



Problematizing early career teacher cognition and its impact on pedagogic positioning in the teaching and learning of modern foreign languages in secondary schools

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This article problematises ways in which teacher cognition leads to shifts in classroom pedagogies. It examines how a deeper understanding of its impact may contribute to the more effective teaching of modern foreign languages in Scottish secondary schools. The analysis starts with identifying a common problem, namely that many new teachers of modern foreign languages change from working and experimenting with a 'communicative approach' to language teaching during the period of their initial teacher education programme, to a more traditional 'grammar-translation' approach when they are on school practicum. In particular, they use significantly less target language in class. In presenting evidence of these shifts, this article will postulate reasons why early career teachers may change their approaches to teaching. It will also examine how theories of teacher cognition and situated learning might throw some light on why these changes take place and provide advice for teacher educators and teacher mentors in terms of addressing future practice. It concludes by recommending collaborative research between teachers in schools and other agencies, together with teacher educators, to develop ways of actively promoting a key indicator of the effective teaching of modern foreign languages – that is judicious use of the target language in class. In order to examine this issue, this article has three parts. The first part problematises early career teachers' use of the target language compared with the key pedagogic principles which underpin Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes. The second part explores reasons for an apparent disconnect, whilst the third part proposes ways forward and changes, which may impact on teachers' use of the target language and their teaching approach in general.

KEYWORDS: collaborative research, reflective practice, teacher cognition, teaching and learning of modern foreign languages

1. Problematising target language use in Modern Foreign Language (MFL) classrooms

The extensive debate concerning the use of the target language in the foreign languages classroom in the UK has been ongoing for decades (Frey & Fontana, 1991; Butzkamm, 2003; Aberdeen, 2015). Strong claims have been made for the benefits of teachers' use of the target language (TL) or second language (L2) in foreign language teaching (Frey & Fontana, 1991; Krashen & Terrell, 1988; Chambers, 1991; Crichton, 2010). Proponents of exclusive L2 use argue, for example, that it develops communicative competence¹ (Frey & Fontana, 1991; Krashen & Terrell, 1988; Chambers, 1991) by using real language for real communication and learning and claim that exposure to the study of grammar (learning) is less effective than simple exposure to L2 (acquisition). Other researchers advocate a mixture of using the learner's first and second language (Ellis, 1984; Cook, 1991; Halliwell & Jones, 1991; Macaro, 1997; Rendall, 1998), arguing that using L1 for conveying and checking the meaning of words or sentences can be very effective. The arguments continue and focus on underlying issues such as a theoretical stance which determines different definitions of communicative competence and teachers' understanding of the role of language for learning (Marsh, 2013).

In Scotland HMIE (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education²) advice on approaches to MFL teaching is best summarised by advice contained in a report on effective MFL teaching:

In suggesting communication in and through the foreign language as the primary objective of teaching, and in encouraging use of the foreign language in the classroom, account has been taken of empirical evidence in educational and linguistic research on how we learn a foreign language. (HMIE, 2003)

Despite this recommendation, however, evidence seems to suggest that the target language is used very little in many Modern Languages classrooms in Scotland (Franklin, 1990; Lynch, 2015). Documentary evidence suggests that typically, Initial Teacher Education (ITE)³ courses in MFL teaching in Scotland place great emphasis on the use of the target language, according to course documentation across Scottish programmes. Indeed, a predominantly communicative approach centred on the learners and their needs rather than the language itself (Savignon, 1991) using the foreign language as much as possible has long been the recommended approach to teaching modern languages in schools throughout the United Kingdom

1 Communicative competence refers to a language user's grammatical knowledge of syntax, morphology, phonology, as well as social knowledge about how and when to use utterances appropriately.

2 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education – The body responsible for inspecting schools in Scotland.

3 Initial Teacher Education programmes are teacher education degree programmes in Scotland leading to qualified teacher status.

as policy documents and reports over time suggest (Department of Education and Science, 1988; Great Britain Department of Education and Science, 1990; National Foundation for Educational Research 2001).

Research has shown, however, that while teachers seem to agree that it is desirable to use L2 in the classroom within an overall communicative approach, a large number do not use it in their own classrooms (Gatbonton & Segalowitz, 2005; Franklin, 1990; Neil, 1997; Meiring & Norman, 2002; Lynch, 2015). The resulting dichotomy presents challenges for newly qualified teachers (NQTs).

According to Almarza (1996), Borg, (2003) and Lynch (2015), MFL NQTs may start their teaching career making substantial use of the TL, as recommended in their ITE year. Yet it appears that they might soon abandon this once they have completed their initial teacher education. Student teachers of MFL on ITE courses often refer to the practice of serving teachers that they observe in placement schools. If these teachers perceive difficulties in using L2 in class they can often communicate their perceptions to new teachers. Indeed, anecdotally, Scottish Teacher Education Institution (TEI) lecturers of Modern Languages have noticed this happening as early as during the first and second block placements of a student's year-long ITE programme.

