary approaches. Most teachers incorporated cultural literacy into their lessons either in the form of single narratives or a list of facts to be memorized.

Based on these findings we suggest that teacher education should underscore the role of procedural knowledge and introduce domain-specific reading strategies

along with and perhaps over and above general ones. As prospective elementary teachers learn about general reading and writing strategies in Finnish language didactics courses, we find it important that the possibilities of disciplinary strategies and ways of thinking are emphasized in other courses included in the elementary teacher programme. In addition, prospective teachers need awareness of the pitfalls related to the narrative genres used in history textbooks. However, merely the knowledge about teaching historical literacy is not sufficient: textbooks should provide a comprehensive set of primary sources for elementary teachers who may lack both the time and the expertise to find historical sources.

More research is needed to understand how teachers' disciplinary literacy is addressed initially in teacher education and developed further while working as teachers. Apart from history, does disciplinary literacy have only a minor role in other school subjects in the elementary context? How does the teacher community in schools affect teachers' views on literacy? Observation studies focusing on these questions would help to give contextual meaning to the present study and to underscore the areas where disciplinary literacy needs to be supported.

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Appendix A

Observation sheet

Teacher _____
Lesson _____
Date _____
Observer _____

Circle if the text originates from a textbook	Time used (5 min)	In total

textbook																	
teacher's notes																	
other non-fiction text																	
administrative document																	
biography																	
caricature																	
newspaper																	
photograph																	
painting or drawing																	
fiction																	
poetry/lyrics																	
map																	
statistics																	
video																	
music																	
other																	

Classroom activities

direct instruction																	
classroom discussion																	
IRF-interaction																	
pair or group work																	
reading																	
instructions from the teacher																	
individual work																	
video																	
other																	
no activity																	

Teacher provides specific instructions and examples on how to read and interpret sources, or the assignment orients students towards practicing historical literacy skills.

sourcing																	
corroboration																	
contextualization																	
close reading																	

Additional information about the materials

textbook, pages and individual assignments/exercises:

digital platform:

additional materials:

Heritage Language Learning Trajectories and Multiple Influencing Factors: A Multiple-Case Study of University-Aged Korean Canadians

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Abstract

This study explores six university-aged 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' varied heritage language (HL) learning experiences and the factors that encourage and discourage HL learning in Canada. Drawing on sociocultural perspectives (Duff, 2007, 2019; Norton, 2013), this multiple-case study reveals the core HL learning domains of home, friends at school and ethnic communities, Korean media, and university classes and various familial, sociocultural, and transnational factors. The participants' HL learning trajectories fluctuated depending on life environments, accessibility to HL learning, and their identities and different responses to social factors. This study also underscores the importance of educational inclusivity of HLs.

Keywords: heritage language, sociocultural perspective, identity, 1.5 and 2nd generation, higher education, social justice

A growing number of racialized immigrants and demographic changes in Canada over the past few decades have brought unprecedented diversity to classrooms (Statistics Canada, 2017a) and the educational inclusivity of cultural and linguistic diversity has become a challenge for education. Despite multiple definitions of heritage language (HL) (see He, 2010; Ortega, 2020; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), HLs often stand for all immigrant languages except for English, French, and Indigenous languages in Canada (Cummins & Danais, 1990), which this study employs. In educational settings, HL is generally employed as "a language spoken in the home that is different from the main language spoken in society" (Bilash, 2009, para. 1). The Canadian multiculturalism policy declared in 1971 is construed to encourage the linguistic diversity and immigrant families' HL maintenance, viewing HLs as familial and national resources. Yet, linguistic minorities seem to be assimilating into the mainstream faster and language loss may be taking place more quickly than the generally accepted three generations (Jedwab, 2014).

Scholarship has investigated various individual, academic, familial, social, and national benefits of HL development and maintenance, stressing the importance of HL maintenance (e.g., Guardado, 2010; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Kang, 2013; Lee & Suarez, 2009; Park, 2013; Tse, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Studies have also revealed numerous linguistic, individual, familial, and sociocultural factors which facilitate and hinder HL learning and development, through various approaches such as sociolinguistic perspectives and usage-based approaches (see Flores et al., 2020; Lynch, 2014). Language development largely relies on the amount and quality of "exposure to relevant language input" (Ortega, 2020, p. 27), but HL learners are exposed to unbalanced input while becoming dominant in the main language in society. HL learners display more variation in their HL learning processes and outcomes,

influenced by multiple factors (Montrul, 2018). The factors are combined in complex ways, reflecting individually and socially different contexts (He, 2010; Duff, 2019). This perception still challenges what factors facilitate and hinder HL learning (Ortega, 2020), calling for HL research to advance more comprehensive inquiries to understand "the multiplicity of relevant linguistic, social, and contextual variables" (Flores et al., 2020, p. 9).

Alongside the sociocultural turn in second language education, the role of identity appears pivotal to language learning (Norton, 2013). Recent research in HL education has provided insight on the interplay between identity and HL learning, the different ways of HL learning, and how HL speakers are positioned in social circumstances which often do not value HLs (e.g., He, 2003; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Park, 2011; Polinsky, 2008; Shin, 2016). How HLs and HL speakers are positioned in their social domains and the ideologies they are exposed to influence their bilingual identity development (Seals, 2018). HL learners are caught within various social factors and dealing with these factors are interlocked with their identity construction, which in result crafts their unique HL learning trajectories. The role of identity in HL learners is critical to understanding HL learning processes (Hornberger & Wang, 2008), and thus there is a need for further research on varied HL learning experiences situated in different social contexts (Duff, 2019; He, 2010; Lynch, 2014).

This study aims to better our understanding of the different ways of HL learning and the multiple factors of HL learning, which can lead to HL maintenance. This study particularly explores university-aged 1.5 and second generation South Korean Canadians in a mid-sized city in Manitoba through their retrospective reflections. It examines the factors that encourage and discourage HL learning and how learners negotiate social constraints and opportunities for HL learning, thus shaping their learning trajectories. Due to the short history of Korean immigration in Canada, less is known about Korean descendants' HL learning in Canada, especially in a context with a small Korean population and limited social resources for HL learning. Current HL research needs to portray various communities' experiences with different HL populations by taking their varied social contexts into account (Duff & Becker, 2017). The findings of this study can enhance our understanding of how to facilitate immigrant students' HL learning, informing immigrant families, ethnic communities, education program developers, and educators and emphasize the importance of educational inclusion of HLs.

The following research questions guide this study: 1) What are 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' HL learning experiences in Canada and what were the main domains for the Korean Canadians' HL learning and practice?; 2) What sociocultural, political, and other factors do 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians perceive have encouraged or impeded their HL learning and practice?

Despite various definitions of 1.5, and second generation, which often indicate differences in bilingual development (see Ortega, 2020; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Tse, 2000), for this study, 1.5 generation represents individuals who have arrived in Canada before the age of 13 and second generation means those who are born in Canada to Korean immigrant parents (Danico, 2004). HL learning represents language learning practices conducted in HL and HL learning practices refer to all cognitive and physical learning activities and psychological processes of thinking (Shin, 2015).

HL Learning and Various Factors

The critical factors of HL learning and development often include age of immigration or age of onset of bilingualism, parental education, SES, and birth order (e.g., Ahn et al., 2017; Armon-Lotem et al., 2015; Kim & Pyun, 2015; Montrul, 2008), parents' attitudes and home environment (e.g., Kang, 2015; Park & Sarkar, 2007), community engagement (e.g., Leeman et al., 2011), ethnic and cultural identity (e.g., Lee, 2002), school ideologies and teachers' attitudes (e.g., Seals, 2018; Yilmaz, 2016), and societal accessibility to HL learning (e.g., Becker, 2013). However, debates on the critical factors are ongoing due to the varying contexts, dynamics among factors, and methodological issues (Duff, 2019; Flores et al., 2020; Ortega, 2020).

Scholarship has observed that children in early years have strong HL abilities, but they weaken with chronological age (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). A shift in the dominant language often follows once HL speakers start formal schooling due to its greater assimilative forces. In many Korean immigrants, parents' priorities on English and academic achievements commonly function negatively for HL learning (Kang & Kim, 2012). However, as Jeon (2008) states, Korean HL learners began investing in their HL in universities, likely when they had reached English mastery. Similarly, He (2006) states that Chinese university HL students are "ready to embrace their cultural heritage from the past, they are eager to learn Chinese HL" (p. 19). HL development is an ongoing process through one's lifespan and this notion requires the need to capture the long-term HL learning trajectories with contextual factors (He, 2006, 2010).

The traditional domains for HL learning involve home/parents and ethnic communities. However, since each family's and ethnic community's environment varies, these domains cannot guarantee HL development. King and Fogle (2013) highlight the role of family language policy through the language socialization perspective. Yet, according to Guardado (2013), a strict policy may be ineffective, as children can resist parental coercion in Hispanic Canadian families. Parents' attitudes and consistent use of HL is a common positive factor for children's HL development across different ethnic groups (e.g., Kharchenko, 2018) but as Kang (2013) finds, there can be disparity between parents' actual practice of HL and their attitudes to HL. Seemingly assumed positive functions of home/parents can hinder children's HL learning due to their ideologies favoring English over HL (Yilmaz, 2016). This complexity suggests the need to focus on the dynamic interplay of various factors (Duff, 2019).

Studies affirm the critical roles of learners' ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities in HL learning, suggesting the importance of social supports for immigrant children's bilingual identity development (e.g., Lee, 2002; Leeman, 2015; Phinney et al., 2001; Shin, 2015; Tse, 2000). These findings often place importance on educators' roles to help students develop their HL user identity in schools and communities. Schools' and teachers' negative attitudes towards HLs can discourage HL learners' identities and their HL learning. The marginalized positions of HLs alongside the limited social resources for HL learning in certain communities can "shape the inequitable multilingual learning experiences of HL speakers and their minoritized communities" (Ortega, 2020, p. 41). HL researchers, Ortega argues, should consider the lack of social accessibility to HL learning in each geography through a social justice lens.

The poststructural view of identity has broadened our understanding of identity as multiple and in-flux, valuing learners' human agency (Norton, 2013). As Hornberger

and Wang (2008) argue, HL learners have multiple identities which are contextually negotiated, contested, and (re)shaped, responding to social contexts. As such, this study explores individuals' varied HL learning experiences to better understand the interplay of multiple factors, alongside the role of identity and equitable access to HLs.

Korean Immigrants and Korean HL in Canada

Korea has been one of the top ten immigrant source countries for Canada over the last two decades. As of 2019, there were 241,750 Korean immigrants in Canada (Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2019), and about one third arrived between 2000 and 2006 (Chan & Fong, 2012). In 2016, Korean ranked fifth with over 90% of immigrants retaining their mother tongue in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017b). However, due to the large component of the first-generation population, these statistics do not accurately reflect the HL development of 1.5 and second generations.

There has been an increase in Korean language learners with the proliferation of Korean language programs at postsecondary institutions in Canada for over a decade (Cho, 2017). Less commonly taught languages such as Arabic, Tagalog, and Korean have shown growth in university enrolment in North America, responding to the increasing diversity (Leeman, 2015). The increase in Korean programs also reflects the rising global popularity of Korean pop culture such as music, films, and television dramas, which has generated many foreign language learners of Korean across the world (Cho, 2017). The growing Korean programs cannot be equated with an increasing number of HL learners, yet increasing Korean programs provide opportunities for more HL learners to explore the Korean language (Shin, 2015).

This study is unique due to its focus on the long-term HL learning experiences of university-aged students who are situated in a mid-sized city in the Canadian prairies. There have been a handful of studies on Korean immigrant children's HL maintenance in Canada, but most Korean HL studies have explored community programs, home, and parenting, focusing on school-aged children while investigating the perspectives of parents, teachers, and administrators (e.g., Cho, 2008; J. Kim, 2015; M. Kim, 2015; Park, 2009). This study responds to the research gap by probing university-aged HL learners' long-term experiences, focusing on their own perspectives (Duff, 2019; Ortega, 2020). Young adulthood is critical in terms of one's self-discovery associated with larger sociopolitical contexts and their cultural and linguistic identity (Kang & Lo, 2004). University-aged adults can construct narratives that help them make sense of their identities given the social contexts (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), thereby analyzing the meanings of social contexts in HL learning.

Moreover, most researchers also focus on the contexts of metropolitan cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, where over 85% of Korean immigrants in Canada are distributed. To illustrate, Park (2009) highlights the roles of Korean churches and parents' attitudes towards young children's HL maintenance in Montreal. Kim and Duff (2012) explore Korean Canadian university students' HL learning alongside bilingualism in Vancouver. Jang's (2019) ethnographic study shows optimal environments for children's bilingual development at a Korean church in the GTA. Education in Canada is administered at the provincial level, suggesting a contextual difference. This study thus adds information to the existing literature in the particular context of a mid-sized city in Manitoba with a small Korean population. By reporting on the meanings of the participants' first institutional HL learning experience at a university, this study also highlights the importance of institutional HL education.

Theoretical Frameworks

This study employs sociocultural perspectives in language learning. Socioculturalists understand that language and culture are understood as tools for sharing social values, norms, and thoughts (Atkinson, 2019; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006), and as Duff (2019) states, "there can be no learning - or human existence - in a contextual vacuum" (p. 6). Participation in sociocultural activities and language practice in the linguistic communities are the product and the process of learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Vygotsky, 1978; Wenger, 1998), and the source and structure of language learners' sociolinguistic knowledge are embedded in daily practices in which learners engage (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Language learning is a socioculturally situated practice that occurs between specific speakers situated in specific sociocultural contexts (Norton, 2013). Larger sociocultural research hence investigates "social structure, hierarchy, ideologies about language, issues of inclusion/exclusion, human agency" (Duff, 2019, p. 7). Sociocultural perspectives also highlight the role of identity in language learning (Norton, 2013). Thus, the multifaceted aspects of identity and the role of social contexts and HL learner agency in crafting their HL learning are often delved into in HL education (Seals, 2018).

Language socialization also suggests a useful frame for understanding individuals' language learning. Language socialization is "a process by which individuals acquire, reproduce, and transform the knowledge and competence that enable them to participate appropriately within specific communities of language users" (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015, p. 319). Socialization is an ongoing process that spans one's entire life (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) through one's engagements in particular linguistic communities.

HL learning can be understood through learners' substantial participation and interactions in multiple practices/communities such as parents, siblings, peers, instructors, and (ethnic) community members, whose responses to the learner construct the learner's language development and social roles. How the learners construct meanings in relation to the sociocultural contexts is a core aspect in understanding their HL learning experiences (Duff, 2007, 2019). In this process, HL socialization takes place so that the learners become gradually competent culturally, linguistically, and behaviorally (Guardado, 2018; He, 2008). HL learning is thus grounded in each learner's constant ongoing adaptation to various social activities and identities in their social worlds (He, 2010).

These theoretical frameworks allow me to explore how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians socialize/participate in the linguistic communities, how they deal with the sociocultural surroundings, and how they can access HL in the given contexts.

Methodology

This study employs a multiple-case study, where each participant comprises each case (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1995). In the field of second language and HL education, cases are studied to understand individuals' experiences within a particular linguistic context, focusing on sociocultural, discursive, and personal aspects (Duff, 2014).

This study is situated in the Korean language program at the University of Manitoba. The Korean population in Manitoba was approximately 4,545 in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017c). The University offers introductory and intermediate Korean

credit courses. As the first Korean instructor since 2011, I observed an increasing number of Korean Canadians desiring to take Korean courses. There are two weekend community Korean language programs in Manitoba, but they are non-credited and mainly consist of younger children. Thus, university Korean courses are the first formal HL learning opportunity for most Korean Canadians in Manitoba. The Korean classes are a mixture of heritage and non-HL learners, and approximately 10% to 15% of the classes (about 2 to 4 students) consist of HL learners.

Following the rigor of the university Ethics Board, I recruited six participants consisting of four 1.5 generations and two second generations based on convenience and purposeful sampling (see Table 1 for the participants' profiles). The participants satisfied 1 and 2 or 3: (1) those who took any Korean language course at the university; (2) 1.5 generation Koreans who migrated to Canada before they had completed elementary school in Korea; (3) second generation Korean Canadians who were born in Canada.

I had kept in touch with some former students, so I personally contacted them to recruit and asked that my contact information be passed along to other prospective participants. I recruited only those who had completed the Korean courses to avoid any power relations between instructor and student. Each course is a two- semester-spanned course, and this long-term commitment often created rapport between instructor (myself) and student. I invited eight prospective participants and six replied to my invitation. Five participants were my former students, and one participant was not. Despite some critiques such as researcher's bias in data collection and interpretation (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), my insider position has contributed to this study in terms of better understanding of their backgrounds, HL proficiency, and the trust between researcher and participants.

To attain multiple perspectives of the situatedness of the participants' HL learning, I also recruited four community leaders who were dedicated to Korean communities and HL education through convenience and purposeful sampling and contacting people who I already knew. The community leader participants have led Korean community organizations in Manitoba such as Korean community language schools and Korean ethnic churches, and provided insights as community leaders as well as parents of their own 1.5 and second generation children.

Table 1

Primary Participants' Profiles

	1.5 generations (N=4)				Second generations (N=2)	
	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
Name	Jung-Ah	Steve	Ariel	Minny	Jen	David
Age	26	23	21	26	23	20

Sex	F	M	F	F	F	M
When they left Korea	12y	11y	5y	7y	Born in Winnipeg	
Current Position	Nurse	Student	Student	Master's student	Accountant	Student
Language use for family interactions	Mainly Korean for both parents & siblings		Mainly Korean for parents/ English for siblings	Both English & Korean for Parents/ English for sibling	Predominantly English for both parents & siblings	

In-depth interviews from the primary participants were the main data source. Researcher's reflection journal entries were also collected and triangulated with the interview data. For in-depth interviews, I created semi-structured open-ended interview questions, but the interview protocol differed among participants depending on their backgrounds. Five had three face-to-face interview sessions with each session lasting about 2 hours between 2017 and 2018, while one participant, Steve, participated in written interviews upon his request.

All the participants chose pseudonyms and selected English as their interview language. Each interview was audio recorded, and once the transcription for each participant's interviews was complete, member checking was conducted. For the community leaders, I conducted one 2.5-hour focus group interview. They chose pseudonyms and used Korean as their interview language, and I transcribed and translated the interview into English and then conducted member checking.

The data analysis was informed by Stake's (1995) methods of categorical aggregation, direct interpretation, and "through experience and reflection" (p. 77). Instead of using software, I read transcripts multiple times with intervals with interview field notes, coded key words and phrases, and found emerging themes from each transcript. I coded the emerging themes of each transcript into numbers according to the related research questions, and sorted them accordingly (Creswell, 2007). The focus group interview transcripts, my reflective journals, and field notes from interviews were also coded, and salient themes were generated from the collective data. There were two levels of analysis of within-case and cross-cases. Each case was treated individually, and cross-case analysis was conducted. I focused on the complex configurations within each case and understood the particular and local conditions, and then identified patterns surpassing cases (Yin, 2014). Finally, natural generalizations were formed as conclusions (Stake, 1995).

I recruited multiple cases and used multiple data methods and sources and member checking to address validity. I reported the study in detail and used overlapping methods to address reliability. My insider position and engagement in prolonged and

in-depth observations with the participants contributed to my credibility. Lastly, I provide detail of the local contexts in which the participants and the researcher are situated, in terms of transferability (Mills, 2007). The small number of participants may create limitations in generalizing the findings, but the goal of this multiple case study is to better understand the complexity of each case.

Findings and Discussion

Each participant's life experiences revealed the complex interplay of familial, sociocultural, and transnational contexts, which shaped each participant's particular HL learning trajectory. The participants are categorized into three groups based on their duration of time living in Korea, language choices for family interactions, and HL maintenance levels, which are interlocked: (1) Group 1: 1.5 generations who left Korea over age 10 and used predominantly Korean for family interactions; (2) Group 2: 1.5 generations who left Korea under age 10 and used both Korean and English for family interactions; and (3) Group 3: second generations who were born in Canada and spoke mainly English for family interactions. The participants' proficiency levels of Korean were based on their self-evaluation and my previous observations as the instructor in the Korean courses.

Group 1: Home Language Policy and Daily Practice for Family Interactions

Jung-Ah, who works as a registered nurse after graduating from university, immigrated to Canada at age 12, while Steve, an undergraduate student, left Korea at age 11 and migrated to Canada after living in the U.S. for 3 years. This group showed the highest HL maintenance and proficiency in all language skills due to their formal education in Korea and their daily practice of Korean at home.

This group's HL learning was characterized by strict home language policy and consistent practice of Korean for family interactions at home. Both used Korean at home in almost 100% of their interactions with their parents and siblings, which they viewed as critical towards contributing to their HL learning and maintenance in Canada.