There appears to be very little research in Scotland as to why this should be the case. However, Crichton (2010) has looked at what 'successful' teachers do to develop an active response from the learners, specifically, what teachers do to enable pupils to use the TL for communicative purposes in Scottish secondary MFL classrooms. Crichton's (2010) findings emphasise the importance of "a collaborative classroom ethos which supports the learners, allowing them to contribute in the TL successfully" (p.3). In Meiring and Norman's (2002) study, conducted in England, looking at repositioning the status of the TL in MFL teaching and learning, they found that at Key Stage 3⁴ and Key Stage 4⁵ "overall proportionately less target language is being used at a stage when knowledge and understanding should in fact generate increased use."

When learners complain about the lack of interaction and genuine communication in MFL lessons, this impacts negatively on motivation. With English being seen as a world language and a mindset of 'English is enough' (Parrish & Lanvers, 2019, p.281), the benefits of learning a foreign language are often not apparent to pupils in UK schools. Parrish & Lanvers (ibid) report that "Studies on MFL motivation in the UK tend to show that students are generally poorly motivated..." and "enjoy the lessons less than in other subjects" (ibid). They also mention how diffi-

4 Key Stage 3 (commonly abbreviated as KS3) is the legal term for the three years of schooling in maintained schools in England and Wales normally known as Year 7, Year 8 and Year 9, when pupils are aged between 11 and 14.

5 Key Stage 4 (KS4) is the legal term for the two years of school education which incorporate GCSEs, and other examinations, in maintained schools in England normally known as Year 10 and Year 11, when pupils are aged between 14 and 16.

cult it is to get good grades in MFL in comparison to other school subjects. Courtney (2017) examines MFL learning in UK secondary schools, where pupils perceive topics as being irrelevant and that “learners complained about the lack of spoken interaction, and lack of opportunity to say what they wanted to say.” (Courtney, 2017, p. 474). She highlights the difficulty in fostering positive attitudes to MFL in young learners “when faced with a language pedagogy that appears incongruous with their overall objectives.” (ibid).

It seems, therefore, that there exists a gap between what initial teacher education (ITE) advocates in respect of L2 use and what qualified teachers say they do, in so far as there is evidence in this area. This lack of use of the TL in class reduces the opportunity for learners to experience genuine communication and interaction in the foreign language and results in low motivation levels and reduced uptake of foreign languages (Parrish & Lanvers, 2019).

2. The extent of the problem: tensions between ITE and classroom practice

It often seems perplexing for languages teacher educators that, although a lot of research literature and educational policy documents on language teaching advocate extended use of the target language, many language teachers still resist doing so. ITE courses in ML teaching, based on relevant research literature, set great store by communicative competency-based pedagogies and in use of the TL. Why is it, then, that teachers seem to reject advice from teacher educators and researchers? Clarke (1994) reflects that “Teachers generally have very little patience with theory,” (Clarke, 1994, p. 12).

There is evidence in the induction year of newly qualified teachers in Scotland, where the influence of senior departmental colleagues sometimes is quoted by new teachers as partly being responsible for them gradually rejecting practices learned during pre-service (Lynch, 2015). This separation of theory and practice creates a divide between researchers and practitioners and leads to scepticism on the part of teachers, who see books on theory as not directly reflecting their needs (Clarke, 1994). Furlong, Barton, Miles & Whiting (2000) highlight how the research undertaken by university teachers can help to inform the practice of serving teachers.

Watzke (2007) reports on novice teachers who initially relied on traditional methods of language teaching in class, who based their practice on their own experience of learning a second language: “Beginning teachers enter the classroom with a set of beliefs, based on prior knowledge, which will be challenged and negotiated through interactions with students, colleagues, and the norms of institutions” (p. 65).

Going on to illustrate the effect of teacher socialisation, Watzke (ibid.) states that “the instructional decisions made by these teachers represent the process of

change in pedagogical content knowledge over time, often as a result of dissonance created when teachers' beliefs conflict with realities of the school context".

What is apparent is, as Grossman (2008) argues, that we are facing a crisis in teacher education, as evidenced by the results of many research studies showing the disappointing impact of teacher education on teacher behaviour and teacher learning. As far back as the early 1980s, Zeichner and Tabachnick (1981) were noting the effects of university teacher education being 'washed out by school experiences' and at the same time the 'practice shock' phenomenon started to draw international attention (Korthagen, 2010). In his article on situated learning theory⁶ and the pedagogy of teacher education, Korthagen (2010) states that "...many researchers from various countries demonstrated that teacher education graduates were facing severe problems trying to survive in the classroom, and were implementing little of what they had learnt during their professional preparation" (p.98).

In addition to many local and national studies on 'practice shock', it is worth considering the results of two larger scale studies, such as that carried out by Wideen, Mayer-Smith and Moon (1998), where the impact of teacher education was found to be minimal, and the review of teacher education carried out by the AERA (American Educational Research Association) panel on Research and Teacher Education (Cochran-Smith, 2005), where no convincing evidence was found that teacher education makes any difference. In general, there remains doubt about the effectiveness of teacher education and in many contexts there is still a substantial divide between theory and practice (Broekkamp & van Hout-Wolters, 2007; Burkhardt & Schoenfeld, 2003; Kennedy, 1997; Robinson, 1998).