Jung-Ah expressed, "[even] with my siblings I mainly speak to them in Korean," and "I like speaking Korean, and I don't want to lose it. I prefer to speak Korean at home because that's the only opportunity I can speak Korean because I don't have Korean friends." Jung-Ah, however, reported that her father pushed her to acquire English as quickly as possible once in Canada, while discouraging interacting with Korean friends until high school, when she had acquired English proficiency. Jung-Ah further developed Korean skills and knowledge of Korean culture by regularly consuming Korean media, but she perceived her proficiency of Korean as stuck at the level she attained when she moved to Canada. She expressed, "I felt a little ashamed that I'm not able to fully express myself in Korean…because I'm starting to shy away from speaking Korean other than [with]…my family members." Jung-Ah reported language anxiety in using Korean outside the home, due to her lack of opportunities to practice Korean in other social settings and her shy personality.

Steve also emphasized the strict home language policy and daily practice at home as the key contributor to his HL learning:

> I think it would be beneficial overall to have the parents emphasize learning Korean, at least on a usage, because of the idea of maintaining tradition and pride of our roots. My parents had rules to speak only Korean in our home which helped me a lot to keep my Korean fluent.

Steve's HL learning involved various social domains beyond the home: interaction with other 1.5 generation Korean Canadians at school, various Korean media, attending a Korean community school, and frequent visits to Korea. His wide participation in multiple domains helped his confidence with Korean, and he had the highest Korean proficiency among the participants.

Group 2: Different Contexts, Assimilation, and HL Learning Pathways

Ariel, an undergraduate student, left Korea at age 5, then lived in an English-speaking country in Europe for 5 years, and then moved to Canada. Minny, a graduate student, has lived in Winnipeg since age 7. This group showed heterogeneity in their HL learning pathways; Ariel assimilated into her Korean friend group at school, while Minny's HL learning involved mainly the home. For interactions with parents, Ariel used mainly Korean, but Minny used both Korean and English, and both participants used English with siblings.

For Group 2, home was the primary domain for their HL learning where they practiced Korean, but their parents did not enforce any strict home language policy, despite their positive attitude to children's HL maintenance. Ariel recalled:

> [In Europe, my mom] just kept reading together… it was an ongoing process... After we came to Canada, she didn't teach me [Korean] that much. Just like general speaking at home. In Canada I did 한글학교 (Korean school)…[at] the church that my father worked at…I did on and off because I didn't really like it.

Her father was a minister at a Korean church, so Ariel felt more encouraged to learn Korean. Regardless, Ariel's meaningful HL learning took place through her socialization with Korean friends at high school. She recalled:

> There was a shift of friends and…changing views… because from that point I started hanging out with more Korean friends and Asian friends. It was around that time that I started watching Korean dramas and listening to Korean music, from high school Gr. 10.

Her Korean friends encouraged Ariel to learn Korean and Ariel desired to assimilate into the Korean friend group who was proficient in Korean and Korean culture, and share similar cultures, values, and interests such as Korean dramas with them. Ariel's case signifies how Wenger (1998) explains learning takes place as "an encompassing process of being active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities' membership" (p. 158).

Minny also reported that her mother taught her Korean for a few years after their migration to Canada. She recalled:

> They would always show us, even now, [Korean] historical dramas… that was one way for us to listen to Korean. When we were kids, she made us have 일기 쓰기 (Writing journals). She made us write to our grandparents in Korean regularly.

However, Minny pointed out the negative impact of her parents' busy life on her HL development as they began running a convenience store. Minny recalled that "there wasn't a lot of family involvement teaching Korean," thus, although they "tried to…juggle things," "it just didn't work out." In fact, the community leader participants unanimously recognized the negative impact of Korean immigrant parents' busy lives on their children's HL learning. Also, for Minny, linguistic assimilation into English

was more important than HL learning for her school life. Minny reported that she realized the value of HL and bilingualism beginning from high school and this maturity helped her register for the Korean course at the university.

Group 3: Self-discovery of the Meanings of HL Learning

Jen, who works as an accountant after graduating from university and David, an undergraduate student, were both born and raised in Winnipeg. Both had a relatively low proficiency and use of HL and spoke English at home and their parents neither taught Korean nor enforced a home language policy. These different parental commitments clearly contrasted to those of 1.5 generations' parents.

Jen, who was from a working-class background, reported that her parents never encouraged HL, family conversations, and academic achievements, unlike many other Korean parents. Jen used English almost 100% for family interactions, her younger siblings used only English while her father used only Korean, and her mother used mostly Korean. Due to her parents who spoke only Korean, Jen developed Korean listening skills, so she expressed, "there's no problem," in communication.

Interestingly, Jen's HL learning began with her sudden interest in Korean dramas in Gr. 5. Her parents loved watching Korean dramas, so Jen started watching them together, and this sparked her motivation in learning Korean. Jen reported:

> Starting in Gr. 5, I started taking an interest in Korean dramas… I watched this one drama, 쾌걸춘향 (Delightful Girl, Chun-Hyang); the first drama I watched is my favorite, I watched it like 3 times… Then I started watching more things … that's when I started learning Korean too. *I decided I wanted to learn* [emphasis added].

She highlighted, "that also determined what path I took. I could have become like my sister or my brother," who cannot speak Korean at all. Although she strived to fit in with the mainstream culture, and felt embarrassed by her Korean background at school, ironically, Jen desired to learn Korean by herself. She further took university Korean classes, as she had never learnt Korean "formally."

Similarly, David's parents never forced him to speak Korean. He recalled, "I just want to speak in English with my friends, why do I have to learn Korean? If my parents just force me to talk [in Korean]… I can be rebellious." David's parents instead sent him to a community Korean school. However, he quit the school after several years since he felt a language barrier where most students were 1.5 generations who already spoke Korean, and the teachers used only Korean in classes. Also, David distanced himself from any markers of Korean identity such as Korean language, since being Korean was not "cool" at school.

David's real HL learning started when he entered university. Alongside a shift of friends, he started engaging with Korean friends at a Korean church, who also attended the same university. David realized similar educational goals and values shared among other Korean Canadians, and his desire to be accepted in the community pushed him to learn Korean. He expressed:

> It's the biggest motivator, and the biggest contributor to my Korean language abilities and my learning drive. Without these communities, I believe there are no reasons to learn, practice Korean. Embarrassment drives me. Disappointing my fellow members in the community drives me… if anyone is not in a community that shares a language… they're not going to learn it.

This group's HL learning was initiated by their own realization of the need to learn Korean through self-discovery of the meanings of HL rather than their parents' desires.

Examination reveals the key domains for HL learning in Canada as home, Korean friends at school and ethnic communities, Korean media, and university Korean classes, with varying levels of engagement. The findings highlight the critical roles of Korean media and the university classes across the three groups. Notably, the findings also show a language shift from Korean to English in Group 3, although their language choices at home reflected the dynamic interplay of the multiple factors surrounding the participants.

Next, I present the influencing factors on their HL learning. Although the factors are categorized into encouraging and discouraging factors based on their interpretations, the factors were dynamic, thus, sometimes conflicting, and mutable rather than being fixed dichotomously.

Encouraging Factors

Parents and home environments. Parents and home environments are often regarded as most critical for immigrant students' HL development and family socialization (Cho, 2008; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Kharchenko, 2018). Home language policy also plays a role in HL maintenance (Kang, 2015). This study found that the parents' consistent spoken use of Korean functioned as the common encouraging factor across the three groups, which helped the participants exposed to Korean daily. The 1.5 generations' parents clearly enforced a Korean language policy for family communication, while the second generations' parents primarily provided oral communication in Korean without having a strict policy or teaching their children Korean at all. This difference seemingly corresponded to the participants' different HL maintenance levels. However, although some 1.5 generations' parents taught their children reading and writing when they were younger, most parents practiced Korean orally rather than through writing or reading, which is congruent with a line of studies (e.g., Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Kang, 2015).

HL socialization in each participant's home was also noted. All the families maintained Korean culture, lifestyles, and values, and the participants learnt culturally appropriate ways of greeting adults, use of accurate kinship terms, and cultural practices such as holidays. Jen said, "If I say hi and just wave, it feels a little bit rude, the culture is different. You should say 안녕하세요 (Hello), bow a little bit and then go." Jen always used Korean when she referred to cultural terms (e.g., 제사 (ancestral memorial), 설날 (New Year's Day)), kinships (e.g., 작은 아버지, 작은 어머니 (uncle and uncle's wife)), and Korean food (e.g., 김치 찌개/볶음밥 (Kimchi stew/fried rice)). David also called his older sister "누나 (older sister)" instead of calling her name because he learnt that it was rude to call one's older siblings by their names in Korea.

Interactions with coethnic Korean friends at school. Korean friends at school functioned positively to the participants' HL learning. The high school period appeared critical to many participants since they were assumed to have acquired English, their parents loosened their control over their children's language use and thus, many participants began embracing HL. Most participants found similar educational aspirations and cultural values with other Korean friends, which helped them acknowledge the importance of being Korean and knowing HL. Ariel reported, "I wanted to keep up with my friends and be able to follow up with them, talk with them

and write and they encouraged me to do that." This finding suggests implications for parents who restrict their children from interacting with other Korean friends due to their priority on English.

However, not all participants chose to interact with Korean friends when they encountered the opportunity. David resisted associating himself with Korean students, for example, when they invited him to perform Taekwondo on school culture day, as being Korean was not "cool" at school. Jung-Ah felt disparities with the newly immigrated Korean friends, so she avoided interacting with them. Whether the participants accepted or refused the HL learning opportunities was complex, depending on their identities and life priorities. Individuals respond to the contexts, reflecting on what is more important and what resources are available to perform their identities over time (Chee, 2003; Norton, 2013), and this impacts their HL learning.

Non-coethnic friends who were positive to Korean culture. Studies suggest that non-coethnic peers at school who respond positively to linguistically diverse students may help the students learn their HL and cultural identity (Lee, 2013; Vietze et al., 2019). Many participants in this study experienced a positive influence of non-coethnic friends on their HL learning. This phenomenon was often found with friends with Asian backgrounds as many participants felt secure about sharing their HL and culture with Asian friends, due to similar phenotypes, cultural values, and shared experiences as immigrants. Jung-Ah reported:

> K-pop started getting really popular. My [Asian] friends were saying get into it and they are watching dramas and it gives me something to talk to them about or I can share with them, all of the cultural things related to that… I'm just happy that I have friends who are very open to my culture and it's very important.

Community leader participants also expressed the critical role of peers in Korean Canadians' HL learning and identity formation through their experiences as parents observing their own children and seeing young adults in their communities experiencing peer pressure; when peers' views on Korea and Korean culture are positive, this strongly influences Korean Canadians' pride in their heritage, helping them invest in their HL and culture.

Meanwhile, Minny experienced her monolingual Caucasian friends' acknowledgement of her bilingual ability in high school, which boosted her pride in knowing Korean. Minny expressed, "It was really nice, having that advantage of knowing a different language because I knew my Caucasian friends didn't have that…They're always fascinated when I call my parents and I talk in Korean." As Maher (2005) argues, the use of HLs by ethnic minorities can be regarded as "cool" in the highly multicultural cosmopolitan area, suggesting their multilingual identities. The participants realized the value of uniqueness and difference living in a multicultural society as they grew up, as Guardado (2018) asserts.

Engagement in ethnic communities. Korean churches play crucial roles for Korean immigrant families' HL dissemination (J. Kim, 2015; Park, 2009; Park & Sakar, 2007). This study found that involvement in ethnic communities such as ethnic churches or Korean community schools functioned positively for the participants' HL learning in the long term, although their interpretations of their experiences at the communities evolved over time. David began investing in Korean through his

participation in a Korean church. He expressed, "my first time involving myself with other Koreans, that's what helped me realize that I needed to learn Korean, although it is discouraging at times."

However, recall that David withdrew from the community Korean school when he was younger. As Lee (2002) states, Korean HL learners feel that the community weekend HL programs are not effective as it is a class that the host country may not value. David had experienced a similar situation but began reinterpreting the meaning of the Korean school positively with maturity. Considering immigrant parents' busy lives and lack of social opportunities to learn HL, community leaders highlighted the pivotal roles of ethnic communities.

Regular consumption of Korean media. The participants' regular consumption of Korean media such as Korean TV dramas, K-pop, and movies appeared as one of the strongest factors that encouraged the participants' HL learning across three groups. They learned Korean to understand the entertainment and the embedded cultural aspects presented in the media. Steve reported, "I keep up with the new terms, slangs, trends, and events in Korea by watching…Korean variety programs." Jung-Ah emphasized, "I can sense the change of language… I'm aware of how language is changing," and she updated herself on the changes in language and culture in Korea. Kim and Duff (2012) describe that 1.5 generation Korean Canadians acquire contemporary Korean language by consuming Korean TV shows and Korean music and embracing Korean fashion trends. My participants highlighted the importance of their transnational territory where they negotiate their broadened identities as transnational consumers of the cultural products as well as learn Korean.

Global popularity of Korean pop culture and local acknowledgement. The participants also expressed the positive impacts of the global popularity of Korean pop culture and ensuing local acknowledgement of Korea(ns) in their HL learning. The global popularity of the Korean cultural economy, including K-pop and TV dramas, has surpassed the geographical and linguistic realms (Kim, 2013). The participants were mindful of this global phenomenon, as they felt the local acknowledgement of the Korean culture; they included locals' interests in Korean pop culture, the increasing number of Korean restaurants, and Korean music on a local radio program. David described, "it helps other people's perspective on Korean people, like wow, they make great music, they're great dancers, so talented…In that sense, I see the positive impacts about learning about my Korean heritage." The participants who had rarely experienced any recognition of Korean culture before, sensed the dramatic shift in the local climate toward Korea(ns), thus, they incorporated this global factor into their motivation for HL learning.

University opportunity to learn Korean. Institutional opportunities to learn Korean at the university proved to be a critical factor for the participants' HL learning. The university Korean classes were the participants' first institutional HL learning in Canada, so they felt "fascinated", "surprised", or "excited" about the Korean courses, and utilized this opportunity to engage with Korean formality and writing practices in which most participants felt weak in. Ariel mentioned, "I improved a lot in writing, my spelling got better, my grammar got better. That was a huge improvement..." David viewed the university class as a "blessing" as he could invest in HL without feeling any

peer pressure unlike during his adolescence. The participants also perceived that inclusion of Korean in the university curriculum denotes social recognition of Korea. Jen expressed, "in high school there was more interest [compared to middle school], so the value [of Korean] goes up a little bit…Then [in] Korean class in university, the value goes up more [as it is an official course]." Institutional inclusion of HLs reflects the power relations among various immigrant ethnic groups and social views on HLs (Duff, 2008), and the school curriculum accords values to each language through inclusion/exclusion of certain languages (Apple, 2004).

Canadian multiculturalism. This study found the positive influence of Canadian multiculturalism on HL learning. Ariel reported, "multiculturalism influences language learning. If there wasn't any multiculturalism, you wouldn't want to learn, you'd want to stick to Canadian language and culture." Most participants perceived multiculturalism as an overarching ideology, by which they could claim their HL, culture, and equity, although they felt multiculturalism needs to be practiced more for HL education. As Cho (2017) describes, multiculturalist discourse supports ethnic minorities to achieve their perceived "duty" of learning HL, and many participants perceived this effect in their HL learning and cultural maintenance.

Transnational trips to Korea and personal factors. Visiting the parents' home country can be effective in immigrant children's HL maintenance (M. Kim, 2015; Song, 2012), although this factor relies on financial stability, time availability, and the existence of extended family in the home country. My participants reported that their trips to Korea enhanced their interest in learning Korean, reinforcing their knowledge of the language and culture. Some participants explicitly underscored internal motivation and desire as key for their HL learning. Jen reported that her strong desire drove her to learn HL, since her siblings in the same household never initiated learning Korean by themselves. Personal components can be critical for language learning because one can 'accept' or 'resist' the contextual factors (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

Discouraging Factors

Priority on English and adjustment stress. The participants' priority on English and adjustment stress in school environments appeared as the most prominent hindrance for HL learning and development. This well-known factor is often compelled by parents' desire for their children's academic and social success, which requires mastery of English (Kang, 2015; Kouritzin, 2000). This stress could be greater for the 1.5 generations since they immigrated from Korea to Canada. Steve mentioned, "Educational pursuits, mainly intense English-related activities. Writing essays is very hard, interviews can be stressful, and English examinations always make me motivated to pursue English more than Korean." For the second generations, this phenomenon occurred earlier around when they entered school, which often leads to replacing their HL with English at both home and school, as Lee and Shin (2008) find.

Many Korean immigrant parents prioritize developing English for their children's social success, despite their value of bilingualism (Shin, 2005). Brown (2011) thus states, "Immigrant parents' self-imposed hegemony of English over HL thus reinforces the implicit societal message for their children" (p. 31), and parents may function as a suppressor of HL learning. This factor should be understood as a combined effect of parental, cultural, school, and social contexts.

Others' perspectives and lack of social opportunities to use/learn Korean. The participants reported others' perspectives, which were manifested by peer pressure at school, as hindrances to HL learning. Others' views of Korean language and culture largely influenced the participants' attitudes to their HL. Most participants strived to fit in with the school environment, and HL could function as a marker of difference, which hampers their integration into the mainstream. Minny recalled, "As a kid I always wanted to be more Canadian to fit in better and have white people food and watch white TV…" She invested in English to avoid the stereotype of FOB (Fresh off the Boat), at the cost of her HL. Similar to Shin's (2016) findings, the second generations seemed most vulnerable to others' views, thus, they distanced themselves from their heritage to assimilate into the mainstream. Jen reported, "other parents…speak in English, but my mom speaks in Korean…I don't want her to speak Korean in front of my friends." However, their perceptions evolved with their maturity throughout high school or university. Group 1 appeared least influenced by the dominant group's views as they never avoided their HL and culture.

Lack of social need and opportunities to use and learn Korean in Manitoba also hampered their HL learning. The local context, where there is a small Korean population and no access to institutional Korean programs before university, negatively influenced their investment in HL. For example, in Toronto, there are large Korean communities and institutional opportunities to learn Korean in public schools. Minny recalled, "junior high only offered Spanish and French, and high school too," and no participants had any opportunity to access Korean classes at schools. As Becker (2013) states, social opportunities to access HL is critical as the environments impact HL learners' motivations and attitudes towards HLs.

Ethnic gatekeepers and elders. Korean adults or elders could function as gatekeepers, discouraging the participants' HL practices. Most participants experienced that elders or first generation adults, who responded negatively to young Korean Canadians and their lack of HL skills, impeded the participants' motivation to learn HL. Ariel reported, "they criticize other people… if you can't speak Korean and have some accents, they would look down upon you." The age hierarchy embedded in the language also challenged the participants' willingness to practice Korean. David mentioned, "there are times I would say something that's not respectful. So, I was quite fearful of talking to the elderly," thus encumbering his practice of Korean. When the participants experienced gatekeeping from ethnic members, they usually chose withdrawal from the communities, which resulted in deprivation of HL learning opportunities. Park (2011) finds similar gate keeping factors in the Korean church, which prevented 1.5 generations from becoming legitimate members of the church, thus limiting their identities. Some community leader participants perceived that young Korean Canadians should be able to speak Korean, suggesting the essentialized relation between HL and ethnicity, which can create young Korean Canadians' refusal to HL practices.

Use of a dialect. Use of a Korean dialect could discourage HL learning. Jung-Ah mentioned, "all my friends are speaking like standard Korean. And they… make fun of a bunch of people speaking dialects and stuff…" Dialects can be regarded as inauthentic forms of Korean and users of dialects are placed inferior to standard language users (Kang, 2013). Thus, the learners struggle with producing the forms

constrained by the standard language (Hornberger &Wang, 2008), and this situation creates marginalization of the HL learners' diasporic life trajectories and their own use of HL (Jo, 2001). Some participants reported their perfectionism or shy personality functioned as hindrances to their HL learning.

Implications and Conclusion

The findings of the study contribute to our understanding of the multiple influencing factors of HL learning and the varied HL learning trajectories, which reflect the participants' identities and their unique ways of negotiating social factors for HL learning. Each participant's HL learning experience fluctuated depending on an interplay of multiple forces in social domains such as family, friends, school, ethnic communities, and transnational realms, and the forces often interacted with each other, creating complex permutations.

This study shows that a factor can have both positive and negative functions, linked to other micro and macro factors. For example, engagement in communities encouraged HL learning, but judgmental gatekeepers and age hierarchy in these communities hindered HL learning. Home can produce both positive and negative forces simultaneously, and parents' low commitment to HL maintenance is analyzed as a multifaceted result of familial, social, and economic factors such as priority on English, employment status, or parents' well-being. In this regard, the common approach of macro and micro levels of analysis, and other conceptual tools in understanding the sociocultural factors in HL learning can be problematized, since seemingly stable macro factors can occur on different scales (Duff, 2019).

The findings demonstrate the critical roles of parents, friend groups, ethnic communities, schools, transnational media, and institutional HL classes, generating suggestions for stakeholders. Parents can help immigrant children navigate multiple domains for HL learning ranging from friend groups to transnational media, while challenging the subtractive approach, where attaining English costs HL loss. Immigrant parents should further actively seek resources to build a financially and emotionally healthy home where children can maximize their ethnic capital, and this requires accessible social support for immigrant families. Considering the limited social opportunities to learn HL, leaders of ethnic communities can play an important role, for example, by creating HL programs connected to official institutional credits. Community members should discard the essentialized notion that all Koreans should be able to speak Korean, acknowledging the diverse ways and stages of HL development, thus supporting bilingual identity.

As evidenced in the study, identity plays a role in whether immigrant students accept or refuse their HL and is strongly influenced by school environments and others' perspectives. Teachers should be aware of the socio-affective needs HL learners have, explicitly acknowledge the value of each HL with the asset-based pedagogy, integrating immigrant students' diversity into curricula. Teachers, thus, can help HL speakers feel valued as bilinguals in communities and schools (Seals, 2018). The underlying ideologies and biases that teachers and students presume should be debunked openly with the social constraints surrounding linguistic minorities.

This study particularly highlights how institutional HL classes represent social recognition of immigrant students' HL and identity. For some participants, the university program was a "blessing" as the most optimal period for HL learning compared to childhood learning due to reduced peer pressure and greater efficiency.

Education program developers can advance various formats of HL programs such as online HL classes or community jointed credit programs reflecting the needs of the student populations. HL educators should encourage HL learners to reflect on their language choice in different contexts and any hindrances to their identities and HL development. As seen in the critical role of transnational media, HL educators and learners should utilize various educational modes including media, TV dramas, and music.

HL learning is a continuing trajectory through life beyond the childhood period (Keh & Stoessel, 2017). Instead of 'what is given,' 'how much is given' should be understood for linguistic minorities' HL development (Polinsky, 2014). This argument is extended to a claim for greater social responsibility for educational inclusion of HLs, besides in the home and communities, calling for the adoption of the social justice lens (Ortega, 2020). This study demonstrates that providing social opportunities to learn HLs contributes to the practice of Canadian multiculturalism and HL maintenance, which help preserve national resources of linguistic diversity in society. HL education innately implies bilingualism, which has invaluable individual, social, and national benefits (Canadian Heritage, 2016; Duff, 2008).

Future research should continue to explore long-term HL learning experiences and influencing factors with varied HL populations and other HLs. Research into the roles of identity and different identity practices regarding HL learning needs to continue as identities reflect the interplay of various social and ideological factors over contexts. Finally, comparisons of different sites and provinces in Canada can depict the different sociopolitical realms in HL learning.

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Rural Working-Class Males in Sweden and Reading: Processes for Re-appropriating Written Culture

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Abstract

This article explores the intersection of place-based reading practices of rural working-class males and reading practices in school. Life story interviews have been conducted with six men in different ages (age 19-63) living in a rural region in Sweden, focusing on their reflections on their own relation to reading across a life span from the standpoint of the present. The analysis shows that there is a unique combination of factors at work when rural working-class men culturally re-appropriate written culture in ways that are sympathetic, and socially acceptable to a manual working-class culture. These factors include the processes of oralising and manualising and are often related to things learned in specific ancestral heartlands.

Keywords: reading, reading practices, literacy, life history, working-class, masculinity

Introduction

Recently there has been a growing body of research illuminating some subtle shifts in working-class males' relationship to school, thus depicting academically successful working-class boys and more positive working-class learning trajectories (cf. Ingram 2018; Roberts 2018; Ward 2014, 2015). However, what these studies still identify is the presence of a sense of cultural misalignment with school culture among working-class boys' experiences of schooling. This especially concerns the way these boys have learned to use literacy within their local working-class community (Asplund & Pérez Prieto, 2018; Barton & Hamilton, 2012; Heath, 1983; Moll et al., 1992); forms of literacy that are often marginalised in school by the dominant, and institutionalised, forms of literacy.

The tension between the informal, vernacular literacy practices that take place among male members of a working-class community and more formal literacy practices that take place in school is often manifested as a clash. This is a central dilemma facing literacy teachers, which makes it an important educational issue to examine further (Anderson, Anderson & Gear, 2015; Leathwood & Archer, 2004). Not least, this clash is something that many working-class boys experience every day when attending school, meeting a straight one-way transmission from the dominant culture represented by the school subject and the teacher into the children with little, if any, mediation or acknowledgement of any informal literacy learning that they already have and bring to school (Heath, 2012; Scholes & Asplund, 2021). This makes it important to gain knowledge about working-class boys' lived experiences of literacy and how they make connections between the local, concrete and immediate literacy practices and sense that

they have of themselves and the specialised literacy knowledge they encounter in school. In this article we will take a closer look at this issue, by exploring the intersection of place-based reading practices and reading practices in school when rural working-class men reflect on their relation to reading across a life span from the standpoint of the present.

Working-class masculinities, schooling, and reading

Ever since Willis' influential study (1977) of a small group of working-class boys' resistance and opposition to schooling, there has been a massive body of research focusing on the schooling of working-class males. Above all, this research has highlighted these boys' underachievement in school, and anti-school attitudes and cultures (Corrigan, 1979; Lingard et al., 2009; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Åberg & Hedlin, 2015). Rather than reproducing these discourses of working-class males' negative responses to schooling, other scholars have shown how traditional masculine working-class norms and ideals are at odds with a predominant middle-class school culture, thus depicting the ways working-class masculinity relates and responds to structural inequality rather than foregrounding individual and class-based cultural deficit to explain poor achievement (Connolly, 2004; Keddie et al., 2008; Reay, 2004, 2017; Stahl, 2015).

In line with this strand of recent research, emerging critical studies of men and masculinities have identified a more inclusive construction of masculinity also among working-class men, as well as more general changes in working-class men's attitudes to both work and education. Acknowledging this development, scholars such us Ingram (2018), McDowell (2002, 2003), McDowell et. al. (2014), Roberts (2018), Stahl (2022) and Ward (2015) have nuanced the previous rather static presentation of working-class masculinity by paying attention to the challenges faced by working-class boys as they maneuver between the discrepancy of their educational trajectory and its incongruity with their working-class heritage. Roberts (2018), for example, shows that despite facing an educational competition that is at odds with their habitus, the young working-class men in his study 'simply got on' (114) with their schooling, to greater or lesser extents, and Ingram (2018) pays attention to academically successful working-class boys, thus highlighting 'positive' forms of working-class masculinity.

Both Roberts (2018) and Ingram (2018) present strong arguments for paying close attention to local context when analysing working-class males' learning trajectories, thus emphasising that responses to schooling and education are not just contingent experiences therein. Therefore, locality is important to consider in order to understand people's educational experiences, as well as their learning trajectories and responses to literacy. This is also something that Connolly and Healy (2004) display in their study in which they show how intimately connected working-class boys' world-views are to their neighborhood, as compared to middle-class boys who are much less bound to their geographical location (cf. Reay, 2000, 2004). Altogether, this strand of research demonstrates that working-class learning trajectories are not only shaped by locality, but also that the sense of belonging to a particular place and community can constrain working-class people's educational and future career aspirations.

For working-class boys living in rural areas, this barrier may be even harder to break through. As Corbett (2007, 2010) has shown, people living in rural places understand education as an important but ambivalent force in their lives. Attending higher education generally means leaving the community, and this process is often

associated with tensions and mixed feelings for rural youth (Asplund & Perez Prieto, 2013). According to Corbett (2007), the fact that so many rural males tend to reject formal education should be seen as a rather rational decision; they make the choice to stay in the community in which their social and cultural capital is localized and valued. Hence, rural males' decisions to forgo formal education could be interpreted not only as the class-based form of resistance highlighted by Willis (1977) and other scholars, but also as a place-based form of resistance. However, this dimension has not yet received much attention in research on working-class men and their relationship to reading. To a large extent, this research has so far (and continuously) focused on highlighting a negative image of working-class males' relationship to reading, and even if this strand of research has contributed with powerful insights and knowledge, many advocates have often treated males as a homogeneous group and overlooked differences within the group of working-class boys and men in terms of, for example, ethnicity, and the connection to place and space. Recently, however, scholars such as Asplund and Pérez Prieto (2018), Martino (2019) and Scholes (2018, 2020) have presented more multifaceted stories about working-class males and reading that do not only focus on gender and class-related aspects. However, there are still important dimensions left to explore concerning working-class males and reading, not least how working-class males' experiences of the reading practices in school are incorporated in their daily life within their lived community, and how they make connections between local, concrete and immediate reading practices, and the sense they have of themselves as readers, and the specialised reading practices they encountered in school. Furthermore, there is a need to examine how the sense of belonging to a particular place and community can constrain or invigorate working-class men's relationship to and experiences of reading from a longitudinal perspective.

Literacy and power

This study aligns with the literature on the social and cultural practices of literacy, emphasizing that reading can be, and mean, different things for different people in different contexts (Brandt, 2001; Green & Corbett, 2013; Purcell-Gates, 2007; Street & Street, 1984). Some seminal studies within this strand of research include Heath (1983, 2012) and Barton and Hamilton (2012), who have studied local literacy practices in working-class areas of the USA and England. What these studies have in common is how they illustrate the ways in which some literacy practices are more powerful than others, and how the informal literacy practices of the working-classes are marginalized in favor of more institutionalized literacy practices. The existing gap between home and school literacy practices among marginalized students has been extensively documented (eg. Mui & Anderson, 2008; Phillips & Sample, 2005; Purcell-Gates et al., 2007). For example, Purcell-Gates (2013) shows how the "cultural mismatches" (p. 92) between the literacy practices of children of migrant farmworkers communities and school relate to the lack of knowledge among curriculum developers and teachers of the ways that reading and writing mediated the lives and actions of the migrant farmworker community. In another study, Li (2010) documents the rich and varied literacy practices of family members of three culturally diverse low-SES families (see also Perry & Moses, 2011). However, these literacy practices are constrained by adversities and cultural barriers, such as school-home literacy fracturing and family and neighborhood SES. Hence, Li's study confirms the marginalizing of minority students' literacy experiences in school.

The gap between home and school literacy practices is also related to geographical dimensions, and relevant for the present study is the growing body of studies describing rural reading practices as distinct from their urban counterparts. Not least, the negative effect of a lack of resources in rural places on reading instruction in school has been emphasized by several scholars (eg. Becnel & Moeller, 2015; Cantrell et al., 2018). Scholes and Asplund (2021) also illustrate a to-and-fro movement between school-based, non-reader identities and rural, place-based recognitions of the self as readers among rural males in Australia and Sweden, regardless of country of origin or generation.

Our study also brings questions about reading, power and meaning-making to the fore. As such, the study is situated within the context of critical literacy where reading is regarded as a political act; texts and reading are from this perspective never neutral but always represent a perspective with an ideological position (Comber, 2015; Janks, 2010; Luke, 2012; McDermott & Rosenfield, 2018). Originating in Freire's critical pedagogy (1993), critical literacy has developed into a field of research that examines power structures in the education system with the aim of initiating transformation processes that can contribute to increased social justice and equality (Janks & Vasquez, 2011). In the present study, the perspective means that reading is seen as an act of transformation – as an empowering critical tool - through which oppressed social groups can become literate, act agentically about issues that matter in their day-to-day life in particular places (Comber, 2015), and position themselves against power structures and dominant discourses (see also Asplund, 2022, p. 42).

Data, methodology and analysis

The data in this study consists of life story interviews conducted with six men in different ages (age 19-63) who met the criteria for inclusion. The men live in a rural region in the middle parts of Sweden and they have completed vocational education and/or are engaged in manual occupations. The region is dominated by more or less populated forest areas and characterized by depopulation and an aging population. Most of the working-age population is employed in a welfare service sector, which is declining, but as approximately 10% are engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing, as compared with the national average of 2%, and due to the high level of self-employment, the local labor market is quite favorable. Two of the men (age 19) were unemployed at the time when the interviews were conducted (they had just finished upper-secondary vocational school) and the other men (two men in their mid-20's and two men in their 60s) were engaged in manual occupations such as excavator drivers, car mechanics and industrial workers. All six respondents grew up in the countryside, and they have stayed there ever since.

All the men (except Robert, in his 60s) attended traditionally male-dominated vocational programs, but none of them have experience of higher education. The interviews have been conducted as open-ended life story interviews with a special focus on the men's relationship to and experiences of reading. The men have been interviewed one to three times on different occasions and the material includes both face-to-face interviews conducted in their homes, and interviews conducted online due to the pandemic situation. All respondents were informed about the aims and implementation of the study, and gave their consent to participate (the names of the respondents are pseudonyms). The interviews have been transcribed verbatim in Swedish, and the excerpts in this paper have been translated into English.

When exploring how the intersection between informal, vernacular reading practices that take place among members of a class community and formal reading practices that take place in school emerges in a life storyteller's narrative, we consider it as vital to understand life stories as socially situated acts through which the storyteller constructs himself, expresses attitudes about knowledge and learning, and positions himself in relation to others. The narrative of the life storyteller is thus seen as both a performative act and a meaningful process in which he tries to understand himself and the surrounding context (Mishler 1999; Peterson & Langellier 2006).

A profile of each life storyteller has been constructed after close and careful readings of the transcripts. After that, a thematic analysis has been employed, focusing on commonly occurring themes and salient points (eg. Goodson, 2013; Plummer, 2001) regarding the storyteller's relationship to reading across his lifespan and in different contexts (in and outside school). In order to understand life stories and to examine them as expressions of individual and personal meaning-making, we must then relate life stories to their historical and cultural settings (Bertaux & Thompson, 1997). The analytic process will thus move from the collection of a life story to the construction of life history in order to understand the patterns of social relations, interactions, and material, cultural and historical constructions in which the life of the life storyteller is embedded (Goodson, 2013). In this approach, the local context of the rural region and the ethnographic encounter have constituted essential parts of the analysis as well as attention to broader contexts such as dominant discourses and values circulating in the particular rural region. The first author of this article has conducted research in the region for several years, for which ethnographic data has been collected, including interviews with local residents and documentary resources. These data have been central when providing the participants' individual stories within "theories of context" (Goodson, 2013, p.5). The sections below illustrate the dominant themes that emerged, namely; i) Reliving the past – being labelled as poor readers in school, ii) Living in an oral storytelling tradition, and iii) Transforming reading into physical and embodied action.

Reliving the past – being labelled as poor readers in school

Initially, and already early on in the interviews, the men are eager to position themselves as people who do not read much because they do not really have the time required for it. This positioning also links back to their experiences and memories of the reading instruction they encountered in school; experiences and memories that very much intersect with what Oser et al. (2012) describe as 'negative knowledge'. Negative knowledge refers to memories related to events, things and procedures that are experienced as false or inadequate. These memories are also connected to feelings such as shame, guilt, or punishment that these negative experiences originate. Negative knowledge is a crucial part of learning in working-class manual culture because so many of the experiences people who belong to this culture have from school are negative experiences (Reay 2017; Skeggs 2007). When it comes to the men in our study, the stories of their encounter with reading instruction in school are stories that lack genuine joy. Many of the men describe the reading practices they encountered in school as meaningless and above all boring. Samuel (age 19) describes his experiences as follows:

Samuel: (Literacy) was one of the most boring subjects that's for sure.

Interviewer: Because?
Samuel: A lot of reading, a lot, a lot, well meaningless.
Interviewer: A lot of reading?
Samuel: Yeah, a lot of reading and writing and neither reading, nor writing is fun I think.

The men have very few positive memories of the reading instruction in school and the texts they were supposed to read, and as soon as they begin to talk about reading in school they also begin to talk in terms of achievement, pressure and the teachers' judgement of their reading skills. Noel (age 30) remembers the many occasions when he had to read aloud in class, which he associates with a certain anxiety of embarrassing himself in front of teachers and classmates. He says that the pressure to read flawlessly and with fluency created a situation where reading only became a mechanical act and the focus on content disappeared completely:

> I did not listen to what the others read, I tried to memorise the text that I would read there so I did not listen to what they said.

Several of the other men have similar experiences and some of them also remember how they were separated from the other classmates due to the fact that their teachers thought they were 'poor' readers. Being labeled as poor readers by their teachers already at an early age is something that has affected several of the men's self-esteem when it comes to reading, and it is clear that when the men position themselves as poor readers, or in some cases even define themselves as non-readers, these are positions taken in relation to the dominant discourse of what constitutes reading. The image of a reader, as it emerges through the men's stories, is basically a person sitting alone, reading long and thick books, preferably fiction. Thus, the men's identities as poor readers, as they emerge in their storytelling, are largely a result of the negative experiences they have made from their encounter with the reading instruction in school which mediated this more institutionalised and formal view on reading. From this point of view, the image of the men's relationship to reading that emerges in their stories thus initially confirms the image of working-class males' relationship to reading that dominates the field of reading research; that is, that male readers do not read that much (or at all), that they experience reading as boring and meaningless, and that they, not least as students, can be described as both uncommitted and 'poor' readers (cf. Hammet & Sanford, 2008; Martino, 2019). However, the further into the men's stories we get when talking to them, the more nuanced the picture of their relationship to reading also becomes. When the men are given the opportunity to elaborate more on reading practices they are engaged in in different contexts, and when we approach their stories with a broad view on reading and texts, including multimodal aspects embedded in multiple contexts and associated with multiple forms of social interaction (eg. Asplund & Pérez Prieto, 2018; Hamston & Love, 2008), a more complex image of the men as readers emerges. Furthermore, as we will show below, there are some distinct and unique combinations of factors at work when these rural working-class men culturally re-appropriate the institutionalised reading practices in their daily life within their lived community.

Living in an oral storytelling tradition

Although there was no explicit reading tradition in the respondents' homes and in their families, it does not mean that encounters with texts did not exist, rather the opposite. It is clear from the men's stories that they have grown up, and lived in an environment where the oral storytelling tradition is highly alive and vital, and that a large part of the informal literacy learning takes place through oral storytelling. This oral storytelling tradition takes different shapes, but have in common that it is through such oral processes that knowledge, cultures, traditions, attitudes and ways of being and behaving are mediated within and between generations. Erik (in his 60s) grew up in the 1960s in a home where he was surrounded by adults (both family members and neighbors and acquaintances) who constantly told stories about the history of the rural community and about the people who once lived there. Erik especially remembers the stories that were told to him when he was a child about Finnish culture, but also the stories that were told about the Finnish war children who grew up in the countryside during and shortly after the Second World War. When Erik then gets older, he will apply to the local library to get to nurture his interest in local history, but also to put this information and stories about local individuals in a larger historical context. With the help of some female librarians, he borrows a great many historical documents as well as non-fiction books to read about the Finnish culture and the second world war. The proximity to the oral (his)stories thus affects Eric and leaves traces in him which he carries with him from childhood to adulthood, and eventually this leads him into reading historical documents aiming to learn and understand more about the local community, its history and its inhabitants, and to integrate all that in 'the larger picture', as he says.

The closeness to the oral storytelling tradition also recurs in the men's stories about how they were read to as children. Although most of the men describe their parents as non-readers, they all grew up in homes where formal reading was still highly valued and considered as an important skill to master. Not least, it was thought of as an important skill in order to get a decent job after school, and to be able to function as a citizen in a democratic society This is especially evident through the men's stories about their mothers who read aloud to them during their upbringing. Nevertheless, several of the men also say that their fathers and grandparents read aloud to them when they were children. However, these instances of storytelling could also take place without the adults reading paper-based texts. Many of the men remember, for example, how their parents and grandparents told them different stories, fairy tales or tales about events and people in the community when they went to sleep.

Folk Music and Country

Another way to approach texts is through music. There is a music tradition in the community with connections to folk music, dance band music, country and not least there is a highly vital rockabilly culture in the community. One of the young men in the study, Samuel (19), grew up with his father, who has been a dance band musician for as long as he can remember:

> […] so I have been with him a lot, and it was way before I was born so it is the only thing he has been doing.

Virtually "everyone" in Samuel's family "is involved in music" and this interest in music has been passed down to himself, he says. Today he listens to a lot of music and through his father's music making and songwriting he has learned to analyse how songs are structured and how the different instruments interact with each other in the songs. The interest in music, and its significance for men's learning trajectories, can also take other expressions. Noel's (30) paternal grandfather worked, besides as a forest ranger, as a trade traveler for a period of time and he used to sing songs for the customers:

Noel: They always said that my grandfather, when he came, he drove out goods also he drove out goods from, to people then, from shops and then he always had the guitar with him and he always played for them. And then he said that he played so that the old women wept in the cottages he said, he told me the old man there. But he sang a lot of 'skillingtryck' very sad songs, and then he performed other songs too but it's like, he got that in turn as well then because his father also sang with a guitar and stuff like that.

Interviewer: How do you know that?

Noel: Well he (Noel's paternal grandfather) has told me that and dad has told me too, and then, so it's a lot. And then he has recorded songs on records and stuff so I have several records that my grandfather has sung so it's a legacy that is still around after all. What I usually do, I always sat and sang the songs myself when I was young, so I do know those songs, but eh I should just have to try to learn to play the guitar then.