The impasse is clear: ITE programmes advocate specific pedagogic approaches to MFL considered to be 'good practice' including extensive use of the target language. These, however, are not translated into regular practice by many early career teachers once they are qualified teachers. This raises the question about what influences teachers in terms of their lived through practices and their beliefs. How do perceptions of theory and practice impact on decisions taken by teachers about their enactment of pedagogies? What is the relative importance of ITE programmes and school-based practices on teacher cognition⁷?

3. Factors influencing teachers' practice

In looking at the factors that influence the practice of serving teachers, it is useful to consider the field of teacher cognition. Teacher cognition is a field of research which examines what teachers think, know and believe and the interplay of these

6 Situated learning is a theory developed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, which posits that student learning is more likely to be successful when this takes place within an authentic activity, context and culture in which they take an active part.

7 The term teacher cognition is used here to refer to what teachers know, believe and think, a dimension of their teaching which is largely unobservable.

constructs in relation to what teachers do in the classroom (Borg, 2003). From within this general area, language teacher cognition emerges as a distinct area which helps to shed light on the issues raised above. Of particular relevance to language teaching are (1) teacher cognition and prior language learning experience, (2) teacher cognition and teacher education, and (3) teacher cognition and classroom practice (Borg, 2003). Each of these will now be considered.

3.1 Student teachers as learners

Borg's review of 64 studies on teacher cognition between 1996 and 2002 reveals, as Freeman (2002) proposes, that 1990 – 2000 was the decade of change throughout which there was an exponential increase in research studies in language teacher cognition. There is however a paucity of research studies post turn of the century with Borg's studies being especially important. Borg (2003) reviewed a selection of research in the fields of first and second language teaching, involving novice teachers, beginning teachers and more experienced teachers: "...there is ample evidence that teachers' experiences as learners can inform cognitions about teaching and learning which continue to exert an influence on teachers throughout their career (e.g., Holt-Reynolds, 1992)" (p. 81).

This is similar to the findings of Zeichner and Tabachnik (1981) relating to teacher socialisation. They report on how internalised views by teachers of how languages should be taught based on their experience as learners themselves, dominate practices during school experience, whether during ITE on placement, or in posts as qualified teachers.

3.2 The influence of prior experiences and the 'apprenticeship of observation'

In similar vein, research seems to suggest that beliefs that learners have prior to becoming teachers are very hard to change, even when the learners are presented with evidence to the contrary, for example, from teacher education classes (Nisbett & Ross, 1980). According to Borg (2003), "such beliefs take the form of episodically stored material derived from critical incidents in individuals' personal experience (Nespor, 1987), and thus teachers learn a lot about teaching through their vast experience as learners" (p. 86).

The extent of influence exerted by prior experience of student teachers is reported by Johnson (1996) and Numrich (1996). Johnson's study investigated student teachers and how their practices in terms of resource selection, task design and classroom organisation were based upon their own experiences as second language learners. To exemplify, Numrich reports on a number of novice language teachers choosing not to teach grammar or correct errors due to their own nega-

tive experiences as language learners, as they recall feeling humiliated and uncomfortable themselves as learners when being corrected.

Not only novice teachers but practising teachers report being influenced by prior learning. Borg (2003) cites an earlier study into teachers' use of grammatical terminology (Borg, 1999d), where "...the metalinguistically rich, but communicatively unrewarding, grammar-based L2 education one teacher had experienced emerged as a contributing factor in her own decision as a teacher not to over-emphasise the use of terminology" (p.88).

In his examination of teachers' prior learning experiences, Borg (ibid.) concludes that "...teachers' prior language learning experiences establish cognitions about learning and language learning which form the basis of their initial conceptualisations of L2 teaching during teacher education, and which may continue to be influential throughout their professional lives."

3.3 The influence of pre-service training programmes

Studies such as those by Weinstein (1990), Kettle and Sellars (1996) and Borg (2003) have also focussed on the impact of professional preparation in ITE programmes in changing attitudes and beliefs of student teachers. Borg emphasises that when such programmes do not take into account student teachers' prior beliefs throughout the professional programme, the influence on teacher cognition and therefore in changing those beliefs or developing them is more limited. A study by Almarza (1996) details tracking four student teachers through their training year, to examine how teacher education courses might influence any cognitive and behavioural changes. The findings showed that the students adopted behaviours according to the methods recommended by ITE teacher educators, demonstrating these on practicum. However, in discussions about their work, the students varied in their acceptance (cognitively) of the methods advocated by their tutors. The student teachers revealed beliefs, attitudes and understanding about language teaching influenced by their own previously held cognitions. One student teacher, in effect, returned to teaching behaviours in accordance with previously held cognitions at the end of her teaching practice demonstrating that, although teacher education was influential upon her during her teaching placement, her initial beliefs about language remained dominant. Borg (2003) indicates that the extent to which teacher cognition and practices influence each other often depends on contextual factors (Borg, 2003, p. 81).