"Skillingtryck" is a broadside ballad type of traditional song with folksy lyrics that was sung for the general public. Noel says that there were many biblical elements in the songs that his grandfather sang and that they were sung in churches in the past. Noel's father also has a great interest in music and he has collected several thousand vinyls which Noel now keeps at home. The record collection is dominated by the musics from the 50s and 60s. 'There is a special culture in this community,' says Noel, and the community is known for its 'raggarkultur' (rocker culture in English). When Noel plays the song 'One song away from home' performed by Johnny Cash's brother, Tommy Cash, during one of the interviews, Noel explains that country music is usually sad and depicts the virtues of a hard day's labor, and poor people striving for a better life. One of the 'treasures' in the record collection is a record that Johnny Cash signed when Noel's father once met him. Noel's father's experiences of and stories about his meeting with Johnny Cash and other musicians such as Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings are also stories that Noel himself recounts when he talks about his interest in Johnny Cash and country music. As such, Noel's and Samuel's stories show how the oral storytelling tradition also takes shape through listening to and singing music, specifically in terms of paying attention to song lyrics, and how these are processes through which culture, traditions and ways of being are passed down from older generations to younger generations.

Listening to teachers and audio books

The oral storytelling tradition also breaks through when the men reflect on the reading instruction they encountered in school. Although the majority of the men

experienced the reading instruction in school as both boring and meaningless, there were times when it gave them both meaning and purpose. In the interviews, this is often linked to moments when they were read aloud to. Samuel (age 19) remembers the preschool years and the reading aloud moments in the classroom as very special and he has positive memories of the 'story time sessions' which he thought were 'great fun':

> When I was in first grade they had this reading aloud sessions like this, we sat in a circle and then we were read to […] I remember what the books were about but I don't remember the names. We actually read quite a few because I was caught up in that. It was like a, like a story time session, but it was a whole book that we read […] I know I thought it was great fun…yes it was actually really fun, I liked it.

Samuel still prefers to listen to books, rather than reading them:

> I don't read that much today if I don't have to. It's more this ordinary reading, that is, I don't read books. It's not that I go to the library and borrow a book or buy myself a book. In that case I prefer to listen to books.

For a majority of the six informants, the teachers' oral storytelling sessions and oral lectures have also been important for their learning trajectories in school, and in many cases these oral sessions have been absolutely crucial for them to be able to complete their studies. Samuel (age 19), for example, says that there were teachers who misjudged his ability to learn, because he did not read the texts in school as much, or as intensely as many of his classmates. His strategy was instead to listen to the teachers during their lectures:

> I actually did not study that much, there were many teachers who said that when I sat in class it did not seem as though I was listening […] but it used to show on the tests instead. So I sat and took stuff in, I listened and learned the stuff without thinking about it. That was how I was misunderstood many times […] on the tests, it went well, it went very well.

Olov (age 19) also highlights the importance of listening to texts as a complement to reading, and clarifies that reading typographic texts is strenuous, which is why he prefers to listen to texts:

> It is very easy for me to listen, but if I should read something then it is so hard for me, for me to read. I'm not dyslectic or something, it's nothing like that, but it is so hard for me and it is so boring you know. It's much easier to listen.

The oral storytelling tradition that surrounds the men thus opens up processes whereby a person not only tells stories about past events, and experiences or communicates know-how skills, but also processes whereby a person tells stories about content or reads content aloud, or in other ways turns writing into an oral phenomenon.

This seems to be a central dimension of how the rural working-class men in the study re-appropriate reading, and it also constitutes an important dimension in the men's literacy learning trajectories in that the processes of oralising make it possible to exceed the (cultural) distance to written text and written curriculum that is made visible in the men's narratives.

Transforming reading into physical and embodied action

The men often describe themselves as having been restless students who had 'no calm in their bodies to sit still' and 'just' read. It is clear that the men in their storytelling position themselves as men who have a strong urge to use and work with their bodies and their hands. They describe themselves as practical people, as handicraftsmen, who have always enjoyed doing things with their hands and bestirred themselves in the woods and natural areas surrounding their community. However, what also emerges in the interviews is that they often transform the reading of written, typographic text into practical, physical, and embodied actions, a process we will refer to as manualising. We will highlight two such core patterns that emerge in the men's stories.

Motors and hunting

One pattern concerns the practices of reading texts that the men encounter at work and texts they read about their hobbies, which primarily revolve around motor vehicles, fishing and hunting. Patrick (age 30) may illustrate our first example. Patrick describes himself as a self-taught person who has always loved working with his hands and solving practical problems while fixing motors, cars and motorcycles. When he was ten (years old), Patrick got hold of an instruction book for a new car, a Volvo, that his father had just bought:

> I probably read that instruction book until I knew every single data on those Volvos by heart […] It was so damn fun to check what there was for offer to read because then you were interested. So then, I know, it was a fucking instruction book that I sat and read through hundreds of times! And it was, it was everything from where the fuses set to what systems there were in the car.

This particular reading of instruction books is a type of reading that will follow Patrick through the years, and some ten years later Patrick will return to this type of reading when he, as an employee at a car repair shop, can satisfy his interest in how cars work by reading about them:

> When I worked at Volvo, I read like hell about the computer systems, a bit about them as well then to see…well how it was built so it's stuff like that that catches someone else's interest in reading. Then you had…well, yes for my part I had a purpose because then I was able to know what it was about. But that was probably something that never happened in school, that is I did not see any reason at all for anything we did there what so ever.

Patrick's desire to understand how cars and other motorised vehicles work and how they can be repaired is a strong motivating factor when it comes to his relationship

to reading. He often searches for information on his mobile phone or in motor magazines about how someone else 'has built an engine or something' and when reading about this he can get access to other people's experiences and knowledge and transform it into a physical, manual activity. It is also clear that this type of reading has a purpose and that it therefore also gives him not only pleasure, but also meaning. However, Patrick is not at all alone in transforming the reading of written word into physical activity; the pattern is repeated in several of the other men's stories. Erik (63), for example, has a great interest in hunting and he spends a great deal of time training his dog before the hunt. In order to learn more about dogs and hunting, he subscribes to several different hunting and dog magazines which he reads to learn how he can develop skills such as how to communicate with the dog during hunting.

A key feature in the men's life stories is their hunting interest that has engaged many of their male family members and relatives across generations. To be an active huntsman and to be a part of a hunting team is important for their sense of belonging to a community and for their identities as rural working-class men living in the woodlands. The quote from Noel (age 30) below illuminates how the hunting interest is a legacy that is passed down from one generation to another within the family:

> Everyone has hunted, you could say. Dad and grandpa and grandpa and my brother and my cousin and my uncle, all of them hunt.

Several of the men talk about how they already at a young age, often as children, got to accompany their fathers and grandfathers on hunting and they tell how they then learned to handle firearms, but also how they were socialised into the hunting team community. Another dimension that some of the men highlight in connection with the hunting is how they also, by spending a great deal of time with their fathers or grandfathers in the forest, got to know nature on a deeper level. When Patrick talks about his relationship with the forest, he does so in terms of 'reading', 'listening to, and 'feeling' nature and wildlife, and it is through the hundreds of hours he has spent in the forest with his father that he developed these skills.

For the respondents, a life in nature is vital, they cannot imagine another life - and this is also a lifestyle and an attitude that the men who are fathers mediate to their own children. Noel, for example, has engaged his eldest sons (8 and 5 years old) in the hunting, and they cannot wait to join him for the next hunting season, he says. Patrick (age 30) emphasises during one of the interviews that he wants his daughter to have the same upbringing that he himself got, and for Patrick this means, among other things, that his daughter should grow up in the countryside and have access to nature where she can learn to drive various motor vehicles, play with friends in the forest, and go hunting with him. Patrick's story also testifies how strong the family ties are and how the social elements that are linked to activities such as hunting, for example, are dimensions that displace gender stereotypical patterns. For Patrick, hunting does not primarily signify a masculine activity, but rather a locally rooted, enacted, and community-building activity that is practiced together with family members - regardless of gender - and other people in the local rural community. The learning and socialisation that the men talk about when talking about hunting thus take place through the process of oralising, but a great deal of learning and socialisation also goes on while reading different types of texts. In the same way as Eric, many of the other men also read hunting magazines to nurture and develop their hunting skills, which yet again

highlights how the written culture is fed back into a manual culture and thus becomes re-appropriated.

Reading as a gateway to a manual community

However, just as the family's involvement in hunting can be a gateway into the local community, the absence of male family members as 'pole star figures' (Goodson, 2013) can complicate this process of socialisation. Krister (age 65) lost his father when he was a child. He describes his father as 'a real hunter', but his father's early death meant that hunting skills were not mediated from father to son, as is customary in the community where Krister grew up. The hunting therefore became an arena that was not made available to him in the same way as for other boys his age in his surroundings, which also created a feeling of exclusion. However, Krister had a male cousin who taught him how to fish when he was six years old and since then fishing has been important to Krister, even as a means for reading. Besides reading a great many fishing magazines, Krister also reads biographies and fiction, and he is the only one of the six men who explicitly positions himself as an engaged reader. The Swedish author Hans Lidman is Krister's favorite author whose books Krister describes as fishing and nature depictions of what it was like in the past to live under harsh conditions in the northern parts of Norway and Sweden.

> I think it is really captivating to read because he was up there in the north a lot, in the Cap of the North and he depicts human destinies and people who lives there and like how they coped and who lived under maybe very harsh conditions. […] He has written a lot of fishing depictions and how he was there and fished then. He really is the one who has caught my attention the most, with people and the fishing depictions through all the years, so that is my interest.

Reading Lidman's depictions of people who live in the woodlands and stories about living under harsh conditions is something that Krister can relate to himself. While we do not want to psychologise Krister's reading preferences, it is an interesting fact that he shares some lived experiences with Lidman himself, who also lost his father when he was a child, and who developed feelings of exclusion from the male community and found his resort from these feelings in nature and specifically in fishing waters (see also Asplund & Ljung Egeland, 2020).

The coexistence of reading and physical activity

Another manualising feature in the men's relationship to reading that can also be linked to the oral storytelling culture that they live in, and that also makes it possible to make visible how they create spaces in which reading and physical work or physical activity can coexist, is the listening to audiobooks that some of the men engage in. However, according to the respondents, the listening to audiobooks is an activity that should be done while doing something 'useful'. This 'useful' category consists of physical, manual work such as painting a house or driving an excavator or forestry machine. To 'just' listen to audiobooks is considered a waste of time. This form of listening (i.e., 'just' sitting and listening when someone is reading aloud) is thus equated with the more solitary form of reading fiction novels. Patrick (age 30) may clarify this:

P If someone were to sit and read aloud to me now, I would be so bored that I would sit and do something else. That it…
S There is a difference between that and audio books?
P Well no, but then I do something in the meantime. Then I sit and drive and then I do the job. But if I had to stop to sit and just read then I would feel so inefficient so then I would not be able to do it then anyway.

Olov (age 19), also listens to audiobooks and he thinks that the fact that his mother listens to audiobooks 'very much' could be a reason why he does that himself today.

O: I have started listening to an audiobook, I think it is going well.
[…]
I: How did you get into audiobooks?
O: Well, my mother listens to audiobooks a lot, so it's probably from there in that case.
I: How do you listen? Do you lie down when you listen or do you do something when you listen to audiobooks?
O: No, I can do something. I have been home and painted the house now when I have not had anything to do, then I listen to audiobooks and it works out fine.

Like Patrick, Olov says that he prefers to be engaged in a physical or a practical activity while listening to audio books.

Interacting (physically) with books

Another example that we would like to highlight where processes of manualising also function as a gateway to reading is the physical handling of books. When Noel (30) was a child, his father started collecting books and today he has over 10,000 books in his collection. The books are stored at Noel's father's home in a large storehouse in the yard, and a vast majority of them are placed in self-carpentry bookshelves. Throughout his upbringing, Noel has been involved in this work and in addition to traveling around large parts of Sweden and Norway, purchasing books with his father, he has been involved in the physical handling of the books. For Noel, the handling of books has included actions where he has sorted books and 'typed them' in a computer, including the names of the authors, titles, publishers, places of publications, years of publication, and numbers of pages. For Noel (and his father), it is important that the books are stored in the right place in the bookshelves and it turns out that thousands of the books are published in chronological order (in volumes), which is marked with a number on the respective book spine. When Noel talks about the book collection, it also appears that this was not just an activity that he was engaged in together with his father, but also together with one of his cousins, Martin. The two cousins spent a great deal of time among all of the books and Noel says that during certain periods they hurried home to Noel's father after school to build bookshelves, and to help him with the sorting and categorisation of all the books. For Noel, however, the book collecting activity is not only about a physical handling of books - it is not just a tactile activity - it also includes social actions where books can be read and talked about.

> So you sat down then. It's like you tell each other stories, stories when you think of a book then. If you sit like that and then 'yes yes right, oh yes that one' and then you told the plot of that book, right. And he (Noel's cousin) has told me a lot about books when I was sitting there writing. I may not have read those books however. And then he told me then. It was he who told me about Bernhard Nordh then. Then I got stuck in those books you know. […] You sit with the books, and then you can just be caught up in a text, and then you can just be caught up in reading that text, and I guess that is, you know, that's what happens when you sort this books you know. 'This was interesting then'. And you read some. And sometimes it happens that you read several pages.

Noel's story shows that he (and his cousin) does not only read in a solitary way but also in a social way. This pattern is also evident in other respondents' stories. Patrick, for example, says that other men in the company that he works in, also listen to audio books, and that they occasionally talk to each other about books they have read during breaks, and that they give each other suggestions of 'good reads'. So what Noel and Patrick are doing here is that they re-appropriate written culture; they read aloud, they listen to stories, and they tell and listen to stories about books when interacting with other men. In this way, they also re-appropriate the written culture through the processes of oralising in ways that are familiar and socially acceptable to a specifically male manual working-class culture.

Discussion

Our analysis shows how the respondents re-appropriate the written culture they encountered in school into a social and cultural practice that is sympathetic and socially accepted within the local working-class culture, and how two kinds of re-appropriation emerge as central in this process. One kind of re-appropriation is oralising, whereby a person tells stories about content or reads content aloud, or in other ways makes the written into an oral phenomenon. The second kind of re-appropriation is to turn written discourse into a manual operation or a physical and embodied activity. Our analysis also shows that these two kinds of re-appropriation are not two separate dimensions of reading practices, but that they can exist simultaneously and mutually contextualise each other. So instead of reading being a 'cold' unfamiliar act, it is transformed into a meaningful act that goes on through oralising, and/or while physical work and embodied activity take place. Hence, the men re-appropriate their negative knowledge (Oser et al., 2020) and experiences of the reading practices they encountered in school into a joyful and meaningful social and cultural practice which can be integrated in their daily life within their lived community. As such, the men re-design (Janks 2010) the dominant written forms of literacy practices into a practice that becomes associated with 'having a good time' (cf. Asplund & Olin-Scheller, 2021; Goodson, 1996; Willis, 1977), but also associated with doing something 'useful'. In this way, the written activity and the written culture are fed back into a manual and/or oral culture and thereby become culturally re-appropriated.

Working-class children and youth have a historical and collective memory of marginalisation and subordination in schooling (Gerrard, 2013). What they instinctively know from their community history, family history, and ancestral history is that schools will fail them or succeed in pushing them into manual jobs (Reay, 2017; Willis, 1977). Hence, the continuous 'failure' of working-class males in school is a

particular case of misalignment – not a case of 'cultural deficit'. In light of this, it is not that strange that many working-class children and youth are looking for other things from schooling. However, the cultural re-appropriation that emerges through the analysis of the men's stories about their relationship to reading should not be perceived as a mere 'reflex'. The cultural re-appropriation comes from a pressing need 'to create a hinterland' beyond the intentions and artifices of school. By creating this hinterland, a familiar world beyond the nefarious intentions of the school and the dominant culture, the working-class men are trying to create a space for action. Hence, through the processes of 'manualising' and 'oralising', the rural working-class men in this study are agentially seeking to redirect this misalignment through the re-appropriation of written culture within the way that their own culture is aligned. Not surprisingly, this space is filled with the traditional working-class patterns of behaviour and cultural resources; a desire for fun and enjoyment, a need to be physically active, and a need to connect with the broad ancestral history of the group (Goodson, 1996; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Willis, 1977; Åberg & Hedlin, 2015). By culturally appropriating the more institutionalised practice of reading in this manner, they are setting up a hinterland, a familiar space, a friendly space where they can once again begin their reading and their learning. Furthermore, it is not that working-class boys and men do not have the capacity to learn, nor that they do not have the desire to learn – it is that the reading practices and reading cultures of school mediate against their capacities and desires. Hence, cultural re-appropriation is a prerequisite for learning and for reading and for general education and emancipation.

An important task for literacy teachers, in light of this, would be to mediate between vernacular literacy practices and literacy practices in school. Although this message has been emphasized in earlier literacy studies on minorities (Mui & Anderson, 2009; Purcell-Gates, 2013; Sarroub, Pernicek & Sweeney, 2007), struggling and reluctant male readers (Sarroub & Pernicek, 2016; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004), as well as the working classes (McTavish, 2007; Scholes, 2019, 2020), the voices of the rural working-class males in this study emphasize the need for this message to be repeated. This especially concerns the need for literacy teachers to acknowledge the literacy learning that the rural working-class children carry with them to school. This includes embracing features such as oral culture, manual culture, and ancestral voices, and making reading instruction in school relevant, 'fun', and worth engaging in.

Li (2006, 2010) has suggested that efforts are needed to change the power relationships between school and home and this postulates a 'culturally reciprocal change' in which teachers have direct contact with and systematically study the cultural lives of students' families and communities (see also Cremin et al., 2012). This approach goes beyond shallow efforts to connect with students' social and cultural realities based on unfounded generalizations. Hence, finding effective ways to get in touch with students' literacy practices and their social realities outside school is crucial, according to Li (2010). Reflecting on our findings, we think that one feasible way to bridge the gap between rural working-class boys' reading practices and school reading practices, and to build a narrative community in the classroom that makes it possible for working-class boys to build a different narrative identity of themselves as readers would be to use their own narratives about reading as a starting point for reading instruction. As our findings illustrate, when the males get the opportunity to share their experiences of reading, a myriad of reading practices emerge which are often hidden for teachers (cf. Purcell-Gates, 2013). The approach we advocate for intersects with the

narrative research tradition that highlights storytelling and narratives as important and useful resources that can be used to develop teaching (Goodson & Gill, 2011, 2014) and connects with what Goodson et al. (2010) describe as *narrative learning*. Narrative learning is about the different ways in which we learn from our lives *in* and *through* the stories we tell about ourselves. Hence, storytelling could be used not only as a means for literacy teachers to develop knowledge about the informal reading practices students bring with them to school, but also as a means for students to shape, reshape and strengthen their identities as readers in a school context. Students who develop these autonomous insights about themselves as readers in the social order will be able to create their own learning patterns which respect their own sense of who they are and where they come from.

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Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching and Learning over Time

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Abstract

This study is an attempt to review the main language teaching approaches and methods used in the last hundred and fifty years or so. This is justified by the fact that though some teachers, native and non-native, may have some knowledge of the theoretical underpinnings of their classroom practices and techniques, they may lack an understanding of some other related past and present teaching methods and approaches. Those methods and approaches are reviewed in a simple and straightforward fashion. The theoretical, economic, political, and educational factors affecting their development, implementation, and change are touched upon in order for teachers to better understand their classroom implementation and seek to improve it and justify it with reference to a clearer, simpler, and more straightforward reading of the literature on the topic in focus.

Key terms: approaches; methods; qualification; language; teaching; learning

Introduction

One way to measure teachers' qualifications is by looking into their teaching styles, classroom practices, and implementation, and weighing them against appropriate established approaches and methodologies. Therefore, adequate training in and knowledge of language teaching theories are of paramount importance. Cambridge University developed two language training programs, CELTA and DELTA, for English language teachers who seek international certification. CELTA covers the following five practical topics: teaching and learning context, language analysis and awareness, planning and resources for different teaching contexts, and developing teaching skills and professionalism. As for DELTA, while still practical, it is more theoretical than CELTA, as it covers "historical and current approaches and methods" (British council – Delta syllabus, p. 2). Both certificates are significant in the sense that they are accepted by language centers all over the world. With reference to the recruitment website page of the English Language Institute of King Abdulaziz University, of Jeddah, KSA, for instance, preference goes to candidates who have these two certificates. In some other educational institutions across the world, some teachers are hired simply because they are native speakers of English, not because they have teaching competencies (Braine, 1999). Also, in Hong Kong, "undergraduate degree holders can be appointed as school teachers even if they do not possess teaching qualifications" (Kember, 2016, p. 10). In many English language centers and institutes in the Middle East, a great number of English language teachers, native speakers in particular, do not have any language teaching certificates. They have degrees in subjects like mathematics, physics, etc., and therefore have little, if any, idea about language teaching methods and approaches. I have been involved in interviewing candidates for English language teaching positions at a university in the Middle East, and I have had firsthand experience with many such cases. In some other contexts in the Arab world,

Tunisia as an example, teachers of English refer mainly to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), though the term 'eclectic' may at times crop up in discussions between teachers and teacher-trainers. Approaches and methods predating CLT, however, remain unknown to some teachers who have specialized in sub-specialties like literature, civilization, etc. The course given to students of English specializing in applied linguistics remains largely theory-based and is therefore far from helping students have a full and practical grasp of the approaches and methodologies in question. Only when they are about to start teaching, and through a pre-service training, and later through an in-service training do teachers of English (from the different sub-specialties) start to experiment with and put to practice their understanding of CLT.