3.4 Contextual factors

The impact of contextual exigencies upon early career teachers should not be underestimated. These include heavy workloads, teaching large classes, dealing with

demotivated learners, the pressure of tests and examinations, syllabus restrictions, dominant approaches in specific schools and pressure to 'conform', and learner resistance to new ways of learning including the use of the target language. Johnson's (1996) study reports on how teacher enthusiasm is worn down by contextual realities. An example he cites is Richards and Pennington's (1998) study of teachers in their first year who "...had been trained in a version of the communicative method, yet almost without exception their practices during their first year diverged from communicative principles" (Borg 2003, p. 94).

In considering the issues facing these teachers, Richards and Pennington (1998) conclude that these new teachers then naturally conform to the practices of more experienced teachers in the schools.

This same effect was found by Lynch (2015) in a study of newly qualified teachers of MFL in Scotland who all changed their approach to the use of the target language and the communicative approach previously used as student teachers. Lynch's (2015) study investigated issues of perception and change among MFL NQTs in Scottish secondary schools. It revealed that the early career teachers used considerably less target language during their NQT year and had changed their views on the target language substantially since their year as student teachers. The teachers reported that they found it difficult to use L2 for discipline, grammar teaching, explaining things and for social chat. Data revealed that there were significant changes in behaviour and views from those displayed during their student teacher placements in schools. Moreover, these changes happened very quickly and were stronger than previously thought. There seem to be many factors influencing why NQTs change their 'pedagogic alliance' in relation to the target language. Lynch's (2015) study suggests that NQTs are still malleable at the beginning of their teaching career. They are influenced by teachers with whom they work. These teachers have more experience and more confidence and act as colleagues, mentors and friends with whom the NQTs discuss their progress and to whom they look for advice, help and support. In terms of pedagogy, some of the NQTs will agree with the teachers in their induction schools, because they have changed their own opinions about pedagogy. Some will agree with the teachers in their induction schools but believe they will change their practice later.

Such complexities, therefore, seem to have many causes – influences from experienced colleagues, survival tactics, how teachers develop their own pedagogy and identity as teachers. Cobb (1996) summarises these when he states that "... learning is both a process of self-organization and a process of enculturation that occurs while participating in cultural practices frequently while interacting with others" (p. 45).

I would argue, therefore, that it is this situated learning context which needs to be taken into account during ITE and used as a basis for discussion and cooperative work between teachers and teacher educators. Such shared learning has the

potential to foster “social practice that entails learning as an integral component” (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and as such becomes a good example of legitimate peripheral participation. This is something I shall return to in the conclusion.

Yet, the problem of disconnect between advancing good practice during ITE and reverting to prior learning and an apprenticeship of observation cannot simply be explained as a result of the situated learning that takes place in the workplace. As has already been discussed, the influence of the locus of learning on teacher cognition cannot be underestimated taking into account factors which impact on teacher learning – such as the interaction with other, often more expert, practitioners, one’s peers, the environment, historical practices; these all contribute to a novice teacher’s developing knowledge of her craft and skills. As Lave and Wenger (1991) propose, “activities, tasks, functions and understandings do not exist in isolation; they are part of a broader system of relations, in which they have meaning” (p. 53).

Neither does this suggest that learning is fixed and not open to changes. However, data from the studies analysed suggest that it is individual teacher positioning along their learning trajectory which impacts on preparedness to learn. As they start to become involved with other practitioners, be it with their peers or with more experienced colleagues, they become part of what Lave and Wenger (1991) describe as ‘communities of practice’. Their learning may change as they legitimately become integrated as novice teachers into such communities. Lave and Wenger claim that their learning becomes increasingly shaped by the process of becoming a fuller participant in these communities. In other words, they see situated learning in terms of social participation, where the learner acquires the skills to perform by engaging in legitimate peripheral participation, participating in the actual practice of an expert (i.e. more experienced teachers), but without the full responsibility. Accordingly, the way in which student teachers learn is different from that which many teacher educators assume. Student learning does not arise from simply processing a collection of educational theories, but from participating in social practice, i.e. the social practice in schools. From this stance, Korthagen (2010) identifies the underlying problem in terms of how to reconcile the situated learning perspective with traditional cognitive theory and what this means for teacher education. This will now be explored further.

4. Teacher Cognition and Situated Learning

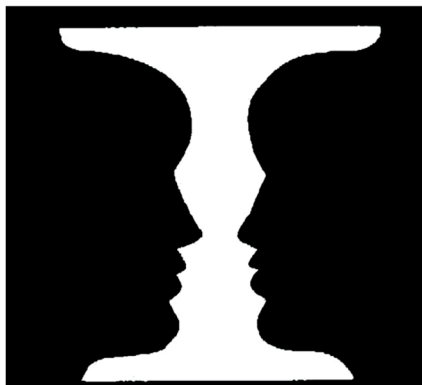
The disconnect between theory and practice in terms of teacher learning and practices is well documented. So what are the causes of this divide between theory and practice? Could it be that we have too simplistic a view of what happens in schools? Studying teachers and schools as outsiders of the ‘community’ may not provide a deeper understanding of what is happening from an insider perspective (Anderson & Herr, 1999). Kvale (1996) found that researchers who tried to get a

fuller understanding of the life world of interviewees discovered a dislocation between what teacher educators expect to see and what really goes on in schools.

Although the different metaphors underlying situated learning and cognitive theory are regarded as incompatible by some (Cobb & Bowers, 1999), Korthagen (2010) argues that integrating teacher perspectives of situated learning and cognitive theory can be achieved. Lave (1988) sees knowledge as being distributed over “persons, and symbolic and physical environments”. For teacher education, this implies “an emphasis on the co-creation of educational and pedagogical meanings within professional communities of teachers as learners” (Korthagen, 2010, p.104). Korthagen argues that this constitutes not only the situated learning perspective of student teachers, but also of experienced teachers in post.

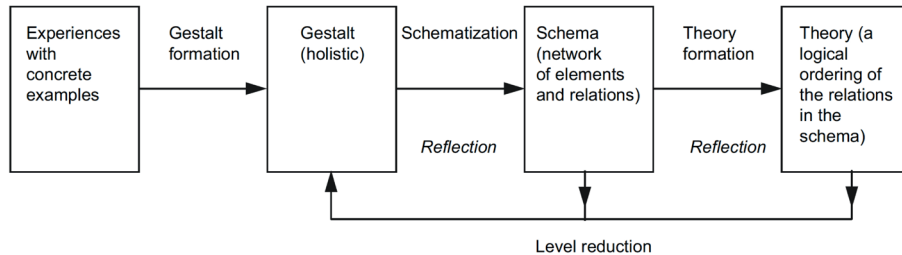
The notion of enabling an understanding of both theoretical principles and their enactment or otherwise in practice is explained by Korthagen with reference to Schön (1993) using a gestalt perspective represented by the classic figures as shown in Figure 1. Korthagen argues individual interpretation of the figures may differ (i.e.) one individual seeing two profiles, another seeing a vase). It should also be added, however, when one knows what to look for, an individual can switch from one to the other and indeed ‘train oneself’ to see both at once.

FIG. 1. Classical gestalt figure (Korthagen, 2010, p.100)



Korthagen (2010) proposes using a three-level model (Korthagen & Lagerwerf, 1996) to provide a way of integrating the two perspectives by “taking into account the shift in the purpose of knowledge, which can take place during a teacher’s development” (Korthagen 2010, p.100). The model develops a visible relationship between theory and practice (Hoekstra, Beijaard, Brekelmans & Korthagen, 2007) and will help teachers to analyse their practice and in doing so improve their teaching practices. The model is based on a combination of a theory on mathematical levels and Piagetian theory of cognitive development. A visual representation is given below in Figure 2.

FIG. 2. Korthagen and Lagerwerf's three-level model and the accompanying learning processes (Korthagen, 2010, p. 100)



Korthagen and Lagerwerf chart the typical development of a new teacher through a series of levels. The three levels will briefly be considered.

a) The Gestalt Level

The Gestalt Level is seen as the first level where novice teachers begin their career journey. Epstein (1990) argues that human behaviour involves cognitive, emotional, motivational, and behavioural factors. Thus, when a teacher reacts spontaneously, this is often triggered by images, feelings, notions, values, needs or behavioural inclinations, etcetera, and often in combinations of these factors. Korthagen (2010) argues that

such factors often remain unconscious, they are intertwined with each other ... and thus form a whole that Korthagen and Lagerwerf (2001) call a gestalt. As this concept was originally used to just describe the organization of the visual field (Köhler, 1947), this implies a broadening of the classical gestalt concept, as proposed by Lackey (1945), and Korb, Gorrell, & Van de Riet (1989). (Korthagen, 2010, p. 101)

Korthagen proposes that this broader conceptualisation of the notion of Gestalt is dynamic and constantly changing and “encompasses the whole of a teacher’s perception of the here-and-now situation” (Korthagen, 2010, p. 101). In similar vein, Tabachnik and Zeicher (1986), and Beach (1995) propose that conceptual factors play an important role in determining the extent to which teachers are able to implement instruction congruent with their cognitions. In other words, the ability to implement actions based on educational pedagogy depends on the teaching episode in which a teacher finds herself and what triggers the action these teachers take. Is the action based on pedagogy or governed by her own, perhaps different, experience of this situation as a learner herself? What is evident in these scenarios is the absence of reflection by the teacher, be that reflection in action or any general reflection on action.