Some teachers or critics may argue that practice often trumps theory. However, it should be pointed out that a solid knowledge of theories surely benefits and translates to teachers' practices. Balboni (2018) argues that "epistemological and methodological anarchy flourishes in the absence of any theoretical framework that can serve as scaffolding for the whole of language education" (p. 2). Surely, teachers need to resort to different theories depending on the kinds of students they have and depending on the different needs of different students. A teacher whose students need to present scientific findings orally, for instance, would refer to CLT and would focus on modelling and speaking, rather than on mastering grammar or sentence structure. A teacher's choice of such techniques is better justified by theory.

Therefore, this paper attempts to bridge the gap and help these less qualified teachers have easier access to and a more solid understanding of the different language teaching theories to which they might resort when they teach students with different needs and objectives. The paper also seeks to help teachers and students alike understand teaching practices and techniques and relate them to the changes affecting language teaching, be they theoretical, economic, political, or educational, etc. This paper attempts to summarize the huge body of literature on this issue. Teachers may always have access to primary resources but this paper cuts a long story short, as it were, and the busy teacher would be spared the many unnecessary details. This paper provides a simplified reading of the main methods and approaches, and attempts to explain the changes and transitions between them.

Concepts and definitions

In this section, four key concepts at the basis of language teaching methodology are defined for two main reasons. First, teachers and learners may find them ambiguous in meaning. Second, they are major terms in the literature review in this paper. These four terms are: paradigm, approach, method, and procedures.

Paradigm

This is the most enigmatic concept. In plain English, it is an *established* comprehensive *view* that guides and lays out teachers' and learners' practices. Learner-centered rather than teacher-centered practices, process-oriented rather than product-oriented instruction, the social nature of learning rather than decontextualized learning, learning as a life-long process rather than as a process that ends once a test is taken, etc., are but a few beliefs at the basis of the new paradigm, also called constructivist paradigm, and learning paradigm. In the old paradigm (also called traditional paradigm, instructional paradigm or teaching paradigm), focus was on increasing the quantity of information. In the new paradigm, focus is on the effectiveness of the learning process

and on what learners can do with the new information. Though the term 'paradigm' can sometimes be used to refer to the concept of approach, it is broader in focus.

Approach

An approach is a theory about the nature of language, language learning and teaching. It has to do with "correlative assumptions" about how people learn and teachers teach in general. It is the level at which views, assumptions, and beliefs (specified under the term 'paradigm'; that guide and establish teachers' and learners' practices, and about language and learning in general) are specified.

Method

It is the level at which an approach is applied. With reference to Richards and Rodgers (2015), "method is the level at which theory is put into practice and at which choices are made about the particular skills to be taught, the content to be taught, and the order in which the content will be presented" (p. 21).

Procedures

Procedures are step-by-step measures to execute a method. They are also called techniques and a few examples are given below. Common procedures for the grammar-translation method, for instance, include the following:

1. A second language text is read by the class.
2. A passage from the second language text is translated by the students to their mother tongue.
3. New words are translated by the students from the second language to their mother tongue.
4. A grammar rule is given to the students. Using the new translated words, students apply the rule.
5. Vocabulary of the second language is memorized.
6. The grammar rule is stated and memorized by the students.
7. Errors made by the students are corrected and the right answers are provided.
8. We may, however, come across variations to these procedures, also called techniques.

Approaches and Methods

The intention, in this section, is to shed light on some of the most important teaching methods and approaches in the history of English language learning and teaching. The reader's attention should be drawn to the fact that the terms 'method' and 'approach' are used with particular teaching trends for reasons that will be explained below.

As we shall see below, teaching methods change over time. One goal is to improve teaching effectiveness; another goal is to answer the changing needs of learners themselves, or even to keep pace with the arising theories on the nature of language and language learning. For more comprehensive details about teaching approaches and methods, teachers, and especially researchers are advised to consult Rodgers et al. (2001), Mukalel (2005), and Richards and Rodgers (2015). This last publication would be of particular interests to the readers of this review paper as it

basically follows the same pattern. The worth and value of this paper, however, is most manifest as it addresses the same issues but in more concise and clearer terms, which could be of paramount importance to busy practitioners, teachers, and teacher-trainers.

Grammar-translation method

As its name indicates, grammar-translation method is a way of learning a language through a "detailed study of its grammar" (Nagaraj, 1996, p. 2). Grammar rules are then applied to translate sentences from L1 into L2 and vice-versa. This method rests on the same methods of teaching Greek and Latin, which both were then thought to include intrinsic components that build *will* and *intellect* in the mind of learners. *Will* and *intellect* are two basic components that formed, among other things, the concept of "faculty psychology"- a concept upon which rested old-fashioned European educational disciplines.

The principal characteristics of the Grammar Translation Method are as follows:

1. The primary goal behind learning a language is to read its literature. The grammar rules of a language are studied in great detail, and then used alongside the studied vocabulary to translate sentences into and out of the target language. In so doing, "The first language is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language" (Stern, 1983, p. 455).
2. There is little emphasis, if any, on speaking and listening. There is, however, an outright focus on writing and reading. The reading texts are the source of the selected vocabulary, which is later taught through bilingual word lists.
3. Emphasis is on accuracy. Grammar is taught deductively, and then practiced through translation exercises. The learners are required to achieve high standards in translation. This is indicative of "having an intrinsic moral value, [and] was a prerequisite for passing the increasing number of formal written examinations that grew up during the century" (Howatt, 1984, p. 132).
4. Instruction is done using the students' native language. Teachers use L1 for explanation and for comparing between the students' first language and the taught language.

Grammar Translation dominated European and foreign language teaching from the 1840s to the 1940s, and in modified and "various forms" it continues to be widely used "in all parts of the world" today (Mukalel, 2005, p. 45). More recently, Seeroi (2012) wrote on the merits of the grammar-translation method in today's Japan and in the rest of the world.

It seems worthy to note that grammar translation theory makes few demands on teachers. It is still used in situations where understanding literary texts is the primary focus of foreign language study, especially when there is little need for a speaking knowledge of the language. Contemporary texts for the teaching of foreign languages at the college level, in many parts of the world, often reflect Grammar-Translation principles. These texts are frequently the products of people trained in literature rather than in language teaching or in applied linguistics (Richards & Rodgers, 2015). More recent use of grammar translation method is documented in countries like Indonesia (Hermita, 2009), Jordan (Aqel, 2013), Lithuania (Dagilienė, 2012), and in Saudi Arabia (AlRefaii, 2013).

One good reason behind its being considered a method rather than a theory, according to Richards and Rodgers (2015), is that "it is a method for which there is no

theory. There is no literature that offers a rationale or justification for it or that attempts to relate it to issues in linguistics, psychology, or educational theory" (p. 7).

From the 1880s on, with the advent of the Reform Movement, linguists such as Henry Sweet in England, Wilhelm Vietor in Germany, and Paul Passy in France began to call for a change towards a focus on speech rather than on the language written form. They opted for teaching the phonetic sound system of languages (i.e. phonetics), which gave new insights on speech processes. Now there was an emphasis on speech rather than on the written form of the language. In 1886, The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was designed to transcribe the sounds of languages. In addition to the new focus on speech and the phonetic system, teachers started using conversation texts and dialogues for the purpose of introducing idioms and conversational phrases. These conversation texts and dialogues are presented in meaningful contexts, which are also crucial to present grammar rules inductively, with a very limited use of translation of new words. These new principles of the time laid the basis for a more principled approach to language teaching- one based on more "naturalistic principles of language learning, such as are seen in first language acquisition" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 11). This led to the development of the direct method.

The Direct Method

The direct method is defined as a way to study a language through conversation, discussion, and reading in the target language itself, without use of formal grammar study, translation or recourse to the learners' first language (Dash & Dash, 2007; Eden, 1998; Palmer & Palmer, 1970).

This was one of the first moves towards more "natural" and "realistic" (Crystal, 2007, p. 438) language learning methods, in the sense that second language learning became somehow similar to the way a child acquired their first language, with less focus on language analysis and more towards the practical meaning-related use of the language. The direct method pioneers such as Gouin (1880), together with pioneers from the Reform Movement (members of the International Phonetics Association, IPA for short) contributed to this change from focus on form to focus on use.

The interest is now in intensive oral interaction in the target language, and in trying to "directly" convey meaning through demonstration and action. Students would be able to induce the rules of grammar and the meaning of words through a direct, active, spontaneous, and intensive use of the target language in class. The main source of knowledge, therefore, is no longer the textbook which is replaced by the native teacher - a source of correct pronunciation and grammar rules.[1]

In private schools, and where learners could pay for what they learnt, the direct method was quite successful. In public schools, however, it was not that easy to pay native speaker teachers. Also, it was counterproductive to strictly adhere to the principles of the direct method. Native speaker teachers are not always proficient and skilled enough to teach a language, even if it is their mother tongue. It goes without saying that being a native speaker of a language does not mean having the skill and the proficiency to teach it. In addition, instead of using long explanations in the target language, "a simple, brief explanation in the student's native language would have been a more efficient route to comprehension" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 13). In addition, and though it was innovative at the level of teaching procedures, it failed to

[1] This is also called the Berlitz method, though the term 'direct' is not used by Berlitz.

address more basic issues such as methodological principles (Sweet, 1899), which is one of the reasons behind the appearance of a more methodologically principled method - the oral method.

The Oral Method

Palmer (1921, p. v) in the dedicatory preface to his book *The Oral Method of Teaching Languages* made the following note:

> The demand for language lessons on a **conversational basis** was rapidly increasing, not only in England, but all over the world- and . . . there was apparently not a single book yet in existence which gave clear and **precise indications** to teachers as to **how such a course should be conducted**; it was left to each individual teacher to work out his own system, good, bad, or indifferent. [Emphasis added]

Palmer's above quotation highlights one of the reasons behind the advent of the oral method, which was the need for a principled methodology to conduct lessons which are based on conversations. The materials forming the basis for instruction, as suggested by Palmer himself, include but are not limited to: question and answer drills of all sorts, yes and no drills, sequential groups, conversion exercises, fluency exercises, pronunciation and intonation exercises, and exercises in conscious and unconscious oral assimilation.

Palmer's advice to the learners of a language is to "go among the natives, mix with them, listen to them, accustom yourself to hearing the language as spoken in everyday conversation…make no systematic study of grammar, make no written notes, perform no conscious analysis; in short, pick up the language as you did your mother tongue" (Palmer, 1921, p. 1). The idea was to dispense with books, which were considered an obstacle between the learners and the teacher, and to embrace a complete oral approach to teaching and learning. With little or almost no writing and reading, with no formal analysis or study of the structure of language, and with no recourse to his or her mother tongue, the learner can pick up the language exactly in the same way the child does with his or her mother tongue.

Now the challenge is how to put into logical order this huge body of conversations. In other words, there is a need to come up with a principled methodology to select, grade, and then present the materials which are now taught orally before they are presented in written format.

This "new" principled methodology starts with a scheme of classification to select the content, and then to grade it from smaller articles to larger structures, and from single words to structures of more words. After selecting and grading the content, Palmer presented the content in two main manners; the first is based on the 'ears before eyes strategy' and the second on the Presentation-Practice-Production (PPP) format. In this PPP format, which influenced more recent approaches such as the audiolingual method, CLT, and even CBLT, the teacher first presents information to the students and shares it with them. This is followed by a second stage in which students practice what was presented to them without fear of failure. In the third stage, learners produce what they have learnt and transfer it to freer dialogues and activities. Throughout the learning process, the written format is presented only after a sufficient grammatical and lexical basis is established. This grammatical and lexical basis is established through the use of "situations in which the meaning is quite clear" (Pittman, 1963, pp. 155-156).

Pittman uses the term 'situational' to refer to these situations (hence the second label: situational method) where concrete objects, pictures, and realia are used alongside actions and gestures to demonstrate meanings of new vocabulary.

The difference between the terms 'oral' and 'situational' is mainly a matter of age; in that the oral approach appeared in the 1920's while situational language teaching appeared in the 1960's. Other minor differences do exist, but the main one relates to time.

The oral method, however, was criticized for many reasons, chief among which is the inability of many learners to use this PPP model or lesson format to move from the staged and controlled to freer practice. Yet, it should be noted that the oral method was the basis of the underlying theoretical frameworks of major textbooks throughout the 1980s and beyond (Hubbard et al., 1983).

Audiolingualism

The entry of the US into World War II was one of the main reasons behind the development of audiolingualism. The US army needed personnel fluent in foreign languages, and American universities were commissioned to develop a foreign language program for military personnel. In 1942, the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) was established. The objective is "to attain conversational proficiency in a variety of foreign languages" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 58). Because that was not the objective of traditional language teaching approaches in the US, a new approach was called for. This new approach, i.e. audiolingualism, was underpinned by structural linguistics and behaviorism. Structural linguistics is, in part, a reaction against grammar-translation, and against the belief that grammatical categories of Indo-European languages represented ideal categories in languages. With the increased interest in non-European languages, structural linguistics focused on the phonemic, morphological and syntactic systems underlying the grammar of a given language, rather than according to traditional categories of Latin grammar. Linguists developed a more sophisticated methodology to collect and analyze data. Spoken utterances were phonetically transcribed, and the phonemic, morphological (stems, prefixes, suffixes, etc.), and syntactic (phrases, clauses, sentence types) systems underlying the grammar of the language were studied. As for behaviorism, a theory on the psychology of learning, it stipulates that "the human being is an organism capable of a wide repertoire of behaviors" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 63).

With reference to Brooks (1964), the short-term objectives of the method include training in listening comprehension, accurate pronunciation, recognition of speech symbols as graphic signs on the printed page, and the ability to reproduce these symbols in writing. The ability to use the language as the native speaker used it was, however, a long-term objective.

The short-term objective was mainly to develop learners' oral fluency, with particular attention to correct pronunciation, stress, rhythm, and intonation. Therefore, the emphasis was on two main skills- listening and speaking. Classroom practices were centered around dialogues and drills. The teacher uses dialogues to contextualize and memorize key structures and cultural aspects of the target language. After a particular dialogue is presented and memorized, its structures are drilled and practiced in the form of exercises. Some of the drills used include repetition, inflection, replacement, restatement, completion, transposition, etc. (For more details, see Richards and Rodgers, 2015, pp. 67-69). Overall, the audiolingual method to language teaching

views language mainly as speech that can be approached through structure, and that practice makes perfect.

Yet, as of 1970, it started to give way to the communicative approach, and that was the beginning of a paradigm shift, from a traditional paradigm (teaching paradigm) to a constructivist paradigm (learning paradigm).

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

Here we come to a paradigm shift. Therefore, a few words might be needed to help the reader gain a clearer understanding of the term 'paradigm' and its relation to approaches. Basically, all methods / approaches preceding CLT are within a particular comprehensive view that is essentially teacher-centered. This first comprehensive view (also called paradigm) includes the grammar translation method, the direct method, the oral method, and the audiolingual method. Then we move to a second paradigm, which is learner-centered, and which includes CLT, the whole language approach, the outcome-based approach, the task-based approach, and the text-based approach. So, a paradigm is a comprehensive view that can be either teacher-based or learner-based, and which guides the formulation of the different language teaching and learning methods and approaches.

CLT marks the beginning of a paradigm shift, from teaching to learning, from the traditional to the process-oriented paradigm in which learners construct meaning, and in which the teacher is 'a guide on the side' rather than 'a sage on the stage'. In other words, a teacher is a simple facilitator that helps learners find their way on a learning journey, rather than the sole source of knowledge that learners refer to whenever they need information about language use.

The term 'competence' is a key word in CLT. In 1972, Dell Hymes came up with the notion of communicative competence- a notion in contrast to Chomsky's notion of competence, which is essentially linguistic. Chomsky focuses on linguistic competence and disregards linguistic performance. Chomsky (1965) believes that the child is born with language acquisition devices (LAD) which help him / her acquire, recognize, and produce grammatically correct language in an ideal speaker-listener interaction and in a homogenous speech community, without being affected by environmental distractors such as memory limitation, shift of attention or interest, etc. This view was critiqued by Hymes (1972) who came up with the concept of 'communicative competence'. Hymes views competence as inclusive of both theoretical and practical needs, and therefore rejects the dichotomy between competence and performance in that they are but two sides of the same coin. Performance is the observable part of an inferred ability (i.e. competence); and they both are influenced by cognitive and social factors, given that users or speakers of a language cannot be isolated from their speech community- a community with its own linguistic requirements for speakers to be communicatively competent- hence the term 'communicative competence'. With reference to Hymes (1972), a communicatively competent speaker is someone with the knowledge and ability to use language with respect to the following:

1. whether (and to what degree) something is formally possible.
2. whether (and to what degree) something is feasible in virtue of the means of implementation available.

3. whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated.
4. whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually performed, and what its doing entails.

Later, other researchers (Allen, 1980; Brumfit, 1980; Canale and Swain, 1980; Halliday, 1975; Prabhu, 1987; Widdowson, 1978) provided more insights into CLT theory and practice. The focus of this paper, however, is not to provide a detailed review of their works.

The origin of CLT can also be traced back to the establishment of The Common European Market. With the increasing interdependence between the European countries came the need for people to communicate in the languages of the Common European Market. The Council of Europe sponsored research on this issue. The British linguist Wilkins (1972) proposed a functional or communicative understanding of language- an understanding that would form the basis of a yet to be developed syllabi for communicative language teaching. Now, the core language is described through an analysis of the system of meaning that laid behind language use, rather than through traditional concepts of vocabulary and grammar. Wilkins (1972) described two types of meaning: notional categories (concepts such as time, space, sequence, quantity, location, frequency, cause and effect, etc.), and functional categories (such as requests, denials, offers, complaints, etc.). The notional-functional understanding of language was later developed and published in a book entitled *Notional Syllabuses* (1976), and together with contributions from other researchers and the work of the Council of Europe, significantly contributed to communicative language teaching.

At the procedural level, CLT could be said to be based on earlier approaches. In fact, the Practice-Presentation-Production (PPP) format could be traced back to the oral method and also to audiolingual classes. In this three-step process, we find:

1. Presentation: the teacher presents new language items (a grammatical structure or a language function) through the use of words, pictures, audio, acting out, brainstorming, realia, etc.
2. Practice: The teacher provides students with exercises to practice the presented language items. Activities like gap-filling, problem solving, multiple choice questions, controlled role plays, sentence construction are used to this end. Practice is never free at this stage, and the objective is to ensure accuracy.
3. Production: At this stage, the teacher provides occasions for learners to actively produce more freely what has been practiced. The learners engage in activities like topics for writing, free role plays, discussions, etc. The focus here is more on fluency.

CLT, by this token, does not seem to do away with earlier theory and practice. According to Richards and Rodgers (2015), "techniques and classroom management associated with a number of classroom procedures (e.g., group activities, language games, role plays)…[and] the ways in which they are used are [not] exclusive to CLT classrooms" (p. 102).

I should mention that CLT has continued to influence classroom practices today, more particularly with its stronger version- the task-based approach- an approach that underscores "using English to learn it" (Howatt, 1984, p. 279).

CLT, however, was critiqued for its inapplicability in other cultures, its promotion of fossilization, and also for its native speakerism. The latter, however, was revisited with the advent of intercultural communicative language teaching.[2]

The Whole Language Approach

The term "whole language" first appeared in the 1980s in the US, used by a group of educators whose concern was to teach what was understood to be language arts, and that is the teaching of reading and writing for first language learners.

The argument is that language should be taught as a whole, rather than with focus on discrete and isolated features of the language. Reading strategies like word-by-word or "bottom-up" are not considered appropriate because "if language isn't kept whole, it isn't language any more" (Rigg, 1991, p. 522).

The emphasis, in whole language, is on learning to read and write naturally. Learners and teachers focus on reading and writing for pleasure. It the 1990s, primary school children in the US were taught using this approach, which soon attracted the attention of specialists in second language teaching, especially because it complies with the principles of Communicative Language Teaching and the Natural Approach- two dominant approaches back then. It is in line with CLT in that both are based on experiential learning, integration of skills, and authentic language, etc. Also, whole teaching relates to Natural Approach principles as it stipulates that children and adults should learn language the way children are believed to acquire their first language.