Focusing on the relationship between experiences and internal processes in the teacher, Korthagen (2010) uses examples from a study by Hoekstra et al. (2007) of 32 Dutch teachers to illustrate the intrapersonal and psychological counterpart of the social process of situated learning. This study identifies relationships between teachers' behaviour and accompanying mental processes, and the influence on their professional learning in the workplace. Korthagen uses episodes from individual teachers to try and understand the process of meaning making from the perspective of the teacher. For example, Albert, one of the Dutch teachers, introduces a new concept by teacher explanation, which upon reflection he concluded was not an effective strategy. As Russell (1999) claims, "the image of 'teaching as telling' permeates every move we make as teachers, far more deeply than we would ever care to admit to others or ourselves." An example of this is where language teachers revert to a 'default position' of grammar-translation if they encounter difficulty in teaching through a more communicative approach. Although Albert realised his strategy was ineffective, many teachers are unaware of their actions and of the reasons for such (Clark & Yinger, 1979). It is often the case that during the complexities of teaching, it is difficult for teachers to be conscious of the underlying reasons which explain what is happening and why (Dolk, 1997; Eraut, 1995). Dolk (1997) proposes that much of teachers' behaviour happens without reflection, what he terms 'immediate behaviour', while Eraut (1995) emphasises the influence of time. As Halkes & Olson (1984) underline, a good deal of what teachers do is characterised by automatic or mechanical performance of acts. Another case is Nicole, who wanted to reduce direct instruction time and increase the time her learners work on tasks collaboratively. Yet she 'lapsed back' into frontal instruction, showing evidence of the strong influence of previously formed Gestalts on her behaviour, showing how prone early career teachers are to adopt engrained practices they have been exposed to as learners.

In comparing Gestalt theory with theoretical notions from situated learning theory, Korthagen (2010) cites ideas from Lave and Wenger (1991) and describes the formation of the Gestalt theory as "the result of a multitude of encounters with similar situations in everyday work or life." (p102) and refers to Gee's (1997) definition of his notion of situated meaning as "specific patterns of experience tied to specific sorts of contexts" (p. 243).

It is important, therefore, for teacher educators to understand that this process is taking place within the student teacher and that many of the student teachers' actions are automatic reactions to deal with scenarios and survive in the moment. It shows this absence of reflection in action (Schon, 1988), something which will be addressed below in looking at responses to this issue.

b) The Schema Level

The next level in Korthagen and Lagerwerf's theory is the Schema Level. This schema level is grounded in concrete situations. In moving from the Gestalt to the Schema Level, the teacher is taking knowledge and behaviours gained in specific situations and applying these more generally in a kind of "situated generalization" (Carragher, Nemirovsky & Schliemann, 1995, p. 234). In so doing the teacher is creating her own pedagogic understanding, which may look different from that of her teacher educators and one which she may develop further through experience, reflection, training or study. This resonates with Borg's description of teachers' prior language learning experiences and how they form initial conceptualisations of MFL teaching during their ITE programme. Korthagen (2010) describes how teachers move to the schema level:

In more general terms, when an actor reflects on a situation and the actions taken in it, and perhaps also on other similar situations, he or she may develop a conscious network of concepts, characteristics, principles, and so on, helpful in describing practice. Such a mental network is called a schema, and the development of such a schema is an important next level in the learning process. (p.102)

If a teacher's actions are based on sound pedagogical principles, the Schema is the next step in a teacher's development as a teacher. However, it is clear that what very often drives early career teachers is knowing how to act in particular situations, instead of having an abstract understanding of them. This behaviour is embedded in 'what is going on in the classroom' or from other imperatives, such as 'getting through activities'. Through this behaviour, the teacher's Schema may become a collection of reactions, 'Gestalts', which she has found useful in previous lessons to deal with the here and now, but which are a 'knee jerk' reaction to a stressful situation. Lynch (2015) recounts numerous examples of newly qualified teachers acting in this way when they immediately revert to the use of L1 in MFL classrooms when they experience difficulties in getting across their message in L2.

c) The Theory Level

The third level provides a means to examine the relationships within a teacher's Schema or several schemata and synthesises these into one coherent "theory" in order to understand specific situations. Korthagen and Lagerwerf's (2001) study suggests most teachers, however, remain in the here-and-now and what action they should take. They do not reach the theory level. They do not feel it is relevant.

Korthagen (2010) proposes that with time, the schematized or even theoretical knowledge can become self-evident and the schema or theory can be used in a

less conscious, automatic way by teachers. In this way, the whole Schema or theory has been reduced to one Gestalt. This process is what Van Hiele (1986) terms “level reduction”. In other words, teachers may use their own constructed pedagogy.

Moreover, this often leads to teachers acting intuitively to the here and now, being influenced by their own experience of learning languages and consequently their teaching becoming largely grammar-translation with little use of the target language. The implication is that schemata and theories are grounded in concrete situations, that they are not purely personal, but are linked to social contexts. The three-level model, Korthagen (*ibid.*) argues, has as an underlying principle that novice teachers’ actions are governed by an interplay of their own learning experience, the context of the learning/teaching episode(s) and survival instincts. These are blended into a pattern of teaching where the teacher feels safe and avoids risk-taking and experimentation with teaching approaches with which they are less confident.

Gestalts, therefore, must be considered in relation to the social context in which they are evoked with learning embedded in relationships between people (Lave & Wenger, 1991). It follows, therefore, that different teachers dealing with the same situation may elicit different Gestalts, as these are rooted in each individual’s personal life and experience. The notion of Gestalts presented above, and the importance of understanding how they are formed, should be borne in mind and their effect should not be underestimated, particularly when it is known that teachers will often reduce a Schema or theory to a single Gestalt and this may dominate a particular aspect of their practice as teachers.

5. ‘Disruptive’ practices for addressing the issues

The arguments presented in the previous section suggest that in order to address such complex issues, specific actions need to be taken. Three strands are identified and discussed as follows.

The first focuses on identifying, making visible and discussing difficult questions. Research studies indicate a conflict between the culture of teacher education and the context of Modern Languages departments in Scottish Secondary Schools. Holliday (1994) talks about being sensitive to the context of the classroom and how teaching “should be largely in the hands of the teacher” (p.161), but acknowledges the role of others, such as curriculum developers and heads of department as being “involved in making decisions about the nature of classroom methodology” (*ibid.*).

In order to understand dichotomous practices presented throughout this article, it seems that the underlying issues need to be identified and ‘tackled’ to find ways of resolving what may appear as conflicting fundamental philosophies, beliefs and theories of learning in general, but especially language learning. The importance of reflection has been underlined as key – yet this also implicates teacher

educators in reflective processes as well as expert teachers. This study, with a focus on teacher use of TL in the MFL classroom, brings to the fore again the debate from multiple perspectives: policy, pedagogic, theoretical, professional. Positioning oneself in terms of situated learning whether as educators, as teachers or as student teachers all require sensitive and shared understanding. Firstly, therefore, open debate about the use of TL in the classroom needs to be carefully orchestrated to ensure that perspectives are brought together through 'disrupting' the flow and asking difficult questions: What is successful practice in the MFL classroom? What is the purpose of the learning and teaching of modern languages - Is it passing exams? Is it enjoyment of the language? Is it to be able to communicate in the countries where the L2 is spoken? Depending on the context, perhaps L1 is more appropriate on occasions, for example introducing a point communicatively and in L2, but then use L1. Once the pupils have mastered the rule, it may be acceptable to explain, refer to, or revise the rule in L1. This would seem to be an approach that is still communicative, yet allows the teacher to check comprehension and/or provide strategies which will help to reinforce the language point studied. It may also be a way of bringing together 'focus on form' and 'focus on forms'.

The second suggests that mediating and engaging in reflective practices is of fundamental importance. Given the complexities and challenges which NQTs face, there would appear to be little time for reflection in the early stages of building professional experiences. As indicated above, student teachers often act, not on the basis of reflection, but through recourse to their own language learning experiences (Borg, 2003). Indeed, as has already been discussed, this is the very time when key underlying pedagogic principles may be rejected or remain dormant and replaced by Gestalts formed in dealing with the here and now and quickly becoming fixed as the student teacher's new pedagogy (Korthagen, 2010). If, in addition, these actions are reinforced through pressure to conform to the practices of experienced teachers in school, it is not surprising that many student and novice teachers soon diverge from the learning and teaching approaches they adopted during ITE.

In terms of reflection, teacher educators too need to revisit their own positioning about target language use and think more in terms of guiding student teachers in optimising use of the target language, rather than maximising use of the target language (Macaro, 2005) and to consider the role of L1 in mediating learning (Macaro, 2005; Hall & Cook, 2012). For years academics have reported on the gap between what research advocates in terms of target language teaching and what happens in classrooms (Anderson & Herr, 1999; Kvale, 1996). It is time to recognise that nothing will change by reiterating the problem separately in our own domains. It is also time to question our own beliefs, both as teachers and as teacher educators, and ask difficult questions, such as 'is our way the best way?'. This means turning to teachers to help define researchable questions, working as a team to share perspectives and insights.

In addition to the inexperience of new teachers and how competent and confident they feel when trying to relate theory to practice, there is still such a great divide between what is advocated in initial teacher education and the practices of serving teachers observed by NQTs. It may be that in-service training targeted at serving teachers is a priority, as NQTs will look to serving teachers for advice and guidance. This is not an easy undertaking, as serving teachers have all undergone similar training to the NQTs. They know what is advocated in ITE programmes and may well feel guilty and/or frustrated if any training highlights things they think they should do but cannot quite manage.

6. Partnership for Collaboration

Michelsen, Nielsen, and Petersen (2008) emphasise three main areas for professional learning based on partnership collaboration: “implementation of change through action research; having a sense of being a part of professional community; and having contacts with academic experts” (p. 100).

The call for teacher educators to embark upon collaborative learning with teachers in schools, both with longer serving teachers and with NQTs, is not new in itself, but when the goal is to explore the interrelationship between current theories and current practice in the learning and teaching of modern languages, the focus changes. This would offer opportunities to try things out in practice, but in a situation in which it is safe to make mistakes and unravel problems. This would take away the guilt and anxiety that an in-service model may create and is more likely to have buy-in from participants, as they would have ownership of their learning. This is in line with Fullan and Langworthy’s call for a “model of new pedagogies in transforming mainstream schools” (Viczkó, 2016) through learning partnerships between schools and teacher education providers to provide deep learning tasks and to embrace digital tools and resources. Building on Lynch’s (2015) study of experienced teachers which revealed that most still have to develop further than Korthagen and Lagerwerf’s Schema Level, such partnerships could openly embrace difficult questions, classroom realities and teacher cognition. For example, through an expectation that new teachers, who do not have years of experience, will find using L2 in class challenging due to a variety of experiences and stages in their professional learning.