For students, reading (literature in particular) is a means to discover, explore, and communicate meaning to a real audience, which could be other students. The purpose of the learners is not simply learning a particular skill (reading or writing), but interacting with a real audience - mainly fellow students and authors. As such, the teacher is not 'a sage on the stage'; rather, he or she is a mere "facilitator and an active participant in the learning community" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 143). The students select a range of authentic real-world materials such as newspapers, signs, storybooks, etc. They can also produce their own materials instead of buying designed ones. Such practices are also common in CLT, CBI, and TBLT.

The Whole Language approach was, however, rejected by some researchers (Levine & Munsch, 2013; Song & Young, 2008). One reason behind such a rejection is that it is an approach that seeks to impose L1 standards and principles to second and foreign language learning. The premise that attention to authentic texts alone, without clear focus on a structured reading process in which learners' attention is drawn to sounds and symbols does not seem to be tenable in second and foreign language contexts. Another reason for rejection is that, in reading for instance, context is not sufficient for word recognition, in particular in contexts where the language is taught as a second language, and also when learners are from a disadvantaged sociocultural context. These learners, in particular, need highly systematic, direct, and intensive instruction that takes into consideration their developmental level (Birsh & Carreker, 1999). Such needed kind of instruction is not used in whole-language teaching as the main focus in this approach is on L1 learners.

[2] For more details, see Byram (2003)

An Outcome-based language teaching approach: Competency-based Language Teaching (CBLT)

Under the rubric of 'outcome-based language teaching approaches, Richards and Rodgers (2015) lump together the competency-based language teaching (CBLT), the Standards Movement, and the Common European Framework of Reference. While CBLT is a language teaching approach; the Standards Movement and the CEFR are approaches meant to quantify the outcome of a learning process and tools to set out clear standards for language learning and teaching across the four skills, respectively. Therefore, I intend to focus on CBLT solely in this section.

CBLT is considered outcome-based as it starts with a description of the learning outcomes. Outcomes are what learners should be able to know and do by the end of a course. When the outcomes are defined, course designers move on to identify issues related to methodology and syllabus. Outcome-based learning is very much linked to public accountability, wherein educational decisions have to be in line with the declared goals of the public policy.

The Competency-based Language Teaching (approach)

By the end of the 1970s, in the United States there was a need to adopt an approach to teach adults, particularly new immigrants who needed work-related language competencies. The ultimate goal is for those individuals to be able to survive in the society in which they live. In this approach, precise educational goals (also called outcomes) are defined with particular attention paid to "precise measurable descriptions of the knowledge, skills, and behaviors students should possess at the end of a course of study" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 151).

In the implementation of a CBLT program, the following eight factors are involved (Auerbach, 1986, pp. 414-415).

1. An emphasis on helping learners to become successful in functioning in society and in the world.
2. An emphasis on life skills, rather than on knowledge of language itself.
3. An emphasis on task-oriented learning (e.g. following instructions to carry out a simple task).
4. An emphasis on modularized instruction, i.e. clear, broken down, and well-defined chunks of meaningful language are used for teachers and students to attain very well-defined objectives, and for the purpose of having a clear sense of progress.
5. An emphasis on an a priori identification of outcomes, which are now known to and agreed upon by the public, the teachers and the learners.
6. A continuous and ongoing assessment: students are pre-tested (to identify skills they lack) then post-tested after instruction. If learners do not achieve the level required in a competency, they carry on working on it until they demonstrate a mastery of the skill in a further post-test.
7. Learners should demonstrate a clear mastery of performance objectives, i.e. learners are tested on how well they can demonstrate pre-specified behaviors.
8. Instruction is individualized and student-centered. Content, level, pace, and objectives are defined in terms of learners' needs in relation to the demands of society and the world.

In a word, these factors point to one clear objective behind this approach: the focus is no longer on what a learner knows about a language, but on what he or she can do with it.

An example of a CBLT lesson format is as follows:

1. Warm up / Review: A brainstorming task, an interactive task, or a revision of a previous lesson content.
2. Introduction: The teacher introduces the lesson objectives (Sometimes, it`s one objective), and informs the students of what they will do.
3. Presentation: New information, language functions and forms that will be used in that lesson are explained, modeled, and drilled by the teacher. They are to be introduced in the introduction first.
4. Comprehension check: This could be considered a part of the presentation stage. The teacher herein checks that students have understood the language content they have been introduced to, before moving on to the guided practice stage.
5. Guided practice: The students engage in short and controlled activities for a guided practice of the introduced language content.
6. Communicative practice: In a mini-stage lesson, students pair up or team up and complete a communicative task, using the language they have focused upon in the guided practice stage.
7. Evaluation: Students evaluate the extent of their learning by "showing, explaining, analysing or reflecting on what they have learned during the lesson" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 161).
8. Application: The learnt content is extended to new situations and applied in new activities.

The Task-based (approach) (one strong version of CLT)

For a better understanding of TBLT, there is a need to shed light on the origin of the term 'task' as first used in second language acquisition (Long & Crookes, 1993). With reference to Ellis (2003) "tasks…hold a central place in current SLA research and also in language pedagogy" (p. 1). The argument for the use of the tasks and the term *task* is that "engaging learners in task work provides a better context for the activation of learning processes than form-focused activities, and hence ultimately provides better opportunities for language learning to take place" (Richards & Rodgers, 2015, p. 175). Once immersed in tasks that lead to a negotiation of meaning, learners find themselves engaged in naturalistic and meaningful communication. Students are then asked to engage in functional tasks in which they primarily focus on meaning rather than on the accuracy of the language use. This view, however, was critiqued by a number of researchers such as Cook (2000), who calls for a revisiting of Nunan's (1989) focus "on meaning rather than on form", and also considers Krashen's insistence on giving comprehensible messages rather crude. Cook (2000) gives the example of students being asked to "practise sequences of sounds which, while phonologically possible are not instances of actual words - a technique which is still recommended…in some contemporary works on pronunciation teaching" (p. 165). Cook (2000) also contends that forms which are presumably meaningless have their pragmatic meanings.

An exemplar task-based lesson format comprises three main parts: a pre-task, a task cycle, and a post-task. The figure below sums up this format. It has to be mentioned, however, that different terms may be used in the literature to refer to these steps.

Table 1
A Plan for a Task-based Approach Lesson

Stages		
Pre-task	**Introduction to the task**	Theme and objectives of the lesson (brainstorming, pictures, mime, personal experience, games, etc.)
Task Cycle	**Task**	Pairs & group work: tasks (involving reading a text, listening to a recording, talking about an issue, etc.) - No language correction - Confidence-building
	Planning (Students prepare an oral report of their task)	- Students prepare an oral report of previous task to whole class. - Notes of the summary are taken, with time limit for each group. - Teacher monitors work, advises on clarity, organization, accuracy, etc.
	Report (Students present their reports to the whole class)	- One student from each group reports the summary of their task. The rest listen and take note, comment, or add extra information. - The teacher guides the students to the realization of the task. He or she may rephrase what students say but gives no overt correction.
Post-task	**The language Focus**	Turning to grammar after having exposure to vocabulary in the precedent stages. This can be done through an analysis (e.g. finding verbs in the simple past) of some of the language forms from the recording or the text, then through a more controlled practice (sentence completion, etc.).

TBLL approach, however, is considered to be very demanding on the part of teachers. Teachers have to be course designers and material developers, bearing in mind that this approach requires lessons to be built from the bottom up. Teachers need to take into account the needs of particular students in particular contexts. Ready-made and commercial textbooks may no longer be of much use to teachers and learners.

The text-based (approach)

In plain English, the text-based approach is derived from a genre theory of the nature of language, and seeks to explicitly teach the structure and grammatical features of spoken and written texts, taking into account the social and cultural contexts of the use of those texts. At this level, two key terms need to be defined: text and genre.

Text is any written or spoken form of a language that has a whole which includes a beginning, a middle, and an end and which reflects appropriate grammar and vocabulary.

Genre can be defined as the sum of contexts, situations, purposes, audiences, and relationships that govern language use. Scientific writings, fiction, interviews, reports, and songs are examples of different genres, each of which has its specific text types. Each of these text types has its distinctive pattern of organization and linguistic features.

As mentioned earlier, text-based learning draws on an explicit teaching of the structure and grammatical features of a text. Students' attention is drawn to the linguistic features of the discourse. Students are directly exposed to the organizational features of the studied texts. This explicit and conscious learning is at odds with the implicit models of language learning reflected in the natural approach, communicative language teaching and task-based language learning. The teacher, using authentic texts, is an expert who scaffolds learning by leading learners through an analysis of texts towards an identification of their organizational and linguistic features. Then the teacher and the learners work together to create a similar text. Later, the students are left alone to work on their own text. The table below provides more details on a TBL lesson plan (See Richards & Rodgers, 2015 for more details).

Table 2
A Plan for a Text-based Approach Lesson

Stages	
Stage 1: Building the context	- Introducing the social context of the text - Exploring the text's cultural context features and its social purposes - Investigating the register of the text to understand the immediate context of the situation.
Stage 2: Modelling and deconstructing the text	- Investigating the structural pattern and language features of a text. - Comparing the model text with other examples of the same text type.
Stage 3: Joint construction of a text	- The teacher and students jointly construct texts similar to the text-type.
Stage 4: Independent construction of a text	- Independently of the teacher, students create and construct similar texts.
Stage 5: Linking to related texts	- Students link what they learnt to other texts in the same or in similar contexts.

To conclude, text-based learning is basically about using authentic texts to analyse their lexico-grammatical features and use them in particular social practices.

Summary table

The table below sums up the most common classroom practices in the above-mentioned methods and approaches. For reasons of space, and because this paper essentially aims to guide teachers' practices, the focus is on some of the practices in the related methods and approaches.

Table 3

A Summary Table for English Language Approaches and Methodologies

Approach or Method[3]	Theoretical Foundations	Classroom Practices
Grammar Translation Method	-Based on the *method* used in teaching Greek and Latin.	- Translation from L2 to L1 - Deductive teaching of rules - Mistakes corrected on the spot
Direct Method	Native speakers- the source of correct pronunciation and grammar rules.	- Demonstrate, do not explain. - Target language only - Acting, moving, drawing, pointing, touching, etc., but never explaining.
Oral Method	- Speech is the basis of language, and structure is the heart of the speaking ability.	- Drills, sequential groups, conversion exercises - Fluency, pronunciation, and intonation exercises - Reading and writing only after a sufficient grammatical or lexical basis is established.
Audiolingual Method	Structural linguistics and behaviorism.	- Drills, repetition, rewarding students' trials, tape recorders and audiovisual equipment.
Paradigm Shift: from teacher-centered to learner centered		
Communicative Language Teaching	- Communicative competence in the common European Market. - Communication is at the core of teaching and learning (The notional / functional syllabi). - The native speaker model	- Group activities - Language games - Role plays - Information gap activities
The Whole language approach	- A philosophy or a trend from general education, not from language teaching itself.	- Generating stories & discussing issues - Creating a role play - Drawing pictures and maps - Other real world activities
The Outcome-based Approach: CBLT	An approach that starts with a description of the learning outcomes, and the competencies to be mastered.	- Group & pair work, role play - Real-world tasks (job applications, job interviews, cooking a meal, etc.)
The Task-based Approach	Learning takes place when learners engage in naturalistic and meaningful tasks that lead to meaningful communication.	- Brainstorming, pictures, mimics, personal experience
The Text-based Approach	Key terms: text; genre Based on genre theory of the nature of language.	- Pictures, audiovisuals, realia, field trips, comparing differences, jigsaws

[3] The term method, rather than approach, is used when there is no literature offering a rationale or a justification for it or attempting to relate it to issues in linguistics, psychology, or educational theory.

Conclusion

This paper reviewed the main English language teaching approaches and methods over the last hundred and fifty years or so. The main aims were to simplify key concepts, to provide a concise yet comprehensive reading of those approaches and methods, and to highlight the reasons behind the shift from one approach / method to the other.

The main points made by the authors are as follows:

- Language teaching has been based on two paradigms: a teacher-centered paradigm and a learner-centered paradigm
- The teacher-centered paradigm includes the grammar translation method, the direct method, the oral method, and the audiolingual method.
- The learner-centered paradigm includes communicative language teaching, the whole language approach, the outcome-based approach (competency-based approach), the task-based approach, and the text-based approach.
- The move from the teacher-centered to the learner-centered paradigm was warranted by the "new" comprehensive view that learners live in a socio-cultural context where the process of learning is more important than information itself, and that teachers are mere guides of a learning process in which learners themselves are in the center of a trip to discover and acquire language.
- In the teacher-centered paradigm, teachers use techniques like translation and immediate correction of mistakes (GTM), demonstration, target language only, and moving (Direct Method), drills, fluency and intonation exercises (Oral Method), drills, tape-recording, and rewarding students' trials (Audio-lingual Method).
- In the learner-centered paradigm, focus was more on learners themselves getting engaged in group activities (CLT), generating stories and discussing issues (Whole Language Approach), doing real-world tasks (Outcome-based Approach), relating personal experience (Task-based Approach), going on field trips and comparing differences (Text-based Approach).

The reader's attention should also be drawn to the fact that no approach or methodology is better than the other. It makes more sense to speak about appropriateness in relation to goals, audiences, social and educational contexts, and also to accountability to ministries of education and to the educational policies of states / nations. Language teaching is, in many ways, related to the political structure, identities, and governance of countries. Also, one main question that teachers should ask themselves is: what will my students do with what I am going to teach them? This should be the first step towards the building of a lesson and the move towards a sound choice of a particular method or approach. The teacher who knows about the ins and outs of his or her learning and teaching settings is the main arbiter of relevance as to what method/approach he/she should adopt.

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Librarian-Faculty Collaboration for Literacy Courses: Promoting Better Learning for Preservice Teachers

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Abstract

This narrative describes a collaboration between three university literacy faculty and a subject librarian undertaken to embed library instruction across the semester in three required courses--children's literature, early literacy, and disciplinary literacy--in order to help undergraduate preservice teachers better understand and incorporate children's literature and high interest literature into their teaching. Concrete, scaffolded, hands-on experiences for preservice teachers with teaching materials helped to build awareness of foundational concepts in literacy instruction. Librarian/faculty collaborations have the potential to improve literacy teacher preparation programs by providing designed opportunities for active, concrete engagement coupled with structured reflection.

The need for educators who are equipped with **t**he necessary knowledge and experience to teach using quality literature–not only reading and English, but math, science, social studies, and more–is increasing, as evidenced by national and state educational standards requiring rigor of literacy and research skills for students of all ages (Pimental, 2013).That teacher education programs stay abreast or even ahead of this demand is essential and requires university program developers to be inventive and open-minded in finding practical solutions that have a lasting impact. This article describes such an endeavor: a university-based teacher education program collaboration between three literacy faculty and the education subject librarian. The collaboration was designed specifically to improve preservice teachers' (PSTs) understanding of teaching literacy and content with quality literature in three literacy courses. The first two courses—children's literature and early literacy acquisition—are required for those seeking early childhood through grade 6 (EC6) certification. The third, a disciplinary literacy course, is a required course for PSTs seeking secondary (grades 5 through 12) certification.

Classrooms today include technology and new media literacies requiring books and resources readily accessible to students in all grade levels. Revised and updated state and national standards call for classroom teachers to utilize online, print, and audiovisual resources to support students' successful navigating of the ever-changing literacy landscape. It is essential that school libraries and classroom collections be

equipped with quality books, resources, technology, and reference materials to maximize student performance and literacy knowledge (NCTE, 2017).

Updating libraries, media centers, and classroom resources, however, is costly and requires institutional commitment. For many school districts that are strapped financially, this investment in libraries is not prioritized. While Title I schools can use some of their federal funding dollars to support their libraries, private and charter schools often rely on donations from benefactors and parent-supported fundraising endeavors. Further exacerbating the funding issues, school librarians are typically spread across multiple campuses—if the positions still exist (Golden, 2019). Additionally, many serving as school librarians are not university-trained in library science, leaving them underprepared to competently assist teachers and students with specific needs. Therefore, a focus in teacher preparation needs to be aimed at helping those preparing to be teachers develop the skills of selecting and using available appropriate books and materials for themselves.

Thus, teachers must skillfully build their own classroom libraries (NCTE, 2017) for a combination of high-quality texts representing multiple genres, various reading levels, and age-appropriate content. Additionally, in selecting classroom library texts, teachers must address students' interests and the wide curricular needs of any grade level, including supporting students' ability to navigate increasingly complex texts. By providing a variety of relatable, interesting, engaging and authentic texts for independent reading and curricular connections, a teacher's classroom library can expand the literate lives of students. Furthermore, teachers' understanding of varied literatures' uses can help them create rich text environments (Sailors & Hoffman, 2012). For example, educators can use literature for cross-curricular benefit of students by using different genres to enhance course content and for making connections to educational, social, and global topics. Teacher use of multicultural connections to content can create a more truthful and balanced approach to topics, such as science and math, while helping students better connect to subjects.

The Current Project

This article's authors are employed at a mid-size, regional public university in the south-central United States. The faculty who share authorship on this article with the education subject librarian are teacher-educators whose backgrounds, interests, and expertise focus on literacy education from early childhood through adulthood. The librarian's background is the study of literature, including children's literature. Holding a master's degree in library science, she serves university departments representing fine arts, literature, and education. Each faculty member author collaborated with the librarian for a specific course, and with her designed experiences and assignments that attended to building in PSTs the knowledge base needed to construct rich and differentiated curriculum linked to literature and classroom library collections. Thus, the librarian is at the center of this work. Our shared narrative inquiry draws from this librarian-faculty collaboration and asks whether and how these experiences helped to deepen preservice teachers' ability to use in their teaching knowledge of genre, form, authors, and literary quality.

Place Matters: Contextualizing the Librarian-Faculty Collaboration

The university serves a rural and economically varied and challenged region of 13,205 square miles, that, like so many parts of the U.S., has seen thriving industries

vanish. It is located in a small city, also the county seat, with a population 107,441 (World Population Review, 2020). Surrounded by many smaller communities that rose economically during the oil boom of the 1930s (AOGHS, 2012), the oil crash of the 1980s left these once-flourishing rural towns and counties lacking in resources. The 14 counties that surround the university face significant poverty with anywhere from 34% to 81% (StateSchools.gov, 2021) of the population falling into the economically disadvantaged demographic. Like many other economically strapped communities around the United States, high school graduation rates for these counties are beneath the national average, according to the U.S. Census data (2014-2018). The counties feeding into the university are below the U.S. average high school graduation rate of 87.7% with a range for the feeder counties, between -2.5% to -8.4% below that average. In fact, according to the university's Office of Information Analysis, the percentage of undergraduates self-identifying as first-generation high school graduates, defined as undergraduate students who self-reported on their admissions application that one or both parents did not complete high school, had increased to almost sixteen percent for the academic year 2019-2020. It is not uncommon for these counties' populations to reflect both low levels of education and socioeconomic status. Individuals, families, and institutions like schools and churches suffer under impoverishment (Berliner, 2013). Small rural school districts often struggle financially and offer only low salaries for teachers; these lower salaries lead, in turn, to higher turnover rates than in more affluent districts (Tieken, 2017). These same districts also often end up hiring a high percentage of teachers, certified through fast-track so-called "alternative" programs and who, studies have shown, are markedly less effective (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017) than those coming from so-called traditional, university educator preparation programs.

> Alternative certification programs typically provide individuals who already have a bachelor's degree with an alternative pathway to certification and licensure that does not require them to obtain another bachelor's degree….Requirements such as length of time, coursework, and training for these alternative certification programs can vary widely depending on state laws for teacher licensure and programs' design. (Yin & Partelow, 2020, para.7)

Indeed, the state has a high rate of alternatively certified educators (38%), a group that also has a high five-year attrition rate (35%) (Rubiera, 2018, para. 2). In turn, these less effective teachers are more frequently employed by economically disadvantaged schools such as those districts and counties that feed into the university.

First-Generation High School Graduates Head to College

Financially strapped school districts often report overall low standardized testing scores. The state's high-stakes testing data shows that for 2019-2020, the grade 4 reading assessment reporting for at "meets grade level or above" for the state, as a whole, was 44% (State Education Agency, 2021a); for the region that figure was lower, at 43% (State Education Agency, 2021b); and for the local school district 39% (State Education Agency, 2021c). Unfortunately, a typical response by state and local administrators to low scores on high-stakes exams is an over-focus on teaching atomized, decontextualized skills in an effort to do better in the next round of testing, due to punitive state and federal consequences (Au, 2011). While it may be possible to improve test scores in this way, such an approach to teaching and learning incurs collateral damage of both under-educated and demotivated students (Reimann, 2015).

Thus, if students are being "sponsored" (Brandt, 2001) into reading by institutions focused on the extrinsic reward of test scores, the seemingly paradoxical result is that many are likely to disengage with reading for their own purposes (Kohn, 1993; Willikes, 2014) and read only when rewarded for doing so.

The university's student enrollment percentage for all first-generation university students continues to grow, as illustrated by data showing this population increased from 19.2% in 2016 to 20.1% of total students in 2019 (see Table 1). Additionally, Table 1 shows the percentage of first-gen *education* majors—those planning to be teachers—to be 23% of all the university's first-gen students in 2019.