Given the arguments presented in this article, the time now is ripe in Scotland, and arguably also elsewhere, to carry out such collaborative research with partnership projects and initiatives emerging as a result of the recommendations of Teaching Scotland’s Future (TSF), the report of a review of teacher education in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011).

Building on the recommendations of the TSF report from now almost a decade ago, there is still an urgency to embrace collaborative research, but with a deep-

er understanding of how to enable all teachers and teacher educators to develop their thinking. The current momentum for change and improvement in Scottish education in recent years makes now the right time for both teacher educators and teachers in schools to start collaborating on research, either as part of one of the TSF partnership projects, or simply by seeking partners in schools and universities. Such research may well enable teachers to progress from the Gestalt level through to the Schema level towards what Korthagen and Lagerwerf (2001) describe as the Theory level after NQTs have had an opportunity to try their craft in their initial posts in Scotland in the Induction Year. After their Induction Year, but possibly later for some individual teachers, these former novices are usually more confident in themselves as teachers and have acquired experience and expertise in managing their classes and in preparation and planning. This frees up intellectual capacity to examine the bigger picture of appropriate and effective pedagogy in their subject. Inevitably, this will involve, as mentioned earlier, deep and careful reflection on what they are teaching and how they are teaching. This is the challenge for schools and universities as they look to support newly qualified teachers in their initial stages of teaching to develop effective techniques of learning and teaching. As part of collaborative research between teachers and teacher educators, they could look at trying to establish what advice can usefully be given regarding the use of L1 in L2 teaching and what can be interpreted as 'judicious' use of L1, but also look at language learning and teaching in general.

7. Conclusion

Based upon what is known about teacher cognition and situated learning, this article suggests using the context in which teachers find themselves, namely the social practice of working with their colleagues in schools, the place where they are engaging in legitimate peripheral participation, as a starting point for collaborative research into strategies which promote effective learning and teaching vis-a-vis the most effective use of the TL in class.

It is also important that teacher educators understand the complexity of the various layers of teacher cognition (cognition and prior language learning experience, cognition and teacher education, and cognition and classroom practice) as well as the crucial role that reflective practice plays and how these affect the formation and development of teachers' approaches to what they do in the classroom. This article seeks to demonstrate how crucial it is that teacher educators understand these theories, particularly with reference to L1 and L2 use in the classroom, and examine how these can help them understand teaching practices and point to how to improve courses and programmes of (initial) teacher education with respect to language teacher education. This has scope to relate not only to modern languages teaching, but to other subjects taught in secondary schools

and also the primary school sector. Indeed, Korthagen and Lagerwerf's (1996; 2001) work looked at teachers across subjects and sectors.

This idea of schools and universities working together in partnership to improve teacher education is not new but a more recent resurgence of interest supported by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufacturing and Commerce (RSA), which led to reconceptualising the contribution research can make to initial teacher education, to teachers' continuing professional development and to school improvement. In their interim report published in January 2014, BERA maintain that "... teachers and teacher educators may be equipped to conduct their own research, individually and collectively, to investigate the impact of particular interventions or to explore the positive and negative effects of educational practice." (BERA 2014, p.5). They also state that

practitioner engagement in and with research has been shown to contribute to successful school improvement in a variety of ways: through the sharing of information about effective practice; by involving practitioners in the testing of new ideas and in the design, delivery and monitoring of interventions. (BERA 2014, p.7)

In BERA's 2018 statement on close-to-practice research, they advise engaging "with practitioners from schools, and researchers, to explore the methodological aspects of CtP research." (Wyse, D., Brown, C., Oliver, S., & Poblete, X., 2018)

The OECD report (OECD, 2015) commissioned by the Scottish Government to review the educational reform "Curriculum for Excellence", highlights too the importance of collaborative research: "It will need to increase the value assigned to data and research evidence alongside professional judgment, on the one hand, while maintaining the consensus that comes through collaboration and partnership, on the other" (p.16).

This is supported also by the Scottish Government in their Research Strategy for Scottish Education (Scottish Government, 2017) which calls for collaborative research with "academics working more closely with practitioners" (p.7).

In terms of situated learning and bringing teachers of modern foreign languages and teacher educators together, this current focus of BERA, the RSA and the Scottish Government is very exciting and paves the way for the type of collaborative research discussed above. This may well offer new insights into the pedagogical issues that are the subject of this article and contribute to teachers' continuing professional development and to school improvement.

There is currently an opportune moment in Scotland and indeed, elsewhere, to reconsider the potential of partnership research. This capitalises on the willingness in the teaching professions for mutual benefits, but above all the drive to improve language teaching and learning to create a shared understanding and embark on

mutual practices in the areas of professional learning and classroom teaching and learning and to take advantage of the support available to make that happen.

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