Table 1

Percent of Undergraduate Education Majors Who Self-Identified as First-Generation 2016-19

Academic Year	Ugrd First Gen Education Majors	All Ugrd Education Majors	Pct of Education Majors are First Gen	All UGRD First Gen	All Ugrd	Pct of UGRDs who are First Gen
AY 16	73	403	18.11	1422	7411	19.19
AY 17	76	390	19.49	1588	8135	19.52
AY 18	75	367	20.44	1519	8539	17.76
AY 19	83	359	23.12	1697	8424	20.14

Note. First-Generation is defined as those undergraduate students who self-reported on their admissions application that neither parent had attended college. Table adapted from The University Office of Information Analysis (July 10, 2020).

Since teaching is a lower-paying profession, to students coming from areas with limited employment opportunities, the prospect of a steady, professional career--with benefits and retirement--is undeniably attractive. Teaching is a profession that has long been considered a gateway into the middle class (Samuels, 2013, p. 29).

While many first-generation university students have successfully integrated into college life, navigated institutional expectations and bureaucracies, graduated, and had successful careers, we also note that other students' experiences bear out research trends about first-generation university students as cultural outsiders to universities. Also pertinent to this discussion, we have noted over the years that some education-track students enter the university with little exposure to children's literature or reading for their own pleasure or purposes. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many also struggle to understand concepts underlying reading education.

The Current Project: Organization

This article unpacks the efforts of a librarian and three literacy faculty serving undergraduate students preparing to enter the teaching profession. The three courses

were selected because each has a central focus using literature in literacy instruction. In the next section we describe the evolution into current practices and how roles and relationships of librarian and faculty have shifted to become more collaborative. Reviewed, then, are several sections that examine relevant literature. Methods and results are combined within the three subsections which narrate and attempt to illustrate the work done in each course. The first, and the most detailed narrative of this article, examines the children's literature course in which the instructor conducted research that is reported here and from which student voices are heard. The second narrative describes the early literacy course in the instructor's voice and from which no formal research was conducted. The third course, disciplinary literacy, uses a combination of faculty point of view and selected data from a study conducted from the early days of the collaboration. All three follow ethical guidelines for conducting research, and discuss the operationalizing and negotiating of library sessions. This article seeks to illustrate how an evolving collaboration between three literacy faculty and a subject librarian points to promising practices in one teacher education program.

Pathways to Promoting Better Learning: Librarian-Faculty Collaboration

Then to Now. The university's children's literature course had been taught for many years in a face-to-face model and, later, in a hybrid format. As was the typical model, PSTs had a one-shot library instructional session (One-Shot, 2004). However, after the hybrid model was adopted, the librarian observed a pronounced increase in PSTs struggling with foundational concepts taught in the course: understanding genres, the correlation between reading and content levels, effectively using literature in the elementary classroom, and implementing an analytic assessment process needed to determine literature quality for inclusion in curriculum or classroom library.

Collaboratively redesigned, by the librarian and a literacy professor based on the review of pertinent research literature, the course retained a degree of hybridity, using a flipped model, combined with face-to-face instruction. The librarian contributed systematic, instructional support via online lessons, and, together with the professor, themed, experiential hands-on library sessions (Kolb, 2015) followed by written reflection. For example, research conducted by Hearns et al. (2010) showed hands-on learning improved the recall of information in all three stages of post-learning recall: immediate, short-term, and, more impressively, long-term. Their findings suggest the tactile and proprioceptive input of hands-on learning enhances memory and the sense of repetitive success experienced in the step-by-step process of doing. Taking it a step further, Dolničar et al. (2017) discovered that PBL (Problem Based Learning) and PjBL (Project Based Learning) resulted in more significant gains of student learning and retention than did LBL (Lecture Based Learning). Bearing in mind that "[t]he social purpose of academic reflection is to transform practice in some way, whether it is the practice of learning or the practice of the discipline or the profession" (Ryan, 2010, p. 8), the instructors incorporated reflection more intentionally into the literacy courses. Intentional cycles of action and reflection, can serve as a gateway, according to Whalen (2020), that "guide the learner to establish new ideas and to engage in new learning experiences" (p. 4).

Learning Environment

According to the American Library Association (2016), many academic libraries are designing spaces to provide integrated approaches and programming that foster holistic student success. Similarly, the library-space-turned-classroom was reconfigured to provide the entire class with ample seating and table space conducive to flexible instruction. As Bieraugel and Neill's (2017) study suggests, specially designed library spaces, thoughtfully utilized, can help university students ascend Bloom's taxonomy (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001) toward richer understanding of information and concepts. Revising these courses, then, centered on active learning (Elliott et al., 2016) with print books, class discussions, and students' concrete applications of learning objectives.

Collaboration

Librarian-faculty collaborations are not new (Ariew, 2014; Christiansen et al., 2004; Johnson, 2018). Documenting the history of collaborations between teaching librarians and faculty, Ariew's (2014) article documents the idea of the "teaching library" (p.212) and efforts to unify instruction, from the early 20th century to the present. Yet as Wishkoski (2018) argued, while librarians and faculty may agree on the importance of supporting students' information literacy, they recount that it is difficult for many librarians to get buy-in from faculty and to have influence at the curricular and assignment level (p. 169). Interestingly, Christiansen et al., (2004) echo this issue in their review of the nature of the complicated relationship between university librarians and faculty:

> Although the two groups are mutually dependent, and are both necessary to the successful functioning of any academic institution (whether the emphasis is teaching or research), the two groups are generally separated. This is surprising considering their potential for interaction, collaboration, and shared interests in quality teaching and research. To an outside observer, the two groups may appear to be "tightly coupled" ….However, our findings indicate that the two groups are actually "loosely coupled;" that is, they have limited contact whereby changes in the work practices of one group would not necessarily have an impact on the other. (pp. 117-118)

Addressing, in part, the complexity of the librarian-faculty entwinement, Johnson's (2018) review of literature took up the changing and varied role of the librarian. Particularly in a university setting, librarians are now "[t]eaching in a variety of capacities—whether for-credit information literacy classes, one-shots, or online" (p. 93), underscoring Detmering and Sproles (2012) scholarship on this point. Pritchard (2010) describes three levels of teaching librarian support with the highest level, embedded librarian, as a collaborative partnership between librarian and faculty to design the course. However, typically at the most, the librarian is added into a course the faculty has already designed.

Looking at embedded librarianship as a model for potential collaboration, our conversation began with a commitment to providing an immersive experience for the university students as well as housing that experience inside a space many had very little contact with, a library, in or out of college. The progression of the ideas for a unified effort between faculty teaching undergraduate literacy courses and the subject librarian quickly evolved into surpassing any add-ons, and instead, toward redesigning,

with the embedded subject librarian (Mudd, 2015, p. 71), the work of educating PSTs in a unified manner. In fact, as research conducted by Mudd (2015) shows

> The concept of the blended librarian combines the information and research skills of a librarian with the knowledge and skills of an instructional designer…help[ing] enhance the teaching and learning process. The blended librarian can assist in meeting the educational outcomes of students along with assisting them in obtaining information literacy skills. (p. 71)

In this manner, PSTs were brought into programs with enhanced literacy courses, and were provided with opportunities to build relationships with the librarian, the library itself, and with the resources housed there. With this collaboration, the subject librarian, who had the blended librarian skillset, became a fully embedded librarian in the courses, from the design process to the final output of student engagement.

Represented in this paper are three undergraduate courses, each of which was taught by one of the faculty: a children's literature course, a course in early literacy, and one in secondary content literacy. Each professor met regularly with the librarian, then with each other, to discuss the classes. The work of the collaborative was to evaluate progress through examining student verbal responses to activities, online lesson quiz grades, hands-on library session reflections, and end-of-course professor and librarian evaluations in order to ensure high-quality programmatic alignment. Across the undergraduate literacy-oriented courses, this collaboration helped to ensure consistency and increased the likelihood that each course was regularly updated in response to changing circumstances and emergent needs.

The librarian, as a collaborative partner, not only provided stability but also ensured that purchasing for the children's literature collection remained in line with upcoming course objectives. The professors trusted the librarian's expertise in literature and ability to curate the library collections. The librarian set up the room with strategically selected materials to support hands-on work designed to increase PSTs' knowledge of the material—from identification to understanding, to application, and beyond—with exposure to a wide range of examples. Enabling professors to focus on pedagogy, the librarian's role enhanced the teaching team's ability to deepen the PSTs' opportunities to learn as well as demonstrated the efficiency of the collaborative model to them.

Instructional Framework

Student-Centered Learning

Active, student-centered learning strategies have been proven to increase student synthesis of concepts (Elliott et al., 2016). However, incorporating these pedagogies into mid- and large-enrollment courses requires major course redesign: including designing discipline-appropriate student-centered learning activities, setting up the classrooms for those engagements, and achieving unity between departmental faculty, concerning course goals and teaching approaches. As a solution, Elliot et al. utilized faculty learning communities where faculty collaborated in instructional teams which allowed instructors to pool resources and sustain consistency between sections in order to incorporate student-centered, active learning strategies.

Information Literacy Instruction as a Disciplinary and Experiential Process

Identified as a student's ability to find, evaluate, and utilize quality information from credible sources, information literacy depends on the disciplinary needs of a given

course (American Library Association, 1989). Junasbai (2016) emphasized the need for flexibility in designing and implementing information literacy teaching, and stressed that information literacy varies with each discipline. Junisbai (2016) also found that developing a faculty-librarian collaboration team not only increased students' discipline-specific information literacy skills, but also helped lessen the instructional burden on faculty. Subsequent research (Thacker & Laut, 2018; Wishkoski et al., 2018) has shown student learning is increased when faculty-librarian collaborations are designed and implemented on a course-by-course, disciplinary basis.

Information literacy acquisition depends upon subject matter and course goals: "library instructional support should include both procedural task-oriented support and higher-level cognitive tasks designed to reinforce instructor-developed content" (Edwards & Black, 2012, p. 287). Reflective of Deweyian constructivism, encompassing both a hands-on approach and subsequent reflection, "individual, social, and environmental interactions" make learning both meaningful and interesting (Beard, 2018, p. 28).

In the three courses discussed below, the information literacy goals revolved around building the students' abilities through experience, using quality literature, understanding differences between reading and content levels, and creating standards-aligned lesson plans across the subject spectrum. Therefore, the information literacy goals were less bibliographic in the traditional sense of library database research, and more pragmatic in students being able to use what they learned in their own classrooms. The faculty-librarian collaboration we undertook foregrounded a team approach to providing students with hands-on, active learning experiences that supported their disciplinary needs as future elementary and secondary educators. What follows is a discussion of each of the three courses and the ways in which the collaboration enhanced each. We consider our approach's trajectory of impact for our students, and sustainability for the people involved. Finally, we consider implications for the intentional evolution of practices between university librarians and literacy education faculty.

Changes Made and Impact on Students in Three Courses

Course One: Children's Literature

Including the history and analysis of children's literature, this required course is designed for preschool and elementary education majors. Program advisors counsel these undergraduates to take children's literature early in their degree program because its content provides practical support for their other teacher preparation coursework and clinical experiences. What they learn in this course helps them in their teaching career, regardless of content area or grade level.

Using a mixed-methods design (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), data were collected during fall 2017 across 22 PST participants to determine whether and how PSTs' attitudes about reading and teaching with children's literature shifted as a result of taking the course. As one of the first courses in their program of study, the participants' knowledge of children's literature was generally limited to their own personal experiences. Quantitative data included pre/post children's literature attitude surveys that were administered and collected during the first and last session of the children's literature course. Among the qualitative data collected, which included all course work, were written reflections completed at the conclusion of each library session as well as instructor field notes. Consistent with qualitative methodology

(Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), these data were coded in an iterative manner, which led from open codes to five emergent themes (Learning, Action, Education, Ease, and Challenge) during the analysis phase of the study. First, the PSTs expressed their own learning (e.g., "I learned…"); second, they were moved to take action (e.g., "I can use…"); third, they identified the educational implications in their future classrooms (e.g., "In my classroom I will…"; fourth, they realized the ease in applying their new knowledge (e.g., "This was easier…"); and fifth, they noted the challenges they experienced while attempting to apply their new knowledge (e.g., "It is confusing…"). Admittedly taken from an early stage in this collaboration, selected excerpts from their reflections are offered later in order to illustrate, in their voices, their changing understanding of the value and use of children's literature.

Outcomes for Students Taking the Children's Literature Course

By the end of the course, university students should be able to define children's literature and its qualities; apply understanding of the different genres and forms; and take into consideration relevant histories of children's literature and make judgments about children's books for literary and academic (e.g., disciplinary) value, including reading level and grade level. They should be able to take into consideration contemporary societal issues and how they are reflected in children's literature. And, they should develop an awareness of differentiation of high-quality, age- and ability-appropriate book selections for diverse student populations. By the conclusion of the course, university students should be able to incorporate selected children's literature into their lesson planning in order to stimulate interest, tap prior knowledge, and increase motivation of their K-6 students. The library work sessions were particularly rich sites of engagement and were pivotal in supporting the outcomes of the course. What follows is a brief description of each library work session, as well as a discussion of the findings related to the themes and representative examples of reflective responses.

Children's Literature: Library Sessions and Other Assignments

Prior to each library session, PSTs completed an online lesson focused on that day's topic--genre versus form, illustrations in children's literature, managing content versus reading levels, use of credible sources for determining reading levels, deploying poetry across grades and subject areas, or utilizing multicultural books in the classroom. These online flipped lessons, developed by the librarian, were integrated into the class's learning management system and included multiple modes (e.g., video, image, text, audio, etc.) of information delivery, interactive activities, and embedded quizzes. With detailed feedback, PSTs could revisit the lesson and retake the quiz until they achieved mastery. Thus, the consistent use of flipped lessons prior to the library sessions allowed for more student hands-on time with the books and discussion with classmates.

The librarian provided a specific selection of books for each table to expose the PSTs to a wide array of authors and illustrators for each topic. Excellent and poor examples provided opportunities for PSTs to make comparisons. For example, among the books included were those that misrepresented people yet purported to be multicultural, such as *Who Cares About Disabled People* (1989) by Pam Adams, or, *Five Chinese Brothers* (1938) by Claire Huchet Bishop, as well as samples of wordless picture books that were not intended for children. These examples helped PSTs see the distinctions between low- and high-quality literature for children. For instance, the

topic of *content versus reading level* was challenging for them to fully grasp and required explicit instruction supported by concrete examples. The wordless picture book for adults, *Cats as Cats Can* (1997) by Tomi Ungerer, was used to help PSTs understand the distinction between reading level—none for a wordless picture book—and *content* level—adult, since the images are risqué. Specifically chosen books helped PSTs distinguish what they needed to be on the lookout for when judging and selecting books for classroom use.

Across semesters, sessions were continuously redesigned to better illustrate particular topics. PSTs were required to critically analyze various features and qualities of different books. In the illustrations lesson PSTs were required to select titles representative of the nine functions of illustrations (see Tunnell et al., 2016), including: depicting action, creating depth with detail, establishing setting, defining and developing characters, reinforcing text, providing a differing viewpoint, extending or developing the plot, providing interesting asides, and/or establishing mood (Tunnell et al., 2016, pp. 43-44). These in-class activities reflected both the required reading for that day and the flipped lesson PSTs were to have completed prior to class.

Library Sessions' Logistics and Sequencing

The PSTs' physical position in relation to the materials appeared to impact the degree of engagement with the hands-on learning tasks. In an early-in-semester lesson on illustration, for instance, PSTs spent the whole class at one table working with a variety of picture books. Each table was set to accommodate six to eight PSTs, with a similar variety of books. However, for topics such as poetry or multicultural literature, the tables were arranged, by type of poem or representation of marginalized populations, respectively. PSTs rotated between tables which appeared to help energize them and by virtue of movement and interactions with books, gave concrete distinctions between subtopics, and perhaps, lessening of the cognitive load (Beard, 2018). Also, having a variety of representations of the given topic exposed the PSTs to a substantive array of that particular form (e.g., haikus, free verse, quatrain, etc. for poetry) in the different subject areas (e.g., math, science, social studies). PSTs were also provided time within each session for discussion of text features, important for co-construction of understanding. Small group table discussions were followed by a loosely structured, whole-class discussion, giving an opportunity to hear what other groups were thinking. In the final moments of each class, a one-minute, written reflection invited each PST to process how their thinking may have changed. In addition to the written reflection, they often followed up with comments to the librarian and course instructor about how their views and understandings of children's literature were changing.

Library Session: Genre Versus Form. PSTs completed the flipped lesson and reading assignment on genres and forms. For the genre versus form library session, the librarian assembled stacks of books representing particular genres (e.g., fiction, non-fiction, poetry, etc.) at marked stations which included a variety of book forms (e.g., graphic novel, picture book, engineered book, etc.). PSTs selected one book from each to analyze by identifying and explaining their analysis of the genre and form of each book. Finally, PSTs were prompted to verbally discuss any new thoughts they had regarding genre and form at the completion of the work session. A majority of PSTs (19 out of 22) commented that they had experienced at least some *Learning* from this experience. For example, Rosa (all names of people and places are pseudonyms) wrote,

"I honestly didn't know the difference between genre and form before today so that's definitely helpful!" Ten PSTs realized the *Educational* implications related to their new thoughts regarding genre and form. Violet wrote, "All the different book formats serve a different purpose, and can benefit different students. This is something I can use in my future classroom." This statement also implies the *Action* theme in the phrase "I can use." *Action* was indicated in eight reflective responses. Overall, PSTs had a positive response to the library work session, with minimal challenges indicated. Likewise, four students commented on the *Ease* associated with genre and form, as evident in Oliver's response: "Finding genre & form isn't as hard as I thought." On the other hand, an example of *Challenge* was evident in Ursela's response: "Genre is much more confusing than form—the lines seem to be shaded in which book belongs in which categories." Her confusion is understandable given the current merging of formats and genres. The distinction of "novel" typically refers to fiction, but the classification of a "graphic novel" is a different format completely. Referring primarily to its format and secondarily to its genre, a graphic novel can be either fiction (e.g. Telgemeier's (2010) *Smile*) or nonfiction (e.g. Spiegelman's, 1986, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*; or, Krosoczka's, 2018, *Hey, Kiddo*). Similarly, confusion can occur when students try to determine between different genres as in the case of fiction books that also relay nonfiction information such as Cole's (1986-2020) *Magic School Bus* series. In this library session, the PSTs were beginning to understand that children's literature can be more than just picture books or chapter books, or fiction, or nonfiction. In fact, they began to understand that children's literature covers a wide, sometimes overlapping variety of genres and forms.

Library Session: Poetry in the Classroom. Prior to the library session, PSTs completed a flipped lesson that provided background information about structural patterns and examples of various poetic forms via lecture and readings. The librarian then provided stacks of children's poetry books in a range of subjects (e.g., dragonflies, dinosaurs, alphabet, humor, epic stories, etc.) and age levels (pre-K through grade 6, mostly) at different workstations, organized by poetic form (e.g., haiku, quatrain, free verse, limericks, lyric, etc.). For this session, PSTs completed a poetry scavenger hunt where they found and noted features of the following types of poems: color poem, non-fiction poem, poem for two voices, narrative poem, lyric poem, limerick, haiku, free verse poem, and a concrete poem. Afterwards, they reflected in writing on whether and how their thinking had expanded and/or changed regarding using poetry in their future classrooms. This library session on poetry, out of all the library sessions, had the largest responses for the themes *Action* (20 out of 22), *Education* (19 out of 22), and *Learned (*18 out of 22). A representative sample of the themes *Action*, *Education,* and *Learned* came from Penny, who stated, "My thinking has changed [*Learned*] about poetry because I have never liked it, but now I do. I have learned [*Learned*] about a lot of great poetic authors other than Shel Silverstein that I can introduce [*Action*] to my future classroom [*Education*]." Only two PSTs found the task challenging and no statements indicated that the task was easy. Leo stated, "I really did not understand [*Challenge*] the difference between all the poems & styles, like narrative, lyric, haiku, and etc." As a result of this library session, PSTs were better able to identify both the genre of poetry and its various types. They learned how they could use poetry in their lesson planning in order to stimulate interest, increase motivation, tap prior knowledge, and activate engagement of their K-6 students.

Library Session: Utilizing Multicultural Books in the Classroom. For the purposes of this article, multicultural literature refers to literature written for children and youth that represents characters' experiences in terms of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation (e.g., Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer-plus: LBTQ+), language, experience, religion, and abilities. Prior to the library session, the PSTs read about the history, selection, and use of multicultural literature in the elementary classroom, then, they viewed the library lecture that discussed accurate representation using books that represent multicultural standpoints year-round in any content-related lesson such as in science, math, or language arts.

Books were stacked at each workstation and separated into the following categories: different ethnic groups, socio-economic diversity, LGBTQ+, different family types, body image, and disabilities. The PSTs rotated through stations to peruse the books and chose two books to analyze more deeply based on a rubric for analysis of literary merit and representational accuracy developed by Bucher and Hinton (2010, pp. 41-42). The elements of this rubric included: literary qualities; accuracy and currency of facts and interpretation; stereotypes in lifestyles; plot (e.g., "Do European Americans in the story have all the power and make the decisions?" (p. 41); theme (e.g., "Would the book promote a child's self-image and self-esteem?" (p. 42); language (e.g., "Do any dialects reflect the varieties found in contemporary life?" (p. 42); author's perspective (e.g., "Is the author (or illustrator) able to think as a member of another cultural group and to intellectually and emotionally become a member of that group?" (p. 42); and illustrations (e.g., "Are there stereotypes, oversimplifications, and generalizations in the illustrations?" (p. 42). At the end, a class discussion was held to discuss the session and the PSTs' responses. Many PSTs found that literature contextualized in the wide variety of human experience was illuminating and important. To the instructor's surprise, a clear majority of students had never encountered any LGBTQ+ books prior to this experience. According to fieldnotes attending to verbal comments during that discussion, a handful of PSTs felt strongly that books with LGBTQ+ themes should neither be in the classroom nor written at all. Specifically, these same students expressed fear of confrontation by disapproving parents or administrators. By the end of the discussion, however, many more PSTs indicated that they began to realize the benefits in having high quality books with LGBTQ+ storylines and characters in their classroom libraries in order to help create an inclusive environment where representation matters.

Finally, at the end of the library session, the PSTs had several minutes to reflect in writing on how their thinking may have changed regarding using multicultural books in their future classrooms. Five PSTs were either absent or did not complete the final reflection, so data was collected and analyzed for the remaining 17 PSTs. The largest response (13 out of 17) pertained to the educational implications of using multicultural books. Susan's response, while general, is emblematic of all 13: "I realized the importance of multicultural books in the classroom [*Education*]." Beyond the educational merit, nine PSTs learned something (e.g., Rosa: "Yes my thinking has changed [*Learned*]"); eight PSTs would take action (e.g., Abby: "Yes, I would use [*Action*] this for my personal classroom [*Education*]"); three PSTs noted challenges (e.g., Greta: "I am still not 100% on board [*Challenge*] with the multicultural books"); and two PSTs noted their ease of use (e.g., Jana: "I wouldn't have a problem at all [*Ease*] showing these kinds of books"). While it is fair to say that some learning took place, the PSTs' guarded, reserved, and vague reflections for this library session as

contrasted with their enthusiastic reflections following the poetry library session are noticeable.

This course's learning outcomes of first, appreciating and understanding representative samplings of different genres and forms of literature and, second, considering contemporary societal issues represented in children's literature, were both reinforced by the instructor/librarian collaboration. By structuring the class to be a guided, active learning experience, the professor and the librarian invited the PSTs to develop a deeper awareness of how and why to use quality children's literature for use in lesson planning in order to stimulate interest, increase motivation, tap prior knowledge, and activate engagement of students.

Library Session: Content Level - Reading Level. This library session required PSTs to choose at least five different children's books to analyze for both content levels and reading levels. Prior to the session, the PSTs previewed an online flipped library lesson that explained and demonstrated the differences between reading level and content level of children's books and provided step-by-step directions on how to determine these levels using several online leveling resources. The librarian provided stacks of purposely chosen children's books at the different workstations. After the PSTs chose their five books, they wrote their findings, provided citation information, determined the content level and reading level of each, and gave rationales for their decisions. Class discussion followed, which led to their written in-class reflections to consider whether and how their thinking had changed regarding choosing content and reading level appropriate books for students in the classroom.

For this library session three PSTs were absent, so data was only collected for the remaining 19 PSTs. The highest response (13 out of 19) focused on educational implications related to leveling books. Whereas 11 learned new information, 10 were planning to take action. three found the task of leveling books challenging as Ursela stated, "It's not exactly easy [*Challenge*], but I am sure with practice it should get easier." None stated that the task was easy. A representative sample of the themes *Learned*, *Action*, and *Education* came from Elsa (emphasis original), who stated, "This class made so much sense! I clearly understand [*Learned*] the difference of their ability vs. their maturity & that because of this difference, we as teachers, must find out the different levels of books [*Action*] to know whether or not we should have it in our classroom [*Education*]!". These "aha" statements suggest that now PSTs had tools with which to make informed and professional judgements about texts' appropriateness for various grades and individual readers. That PSTs indicated some shift in their grasp of reading versus content level points to the importance of a focused, interactional, and layered set of educational experiences to get at these sometimes confusing concepts.

Sweet Spot for Prompting Learning in Children's Literature

The library work sessions for this course were pivotal for exposing the PSTs to the large variety of children's books available to use in their future classrooms. In the online library lectures, the librarian explained and showed examples for each lecture topic, while the library work sessions provided physical books for PSTs to handle, read, analyze, and consider for use in their future classrooms. Evidence gathered from classroom discussions and assignments, including analytic guides, reflections, and the final bookshelf project, shows that PSTs demonstrated an increasingly sophisticated understanding of concepts concerning children's literature—from merely

remembering, to applying and analyzing, to evaluating (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). This understanding related not only to the books as stand-alone artifacts, but also to their possible uses in developing future lesson plans. Prior to this class, the PSTs demonstrated limited knowledge of the different types of children's books. However, after taking this course, with its several embedded library sessions, PSTs' content and pedagogical knowledge grew regarding how to incorporate children's literature in their future classrooms.

Course Two: Early Literacy

Addressing early literacy, the second undergraduate course centered on the reading needs of children in preschool and the primary grades. Areas of emphasis included incorporating a balanced literacy model using literature; comparing more traditional and progressive methods and materials for the teaching of reading; identifying and addressing elements of emergent literacies; applying state and national standards; and writing balanced and comprehensive lesson plans that incorporated reading, writing, and word work. In addition, PSTs learned how to administer and analyze the results from various formal and informal literacy assessments in order to identify early elementary students' strengths and needs. Not having conducted research in their class, this narrative is centered on the point of view of the course instructor with two illustrative and anonymous student comments coming from standardized end-of-course university evaluations.

Early Literacy Outcomes

The early literacy course learning outcomes were designed to ensure that PSTs understood literacy development in young children, from birth to the lower elementary grades. The three outcomes were, first, building foundational knowledge of literacy development; second, studying literacy development theories, and reading research reports that detailed effective literacy instruction practices; and third, planning effective literacy lessons. Holding all class sessions in the library, with both the course instructor and the librarian, supported and reinforced the learning outcomes. This structure allowed easy access to multiple teaching resources, expertise in pedagogical and literary considerations, and assistance in finding lesson materials.

Learning outcomes were further supported by the library's continual collection updates of big books, picture books, and other resources, in both English and Spanish, and in multiple genres, that were specifically selected to meet the literacy needs of young learners. Subsequently, the professor and librarian modeled the materials' used for reading and writing instruction. As well, the librarian provided PSTs with step-by-step instructions on finding pedagogical research articles, identifying different text genres, and determining text reading levels to help PSTs discern and locate the best books and resources for each lesson.

Early Literacy: Library Work Sessions

The library sessions focused on three main concepts: lesson planning, frameworks of literacy development, and instructional execution and evaluation. Each is discussed in turn.

The first concept, literacy in lesson planning, requires the PSTs to preview exemplary examples of lesson plans, district scope and sequences, and curriculum maps in order to learn how curriculum is planned over the academic year. The second point of

learning, theories and principles of literacy development, involves PSTs researching developmental theories of reading, writing, and oral language development; understanding of literary genres; and effective instructional practices to support each type of development. The third concept, literacy instruction, requires PSTs to plan, implement, and evaluate literacy instruction in an EC-6 setting.

Library Session on Lesson Planning. PSTs prepared for the library session on lesson planning by previewing exemplary samples of lesson plans, district scope and sequences, and curriculum maps in order to become familiar with how curriculum is planned over the academic year. During the session, PSTs collaborated in small groups to create targeted and engaging lesson plans. They reviewed state content and English learner proficiency standards, selected literacy research articles with effective teaching methods, and then identified children's literature that could be used to teach particular skills. PSTs used this assemblage of texts to thoughtfully and skillfully create literacy lesson plans that reflected appropriate developmental stages for guided reading groups, as well as for whole-class interactive reading using teacher-directed plans.

Library Session on Alignment between Literature Selection and Standards

Across Grade Levels and Genres. The overall intention of this library session was to help PSTs understand how the same story can be presented in different genres and forms at various developmental levels. Coming to class with state reading standards in hand, PSTs examined, through the lens of one particular grade, various stacks of texts that were selected by the subject librarian. For example, one stack of books consisted of multiple representations of Greek mythology written for readers from pre-K to young adult. Guided class discussion, then, underscored the vertical alignment that was achieved in this library session which, in this way, simulated a professional learning community (PLC).

Library Session on Literacy Instruction. For this library session, PSTs selected a genre that served as primary foundational pieces for their literacy lessons. Building on the prior two library lessons of instructional planning and theories and genres, PSTs drew on knowledge of standards, literacy theory, and literary genres to construct original lesson plans. One PST put it well when they shared in an end-of-course reflection that they "loved all of the hands-on activities [because] it really helped me gain a better understanding of elementary literacy." Practicing their chosen literacy instruction techniques with classmates who provided feedback gave PSTs a practical, hands-on approach to the theories researched.

Sweet Spot for Prompting Learning in Early Literacy

By breaking down the topics and utilizing hands-on exploratory methods, the library sessions made potentially abstract concepts more concrete, understandable, and attainable by undergraduates. Their capstone project was a literacy lesson plan designed to display their learning by identifying appropriate standards, understanding teaching applications that incorporated literary genres, and practicing teaching methods. Like Dolničar et al. (2017) argued, through integrating Problem Based Learning (PBL) via the library sessions and Project Based Learning (PjBL) through the capstone project, PSTs integrated the comprehension of complex concepts to produce developmentally appropriate lessons.

Giving PSTs the learning experiences and tools necessary to be successful as beginning teachers is one of the goals of the EC-6 teacher preparation program. One PST indicated that the exercises undertaken helped them to grow conceptually. By virtue of the end-of-course comments, PSTs indicated confidence regarding their readiness to step into a classroom. Exemplifying many conversational and written reflections within the context of the course, this end-of-course evaluation comment, that the professor "taught me things I can actually apply in my future classroom," speaks to this instructor's success in meeting her PSTs where they were and giving them practical skills for their careers.

Course Three: Disciplinary Literacy

The third undergraduate course of the literacy/library collaboration was focused on disciplinary literacy in grades 5-12, a required course for those PSTs seeking secondary (e.g., mathematics, science, history/social studies, English, Spanish) or all-level (e.g., music, physical education, art, theater) certification. This course was intended to help PSTs better communicate specialized concepts in ways that engage students, thereby increasing their motivation for engaging with disciplinary content. While this narrative is drawn primarily from the faculty member's point of view, there is an illustrative data excerpt taken from a qualitative inquiry (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) conducted in fall 2015. The data collected included all coursework and instructor fieldnotes. PSTs creation of multimodal text sets has been reported elsewhere (Consalvo, 2016) from data obtained from this research.

Disciplinary Literacy Course Outcomes

The four overarching outcomes for the course center on: first, building the PSTs' understanding of literacy as disciplinarily based; second, enhancing their ability to plan lessons incorporating disciplinary literacy learning strategies that build motivation and engagement in middle and high school students; third, exploring various technological applications that are disciplinarily relevant; and fourth, building an understanding of how to differentiate disciplinary literacy instruction for secondary students across multiple continua of diversity (e.g., language, religion, gender, academics, race, ability, etc.). All of these desired outcomes come together in the final project for the course, the text set, which is the focus of the library sessions offered.

Scheduled after the midterm, this course's two library sessions were designed to support PSTs in their creation of their culminating project: a text set. A text set is, fundamentally, a selected collection of texts of any length often arrayed around a unifying theme (Bersh, 2013, p. 48). As defined in this course, the disciplinarily oriented text set is a thematically linked group of multimodal (Elish-Piper et al., 2014), short, high-interest texts and accompanying activities designed to activate background knowledge, interest, and motivation for middle and high school students' learning. In order to best meet the various disciplinary needs of the PSTs, the librarian identified library resources for each of their many content areas.

Library Session on High-Interest Text Selection. The first library session was designed to familiarize PSTs with short, teen-friendly, authentic texts across modes, such as images, maps, videos, audio recordings, newspapers, magazines, children's books, and poetry collections. The librarian carefully attuned the collections to the PSTs' needs, keeping in mind their widely varying disciplinary concentrations.

Grouped by mode, the various artifacts were laid out on tables (e.g., newspaper table, map table, poetry table, etc.) so that their movement from one table/mode to another reinforced their developing conceptions of multimodality. To guide their exploration, the instructor created a treasure hunt activity across multiple modes that mirrored the expectations of the final assignment. PSTs also located materials in library-provided online databases (e.g., art collections, national historical archives, etc.) to address, in part, the course's selection and use-of-technology outcome. As part of their reflection at the conclusion of this first library session, the PSTs were asked to submit a one- or two-sentence draft idea for their text set. Spread across five weeks, the text set assignment had a sequence of increasingly complex products due in order to support their sustained engagement with the concept of multimodal, disciplinarily focused teaching.

Library Session: Text Set Workshop. During the second library session, PSTs each conferenced briefly with the instructor in order to focus their ideas, consider various designs, and address misconceptions. They also consulted freely with the librarian, who helped them develop search terms and identify and locate the best resources. PSTs were given time and support to concentrate on finding various texts for their project with the resources of the library at hand and with the assistance of both their instructor and librarian. With this early-stage intensive library support, and the time-intensive and resource-rich opportunities in both library sessions, PSTs developed a broader understanding of what texts can be and how they can be deployed for increased learning for secondary students.

For example, student Arnold Smith (pseudonym), music education major, created a text set centered around the music of the American Shakers, a Christian sect that is now practically extinct. In his introduction to one of his text set activities, he wrote:

> Short term objective: The short term goal of this activity is to engage the class in a visual example of authentic Shaker music and dance in reflection to the music being rehearsed in class.
>
> Long term objective: The long term goal of this activity is to express to the students the importance of music and dance throughout various cultures. Through watching this video, the class is fulfilling the eighth National Standard of Music Education: Understanding relationships between music, the other arts, and disciplines outside the arts as well as the ninth: Understanding music in relation to history and culture. (Artifact, 2015).

Here, Arnold strives to bring together engaging audio and visual texts to the in-class task of playing music using instruments and reading musical notation to do so. In Arnold's second section, the reader glimpses his vision for broadening for his students the cultural context in which they encounter content. While this is but one example of many, it is emblematic of the kinds of integrative thinking that PSTs evinced as they designed and constructed their multimodal text sets. Most eschewed worksheets and instead, like Arnold, provided instructional invitations into disciplinary thinking through visual, auditory, and kinesthetic channels in order to provide opportunities for grade 5-12 students to collaborate and talk through disciplinary problems on their way to solving them.

In each library session, the use of tangible objects grouped by mode allowed PSTs to better relate to the idea of a text as high-interest, and potentially the importance of presenting content to youth in more understandable ways. For instance, the PSTs

were able to identify relevant non-fiction poetry and newspaper and magazine articles that held the potential to both intrigue and educate their future students. Since these PSTs were not required to take either the children's literature course or a young adult literature course, conceptual understandings—like how varying age ranges and subject matters of picture, chapter, and poetry books can engage or repel students—were unknown to them. The library-literacy collaboration not only enabled PSTs' increasing competence in delivering instruction that is grounded in their own discipline's literacies, but also developed teacher expertise in content-rich and developmentally appropriate ways to make subject matter more available and appealing to children and youth.

Discussion

Collaborations between university faculty and university librarians, as discussed earlier, are not new (Ariew, 2014) within the field. However, for our particular context, drawing from the model of a teaching group composed of both faculty and the subject librarian as an equal/ stabilizing partner is (Johnson, 2018). Using this collaboration model—and without increasing faculty time—we were able to incorporate several instructional techniques (e.g., active physical engagement, information literacy, reflective writing, PBL and PjBL, and flipped classroom design) that have been proven to increase student learning on their own (Dolničar et al., 2017), and when we used them together, pointed to steady increase in student development. Furthermore, because of integrating these instructional modes in course curricula, students came to the library sessions with sufficient background knowledge enabling them to build their understanding using the hands-on learning experiences (Hearns, 2010; Kolb, 2015). PSTs were able to complete assignments more efficiently because they knew, from the flipped classes, how to navigate online searches for journals, books, and resources. Since many of our PSTs commute over thirty miles to attend classes, work full-time jobs, and have significant family responsibilities, time is an essential variable. With the full support of the subject librarian, who was able to marshal the library's capital (Johnson, 2018), the faculty member could then focus on other course content.

The PSTs in the children's literature course study reported that the combination of these hands-on learning experiences, interactions with the books (PjBL), and application of the skills (PBL) helped to solidify their understanding of the concepts (Dolničar et al., 2017). One PST commented, "I…enjoyed being able to actually read and have children's books at our disposal…[Before this class] I personally did not care for reading in general, but I can now say that that has changed." Likewise, another PST stated,

> I have always had a general understanding of literature, but now looking back on this semester, I have gained so much more knowledge…. I…loved researching the different genres and forms of children's books. I feel that it opened my mind to what else is out in the world today and how to integrate them into the classroom correctly.

The university librarian specifically created hands-on learning experiences that helped students become actively engaged with the different library collections. These learning experiences provided the students with opportunities to apply what they were learning within each literacy course. PSTs discussed how they thought they understood the concept from the online lesson but found that they didn't fully grasp

the concept until they were applying it in the hands-on lesson. Such guided, concrete encounters were essential for the PSTs—our students—many of whom came to college with limited meaningful exposure to the different educational assets that libraries offer. The relatively intense and sustained use by the PSTs of the campus library services throughout these three college courses may impact whether and how they research, read, and implement literature and professional materials (NCTE, 2017) as they develop into professional educators. This collaboration also prompted the librarian to create an online, publicly available children's literature guide containing many resources (e.g., genres, award books, books lists, book reviews) so PSTs would have easy access to information regarding children's literature during their preparation and even beyond graduation. (To view the Children's Literature Libguide: https://libguides.uttyler.edu/c.php?g=357600). Collaborating with the librarian (Wishkoski et al., 2018) in their courses has enabled three teacher-educators to provide deeper learning experiences for university students in teacher preparation courses. The rich text environment (Sailors & Hoffman, 2012) PSTs encountered and which was modeled for them supported their conceptions of curriculum. The PSTs enrolled in these courses learned how to participate in literacy learning experiences, to reflect on their experiences (Whalen, 2020), and how to recall and apply their new knowledge into future teaching experiences.

Implications

University librarians can support faculty across content areas in a multitude of ways. Future inquiries could include investigating whether and how graduates of teacher education–programs continue (or not) to use their school and community libraries and whether they retained key learnings to build appropriate and inclusive classroom libraries. Other research could feature ways in which other programs, such as engineering, nursing, or fine arts, could embed their subject librarian into courses and provide students with similar—but disciplinarily appropriate—concretized encounters with the texts of their own disciplines.

So, what does this mean for university subject librarians? The subject librarians have an opportunity to develop collaborative relationships with faculty and become more fully immersed into their courses by providing interactive and engaging lessons for students that potentially could bolster the students' content attainment for the courses. Likewise, the faculty can experience content delivery support from these collaborations. University faculty and subject librarians, both, need courage to step out of their silos and enter the world of trusting collaborations (Wishkoski et al., 2018). Faculty must build up trust in the librarian before a collaboration can take place. After all, students do not distinguish between the librarian and the faculty provided content when filling out the course evaluation, and therefore faculty have much to lose by bringing in another person. This trust-building takes time, and as subject/liaison librarians strive to build these relationships, becoming more present with the faculty is a must. As noted in Christiansen et al. (2004), "physical and temporal separation of librarians and faculty impacts the opportunity for meaningful interaction and the mutual recognition of expertise" (p. 118). This separation can create a vacuum, where, devoid of collaboration, the student experience may be less impactful, and faculty workloads heavier. The subject/liaison librarian must be organically and professionally present in the faculty space. Proaction on the part of the librarian goes a long way to bridging the gap between a supplemental one-shot session to a fully embedded librarian who,

ultimately, can be a significant catalyst for student learning and improved course design.

What started with one course has since branched into other courses. The inclusion of the subject librarian in the literacy faculty teaching group has led to further developments in other courses and projects within the department with similar results: increased learning/production without an increased burden on faculty. From the librarian's perspective, this leads to a more embedded relationship with the department, their faculty, and students in which the liaising ability of the librarian is increased, as is knowledge of the department's plans in order to anticipate library purchases or needs, and the students' information literacy/critical thinking skills are improved through course content, rather than an add-on to the course load. For faculty, the librarian can be a sounding board, a wealth of technological delivery information ideas, an outside perspective, and, as an embedded librarian, an expert who can work with the students at the point of need.

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